

TROUBLE IN THE TRIANGLE



CHRISTIANS, JEWS AND MUSLIMS IN CONFLICT

**A CRITICAL REASSESSMENT OF THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN CHRISTIANITY, JUDAISM AND ISLAM**

IAN FRY

EACH NEW CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST attracts a lot of attention. Everyone knows, by now, that there are common themes running through them. Oil, power politics and religion.

The question is: are they a series of isolated, bloody incidents, like log chips flying in all directions, or are they pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, each one slotting into place to form a big picture?

Trouble in the Triangle sets out to show that they are like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle and that the picture is now pretty well complete. It's on the front cover.

As each piece fits into place it provides a view of another segment of our history which is often unexpected, sometimes unsettling, always challenging to conventional Western wisdom, and never dull.

Trouble in the Triangle places Western history in a new light. It questions the basis of Western self-understanding and long-accepted views of the 'proper' relationships between the Cold War powers of the East and West; between the power brokers of the consuming West and the resource producers of the Developing Third World; and between Christians and the rest of the world

There is trenchant criticism of the leaders of the West over a long period, especially through the colonial era, the two world wars, and since the establishment of the State of Israel which the author describes as "the central fact of the Christian Era."

The impact of major decisions taken by the leaders of Britain and the United States as they used their own people and other countries as pawns in the power games to maintain or to extend the privileges enjoyed by their own countries will be quite new to most readers.

Now, as all of the pieces of the jigsaw puzzle fall into place, the consequences of those decisions are becoming apparent. The chickens are coming home to roost!

Trouble in the Triangle is a book about religion. But it is a book you may find hard to put down.



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Trouble in the Triangle was originally published in 2000 as two books covering three volumes.

This consolidated 2025 PDF edition has been released for academic study and archival purposes. Some charts and notes were not available electronically and are provided here as images of the original.

This edition retains references to the three volumes and two books. All in-text page numbers refer to the printed 2000 edition. The indexes been retained for informational purposes and similarly refer to pages in the 2000 printed edition.

TROUBLE IN THE TRIANGLE

This work is a critical reassessment of the development of the doctrines of the Christians church, Christian self-understanding, and the triangle of Abrahamic faiths – Judaism, Christianity and Islam – which are, in reality, parallel streams of one faith. Yahwism. The author proposes a process for the reassessment of messianic theology with Jews, Christians and Muslims working in collaboration, and maintains that the repudiation of the Doctrine of the Trinity is the first vital step towards reconciliation between Jews, Christians and Muslims. This, in turn, is a prerequisite to world peace and stability.

The narrative of that development is set out chronologically in three volumes. The first two volumes are included in book one. Volume three is printed separately, as a matter of reader convenience, in book two.

This is book one.

Volume I traces developments from the occupation of Jerusalem about sixty years before the birth of Christ by a Roman general, Pompey, to the occupation of the city by a British general, Allenby, in 1917 in the wake of the Balfour Declaration. It is set out in three parts.

Part 1, Starting from scratch, explains the way in which the triangle of Abrahamic faiths was formed. The followers of Jesus of Nazareth broke away from the religious system of the Jewish community, Judaism, to form the Christian Church. The church then progressively developed its own identity and doctrines, became linked into the political system of the Roman Empire, and abused its authority as it used the military might of Rome to evangelize the region of the empire, including North Africa. The subsequent mission and ministry of the Prophet Muhammad, and the establishment of Islam, was a response to that abuse. The triangle was then complete.

Part 2, The Years of Challenge, illustrates the interaction between the three parallel streams of faith during the next eleven hundred years. That period was packed with challenges to the church's theology and its self-understanding by scientists, reformers and philosophers. It included the Crusades, the Inquisition in response to the work of the Spanish Jewish scholar Maimonides, the Reformation ('the one that got away'), the beginning of the European Colonial Era, and the American War of Independence. It reached a climax with the French Revolution and the rule of Napoleon.

Part 3, Exploitation and Oppression, covers the period of European overseas expansion and consolidation, the industrial revolution, the challenges of Darwin and Marx, the debasement of

the Jewish community across Europe as anti-Semitism plumbed new depths, and Britain's Balfour Declaration.

Volume II, in one part, Can anyone read the plans?, discusses the state of Europe as the Western Alliance powers sought to crush the Bolshevik Revolution in the wake of the First World War, the growth of the Ecumenical Movement, Vatican efforts to tighten its grip on the religious and civil life of the world through a system of concordats and social encyclicals. Hitler's inspired parody of the amorphous Christian gel, Mein Kampf, is discussed in some detail, together with the British government's pathetic manipulation of a whole range of international and interfaith relationships as it manoeuvred its way through the failed Evian Conference and Munich towards war with Germany and then progressively escalated the war in its unsuccessful effort to retain its empire.

See book two for Volume III which is in three parts.

Part 5, There must be a Final Solution, discusses the relationship between the Qur'anic prophesy of the Night Journey, Hitler's Mein Kampf, and his role as the Scourge of the Night Journey; the Holocaust, the relationship between the powers of evil, Gog and Magog; the way in which the United States was manoeuvred into the war, its motives for staying there and for using the atomic bomb; MacArthur's Christian reconstruction of Japan; the establishment of the United Nations; the way in which the Qur'anic Night Journey and the expectations of Maimonides converge in the establishment of the State of Israel; and the way in which that event – the central fact of the Christian Era to date – illustrates that the irrevocable Covenant of Sinai is firmly in place and that the Christian church is not the be-all-and-end-all of Divine intervention in the affairs of humanity.

Part 6, Fifty Wasted Years, asks what has happened to the Messianic Age since the coincidental establishment of the State of Israel and the World Council of Churches. It briefly traces the Cold War, the early wars between Israel and its neighbours, and the collapse of the European Colonial system. It then discusses the Yom Kippur War, the oil embargo and the changing relationships between the three Abrahamic faiths in more detail before moving to the search for a New International Economic Order, the consequences of globalization, and the rash of interfaith wars in its wake.

Part 7, Reflections in a Wine Glass, discusses the implications of the changing relationships, the way in which the church must reassess its own position and its role as it moves into the process of the reassessment of messianic theology in collaboration with Jews and Muslims, and it suggests a few proposals for the way ahead.

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ABOUT THIS BOOK

The purpose of this book is to encourage people to talk about religion. In particular, to talk about the need for leaders and scholars of the three Abrahamic faiths to reassess messianic theology in collaboration with each other, and for the Christian church to repudiate the Doctrine of the Trinity.

Some people ask: “Why bother? Religion is a dead issue but the church hasn’t realized it yet. Nobody is interested in religion anymore.”

Perhaps. But the reality is different.

People all over the world are tearing each other apart over religion. Many of them do not understand what it is all about. They only know that it is Muslim versus Christian in, for example, Indonesia’s Ambon; or Muslim versus Jew in Palestine and Israel; or Christian versus Christian in Ireland; or Christian versus Muslim in Kosovo. Occasionally some other faith is involved, such as in Sri Lanka, Hindu versus Buddhist; or Chechnya, Communist versus Muslim; or Fiji, Christian versus Hindu; or Tibet, Communist versus Buddhist. The list goes on.

So, if every religion seems to be involved, why focus on Christianity? The answer is simple. The root cause of inter-religious conflict is the Christian church’s Doctrine of the Trinity or, more precisely, the things which Christians have done over a very long time because of the way they have understood themselves as Christians. The history of Europe and the history of the European Colonial Era is a history of the abuse and oppression of people, and the irresponsible exploitation of nature and natural resources. These things have occurred, in large measure, as a consequence of the church’s self-understanding and the abuse of its authority and its teaching over a very long period. Two world wars and a lot of lesser ones can be attributed directly to those issues so that the world is now in a deeply fragmented state. But certain relationships have changed during the past two generations, since the establishment of the State of Israel, and the backlash has started.

Is that the reason to begin a reassessment of religious belief at this time? To check the backlash and to stabilize world relationships just as they were previously so that the white Western Christian world can continue to sit astride the human pile?

No, not at all. But it may be that the backlash is now sufficiently strong for people to say: “This hurts. Let’s stop the action, do some talking, work out what’s wrong, and then redirect the action.”

The shift in relationships and the fact that the church’s theology was involved became apparent in 1973 when an oil embargo was imposed by certain countries against the United

States in association with the Yom Kippur War between Israel and its neighbours. At that time, with the help of a few colleagues I endeavoured to persuade my own church to take the initiative to establish a process which would bring leaders and scholars from each of Judaism, Islam and Christianity together to reassess the issue around which the triangle of Abrahamic faiths formed: messianic theology and the Christian Doctrine of the Trinity. We were not successful.

However I was then invited to participate in a consultation on the crisis in the Middle East at the World Council of Churches in Geneva in 1975 and that gave me the opportunity to pursue discussions with religious leaders, scholars and politicians in a number of countries of the Middle East during the following three months. Influential figures in both the Muslim and Jewish communities responded warmly to the proposal for three-way reassessment of messianic theology. However they all put much the same qualification on being involved. The church, or one wing or another of it, had to initiate the process. They felt that Christian dominance of world affairs was such they had little hope of initiating the process, and in any case, because it was the Christian interpretation of messianic theology which had led to the crisis, the responsibility to begin to unravel it lay with the church.

Unfortunately, Christian churchmen who may have been in a position to influence such a decision would not budge. Their responses have varied all the way from: "The church's theologians cannot have been wrong for two thousand years," to "Yes. We know you are basically right, but can't we adjust the way we interpret and present the doctrine without repudiating it?" The answer to that question is "No!" It might not have mattered if the church's teaching was a bit skewed and if people were a little unclear about their relationship with God if it did not affect their actions and their relationships. The fact is that great damage has been caused by actions which they have taken in the light of the church's doctrine. For that reason the doctrine and the teaching which flow from it must be put right. That cannot be done in isolation. It must be done in collaboration with Jews and Muslims.

It became quite apparent that no steps would be taken unless there was strong public interest. The logical way to find whether that interest existed appeared to be through a little book. *Trouble in the Triangle* is that book.

Trouble in the Triangle sets out, very frankly, the history of the development of the relationship between the three faiths, the factors which have influenced it, and the consequences of the formation of a very unequal triangle. The lily has not been gilded. If the reassessment is to take place, and if the world is to benefit from it, then it must be carried out with complete openness and honesty. The truth often hurts. The consequences of the concealment of facts, suppression of the truth, manipulation of public information (especially during the critical twentieth century) and the gross misrepresentation of modern history to serve the perceived purposes of the Christian West all become distressingly apparent as the story unfolds. The final chapter sets out a few ideas about what we can expect, and proposals for the way ahead. What ever we do must be aimed at reconciliation between Christians, Jews and Muslims. That is a

pre-requisite for world peace and stability. To me the way ahead seems obvious. I hope readers agree.

A word of appreciation. There was a time in 1996, when my wife and I returned to Australia after five years in Papua New Guinea, that I feared this work would never be completed. My health was very poor indeed and, until the cause of my debilitation was identified and corrected, I simply could not pick up the threads where I had left them hanging in 1991. Fortunately Peter Leahy, who had been working with me on research from his home in Canberra for two years prior to our return was able to continue working with me for another couple of years. His support, encouragement and ability to see critically through a web of issues was vital in enabling me to press ahead and complete the task.

There are a host of other friends who deserve recognition for help in typing (before the days of personal computers), proof reading, preparation of the index, proper compilation of the end notes and references, and for support and encouragement in many other ways. I shall thank them personally lest they be damned by association for any errors and interpretations which readers find to criticize. Every effort has been made to identify and acknowledge all references and sources of published information. However with the work spanning twenty five years, some references have inevitably been misplaced and if I have inadvertently quoted from any works without acknowledging them, I apologize.

I.R.Fry,
Fitzroy, August 2000

FOREWORD

Trouble in the Triangle is a veritable tour de force: a grand sweep across more than 2000 years of history, a penetrating examination of the three Abrahamic faiths, and a remorseless critique of the Christian Church as institution.

In this very large, thoroughly researched book the reader will find much that is fascinating, thought-provoking, indeed provocative. Fry's intention, clearly stated from the outset, is to question the conventional wisdom in Christian discourse, or to put it more simply the self-understanding of Christianity and the West more generally. The author identifies the doctrine of the Trinity as lying at the heart of the misconception and misinformation which have surrounded the Church's definition of its mission, and poisoned relations with both Judaism and Islam. This proposition will no doubt prove unpalatable, even distressing to some, and misguided to others. But whatever one's intellectual judgment so far as Trinitarian thought is concerned, Fry's methodical interpretation of the sequence of events merits the closest consideration. It is rich in historical detail, grounded in careful textual analysis, and animated by a profoundly religious conviction.

Central though doctrinal issues may be to Fry's argument, one does not have to agree with every aspect of his interpretation to conclude that there is much that sheds new light not only on the history of the three faiths and their interaction, but the evolution of the entire world system, especially over the last two hundred years. It is perhaps this latter dimension of *Trouble in the Triangle* which makes it such a unique and timely contribution to public debate. The peace process in the Middle East, the future of Jerusalem, the precarious relationship between Islam and the West are all placed in context, and so are the complex circumstances which have brought us to the present delicate conjuncture. The religious and economic roots of anti-Semitism are examined with unerring clarity. Striking parallels emerge between developments in late nineteenth century Europe and the inter-war years. Similar factors may well be at work in the current resurgence of anti-Semitic sentiment and xenophobia more generally in Europe and other parts of the western world. Equally instructive is the assessment we are offered of Pax Americana: the gradual emergence of US imperial ambitions and interests, the unashamed pursuit of those ambitions at the height of the Second World War, and the way the imperial project coloured relations with the defeated powers on the one hand and the allies on the other. We are rightly reminded more than once that this project has yet to run its course. The politics of Middle Eastern oil, the demonization of so-called rogue states, and the attempt to depict Islam as the seat of religious extremism are but different manifestations of the same imperial outlook.

Beginning with a highly readable but well researched account of the early Church, Fry traces the numerous steps – each seemingly small yet cumulatively far-reaching – by which it sought to achieve theological uniformity across an ever expanding domain. Indoctrination, excommunication, and even Inquisition became accepted instruments for eliminating dissent and enforcing Rome’s authority. The convening of Councils became convenient, thought not always successful, forums for stamping out divergence of opinion on a range of doctrinal and ecclesiastical issues. Difference was presumably attacked with such venom, not merely because Rome was psychologically discomfited by it, but presumably because it saw theological conformism as an indispensable source of power. The standardization of doctrine, the punishment of heresy and persecution of Jews thus become in Fry’s vivid account simply different manifestations of the same drive to power. At stake here is the impact of the arrogance of dogma on the relationship between organized religion and the state as well as that between organized religion and faith itself. On the one hand, religious intolerance, to be sustained, must have recourse to the powerful arm of the state. On the other hand, such intolerance also provides the state with the legitimacy it needs to sustain its own structure of power. In the process a symbiotic relationship develops in which both State and Church come to depend on each other for the attainment of their respective institutional goals and strategies. In that sense theological pluralism and religious tolerance are sacrificed at the altar of power. It is perhaps ironic but nonetheless tragic that Augustinian theology should have, wittingly or otherwise, paved the way for the subordination of the City of God to the City of Man.

The author insists more than once on the pivotal role which the Doctrine of the Trinity, by which he means primarily the divinity of Christ, played in the polarization between the three monotheistic faiths. While there is much to support this proposition, it is arguable that Trinitarianism is itself but a metaphor for a deeper and wider theological current which seeks to elevate certain interpretations either of sacred scripture or of revelation more generally to the status of dogma. What is in question here is the attempt to freeze in time, place and civilizational or cultural setting a set of beliefs which of necessity must evolve as part of humankind’s spiritual journey. In that sense, evolution must be understood as an integral part of pilgrimage. All Christian churches have to a greater or lesser degree succumbed at different times to the temptation to build an ecclesiology and even a code of individual morality on dogmatic foundations. Nowhere has that temptation proven more difficult to resist than in the Catholic Church, or at least at its authoritative centre which is the Papacy. Though some of the more obvious excesses of the past, be it the Inquisition or the sale of indulgences, may no longer be practised, the underlying mindset which made them possible cannot be said to have been altogether abandoned. The detailed examination we are offered of the reigns of Pius XI and Pius XII make abundantly clear that Catholicism in the first half of the twentieth century, at least as understood in Rome, remained powerfully drawn to the theory and practice of authoritarianism, not to say fascism. The second half of the century, especially the *aggiornamento* ushered in by the Second Vatican Council, pointed to a new beginning which the

present pontificate has sadly and rudely interrupted. In that sense, Fry's call for a major reappraisal of the Church's self-understanding is both timely and well-founded.

Not everyone will agree with the author's prescriptions as to how this reassessment is to proceed or what its conclusions should be. Claims that the Jewish community is "the primary and continuing instrument of god's will" and that the establishment of the state of Israel is consistent with prophecies in the Judaic, Christian and Islamic traditions are contentious to say the least. Equally the interpretations we are offered in *Trouble in the Triangle* both of Muhammad's vision of the Night Journey, and Maimonides' teachings are matters for considerable debate. Some may argue that the author's own theological convictions have been allowed to colour too strongly his recommendations for the way ahead. If the critical question is how to forge a new spirituality, there is perhaps insufficient attention in the book to the part that the world's other faiths and ethical traditions have already made and are likely to make in the future, and too much emphasis on the contribution of the three Abrahamic religions. Whatever might be the power of their prophecies and visions of a Messianic age, there is no denying that their practices over the centuries leave a great deal to be desired. There are obvious dangers in viewing any or all of these three faiths as a unique and privileged source of divine revelation, of viewing any or all of these faith communities as God's "chosen people" in any permanent or exclusive sense.

Of the three religions, only Islam can be said to be firmly grounded in the Third World, in the experience of profound suffering and continuing humiliation at the hands of Western dominance. The illusions and confusion that preceded the Second World War were the product of the politics of greed. Yet the ethical foundations of the post-1945 period, notwithstanding the idealism of the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, were not as solidly built as was often imagined. The ethos and procedures of the war-crimes tribunals and the structures of Bretton Woods institutions both spoke of victors' justice. Precisely for this reason it is largely in the Third World that we are most likely to find the fertile ground for such renewal. In this sense it is hardly surprising that the theology of liberation should have originated primarily in Latin America and Africa.

There is yet another dimension to human evolution which bears close attention, namely the development of a range of ethical and philosophical insights which we associate with secularization. Concepts of human dignity, human rights, democracy, economic and social justice may in some loose sense have their roots in the Judaic-Christian tradition, but they owe their force and clarity primarily to the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and the other revolutionary struggles of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Presumably any genuine dialogue of civilizations will somehow have to incorporate these insights, and the agencies in which they are currently embedded. As with the religious so with the secular tradition, there is a deeper spiritual strand and a baser materialism predicated on wealth and power. We need therefore a praxis for dialogue that is capable of distinguishing between these strands, yet is encompassing of all those who can contribute to a renewed global spirituality.

Messianism itself may have to be placed under probing scrutiny; it can and must contribute to the dialogue, but it cannot monopolize it.

Yet none of this is to diminish Fry's enormous achievement: the depth of his analysis of our present predicament, or the clarity with which he has identified the foundation stones for a new theological, intellectual, political and economic agenda. *Trouble in the Triangle* rightly points to the strategic importance of the Middle East, the centrality of oil in the world's energy economy, and the potentially explosive relationship between the West intent on maintaining its dominance and a resurgent Islam conscious of its glorious past and intent on articulating a new vision for the future. Placed in this context a rediscovery by the three Abrahamic faiths of their nobler prophetic traditions, especially if it should proceed by way of mutually reinforcing dialogue, has become a moral imperative. By illuminating past trends and drawing attention to future possibilities *Trouble in the Triangle* has accomplished a great and enduring service for which we are all deeply indebted.

Joseph A. Camilleri

FOREWORD

Trouble in Triangle is obviously not a small book. Running into 3 sizeable volumes, it has taken Mr Ian Fry some 25 years to complete. To have sustained his interest in the subject for such a long time, despite fundamental changes in his health, employment and physical environment, is an indication of his passionate commitment to solving the riddle of the trouble in the triangle of three faiths, Judaism Christianity and Islam – a riddle that affects more than half of the human race living in Europe and Asia.

To find a cure, one needs to identify the cause. In order to do that, Ian Fry has analyzed 2000 years of history of the Judeo-Christian and Islamic worlds. He begins the history at 60 years before the birth of Christ and brings it up-to-date, identifying the political and religious threads in historical developments and how they intertwine. In following his narrative one sees how the religious thread becomes subservient to the political one. In his broad sweep of history he has covered a very vast period and an equally vast territory, dealing with political developments and their underlying currents from US, to Europe, to the Middle East and Russia. It has been a mammoth task.

It is Ian Fry's quite sincere view that the three Abrahamic religions are aspects of a single religious faith, and that they "became divided into separate streams as a consequence of the adoption of certain beliefs about the person of Jesus of Nazareth ..." Since he has a burning interest in bringing about a common understanding between the Abrahamic faiths, viewing it as crucial to ushering in the Messianic Age, Ian Fry has had to delve into the revealed texts and theological writings of these faiths. Through it he has come out with understandings which he has made central to his analysis of the trouble in the triangle and the solution to it, and which have not previously occurred to the traditional members of the three streams of faith. This is particularly so with his reading of the Qur'anic chapter of the Night Journey. I am sure some Muslim readers would be fascinated by it, but many others perhaps may equally be puzzled by it. It should nevertheless make them pause and think.

In his analysis of the trouble Ian Fry is highly critical of his own Christian tradition and the articulation by its theologians of Christian fundamentals in terms of a trinity. Along with Zionism, which Fry views as a direct outcome of trinitarian beliefs, the doctrine of the trinity is presented as a stumbling block to relations of mutual understanding and harmony which should otherwise be a natural thing among what are essentially three streams of a single faith. Whilst at previous occasions in history Christian theologians failed to respond to the challenge of the times – at the advent of Islam, for instance – Ian would like Christian thinkers at this crucial stage in human history, when the chances for a gigantic catastrophe are very high indeed, to officially repudiate the idea of the trinity and adopt a perception of Christ that is close to the Qur’anic concept of him. While great many Christians today, including theologians, share with Ian Fry his theological position, his call to Christians for a radical rethink of Christian theology would surely be met with a strong resistance, if not sheer hostility. I hope nevertheless that they read the book *Trouble in the Triangle* with an open mind.

Abdul Khaliq Kazi

TERMS USED IN THIS WORK

THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

The expression ‘the Christian community’ is used to refer to the total community of people who acknowledge an allegiance, whether by baptism, formal membership or otherwise, to one or other of the organized churches which regard themselves as Christian, whether adhering to Trinitarian belief or not, and whether being regular in attendance at services of worship or not.

THE CHURCH

Unless it is used with reference to a particular denomination, the expression ‘the church’ is normally used in this work to refer to the administrative, preaching, teaching and service functions of all churches which regard themselves as Christian, and the persons who are ordained to fulfill any function in mission or ministry, staff, trained lay workers and others who work and serve within those functions.

THE VATICAN

The context in which the term ‘the Vatican’ is used will normally indicate whether it refers to the territorial seat of the Roman Catholic Church (the State of Vatican City), within which the principal functions of the papacy are carried out, or to the ordained clergy who are appointed to positions of authority within the Curia (the network of agencies which include the Secretariat of State, certain congregations, tribunals, councils and offices), Pontifical Commissions or other bodies within the governing hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church, and the functions which they fulfill.

THE AMORPHOUS CHRISTIAN GEL

This expression is used to encompass the total Christian presence: all of the organizations and functions of ‘the church’; the functions or policies which governments, commercial or civil bodies pursue as a consequence of the influence of the church, whether formal (through concordats, constitutional or other legal arrangements including statutes and acts) or informal (through the teaching and preaching functions of the church, and the personal influence of either resident or expatriate Christians); the religious, social, economic, commercial and political conduct and influences which they exert and which are regarded within a community as being “Christian”; and the evolved ‘Christian ethic’ as it is understood from one country or one region to another, especially in as much as it may differ from the previously accepted norm, and has become woven into the fabric of the society.

In earlier times the term ‘Christendom’ was used to describe ‘the Christian world’. It could mean either all countries which were under the rule or domination of Christian powers, whether under some form of papal authority or not, or the sum of people who considered themselves to be Christians or were of Christian heritage wherever they may be. The term is now rarely used and is of little relevance.

DĀR AL-ISLĀM

The Islamic sphere of dominion. At times the expression has been applied only to regions governed under the Caliphate or subject to Islamic law. At other times, notably when colonial powers administered territories which had previously been within the Caliphate or directly under Islamic rule, or when countries which had a majority Muslim population did not adopt Islamic law, the expression was applied to the region of dominant Muslim religious influence. Therefore, noting that some countries which are members of the Islamic Conference have not adopted Islamic law as the basis of their constitutions or the exclusive basis of their civil and criminal law, the expression is used in that sense, the region of dominant Muslim influence, in this work except where a particular period in history is referred to.

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

The expression is used in the broad sense to refer to all persons in a community who acknowledge a Jewish heritage, whether or not they describe themselves as adherents of Judaism and active members of a congregation, and inclusive of all streams of Judaism: Orthodox, Conservative and Reformed. The term ‘Jewry’ is used to encompass the world wide Jewish community.

THE DIASPORA

Originally the term referred to Jews who were living in exile, but during the Christian Era its use has been adapted so that for a long period it referred to all who were living anywhere other than in the region of Palestine, and now, since the establishment of the State of Israel, it refers to all Jews living in a country other than Israel. Thus the term Diaspora is used in a different sense to ‘world Jewry’ which encompasses all Jews including those who live in Israel. At present about one third of world Jewry lives in Israel and two thirds in the Diaspora. The United States is home to almost half of world Jewry.

THE TERMS CHRISTIAN, JEW AND MUSLIM

Unless qualified, these are used to refer to persons who adhere to Christianity, Judaism and Islam respectively, regardless of the stream within their faith with which they are personally associated.

AN OVERVIEW

JERUSALEM: STRICTLY FOR THE FAITHFUL

The world has celebrated a new millennium. Or at least a large part of it has. But every day the media headlines carry both hope and foreboding. Side by side. Signs of technical and commercial progress come together with news of increasing conflict, disaster, and despair. For a brief period towards the end of the twentieth century the end of the Cold War held the prospect of a more peaceful New International Order. Fifty years of nuclear standoff which followed the Second World War had ended. But, to everyone's disappointment, the early good news stories of emancipation and democratic reform were soon overshadowed by tales of economic crisis, international instability and tragedy. At the same time, however, new scientific and technological breakthroughs in medicine, biotechnology, computing and communications, plus the potential for rapid increases in agricultural productivity raised hopes of a more prosperous future in which hunger, disease and ignorance would be things of the past.

However, even as humanity's capacity to command the resources of nature increases daily, the question of who controls these resources and the uses to which they are put casts a dark shadow over the world's affairs and the gap between the world's rich and poor continues to widen. A tiny proportion of the world's population spends billions of dollars each year on pet food, cosmetics and candies – growing obese and suffering psychological disorders under great stress quite disproportionately – while the vast majority of the world's population lives somewhere between moderate and abject poverty, unable to meet even their most basic human needs to live with dignity. In spite of the evident abundance of material wealth, the vision, the leadership and even the interest to mount the concerted global effort which is required to face the challenge of such immense human need is inadequate. In the West, at political leadership level, it is rarely seen.

Newspaper columnists debate the pros and cons of globalization, while academics ponder the rise of the multinational corporation as a potential rival to the nation state. Nightly television news images provide graphic testimony of the AIDS pandemic threatening millions in Africa, while governments debate with corporations on their rights to “own” and exploit segments of

the human genome for private profit, and to stimulate investment in research and development aimed at rich Western markets. Radical coalitions of anarchists, labour groups and Civil Society Organizations (otherwise NGOs) in the West disrupt meetings on international free trade in the name of social justice and the global environment, while those whose interests they claim are driving their campaigns – the developing countries – criticize their actions as self-serving and hypocritical. The development of the internet suggests an explosion in global democratic participation and that the end of the tyranny of exclusion may be in sight, while multinational media and telecommunications corporations merge and remerge in ever more ambitious bids to solidify, expand and impose their influence on global news, entertainment and the way people think and act. Trillions of “virtual” dollars fly instantly around the globe, untaxed and with their manipulators responsible to no one, to mould the fate of national governments.

Yet the needs of the poorest for adequate water, food, and shelter remain unmet, and interfaith and ethnic conflict tears nations and communities apart across Europe, Africa, Asia and the Pacific, and millions of innocent civilians are displaced and killed in calculated and sustained acts of genocide.

Meanwhile, the stability of the international financial system which underpins the Western World’s dominance is in serious doubt and the world’s leading powers weigh up – more often in private but sometimes in public – moral issues for and against the political and economic consequences of intervention. Key international relationships blow hot and cold with each new issue or change of leadership, while others slowly solidify, glacier-like, into supra-national entities or blocs of influence. And despite what seems to be a never ending process of summit meetings and shuttle diplomacy, the tantalizing prospect of lasting peace between Israel and the Arab world continues to recede into the distance like a mirage in the desert, threatening to explode again at any time into confrontation and all-out war. At the same time the once dormant OPEC, whose influence was written off by some vocal experts, undergoes a dramatic resurgence. In addition, the world is treated to the image of a frail Pope making a courageous but flawed attempt to apologize for the past wrong doing of the Catholic Church during a pilgrimage to the Holy Land while the Western mass media, as well as many serious intellectuals, continue to feed the spectre of Islam replacing the old Soviet Communist foe in a looming war of the cultures with the Christian West.

Where is order in this bewildering kaleidoscope? What are the threads that connect the seemingly random cascade of headlines and sound bites? Confronted with this daily barrage of news and information, where are we to look for guidance about the meaning and direction of human history? And how are we to respond?

For the peoples of the three major Monotheistic faiths – Judaism, Christianity and Islam – the answer to the first question should be simple. History is the progressive unfolding of God’s Plan for humanity. In times past – simpler times, perhaps – people of faith, and Western Christians in particular, would never have even asked the question. The answer would have been obvious. The meaning of history was to be found within the teachings of the Church.

Christ's Victory on the Cross was to be realized in history in the triumphal march of the true faith to the ends of the earth, until the Day of Judgment. The response was straightforward: hold fast to the faith, do not challenge the authority of the Church on matters of doctrine, and be a loyal and law abiding subject or citizen of the legally constituted – and religiously consecrated – government. Things became a little complicated when the Church itself fragmented, and there was some dispute over the issue of which fragment was in fact the “true faith.” And then there were questions about all those people of other faiths, especially Jews and Muslims, who had their own understanding of God and their own understanding of the march of history. Where did they fit in? What was their fate? For most Christians, secure in their own version of the Truth, these issues were usually of little consequence. Christianity was safe in its position of dominance in world affairs, and all was proceeding according to God's Plan.

They were certainly simpler times. For many Jews and Christians the traumatic and horrific events of the twentieth century have destroyed their basis for believing any longer in a Divine Power that oversees human affairs. Sustained attack from high profile secular thinkers has seriously undermined the notion of any kind of “meaning” in history at all. In the face of the enormous challenges posed by the modern world, traditional religion, at least in the secular West, holds less and less relevance to the average person. Despite the best efforts of many committed people, the traditional churches have little new to offer, and each week church attendance drops. People who seek religious guidance and a spiritual understanding of history are increasingly looking for alternatives. Some are rejecting monotheism entirely, embracing pre-Christian or Eastern traditions and looking to the dawn of a new consciousness in a coming new age of peace and enlightenment. Many others are flocking to fundamentalist charismatic meetings to escape the desiccated doctrines and stale rituals of traditional denominations in search of a simple personal road map for a rapidly changing and all too confusing world. There, perhaps, they can find solace in a world cast in black and white, where the acquisition of great wealth may not be regarded as an issue to challenge the conscience, or where prophetic speculation about the end times flourishes, with television ministers competing to be the first to factor the latest world events into their reading of biblical prophecy in their weekly countdown to Armageddon. But that is not the case for Muslims. They are absolutely convinced that God is real and is to be obeyed.

The traditional Christian churches are in crisis today. They struggle to provide a spiritual framework with which to help make sense of contemporary trends and historical events. At the same time, their efforts to help bring justice and peace to a troubled world are fatally hamstrung by divisions within and between them; their inability to recognize the legitimacy of other faiths; and by their refusal to take the steps necessary to erase the legacy of hundreds of years of oppression and persecution. In such circumstances, the position of leadership which the Church wishes to claim for itself, and which a suffering world yearns for, can never be realized. In spite of the enormous shocks that have shaken the doctrinal edifice of the Christian faith in the twentieth century, organized Christianity still refuses to alter its basic self-understanding and its

understanding of the unfolding of Divine Will in human affairs. In present circumstances, the potential consequences of that refusal are immense.

But history offers more than just a random story. And the threads of that story converge at one place. Jerusalem.

No other name inspires quite such a reaction as Jerusalem. Being a city of only about 500,000 people it should be dwarfed into insignificance by New York with its unequalled commercial activity, overpowering physical presence and vibrant night life. Tokyo's immense industrial capacity and fantastic transport systems should make it sound like a country town. It ought to lack the inspiration of parliamentary traditions developed at Westminster or the religious traditions developed at Rome. And yet it overshadows all of them.

No other city has been destroyed in military conquest as often or known the bloody slaughter of its people so often. By all normal reasoning it should have been deserted and forgotten long ago. It should simply be a note in a history book by now, but it is not, and no other city beckons a person with an interest in the welfare of mankind quite so irresistibly. It is the ultimate rallying point for the faithful of three religious traditions.

I spent a few days there in 1975 making on-the-spot enquiries following a consultation on the crisis in the Middle East at the World Council of Churches in Geneva. A casual observer would probably have assumed that the conference had been called to discuss 'the Jewish Question' and in a simplistic way there is a sense in which that is correct. The Jewish question came to a head with World War II. The world could no longer ignore it, and the organized persecution of one group of people to satisfy the ego or the craze of another was no longer acceptable. The partition of Palestine to establish a national home for the Jews would compensate for Hitler's atrocities and it would also make up for the long period of persecution which Europe's Jews had endured while most of the world passed by on the other side of the road. In short it would solve the Jewish question for all time.

At least they were the sentiments implicit in the votes of thirty-three governments which decided the issue at the United Nations in November 1947. Their decision took effect with the partition of Palestine in May 1948, just three years after the surrender of Nazi Germany. Those thirty three governments knew there were difficult problems still to be solved because Palestine was the scene of a continuing struggle which had become progressively more bitter ever since the British government declared in favor of a Jewish state thirty years earlier. They simply crossed their fingers in the hope that the problems of partition would be less serious than the problems with any alternative plan. But they misjudged the situation completely. They were unwittingly setting the scene for far-reaching changes in world relationships. As each of the wars involving Israel and its neighbours came and went in 1948, 1956 and 1967 they were widely represented as localized struggles between Jews and Arabs or between Arabs and Arabs for control of a small piece of territory.

We have been told repeatedly by politicians and commentators that these wars in the Middle East are no more important than the wars in Korea or Vietnam, except that they involve a threat

to the world's oil supplies which could mean more economic disruption. There have been many groups with particular vested interests eager to show that any involvement in the Middle East by the Western powers has been constructive and minor, and that in spite of their interest in canals and oil their concern was for the welfare and peace of the people in the region. Perhaps they were playing for time to find effective solutions or perhaps they were indulging in wishful thinking. However it could be that as they cynically played their cards for their sectional benefit they failed to grasp the wider significance of the conflict which centres on Jerusalem.

There, in Jerusalem, we have the key.

With a few hours to spare one evening during my visit I took a stroll to explore the Old City without the hustle of day time crowds. The peacefulness of the Kidron Valley enticed me out through the Lion's Gate and I wandered along Ha-'Ofel, pausing now and then to ponder the string of churches dominated by the Intercontinental Hotel high on the Mount of Olives, then Zechariah's tomb and Bethlehem tucked behind the hills in the distance.

Then I slipped in through the Dung Gate and climbed the steep stone steps to the battlements along the city wall which has been silent witness to more sorrow and upheaval than happiness. I tried to put myself in the shoes of a Roman legionary baffled by the Jews arguing the finer points of religious belief with a condemned man up there on Mount Moriah, their sacred temple Mount. I had been there during the morning but all I could recognize now, in the evening light, was the Islamic Museum and the El-Aqsa Mosque, the largest and most revered in the Holy Land, nestling on the edge of the great cliff of hewn rock, towering in front of me.

There had been three of us up there on Mount Moriah that morning, together with hundreds of tourists and a few pilgrims of course. There was the man whose religious faith forbade him to set foot on the Temple Mount. There would, he believed, come a time when he and his fellows would be allowed – indeed would be required – to go up there to worship, but the time was not yet right. Yet there he was in green battle dress with a rifle slung loosely over his shoulder, ready for instant use. He was one of three Jewish Israeli Soldiers standing guard at the Bab-el-Maghariba gate high above the Wailing Wall where scores of their fellow faithful were at prayer, mourning the destruction of the Temple and awaiting the Messianic Age. We chatted for quite a while.

There was the second man sitting hunched on the bottom step around a circular fountain. He was quite unconcerned by the curious onlookers in Western style garb around him. They need not have been within miles for all he cared. Quite elderly and dressed in traditional Arab garb, I took him to be a Palestinian but he could have been a pilgrim from any part of the Muslim world community. I did not chat with him. For one thing, I cannot speak Arabic and I doubted whether he would speak English. For another thing he was so deeply and so earnestly engrossed in his ritual ablutions, washing not only his face but also his head, hands, forearms and his feet before entering the mosque to pray that I would have found it quite irreverent to disturb him.

Then there was me, a Westerner with a camera slung over my shoulder. I was easy prey for every souvenir and colour-slide kiosk between Bab-el-Quattanin and Bab-el-Ghawanima just

like the tourists every day. And I was also on my way to pay my dollars one by one as I paraded through the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, aghast at the naked commercialism and showmanship deemed necessary in an effort to finance the maintenance of the building, billed as Christendom's most sacred shrine, with its displays of relics and exalted sites.

As a Christian I completed the triangle of faiths which is the basis of all the tensions and conflicts in Jerusalem. It is a huge triangle spreading well beyond Jerusalem to affect the whole world and it is not nearly complete with just the three pieces representing three Abrahamic faiths. It is more like a crude jigsaw puzzle or even a witch's brew with the other ingredients being politics, arrogance, greed and exploitation, bigotry, fear, suspicion and militarism. They do not mix very well either but, according to recent generations of Western Christians who have sheltered behind the adage, politics and religion do not mix anyway.

For most of the period since World War II the trouble in the triangle was overshadowed by ideological conflicts between the Capitalist "West" and the Communist "East" with everyone's eyes and ears tuned for any cracks and creaks in the iron curtain which separated the countries of the NATO and Warsaw Pacts. That confrontation was regarded universally as the key issue which the world's leaders had to resolve and it was therefore quite natural that most people believed that a new era had dawned when the Berlin Wall – the substance of the curtain – was completely dismantled by deliberate decision in 1989. The subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union four years later seemed to confirm their expectations. In any case religion had tended to become a dead issue in the West as the church's credibility and support slipped. Materialism and consumerism were the new gods to be worshipped, and few people were very concerned about a bit of religious tension in a region which seemed to be of no direct interest to them.

It therefore came as a bit of a shock to the system in 1973 when an international oil crisis resulted from the Yom Kippur War. People began to realize that religious conflict had been the basis for the Middle East conflict all along and that it threatened the very fabric of Western economic and political structure, life style and culture. But, as we know quite well, the Western World, led by the United States, survived that crisis. After a while its people settled back to watch the Muslim Iranians and Iraqis batter each other to pulp. The oil crisis of the mid 1970s was treated as a thing of the past and a bit of a side event which had even brought some benefits for the West, and the people of the West tended to forget about the Middle East as an area with potential for a major crisis – until Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1991.

Far from being a series of localized conflicts in which major powers became involved through their own political decisions which they ought to be able to explain, like Korea or Vietnam, the crisis in the Middle East involves the whole world community in two basic relationships which are changing whether they like it or not. One is the economic and political relationship between two of the world's "blocks" of people. In the Western World block are those countries which are mainly white, mainly of European Christian heritage, technically advanced and now economically dependent on maintaining a consumer society. In the Third World block are those countries which are mainly non-white, non-Christian, non-European,

struggling to develop technically and not dependent on maintaining high consumer spending for their "stability." Over a number of generations the Third World countries became little more than pawns in the power game of the Western group. They provided markets for the surpluses of the West and they saw their raw materials extracted for the industries of the West. The Third World has watched helplessly as foodstuffs needed desperately by its own people have been shipped off to the banquet tables of the West, often to finance facilities required for the resource exporters rather than for their own people, and they have even been required to provide armies to fight wars they had nothing to do with.

Now all that is changing. The change began at a great pace with the 1973 crisis in the Middle East and the oil embargo. Without as much as a face-to-face war the Third World group began to edge towards the stage when it would be able to call the tune. But then the Western Group reacted. It reinforced its resistance to change, dug its heels in and developed all sorts of economic and political manoeuvres to offset the threat of the loss of its privileged position. As a consequence the change stalled and the economic gap between the Third World and the Western World has become even wider since the oil crisis of 1973. However, already, the Third World can bring the West to its knees through concerted action if its leaders coordinate their planning and act together. They have simply been persuaded that such a course would be counter-productive and that it is therefore not in their interests. However, of greater importance is the opportunity which will become more apparent during the coming few years: the opportunity for it to achieve technical, economic, cultural and human development without the constraints of Western domination and within a framework of self determination. For its part the West faces the task of adjusting to the new situation and to the loss of privilege which this involves even if it appears, at this point, to have gained a position of greater invincibility through the rapid dismantling of Eastern Europe's Communist regimes. It must plan to live within a new pattern of relationships and without the capacity to exploit the rest of the world. It can resist the process of change for a time but it cannot reverse it. The die has been cast. The harder it resists, the more traumatic the change must be.

There is a third group of countries sitting in a peculiar grey area between the West and Third World, able to dramatically influence the course of the next few years by either delaying or speeding up the process of change and by encouraging either harmony or dissent as the West and the Third World work out their relationships. That group includes Russia, China, Japan and the greatly exploited Christianized countries of Latin America, and their influence is linked to military and political power, resource demand, resource production capacity and their relationship with people in the two main blocks.

The other relationship which is changing is that between the Christian Church and its partners in the triangle: Judaism and Islam. But the situation is not a simple one in which Christianity will simply be superseded as the dominant partner by one of the others. We are moving relentlessly and inevitably towards the development of a universal and unifying monotheism.

The crisis in the Middle East, and both of the changing relationships, result from the intimate relationship between the Western World and the Christian Church. That relationship is coupled with the church's self-understanding and the impact of doctrines and policies which it has developed over a very long period, and all of these are equally intimately linked with the crisis in the Middle East and none can be resolved independently of the others. They were brought into focus by the events of 1973.

An embargo against the supply of oil to the United States of America was imposed by a group of countries in the Middle East. It was a relatively simple event. It did not require great armies, a navy or nuclear weapons. It was an administrative action taken against a country with which the oil producers were not even at war. But it was taken in connection with a war between the state of Israel and its Arab neighbours and it was a direct consequence of that war. As we look further along the chain of events we find that the Israel/Arab wars have been a consequence of the enforced establishment of the modern state of Israel. This, in turn, was a consequence of the misconduct of both the Christian Church and the countries of the Western World and this misconduct occurred either because of, or under the umbrella of, the church's misunderstanding of itself and the erroneous doctrines with which it has built a wall around itself.

We are now locked into a three-way confrontation involving the power blocks linked with Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The USA, which is without a doubt the most powerful country linked with Christianity, has made itself dependent for its economic and political stability on the prevention of another war in the Middle East. Camp David summits are not held out of a sense of responsibility for the welfare of people in conflict. They are held in desperation as exercises in self-preservation. They are a re-run of Britain's Round Table Conferences in London in the 1930s which were just that: efforts made in desperation to avoid the haemorrhaging of the British Empire. Many other countries have also become dependent on stability in the Middle East, but to a lesser extent. There are many factors involved but the key factor is dependence on supplies of oil from the allies of the Palestinian people who have suffered greatly from the decision to arbitrarily partition their country in order to appease the Western Christian conscience. At first sight it appears to be a simple matter to break that dependence but three quite separate groups have been concerned to see that it is not broken. On the surface they appear to make a most unlikely alliance, and their coincidence of interests has been purely circumstantial.

Firstly – the predominantly Muslim Palestinians and their allies. For them the threat to the economic stability of the USA is the main means by which diplomatic and political pressure can be brought to bear on Israel to force it to negotiate an acceptable settlement of the Palestine and Jerusalem questions. If that threat to the stability of the United States were to be removed the confrontation between the Palestinians and Israel would immediately become more direct. On their own, that is a confrontation in which the Palestinians cannot achieve their aims. For that reason, United States policy has been consistently directed at the isolation of the Palestinians

and the acceptance of the notion that they are a small community whose demands do not need to be taken too seriously.

Secondly – the Jewish state of Israel. Blackmail again becomes a shield. If the economic and political stability of the USA were no longer tied to peace in the Middle East then Israel would lose its ability to coerce the USA into providing the military, political and economic support which is vital for its stability and for its own political stand which is otherwise unacceptable. Israel would find itself in direct confrontation with its neighbours without the assurance of re-supply if and when its military arsenal became depleted. It would have lost its shield. In a desperate situation desperate people resort to desperate measures.

Thirdly – the oil industry. Here we see blackmail of the very worst kind. Those who control the oil industry in the USA have followed the well-trodden path of exploitation and extortion. They use the threat to the stability of their own country as a lever to gain further commercial advantage and to strengthen their power, both within that industry and in related energy and petro-chemical industries in all free-enterprise countries.

The complications which flow from this unlikely three-way coincidence of interests are immense. They prevent any quick and simple resolution of the crisis. Stated briefly, Israel is the meat in the sandwich in a process of change which involves the whole world but which mainly affects the Christian West and the Third World. The short term effects are to the disadvantage of the Western World in terms of current social and economic conventions. The long term benefits will flow from stability in world affairs.

While the people of Israel were forced into their present predicament by the conduct of the Christian West they stay there in part because of their own decisions and their determination to pursue a position of privilege at the expense of other people. This is where we come back to the issue of religious faith. Israel's major decisions are now and have been from the time of its establishment based on the principles of political Zionism and not the teachings of Judaism.

Irrespective of what other negotiations may take place between the groups involved in the three-way confrontation, the crisis in the Middle East cannot be resolved until Zionism ceases to be an issue. This is because three key decisions – to demand Palestine as a National Home for Jews; to reject the concept of the establishment of a separate Palestinian state; and to prevent the administration of Jerusalem by an international commission (each being proposals made by responsible international bodies), were Zionist decisions. The government of Israel could have, and still could, act to implement the second and third clauses if it wished and if it could sustain the support of its electorate in doing so. The probability of war on an unprecedented scale continues to increase as patience runs out on all sides and people take matters into their own hands.

This presents a bigger challenge to the Christian Church than to the Jewish Community because modern Zionism evolved as one of the consequences of the church's spurious self assessment, of its erroneous doctrines, and of the abuses of non-Christians which those things have involved. From this it follows that there is absolutely no possibility of Zionist philosophy

being dismantled until the Christian Church has thoroughly re-assessed its understanding of itself and its doctrine.

In this sense the Doctrine of the Trinity is critical. There is a chicken-and-egg relationship between the church's view of itself and its doctrine which, put simply, says that God the Father, Christ the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one integrated God with shared authority and responsibility. The early church drew up that doctrine to formalize and to justify what its dominant personalities and parties had already been saying and doing. It then proceeded to use that doctrine as the basis and the justification for all its subsequent decisions and doctrines. It continues to build its claims and to define its role on that doctrine. The Second Vatican Council defined the church, in part, as being "present in figure at the beginning of time"; "the human body of Christ"; "the spotless spouse of the spotless lamb"; "filled with the riches of Christ's glory" and "the pillar and mainstay of truth."¹

In much less flamboyant terms and in a more submissive mood the International Congress on World Evangelization in 1974 described the church as "the community of God's people ... (which) ... must not be identified with any particular culture, social or political system, or human ideology" and God's "appointed means of spreading the Gospel." Its 2,473 participants from 135 Protestant denominations in 150 countries affirmed their belief in "the one eternal God, Creator and Lord of the World, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit" but they went on to recognize that the church becomes a stumbling block "when it betrays the Gospel or lacks a living faith in God, a genuine love for all people and scrupulous honesty in all things including promotion and finance."²

While this shows a significant difference in emphasis from one section of the church to another it is clear that if the doctrine of the Trinity is dismantled and the theology which underpins it is reformulated, the church in its present form must also be substantially dismantled and reformed. Stripped to its basics the church's claim to be the exclusive representative of God because it is the body of Christ on earth is totally insupportable if Christ is not God. And if the church is not the exclusive representative of God then Christ's role as Messiah takes on a completely different meaning. It looks remarkably like Muhammad's teaching about Jesus the Messiah.

The church's arrogant and lethal insistence that its self-assessment was correct prevented it from properly assessing the views of both the Prophet Muhammad and the thirteenth century Spanish-born Jewish scholar, Maimonides. It ought to be a sobering thought for the church and for Zionists that at a time when the Jewish people were all dispersed over Asia Minor, North Africa and Europe and when they were therefore in no position, as a community, to do anyone any harm, Muhammad foreshadowed the possibility that they would again transgress and again be scourged.³ It ought also be sobering for Christians to remember that Maimonides expected that the Messianic Age would be little different, materially, from the age in which he lived; that it would involve a society with moral and intellectual conduct patterned on a clearer human

understanding of God; that it would involve the return of the Jewish people to Israel; and that it would be associated with a war involving two forces of evil: Gog and Magog.⁴

An examination of the circumstances which pushed the world into the coincidence of events during the first half of the twentieth century in which the Prophet Muhammad and the scholar Maimonides were both proven correct compels us to consider the conclusion that the establishment of the State of Israel is the central fact of the Christian Era to date. If we reach that conclusion then it logically follows that there is a challenge to the church in the crisis in the Middle East and it is not simply a challenge to go through another Reformation like the last one. It is a challenge to go right back to basics, to forget all about the doctrine of the Trinity, and to start all over again in a fresh examination of the relationship between Jesus of Nazareth and God.

But this is not the first time that the church has faced precisely this challenge. In fact the challenge was posed to the Yahwists of Judea, ordinarily known as Jews, even before their religious community split into the two basic streams of Judaism and Christianity. It was posed during the life of Jesus of Nazareth, by the life of Jesus of Nazareth and even by Jesus in his own conversations. According to one of the few written third-hand records which are available to us (Matthew, chapter 16, verse 16), Jesus asked Peter, one of the small group of people who worked with him, "But you, who do you say I am?" And that issue was central to the debate at his trial during which, according to the writer of John's Gospel, Pilate put to Jesus the question "Are you the king of the Jews?"

The first challenge, in a doctrinal sense, came from its parent religion while the enthusiastic and dedicated Christian community, which later established the church, was still a sect within Judaism. The Christians were widely tolerated until they began to claim that Jesus was God. It was that claim which led to their persecution, their exclusion from the synagogues and the establishment of Christianity as a separate religion.

The next challenge came at the time that Christianity was linking into the political and imperial power structures of Rome as its state religion. It started as an internal challenge when Arius and his supporters spoke out against the concept that Christ was God in person. It was then that the church formalized the majority decision in terms of the Doctrine of the Trinity and declared anyone who thereafter disputed it to be a heretic. The challenge then shifted from internal to external as waves of people moving into Europe adopted Arianism and became a political factor in the disintegration of the Roman Empire.

As that one was finally being laid to rest by political means another challenge developed. It came from Muhammad and Islam, and while it has usually been represented as a military challenge from Arab Nationalism it began, in reality, as a dynamic reformation movement aimed squarely at the church's Trinitarian beliefs. The best known of the church's responses to that challenge was the crusades.

Then came Maimonides with his challenge which was largely responsible for another program which the church prefers to gloss over: the Inquisition. The church had no other

answer to the brilliance of Jewish thought in its European Golden Age under the protective umbrella of Islam.

By the time the Inquisition had run its course internal pressures were beginning to build up in the church like a pressure cooker with a stuck valve. They all related to the church's self-understanding and some of the things it did because of its view of itself. Finally the lid blew off and the world experienced the Reformation and its aftermath, with fragmentation of the church and denominational intrigue. While it broke the direct political power of the church and ended the abuse of its civil authority the Reformation proved to be more organizational than theological because of the circumstances of the time and the way it was triggered. In the early stages there were moves by a number of reformers to go right back to square one and drop the doctrine of the Trinity but they soon got the chop like all their predecessors and the reformed churches kept to the basis which their parent church had already determined.

With the repressive authority of the church broken, scientific and philosophical reason got its first real chance and threw out its challenge to the church's doctrines and its view of itself. The challenge was spearheaded by Nicolaus Copernicus and Galileo Galilei with their new view of the universe, and it was strengthened enormously during the years of the Enlightenment, but it reached its first peak with Karl Marx' new look at the community, human relations and authority, coupled with Charles Darwin's re-appraisal of the development of mankind. The church shook to its foundations, conceded a shift or two in its stance, but doggedly refused to go back and start all over again.

However, now we have reached the current complex of challenges and this time there is no way the church can sidestep them. All of the factors involved in the previous challenges have come together progressively to generate the crisis in the Middle East and the rules of the game have changed.

The church no longer has the political or civil capacity to reject or destroy the challenge. Each time it has beaten off a challenge in the past it has taken action which has triggered a chain reaction and the effects have all come together as ingredients in the trouble in the triangle. There is the confrontation between the powers of the Christian West and the Third World inspired by the determination, success and support of the Muslim countries, with Israel forced into the position of the meat-in-the sandwich. There are numerous socio-political and advanced scientific developments. Among the most important of these – bringing the philosophical and scientific challenge to a new peak – are the development of the 'Big Bang' theory to explain the origins of the universe, the study of human sexuality, the identification of DNA, and the completion of the basic human genome program. Then there are the practices and excesses of commerce, the recognition of human rights, and militarism. Over-arching them all to provide the leverage to squash the sandwich flat there is the burning issue of globalization. And there is political Zionism preventing any easy cop-out.

We have therefore reached the point at which political Zionism must be dismantled. However that is dependent upon the achievement of a common view of the Messiah, and that requires the

church to go back to square one, to rethink the basis for its existence and to re-define its Trinitarian doctrine.

Unfortunately that is not going to be a simple or speedy process. The church has put a great deal of time and effort into indoctrinating itself and its adherents with its self-image and its doctrines. It has also put an immense effort into suppressing the influence and aspirations of its partners and into strengthening its worldly position. It is not likely to throw everything away and to start again without a strong fight. It is no different to any other large institution. It is made up of human beings – no more and no less.

In any large body, such as a government instrumentality or multi-national corporation, corrupt and exploitative policies or erroneous principles which have become ingrained over long periods are seldom corrected by inside management action. Outside investigation and pressure are necessary. So it is with the church. Judaism and Islam, as the other two partners in the triangle, have already exerted outside pressure in their previous challenges. So have some of the thinkers of the Age of Enlightenment. Others were committed Christians and therefore their work is more correctly regarded as a dual internal-external challenge. Individually they achieved little and the internal audit of the Reformation was not strong enough either. It is going to take the whole lot working in concert as a consequence of the crisis in the Middle East.

The church has only two options. It can re-assess itself now and in doing so neutralize the crisis in the Middle East, or it can continue to resist, suffer the consequences and go through far greater trauma as it reforms in an environment loaded with bitter antagonism and denigration. After all it is not the church which is the be-all-and-end-all of God's plan for salvation. It is the Messiah. "The Jewish Question" which the major powers thought to solve by a United Nations resolution in 1947 has not been around for thirty years or sixty years or even 2,000 years. It has been around for 4,000 years. It is that long since Abraham decided to leave home and go for a stroll in the desert. The church itself is merely a segment of that question.

Because of the two long migrations which tradition tells us he made (from Ur on the lower Euphrates in modern Iraq, to Haran in modern Turkey, and later to Canaan), we tend to think of Abraham as a man of the country and overlook any contact he may have had with urban populations or great imperial powers. This is unfortunate because it tends to distract us from thinking of the situations which may have influenced the very earliest Jewish religious thought and the course of divine intervention, and encourages the belief that it developed spontaneously in isolation.

However recent discoveries in Syria suggest new importance for Abraham's migration. The circumstances in the country though which, or perhaps from which, he migrated must have had a strong impact on him. For almost forty years investigations have been in progress on extensive ruins about 180 miles north of Damascus. Archaeologists unearthed an urbanized empire which predates the previously known empires of Babylon and Mesopotamia. With a population of a quarter of a million at its peak between 2,600 BCE and 2,240 BCE, Ebla, the city seat of the empire, traded with towns from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf and

dominated the upper sections of the Euphrates and Tigris Rivers. Its massive army extracted ‘tributes’, levies and alliances from rulers in those valleys and enforced preferential trading arrangements. It appears that when a king of Mari withheld his tribute and seized an Eblaite commercial colony a general was dispatched from Ebla to teach him a lesson. The general’s report to his monarch of his march to Mari lists towns on the route with the boast that he had gathered “piles of corpses.”⁵

When Sargon was establishing his empire of Akkadia in Sumer lower down the twin rivers about 2,400 BCE he moved very early to tackle the rulers of Ebla. He seems to have reversed the tribute-paying roles short of total conquest although his grandson later reduced the city to ruins. However, even he must have been more lenient with the people of Ebla than its rulers had been as imperial overlords because Ebla was soon rebuilt – to be destroyed again about 2,000 BCE and then rebuilt a second time. Apparently Ebla and its Syrian empire were in a state of decline about 1,800 BCE and they disappeared completely a couple of hundred years later. Abraham, whose faith and experience of Yahweh were the starting points for each of Judaism, Christianity and Islam, has been thought by most historians and theologians to have travelled via Syria in a long journey from Mesopotamia to Palestine about 1,800 BCE. If he did, then he must surely have had contact with Ebla and its decaying empire and he could not fail to be influenced by what he saw of its social conditions and attitudes. However evidence unearthed at Ebla suggests either that he passed that way several hundred years earlier, possibly while the empire was at its most oppressive height, or that he may have been born in Syria at that time and not Mesopotamia at all.

In fact it does not really matter from where and in what exact period Abraham came to settle in Palestine. The human values of people in developing urban civilizations which he experienced were crying out for Yahweh to reveal “That which I shall be I shall be” and some basic rules for the conduct of mankind’s personal and community relations. Abraham’s descendants grew in their understanding of Yahweh through the hard experience of their own repeated transgression, rejection and repentance, and they developed their particular national self-understanding at the same time that the human population increased and the development of urban civilizations continued in other regions around the world. As these became more and more complex and highly developed in a technical sense the potential for oppressive anti-social and degrading human relationships became greater and people oppressed each other in larger measure using more sophisticated and more ghastly methods.

Assurnasirpal II who reigned in the second Assyrian Empire about 900 BCE described one of his victories with the words “I cut off their heads; I burned them with fire; a pile of living men and of heads over against the city gate I set up; men I impaled on stakes; the city I destroyed ... I turned it into mounds and ruin heaps; the young men and maidens ... I burned.” Successive empires each seemed to have added their particular touch of sadism in disposing of their enemies, such as Rome with its lions and gladiators, although it took the church with its Inquisition to refine the techniques of torture for those who might be permitted to live.

Then we come to the present day. At one stroke advanced technology provides the alternatives of either a worldwide community of love and harmony or a world of torment, exploitation, hunger and excess, all supplied as a package deal complete with gas chambers, napalm, nuclear weapons and a civilization self-destruct-button built in.

We face questions of civilization, urbanization – and greed. A nomadic people can be, and often are, highly civilized. An urbanized people can be, and often are, selfish, exploitative and irresponsible. In short they are often less civilized. Since humans began to evolve from elementary beginnings, possibly in Ethiopia three or four million years ago, they have never faced as great a crisis as humanity faces today with all of the world's resources and mind-boggling technology at its command. The need for mankind to know Yahweh has never been greater. That is what the trouble in the triangle is all about. The question of who should occupy a small piece of land at the eastern end of the Mediterranean and who should have the right to worship at a particular mountain top are not the real issues. They are simply the focal points drawing mankind inevitably towards a proper understanding of God and of humanity. Humanity has got a lot of living to do.

There is quite clearly a hard road ahead because at this stage not everyone even agrees that there is a triangle. Jews do and Muslims do, but many Christians find the thought abhorrent. That takes us back to the church's self-understanding. It continues to deny the idea of being one part of a triangle or of sharing its responsibility with other bodies. Before Muhammad it did not even like the idea of being one member of a partnership in which Judaism was the other partner. Only reluctantly does it admit some sort of continuing kinship with Judaism which it cannot deny as its divinely revealed predecessor. The pope's use of the words "our senior brothers" in public in reference to Jews when he called – again – for a special internationally-guaranteed status for Jerusalem was a major development.⁶ The church has long wished Judaism would quietly fade into history. No such luck. It has repeatedly refused to lie down and die even though the church has given it every encouragement.

But Islam – well that is a different matter. The church has never been able to come to grips with the relationship between them. The Second Vatican Council declared that "The church has also a high regard for Muslims" and went on to recognize that "they esteem an upright life and worship God."⁷ Consultations aimed at developing good relations between Christians and Muslims have since been stepped up both by Rome and the World Council of Churches, working in parallel and in consultation to some extent but seldom jointly. Even that has been a very important development. If the church as a total community cannot come to grips with the relationship between Rome and other units of the church, it can hardly be expected to readily grasp the relationship between itself and the other faiths in the triangle. The fact is that when it properly understands its own role it will then be able to recognize that relationship and move do to something about it. Then the basis for the triangle will no longer exist and it will begin to merge into one cohesive whole instead of fragments.

That has raised another vital question. In this situation, who makes up the church? The short answer is an uncomfortable alliance of the Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Reformed Churches which are each heavily implicated in the trouble in the triangle.

The Roman Catholic Church with an estimated 550 million adherents is the largest segment. It continues to regard itself as “the sole Church of Christ ... entrusted (by the Saviour) to Peter’s pastoral care ... and governed by the Successor of Peter” with a door held open in the hope that separated churches with their “many elements of sanctification and of truth” might return to Catholic unity.⁸ It also wields the most direct political power through a system of concordats or legal agreements between the Vatican and sovereign governments around the world, and an autocratic clerical establishment with relatively little lay involvement in its government. But even more important in consideration of the trouble in the triangle are its direct links with the historical abuse of the church’s role and the denial of human rights which set the scene for the establishment of both Islam and modern Zionism.

The Reformed Churches, with an estimated 330 million adherents, have traditionally had the strongest base of lay involvement and through this the strongest economic “muscle.” But it is through that lay involvement that they are also most closely linked to contemporary Western political influence and the twentieth century exploitation of the Third World. Some of them, notably the Church of England, still enjoy the status of the ‘established church’ in the countries in which they were founded, but they have rarely entered into concordats.

With an estimated 90 million adherents (prior to the announcement of Perestroika and the return to normal church life in the Soviet Union) the Orthodox Churches make up the smallest main stream division, but they are the most nationalistic in their attitudes. They are also the most priestly in their liturgy and they hold the most extreme views of the divinity of Christ to which the other partners in the triangle take strong exception. Being based in the Eastern Mediterranean and Russia they are geographically and politically in the front line of both day-to-day-contact and dialogue with major communities of both Judaism and Islam. Their joint involvement with Muslim fellow Arabs in organizations such as the Arab League and the Palestine Liberation Organization is therefore of very great significance.

However the answer is not as simple as that. During the nineteenth century a number of significant new religious groups formed under the general banner of Christianity and during the twentieth century there has been an absolute proliferation of such groups. This development is actually another strong challenge to the main stream churches because each new group has formed as a result of disagreement over one or more doctrinal, theological or social issues, and a large number of these ‘fringe’ churches do not fit comfortably in any of the main stream divisions. Neither are they members of the World Council of Churches. But they are important because they will have a significant role in the debate which will progressively resolve the trouble in the triangle. Estimates vary widely for the number of people who are affiliated with, or who acknowledge some attachment to, each of the major world religions, but a reasonable

estimate appears to be that close to two billion people, or one third of the world population, are in some way associated with Christianity

Fortunately there are now the World Council of Churches, effectively established in the same year as the State of Israel, the Christian Peace Conference, the World Conference on Religion and Peace, the Council for a Parliament of the World's Religions, and a number of other ecumenical, confessional and inter-faith bodies which are already involved in interfaith dialogue and which can take significant initiatives.

Trouble in the Triangle traces the evolving relationship between the three unwilling partners and the nature of that relationship as streams of one faith. It shows that it was the actions and reactions which have flowed from the Christian Church's doctrines and its view of itself which resulted in – or required – the inspired ministry of the Prophet Muhammad and the development of Islam as a separate stream. It cannot start with the UN vote in 1947 or Britain's Balfour Declaration in 1917. It starts at the point where the West's ancestors began to fiddle in the affairs of Abraham's successors and moves forward more or less chronologically. It traces the growth of the early church, the development of its erroneous doctrines and dogma, its power struggles and its heresy hunting.

It then takes a close look at the life and times of the Prophet Muhammad, the nature of his call, and the development of Islam. It looks, in particular, at the Qur'anic prophecy of the Night Journey and the way in which this confirms the permanence and irrevocable nature of the Covenant of Sinai, provides a clear indication of the nature of divine predestination and the role of the Jewish community as an instrument of God's Will, and provides an insight to enable us to understand and interpret the traumatic events of the twentieth century. Put simply, the Night Journey includes a prophecy that if the Jewish community were to transgress against its neighbours, it would suffer the consequences. It would be scourged, but it would not be rejected and it would still have a role to fulfill. At that time, being scattered around the Mediterranean, it was in no position to transgress against any other community. Unfortunately the church's arrogant refusal to recognize the prophetic mission and ministry of Muhammad made it quite incapable of understanding either the direct message of the Qur'an or its wider implications.

Trouble in the Triangle then traces the life and times of Maimonides and the church's pathetic, and tragic, attempts to silence him. In particular it looks closely at the way in which Maimonides' prophetic understanding of the circumstances in which a Jewish community would return to Israel relates to the Qur'anic Night Journey. In that context it considers the Covenant of Sinai and the Mosaic Law which provide the foundation for belief in God by the people of all three faiths. That Covenant is fundamental to Jewish self-understanding but the church, overall, rejects the notion that it has currency and maintains that a New Covenant in Christ superseded the Covenant of Sinai. That theological position is the origin of anti-Semitism within the Christian churches and, in a manner parallel to the case of the Prophet Muhammad, it was the set of blinkers which prevented the church from recognizing the work of Maimonides.

Then, progressively, *Trouble in the Triangle* traces the development of the threads which bind together the amorphous Christian gel of religion, racism, politics and economics which is known as “the Christian Western World.” It traces “the Christian reconstruction” of the Third World during the European Colonial Era and it looks at the response of the church to each of the challenges to its doctrines and its self-understanding along the way. The ground work which has brought together the complex factors in the confrontation in the Middle East can be clearly traced from the time of the Napoleonic Wars, but there are so many of them that it takes a very broad canvas to get them all in the picture.

It could be argued that the present challenge in the Middle East dates from Napoleon’s Great Sanhedrin of 1806; or from the work of the writers who began to develop modern Zionist philosophy in the 1830s; from the Tsarist excesses of the 1880s; from Bismarck’s anti-Semitic pact with the Vatican; from the Dreyfus Affair and the formation of the World Zionist Organization in the 1890s; or from the Balfour Declaration which was issued by Britain in a desperate bid to influence the course of the Great War. However there is no single incident which can be taken as a starting point for the crisis in the Middle East. Neither is there a single action or a single policy decision which can be taken to resolve it. But from that point – the Balfour Declaration – from discussion of Hitler and his inspired parody of the church, *Mein Kampf*, the Allies’ conduct through the Second World War and the establishment of the State of Israel, the way in which the Qur’anic Night Journey and Maimonides’ expectation of how the return of the Jewish community to Israel would occur converge becomes increasingly apparent. So does their significance. So does the tragedy of the church’s failure to recognize both Muhammad and Maimonides. The Covenant of Sinai has not been annulled. The Jewish community continues as the principal instrument through which humanity will come to understand its relationship with God, and nothing the church can do or attempts to do can ever revoke it. The community’s role is certainly unfolding in a manner quite different to that which its people may have anticipated or hoped it would, but it is vital.

The trouble in the triangle is as much an aspect of mankind’s evolution as is its biological evolution. But instead of the development of physical characteristics and capacity it has to do with the development of community, of relationships between people, and of humanity’s understanding of God. This also becomes quite apparent when we consider the very short time frame of the evolution of humanity – and the development of systematic religion – in relation to the long time frame of the origins of the universe as it is currently understood. The history of humanity from the spark of its evolution is not yet a pinprick in elapsed universal time as we now understand it, and the role of the three partners in one stream of Yahwism is to enable humanity to develop “community” and to then live in harmony for a very long time. While that concept was, broadly speaking, understood and accepted by the Jewish community, it was not understood at all by the Christian church or the people of the amorphous Christian gel at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Britain, as the controller of what was then the greatest empire the world had known, could only see the patchwork of challenges in terms of economics, politics and power. Like other

great empires before it, it showed a complete disregard for the immorality of manipulating other people, and every step it took to protect its position added new complications to a highly complex situation. In that sense it was little different to other Christian Western governments but it was in one of the principal roles as the trouble in the triangle unfolded. Every step it took influenced a lot of other people. The Jewish community, responding to the immense pressures on it, readily adapted to the lift in its political influence which came with Britain's Balfour Declaration. Its reluctance to embrace Zionism, which had been so evident before the Great War in spite of the oppression it had experienced, rapidly waned. It lost sight of its irrevocable obligations under the Covenant of Sinai (which the church said was no longer valid anyway), became arrogant and militant in its demands for Palestine as a National Home. It adapted its theology to legitimize Zionism, and it even forfeited the opportunity to develop an autonomous region in Russia in order to boost its claims to Palestine.

But the vital fact is that the Jewish community was only responding to circumstances and the pressure upon it when it allowed itself to become a transgressor in Palestine in contravention of the Covenant of Sinai and in the terms of the Qur'anic Night Journey. Unfortunately neither Christians nor Jews recognized the fact. Events moved with great speed. Neither Britain nor Germany under Hitler would modify its basic foreign policy except that Britain, out of self-interest, modified its approach to Palestine. Before long Gog and Magog went to war. Hitler very obligingly acted out his parody of the church, and took the role of the scourge from the Night Journey to administer the consequences of transgression, but still neither Jew nor Christian bothered to read the lines. However once Hitler was out of the way the Christians of Europe began to think about the challenge of *Mein Kampf*. They certainly did not think about the challenge of the Night Journey because they did not acknowledge the Qur'an. Their consciences began to prick. The Jewish community was quick to take advantage of their temporary pain, and the Zionist aim of an independent Jewish State of Israel in Palestine became a reality. In historical terms Hitler had simply been the means by which the challenge to the church was pressed home after Britain had tried to back away from the issue.

Both Muhammad and Maimonides were being proved right – so far. The missing link is that we have not yet sighted Maimonides' interpretation of the Messianic Age although the authority roles of the three faiths have changed dramatically. It is the Palestinian people who have experienced a long period of oppression as the State of Israel became a parody on Herzl's concept of Zionism. And it is the Jewish community and the people of Islam who now have the opportunity, together, to show that through submission to the will of God the Messianic Age can follow the establishment of the State of Israel.

Taking advantage of the self-imposed economic dependence of the Western World on resources in the hands of the Muslim community, the Islamic Conference has made a valiant effort to remodel world political, economic and personal morality along the lines it believes right and, especially, for the benefit of the Third World. But the conflicts of interest which its members experience in their complex dealings with the Western World make the task overwhelming. Western leaders and propagandists have been quick to take advantage of the

religious divisions which have affected the Muslim world community as well as the Christian world community. The result has been a backlash of frightening proportions against Christian communities in many countries.

Many Muslim leaders, including both politicians and academics, have a more acute perception of the historical perspectives of the triangle than their Jewish and Christian counterparts. They are acutely conscious of their responsibility as Muslims in the strictest Yahwist tradition to lead mankind towards that relationship with his fellows which is the will of God. But they cannot do it in isolation. There is no isolation. They are only one of the partners in the triangle and they have no more of a monopoly on the right answers than have either their Jewish or Christian partners. And the affairs of all three are more intimately entwined than ever before. In fact they have reached a stage of such economic and political interdependence that it is no longer possible to simply dismantle the triangle. Neither can the triangle be isolated from the affairs of the rest of the world. The whole world watches, apprehensively, for every move in the triangle. And as yet-another Camp David Summit fails to find a solution, and as the Muslim backlash against a history of oppression at the hands of the amorphous Christian gel becomes more violent there is a growing understanding of the consequences for the whole world of a complete breakdown in relations in the Middle East. But there should also be a growing awareness of the brighter future for mankind which is possible if the partners in the triangle all pull together.

It has been the manipulation of Muslim countries in the Middle East by countries of the Christian West, in order to exploit their oil supplies, which has brought the world to its present state of tension and dependence on the religious and political stability of the region for their own economic and political stability. And it has been the negative effect of the church's arrogant refusal to respond to a succession of challenges to its doctrines, its self-understanding and its involvement in the denigration and oppression of its partners in the triangle, which has now focused world attention on Jerusalem and on both the concept and the person of the Messiah. These things, together, guarantee that the world cannot enjoy Maimonides' understanding of the Messianic Age until the church responds positively to the challenge to reassess its doctrines and its self-understanding. Not until then can the rest of the world's people be confident that the Christian West will live in submission to God's will as it is fulfilled in the life of the Messiah and illustrated in the Gospel. Not until then can a minority Jewish community be confident that it will be free of persecution in a Christian community.

It is a damning indictment of the church that Jerusalem is the centre of world attention because of the negative and destructive things which it has done rather than because of the peace, love and harmony expected of the Messianic Age. When we grasp the flow of events which has brought us to the present situation it becomes a lot easier to put the world's current economic and military problems in perspective and to think our way through the times ahead.

Cause and effect relationships continue to run right through history but because of the pressures which we work under we tend to make our decisions based only on the most pressing

current factors. As our situation becomes more and more pressing our tendency to make ad hoc or circumstantial decisions becomes more and more marked. We seldom think through the factors which have brought us to a point of decision with enough care, and we seldom wonder whether those factors may still be latent, lurking just beneath the surface, or what undesirable long term effects our decisions may bring. We simply hope that if there are any we will be able to tackle them when they arise – or that our successors can.

These attitudes are seldom more apparent than when we make economic or political decisions from a position of strength which is under challenge. We tend to assume that the current power-block relationships will continue and that if our self-interest, greed and arrogance show through we will be able to prevent a backlash because of our position. When our market researchers or business and political analysts come up with an assessment which displeases us we simply look for some temporary expedient to get around it and press on regardless with only our own interests in mind.

That is what the trouble in the triangle in the Middle East is really all about – the issue of human relationships and one person's responsibility to another, and one community's responsibility to another. It is time to stop the action, do a bit of talking for a while and then redirect the action. We are at a turning point in history and it is vital that we make the right decisions. Because of the way in which the church and the people of the Christian West have led the world into the present crisis it is on them that basic responsibility rests to find a solution. But we have our triangle and we have our sandwich with Israel as the meat in the middle – with the Covenant of Sinai irrevocably in place and complete in all respects – and the triangle has been so dramatically redesigned that all of the initiative is no longer linked to the responsibility. The United States, like Britain when it sought to manipulate the Jewish community for its own ends by means of the Balfour Declaration, is caught between a rock and a hard place. It cannot move in a military or political sense to prevent Muslim attacks on Christians or Jews even though it is supposed to be leading the Judeo-Christian world within the established framework of the Christian Era – the time of the Messiah. If it attempts to, no star wars gigs will help it. It will simply encourage greater cohesion within dar-al-islam and precipitate the response already indicated. On the other hand it cannot try to placate the Muslim community by moving against Israel to force it to accept the establishment of a State of Palestine and share the city of Jerusalem.

The pattern of economic and political power now enjoyed by the supporters of Israel is such that, in the event of the Western powers moving to dump Israel in order to get themselves off the political or economic hook, the friends of Israel can bring any Western power to its knees. They can start either with the United States or any other country and neither pre-emptive military action nor community oppression of the Mein Kampf style can get the Christian West off the hook. Any such action would simply bring the ultimate in self-degradation because of the military and economic consequences. Recognition of that fact provides both a sobering influence which ought to curb the passions of anti-Semites, and a safety valve in great-power decision making.

However, although the power at Israel's disposal can be used destructively in a defensive exercise it can also be used constructively. By a momentous and yet simple decision to swap its American defensive umbrella for a meaningful working understanding with the Muslim World, Israel, and the world Jewish community, would make that umbrella totally unnecessary. It would also usher in the Messianic Age as both Maimonides and the Messiah himself would probably define it. That understanding requires three basic components: a home for the Palestinian people; a new understanding of, and a new approach to, the status of Jerusalem; and the redirection of the Jewish community's economic muscle. That redirection of economic muscle would involve two things. First: partial withdrawal of the economic and political support which is actually helping to maintain the present American umbrella. Second: collaboration with Third World authorities, including Muslim leadership groups, to use that economic muscle where it will most effectively redress the wrongs perpetrated as part of the Christian reconstruction of the Third World during the European colonial era and since.

In spite of the fact that the initiative in generating world change now rests with Israel and its supporters it is not the Jewish question to which we have to address our attention. It is the Christian question. That question can only finally be resolved by all three partners in the triangle talking together and acting together at a variety of levels and in a variety of ways with, and under critical and potentially humiliating scrutiny from, their brothers and sisters in an anxious world. The establishment of the State of Israel has crystallized, reinforced and focused world attention onto the challenges to each of the partners in the triangle and not simply onto the challenge to the church.

In other words, the Messianic Age will be shaped through interaction involving the people of the total Yahwist community into which the Messiah was born. The people of the pre-Messianic faiths are waiting and watching – the whole world is waiting and watching – for the trouble in the triangle to be resolved. It is not the sole responsibility of the Jewish community – the community which is still subject to the irrevocable Covenant of Sinai. That community could start the process. So could the United States by voluntarily relinquishing its greedy, arrogant grip on the economic steering wheel. But the greater responsibility rests with the church.

NOTES

- 1 Flannery, Austin P. (Ed., trans. Fr. Colman O'Neill) .Documents of Vatican II, Dogmatic Constitution on the Church [Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1978] pp. 350–358.
- 2 The Lausanne Covenant of the International Congress on World Evangelization, The new face of Evangelicalism [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1976] pp. 17 & 103.

- 3 The Qur'an, sura 17: 3-8, (trans. Dawood) [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974] The words used by Dawood are different to those used by some other translators. Mahmud Y. Zayid in the translation approved by the Supreme Sunni and Shii Councils of the Republic of Lebanon [Beirut: Dar Al- Choura, 1980] p. 201, translates the key verse as: "It may be that Allah will have mercy on you. But if you return (to mischief), We will return (with punishment). We have made Hell a prison-house for the unbelievers." However, as the word "transgressors" is used in context in a preceding verse, and the word "scourge" is used in the verse which follows, I have used the Dawood translation on this occasion because it conveys the thrust of the passage more succinctly. In Zayid verse 17:4 reads: "And We declared to the Children of Israel in the Book: 'Twice you shall commit evil in the land. You shall become great transgressors.'" The later verse reads: "This Qur'an will guide to that which is most upright. It promises the believers who do good works a rich reward, and threatens those who deny the life to come with a grievous scourge. Yet man prays for evil as fervently as he prays for good. Truly, man is ever hasty."
- 4 Meiseles, Meir *Judaism, Thought and legend* [Jerusalem: Feldheim, 1964].
- 5 Matthiae, Paolo *Ebla: An Empire Rediscovered* (trans. Christopher Holme) [New York: Doubleday, 1981] pp. 171–172. Matthiae, head of archaeological exploration of Tell Mardikh, site of the capital of Ebla, which involved impressive international collaboration, explains at some length the significance of the discovery of the Mardkh IIBI State Archives. The archives housed fired clay tablets recording the administration of the city as well as exploits leading figures of the empire. Their discovery not only added greatly to the available knowledge of the nature of life in the Middle East during the period, but show that the archivists had a remarkable perception of the flow of history. Perhaps they did not fully appreciate the importance of the documentation they were leaving to enable people to gain a better understanding of the evolution of human relations about four thousand years later, but we should be gratified that they made the effort. *Ebla: An Empire Rediscovered* is highly recommended reading.
- 6 Catholic World News Briefs, e-mail subscription service, July 25, 2000.
- 7 Flannery, Austin P. (Ed., trans. Fr. Killian) *Documents of Vatican II, Declaration on the relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions* [Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1978] p. 738.
- 8 *ibid.*, pp. 350–358.

Volume I

Part 1

STARTING FROM SCRATCH

CHAPTER 1

GROWING PAINS: FROM A MINI-SECT TO A MAJOR COMPETITOR

Poor Pompey. He was a Consul of the Roman Republic, commander of its Eastern Region, possibly its most successful general, and he was soon to become a member of the ruling Roman triumvirate. But he was not to know that he had bitten off more than Rome could chew when he stormed the walls of Jerusalem in the year 63 BCE and pushed the boundaries of the Roman Empire towards their limits. He was not to know that he had annexed anything more than an ordinary city. To him it was simply another piece of territory which would help to secure the eastern flank of the empire against the ambitions of Pontus and any other challengers from the east, as well as raising a bit more tax wealth to bolster Rome's sick economy. After all, Rome had to fund the gladiator games to keep the unemployed mobs off the streets as well as to maintain its armies and build roads.

In the previous three years Pompey had annexed all the territory from the Taurus Mountains of Turkey to the Caspian Sea in the east and all of Syria, and he had set up three Roman provinces as he did so.¹ But this out-of-the-way job proved a bit tougher than he had bargained for and it took a three-month siege before he subdued Jerusalem. When his troops finally succeeded in breaching the walls, the storming of the city triggered reprisals by certain factions among the Jewish defenders against others and great confusion reigned. The net result was the massacre of 12,000 Jews and the partial firing of the city.²

Such a defeat should have been enough to teach the Jews to recognize their superiors and to open their gates to a Roman officer in future. But Pompey was not to know that he had thrust his sword into the key piece of a religious jigsaw puzzle and that in doing so he had released pent-up energy and emotions so that the jigsaw puzzle would grow into a massive triangle and engulf the morally degenerate empire of his successors.

The people of the proud little Jewish Kingdom which he had annexed held an almost fanatical belief, developed over 700 years, that a Messiah would be born among them. There were many different views about what the Messiah would be like but by his determined annexation, linked with such a high level of trauma, Pompey had provided a focal point and a stimulus for expectations that the Messiah would be a brilliant military leader who would throw off the yoke of oppression and raise the nation to new heights of power. By his victory Pompey

had also ensured that the Messiah would be born into the Roman Empire rather than into a small obscure independent kingdom and this, in turn, had guaranteed rapid passage for the Messianic message throughout the empire and beyond at a time in history when that message was needed more urgently than ever before.

In fact there was no religious triangle at that stage. There was only the first side of it: only the exclusive tribal kingdom with its strong priestly institutions which had grown around the man called Abraham who had migrated into the area with his family possibly 2,000 years or so earlier.³ When the triangle formed from a partnership of the Jewish religion, its “daughter” Christianity, and a “grand-daughter”, Islam, it would become very unbalanced indeed. The daughter would grasp, and hang onto a position of immense power and influence and try to dominate the triangle altogether. Big trouble was already brewing for Rome before Pompey set out for home but it would get a lot bigger as the empire became embroiled in the establishment of the triangle. Rome was to find itself in the hot seat when it became both the sponsor and the headquarters of the dominant partner in the triangle, the Christian Church.

The church admits to a few blemishes today but it likes us to believe that in its infancy it was a vigorous, unified group confident in its beliefs and scrupulous in its conduct. It likes us to believe that its decision makers were somehow different to ours and that the inspiration of their divine call to spread the Gospel somehow or other touched them with judgement of a superhuman kind so that their reasoning and their decisions were above questioning and beyond reproach.

We are told that it would have been impossible for the Apostles to have been mistaken in their actions because, according to the principles of faith of the church they were still bearers of divine revelation which they had received directly from Christ. We are told that they had acted under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit when they passed on their revealed teaching and the Holy Scriptures, and that they were equally inspired when they gave practical instructions in cultic, disciplinary, and institutional matters.

Since Christ did not leave any written word personally we are expected to take the oral and written instructions of these twelve Apostles, transmitted either personally or through their disciples, as containing the essence of Christianity and all that is important about Salvation. However there is a question mark over just what that means. The various streams of the church are at odds over whether anything new has been or can be added to recognized scripture, and the apparent, or alleged, corruption of scripture in the pre-Reformation church was at the heart of the Reformation. The Vatican insists that “Sacred Tradition and sacred Scripture make up a single sacred deposit of the Word of God, which is entrusted to the Church”⁴ and that there was no corruption of meaning. However the reformers, in a bid to distance themselves from corruption and errors in the pre-Reformation church, insisted that nothing new had been added to the Apostolic message and nothing would be added in the future. This was a matter of bitter and continuing controversy, aggravated by the development of the theory of evolution, so that not only the authority and legitimacy of scripture, but the question of whether it could contain

any errors (Biblical inerrancy) also became an issue. On the reform side of the divide there was an insistence that everything that mattered was in the Apostolic writings. On the Roman Catholic side there was equal insistence that the writings of the Apostles and the Church Fathers were “flowing out from the same divine well-spring, [and] come together in some fashion to form one thing.” Further, that “Tradition transmits in its entirety the Word of God which has been entrusted to the Apostles by Christ the Lord and the Holy Spirit,” and is faithfully preserved, expounded and spread abroad, to be accepted and honoured with equal feelings of devotion and reverence as the Holy Scriptures.⁵ [Emphasis added.] Both of these positions mean, by implication, that nothing has been altered or omitted in the telling of the Bible message either. On that basis the churches claim that any doctrine, policy or action which they take is justified and authenticated if it can be linked in some devious or indirect way by their reasoning to some statement made by one of the Apostles or by a leader of the early church – provided of course that he is currently in favour.^{6 7}

If we are to believe that such singular correctness marked the people of the early church then we must accept that they were different to us. Anyone who has followed councils or assemblies of the church in recent years knows quite well that its decisions and statements are reached by the very normal and very human process of debate, politicking and subterfuge. It does not make any difference how carefully the reports on which decisions have to be made have been prepared.

If the leaders of the church in early periods were divinely inspired to the extent that their actions and decisions were pre-destined to correctness then we may well wonder at what point a change took place. When did the church lose its magic touch so that its decisions and statements became those of mere mortals? Or were the people of the church in its first century or so just as human as those since? If those who determined the course of Christian theology were only human after all then perhaps we should look more closely at the relationship between the Jewish Christian faction and those Jews who did not recognize the Christian view of Jesus of Nazareth in the early years of the Christian era.

WHO DO YOU SAY I AM?

The conviction that Jesus was the Messiah of prophecy in Hebrew Scripture (the ‘Old Testament’) and the determination to stand up for that conviction are quite clear in the history of the early church. So also is the conviction among the principal Jewish religious authorities that the Christians were wrong. After all there were some twenty-four or so Jewish sects⁸ each with beliefs and emphases peculiar to their sect. In this respect they were comparable to the denominational divisions among Christians today. The Christians simply increased the number of sects by one. The prophets, preachers and holy men of many of the sects had been, and probably still were, proclaiming the coming of the Messiah. The common anticipation was that he would deliver the Jews from the humiliation of Roman rule.

But the critical issue is not whether Jesus was the Messiah of Hebrew Scripture or not. The course of history will establish that. The critical issue is the relationship between Jesus and God. According to the records which we have, it was quite some time after Pentecost before the Apostles began to claim that Jesus was in any sense equal to God. In fact it was not until after the conversion of the Apostle Paul. Some months before that Stephen, one of a group of seven men appointed as deacons to provide for the care and nurture of the young Christian community, was taken before the Sanhedrin to account for his preaching. He infuriated the members of the Sanhedrin by his scathing attack on them. He reminded them of how their ancestors had persecuted prophets and killed those who foretold the coming of the Just One and then he said, "And now you have become his betrayers, his murderers." He went on to describe a vision of Jesus "the Son of Man" standing at God's right hand. The scene is described in Acts chapter 7. "At this all the members of the council shouted out and stopped their ears with their hands; then they all rushed at him, sent him out of the city and stoned him." Paul, known as Saul at that time, was a witness to the stoning and is said to have entirely approved of the killing.

Stephen's description of his vision, according to the records available to us, follows the words of Peter on the day of Pentecost very closely. Peter had said, "God raised this man Jesus to life, and all of us are witnesses to that. Now raised to the heights by God's right hand, he has received from the Father the Holy Spirit ..." [Acts 2:32–33 from the Jerusalem translation of the Bible.] There is no suggestion of union or equality there.⁹

It could have been the inability of early Christians to understand the person of Jesus which led them to present him at first as the Son of God but later as God-in-person when they tried to explain him to their fellows¹⁰ If that is the case it appears that they were not content to simply expound Jesus' teachings and say "this man was the Messiah of Isaiah". It also appears that they were unable to debate the meaning of his life with either their fellow Judaists or pagans without defining him. In either case it was only to be expected that they would be labeled as mischievous deviants. However, leaders of the early church reacted to their fellows and to the political and social circumstances of their day in much the same way as leaders in this day. They were just closer to the point of the action and the divine call and we can look at them with a critical long-distance eye.

The opposition of the church to a reassessment of its basic doctrines has been intense throughout its history – most of which has been culturally and racially cloistered – and the reason is clear. If adherence to doctrine is the only pillar on which a faith or an institution is built then the entire faith or institution must collapse if that pillar is shown to be false. The fear of that situation is the basis of the church's opposition to calls for the re-assessment of its doctrines and has been throughout its institutional history. Unfortunately that is widely seen to be the basis for its opposition and it does not encourage confidence. If the church is unable to explain or to justify its doctrines to scholars of other faiths without relying on semantics about revealed truths in this age of advanced reason then ordinary followers of Jesus would have had

no chance in debating the purpose of His life and ministry once those doctrines had been declared.

It seems certain that it was Paul who first used the concept “Son of God” to explain Jesus during his brief spell of preaching in Damascus immediately after his change of heart from being a vigorous opponent of the Christians to joining their group. His change of heart followed the trauma of being temporarily blinded while he was on his way from Jerusalem to harass the young sect, about 34 or 36 CE, when it was still very much a part of the Jewish religious community. At that time the sect was known as ‘the Nazarenes’ and the term ‘Christians’ had not yet come into use.

Paul was a cultured Greek-speaking Jewish Cilician who had inherited Roman citizenship. He was born in the Hellenistic environment of Tarsus in the early years of the first century CE, probably about twenty years before Jesus began his ministry, and given the dual names ‘Paul’ and ‘Saul’.¹¹ Described as a mystical and charismatic character, he is believed to have trained as a tent maker in his Jewish father’s business. During those years he would certainly have been exposed to both Stoicism and Gnosticism which were well established in the region, as well as Judaism, before he travelled to Jerusalem to study Rabbinical law as a Pharisee. Gnosticism had evolved from the early years of the Persian Empire, soon after 538 BCE, from the mingling of Greek and Minoan elements with beliefs and practices from several religions, including Hinduism from India and Zoroastrianism from Persia which had also influenced the style of worship in the new Temple in Jerusalem following the end of the Babylonian exile. [See chapter 2.] The basic belief of Gnosticism was that humans could escape from the entrapment of the evil material world which was created by an inferior god (a demiurge) and enjoy pure life of the spirit in another sphere which was the true home of the divine spark within each person. This escape or salvation for the ‘spirit’ or ‘soul’, could be attained only by gnosis (knowledge) of a divine saviour from the realm of the pure spirit above who could effect the release of the soul.

It is to be expected that such exposure to Greek philosophy and Gnosticism would have influenced Paul’s response to his visionary encounter with Jesus and his traumatic conversion to the sect of Nazarenes on the road to Damascus. This is confirmed by Bornkamm’s comments that Paul’s letters show the characteristics of Hellenistic teaching, elements of Greek culture, and the “use of concepts and ideas originating in the popular philosophy of the Stoics.”¹² It is therefore very important to note that Stoicism involved belief that God was the immanent all-pervading energy by which the world was created and sustained and “the world reason or ‘Logos’ which manifests itself in the order and beauty of the world.”¹³ It is also very significant that the Stoic writer Seneca taught that “a wise man should love his wife with judgement, not with affection”. This influence also shows clearly in Paul’s writings and it was subsequently taken up in those of Manes and the two, together, had a big influence on two important fathers and saints of the church, Jerome (who claimed Seneca as a Christian) and Augustine.¹⁴

Thus Paul, one of the most prominent persecutors of Nazarenes until his controversial conversion, was certainly not a ‘clean skin’ Jew untouched by other faiths and philosophical

beliefs before he undertook rabbinical studies and it is hardly surprising that under the circumstances of the time he antagonized Jews of the mainstream of faith by his short spell of preaching in Damascus. However apart from that short spell of preaching he was not active in the life of the sect for somewhere between seven and eleven years. There is confusion about where he went, and when, but it appears most likely that it was not until after he had spent two or three years in Arabia that he went to Jerusalem to meet Peter and was subsequently accepted into the group of Apostles after he had returned home to Tarsus for some time. Based on their interpretation of Paul's limited writings about that period, notably his letter to the Galatians, some writers maintain that during that period he was conducting a one-man proselytizing mission in Asia Minor and Northern Arabia.¹⁵ But there is something strange about the defensive, almost dogmatic, manner in which chapters one and two are written which indicates that there was already confusion or dispute about his travels at the time the letter was written. It is as if Paul was defending himself against the record presented in Acts that his journeys were not as he presented them. Acts was apparently written some thirty to forty years after Galatians, between 90 and 100 CE. If it is correct that Galatians was written in the late 50s or early 60s, who was Paul shadow boxing with? ¹⁶ Could it be that someone edited Galatians after Acts was in circulation in order to defend Paul's reputation?

There is more certainty that during that critical period the group of Apostles which Paul declined to contact had been quietly recovering from the trauma and upheaval of Stephen's death, gaining confidence, strengthening its position and working out its understanding of the relationship between their sect and mainstream Judaism and also Jesus' role in the divine plan. If Paul was preaching a one-man mission he was doing so on the basis of his visionary experience on the road to Damascus and under the combined and contradictory influences of his Jewish upbringing in a highly Hellenistic community and his rabbinical training. In that case he was working out his own understanding of those relationships in self-imposed grand isolation while he was on the run. It was largely his conduct and attitudes which subsequently resulted in restrictions on the use of the synagogues by the Nazarene sect and in 57 CE he was almost lynched and had to be placed under protective custody.¹⁷

Under Paul's influence the explanation of Jesus which some of the new disciples preached began to change.¹⁸ Even with the best of intentions towards truth and authenticity, contradiction and confusion appeared in the claims and teaching of the Apostles and it is no wonder. After some time the Apostles accepted Paul's bona-fides, recognized him as an equal and invited him to go with Barnabas on a missionary journey. That was when open conflict flared within the sect because it was faced with two problems.

Firstly, in taking the word of God to the Gentiles was it taking Judaism or was it not? Was it necessary for a person who accepted Jesus as Messiah to accept also the totality of Judaism and to become a proselyte by submitting to the ritual of male circumcision and all other Jewish laws and dietary traditions? Or was it possible for a gentile to know God through the life and teaching of Jesus and to accept the faith of a Jew without the ritual? The Jewish authorities said "no" to the easy option but Paul's reasoning prevailed within the sect and the die was cast. The

Nazarenes were still permitted to preach in the synagogues but the pressure for them to be expelled increased steadily.

Secondly, was it preaching Jesus as Son of God or was it not? Paul was insisting on preaching and writing in that vein and it was important that there should be agreement on such a basic issue. Unfortunately, very little correspondence between those early Christians and very few records of the Apostolic period have survived but the issue was not resolved before Paul set out with Barnabas and the activity of the sect began to increase dramatically.¹⁹ Paul maintained that the other Apostles were influenced in their interpretation of Jesus by their knowledge of Jesus-the-man while his interpretation was the result of direct divine revelation. [Galatians 1: 11–17]

The Apostles as a group took the decision that Paul should team up with another new Apostle, Barnabas, to conduct a mission in his Hellenized home town, Tarsus, and then, together, work among the Gentiles in Antioch. Barnabas was also a Hellenistic Jew, born on Cyprus, of the priestly Levite tribe which was set aside for ministry in the temple. He became recognized as an Apostle because of his devotion to Jesus and his generosity to the sect's cause but, like Paul, he is presumed not to have met the person Jesus. In Acts 9: 26–30 Barnabas is credited with introducing Paul to the Apostles after his conversion but that account cannot be reconciled with Paul's version of events in his letter to the church in Galatia. [Galatians 1: 15 – 2: 2] That raises the important questions of when and in what circumstances Barnabas actually joined the Apostles and whether Paul went to Arabia west of the Jordan following his conversion before he went to Jerusalem. Together with many other inconsistencies between reports in various books of the New Testament these questions make interpretation of the development of the early church quite difficult. However such inconsistencies raise much more important questions about the way in which philosophical and religious beliefs from the prevailing environment were absorbed or incorporated into the church's evolving understanding of Jesus of Nazareth – its Christology – and the motives behind the process.²⁰ The consequences were to become apparent only very, very slowly.

During the sixteen to twenty years between Jesus' crucifixion and the first of the great missionary journeys by the Apostles (the first is dated about 46 CE and the last about 65 CE) and while the Nazarenes had been steadily gathering adherents among the Jews of Palestine, significant political developments had been taking place. Some of them led to increasing conflict between the radical Zealots who were still waiting for a military Messiah and the occupying Roman power. At the same time significant developments in religious and philosophical thinking had also been occurring in other parts of the empire but we shall come to them shortly: the local scene first.

A MATTER OF PROVOCATION: ROME'S INTERVENTION

At about the time of Paul's conversion Pilate had been removed from office as Procurator of Judea. The stated reason was his tyranny and corruption but the decision can also be seen as a

necessary attempt to head off the possibility of an uprising. However relations did not improve to any extent. Two years later Emperor Caligula claimed divine honors, demanded that worship be offered to him personally and demanded also that a bust of him be erected in the temple. The Jews refused.

Relations between Jerusalem and Rome became even more strained when the Procurators responded by defiling Jewish traditions and deliberately provoking and humiliating Jews. The assassination of the emperor three years later removed that particular point of conflict and Claudius, successor to Caligula, actually improved relations with the Jewish authorities by lifting restrictions on Jews, by abolishing the office of procurator and by appointing Agrippa I, a grandson of Herod, as king of Judea. The improvement was short lived. When Agrippa II succeeded to the throne only three years later, (44 CE), although he had been educated in Rome and could therefore reasonably be expected to show proper respect for Roman authority, Claudius re-established the office of procurator and a new procurator was appointed.

It was back to the old regime with a king whose authority was purely nominal. It was therefore against a background of very real national uncertainty and unrest that the apostles and Paul overcame their reserve towards each other and he set off with Barnabas on that first formal missionary journey in 46 or 47 CE. It was then, while Paul and Barnabas were in Antioch, that the name 'Christians' was first used to label people who adopted the new and unorthodox Messianic ideas. Two years later he was still in conflict with his colleagues in the Christian sect over the question of the nature of Jesus when he returned to discuss that and other issues at a council in Jerusalem. It was probably about a year later that he wrote what we know as his first letter to the Thessalonians with his increasing emphasis on the idea of Jesus as the Son of God becoming apparent. This is probably the impact of Paul's exposure to Gnosticism showing through for the first time in the writings which we have.

The embryonic church had reached the point of the first challenge to its evolving theology – probably without being conscious of it. Its parent was challenging it through confrontation with Paul over issues which its members had not been able to resolve between themselves before Paul had been teamed with Barnabas to work in Antioch. The challenge would continue until parent and daughter were both thrown out into the big wide world to operate as separate institutions. We can be sure that there was a real feeling of relief among the Jewish authorities when Paul was taken in custody to Rome for trial in 59 CE. It is quite probable that many Christians in Jerusalem felt the same relief.

The Jewish authorities had enough to worry about with continuing suppression and provocation by their Roman overlords. They must have been very conscious that more and more adherents of the moderate sects were becoming sympathetic to the cause of the Zealots even if they did not openly associate with them and they must have known that further friction might result in a repeat of the abortive uprising in 6 CE.²¹ The Jewish authorities would have known quite well of the division between those apostles who had known Jesus personally and Paul, who had not known him personally, which was resulting in the development of two quite

clear streams within the Christian sect. They probably hoped that if Paul disappeared from the scene his followers would merge with the Jerusalem stream and that, in turn, the whole sect would revert to Pharisaic Judaism.

Members of the Jerusalem community put the emphasis in their teaching on the historical figure from Nazareth, Jew and prophet. They saw themselves as a sect challenging and revitalizing Judaism and recalling Jews to a true and proper allegiance to God. In contrast to this Paul believed that Jesus had been the Messianic Savior-God through whom demonic powers had been conquered and the Messianic era inaugurated. He held considerable personal authority over the Christian communities which he established and he encouraged the devotional practice of the supper of the Lord as a practical reminder of the death of the Lord until His Messianic purpose had been fully and promptly achieved.

Paul's imprisonment led to a decline in his influence in Jerusalem and a drop in morale in the communities which he had established. He made a vigorous but only partly successful effort to counter the influence of the Jerusalem stream through his travels after he had been acquitted.²² In contrast the community which grew up around him in Rome survived and seems to have grown more determined as a reaction to his reputed martyrdom in 64 CE, in spite of Nero's purges and the beastly treatment which he metered out to members of "that secret religious society" after the fire of Rome a year later.²³ Even so, it appeared that the future of the movement was dependent on the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem at that time.

THE JEWISH REVOLT AND THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM

However no one could take account of the impending actions of Procurator Florus. He stepped in and triggered the Jewish revolt of 66 CE in the manner of an imbecile. During a Passover celebration, thinking it great fun, Florus seized the vestments of the high priest and obscenely violated the most sacred beliefs of the Jews, who now added contempt to their hatred of the Romans.²⁴ The Roman soldiers set about looting Jerusalem and Florus demanded massive protection money out of Temple funds.²⁵ The ranks of the Zealots were swollen by infuriated Jews of every sect, including Christians, in a widespread revolt.

The Roman garrison at Jerusalem fell in May 66 CE. An important factor in the collapse of the garrison and a big influence in the future attitude of Rome towards the Jews was the slaughter of a section of the garrison by zealots under Menahem. A detachment of Romans had been trapped and surrounded by a Jewish mob. An agreement had been negotiated and sworn to enable the two sides to disengage but while the Romans were withdrawing, unarmed, Menahem's Zealots fell on them and cut them down to the last man. Rome could not be expected to forget the savagery and deceit of the massacre. If there had still been any chance of a peaceful settlement of the revolt it was dashed by Menahem's dastardly deed. Neither mercy nor a negotiated peace could be expected from Rome.²⁶ Reinforcements were sent from Syria. They were defeated by the Zealots at Beth-horon and the little country was soon swept by rebellion on such a scale that it took the cream of the Roman army, specially despatched from

Rome with up to 70,000 ground troops, 10,000 cavalry and thousands of battering rams four years to regain control of the city.²⁷

During the war support for the Jewish uprising came from a very interesting and significant quarter. On the northern bank of the Tigris, wedged into disputed fringe territory between the Roman and Parthian empires, was a small semi-independent kingdom of Adiabene. At the time of Jesus' ministry Jews were actively proselytizing in Adiabene and in 30 CE, the generally accepted year of Jesus' crucifixion, Queen Helena became a convert to Judaism. It is reasonable to assume that many of her subjects adopted Judaism also. Subsequently she supported her coreligionists in Judea in their uprising between 66 and 73 CE. Of course it didn't take long for Rome to eliminate her kingdom when Trajan decided to expand into Armenia 25 years later. Today it is the Kurdish region of Iraq.

At the time of the uprising, Roman government and morale were going through a period of upheaval. Nero's reign was disintegrating and that probably encouraged the Zealots to try for independence. Nero's forces in Britain had suffered a disastrous defeat about five years before; southern Italy was in disarray because of lack of reconstruction following a very destructive earthquake and his personal depravity was probably reflected in the obscene conduct of Florus which had triggered the Jewish uprising. Two years later, while the war in Judea was at its peak, he committed suicide while General Galba, already proclaimed emperor by his Spanish legions, advanced on Rome. Galba was to be the first of four emperors in twelve months. Vespasian, recalled from his command of the imperial army in Judea to become the fourth, was able to regain some stability.²⁸

While Vespasian was still in command of the war in Judea a turn-coat Pharisee named Flavius Josephus served for a period as Governor of Galilee. Whether he should be regarded as a national hero whose actions softened the blow for the Jews and therefore helped to preserve their culture and self-understanding, or whether he should be regarded as a quisling who betrayed his people for a prestigious post in Rome is debatable. It is mainly by his own writings that we know him. Some commentators give him a major part in the fall and destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE and therefore in the fate of the Jewish people. After being educated for the priesthood both as a Sadducee and as a Pharisee he was sent to Rome to negotiate the release of religious prisoners. He became friendly with the empress, perhaps infatuated, and he was so impressed by the political and military genius of Rome that, on his return to Jerusalem, he told his fellow Jews that they should link their destiny with Rome, forego political freedom, and gain from Graeco-Roman culture. In spite of his pro-Roman views and his apparent opposition to the war he was regarded highly enough to be appointed to the important post of Governor of Galilee by the Jewish provisional government. He soon had 100,000 troops at his command but he went over to the Romans in doubtful circumstances when his mountain fortress of Jotapata was captured. He surrendered to Vespasian and prophesied that he would become emperor. His flattery brought his release. He served the later stages of the war on Rome's side and later held high status at court.²⁹ Although to some commentators it appears that his role has been overstated and he may have been a very small piece in a very big evolving jigsaw puzzle, it is

because he provided much of the Western World's understanding of Jewish relations with their overlords at that time that we must acknowledge him.

RABBI JOCHANAN BEN ZAKKAI: THE JABNEH YESHIVA

It was somewhat later in the war and while Jerusalem was under siege that, apparently anticipating the total destruction of Jewish heritage and religious education, the philosopher-rabbi Jochanan ben Zakkai made his escape Trojan-horse-style in a coffin. He is also said to have boldly confronted Vespasian with the prophecy that he would soon be emperor but he asked permission to establish a Jewish academy of learning or yeshiva. When his prophecy proved correct during the third year of the war Vespasian granted the request and a yeshiva was established in the coastal town of Jabneh. By that means he perpetuated Jewish tradition in Palestine and provided a base from which the Palestine Talmud was developed during the next couple of hundred years.

When Vespasian became emperor he entrusted the siege of Jerusalem to his son Titus. It was to be his lot to finish off the bloodiest and most drawn out war of the era. The walls of Jerusalem were finally breached in 70 CE. According to the historian Tacitus, the Romans made a desolation and called it peace. Titus destroyed the temple and then returned to Rome to a very hollow hero's welcome. In fact the resistance was not finally crushed until 78 CE when the last of the hard-core defenders of Masada killed their wives, their children and then themselves to avoid capture.³⁰ The number of civilians slaughtered in Palestine was estimated at 600,000. Many more were enslaved or provided with free passage to Rome for all the fun of the games.³¹ Rumblings of discontent increased all around the empire, but right there at its heart Jews and Christians were distrusted and oppressed with equal venom.

It was not only Pharisaic Judaism which took a battering. The community of the Christian sect at Jerusalem was almost completely eliminated. The great void which this caused in leadership and teaching among the Christian communities of the Eastern Mediterranean was filled by people from Paul's camp. His reputation was rehabilitated and the two streams of Christian thought about Jesus became blurred or fused – and confused. That confusion led to the Judaists expelling the Christians from the synagogues progressively between 85 and 90 CE. The merging of the Savior-God of Paul's thinking and the historical Jesus of the Jerusalem community was gradually but very firmly severing the birth cord of Christianity from its parent Judaism. It was either allowing it or forcing it, dependent on the viewpoint taken, to move out unhindered into the Hellenistic-Roman world as a universalistic Savior-God cult.

Even though they had been expelled from the synagogues and even though by that time there was a considerable body of letters and other literature circulating from hand to hand throughout the church, the Christians continued to 'recognize' only the Hebrew scriptures for some time. The new documents were given no higher status than teaching aids. The Apostles had found the Hebrew scriptures to be in harmony with Christ's life and ministry, with the Gospel message and with the influence of the Holy Spirit in the young church and these were still the only

documents which were considered to be divinely inspired. They gave the church guidance for worship, witness and day-to-day life, and the Apostles had seen no need to add specifically Christian writings. However, after the Christians had been expelled from the synagogues the gulf between them and the Judaists became wider, and the contamination of the Christian beliefs through syncretism, [the adoption of opposing or contradictory religious concepts, expressions, symbols or activities from pagan or other non-Christian religions to encourage people of those faiths to adopt Christianity and to join the church], led to ‘demarcation problems’ and the gradual identification of their religion as a separate faith. This in turn made it necessary for the Christians to be able to demonstrate that theirs was a different faith and, that being the case, they had to document the differences to distance themselves from Judaism. The Gospel of Mark (written some time between 64 and 75 CE), Paul’s letters (50–62), Matthew (80–85) and possibly the letters known as Hebrews, Peter 1, Timothy 1 and 2, and Titus were already in circulation at that time (many Bible commentators place that series of letters in the second century), but on their own they were hardly enough to designate a new faith. In that environment the stimulus for the preparation of additional versions of the Gospel and additional letters or other records was quite strong and such things began to circulate progressively. Best estimates are: Thessalonians 2, 75–90; the Gospel of John, 85–90; the Gospel of Luke, 85–95; Revelations, early 90s; Ephesians, before 95; Acts, 90–100; the letters of John, 1, 2, and 3, 100–117; James, 100–125; Peter 2, 125–150; and Jude, probably early 2nd century also.

But with developments in Rabbinical Judaism following the destruction of Jerusalem other distinctions were becoming clear also. There was much debate among Jews about the relationship between faith and action, or study and performance (as there was also in the church at that time). We are told that the Rabbis favoured study because of their firm and unquestioning conviction that the divine word was an eternally valid guide to action and only study to gain “right knowledge” could lead to “right action.” Study tended to become a sort of sacramental activity to the Jew who saw in Torah the revealed word and logos of God.³² But the term ‘logos’ does not occur in the Torah, and that brings us to the concurrent developments in religious and philosophical thinking in other parts of the empire. The introduction of the concept ‘logos’ into Judaism and the limited use of the term resulted from the writing of a Greek-speaking Jewish philosopher, Philo Judaeus, at the time of Jesus’ ministry, but certainly without reference to Jesus.

PHILO AND THE LOGOS

Philo and Jesus were direct contemporaries in the neighbouring countries of Egypt and Judah. Philo was born in the Egyptian capital and chief centre of Hellenistic culture, Alexandria, about 20 BCE and died about 50 CE. Jesus is thought to have been born between 8 and 4 BCE and to have been crucified between 29 and 33 CE.³³ A prolific author, Philo was a member of an influential and wealthy priestly Jewish family in Alexandria. His brother, a high official in the Roman administration in Egypt, donated gold and silver plating for the doors of the Temple in

Jerusalem. The family's contacts with the imperial court were such that Philo was able to lead a deputation to Emperor Caligula in Rome in 40 CE to plead that he rescind his edict requiring that people worship his statues as a deity. Riots against Jews had occurred in Alexandria as a result of their refusal to obey the edict. But Philo was not concerned only with protection for his community. He had an evangelical streak and he was concerned for the spread of his faith. To achieve this he sought to reconcile or to synthesize Yahwism and Platonism. He has been described as the first thinker to try to synthesize the doctrines of a faith based on supernatural revelation with the results of philosophical thinking.

Philo took as his starting point the book of Proverbs and the book of the Wisdom of Solomon. The key chapters of Proverbs in this respect, chapters eight and nine, were apparently written in the fourth century BCE and under the influence of Hellenistic philosophy introduced as Alexander the Great stormed through the Persian Empire and established the city of Alexandria.³⁴ The thrust of those chapters is that Wisdom was created by God and existed at the time of physical creation of the universe and that everything in creation is therefore logical and expressed lucidly. The Wisdom of Solomon is thought to have been written in Alexandria, probably about 50 BCE or only thirty years before Philo was born. The writer is said to have been attempting 'rapprochement' between Judaism and Greek culture and in doing so he extended the idea of Wisdom as a pre-existing concept to that of a metaphysical presence or "God's agent in creation and the continuing bond between him and his universe."³⁵

In pursuing that theme even further Philo combined the concepts of God as transcendent Being and a personal God, close to man, and he used the Greek term 'logos', (word or reason), when he described a divine and immanent mediator embracing God's Word, Wisdom, and plan or purpose for the universe. This immanent mediator was God's manifestation in the world.³⁶ ³⁷ The term logos in Greek then took on an expanded meaning encompassing the idea of a rational cosmic order and implying some sort of reasoned control. Philo wrote two versions of his somewhat mystical works which included commentaries on the Bible. One version was to show Greek pagans the superiority of the Jewish Bible as both revealing God's will and containing philosophical truths. The other was to show Jews how Platonism harmonized with Scripture. He can therefore be regarded as the first of a new era of syncretists – or perhaps the second if the Wisdom of Solomon is regarded as syncretic rather than a development in Hebrew thought.

It is important to note that although the Wisdom of Solomon was accepted by an unknown proportion of Jews in Alexandria it was not recognized by the Rabbinical authorities and it is not included in the Hebrew canon. However when Christianity began to attract a following in Alexandria the early church leaders found it to their advantage to regard the Wisdom of Solomon as a part of the Septuagint – the Greek translations of Hebrew scriptures which were then in circulation in the district. It was given prominence by Origen, Ignatius and Clement and as a consequence it was included in the Christian canon of Old Testament books. Subsequently it was rejected by the key Reformers, but the Council of Trent retained it for use in the Catholic Church as one of the books of the Apocrypha.

Similarly Philo's works were rejected by the Rabbis and soon forgotten in Jewish circles where syncretism was not acceptable. Even his name was not known among Jewish scholars until it was rediscovered in the sixteenth century. But Philo's allegorical interpretations of scripture had a big impact in the Greek speaking world where the missions of the Christians Apostles were just about to begin and, notably, on many of those who would soon become Christian theologians in spite of what appears to have been a bid by Paul to reject them.³⁸ In his commentary on Wisdom of Solomon, Robert Dentan notes that Philo and the Alexandrian Christian fathers followed in the footsteps of the writer of Wisdom, that it is important as a monument in the general history of apologetics and theology, and that it is also important for at least three doctrines which became fundamental to much of later Jewish and Christian thought. These are: the natural immortality of the soul in contrast to the idea of the resurrection of the body; death and all other evils as the work of the devil; and metaphysical wisdom being God's agent in creation and a continuing bond between God and the universe. In shorthand? 'Logos.' Dentan concludes: "The consequences of these developments for New Testament Christology can hardly be exaggerated."³⁹

THE ENIGMA OF PAUL

Paul, still using the name Saul, was in Tarsus for some time between 38 and 40 CE before he and Barnabas began working together in the adjacent region of Antioch in Syria and just as Philo was pleading with Caligula to drop his demands for personal worship. The major missionary journeys of Paul, his colleagues and Peter began in 46 CE and continued to 65 CE. The 'Seven Churches of Asia' which they helped to found in Macedonia and Galatia (Greece and Turkey) were still finding their feet at the time that Paul wrote his various letters but they were well established by the mid 90s, even though they were still struggling with their theology as the letters to the young churches indicate.⁴⁰ It therefore becomes apparent that the Christian missionaries were competing with groups which had come under the influence of Philo's writings. Paul's Letter to the Galatians, written in the late 50s, in which he condemned certain teachings which were influencing the members of 'his' churches – without identifying either the teachings or their perpetrators – tends to confirm that there had been significant Greek acceptance of Philo's version of Hellenized Judaism. He set out to counter it in very definite terms.

I am astonished at the promptness with which you have turned away from the one who called you and have decided to follow a different version of the Good News. Not that there can be more than one Good News; it is merely that some troublemakers among you want to change the Good News of Christ; and let me warn you that if anyone preaches a version of the Good News different from the one we have already preached to you, whether it be ourselves or an angel from heaven, he is to be condemned.
Galatians 1:6–8 [Jerusalem]

Christian scholars have either been at a loss to explain – or have been reluctant to explain – the situation which Paul describes and his outburst without there being any evidence in his letter

of the names or origin of the person or persons who introduced the “new version of the Good News” to members of the church whom he referred to as “some troublemakers among you”. It has generally been assumed that Paul was referring to adherents of the Jerusalem group with whom he had previously been in conflict over the strategy for missionary work among Jews and Gentiles and that they were simply pressing their case again.^{41 42} There were, as already noted, two aspects to that dispute. The one which the church of later periods has preferred to see emphasis placed on is whether the Good News could only be received within the framework of conversion to Judaism and adherence to Law and circumcision. The other was really the more important: conflicting views of the role and person of Jesus. Paul’s view, influenced by his visionary experience and his exposure to Gnosticism, was that Jesus was the messianic Saviour-God through whom the demonic powers had been conquered and the messianic era inaugurated. In the communities of Gentile Christians which he established the observance of the ‘Supper of the Lord’ was given importance as a regular ‘showing-forth of the death of the Lord’ until his imminent return (Parousia) when his glory and authority would be fully displayed. In contrast, the Jerusalem group of disciples emphasized the person of the historical Jesus, Prophet of God to the Jewish people, and it saw its role as a “challenging and revitalizing sect within Judaism, recalling Jews to a true and proper allegiance to God.”⁴³ It is generally thought that that set of disputes had been settled more or less amicably (although that, too, is disputed) and it is not likely that if it had been raised again it would have brought accusations of preaching a different version of the Good News and the condemnation and vitriol which Paul addressed to the Galatians.

It is therefore reasonable to assume that Paul’s attack was against the writings of Philo. We can assume that Philo was aware of the controversy in Judaea and Samaria over the teachings and ministry of Jesus and the establishment of the sect which had grown around him following his crucifixion, especially in view of his brother’s involvement with the Temple authorities in Jerusalem. However the term ‘Christian’ was not in use in Rome at the time of his visit in 40 CE and while it is not known how many sect members there were in the city their presence, mainly among the lower classes, would not have been sufficient for Philo to be influenced by them. Certainly their numbers and influence as a distraction had grown by 65 CE to the point that Nero could use them as a scapegoat for the burning of Rome, but by then Philo had been dead for fifteen years. Similarly, the major missionary journeys to Galatia, Macedonia and Italy were not made until after Philo’s death, neither was Mark’s supposed visit to Alexandria, and none of the known Christian documents were in circulation to have influenced him either. It is therefore most unlikely that he took the Christian sect into account in his writing and that his only interest was in taking his version of Yahwism to the Greek speaking world.

It is quite possible that at the time that he was confronted by Philo’s influence Paul knew nothing about the author, his background or his writings, and this would account for the nature of his response. He survived for about eight to ten years after writing to the church in Galatia but for much of that time he was in Judaea facing trial or in Rome in prison. He did not deviate from the fundamentals of his faith during those years and we can assume that he also

maintained his strong stand against Philo's Hellenized Judaism. Certainly we know little about the interface between the church and those who had been influenced by Philo or his supporters at the time that Paul was writing or during the twenty to thirty years after his death, and there is another possible explanation for his outburst: the further encroachment of Gnosticism.

A common view of commentators is that Gnostics immediately saw in Christianity – especially as preached by Paul – an excellent system of Gnosticism. Christ, who had conquered sin and death and was able to guarantee a person's entry into 'the life of the ages', represented their pivotal Saviour-figure. In addition Paul's teaching on strict asceticism, the need to crucify the evil of the flesh, and his emphasis on celibacy complemented Gnostic beliefs. However there are serious 'Chicken and the egg' type questions which are difficult to answer. Which came first: the influence of Gnosticism on Paul and on the people to whom he was writing, or Paul's Christology with similar emphases to be picked up by the Gnostics?

It has been suggested that after Paul's death over-zealous apologists promoted his views in order to make the Christian faith relevant to the greatest number of people and in doing so fostered syncretism and the "Christian" form of Gnosticism.⁴⁴ This became the subject of much heresy hunting during the early years of the second century CE – in fact within a few years of the circulation of the Acts of the Apostles and John's Gospel. Thus it is unlikely that "Christianized Gnosticism" would have been the target of Paul's wrath and therefore, on balance, it is most probable that his outburst in his Letter to the Galatians was triggered by the influence of Philo's writings. However in either case there would have been enormous temptation and pressure for the leaders of the local churches to adopt the same technique and the same terminology as Philo in seeking to convert those people who had been influenced either by his writings or by Gnosticism, and those who had held to their existing pagan beliefs as well.

According to the Gospel writers Jesus foretold the destruction of the City of Jerusalem and the slaughter of its population.⁴⁵ Some writers dispute the validity of such claims and suggest that as the destruction of the city in 70 CE was an accomplished fact at the time that the Gospels were written it would have been very tempting for the writers to credit Jesus with the prophecy. They say that even if Mark's Gospel had been written before the destruction of the city (scholars date it between 64 and 75 CE) the circumstances at the time and the relations between the Jews and the Romans would have clearly indicated an impending destructive conflict.^{46 47} But however attractive this reasoning may be, the case that the Gospel writers concocted Jesus' prediction is not proven. Far worse was yet to come, including the final and absolute expulsion of the Jews from Jerusalem in 135 CE. That was, on the best probability, about thirty-five years after the Gospels and the Book of Revelation had been completed and without that final expulsion the present situation could not have developed. The words attributed to Jesus in the final verses of Matthew 23 sound loud and clear in the present many-sided confrontation.

"So let it be! Your house will be left to you desolate, for, I promise, you shall not see me any more until you say: Blessings on him who comes in the name of the Lord!"⁴⁸

THE INFANT CHURCH LOOKS TO ROME

So the turbulent years swirled on. After the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE there was virtually no Christian community in Jerusalem anymore from which Christians could seek guidance and support so, after their expulsion from the synagogues they were naturally encouraged to turn towards the capital of the empire for guidance in the faith in spite of its turmoil and systematic persecution. As we have noted, they wrote, read, circulated, amended and began to venerate epistles and Gospels. At the same time Rabbi Jochanon ben Zakkai established the Sanhedrin at Jabneh and pressed on with preparation of the Palestine Talmud. The Arch of Titus was built in Rome to mark his 'magnificent' victory at Jerusalem, but the reaction among the subject peoples across the empire was not to laud and honor the victor. The memory of four years of bloody struggle on an unprecedented scale was too vivid. They set out to make life difficult for the Roman overlords, especially in regions where there were significant populations of Judaists such as Egypt, Cyprus, Antioch and Cyrene.

Gnosticism spread too. Historians are divided over the reasons for this but it is clear that irrespective of what triggered it an important factor in its spread was the division between the two streams of Christianity, the fusion and confusion already noted and Christian attempts to accommodate it. Action led to reaction. Some Christian leaders urged that a hierarchy with formal structures and formalized worship be established as a defence against Gnosticism and the possibility of large scale reversion to pagan practices among those who had turned to Christianity. Other leaders put more emphasis on the written word. Veneration gave way to sanctification. Then these movements also combined so that Christianity was well on the way to that preoccupation with Holy Scripture and institutionalism which led eventually to declarations of inerrancy and infallibility. It also provided a basis for the canonization of the many doctrinal statements, rites, liturgies and other religious absolutes which have inhibited Christian thinking, interpretation and initiative ever since. Worse still, they put a series of intermediaries and barriers between man and God.

At the time of the fall of Jerusalem there were effective communities of Christians meeting together in many centres other than Rome. They included Antioch, Caesarea, Alexandria, Corinth, Ephesus and Philippi. Both Antioch and Alexandria grew into major centres of Christian activity and it is clear that Rome need not necessarily have become the dominant point in the young church's affairs.⁴⁹ Politics and other people were responsible for the growing communities of Christians turning towards Rome and this was only partly because Peter and Paul were associated with it. Peter and Paul may have organized the church in Rome. They certainly were not its founders.

The impact of Nero's persecutions, coupled with the fact that all trade and communications led to the capital, guaranteed Rome an important role but it certainly need not have been paramount. It seems that Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, did more than anyone else to develop and enhance the role of Rome. For a long time his letters had similar status and commanded much the same reverence as those of the apostles and Augustine. Ignatius urged Christian

communities to be loyal to the leadership of their local pastors or bishops, to acknowledge their authority and, in this way, to hold together against the threat of heresy and disintegration.⁵⁰ From the scattered Christian communities he singled out the church in Rome as having special authority because of its association with one of the foremost of the Apostles, Peter. He said that it should be regarded as the guardian of the true faith. His attitude is somewhat hard to follow in view of the fact that Antioch, of which he himself was bishop, was second only to Jerusalem as the home of Christianity at the time of the fall of Jerusalem and it took precedence over Rome which was the third great centre of the Christian world.⁵¹

The martyrdom in Rome of Ignatius himself, variously put at about 107, 110 or 115 CE by different authorities, roughly coincided with the second of the series of anti-Roman uprisings in Jerusalem. This resulted in another three years of bitter war from 113 CE to 115 CE with the Jewish patriots having to capitulate because of lack of arms and men. But Judaists in other provinces revolted to keep the struggle alive for a couple more years. According to Eusebius the Jews turned against the Romans in Cyrenaica (North Africa) as though carried by some wild and riotous spirit. In Mesopotamia they expelled the Romans from some cities but these were soon reconquered, while on Cyprus they massacred the ruling Greeks but were soon defeated by the Romans and 40,000 were expelled from the island.⁵²

The immediate significance of that upheaval from the point of view of the development of the Christian church was that it effectively prevented any move to counter the influence and recognition of the community at Rome by giving a similar role of moral and administrative leadership to the remnant Christian community at Jerusalem for which there was otherwise indisputable reasoning. The encouragement of Christian dependence on Rome by leaders in the Eastern Empire at this early stage was mirrored somewhat later in the Western Empire by people like Irenaeus, a bishop of Lyons.

At the same time the distinctions between 'clergy' and 'laity' were being gradually defined and entrenched. Ignatius taught that the Eucharist which was at first seen as the simple personal act of breaking bread and sharing a common cup at the beginning of a meal in remembrance of Jesus could not be carried out 'apart from the bishop'.⁵³ As with a number of other practices, the simple and natural was already being concealed behind a cloak of mystique. It was being 'elevated' to the super natural and complicated. Participation in the ritual of worship was being substituted for a response centred on worship and based on the teachings of Jesus.

While all this was going on in the areas of early Christian missionary activity, back in Palestine the Sanhedrin which had been established by Rabbi Jochanan ben Zakkai at Jabneh had consolidated its position. It was carrying out the combined functions of education, legislation, judicature and government within the Jewish community along the lines of the Supreme Council of two or three hundred years before.⁵⁴ For some time the thinking of the Pharisees had been moving towards a theology of individualism and universality without the restrictions of national or territorial unity. Now, as the first century of the Christian era gave way to the second, being the only sect to survive the destruction of Jerusalem, they were able to

rebuild the spiritual life of the Jewish people unimpeded by the ideas of such sects as the Sadducees, Zealots and Essenes whose spiritual influence had been swept away. The faith of Judaism had been well and truly spread beyond Palestine. This was not only by the slow process of trade and proselytizing but also by the rapid and dynamic process of scattering Jewish people across the nations as if they were crumbs shaken from a table cloth. It was indeed a very appropriate time for Jewish spiritual life to be given a new base.

The God of the Pharisees was not limited to Palestine. His benign providence extended over all the earth; nor was He the God of the nation alone. He was also the God of every individual. This indeed held a comforting assurance that, in spite of the national disaster, God still ruled. He was still the master of events, and He would, in the end, shape all things for the ultimate good of the nation, the individual and the race. Moreover, in Judaism, as the Pharisees conceived it, the loss of political autonomy and the destruction of the Temple broke no essential links. They had developed the institution of the Synagogue with its elaborate liturgy, which could take the place of the Temple for prayer and worship. Furthermore, the conception of the oral Law enabled them to reconcile development and change with loyalty to tradition, and to undertake the far-reaching adjustments in Jewish life which the new conditions demanded.⁵⁵

The divine services and liturgy were recast and re-adapted by the substitution of prayers for animal sacrifices and the insertion of supplications for the speedy restoration of the Temple and the ancient Hebrew polity.⁵⁶

Further south, crucial things were beginning to happen in Jordan and the Arabian Peninsula. While the Roman empire was expanding under Trajan to its greatest area, about 105 CE, a Roman province was established in the northern Arabian region of Northern Nabatea. This provided the stimulus for both Jewish and Christian contact with the area, for trade and for migration. These were not restricted to that northern region but extended into and influenced the west coast of the Arabian Peninsula right to the Yemen in the south. Of course it also introduced, concurrently, the conflicting views about God of Judaism and Christianity which were inevitably compounded as time passed.

HADRIAN AND ROME'S TURNING POINT. SCATTER!

So: without being conscious of it, we have come to the turning point in the fortunes of the Roman Empire – that second Jewish rebellion of 113 CE. It coincided with Trajan's war with the Parthians who were pressing hard for Armenia and Mesopotamia. Trajan was forced to divide both his army and his attention and he deferred his retaliatory campaign against the Parthians who had shown such audacity as to invade Roman territory! As with the previous Jewish rebellion, the war at Jerusalem dragged on, but it was somewhat less destructive. It finished after three years of exhausting defence with the Jewish surrender already mentioned.

When Hadrian succeeded to the throne of Imperial Rome he recognized the importance of the second such rebellion in less than fifty years and determined to woo the Jews with friendship. In 117 CE he agreed to the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem. But much damage

had been done to the standing of Rome in the eyes of its subject people. After all, if the tiny Jewish state had come close to throwing off the imperial might of Rome twice in less than a lifetime why shouldn't bigger countries succeed? The rumblings increased and the boundaries of the empire began to contract.

Lulled by the quietness across Palestine, Hadrian changed his mind on the Temple and decreed that it be dedicated to the pagan god Capitoline Jupiter. His expectation was that religious uniformity would then exist across the empire with less competitive encouragement to rebellion. He declared Jerusalem a Roman city. It was a classic error of judgement. The proud Jewish people still yearned for a messiah to throw off the despised Roman yoke. When the dynamic and colourful Simon bar Kochba (ben Cozeba) was declared to be that messiah by a key spiritual leader, Rabbi Akiba, the country was galvanized into action.

The ultimate revolt erupted in 132 CE with bar Kochba at its head. The Romans were caught off balance. The Jews showed unexpected determination in winning battle after battle and Hadrian called his most eminent general, Julius Severus, from Britain to crush the revolt. With 35,000 crack troops, (about half the number despatched to Jerusalem to put down the revolt at the half way mark in 66 CE), Severus was supposed to put down the rebellion at one swift stroke. But the Romans hadn't bargained for the all-or-nothing determination of the Jews in revolt. Simon bar Kochba's numerically inferior forces dealt Severus an ignominious defeat in open battle. Severus resorted to the tactic of total warfare against the population, slaughtered villagers systematically and wrecked and burned everything which his own army could not use. This war had to be won.

Even the idea of an independent Jewish community in the middle of the Roman Empire – independent because of its religious beliefs – was a threat to the stability of the empire. If it became a fact then the fabric of empire could not be held together. This was not to be the only time that such a sentiment determined a government's policy or rocked the foundations of empire.

After two years of grinding, ruthless, merciless butchery, the Jewish lines wavered as the populace was reduced to near vanishing point.⁵⁷ Bar Kochba was killed in battle. His memory is preserved for posterity in the Talmud with the words attributed to him: "Lord, don't help us and don't spoil it for us." Hardly the words of a messiah. The Sanhedrin of the day apparently agreed, but Rabbi Akiba's prestige had been immense. A sense of national purpose and destiny had been developed and fostered through forty or so turbulent generations. It coupled with the intense messianic anticipation which had not been quenched by the low-key ministry of Jesus of Nazareth and which had therefore been maintained, bottled up, over four generations to ensure an irrational response which carried with it an inevitable conclusion. When Jerusalem finally surrendered those who could escape fled to the surrounding hills and made their way gradually to neighbouring countries. Some are said to have gone as far as Parthia where they were welcomed with open arms and Judaism was introduced to yet another people. Those who failed to escape were sold into slavery, forcibly expelled or butchered.

The Roman armed might had been badly shaken. Rome was determined that this third and most costly war over Jerusalem would be the last. Never again would the Jews rise up against Rome. They were forbidden to return to the city except to weep by the wall on the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple. Everything associated with Judaism within it was destroyed and it was renamed Aelia Capitolina. The work of religious and social reconstruction which had been progressing quite well under the leadership of the Jabneh Sanhedrin was swept away. It was apparent to Hadrian that it was the Torah which had provided the inspiration for the successive revolts so he suppressed the Sanhedrin, closed the Yeshiva at Jabneh and, by edict, banned the study of the Torah on pain of death. So many martyrdoms followed that a council of Sages meeting at Lydda decreed that "... a Jew, in order to save his life, might violate any of the commandments of the Torah except those which forbid idolatry, murder, and incest (including adultery)."

This decree was destined to become the fundamental guiding principle of Jewish life in all the centuries that followed.⁵⁸ Rabbi Akiba was among those who publicly repudiated the edict and was executed with refined torture. But the suppression of the Sanhedrin and the closure of the Jabneh Yeshiva did not achieve Hadrian's aim. In fact it deepened the resolve of the Rabbis to preserve their faith and practices and work on the preparation of the Talmud was stepped up. [See chapter 2.]

The Jewish Christians who made up the remnant church in Jerusalem suffered because of Hadrian's edict banning the Torah in a manner somewhat different to the Judaists. They had held to the Torah while preaching Jesus the Messiah but they then renounced their remaining links with Judaism, discontinued Jewish religious practices and stopped using the Torah. They cut themselves adrift from their own people and joined the mass of pagans who had been attracted to Christianity under the influence of Paul in the intervening period.⁵⁹ At that point the idea of a theocratic Jewish state either with or without a territory would have lost any relevance or appeal to them. Their concept of the universal nature and love of God was somewhat different to even the new Pharisaic ideas which had been evolving at Jabneh.

A series of circumstances, people and political and religious decisions had finally combined so that Jewish people were scattered in countries throughout and beyond the Roman Empire without a state, country or government but united through their knowledge of the Torah and by their allegiance to that one and only God of all people with whom they might come in contact. They were separated from those people however by the contradiction of having a distinctive national literature, national religion and national culture. These things would not only preserve their national consciousness and ensure their survival as a distinct people but would also draw into their religious community occasional populations of converts who would assume the same national heritage without having any hereditary continuity with it.

These factors were a guarantee that despite the best of human intentions there would henceforward be conflicts of interest for a Jew to reconcile which non-Jews would not have to face. These personal tensions, uncertainty and a communal self consciousness would discourage

assimilation. They could be held in check or suppressed under most circumstances but under extreme provocation would, as a very natural response, result in communal action and reaction. Even given extreme provocation no communal action has ever been taken lightly because the Jewish people remain intensely conscious of history, their role and the attitudes of people of different faiths towards them. The ultimate communal reaction has been to press for a national homeland but the rough road to the ghetto was to the forerunner of an even rougher road back to claim again the promised land.

At the end of the first hundred years of Christian activity Jerusalem had been almost wiped off the map and Christianity and Judaism – both deprived of their place of origin, having the same basic role and starting with the same basic objectives – were setting off in completely different directions. The association of those twin streams of Yahwism – Christianity and Judaism – as separate religions in the Diaspora was bound to be long. As we now know it was going to be a bitter association for the Jewish people whether they were being harassed or protected by the Christian community. Hadrian, by forbidding the Jews to return to Jerusalem and by enforcing their dispersion throughout his empire may have eased the political and military problems of the time. However, in doing so, he ensured that Judaism would be a major factor in complex military, political and economic confrontations in a future which was beyond his comprehension but which he had helped to chart.

Different bearings but collision courses.

CHAPTER 2

AN INSTRUMENT OF STATE: FROM PERSECUTION TO POWER

Pagan Rome in the last few years of Hadrian's reign must have seen religious confusion indeed. All religious sects other than those of the state religion were despised and suspected. If they challenged the divinity of Caesar they were regarded as absolutely subversive. That being the case, it is no wonder that the two groups of subjects from the most troublesome territory in the empire, the Jews and the Christians, were both subjected to persecution when they disputed between themselves the basis of their belief in one universal God, especially when they were equally dogmatic about the correctness of their particular stand. To make matters worse, one was a breakaway from the other which had risen in such violent rebellion three times within a single life span that its former capital was still in ruins. Much of its population had been slaughtered and many of its survivors were either in exile or enslaved in Rome. Given the circumstances, should we be surprised that they provided a moderate supply of fodder for the lions? And when each blamed the other, at least in part, for its sorry circumstances and the persecution which it was suffering we can hardly expect that they would have been very friendly towards each other. At best their relationship would have been arms-length tolerance.

Unfortunately there seems to be very little accurate information available about the affairs of the Christian community in Rome in the second and third centuries CE. However it appears to have been quite revolutionary. Quite apart from the refusal of its adherents to offer devotions to the emperor it appears to have taken a stand against some of the more base aspects of Roman life such as the gladiatorial shows. However there were some apparent contradictions in its attitudes. It had softened its attitude towards slavery, hardened its attitude towards women and accepted wealthy adherents without insisting on the sharing of assets which had been a characteristic of the apostolic period in Jerusalem. The influence of Paul's teaching has often been given as the reason. As H. G. Wells explains it; "Unarmed, but possessing enormous powers of passive resistance, Christianity thus appeared at the outset plainly as rebellious, striking at the political if not at the economic essentials of the imperial system."¹ The difficulty for the rulers of Rome in deciding just how to handle "the strange problem presented by this infectious rebellion of otherwise harmless people" is illustrated by Emperor Trajan's instruction in response to a question from Governor Pliny of Bithynia in 112 CE, just before the ultimate

Jewish rebellion in Jerusalem. It set a pattern of discretionary leniency for Roman magistrates in dealing with Christians which applied for some years. They were not to search out Christians but to punish them if they were publicly denounced and refused to do homage to the Roman Gods.²

However, whatever the reasons may have been, Hadrian's successors appear to have been somewhat more lenient towards Jews than towards Christians. Perhaps it was the influence of the decree of the Council of Sages at Lydda.³ Perhaps it was simply that the surviving Jews in the Diaspora saw little point in rebellion when it was not in the context of expelling a foreign power from Jerusalem. Certainly it was not because the Jews lacked the rudiments of organization or a spirit of community. Whenever ten or more Jews over 13 years of age lived within commuting distance their own laws required them to establish a "religious community". When their numbers reached 120 they were authorized to establish a "social community" with a court to adjudicate those disputes among themselves which were not subject to the civil laws of the empire.⁴ They were obliged to tax themselves and to establish schools. On the other hand it could have been, perhaps, a deliberate effort on the part of the Roman authorities to demonstrate to other subject peoples and ethnic groups – which the Christian community certainly was not – that obedience would be rewarded with tolerance. The fourth law of the Jabneh Sanhedrin declared that Jews must fight in the defence of the country in which they lived, even if it meant fighting against fellow Jews in another country during a time of war. In spite of that law there must have been many Jews who were experiencing a conflict of interests. In any case the fact of a conflict of interests is established by the need which the Sanhedrin could see to introduce such a law. That particular law was intimately bound up with the decision, taken at the same time, that Jews should "abandon the idea of reconquering Palestine and of establishing another Jewish State there. Henceforth Palestine would be a spiritual homeland only."⁵

The imperial leniency could even have come from a sense of compassion, remorse, guilt or a combination of all three following the butchery in Jerusalem and the decimation of the population of the Jewish State during the three rebellions. If that were the case it could be compared with the response of European Christianity after World War II. In any case, when Hadrian assumed the imperial throne, about ten per cent or more of the population of the Roman Empire were Jewish by faith. Every government, ancient or modern, which has tried to suppress and systematically persecute a proportion of its population as high as one in ten has sailed into stormy seas. Of the seven million people who professed the Jewish faith out of a total population of about seventy million, it has been estimated that only about four million were Jewish by direct tribal descent and the other three million were converted pagans or descendants of converted pagans.⁶ It is reasonable to assume that the rate of conversion from paganism to Judaism would have been much greater if it were not for the rigorous dietary laws adhered to by "the people of the book" and the Jewish insistence on circumcision.

A CHANGE OF HEART

One of the first decisions taken by Antonius Pius when he became emperor on the death of Hadrian in 138 CE, only three years after the crushing of the bar Kochba rebellion, was that many of Hadrian's repressive edicts against the Jews both in Palestine and in Rome should be reversed. Pharisaic activity sprung up everywhere, but notably in Galilee. A new Sanhedrin was established at Usha, religious life was reorganized and schools were re-opened. The new Sanhedrin was soon able to exercise control and a unifying authority over the Jewish communities both within and beyond Palestine.⁷ This suggests a remarkable change of heart on the part of the Romans. It was from that new base in Galilee that Rabbi Judah compiled the early Mishna. This instrument of laws and traditions was to be a substitute for the authority of that central academy on which the scattered Jewish communities could rely in the event of a further change of heart and the suppression of the new Sanhedrin.

It was about this time that the decision to cease active proselytizing was taken. At first glance the reasoning behind that decision seems a little peculiar. However on reflection it becomes clear that it was complementary to other laws and decisions of the same period and that it had dramatic consequences as the centuries ticked by. The reasoning went that as Jewish leaders had to rely on moral and personal authority to gain adherence to their decrees, (having no political structure or power to enforce them), it was possible that too many new converts might weaken the will of the whole community to survive as Judaists in future generations. To ensure adherence to the Jewish law and a vigorous esprit de corps conversion was made conditional on pagan or Christian converts having made an approach to the Jewish community for permission to join its religion and having been subjected to active dissuasion to test their sincerity. The same reasoning, coupled with a firm resolve to prevent a fall in numbers by counter-conversion to other faiths, caused the Jewish authorities to introduce a ban on intermarriage and severe penalties for both infanticide and celibacy!⁸

At the same time that this vigorous recovery in Jewish academic and cultural activity was being stimulated by the Sanhedrin in Palestine, the fledgling Christian church was struggling with serious problems of belief and organization. Christian Gnosticism was spreading and although it may have been the result of either deliberate or inadvertent merging of Paul's teaching with the existing forms of Gnosticism it was seen by the dominant leadership as a threat to the Pauline approach which had become the 'standard' for Christianity. As already noted, that acceptance of Pauline teaching had not been spontaneous but had come about because the Jerusalem leadership had been submerged by the political and social circumstances of the period. In any case the distinction between what was Paul's teaching and what was an overlay of Philo's philosophy, Eastern Gnosticism or good old fashioned paganism had become very blurred. Some Christians had certainly been actively encouraging Gnostic syncretism, [the adoption of opposing or contradictory religious concepts, expressions, symbols or activities from pagan or other non-Christian religions to encourage people of those faiths to adopt Christianity and to join the church], in order to modify the dominant teaching about the nature

of the person Jesus. Others simply reacted to the confusing mix of doctrines which were being espoused within the Christian communities. As the confusion increased the church became more authoritarian and doctrinaire in an effort to channel belief into a consistent and acceptable pattern. Its councils were attended only by those who had been appointed bishops whereas in the apostolic period responsibility had been shared by the leaders and the led.⁹ The power game had started.

By that time there was a considerable body of letters and other literature circulating from hand to hand throughout the church, but these were still given no higher status than teaching aids. However when Marcion, a wealthy ship owner-convert from Sinope on the Black Sea arrived in Rome in 140 CE he sought to change all that. He had previously been expelled from his local church but he gained great influence in Rome as a result of making substantial donations, and insisted that the Hebrew scriptures should be rejected and replaced by a series of Paul's letters and Luke's Gospel, all edited in accord with his views and with all references to Hebrew scriptures deleted. He apparently rejected the other Gospels which had been in circulation for some forty or fifty years because their thrust was not in accord with his liking. He claimed, in a manner consistent with the Gnostic belief, that God-the-Creator of the Hebrew scriptures was a materialistic subordinate god, primarily a judge-like figure and not consistent with the God of love revealed by Jesus. He rejected any suggestion that Jesus, a unique being, was connected in any way with God of Hebrew understanding or Hebrew prophecy. He also claimed that Jesus did not die on the cross and that another person had been substituted for him. He was again expelled from the church four years later but his influence remained substantial and he was a serious challenge to the mainstream church because he organized his supporters into compact Marcionite communities throughout the empire.^{10 11 12}

As a result of Marcion's influence efforts to arrive at an agreed or 'orthodox Christian' position and to sort out what was acceptable and what was not acceptable among the whole body of new literature were then accelerated. The items selected were added to the recognized Hebrew canon – plus a group of Hellenistic-Hebrew books from Alexandria which were not recognized by the Sanhedrin – to produce a Christian canon. There is no doubt that the selection was biased by those making it to suit the theology which they favored. Eventually the process came to a climax with the adoption of the Muratorian Canon for the New Testament about 170 CE but dispute, additions and deletions continued for many years. Even today not all Christian churches use the same New Testament. The earliest and least contentious of the church's creeds, the Apostles' Creed, came into use about the same time. Its authorship is not known.

A STANDARD OF BELIEF ... AND SYNCRETISM

It was only a few years after this, about 180 CE, that Bishop Irenaeus, then at Lyons, wrote that the teaching and traditions of the Roman See were the standard for belief. "Rome was the special bearer of the historical Christian faith, and able to provide guidance and sound teaching in the conflict with Gnosticism" he said,¹³ and In Against the Heresies he wrote that purity of faith was most clearly

guaranteed by the Roman Bishop as the successor of Peter in the community of Rome.¹⁴ Eventually, in 1870, the First Vatican Council drew on that same work as part of its justification for the primacy of Rome in the Catholic Church: “...because of its more powerful principality’, it was always ‘necessary for every church, that is, the faithful who are everywhere, to be in agreement’ with the Roman Church ...”¹⁵ Irenaeus spent much of his earlier life in the church in Asia Minor where he had conducted a travelling school and it is very probable that he had been influenced by his contact with Antioch and the writings of Ignatius who had already developed similar views.¹⁶ Irenaeus also had a big influence on the establishment of ordination procedures based on the assumption of an apostolic succession. It was largely because of his writings that “apostolic succession became the permanent ground from which the Catholic Church understood its own nature”.¹⁷ Quite apart from this he also had a very big influence on the development of the system of pastoral government which was adopted by Rome. The combination of clerical domination which had already been established and professional elitism which was a natural consequence of the procedure adopted for ordination, and the attitudes implicit in it, ensured a minimal role for the laity in the government of the church. It isolated those responsible for pastoral oversight. It also encouraged and contributed towards the atmosphere of mystique surrounding the religious observances of the church.

Many of these religious observances were introduced or developed during the later years of the second century CE. They were then progressively refined and have subsequently been accepted or retained, in spite of vigorous debate, on the basis of tradition, doctrine or dogmatic authority and the distinction between the three has become increasingly blurred. It was about this time that the “essential procedure for the rite of baptism, for the celebration of the Eucharist, [and] the correct attitudes to leaders and teachers” were set out in a systematic fashion.¹⁸ These things implied and required discipline and the authority to impose it. They were to be vested in the isolated ordained clergy, with each community headed by a bishop. These in turn implied a defined or restricted community with its membership determined and controlled according to systems laid down by those in authority. The acceptance of doctrines and creeds with participation in rites and liturgies automatically followed as a condition of membership. In his Letter to the Smyrnans Ignatius wrote:

“...all of you (are to) follow the bishop as Jesus Christ the Father, and the presbyterium as the apostles; the deacons, however, respect like God’s command! No one shall act regarding the church without the bishop. A celebration of the Eucharist is only authentic when it takes place under a bishop or one of his representatives. Where the bishop appears, there shall be the community, just as where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church.”¹⁹

But “community” also implies communal strength and cohesion to resist both disintegration and invasion by alien ideology. It therefore tends to involve growth of “institution” and to assume privileges even though these are not essential. In the case of the church it certainly did.

The rapid growth of the church and the development of its institutional framework around a priestly elite, conceived in a manner somewhat similar to its parent, Judaism, turned out to be both a strength and a weakness. It was a strength because the church could, if it chose, exert

effective corporate influence for change within the wider community of which it was a part. It was a weakness because of the temptation to put the ordained elite between the rest of mankind and God. It was also a weakness because of the temptation to syncretise or adapt the practices and ideas of other religious groups with which it had to coexist within the wider community. The church succumbed to both temptations.

In fact the church not only devised the concept of priestly intercession but it also resorted to practices such as interdiction, (the exclusion of a person, a group or a community from the sacraments and other spiritual privileges), and excommunication to enforce its corporate will over its adherents and to tighten the mystical grip of the clergy over the laity. The seeds had been planted which were to grow during the following centuries into a massive tangled jungle of hocus pocus. This camouflaged the love of God and substituted fear of the unknown and an oppressive burden of religious practices and trimmings for a glimpse of salvation.

Syncretism didn't just happen. It was carried out in order to attract and convert people either in the numbers game or in the interests of self-preservation. The church picked up some practices from most of the major pagan religions with which it rubbed shoulders. From Mithraism it appears to have adopted Sunday as the regular day of worship instead of the Jewish Sabbath. The use of candles in worship and ceremonials and the use of the sacramental expression of being "washed in the blood of Christ" appear to have been borrowed from the same source. In the Alexandrian cult of Serapis-Isis-Horus it may have found a basis for its Trinitarian doctrine. The similarity between the pagan belief that Horus was at the same time the son of Serapis and identical with Serapis, and the gymnastic reasoning of the early Trinitarians to show that Jesus was both the Son of God and the same as God is intriguing. The idea of elevating Mary, Jesus' mother, to quasi-divine rank may have been taken from the identification of Mary with Isis, although some scholars point to the Hellenistic Sun Goddesses as the stimulus for the doctrine that Mary is Mother-of-God and the consequent practices of Marialis Cultus. It is quite probable that concern at the adoption of such practices by churches in North Africa and Asia Minor was the reason why Irenaeus had advised Christians to turn to Rome as the standard of belief. He may have assumed, or hoped, that such syncretism was not taking place in Rome or that it could be held at a level that was tolerable.

The travelling school that Irenaeus established in Asia Minor was only one of three schools of theology which were established at about the same time. The others were both in North Africa, at Alexandria and Carthage. It appears that as the second century of the Christian Era was drawing to a close the church in Rome was intent on establishing routine procedures for worship, for other religious observance and for church government while the church in the Eastern Mediterranean and North Africa was keenly examining and developing its theology. However the motives in both cases appear to have been the same. The church believed that it had to institutionalize in order to satisfy the orderly approach of the Roman mind, to compete with paganism and to justify the break away from Judaism. Not only to justify the break in fact but also to ensure a break because many Christians and pagans alike were still tending to follow some of the practices of Judaism and therefore to be drawn towards it.²⁰

A TOUCH OF TOLERANCE

For the Jews the early years of the third century CE saw further improvements in their lot under Rome. In 212 CE Emperor Caracalla granted them both citizenship and equality at law with other citizens. However this may not have had much to do with a sense of religious tolerance. It appears to have been so that all free inhabitants of the empire were liable to taxation and were not a burden on the state. The privileges of citizenship simply went with the obligations.²¹ For the Christians those years saw a shift in the emphasis in the struggle to satisfactorily explain the relationship between Jesus of Nazareth and God as Paul had preached it. The struggle to counter Gnosticism gradually gave way to debate about the Trinity and the doctrine of incarnation. The concept of God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit had been floundering. Writing about 248 CE, 45 years after the death of Irenaeus, Origen fought vigorously to counter Gnosticism. He attempted to reconcile several conflicting Christian notions. First: the notion of God as an indivisible Creator-God. Second: the notion that Jesus as a real person was also identical with God. Third: the notion of the literal truth of the inspired sacred writings which Christianity had carried forward, in parallel with Judaism, from pre-Messianic Yahwism.

In attributing literal truth to the entire Old Testament Origen went further than the teachings or traditions of the Jewish faith and provided the basis for later claims of Biblical inerrancy within the Christian Church. The implications of that were not generally apparent until after the publication of Darwin's "The origin of species" in 1859 but during the following eighty years they were demonstrated with appalling consequences in Africa and Europe and they are still unfolding today.

Origen coined the expression "the God-man Jesus Christ", with heavy overtones of the cult of Serapis-Isis-Horus. He had been one of the early theologians of the Alexandrian school but was deposed as head of that school in 231 CE and had then established another school at Caesarea. However the real fire didn't come into the debate about the Trinity until about another sixty years had passed, when two Alexandrians, Arius and Athanasius, became locked in bitter controversy. This was not resolved until after Constantine declared Christianity the official religion of the Empire and imposed a politician's solution. He convened councils of the church to reach a consensus. Or was it resolved? In fact, as we shall see, it was not.

In the meantime the level of persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire had risen or fallen partly at the personal whims of emperors and partly as a barometer of Christian anti-state activities. Imperial attitudes varied from indifference bordering on amusement, to mild irritation and to intense contempt for the extravagances of theological thought which some of the Christians indulged in. Immediately after the circulation of Origen's writings Emperor Decius (249–251 CE) called on the full resources of the state to force Christians to conform to the state religion. He issued a decree that every resident of the empire had to offer sacrifices to the gods to ward off an epidemic. Commissioners were appointed to supervise the sacrifices and to certify to those who complied and those who refused to comply. This meant that Christians were required to renounce their faith or die.

Persecution, torture and martyrdoms reached a new peak and sapped the numerical strength of the church. Bishop Fabian of Rome (these days referred to as Pope) was among the martyrs. But as the persecution subsided the church regained its confidence and its hold over its adherents. The firmness of that grip is illustrated by the fact that the practice of penance was already an established part of the church's disciplinary system. Many of those who had denied the faith, known as lapsi, sought readmission to the church at the end of the persecution in 251. Pope Cornelius had correspondence on the subject with Cyprian, the controversial bishop at Carthage, and ordered that lapsi were to be re-admitted after suitable penance.²² There followed a split in the church around the conflicting teachings of Cyprian and his opponents, Novatian in Rome and Novatus in Carthage. Competing bishops were consecrated on both sides of the Mediterranean. This split continued for sixty years or more until the breakaway groups were either suppressed or merged with another breakaway group known as the Donatists about 311.

It was during the period of persecution under Decius that Christianity was carried into Central Europe fortuitously and quite by coincidence. Cappadocians who had been captured by the Goths were forcibly transported north of the Danube. This movement continued for four or five years from about the time of the initial Goth crossing about 247, to 251 when Decius was killed in the great Goth victory. But the Cappadocians were Arians and Rome was to feel their influence in due course.

COMPETITION? OR A PARALLEL SEARCH FOR MEANING?

Back on the Eastern fringe of the empire there was also quite a bit of action during this period. The questions of religion, God and the Messiah were getting more and more mixed up. A revolution in Parthia in 226 CE resulted in the Persian Sassanids replacing the Arsacid dynasty and Ardashir I became the monarch. Rome found itself facing a much stronger opponent pressing hard for control of Mesopotamia and Armenia. When Ardashir I had established his authority over the Sassanid Empire he also tried to enforce national unity through religious uniformity. The religious activity and belief of Persia at the time was a mixture of three streams. First, in order of appearance, there was ancient paganism with a number of gods. Second, there was Judaism. Third, but dominant, was Zoroastrianism which Ardashir I promptly adopted as the state religion.

Judaism is presumed to have been introduced to Persia by the free movement of Jews which followed the Persian invasion and overthrow of Babylon about twenty generations before Jesus, (538 BC).²³ Some of the Jews who had been taken as captives from Jerusalem to Babylon only 49 years earlier, in 587 BC, were probably still alive at the time of that Persian invasion. Certainly their descendants were there in significant numbers. It is known that many of them chose to return from Babylon (Iraq) to Judea (Palestine) and that others stayed in Babylon. It is reasonable to assume that some also travelled to Persia and established the nucleus of Persian Judaism

Zoroastrianism [see above, chapter 1] is based on the teachings of Zoroaster who lived between about 630 BC and 553 BC, midway through the period of the Babylonian Exile. He spent many years in contemplation in the desert regions of Persia before he began his mission as a teacher and a prophet, and the beginning of his prophetic activity corresponds roughly with the Jewish captivity. There is good circumstantial evidence to suggest that he came into contact with Judaism either directly or indirectly and was influenced by it. However the traffic in ideas was apparently a two-way affair because there is also evidence that his teachings had considerable impact on Jewish thought. When Persia overthrew the Babylonian Empire fifteen years after Zoroaster died, returning exiles took several aspects of Zoroastrian practice to Jerusalem and these were incorporated in new patterns of worship when the new Temple was completed. Zoroaster was vigorously monotheistic. He gave God the name Ahura Mazda. He taught of the existence of an evil spirit somewhat akin to Christian concepts of the devil; that man had to choose between good and evil; of life after death, with heaven immediately for the good but a period of punishment and purification for the wicked before their release to heaven. He also taught of the establishment of an ultimate kingdom of justice on earth. Zoroastrianism was carried forward with enthusiasm with each thrust of the empire and as a result it was well established in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire in 260 CE. In that year Ardashir I's son and successor, Sapor, captured both Antioch and the emperor, Valerian, who had succeeded the slain Decius. The situation became very confused when Sapor, returning to Persia in triumph with his prize captive, was set upon and defeated by the Arab king of Palmyra, Odenathus, who thereby strengthened his hold on his small kingdom between the empires of Rome and Persia.

It was against that background that the new Roman Emperor, Gallienus, issued an Edict of Religious Toleration almost immediately, in 261 CE. That edict can therefore not be regarded as resulting only from confusion in the City of Rome itself. It was certainly aimed, at least in part, at reducing religious friction in all parts of the empire. However it does appear to have ended any general persecutions against Christians for about forty years. Gallienus also formally recognized the autonomy of the small kingdom of Palmyra five years later, in 266 CE.

How much of Zoroaster's teaching rubbed off onto Christianity directly is uncertain. There is, certainly, a remarkable similarity between Zoroaster's teaching on purification of the dead and the church's teaching on purgatory which was not codified until several centuries after Christ. In addition there was some indirect influx from the infusion of Zoroastrian ideas in Gnosticism which (as we shall see shortly) had a substantial impact on the young Greek-speaking churches. However Zoroastrianism seems to have become affected by syncretism in the same manner as Christianity. Subsequent Sassanid emperors reverted to the role of God-monarchs. The little kingdom of Palmyra was subjected to conflicting religious influences from every direction and from every variant of Judaism, Christianity and Zoroastrianism. Its brief autonomy was lost in 273 CE, only seven years after Gallienus had officially recognized it as an independent sovereign state, and Emperor Aurelian carried the widow of Odenathus, Zenobia, to Rome in chains. At the same time Manichaeism was having quite an influence on the eastern

fringes of the empire. A man named Manes, born about 216 CE and called by his followers “the Apostle of Jesus Christ”, preached a religious belief in “dualism” or a world of good and evil forces. The material world was, he said, basically evil. It was the realm of Satan. All goodness was confined to the spiritual world which was God’s.²⁴ Jesus Christ was a central figure in Manes’ reasoning. He was wisdom personified. He enlightened men and led them to a true knowledge of themselves. He was engulfed by grace. He separated man from the error of the material world, he brought a mirror for man to see the universe and he showed that man’s soul is divine.²⁵

Manes appears to have been influenced by contemporary Zoroastrianism as well as by Christianity and Judaism. He does not appear to have claimed divine revelation although his followers attributed his teaching to it. He set up schools and trained missionaries to go in all directions. They made substantial inroads into both the Persian and the Eastern Roman Empire during Manes’ lifetime. Manes claimed to offer the ultimate wisdom which Zoroastrianism, Christianity and Buddhism did not. It was presumably his attitude towards Zoroastrianism that led to his execution by the Persian government in 276 CE.

About the same time, in what was then the Roman dominion of Armenia, there were also conflicting influences. Successive waves of Huns and Goths had moved down from the north and Persians had moved up from the south. Small numbers of Christians were persecuted from time to time, but somewhat haphazardly. Then their most famous evangelist, Gregory “the Illuminator”, strode onto the scene. He seems to have so impressed the king, Tiridates, by his resistance to persecution that Tiridates accepted baptism about 280 CE. The aristocracy followed suit and within a few years the whole population had adopted the new religion. Almost out of nowhere Rome, and the emperor, suddenly found that they had a massive population of Christians in the eastern provinces of the empire. Then the last and most intense period of persecution of Christians under Roman rule erupted in 303 CE under Emperor Diocletian. The trigger for this outburst is intriguing. At the time, the empire was showing increasing signs of breaking up. Diocletian abolished the last vestiges of republicanism and became emperor-absolute. He surrounded himself completely with the awe inspiring etiquette of an eastern monarch and demanded worship as the god-emperor. However the division of the Roman Empire into eastern and western empires was clearly imminent because one emperor, no matter how competent, could no longer command the entire borders. In the normal manner of politics he came under increasing criticism.

A CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The Christians had always been regarded as subversive and rebellious and it is possible that Diocletian reacted with a somewhat irrational backlash against them in an attempt to divert attention away from his other problems and thereby to prevent the division of the empire. On the other hand H. G. Wells suggests that these persecutions by Diocletian were “the crowning struggle of the old idea of the god-emperor against the already great and powerful organization

that defied his divinity ...[and]...he was forced by the logic of his assumptions to attempt the complete eradication of a system that flatly denied [him].”²⁶ Wells’ view is very interesting considering that Diocletian had previously shown toleration towards the Christians and in view of claims that his wife and his daughter were both considered to be of the faith.

But there were also other much more practical reasons for his outburst than the God versus god-emperor conflict. As a sub-group within the community Christians had always been very divisive. For generations they had been openly flaunting their doctrines under the noses of the rest of the community. Part of the attraction of their religion had been their fantastic claims that when Christ returned all but themselves would be damned as evil and destroyed by fire. They seemed to take great delight in anticipating the destruction of “Eternal Rome”.²⁷ Now, as the third century since the life on earth of their Messiah was passing without his return, they seemed to be gaining a somewhat more stable outlook. The secret meetings and licentious conduct for which earlier generations of Christians had been noted – perhaps with some exaggeration on the part of their opponents – had given way to flamboyant displays of public ritual. The emphasis evolving in its public attitudes was towards the universalism of the church and its right to lay first claim on the allegiance of its followers. This emphasis certainly implied the debunking of imperial demands for recognition, homage and devotion as the sole means of unifying the empire. It also introduced the concept of ‘conflict of interest’ which the church has always been very ready to impute to Jews. The church’s confidence was growing, of course, as its numbers grew and as its doctrines attracted some of the wealthy and some of the educated administrators. It was still somewhat revolutionary, but instead of being a force for social revolution among the underdogs of the state it was becoming a threat to the structures of the state. The emperor was eventually persuaded by his colleagues that there had arisen a state-within-the-state.²⁸ The situation could no longer be tolerated.

Under his imperial edict of February 23, 303 CE, Diocletian ordered the destruction of all churches, the surrender and burning of all copies of the scriptures, and the banning of all Christian meetings. All Christian officials were dismissed and the Christian employees at the imperial court, the Caesariana, were demoted without consideration of rank and position. A little later, many of the court officials were cruelly tortured and executed under the accusation of arson in the imperial palace. The priests and deacons of the imperial residence, Nicodemia, were also executed together with their bishop Anthimus.

Two subsequent edicts extended the persecution to all clerics of the empire and ordered their immediate arrest, torture and execution. A fourth edict, in the spring of 304, contained a strict general order for sacrifice in the whole empire and carried the terror of persecution to the whole Christian population. This last edict had as its undeniable goal the complete extermination of Christianity. It was probably instigated by Galerius.²⁹

Diocletian abdicated in 305 CE and the division of authority within the empire proceeded. Efforts to eliminate Christianity were stepped up by Caesar Galerius who had become one of Diocletian’s successors. He controlled the eastern provinces but he directed that Christian

churches in all provinces of the empire should be demolished to their foundations; that all other property of the church should be confiscated by the state and used or sold as it saw fit; that death should be the penalty for holding secret assemblies; that Christian freemen should be barred from receiving honors or holding public office; that Christian slaves should forfeit the right of release; that defence should be denied in legal actions and that all Christian literature should be burned. Quite clearly, the basic intention behind that edict against the Christians by Galerius was the same as the basic intention behind the actions of Hadrian and Severus against the Jews after they crushed the ultimate rebellion in Jerusalem in 135 CE. The nature of the treatment decreed was also the same for practical purposes. Only two factors differed. One was the severity of the treatment and the other was the practicability of enforcing the edict. The severity was marginally less because Galerius was not facing the trauma of the open rebellion which Severus had been required to put down. And the need to enforce his edict across the entire empire made it much more difficult for Galerius to put his plan into effect than for Severus who was dealing basically with the population of one small state.

A few months later, in 306 CE, Constantine was proclaimed emperor of the western provinces of the Roman Empire at York. Apparently he did not intervene to prevent the persecution of Christians at that stage although he was sympathetic towards them. However he certainly became more and more conscious of their numbers and of their potential unifying influence within the empire. By that time their ranks had been swollen to far in excess of the numbers of Judaists and it has been estimated that they made up about one fifth of the population of the empire. In any case Constantine was intent on securing his own position and he must have been well aware of the importance of the explosion in the Christian population of Armenia and the influence this could have in his personal ambition to become sole emperor of the entire empire.

In looking at this critical period of history it is very easy to overlook movements in the Jewish population, but it is especially so for those Christians who assume the correctness of the Christian stance because they have been fed on the spurious notion of the purity of the early church. They see Judaism as superseded by Christianity. Perhaps no longer an instrument of God's will. Simply an anachronism. An irritating religious phenomenon which refused to die. But before the rise of the Roman Empire and Christianity, Judaism had already spread right along the Mediterranean fringe of Africa. There appear to have been active communities of Jews established in Tunis and local tribes converted to Judaism along the Atlantic coast of Morocco as long as two hundred years before Christ. Going in the other direction, it is probable that the first practising Jews had reached India either across Persia by land or down the Persian Gulf within a generation or so, say 175 BCE.³⁰ That being the case we must pause and take stock of what was happening in Judaism in the empire which Constantine was just about to re-constitute.

SECURING THE JEWISH FAITH

By the time Constantine strode onto the scene as a Roman commander in Britain, Judaists had settled in every part of the empire except Britain.³¹ Except in the situations already discussed in which they came into direct confrontation with either the state or the church they were allowed freedom of worship and they were even allowed to practise Jewish law in disputes between themselves. Even the notorious anti-Roman uprisings of their co-religionists in Palestine did not seem to prejudice their position in other parts of the empire to any extent.³² They were ridiculed because of their way of life but they were not suppressed. It is estimated that there were still at least three million Judaists in the empire about 300 CE and that about one third of them were in the western provinces. This was about half the number two hundred years before. It is difficult to identify all of the factors which might have been involved in that dramatic reduction but several factors stand out: the retraction of the boundaries of the empire so that many Jews were no longer within the empire; the fantastic loss of life during the second and third Zealot wars; conversion to Christianity; and the decision of the Sanhedrin that proselytizing was to cease. Regardless of their tendency to withdraw into closed communities, Judaists were represented in urban and rural occupations equally. They are known to have been farmers and cattle raisers in Mesopotamia, street traders in Egypt, wine and olive growers in North Africa and Spain, weavers, garment makers, actors, bankers and shipping merchants in Italy and even slave traders in Germany. They had gone beyond the bounds of the Roman Empire into the Atlas Mountains of Morocco and the Caucasus Mountains between Persia and Russia, (in what we knew as Georgia in the southern region of the USSR for many years), and they had settled north of the Black Sea in the Crimea and the Ukraine.

On the academic front, Jewish leaders had been concerned that the history, teachings and laws of Judaism should be prepared in a form in which they could be secured and passed on from generation to generation in view of repeated assaults on the Temple and the priestly systems of the faith. With this in mind, as we have already noted, preparation of the Palestine Talmud which had begun at the Jabneh academy as early as 70 CE, (immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem by Rome for the first time), had been stepped up after the destruction of Jerusalem by Rome for the second time in 135 CE. By about the end of the second century CE the traditional practices and laws had been compiled into the Mishna. From then on, for several hundred years, an immense effort went into collecting, sorting and refining a great mass of material including ethical teachings, history, philosophy, science and legend. The work was not confined to one area or to one school but out of it evolved the Talmud. Much of the early work was done in Palestine, but later scholars worked in Babylonia at Sura and Nehardea until this was sacked by the Palmyrans in 261 a few months after they had captured their prize prisoner, Emperor Valerian, thereby helping to prompt the Edict of Toleration and earning their very short-lived independence. Work on the Talmud was then continued at Mahoza and Pumbeditha – out of the clutches of the Roman Empire.³³

It is noteworthy that although Galerius had not subjected their community to his program of persecution, migration of Jewish families from Italy to Spain increased from about this time. This may have been because of fear of what was likely to be ahead of them in less tolerant parts of the empire but there may have been some other regional or trade attraction. Whatever the reason was, the Jewish communities which were to be very important in Spain four hundred years later began to grow.

Then came one of those beacons. The Roman ship of state was wallowing in the storm. It paused, turned hard about, lifted on the wind and was swept along on a new uncharted course. Galerius died. It was 311 CE. On his death bed he realized the futility of the program which he had attempted to enforce against Christianity. He issued an edict of toleration explaining why he had been “desirous of reclaiming into the way of reason and nature the deluded Christians who had renounced the religion and ceremonies instituted by their fathers; and presumptuously despising the practice of antiquity, had invented extravagant laws and opinions according to their fancy, and had collected a various society from the different provinces of our empire.” He recognized the destitution which they were suffering, granted clemency “provided always that they preserve a due respect to the established laws and government”, and called on them “to offer up their prayers to the deity whom they adore, for our safety and prosperity, for their own, and for that of the republic.”³⁴

CONSTANTINE

Among the competitors for political supremacy in the empire were Constantine and the oppressive pagan Maxentius who had been in league with Galerius in the persecution of the Christians. Constantine claimed to have experienced a vision of a cross in the sky bearing the motto “Hoc Signo Vincas”, meaning “by this sign thou shalt conquer”. He took it as the standard of his army, gained the support of the Christians and, when Maxentius and he met in battle at Milvian on the Tiber a few miles from Rome in 312 CE, Constantine was victorious and Maxentius drowned. Constantine continued as Associate Emperor. Just at this time the church in North Africa was split by another controversy. This may have been fueled by the edict of toleration which Galerius issued on his death bed or it may have been a factor in his decision to issue that edict.³⁵ ³⁶However the controversy had certainly been triggered by the oppressive edicts of Diocletian in 303 and Galerius in 304. It proved to be a warped case of action and reaction. Constantine was left to sort out the mess and he botched it up. It happened this way. As had been the case during the persecutions sixty years earlier, many bishops had either collaborated with the oppressors or had simply handed over their scriptures to be burned in order to save their own lives. They were called “traditors”. Those who had resisted claimed that the traditors had forfeited any right to conduct sacraments and to ordain priests or bishops. In their reasoning it followed that any ordination carried out by a traditor was invalid. They believed that Bishop Caecilian of Carthage had been ordained by such a man. He actively sought to restrain what he saw as the excessive adulation of martyrs and confessors which

undermined established ecclesiastical authority. Eighty resisters met, declared Caecilian's ordination invalid and elected a successor. Caecilian stood his ground, of course, and was supported by the orthodox bishops who took the official church line that the efficacy of the sacraments came from Christ and not from their human ministers. The debate picked up all the elements of the dispute over the readmission of lapsi (those who had denied the faith under persecution) sixty years before and both sides drew on the writings of Cyprian to support their case. The bishop ordained by the resistance group was for some reason soon succeeded by a man named Donatus as rival bishop of Carthage. The division deepened and the rival group became known as Donatists.

Here enters Constantine. At first he may have taken the matter to be an exaggerated parochial grievance and he either ignored it or tolerated it.³⁷ But he couldn't ignore it for long. In March 313, shortly after his victory over Maxentius, Constantine and the associate emperor for the eastern provinces, Licinius, published the famous rescript of Milan – the so-called 'Edict of Toleration'. This recognized Christianity as a lawful religion and granted freedom of worship for all religions within the Roman Empire.³⁸ It also put an end to official persecutions and restored all property which had been confiscated from the church or its members.³⁹ It is probable that Constantine had expected the rescript to end internal dissension in the church such as the conflict between the orthodox Catholic Church and the Donatists as well as persecution and conflict between pagans and Christians. In fact, by granting them official toleration along with the orthodox church he invited them to compete, strengthened their position and deepened the division.

Shortly after Constantine and Licinius issued the Rescript of Milan the Donatists appealed against Caecilian continuing in office. In October 313 Constantine held a Council of Rome, sided with the bishop of Rome and supported Caecilian as the rightful bishop. He made a direct grant to Caecilian of 3,000 folles and instructed him to put down the men of unstable mind who were turning people away from the church.⁴⁰ When the dispute continued he referred it to a council held at Arles in southern France. The council supported Caecilian, as was to be expected, and so Constantine sent troops to put things right in Carthage.⁴¹ Theological uniformity and church unity could be imposed, he thought, like a road rule that cars must give way to horse drawn carriages. When he found that this wasn't the case he was unable to achieve by negotiation what he had failed to achieve with the army. Instead of the wound healing it festered and the Donatists gradually became established as a rival church.

The Council of Arles was to have been a counter-balancing action. However, despite all his efforts, changes of tack and military intervention the Donatists gradually became the dominant Christian body in North Africa. About 35 years later violence erupted, but we are not there yet. Prior to the battle at Milvian the church had used the fish as its symbol but after the rescript of Milan it adopted the cross. Again we find that there may have been mixed motives and a dash of syncretism. The cross had also been associated with sun worship and despite his association with the Christians, Constantine continued to act as pontifex maximus of the pagan state religion.⁴² The fortunes of the Christians immediately improved. So did their numbers. It had

suddenly become a matter of some prestige to be associated with the Christians and it was with their enthusiastic support that Constantine was able to consolidate his position as an absolute dictator, even more so than Diocletian had been. The Council of Arles was held about a year after the rescript of Milan had been issued and Constantine presided even though he had not then formally accepted Christianity. Three bishops from Britain were present. They included one from York where Constantine had been proclaimed emperor of the western provinces. This suggests that the church had become well established in Britain at that stage and also that Constantine's experience there had influenced his attitude towards the role of Christianity in the empire quite significantly. Certainly, by presiding over the Council of Arles with bishops present from diverse parts of the empire, Constantine was seen to be identifying himself with Christianity.

At a smaller regional council at Elvira in Spain in about 306 CE (the year that Constantine had been proclaimed provincial emperor), the church's law makers turned their attention to some other administrative matters and bishops, priests, deacons and other ministers were forbidden to have wives.⁴³ This appears to have been the first of a series of regional decisions imposing celibacy on the leadership groups of the church. It contrasts strangely with the decision of the Jewish Sanhedrin aimed at avoiding celibacy and it subsequently became the centre of another major debate – couched in theological terms of course – of current concern to both the clergy and the wider church community.

THE TRINITARIAN CONTROVERSY

It was during the next few years while Constantine was still associate emperor that the Trinitarian controversy erupted violently around the teachings of Arius and Athanasius at Alexandria. This was the city described by Wells as “for a time ... perhaps the greatest city of the world”. It had been founded by Alexander the Great in 332 BCE during his conquests which had carried the Hellenistic Greek civilization which he then dominated right through Egypt and into modern day Libya. Alexandria had therefore become something of a melting pot for religious thought. At the time of Alexander's “visit” Egypt had been under Persian rule for about two hundred years. There must have been some Zoroastrian influence but it appears likely that this was the corrupted emperor-god interpretation and not the keenly monotheistic teaching of Zoroaster himself. In any case Alexander came under the influence of Egyptian paganism of the period. He consulted the Oracle of Ammon and adopted the stance of a divine emperor-god himself.⁴⁴

By the time of the confrontation between Arius and Athanasius over the Trinity, monasticism of a pagan variety had become a well established facet of the community around Alexandria. It had developed from ideas introduced from India. At the time of the Trinitarian debate it was adopted by certain Christian groups in Egypt under the leadership of Anthony, but it does not seem to have been introduced into Europe until about two hundred years later.⁴⁵ Also, by the time of the Trinitarian controversy the Alexandrian School of Christian Theology had been

established for about thirty years and it had become the focal point for one of the largest concentrations of Christian population anywhere in the Roman Empire.

Against that background it becomes clear that the Trinitarian dispute was bound to be highly divisive among the very people on whom Constantine was relying for a unifying influence. The importance of the issue was such that an immense range of books has been written both supporting and denying the concept of the Trinity and various other attempts have been made to identify and to define God within the limits of human understanding. Those limits are such that whatever definitions human beings may determine will restrict human thinking and inhibit human understanding in such a way that God appears to be limited in scope, authority and presence to the powers of human comprehension. Immeasurable damage has been caused by the development and imposition of such doctrines and creeds. Barriers have been built between people. Obstacles have been put in the way of both a spontaneous and uninhibited response to God's love and obedience to God's will on the part of those who are subjected to those obstacles. The effective spread of Christ's message has been restricted. But most important of all, and basic to all other adverse effects, they tend to freeze God's power and intentions, in the human mind, at the point in time of the life of Jesus the Messiah. They make it difficult for Christians to grasp that there may be other instruments of God's will or phenomenon through which the presence of God may be discerned and that God may choose to inspire, call or act through people other than themselves. They also have the effect of substituting for God's limitless love and authority the sectarianism, arrogance, indecision and fallibility of the church. Such was the significance of the Trinitarian dispute.

Some of the less desirable characteristics of the institutional church had already been established or initiated by events and people before the Trinitarian dispute erupted. However because the subject of the dispute is basic to the thought of all faiths and ideologies and not only to Christianity, the outcome of the dispute proved to do more than just determine the future course of Christian theological gymnastics. It determined the relationship between the people of the church and its structures and decision making procedures. It determined the church's view of itself and the church's view of other faiths and ideologies. It also determined the view of the church as seen by people of other faiths and ideologies.

The Trinitarian dispute was not simply one facet of the beacon around which the Roman ship of state was already wallowing. It was another beacon. The subject of the dispute was God. It arose because Arius, who was a presbyter, saw fit to oppose the mystical view of God and Jesus which was pervading Christian thinking. In 318 CE he tried to clarify the confusion by setting down a statement that Jesus, although higher than the human nature, was inferior to God, that he was not eternal in existence and that he had a beginning. Athanasius, a deacon, flew into the fray. He asserted the unity of the Son and the Father, the deity of Christ and his eternal existence. But the argument didn't stop at the level of the local church debating society. As Wells describes the situation:

*“men who quarreled over business affairs, wives who wished to annoy their husbands, developed antagonistic views on this exalted theme ... Riots and excommunications and banishments punctuated these controversies, and finally came official persecutions ...”*⁴⁶

In 321 CE a synod was convened. Arius was not only refused the post of Bishop of Alexandria but was deposed from the offices which he then held. The bitterness deepened and spread like an ulcer, or perhaps a cancer. Three years later Constantine “succeeded” Licinius as emperor of the eastern provinces. He was at last sole emperor of the empire. It had been with Licinius jointly that he had issued the rescript of Milan about ten years earlier. It was now more important than ever that he end the division. He had to introduce or establish a degree of stability across the empire.

THE DECREE OF 324 AND THE COUNCIL OF NICAIA

Constantine’s solution was to issue a decree in 324 CE that Christianity was to be the state religion. In fact it was to be the only legal religion. However he did not revoke the citizenship of those who practised Judaism and he thereby invited pagan objectors to ignore the decree. Constantine assumed, rather naively, that political compromises instituted by himself as emperor could solve theological disputes and he wanted to show that he was supreme in ecclesiastical affairs by virtue of his office. In that regard he received support from some people in high church offices. Bishop-cum-historian Eusebius described him as “God’s dearly beloved” and, as emperor, “representative of Christianity” and said that opposition to him was “opposition to God’s own.”⁴⁷ But regardless of that, Constantine also wanted to mould the church into an instrument for consolidating the absolute power of the emperor. In fact by issuing that decree he made the situation worse within the church by encouraging the warring factions to flex the muscles of independence and fight even harder for the adoption of their views as the official theology.⁴⁸ When he sought to have Arius reinstated the effect was probably much the same. One thing we do know. The division was so destructive that only a year or so after he had gained absolute command of the empire and established Christianity as the religion of the realm Constantine was moved to impose his politician’s solution. He called a council to arrive at a consensus around which the church would bury its differences. This was crucial. His decree of 324 had, of course, encouraged a mass movement of the population into the church. But what were they to believe? He could not have the church tearing both itself and the empire apart over internal differences.

So the church met in council as an official instrument of the state for the first time in 325 CE at Nicaea in what is now northern Turkey. No longer was the homage and the loyalty of the church and its members due solely to God, whatever their understanding of God may have been. It was divided. The church and its members were on a new tack. They were responsible to the emperor and they exercised delegated authority under him. He was the same man who, until that moment, had been pontifex maximus of a pagan religious system. He even retained that title while he presided over the church’s councils. The entire church was caught in a bind

because some of its earlier leaders had, for whatever motives, pushed the church into dependence on its fellows in Rome. It was probably to be expected that the majority of the bishops at the council of Nicaea would be from the eastern part of the empire. After all it was still stronger in numbers in the east, its initial missionary activity had spread outward from the focal point of Jerusalem, and it was in the east that the controversy over the nature of God, Jesus and the Trinitarian theories had been most alarming. However that council can hardly be called representative when only five bishops were present from the western provinces, which included North Africa, compared with between two and three hundred from the eastern provinces. Not even the bishop of Rome was present. The emperor had arranged the transport for bishops to get to Nicaea.⁴⁹

Athanasius, not being ordained, did not have a vote at the council but was permitted to speak. His influence on the council's decision to condemn the teachings of Arius was very strong. However the council did not go as far as he wanted it to in fixing its doctrine. It considered a draft creed submitted by Eusebius which was already in use in his church at Caesarea and adopted as 'The Creed of Nicaea' a version which was a compromise between his orthodox statement and that demanded by Athanasius. It included a declaration that the key idea of Arius was anathema and linked certain other ideas which were also current with that declaration, but it did not include explicit statements spelling out the contrary idea which Athanasius had pressed for. Constantine and the council hoped that this would be an acceptable compromise which would be used throughout the church and that it would thus secure peace and harmony among the Christians of the empire.

That creed⁵⁰ opened with the words:

We believe in one God the Father All-sovereign, maker of all things visible and invisible;

There is, among believers, little which is contentious about that. The debate over that concept is between believers in a wide range of faiths and those who reject the notion of a creative god altogether. The debate begins in earnest with the next clause and a subsequent sentence:

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only-begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, true God of true God, begotten not made, of one substance with the Father, through whom all things were made, things in heaven and things on the earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down and was made flesh, and became man, suffered, and rose on the third day, ascended into the heavens, is coming to judge living and dead.

And in the Holy Spirit.

*And those that say 'There was when he was not,'
and, 'Before he was begotten he was not,'
and that, 'He came into being from what-is-not,'
or those that allege, that the son of God is
'Of another substance or essence'
or 'created,'*

or 'changeable'
or 'alterable,'
these the Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes.

Battle lines had been drawn, disputes continued as already noted, and many clergy continued to use the credal statements which they had previously devised themselves or which they favoured. There was also disagreement over the actual form of the creed adopted at Niceae, so various versions were soon in circulation with clergy adding or deleting phrases according to their personal whims. The version presented by Neuner and Dupuis as that approved at the Council of Niceae is somewhat longer and uses words which differ significantly in emphasis from that quoted above. While this may be partly the result of differing approaches to translation it helps to illustrate the diversity of versions in use at the time.⁵¹ But because the Creed of Niceae did not include all the contentious beliefs of Athanasius and his supporters a more comprehensive and tightly worded version was drafted. It was written basically to reaffirm 'the faith of Niceae' against continuing Arian opposition. But at the same time it was to proclaim the divinity of the Holy Spirit as an equal part of the Triune Godhead against the opposition of dissidents known as Pneumatomachi. This group denied that the Holy Spirit was equal in status to God, maintaining that it was an instrument of God's will. The modified version of the creed was adopted at the Council of Constantinople in 381, became known as the 'Nicene-Constantinopolitan Symbol' and was soon in widespread use. The beliefs of the Pneumatomachi were labelled 'Macedonianism', they were declared heretics, subjected to the full force of anti-heresy laws under Theodosius, and within two years of the council they had been effectively eliminated.

The new creed included several additional statements. First, that: "[Christ] came down from the heavens, and became flesh from the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary and was made man." Second, "[We believe] ... in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceeds from the Father, who together with the Father and the Son is worshipped and glorified, who has spoken through the prophets. Third, "[We believe] in one Holy Catholic and apostolic Church. Fourth, "We acknowledge one baptism for the forgiveness of sins." Fifth, "We expect the resurrection of the dead and the life of the world to come."

The council and the emperor were hell-bent on developing a straight jacket through which they still hoped to impose imperial-cum-church control over people's thinking and thereby achieve imperial stability through religious conformity. But by introducing those additional concepts into the creed they actually increased the need for clarification through careful reflection and informed debate. Then, by preventing that careful reflection and informed debate they further increased the prospects for dispute, division, more heresy declarations and heresy hunting, greater instability in the empire, and even more straight jackets. They were putting blinkers on people's eyes and making it more difficult than ever for people to understand their relationship with God and the message of the Gospel. In historical terms they had barely started along that course but because they could not understand their role, they were already making it more difficult to change direction ... and much, much worse was yet to come.

THE ATHANASIAN CREED

In 451 CE the Council of Chalcedon confirmed again the faith of the ‘fathers’ at the Council of Niceae (325) but it was the 381 version of the creed of Niceae-Constantinople which the council adopted for use with the Eucharist under the name of the Nicene Creed. With some minor variations it was in general use in the Eastern Church from about that time. In the West its introduction was more gradual. Eventually it became the subject of major controversy and division between the Eastern and Western Churches as a consequence of being modified by the Council of Toledo in 589 CE to include the statement that “the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son.” We shall come to that – the Filioque Clause – in due course.

But some years after the death of Athanasius, possibly between 381 and 428,⁵² a creed bearing his name but now thought to have been composed by Bishop Ambrose of Milan or some of his colleagues, was put into circulation in the Western Church. In due course it was adopted as an article of faith “and enjoyed great authority in the Latin Church.”⁵³ It was included in the Breviary for obligatory use in the daily Liturgy of the Hours by all Catholic clergy and both men and women under vows in religious orders. It was also required to be read for the Solemnity (feast) of the Holy Trinity, and it was retained by the Anglican and some other Protestant churches after the Reformation, but it was never accepted by the Eastern Orthodox Churches. Fortunately, as a result of revisions to the liturgy its use is no longer obligatory.

The Creed of Saint Athanasius begins with the words;

*Whosoever will be saved: before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholick Faith.
Which faith except everyone do keep whole and undefiled: without doubt he shall perish
everlastingly.*⁵⁴

It then includes in great detail each of the obligatory beliefs about the characteristics of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, reinforcing them with repetition that all three are equal and all three are the same. The creed is not set out here in full, but to illustrate this approach the following selection will be sufficient.

*... we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity;
Neither confounding the Persons: nor dividing the Substance.
For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son: and another of the Holy Ghost.
But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is all one: the Glory equal,
the Majesty co-eternal.
Such as the Father is, such is the Son: and such is the Holy Ghost.
The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate: and the Holy Ghost uncreate.
The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible: and the Holy Ghost
incomprehensible.*

Further into the creed comes the key statement of equality.

*So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons: one Holy Ghost, not three
Holy Ghosts.*

*And in this Trinity none is afore, or after other: none is greater, or less than another;
But the whole three Persons are co-eternal together: and co-equal.
So that in all things, as is aforesaid: the Unity in Trinity, and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshipped.
He therefore that will be saved: must thus think of the Trinity*

Then, dealing with the subject of incarnation, after making a great effort to convince everyone that the three persons of the one God are equal, the unknown author or authors set out to establish a ‘pecking order’ or qualified inferiority of the Son after all...

*... we believe and confess: that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man:
God, of the Substance of the Father, begotten before the Worlds: and Man, of the Substance of his Mother, born in the world;
Perfect God, and perfect Man: of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting;
Equal to the Father, as touching his Godhead: and inferior to the Father, as touching his Manhood.
Who although he be God and Man: yet he is not two, but one Christ;
One; not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh: but by taking the Manhood into God;
One altogether; not by confusion of Substance: but by unity of Person.
... and still more follows, with a final repetition of:
This is the Catholick Faith: which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved.*

As the unfolding trouble in the triangle will demonstrate, the consequences of the adoption of that creed have been catastrophic. To start with, within the church unimaginable effort has been diverted from the vital work of enabling people to understand and to respond to both the Law and the Gospel message which complements it. Ever since the Nicene Creed was adopted some of the church’s greatest intellects have been sidetracked by the task of justifying the unjustifiable. The adoption of the Athanasian Creed exacerbated that situation. Theologians have had the task of convincing the world that the third “person” of the Triune God (the Holy Ghost), although “proceeding” from each of the other two persons and therefore (one would reasonably presume) not co-eternal with them and definitely subordinate to them, “begat” the second person (the Son), at a very late stage in the history of creation and evolution (a mere 2,000 years ago), in spite of both of them being co-eternal with the first (the Father), and the second having already been “begotten before the worlds” by the first with the third looking over his shoulder.

THE GOSPEL OF JOHN

The formulators of the doctrine as expressed in those two creeds took as their starting point the entirely justifiable belief that the Divine Plan and the totality of Biblical teaching on ethics, morality and human relations – encompassing all that was subsequently revealed in the Law and the Gospel – existed as the Divine Will prior to the moment of creation. This is reflected in the

prologue to the New Testament book known as the Gospel According to Saint John which opens with the simple and direct words:

*“In the beginning was the Word:
the Word was with God
and the Word was God.
He was with God in the beginning.
Through Him all things came to be,
not one thing had its being but through him.
All that came to be had life in him
and that life was the light of men
a light that shines in the dark,
a light that darkness could not overpower...”
John 1:1–5[Jerusalem]*

At first glance it appears to be parallel to the opening lines of the book of Genesis, the first book in the Bible:

*In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. Now the earth was a formless void, there was darkness over the deep, and God’s spirit hovered over the water. God said, ‘Let there be light’, and there was light. God saw that the light was good, and God divided light from darkness.
Genesis 1:1–4 [Jerusalem]*

But the message in John is already confused. It has diverged from the Yahwist understanding and it soon becomes clear that the book is an openly polemical work written to justify a position which the author unashamedly promotes. The author of John has engaged in semantics, or even the simple substitution of words, to make two unjustifiable transpositions. First, he has moved from the Word, as an instrument of God’s will, being in the presence of God, (“the Word was with God”) to the Word being the same as God, (“the Word was God”). Second, he has made the move from the Word being an inanimate presence with God or an aspect of God to being personified as “He”. The author then continues:

*“...The Word was the true light
that enlightens all men;
and he was coming into the world.
He was in the world
that had its being through him... [v. 9–10]
...(he) was born not out of human stock
or urge of the flesh
or will of man*

but of God himself.

The Word was made flesh... [v. 13–14]

[Jerusalem Bible]

It is clear that in the first instance in which he uses the term ‘Word’ the author of John’s Gospel is referring to God’s Spirit, a presence or an influence of God, in the same context as that in which it is used in Genesis. But in working through the following verses he engineers a ‘transition’ or ‘transposition’ and in verse 14 he had moved from “He”, a personification of God, to the person Jesus of Nazareth. This transition is very important indeed and it is therefore necessary to examine the use of the two terms ‘Spirit’ and ‘Word’ very carefully.

The Yahwists in the years BCE used the term ‘Spirit’ in referring to an instrument of God’s Will both in a creative sense, as in Genesis 1, above, and in the sense of a messenger conveying wisdom, knowledge and understanding. Examples are easy to find. First, in Psalm 51:11–12, an appeal to God. “Cast me not away from thy presence; and take not thy holy spirit from me. Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation; and uphold me with thy free spirit.” [KJ] Second, in Isaiah 11:2, concerning the restoration of the House of David: “And the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord...” [KJ] Third, in Ezekiel 37:14 the prophet records an injunction from God: “and [I] shall put my spirit in you, and ye shall live, and I shall place you in your own land: then shall ye know that I the Lord have spoken it, and performed it, saith the Lord.” [KJ]

However when the Yahwist writers were referring to commands from God they did not attribute them to the Holy Spirit, but directly to God. This is illustrated by Exodus 13:12–13 which records Yahweh saying to Moses, “Speak to the sons of Israel and say, ‘You must keep my sabbaths carefully, because the sabbath is a sign between myself and you from generation to generation to show that it is I, Yahweh, who sanctify you.’” [Jerusalem] Then in the first book of Samuel 3:10–13 the boy’s response to the divine command to prophesy is recorded in this way. “Yahweh then came and stood by, calling as he had done before, ‘Samuel! Samuel!’ Samuel answered, ‘Speak, Yahweh, your servant is listening.’ Then Yahweh said to Samuel, ‘I am about to do such a thing in Israel as will make the ears of all who hear it ring. On that day, I will carry out against Eli everything I have spoken about his House, from beginning to end. You are to tell him that I condemn his House for ever because he has known that his sons have been cursing God, yet he has not corrected them.’” [Jerusalem] And in Joel 2:28, concerning the future deliverance of Israel, we read: “And it shall come to pass afterward, that I [Yahweh] will pour out my spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions...” [KJ]

One consequence of making a distinction between revelation through the Holy Spirit and commands of Yahweh in that way was that by the time of the prophets the Word of the Lord was regarded by some Jews as having an almost independent existence and authority.⁵⁵ This was later used against them by Christians who claimed that the Jewish recognition of two

persons in Yahweh justified the Christian concept of three persons in their Triune God. However distinct differences must be recognized between the concepts of a 'perceptible presence of God', 'an instrument of God's Will', and second or third 'persons' of God. The use of the terms 'a perceptible presence of God' or 'direct intervention by God' indicate that a person has experienced, has been influenced directly by, or has received commands directly from God. The call to Samuel is an example of a direct command or direct intervention by God. The term 'an instrument of God's Will' can refer to an influence (possibly perceived as a spirit or an angel), a person, or a body of people which exists by the Grace of God and which intervenes in a situation in a manner which God determines or directs and which is therefore consistent with God's Will or the Divine Plan. Jesus of Nazareth is therefore an instrument of God's Will. So were the armies of the Chaldeans when they invaded Judah.

However, the idea of one or more persons or influences being 'the second person' or 'the third person' of a multi-person god suggests that such 'persons' have an existence and authority independent of each other 'person' of the god. Even if one or more such 'persons' are together in the same realm, in consort with, and either superior to or subordinate to other 'persons' of the god this idea is not consistent with the concept of God-without-peer with incomprehensible, absolute and limitless authority and power. No cumbersome literary gymnastics used in an attempt to say otherwise can conceal that inconsistency. We must recognize that God, with indefinable power and authority, may, without any diminution of power and authority, delegate any aspect of Divine power and authority to any instrument of Divine Will, or exercise it through any such instrument. Such delegation or exercise of authority and power does not mean in any sense that God has relinquished Divine authority and power or that it has been diminished. Neither does it impute any permanence, exclusiveness or parameters to such a delegation. If we do not recognize this we immediately imply a limitation or a division of God's authority and power, and this merely indicates that we have misunderstood the indefinable, incomprehensible, limitless authority and power of God.

But back to the origins of the Gospel of John. It is a matter of some importance that the authorship of John is disputed and modern Biblical research has shown that it cannot be determined. Similarly, historians are unable to determine where or when it was written. The Gospel is believed to have been written in Asia Minor, but scholars can be no more precise than that, and it could be dated as late as the early years of the second century. It was certainly written no earlier than 70 CE, when the temple in Jerusalem was destroyed with the result that the Jerusalem group of disciples was scattered, its influence decimated and the Pauline group became the dominant influence in the evolution of the church's theology. It was most probably written soon after the Jewish Christian believers were expelled from the synagogues because of the claims they were making some fifteen to twenty years later, between 85 and 90 CE.⁵⁶ This places it in the early 90s, about a generation after Paul's vitriolic attack on the troublemakers undermining the church in Galatia, and in the same time frame as both the Book of Revelation which is believed to have been written in the early 90s and The Acts of the Apostles which is also dated between 90 and 100 CE.⁵⁷ So what we now know about the Gospel of John and the

way in which it is written raises serious questions about the extent to which the writer was responding to Philo's writing. The key idea to consider is the use of the Greek term 'logos', (word or reason), when Philo described a divine and immanent mediator embracing God's Word, Wisdom and plan or purpose for the universe, and that this "immanent mediator" was God's manifestation in the world (chapter 1).^{58 59} Did the author of John adapt Philo's terminology to the Christian message in an exercise in syncretism with two main aims: one, to take advantage of both the Wisdom of Solomon and Philo's writings, and the other, to counteract Philo's Judaizing influence? Those aims are consistent with the fact that throughout the gospel there is "an engagement, explicit or implicit, with the 'Jews' – so much so that Jesus himself often appears as one separate from and opposite to the Jews. Yet there is no denial of his Jewish identity, whether in contrast to a Samaritan (4:9, 22) or to a Gentile (18:35)."⁶⁰

This therefore also questions the validity of using John as the foundation for the key statement of faith of an entire belief system. It is very doubtful indeed whether a Gospel writer would have represented Jesus Christ as the incarnate Word of God if he were not trying to take advantage of Philo's definitions. The fact that the thrust of the prologue differs so markedly from the words of Jesus as they are recorded in the body of the gospel also suggests quite strongly that the writer's motive was proselytizing by means of syncretism. Put another way:

"Though it is clear that the author was influenced by the same background as Philo, his identification of the Logos with the Messiah was new. In Patristic theology [writings between the last few years of the first century and the end of the eighth century] the Johannine teaching about the Logos was taken up by St. Ignatius and developed by the Apologists of the second century who saw in it a means of making the Christian teaching compatible with Hellenistic philosophy."⁶¹

And put very plainly, in that competitive environment the suggestion that the writer of John was simply favourably impressed by Philo's writing is not sustainable. Without the determination of Paul he appears to have taken the line of least resistance: 'if you cannot beat them, join them'. Furthermore, as there are indications that the gospel was edited and published after the author's death the probability must be considered that the prologue was among the editor's additions.⁶²

Then there is the question of how the author of John uses the term "light." The writer of Genesis leaves us in no doubt that the Yahwist understanding was that God commanded the creation of light as a force, or, if you will, a source of energy, or a natural resource powering other components of creation, but in any case an integral aspect of the fact of creation. "Let there be light." Very clear. Very direct. Then follows the clear statement of understanding that the light was good: an essential and beneficent aspect of creation. "God saw that the light was good, and God divided light from darkness." God was in full and absolute control. There is no possible way to see divine equivalence, co-existence, or shared authority. The light was a subordinate aspect of creation. No more. No less.

It is therefore helpful to reflect on how people outside the embryonic church understood or perceived light, and why the author of John chose to use the expression “the Word was the true light.” Both before and during the Christian Era, light has generally been used as a symbol of life and continuity or immortality of the soul, in contrast to darkness which has generally been symbolic of death or chaos. But that understanding had been refined by the Zoroastrians as well as the Yahwists, and the presence of light implied or was symbolic of being in the presence of the good creator God. In contrast, the absence of light implied being subject to or under the influence of an evil or satanic ‘presence.’ To the Gnostics light was symbolic of spiritual salvation or liberation from the restrictions of material or physical constraints. So, at the time that the Gospel of John was written, every faith group used light in some manner to represent progress from an unfavourable to a favourable realm, or release from the limitations of darkness. In one, Hinduism, with which he was not likely to be familiar because the influence of its Aryan predecessors does not appear to have extended to Asia Minor, the significance of light and the use of candles in religious ceremonies reached the point that its principal centre, Banaras in northern India, was known as Kashi, ‘the city of light.’ It is therefore apparent that the author of John was another early syncretist. He was trying to capitalize on the concepts already understood in the diverse communities in which the church was sinking its roots and seeking converts, in order to be able to relate the person Jesus of Nazareth to the beliefs of the people of each existing religious tradition. That process has never stopped or been reversed. As he indicated himself, the author was unashamedly seeking to recruit people to Christianity.

In fact the World Council of Churches was perfectly happy to take advantage of the concept that “Jesus Christ (is) the Light of the World” when its third assembly was held in India, at New Delhi, in November 1961. That was the theme title for the assembly which opened with a prayer led by the Metropolitan of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church of Malabar, that: “We have come together in this place out of many nations because Christ who is the light of the world has shined in our hearts to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, and because he has set us as lights in the world and bidden us to let out light shine.” There was then a confession that “we have hidden from men the true light of the world” and an act of gratitude to God for “calling us out of darkness into this marvelous light.” When he addressed the first general session of the assembly, Bishop Gottfried Noth of Germany spoke of the theme in these terms: “The darkness in which the world lives is not an illusion, which one merely has to see through. It is much worse than we usually think: the darkness exercises dominion over us (Col. 1.13) and we are under its sway. Its spell cannot be broken simply by good will. The fellowship between God and man is broken, and this makes the world dark, whether it notices it or not. In the full authority of God’s grace, Christ establishes a new relationship with God, and this makes him the Light of the World. The darkness is driven away, not by a new doctrine of God but by his act of redemption.” [Emphasis added.] Putting the concept in such terms, placing the emphasis on Jesus of Nazareth as a guide who illuminates humanity’s relationship and fellowship with God was an effective and inspiring way of circumventing the dominant fundamentalist approach to

John's Gospel which was, and still is, a stumbling block to understanding the person and role of Jesus Christ.

However that is jumping ahead. The church's early theologians – or at least those who supported the writer of the Athanasian Creed – felt obliged to accept and to take advantage of the prologue to John's Gospel. This required them to somehow rationalize the proposition of a concept (the 'word' or the divine plan) being incarnate by birth to a normal human being as mother and a pre-existing 'influence' (the Holy Spirit) as paternal agent. As a consequence, their need to rely on verbal gymnastics and dogma increased. They were endeavouring to attribute actions and relationships which are rational (and understandable to a person without specialist training in, say, mathematical or scientific formulae) to an 'influence' – a supernatural mystery – which their former co-religionists, then competitors, had already understood and accepted as the Divine Spirit even though it could be conceived as either a discernible presence of God or an instrument of God's will.

Their task became greater and greater as they juggled with concepts and words. Relying heavily on the prologue in formulating the creeds they needed no more prompting to apply the personal pro-noun 'He' to 'the Word', and the term 'The Word' to Jesus in his Messianic role. This could have been because it was much easier than trying to articulate an indefinable aspect of God's will which was being progressively revealed, broadly according to God's will, through the primary instruments which God had nominated: the Jewish people. But it is more likely to have been because they were trying very strenuously to distance themselves and the church from Judaism. Certainly they believed that they needed some means of demonstrating two things: the difference between Christianity and Judaism, and Christianity's distinct and direct links with God. They wanted to reduce their dependence on their Jewish heritage and Judaism and they would have bypassed it altogether if they could. But they couldn't because they were dependant upon Old Testament prophecy to justify their claims that Jesus was the Messiah and he was undeniably Jewish. In either case, in making that transposition by extension of their faulty reasoning they decided and insisted that Jesus Christ, the Messiah, being 'The Word', must have existed before the world was created. They had thus worked themselves into a corner. To support their contention they appear to have relied mainly on the prologue to John but they also turned to statements in that Gospel which are attributed to Jesus and taken from personal exchanges between Jesus and a number of Pharisees. In these exchanges Jesus used a play on words and allusion to miracles of the Exodus to illustrate the divine basis of his mission and the nature of his relationship with God in response to questions and taunts.

In one, in the context of a discussion with Nicodemus on understanding the Spirit and the need for spiritual rebirth Jesus is quoted as saying:

"If I have told you earthly things and you do not believe me, how can you believe if I tell you heavenly things? No one has ascended into heaven but he who descended from heaven, the Son of man.⁶³ And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of man be lifted up, that whoever believes in him may have eternal life".

John 3:12–15 [RSV]

In another, in the context of questions from a group of worshippers in the Temple about his authority and his relationship to Abraham as the father of their faith, a worshipper asked Jesus: “Are you greater than our father Abraham, who is dead? The prophets are dead too. What do you claim to be?” Jesus is quoted as replying:

“If I glorify myself, that glory of mine is worthless. It is the Father who glorifies me, he of whom you say, ‘He is our God’, though you do not know him. But I know him; if I said that I did not know him I should be a liar like you. But in truth I know him and obey his word. Your father Abraham was overjoyed to see my day; he saw it and was glad”. The Jews protested, ‘You are not yet fifty years old. How can you have seen Abraham?’⁶⁴ Jesus said, “In very truth I tell you, before Abraham was born, I am.”

John 8: 53–58 [RSV]

Apart from the words of the writer of the prologue to the Gospel there is nothing to suggest that Jesus existed at the beginning of time, was the incarnation of an influence which existed at the beginning of time, or was in any sense equal in status to God. On the other hand there are many statements attributed to him which they could have used to illustrate the special but very definitely and unmistakably subordinate relationship of Jesus to God which Jesus expressed as that of Father and Son. He made it perfectly clear that he was acting in response to his obligations under that relationship to exemplify God’s Will and in doing so to compliment the Law, to extend the teaching which had already been conveyed through the Covenant People, of whom he was one, and to enhance the understanding of the relationship between God and all of God’s people.

The words I say to you I do not speak as from myself: it is the Father, living in me, who is doing this work.

John 14:10 [Jerusalem]

Father, the hour has come: glorify your Son so that your Son may glorify you; and, through the power over all mankind that you have given him, let him give eternal life to all those you have entrusted to him. And eternal life is this: to know you, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom you have sent.

John 17:1–3 [Jerusalem]

...he said to [the disciples] again, ‘Peace be with you. As the Father sent me, so am I sending you’.

John 20:21 [Jerusalem]

The overwhelming thrust of John is that Jesus is subordinate to, and sent by, God the Father. In the context of a challenge to his action in healing a sick person on the Sabbath he responded:

My Father goes on working and so did I. ... I tell you most solemnly, the Son can do nothing by himself; he can do only what he sees the Father doing; and whatever the Father does the Son does too.

John 5:18–19 [Jerusalem]

I am the true vine, and my Father is the vinedresser. Every branch in me that bears no fruit he cuts away, and every branch that does bear fruit he prunes to make it bear even more.

John 15:1–2 [Jerusalem]

However some of Jesus' most imperative statements which indicate how he understood his relationship with God are in the synoptic Gospels. They include his prayer in the garden at Gethsemane while he waited to be arrested:

My Father, if it is possible, let this cup pass me by. Nevertheless, let it be as you, not I, would have it. [and twice] My Father, if this cup cannot pass by without my drinking it, your will be done.

Matthew 26:39–43 [Jerusalem]

During his trial before the Sanhedrin the High Priest demanded that Jesus say, on oath, whether he was "the Christ, the Son of God." Jesus replied:

The words are your own. Moreover, I tell you that from this time onward you will see the Son of Man seated at the right hand of the Power and coming on the clouds of heaven.

Matthew 26:63–65 [Jerusalem]

In Mark 14:62 the same incident is reported with the words: "I am" in place of "The words are your own." Then among some of his final words on the cross we have:

Father, forgive them; they do not know what they are doing.

Luke 23:34 [Jerusalem]

My God, my God, why have you deserted me?

Both Matthew 27:47 and Mark 15:34 [Jerusalem]

Father, into your hands I commit my spirit.

Luke 23:46 [Jerusalem]

Similarly, the overwhelming thrust of statements in John concerning the Holy Spirit is that while the Spirit is made available at Jesus' request it is, and it remains, strictly an instrument of God's Will.

I shall ask the Father, and he will give you another Advocate to be with you forever, that Spirit of truth whom the world can never receive since it neither sees nor knows him; but you know him, because he is with you, he is in you.

... the Advocate, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father will send in my name, will teach you everything and remind you of all I have said to you.

John 14:16–17 and 26 [Jerusalem]

But when your Advocate has come, whom I will send you from the Father – the Spirit of truth that issues from the Father – he will bear witness to me.⁶⁵

John 15:26 [NEB]

However, choosing to ignore such irrefutable evidence that Jesus Christ, the Messiah, was subordinate to God, those early Christian theologians who were enjoying an unhealthy alliance of convenience with the ruling politicians of religion tried to cut short the debate on the basis that they had finalized the main aspect of the issue – how Jesus ranked in relation to the first and third persons of the Triune God – at least to their satisfaction. They were the judges: he was equal to God, and no correspondence would be entered into! They had determined that he existed before creation and therefore before the Covenant between God and the Jewish people, so naturally, even though he was one of them, he took precedence over them in God's scheme of things.

THE VENERATION OF MARY

They turned their minds back to another related distraction: the virgin birth. Although they were well accustomed to the Biblical concept of miracles they could not bring themselves to say “the Messiah's birth to a virgin Jewish woman was simply another miraculous expression of divine intervention within the Covenant relationship”. To do so would have tied them to the admission that the continuation of Christ's ministry was an inseparable aspect of the continuing Jewish destiny. Like the major aspect of the issue (Christ's relationship to God) this would also have required reconciliation with the Jewish authorities and their return to the synagogue. But that was unthinkable. The emphasis was placed increasingly on the person of Mary, Jesus' mother. As we have just noted, she had conceived the second person of the Triune God at the behest of the first, through the agency of the third, within the community of the Covenant people, and yet – the church had determined: the first, second and third were all co-eternal. According to its reasoning this made Mary “Mother of God” (Theotokos) and it was then an easy step to also give her the pagan title “Queen of Heaven” and weaken the nexus with Judaism even further. In fact, in their view, that earned them a ‘bonus point’ as well. Early officials of the church and theological manipulators had already been hell-bent on proselytizing both Jews and pagans by means of syncretism and they could neatly mesh the spread of Mariology into the existing web of pagan goddesses and fertility cults. And so to the issue of ‘The Mother of God’.

It appears that veneration of Mary as either ‘the New Eve’ or ‘Daughter of Zion’ had already taken root in parts of the church when Jerusalem was ravaged and the Temple destroyed – and with it the nucleus of the church's leadership – in 70 CE. That was well before the canonized Gospels, Acts or the Letters had been written, so there can be no justification on Biblical

grounds for such a development. By the end of the first century CE a Feast of Mary, *Conceptio Christi*, was being celebrated together with celebrations for the Creation of the World and the Resurrection.⁶⁶ It also appears that fertility rites associated with the worship of pagan goddesses in the region of Canaan had involved sex orgies, human sacrifice and ritual prostitution, that these practices had not been quashed altogether by Yahwist colonization, and that they persisted in some regions at the time of Christ. As a result there was very soon a merging of symbols from the new Christian and existing pagan religions and gradually, as the churches gained power and confidence, some of them decided to adopt the pagan symbols and encourage the development of a Christianized cult of the Queen of Heaven.

According to author Andrew Greeley such a process was practically inevitable once the church “decided to take the risk of absorbing all that was good and beautiful in paganism.”⁶⁷ No one bothered to consider the consequences: at least not at that time. By about the end of the second century drawings of Mary were to be found in the Catacombs and sometime between the middle of the third century and the early years of the fourth – well before the Council of Niceae – direct and explicit Marian devotion was “well under way.”⁶⁸ It was not until a hundred years after Niceae that bitter controversy finally erupted, threatening a split in the church and requiring the emperor to convene a special council at Ephesus in 431. When its solution was to confirm the use of the term *Theotokos* a split still occurred. The decision was reconfirmed at Chalcedon twenty years later.

Mary was actually a normal human being nominated by God to bear a child who would serve as Messiah – the exemplification of God’s Will and the person who would enable all humanity to reach a more intimate, unclouded understanding of its relationship to God, its obligations to God and thus its responsibilities to the total human community. We can assume that she was a person appropriate to be so nominated and favoured by God, but we can assume no more. We know little more, with certainty, than that she was devout and responded to and pondered God’s intervention in her life with humility and love. All else in conjecture and developed myth. We can acknowledge several things. First: that Mary bore a child by divine intervention at the command of God the Almighty (otherwise referred to as God the Father or the ‘first person’ of the Triune God). Second: conception occurred through the agency of the Holy Spirit, an instrument of God’s Will (the ‘third person’ of the Triune God). Third: Mary gave birth to a child who was named Jesus. Fourth: Jesus is the Messiah and both Son of Man and Son of God, an instrument of God’s Will (referred to as the ‘second person’ of the Triune God even though he appeared in history as third in sequence). On that basis there is absolutely no justification for the adoption of the title ‘Mother of God’. The simple description ‘mother of the Messiah’ would have been appropriate and adequate. The description ‘mother of the Son of God’ would also have been justifiable. However, once the expressions ‘Mother of God’ and ‘Queen of Heaven’ had been used in the church in a campaign of syncretism there appeared, to those involved, to be no turning back. They had to manipulate their growing range of creeds, doctrinal statements and dogma to accommodate the ‘new’ beliefs and then enforce them by heresy hunting. To

admit that they were wrong and to start all over again was very threatening and therefore unacceptable.

Thus while the church was absorbing a mass of pagan ideas and practices it was also formulating a series of creeds to provide a base for teaching the great mass of people who were being absorbed. There is no doubt that – as the following note from Gibbon and the next chapter will confirm – many of the people involved in the bodies which drew up the creeds had been recruited into the church as a result of syncretism. When Theodosius banned all pagan worship and destroyed or seized all such temples the people of those sects soon got their revenge. Vast numbers of pagan proselytes thronged the churches which accommodated them by slowly adopting the worship of saints and relics to provide an equivalent to pagan mythology. ‘The most respectable bishops,’ says Gibbon, ‘had persuaded themselves that the ignorant rustics would more cheerfully renounce the superstitions of paganism if they found some resemblance, some compensation, in the bosom of Christianity.’”⁶⁹ Many of those proselytes came from sects which recognized more than one deity and they would have therefore been eager to continue with a similar arrangement in Christianity. After all it had only been a matter of jumping from one religious rock to another in conformity with the imperial and military, social and personal currents swirling around them. If they were not comfortable, or if the currents changed again as they had before, the ‘new Christians’ could always jump back the other way. The concept of one solitary God, absolute and exclusive, was certainly new to them because they had not received the benefit of rigorous theological discipline which was an important aspect of Yahwism.

There is ample evidence that the early church had already encouraged the use of multiple religious symbols on the basis that if one symbol did not ‘click’ with a person’s psyche another one might. Some writers still support the use of multiple symbols as an aid to religious celebration. Greeley maintains that: “There is no need at all to limit God’s exuberant graciousness by insisting on only one religious symbol as being fully legitimate for a tradition. ... Jesus died and risen in the ‘privileged’ symbol. God, not being a Calvinist, permits us, indeed encourages us (if the history of religions is any proof) to have other symbols which reflect the core symbol.”⁷⁰ But in that interpretation of the history of religion lies the potential for very serious misunderstanding. Neither God, the prophets of Yahwism as it evolved under the Divine Covenant with the Jewish people, nor Jesus were interested in simply another religion. The mission of the Jewish people and the Messiah was – and still is – is to enable all humanity to reach a more intimate, unclouded understanding of its relationship to God, its obligations to God and its responsibilities to the total human community which flow from that understanding. That requires total concentration on the Divine Will. Everything else is to be a consequence of that and to flow from it.

Greeley, widely recognized for his “most distinguished contribution to Catholic literature,”⁷¹ paints a very effective (even if very irreverent) picture of the interface between the Yahwist community and its pagan neighbours.

...when Yahweh, that pushy old desert Semitic storm god, elbowed his way into human history in the Sinai experience, he quite pointedly warned his followers against the fertility cult. There was only one god, and his name was Yahweh. Whatever other deities might have existed were inferior to him and not to be taken seriously. The cosmos was his show. As he ironically informed Job, humans were not around when he made it. He was not about to abide any competition from the bizarre deities who had set themselves up in the deity business – either male or female.⁷²

The struggle between Yahwism and the more ancient pagan fertility rituals was a long and fierce one, and while Yahweh had pretty well swept the field clear by the time of the Second Temple, the periodic construction of pagan temples and the willingness of some Jews to worship in them despite the denunciations of both the Pharisees and the temple priesthood indicates that the goddesses may have retreated and gone underground, but they were not completely destroyed.⁷³

Greeley chooses language to imply that the pagan gods were living entities rather than products of fertile human imagination, and in this way he illustrates very well the mind set of the people of the day and the task facing the early Christians who were endeavouring to set up a system within which the Messiah's mission could be pursued. However he then suggests ways in which the Yahwists may have combined pagan fertility rites into their worship to make it easier for pagans to adapt to Yahwism and on that basis he proceeds to discuss Christian symbol substitution, or syncretism. He refers in particular to the description of Jesus as the 'New Adam' and the substitution of Mary for the pagan goddesses, as if what had been done within Yahwism (if his interpretation is correct) justified what was done by the early church. That contention is insupportable but, regardless of any debate about that issue, the process was carried out. Thus, considering the circumstances in which they were formulated, it is hardly surprising that the new creeds defied logic and differed greatly from the teachings of both the parent faith and the Messiah in whose name the new system of faith was being developed.

DIVINE AUTHORITY, OR ABUSE OF STATE POWER?

Having failed to convince some of its subjects of its highly illogical faith-solution the church then treated acceptance of the creeds as if it was a vital matter of life and death. It soon became one as the church relied increasingly on coercion, heresy hunting and the use of state powers to impose acceptance of its creed and to maintain its position. It was so imbued with its new state authority and self-misunderstanding that it was incapable of recognizing the stumbling blocks which it was strewing all along the path to salvation. It inhibited an understanding of the absolute authority, love and grace of God and, in human understanding, it restricted the authority and power of God to well below the limits of human comprehension and placed it within the confines of human family structures. It encouraged the belief in a fixed and final point in God's authority which it then took advantage of and compounded as it presented itself as the sole authorized interpreter of that fixed and final point. This was aggravated by the progressive development of ill-conceived Mariology.

From the limited amount of material which is readily available on the discussions of that period it appears that there was little understanding of the nature of the contradictions and the manner in which the church's doctrine and theology were being exposed to eventual ridicule. If there was, then it has largely been suppressed. However it is not surprising that so little material is available. People are not usually inclined to retain material which is critical of a position they have adopted. Thus it is widely accepted that many writings which could have been included in the canon of the New Testament with equal authority and justification as some of those which are included were quietly disposed of or allowed to fade into oblivion. We can assume that many of these 'lost' writings contradicted the prevailing views.

God was portrayed as delegating or even forfeiting to the church the incomprehensible and unrestricted authority and power to exercise such incomprehensible and unrestricted authority and power in any other mode of existence or through any other instrument of the Divine Will. There were to be no other instruments of the Divine will besides the church – unless the church chose to declare them to be so, as it was in the process of doing with Jesus' mother, Mary, and a host of saints. The church soon followed that with the teaching that prophecy had ceased at Pentecost with the establishment of the church. On the basis of Jesus' last recorded conversation with his disciples, the church represented itself as instituted by Christ in the exercise of the authority of the Triune God. In doing so it further restricted the ability of the people to comprehend the totality of Divine authority because, directly linked to that delegation of authority was another spurious teaching. That teaching was that the world wide community of Judaism ("the Jews") had forfeited or been deprived of any role in the Divine Plan except to demonstrate that it (or they) had been superseded by the church. What we have of that conversation in the King James version, published in 1611, is:

All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.

Matthew 28:18–20 [King James]

Twentieth century translations, taking into account some additional source material, replace the simple words "teach all nations" with the words "make disciples of all nations" (RSV and Jerusalem), or "make all nations my disciples" (NEB). Similarly these translations use the word "authority" in place of "power". Both substitutions alter the meaning of the passage significantly. The word "disciples" introduces the concept of personal allegiance, and "authority" introduces the notion of institutional decision making rather than simply the capacity to act. These translations therefore lend greater support to the church's contention that it was 'commissioned'. However there is nothing to indicate that Jesus was telling his disciples to leave the Jewish community or faith, or to establish a separate church. They were simply to go and teach and baptize in his name. The meaning of the term 'Father' as Jesus used it had not changed. Neither had the faith, the Law or the message of the prophets which they were to

teach. He had said very definitely that he had come not to abolish them but to complete them. His Gospel message simply complimented them. This is consistent with the fact that the disciples stayed and preached in synagogues until some of their teachings became so embarrassing that they were expelled between 85 and 90 CE, some fifteen to twenty years after the destruction of Jerusalem.

That separation, the church's anti-Jewish politicking and the development of its creeds and doctrines all contributed to undermining the teaching and love of the Messiah upon which people were invited to base their relationships and produced in its place a regime of fear and uncertainty. But in addition it strengthened the barriers between Christians and Jews, progressively increased the strength of the challenge which would ultimately be required to demolish it, and made it ever more difficult for Christian theologians who may have wished to, to dismantle the doctrines on which it was built. There certainly were some, but they were in the minority and they realized that, in the circumstances of the time, if they dismantled those parts of doctrine which propped up the church's warped self-understanding and its rejection of Judaism the entire system of beliefs which underpinned the institution of the church would be discredited. The church in its contemporary form as a state institution would have come under attack and may have been rejected or dismantled in exactly the same way that the emperors had dealt with the religions which had gone before it. They seem to have believed that it was better to have people worship God within a flawed Christian institution rather than either leave them with no Christian institution, encourage them to turn to Judaism – or possibly see the state return to pagan rites or animism. In any case they had little hope of surviving the church's heresy hunting techniques if they tried to expose and eliminate the doctrines which they saw as flawed. Some meekly submitted but, as we shall see, some moved elsewhere and started separate sects

THE BIGGEST STUMBLING BLOCK ...

Thus the fact that the Athanasian Creed – being the most detailed statement of the church's obligatory Trinitarian belief – was the dominant statement of belief of the Western Church during a long and critical period of its development is of paramount importance. Apart from sidetracking church leaders and theologians who were caught up in defending it and diverting so much effort from productive enterprise, it provided the foundation for the church's continuing self-understanding, attitudes and actions. By conditioning the attitudes of both believers and non-believers who were subjected to it either directly or indirectly, that creed did more than any other single piece of writing to generate the "God's own" complex among Christians, to inhibit or even prevent an understanding of other faiths, and to generate and entrench bigotry, racism and anti-Semitism within Christianity. There is a striking similarity between the sentiments expressed in the Athanasian Creed and by Cyprian about a hundred years earlier during the factional struggles of the pre-Constantinian era, that there is no salvation outside the church. The church disregarded the fact that such teaching is in direct

contradiction to Christ's teaching on personal conduct and judgement – a contradiction which is readily appreciated from a reading of the Beatitudes (Matthew 5:3–12), the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:30–37) or his teaching on the last judgement, known as the parable of the sheep and the goats (Matthew 25:31–46). It also disregarded the fact that the expression “God's own” properly applies to all people and not simply to the people of the church which had usurped the role of the Jewish community as people “chosen” for a particular task.

But it also placed dogma before faith and in doing so it drew another distinction between the positions of Judaism and the church. The Jewish understanding of God and the Holy Spirit was based on faith in a covenant relationship of trust. On the other hand, although the church insisted that its teaching on the Trinity and the incarnation was also based on faith in a covenant relationship, it had been diverted by the writer of John's Gospel. By acting to take advantage of his new idea of the incarnation it had compromised faith by imposing acceptance of dogma under duress: “Whosoever will be saved: before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholick Faith. Which faith except everyone do keep whole and undefiled: without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.”⁷⁴ This put the biggest of the stumbling blocks in the way of Christians in their relations with non-Christians. It stimulated the numbers game approach to missionary work and it was an affront to all non-Christians.

The Creed of Saint Athanasius was therefore also an affront to God. If Biblical history, the teachings and prophecies of the Torah, and the Gospels were to be taken seriously it was to be expected that there would be a divine reaction and ultimately divine judgement, which could involve retribution, if the church failed to recognize its failings and mend its ways. But the church's teaching had the effect of encouraging the belief that although Divine Judgement had been exercised against the people of Judah when they lost sight of their covenant responsibilities the same Divine Judgement would not, or could not, be exercised against the church in a similar situation. The “blind guides” who put stumbling blocks of religious observance in the way of the people, who “neglected the weightier matters of the Law – justice, mercy (and) good faith”, and who “shut up the kingdom of heaven in men's faces”⁷⁵ were certainly not all among the church's Jewish forerunners.

Many Christians now like to disregard the Athanasian Creed and to deny its impact, especially now that its use in most church services of worship and teaching is no longer obligatory. However its dominant influence over many centuries is demonstrated by the fact that the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England states that:

“Upon ...Christmas Day ... Easter Day, Ascension Day, Whitsunday ... Trinity Sunday [and a list of nine other feast days] shall be sung or said at Morning Prayer, instead of the Apostles' Creed, this Confession of our Christian Faith, commonly called the Creed of Saint Athanasius, by the Minister and people standing.”

Even though it has not, in fact, been in regular use in many churches for many years the formal liturgy of the church still required it to be said. In Australia, for example, its use was made optional in 1977 with the adoption of an Anglican Prayer Book for Australia, but the text

of the creed was still included in the book. It therefore cannot be denied as an article of faith. To do so is to admit a mockery of the faith. On the other hand, not to do so is also to admit a mockery of the faith.

Although Athanasius won round one at Nicaea and later became Bishop of Alexandria, the post which had been denied to Arius, all was not beer and skittles for him. He was driven into exile by supporters of Arius five times! Neither did the adoption of the Nicene Creed solve the strained relationships within the church. Again, quoting Wells:

*Orthodoxy became a test not only for Christian office, but for Christian trade and help. A small point of doctrine might mean affluence or beggary to a man. It is difficult to read the surviving literature of the time without a strong sense of the dogmatism, the spites, rivalries, and pedantries of the men who tore Christianity to pieces for the sake of these theological refinements.*⁷⁶

Other disputes developed around related issues which, for the layman and the non-Christian, all appear to be very much one basic issue. The next in notoriety was probably the Apollinarian controversy over the nature of Jesus. In 360 CE a bishop in Laodicea, Apollinarius, expounded the belief that “the divine nature took the place of the human nature in Christ; that Jesus on earth was not man, but God alone in human form. The majority of bishops and theologians held that the personality of Jesus Christ was a union of God and man, deity and humanity in one nature.”⁷⁷ This “heresy of Apollinarius” was condemned by a Council of Constantinople in 381 CE, together with the heresy of Macedonianism, about the same time that the Athanasian Creed – reflecting all three controversies – came into use.

Other students in this enlightened age may also find the reasoning and the actions of the principal actors in these dramas which divided nations, retarded progress and led to distress, conflict and human degradation on a mind-boggling scale something of a paradox. If they do they are in good company. From Wells again:

*“...even if we think that these attempts to say exactly how God was related to himself were presumptuous and intellectually monstrous, nevertheless we are bound to recognize that beneath these preposterous refinements of impossible dogmas there lay often a real passion for truth, even if it was truth ill conceived.”*⁷⁸

Perhaps Wells’ sympathy is a little misplaced. After all the aim of the exercise was supposed to be the salvation of mankind according to a pattern of love and reconciliation exemplified by the life of the Messiah in whose name the whole beastly business was being pursued.

But back to Constantine to pick up the threads again. His new state church had to have status, procedures and trappings in keeping with its role as an instrument of the great Roman Empire. He had founded the Church of St. Peter over the tomb of Peter the Apostle in the midst of a pagan necropolis on the Vatican Hill in about 320 CE while he was still associate emperor. Now, as sole emperor, he directed that large impressive churches be built at state expense in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. A little later he ordered one to be built in his new capital of

Constantinople. In other cities the pagan temples were consecrated as churches of the new state religion. The funds from the public treasury which had previously supported “the temples of the gods” were now directed to the Christian Church. Its bishops, priests and officials were soon very well endowed indeed. Already, in 313, less than a year after his victory over Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge, Constantine had made a gift to the bishop of Rome of the Lateran Palace. Payment for services rendered. Its clergy were relieved of the payment of taxes. For them the public duties considered obligatory for ordinary mortals were waived. Special ecclesiastical courts were established to hear charges against them, they were generally placed above the civil laws of the land and bishops were given judicial status.

Services of worship soon lost the sense of community and of inspired dedication which had been a characteristic of the years of persecution. Simplicity gave way to ceremonial, pomp and splendour. With safety no longer at risk, and with the prizes of social and political power and financial benefits dangling before their greedy eyes, unscrupulous men of ambition scrambled for church offices. Moral integrity and humility before God gave way to corruption and arrogance. Pagan ceremonials were adopted increasingly and the use of vestments was introduced. Religious observance became the price of privilege. As the authority of the bishop of Rome increased because of his position as a very senior public official, so the grip of the hierarchy tightened, the structures of the institution became more rigid, the mystical hold of the priest over his communicants increased, force was used increasingly to suppress men of unorthodox religious beliefs and the role of the priests was interpreted more and more as that of an intermediary between man and God. He became an invoker of divine privileges including the forgiving of sins. He became less and less a leader and preacher. It seems that the use of images also began to creep in about the time of Constantine’s rule in spite of earlier intense opposition to such things on well established Biblical grounds. This is hardly surprising in view of the simple and direct transference of masses of people from pagan religions to Christianity at the drop of a hat, or at least an edict or two. There is a record of a request from Constantine’s sister to Bishop Eusebius at Caesarea that he provide a portrait of Christ. The request was refused. But more of that later.

What a pitiful plight the church had got itself into. The guidelines set down by Jesus for individual and group conduct, the clear warnings of the pitfalls which he gave and his scathing criticisms of the Jewish religious order of his day, as recorded in documents which the church was then busy canonizing, seem to have had very little effect on it. The church, as a body of people, had already engineered itself into an institutional position in which it was to be less and less able to fulfill its proper role as an instrument of God’s will. Perhaps it was even unable to understand that role but, fortunately, the picture wasn’t entirely black.

... BUT SOME WORTHY ACHIEVEMENTS

A number of important reforms were carried out in the Roman Empire of the period. The basis of the “western ethic” had been laid, for better or for worse. Among the changes which can be credited to the early church are the abolition of crucifixion as a method of executing criminals; the outlawing of the practices of smothering or abandoning unwanted babies, or collecting them for sale into slavery; and the introduction of limited rights at law for slaves who, at that time, made up more than half the population of the Roman republic. However the church cannot claim much of the credit for the gradual elimination of slavery because it was largely circumstantial. According to R.H. Barrow: “As wars of expansion ceased, captives were scarcer, and barbarians made bad slaves; the economic fallacy of slavery in agriculture and industry became clearer and standards of humanity were raised. From the lowest motives of freedom it was discovered that, the nearer the lot of a slave approached to that of a free man, the more useful he was.”⁷⁹ On the other hand the church can claim much of the credit for the eventual prohibition of gladiatorial battles as a punishment for criminals and as public spectacles, and it cannot be denied that there was a considerable improvement in the moral condition of Roman society-at-large. This improvement was reflected in a growing acceptance of the sanctity of human life. The attitudes of people towards their fellows began to change and there was wider acceptance of the belief that human life has some sort of meaning and purpose.

There has always been a natural tendency for those who hold effective power to assume that with their era man’s overall mental capacity has reached its peak, that social order in their society has reached a natural plateau and that their religious views, being basic to their other views, are the ultimate. These assumptions have provided a basis or a justification for them to maintain the status quo. Such assumptions have not always, of course, been shared by the academic elite. They have more often shared with the social underdogs the role of change agents, although the focus of the alliance has usually been the redistribution of existing wealth and material improvement rather than changes in man’s beliefs.

However since the industrial revolution this pattern has been disrupted. All social groups have realized the immense potential for material change and religious and philosophical thinking has been thrown into confusion. The general attitude has shifted to one of expectation of continuing material change which is assumed to be desirable. The roles of the power groups and the academic elite have tended to be reversed. The groups holding economic power have been joined by the underdogs wielding political power through the organization of unions and societies of one sort or another. Together they want to press on for material change. It is the academic elite who are leading the push to apply the brakes in the belief that uncontrolled material development is not necessarily consistent with social and philosophical progress. The process of change in all respects has been speeded up. We have a more dynamic and fluid world situation than ever before. But even now, seventy or so generations after Christ, we still find it difficult to agree on, or to define, the meaning and purpose of human life. We are still in the process of evolution and the development of human thought. When we consider these things we can hardly be surprised that Roman attitudes towards human life changed slowly and painfully

two thousand years ago. Right through the trouble in the triangle we come face to face with the process of change but two particular situations help to put the process in perspective. One is the life and times of Augustine which we will come to in a little while and the other is the prohibition of gladiatorial games.

Human sacrifice for religious purposes at funerals or to appease the gods for any number of reasons had been a feature of many religions, possibly as long as two thousand years before Christ, and it continued as a feature of some cultures until relatively recent times.⁸⁰ The killing of men and women for the entertainment of the mob, either in cold blooded ceremonial or in combat to the death, seems to have evolved from such religious ceremonies four or five centuries before Christ. It also seems to have gone through a pre-entertainment phase of public slaughter of prisoners of war, possibly in retaliation for aggression or simply as a way of getting rid of more excess enemy troops. Then in 264 BCE formal organized combat between gladiators was held in Rome itself for the first time. By 105 BCE the events had grown in popularity so much that they were sometimes spread over several days and in that year the two consuls sponsored the first official state games. Whatever revulsion there was among thinking people of the day was far outweighed by the enthusiastic response from the majority. "Schools" for gladiators sprung up throughout Italy and it became the accepted practice that criminals were sentenced to the schools, together with any other undesirables, prisoners of war and surplus or selected slaves.

A series of uprisings by gladiators reached a peak with the efforts of Spartacus to bring down the system in 73 BCE. The result was even tighter controls to make sure it couldn't happen again, and successive emperors provided more lavish shows. Pompey, Julius Caesar, Octavian and Antony all had thousands of gladiators in their schools. Julius Caesar arranged an extravaganza to celebrate his victories in 46 BCE. He staged a gladiatorial battle with five hundred infantry, thirty cavalry and twenty elephants on either side. Whatever their personal views may have been his successors found it necessary to stage the games in order to maintain their popularity and to hold onto office. They apparently reached a peak under Trajan from 107 to 113 CE, but later emperors could not afford to disappoint their people and in 248 CE Phillip put on a Roman celebration with thousands of fighters pitched against each other. When the Christians began to take a stand against the games they very soon found themselves being invited to join the schools! Thousands of Jewish captives had, of course, gone the same way after their uprisings in Jerusalem and the Christians could not claim to have been subjected to exclusive treatment on account of their religious beliefs, but they did at last begin to have a real impact on public and government opinion and actions.⁸¹

It was while he was in Beirut, then called Berytus, in 326 CE, a matter of months after the Council of Nicaea, that Constantine issued an edict which purported to abolish gladiatorial games altogether.⁸² It is only an assumption, although a reasonable one, that he issued that edict as a result of pressure from that Council of Nicaea. He required that all criminals who otherwise would have been "enrolled" for the games must serve forced labour in the mines instead. That was often considered a fate worse than death and although that measure may have been enforced as an alternative to the games, the

prohibition of the games was not enforced. It was not long before Constantine had gone back on the edict himself and, in his other religious role as Pontifex Maximus, agreed that the municipal priests in Umbria should continue to arrange gladiatorial shows. What is more, he advised that their colleagues in Etruscan towns should combine forces and concentrate their displays at their main religious centre.

The Christian Church at Rome ruled ineligible for baptism all trainers of gladiators, their connections and even the gladiators themselves,⁸³ as if they all took part as a fee-will exercise! There were, despite the nature of the “sport”, always some slaves prepared to buy their freedom by volunteering for a term as gladiators, and also freed slaves and some soldiers of fortune who were prepared to take the risks involved for the chance of a big reward. It is no wonder that regardless of such rulings by the newly official religious authority of the empire, the “December games” at Rome which were given by the state were still listed in the annual festivals as late as 354 CE. Constantius, in 357, and Valentinian, about 365, both tried to suppress or at least reduce the games. Constantius tried by punishing state officials and soldiers who were involved in them. Valentinian prohibited magistrates from ordering Christians into schools for gladiators. That must have recruited some very colourful personalities into the church. But then he also prohibited monks and the clergy from accepting lucrative benefactions from wealthy widows, spinsters and virgins who had been attracted into the church and who received the intimate attention of the monks.

As late as 392 CE gladiators were still performing in Antioch and it was not until 399 CE that Honorius closed the last of the schools in Rome. As we shall see later, that was the same year in which he used imperial agents to forcibly close all pagan shrines in North Africa, and Rome was already in complete confusion with Honorius having to raise and finance the largest armies he could muster in preparation for the expected push from the Goths in the east. It is most unlikely that Christian ethics had as much to do with his decision to close the last of the gladiatorial schools as the politics of military manpower and economic pressures. However even the closing of the schools didn’t finish the games. They are thought to have continued – man against man – until about 440CE and the refinement of man against wild beast was still permitted in places for another two hundred and forty years. They seem to have finally passed into Roman history in 681CE.⁸⁴ From what we know of the church’s intervention to stop the games and in such matters as the treatment of children and slaves it can quite fairly be said that changes in the Roman community’s understanding of humanity and also changes in its moral attitudes and conduct took place more quickly under the influence of the young Christian church than if pre-Messianic Yahwism had been left to take its course. Certainly they took place more quickly than if Jesus had not lived out his ministry or if both Jews and Christians had not been thrown out of Jerusalem and across the Roman Empire. However the granting and acceptance of state-religion status for Christianity combined with the theological interpretations of the day to produce a concoction of evil which would retard human progress for many centuries. The first murky fogs were just settling. Europe had to struggle through a very dark and cold winter before sharp rays of spring conscience could cut through the mesh of

ecclesiastical intrigue, barbarism and the theological garbage which was settling over it and permit another stage in humanity's movement towards salvation.

The brightest aspect of that phase of Christian history surely must be the fact that through enforced contact with the church and the Bible the Roman Empire provided a massive pool of people with the potential to carry the message of salvation throughout the world very quickly when the opportunity arose. Some readers may find that sufficient justification for the beastly actions taken to enforce the party line. However it is very hard to apply the same reasoning in support of the pre-Constantinian church fathers. Others may suggest that literacy levels were so low in those days that very few people would have been able to understand what the church was all about if freedom of thought and interpretation had been allowed. But that would raise the question "is an understanding of doctrine or participation in complicated liturgies necessary for salvation?" and Christ had already given an answer to that question: a decisive 'No.' In any case the unfolding history of the trouble in the triangle shows that the spread of the Good News would have been much more effective if the early church fathers had taken a completely different tack. In particular it shows that the spread and understanding of the Good News would have been much more effective if the early church fathers had not devised the pathetic Creed of Saint Athanasius in a bid to prop up its misguided Trinitarian teaching and to distance itself from Judaism.

CHAPTER 3

TO HUNT A HERETIC

It is a fascinating exercise to daydream about what Christianity would have been like without Constantine. But a little pointless. He changed the rules of the game completely. It was not just the church and his empire which were to be affected by his decisions. Most of the world was outside his understanding but he took it all with him into a new era. His decisions were the decisions, firstly, of a military commander; secondly, of a politician; and thirdly, of a man intensely ambitious for personal authority and the means of maintaining that authority. His decisions radically altered the circumstances and the environment in which the church would develop. When the church and the political successors to the Roman Empire eventually found their way into the enormous bulk of the world which lay beyond Europe they were still pre-conditioned and inhibited by the theology, attitudes and systems which Constantine's decisions had ushered in, even though there had been a partial reformation in the meantime.

The background to Constantine's decisions, which we have already considered, makes his attitude towards religious institutions little different to that of British politicians and industrialists of the Victorian period, the majority of Western military and political leaders today and, in particular, the former United States Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. Dulles used the Judeo-Christian sympathies of Americans in his cold war stance towards Communist Russia. The Victorian British used the church as a means of bolstering conservative British interests in India and elsewhere. Current Western military leaders see the role of the church and its chaplains as the maintenance of morale in their respective armed forces and, thus, as an instrument in the maintenance of the political status quo.

Whatever criticisms may be levelled at the pre-Constantinian church for its progressive development of institutionalism and doctrine and for the way it went about that development, it is difficult to be critical of the motives of the people involved. They saw the development of organized church communities and structures as a logical progression from the Judaism with which they were no longer associated either because they had rejected it or because they had been expelled from it. They realized that it was only within a framework of community that a commitment could be maintained – any commitment to any cause – in the face of both personal and officially sponsored abuse and oppression. They knew that some sort of community and leadership was necessary to sustain and to nurture faith and to assist the process of personal growth. They also knew that an organized group could do things such as planning social support and action programs, which the teachings of Jesus required of them, more effectively than if

they were each content to do their own thing. They also knew from Jesus' teachings and writings such as the Letter of James that faith without action is dead. The Letter of James has traditionally been attributed to James the brother of Jesus, (although studies in recent years have disputed this), and it is widely regarded as having been written either in 49 CE, immediately before the first of Paul's letters, or about 57 or 58 CE as a rejoinder to what Paul had already written.^{1 2}

However the motivating forces and the motives began to change. Constantine took advantage of the process and helped it along. By the time he became emperor the Christian community's dependence on clerical oversight, the adherence to doctrine and rites as a basic component of church life and membership, and disciplinary procedures to enforce conformity had already appeared and begun to spread. Their adoption and extension accelerated once Christianity became the official Roman state religion. Membership of the church with its position of monopoly control over all spiritual and moral matters within the state became an end in itself. Close personal contact between Christians had been inevitable when they were living in communities which were either not aligned with their faith or which were openly antagonistic towards it. This provided a stimulus for support and nurture within each small Christian community in precisely the same way as in Jewish communities. It also stirred a dedication and determination something like the dedication and determination for which Jewish communities were well known wherever they were dispersed in the Diaspora and which later became a hallmark of the ghettos of Europe.³

Such intimate community life was therefore a vehicle towards personal fulfillment and salvation and was, by its very nature, a program of evangelism. In this sense the church's influence began to wane even though its power over people's lives and over the actions of governments was increasing, as also was its wealth. The decrees of councils of the church were published as imperial laws and they were thereby officially incorporated into the political life of the empire. Such power and authority naturally required a means of administration, lines of command and the means to enforce that command. As always happens that power and authority changed the relationships between the people exercising it and the people who were subject to it.

A pyramid with a sole and absolute decision maker at the top is often justified as the most efficient and decisive system of command. The Roman Empire had one. As the church suddenly found itself working hand in glove with the machinery of state there was an even stronger incentive than there had been before for it to develop a parallel structure. But a pyramid tends to destroy both initiative in subordinate group-action and spontaneity in individual action. It destroys equality and in doing so it tends to undermine goodwill in personal relationships. It encourages domination and monopoly. These in turn encourage intolerance, arrogant opposition to competition by those in positions of power, potentially bitter competition between those seeking power and suppression of any moves to introduce changes or alternatives. In practice a monopoly also tends to lose sight of the need to justify its monopoly position and, indeed, to lose its sense of purpose. It gropes its way into additional areas of interest like an octopus in the

murky depths. From these points of view the pyramid is the worst form of social organization and the church is a social organization.

A THEOCRATIC STATE?

Its elevation to a spiritual monopoly position resulted in the church attempting to establish a theocratic state.⁴ The action could not be matched to the desire. We can, in fact, trace the degrading chain reaction which led to exactly the reverse. What was to be a theocratic state turned out to be a series of morally void dictatorships of great violence and repression. It allowed the accumulation of wealth by the church on a scale approaching fantasy through a chain of state grants, military conquests, personal manipulation, corruption – and extortion on a grand scale in the name of religious rites. It ultimately led to the misuse of the entire package on such a scale and with such far-reaching consequences that we find it hard to grasp.

It was Constantine's decree in 324 that Christianity was to be the state religion of the Roman Empire which made it possible for the church's visionaries to think in terms of a theocratic state. But they misjudged human nature very badly. They assumed a greater knowledge of the world than they had and they gave their fellows credit for far greater moral integrity than was justified. However in the circumstances they could hardly be expected to anticipate the consequences of their own pronouncements or the ways in which they would later be misinterpreted and misused. They were in fact helping to fashion the mesh of ecclesiastical intrigue, barbarism and theological garbage which settled over Europe. It was to be just twelve centuries before that mesh was cut by sharp rays of conscience from within the system which they set up. In the meantime it had been given a good shake from the outside after about three hundred years but this, unfortunately, had proved unequal to the task.

Constantine has often been described as being very tolerant and this tends to be born out by his intervention on behalf of Arius when Athanasius and the Trinitarians of Alexandria, being victorious in the battle of the Council of Nicaea, wanted to excommunicate him. But paradox follows paradox. Athanasius was himself banished by Constantine because of the excessive pressure tactics used against Arius and the Arians – and then Constantine set about insisting on religious conformity. This was necessary in his view to achieve religious stability and this in turn was a precondition for political stability which he needed to maintain his position. After all he had not gained his position by either election by the senate or by appointment by his predecessor, but by intrigue and force of arms after having been passed over by Diocletian who had appointed Galerius as First Augustus when he announced his own abdication. ⁵ Such action was hardly the mark of a man of great tolerance. Neither was his earlier intervention with troops to restore unity in North Africa when the Donatists had been unwilling to accept the decision of the Council held at Arles. ⁶ However, if to hold the office of Pontifex Maximus in two vigorously antagonistic and contradictory religious systems at the same time is to be considered a hallmark of toleration, then who are we to deny that Constantine was tolerant?

There is one set of circumstances of which we can be certain. Constantine needed the support of the Christian Church to maintain his personal position and the church was eager to take advantage of Constantine's protection, patronage and hand-outs. It was willing to accept both his authority in spiritual matters and his dual religious roles. These factors combined to ensure the adoption of pagan rites and reasoning into Christianity and its liturgy. There was syncretism on a grand scale. They also made it absolutely certain that the church was meshed into two things. Firstly it had to justify and to defend with vigour the actions which it took and the theology which it adopted. Secondly it had to act out the most fantastic verbal and political gymnastics to maintain some semblance of logic and continuity in the parallel streams of its theology, liturgy, practices and social actions.

Under Constantine Christianity did not radically displace earlier pagan beliefs and customs. It incorporated and Christianized them.⁷ Pagan polytheism found a new outlet in the veneration of the saints. Poseidon-Neptune, the guardian of sailors and boatmen, was, for example, simply succeeded by St. Nicholas as their patron saint. The cult of the goddess Diana of Ephesus appears to have given way to the cult of the Virgin Mary who was first honored as "the Mother of God" in that city. The characteristic features of the Roman festival of Parentalia were transferred to the Feast of All Souls. Saturnalia, the festival of the promise of the sun's return which was celebrated just after the shortest day of the year, became the Christian festival of the birth of the light of the world. The Roman spring festival for the return of life which probably corresponded with the feast of the Saxon goddess Oestre in Britain was adapted to become the celebration of the resurrection of Jesus at Easter and this was linked to the Jewish Passover which is the historically authentic occasion on which to remember the death of Jesus. At first the early church had confined its celebration to the first day of the week at the Passover as the day of resurrection or the Lord's Day. In much the same way, although superstitious belief effectively denies the supremacy of a divine Creator-God and therefore Christian faith and superstition are completely incompatible, Christianity accepted superstition, became riddled with it and has remained riddled with it to the present day.

But what do we know about Constantine's attitude towards Judaism? In the early stages of his reign, and especially in the Rescript of Milan, he required that all religions be treated equally.

*...Note that at the same time [that Christians shall not be molested] all others are to be allowed the free and unrestricted practice of their religions; for it accords with the good order of the realm and peacefulness of our times that each should have freedom to worship God after his own choice; and we do not intend to detract from the honor due to any religion or its followers...*⁸

Certainly no sign of bigotry or antagonism there. More like the tolerance for which Constantine is usually known. However the church quite clearly saw Judaism as a rival. As its own position strengthened because of Constantine's dependence on it so did its arrogant opposition to Judaism, its efforts to dissociate itself from its parent and its pressure on the

emperor to suppress it. Manipulation by the church as it issued edicts which carried the same force as civil edicts, pointed in the same direction. The revision of the Roman calendar to avoid holidays, festivals and commemorations corresponding with dates of religious significance to Judaism is a good example.

Thus the imperial attitude hardened progressively. We find that while Judaism had been described as “a distinguished religion, certainly permissible”, it became, during Constantine’s reign, “a sacrilegious gathering” and then “a nefarious sect.” Then in 329, four years after the Council of Nicaea and while the Trinitarian Dispute was at its height, Jews were forbidden to have Christian slaves in their possession and to convert those who were pagan. Converts, and also those responsible for their conversion, were menaced with threats of the death penalty; intermarriage between Jews and Christians was forbidden; rejection of the faith was encouraged and those who rejected it were given legal protection. Christianization just had to be carried out.

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In 330 Constantine founded Constantinople as his new Christian seat. The reasoning that led him to that decision certainly would have involved many considerations. It has been suggested that he did it because the continued distinctly pagan character of Rome, despite his having elevated Christianity to the role of state religion, no longer pleased him. However he had declared his final bid for universal domination to be a religious war. This was his battle in 324 with Licinius who had continued as co-emperor with him. The pretext for the battle was that Licinius had continued to persecute Christians in the eastern provinces of the empire in spite of having signed both the rescript of Milan with Constantine in 312 and the Edict of Toleration initiated by Galerius the year before that.¹⁰ It is therefore apparent that he had to pay off the church or at least demonstrate his good faith to that body which had made his victory and his absolute power possible. It is also apparent that he had to stimulate the spread of the church throughout his empire and to ensure for it an undisputed position if he was to achieve political stability through unification.

A consequence which he does not appear to have foreseen was competition for supremacy between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople. If he had anticipated it he must have considered that he could suppress it. Was it perhaps a consideration in his decision that the Council of Nicaea, just a few months later, would be dominated by clergy from the eastern provinces without the bishop of Rome present? In any case the struggle for supremacy soon became apparent. The Christian church had shown a tendency to develop an autocratic and pyramidal structure almost from the time that it was excluded, together with Judaism, from Jerusalem. This tendency was encouraged by the nature of the political environment within which it was evolving and the tendency soon became an over-riding characteristic when the church was integrated into the judicial, administrative and financial structures of the state and had money, favours and privileges lavished on it.

It was almost inevitable that its structures would run in parallel with those of the state and that it would have regional sub-structures of the same nature. It was also almost inevitable that

there would be competition for a dominant position which could be equated to the supreme civil or political position and which would carry the same absolute authority in the religious field. Under the circumstances it is doubtful if competition between Rome and Constantinople could have been avoided. It is also doubtful whether competition between the church and secular authorities could have been avoided once the church had been built, quite deliberately, into a wealthy autocratic arm of government. The church was able to remind the secular authority that its leader was no longer accorded divine status by the population which it governed. It was also able to make claims that its authority and its decisions flowed directly from God. The establishment of Constantinople as the religious capital for the empire therefore backfired. While Constantine expected his move to have a stabilizing effect it had quite the reverse effect. It was very soon compounding the troubles of his empire.

For some time the presiding bishops in major centres had adopted the titles of patriarchs or metropolitans. Those in Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria had been competing with those in Rome for supremacy within the church. Now the patriarch of Constantinople naturally joined the group of competitors and the contest soon narrowed to Rome versus Constantinople. By virtue of its well known association with two of the most influential apostles, Peter and Paul, and because it was the historical seat of the empire, Rome was still able to press its claims with conviction. In addition it had weathered the storms of the most bitter persecutions. It had helped put Constantine into his position of absolute authority and it had the benefit of massive wealth which had been showered on it by Constantine for some years. The church in Rome was therefore in a more virile condition than the church in Constantinople. The new church was only then having to cope with a big influx of submissive but unenthusiastic members – perhaps subjects may be a better word – who had been “converted” at the stroke of a pen and at the whim of the alien emperor. Rome won. It was about this time that the bishops of Rome adopted the title ‘pope’ and began to exert their influence with even greater determination. Friction increased. Theological disputes tended to take on a territorial alignment.

CONSTANTINE’S BAPTISM: A MATTER OF INTERPRETATION

In spite of the interdependence between Constantine and the church he did not formally become a Christian by baptism until 337 when he was on his death bed. Historians offer numerous explanations for this. Some say his was a Christianity of purely political convenience and that he was basically pagan in belief to the end. Others maintain that he was a genuine convert and that his Christianity was sincere. They say that it was out of a desire not to offend pagans for whom he was still Pontifex Maximus, (chief priest), that he did not take formal membership by the procedure of baptism which the church insisted on for all lesser mortals. Whatever the explanation might be, his conduct was highly contradictory. He had, after all, presided at the church’s councils and insisted on having the ultimate say in questions of appointment to church offices and equal status with the bishops in theological discussions. He exercised substantial

personal influence in the wording of the Nicene Creed and did not simply preside while the bishops debated.

The absence of the bishop of Rome from that critical council and the weighting of representation forty or fifty to one in favour of eastern bishops suggests several things. It suggests that at the time of the council of Nicaea either competition between Rome and Constantinople had not reached a serious level (for surely the bishop of Rome would have made an effort to be at Nicaea despite his age if competition had been an issue) or that Constantine was deliberately currying favour with the eastern provinces after having ousted co-emperor Licinius only the year before. He fraternized with all the bishops but especially with those who had been persecuted under Licinius.¹¹ In addition the absence of the Bishop of Rome certainly suggests that the primacy of the Bishop of Rome within the church was not well defined. It also suggests that a solution to the Trinitarian dispute between Athanasius and Arius was seen more in terms of a political or parochial settlement of a localized eastern issue, rather than as the determination of a fundamental theological question which was basic to the future of religious thought throughout the world. If it were otherwise, an effort would have been made to have a wider cross section of the church present. After all, Nicaea has since been much vaunted as the first ecumenical council. And again, the way the council was organized suggests that Constantine's personal position as church supremo was undisputed. Was he looking for theological truths or only political stability?

How would Constantine respond, today, to the suggestion that he could not have remained in the office of Pontifex Maximus if he were sincere in his belief in the Trinitarian doctrines which he had helped to frame? Did he perhaps hold the view that if there could be three separate identifiable presences of God all at the one time then there could be four, five or any number? If that were the case, then was there any conflict between the doctrine of the Trinity and his parents' earlier adherence to monotheistic belief in the sun god Mithra? How would the church respond to the same suggestion?

To add to the confusion, we find when we look at the circumstances of Constantine's baptism that it was an Arian and not a Trinitarian who actually baptized him on his death bed. It was Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia.¹² Eusebius was a friend of Arius. Arius had been excommunicated for his beliefs by a synod at Alexandria and banished from the city a few years before the Council of Nicaea. His friends, Eusebius among them, managed to engineer his return to Alexandria. Bitter disputes, secret night meetings and even street riots broke out. It was then that Constantine summoned the Council of Nicaea. Eusebius was among the seventeen bishops who supported and defended Arius. When the Trinitarian view prevailed, Constantine – not the council – ordered them all exiled as the worst enemies of the true faith. Three years later he sent for Eusebius and had him reinstated at Nicomedia.¹³ Nine years later, in spite of the ebb and flow of anti-Arian persecution and Constantine's vigorous support for the official Trinitarian line, it was to this man that he turned for baptism on his death bed.

Could it be that for fifteen or twenty years Constantine had supported the Trinitarian line purely on the basis of the political numbers game and that he hadn't ever really accepted the thinking behind it? He had convened the Council of Nicaea on the suggestion of Hosius, bishop of Cordova, his ecclesiastical adviser who took a leading part in the council and who was a vigorous champion of Athanasius. Was it purely a personal friendship developed out of adversity that made him call on Eusebius? Certainly his sons were vigorously Arian and Constantius treated Hosius to a touch of violence to help him change his mind on one occasion.¹⁴ There is also another possible explanation for Constantine's delayed baptism. It is his interpretation of the practice of baptism. Even today the way in which Christians understand and practice baptism varies widely. To some it is a symbol of repentance, recognition of Jesus as Saviour and a commitment to personal living and action in the manner that the Gospel requires. To some it is simply an act which admits a person into the fellowship of the Christian Church. To some it is a public undertaking by the baptized person's parents or sponsors that they will provide a proper spiritual education and encourage the baptized person to make an act of confirmation as a Christian at a later date. To others it is a joyous acknowledgment that their Lord and Saviour loves them, forgives them, calls them to a life of love and service and offers them eternal life. To still others it is a means by which all sin committed by them prior to baptism is washed away, enabling them to make a fresh start, while to others it is a rite without which a person cannot be redeemed or admitted into the chosen heavenly flock.

Of course there are still other interpretations of the meaning of baptism and a person's understanding of its meaning largely determines his or her attitude to whether baptism is a matter for infants, youths or adults. However from about the middle of the second century the church tended to place more and more emphasis on the ritualistic washing away of sins and admission into the redeemed flock. At the same time the practice of the Eucharist was being formalized and tied to the presence of the clergy. When the church was recognized by the empire as a legitimate religious organization and then formally linked to it, the rites of baptism and the Eucharist which had been encouraged, became obsessions cloaked in mystery. The offer of heavenly forgiveness through the rite of baptism was a carrot which was dangled before the eyes of pagans as an incentive to adopt Christianity. Many Christians postponed baptism in the way that Constantine may have in order to reduce the possibility of post-baptismal sin.¹⁵ Such sin, it was said, had to be accounted for on death and the day of judgement at the feet of the Lord. Sin before baptism ceased to be of consequence at the point of baptism. In this sense baptism was not only presented to the unbaptized as a carrot but also as a means of "beating the rap."

Whether we have, here, the key to Constantine's delayed baptism – and therefore the key to the paradox of his dual religious activities also – we cannot be at all sure. However, as he refused to wear again the imperial purple and thus left this life dressed in his white baptismal gown it is not unreasonable to think that we may have.¹⁶ Of one thing we can be certain. Whatever Constantine's reason may have been for delaying his own baptism, his action was widely accepted as being quite proper and his assumed reasoning became more deeply

entrenched in the church's teaching and in its conversion kit. Like a lot of other practices and teachings, once it was in the conversion kit it couldn't be rubbed out of the standard practice rule book. It had to be explained in terms of theology and every explanation gave rise to further debate, conflict and the introduction of still further rites and practices. Once the church was on that sort of treadmill or merry-go-round it was hard to get off and the circle got tighter and tighter!

The consequences of this process of baptismal ritual and doctrinal development in terms of community conduct are indeed difficult to assess. Its impact on the attitudes of Christians towards non-Christians has probably not been very far behind that of the Athanasian Creed. It has been abrasive and it has contributed to Christian arrogance and condescension in dealings with non-Christians. Coupled with other practices of the church it encouraged a fear among Christians of non-compliance with the rites of the church. This in turn became a tool in the psychological armament of a church more concerned with the numbers game and with maintaining its authority than with salvation for mankind.

Perhaps we have been trying to delve too deeply into Constantine's motivation and the theology which he really believed. Perhaps we should have stopped at the first reading of the rescript of Milan. Paragraphs 10 and 11 are very telling indeed. Paragraph 10 reads: "You are to use your utmost diligence in carrying out these orders on behalf of the Christians, that our command may be promptly obeyed, for the fulfillment of our gracious purpose in establishing public tranquillity." ¹⁷ No attempt to veil his political stance there. And paragraph 11 reads: "So shall that divine favour which we have already enjoyed, in affairs of the greatest moment, continue to grant us success, and thus secure the happiness of the realm." When those paragraphs are read in the light of the earlier clause, "that each should have freedom to worship God after his own choice", it suggests a very simple monotheism – "God", not "the gods" – coupled with an assumption that the Roman Empire is chosen to rule and is given special favours by God. There is, after all, nothing new or exclusive about such a belief. Christians have been among those who have assumed in times of war that God is quite definitely and only on their side. In the two major wars of the twentieth century so far they have flocked to the recruiting stations on both sides of the battle lines behind slogans such as "For God, king and country" and then they have erected memorials to their dead carrying the same message. It has been much easier for governments to invoke the support of some and to suppress the opposition of others among their people by the use of such appeals to faith than to justify their decision to go to war!

A FAMILY DISAGREEMENT

Before we pass on from Constantine we must give a little thought to his family. His sister left her mark by her famous request to Bishop Eusebius for a portrait of Jesus. In so doing she stimulated the move towards the use of images and icons. However his mother, who was later canonized as Saint Helena, is supposed to have been responsible for the re-discovery of the

actual cross on which Jesus was crucified when she visited Jerusalem in 326. She is also supposed to have identified the tomb in which he was buried, despite evidence that this could not be so, and despite the incredible suggestion that Jesus was buried within a building's-length of where he was crucified. It was on her instructions that an immense basilica of the Holy Sepulchre was built to encompass both sites ten years later.

After Constantine's death his sons, Constantius and Constans, who succeeded him, followed basically the same policies except that they initially rejected the approved Trinitarian theology of the church and accepted the Arian view of Jesus. Athanasius either fled or was exiled. But very soon the imperial brothers' dependence on the church in Rome forced them to drop their support for the Arians and about nine years later we find them helping to tighten the grip of the church by ordering the complete closure of all pagan temples and the suppression of all worship except that of Christianity. In the later years of his reign as sole emperor, after Constans died, Constantius became highly oppressive and in fact ordered the death of all those who continued to worship pagan gods. He ordered the forfeiture of all pagan property to the church and the destruction of any which could not be put to use by the Christians. He also ordered that all books written either in support of other faiths or against the church should be destroyed and he tightened laws forbidding intermarriage between Jewish men and Christian women and the ownership of slaves by Jews.¹⁸

Little is known of the spread of Christianity beyond the Roman Empire up to the time of Constantine. The actual evidence of evangelism beyond the imperial boundaries is thin.¹⁹ There is a legend that a King Abgar invited Jesus to visit Edessa, in Mesopotamia, which would at least suggest contact between a disciple of Jesus or someone else having knowledge of him, and a person or persons at, or travelling away from, Edessa before the Roman conquest of the area. There is also some evidence that the apostle Thomas may have visited India. It is only when we reach Constantine's reign that we find firm evidence of Christian evangelism beyond the empire. Even then it was by accident. Christianity was introduced to Ethiopia by a shipwreck. It was about the year of Anthony and his Anchorite cave dwellers in Egypt and of Constantine's Church of St. Peter on Vatican Hill. It was also at the height of conflict between Arius and Athanasius.

Aedesius and Frumentius, young Christian men from Tyre, are said to have been the only survivors of a shipwreck on the Red Sea coast of Ethiopia about 320 CE. They were taken as slaves to the court of the king at Axum but, after having gained his favour, they were released. Later they were appointed officers of the court and allowed to preach. Other Christians are supposed to have joined them from Egypt. They left Ethiopia about twenty years after the shipwreck. Aedesius is said to have returned to Tyre but Frumentius went to Alexandria and asked Athanasius, at that stage Patriarch, to send priests to Ethiopia. However instead of that Athanasius consecrated Frumentius a bishop and sent him back to Ethiopia himself. That was about 341CE. The Ethiopian Church was thereupon established and Frumentius remained its head until he died.

So much for Constantine and his immediate family. But we cannot forget him. By the nature of people and politics some reaction against his policies and actions was to be expected. It came when Julian, a nephew of Constantine, became emperor in succession to Constantius in 361. Julian refused to uphold the privileged position of the Christian Church. He withdrew state support for it, insisted on equality – or at least tolerance – for divergent groups such as the Donatists and he encouraged pagan worship. The church dubbed him ‘Julian the apostate’ but, although he reverted completely to pagan worship himself, he took no steps to oppress Christians.

In a letter to the people of Bostra in 362 Julian wrote, in part:

“I had imagined that the prelates of the Galileans were under greater obligations to me than to my predecessor. For in his reign many of them were banished, persecuted and imprisoned; and many of the so-called heretics were executed... All this has been reversed in my reign; the banished are allowed to return, and confiscated goods have all been restored to the owners. But such is their folly and madness that, just because they can no longer be despots, or carry out their designs first against their brethren and then against us, the worshippers of the gods, they are inflamed with fury and stop at nothing in their unprincipled attempts to alarm and enrage the people... It is therefore my pleasure to announce and publish to all the people by this edict that they must not abet the seditions of the clergy... They may hold their meetings, if they wish, and offer prayers according to their established use... And for the future let the people live in harmony. Let no one be at variance, or do wrong to another; neither you that are in error to those who worship the gods, as is right and proper, in the manner handed down from earliest antiquity; nor let the worshippers of the gods destroy or plunder the house of those who are misled by ignorance rather than deliberate choice. Men should be taught and won over by reason and not by blows, insults and corporal punishments. I therefore most earnestly admonish the adherents of the true religion not to injure or insult the Galileans in any way, either by physical attack or by reproaches. Those who are in the wrong in matters of supreme importance are objects of pity rather than of hate...” ²⁰

In an earlier statement Julian had written critically of the worship of Jesus and the martyrs in these terms:

“But you, unfortunately, do not abide by the tradition of the apostles, which in the hands of their successors deteriorated into greater blasphemy. Neither Paul, nor Matthew, nor Luke, nor Mark had the audacity to say that Jesus is God. But the worthy John, realizing that by that time a vast number of people in many of the Greek and Italian cities were infected with the disease, and hearing, I fancy, that the tombs of Peter and Paul were being worshipped (privately, no doubt, but still worshipped), John, I say, was the first to have the audacity to make that assertion.

“This evil was inaugurated by John. But who can find a fitting denunciation of this additional innovation of yours, the introduction of many dead bodies [as objects of worship], besides that original dead body? You have filled all places with tombs and monuments... You think that not even the words of Jesus are to be listened to on this question... Jesus says (Matt.

*xxii:27) that sepulchres are full of uncleanness. How is it then that you invoke God upon them?"*²¹

Julian was born six years after the Council of Nicaea. He was subjected to a rigid Christian up-bringing, designed for a clergyman rather than an emperor, with his cousin Constantius as his guardian-gaoler. He has been described as an impatient genius and in spite of years of devout religious observation he would not accept without question the authority and doctrine of the haughty ministers of the church. His familiarity with the Arian controversy and the politicking of the contestants convinced him that they neither understood nor believed the doctrines over which they contended so fiercely. For a time he appears to have accepted the Arian position but so unreasoning were those around him that he concluded that "neither fire nor steel can eradicate the erroneous opinions of the mind", and he rejected the church altogether while he was a student in Athens in his early twenties.²² Constantius sent Julian to Gaul as governor in 355, at the age of 24. Within five years Julian's reputation for sound and fair administration, free of religious intolerance, had spread across the empire and was being contrasted with the corrupt influence of the church in Rome on which Constantius had become dependent. Rome was languishing under the ignominious tyranny of eunuchs and bishops, even though they had not been able to fully enforce the decree by Constantius which had given all pagan property to the church. In 360 Julian was proclaimed emperor by his army in Gaul while Constantius was away from Rome, fighting in Persia. But of course Constantius was not just about to give up his crown that easily and he turned for home to teach Julian a lesson. Julian headed for Constantinople also, but the anticipated battle didn't take place. Constantius fell ill and died before reaching the capital. He declared Julian to be his successor just before he died, probably in an effort to protect his family from an expected backlash in the event of his death.²³

Unfortunately, when he insisted on toleration towards the Donatists, Julian didn't achieve the result he was looking for either. His decision triggered yet another religious civil war in North Africa. His effort to resolve the dispute in that part of the empire through conciliation was no more successful than Constantine's edict of toleration in 312. The uneasy truce between the Donatists and the Catholics which followed the Council of Arles and Constantine's military intervention had been broken about 347. At that time the 'party of Caecilian', with some support from the official church and probably anticipating support from Constantine's co-emperor sons, resorted to violence and the Donatists suffered badly. However instead of more military support the co-emperors sent an Imperial Commissioner, Count Macarius, to North Africa to resolve the dispute. Macarius succeeded in frightening both groups into some sort of submission to the official Catholic Church but the breach was not healed. It was camouflaged temporarily. The Catholics described the count as 'an agent of the Holy task' but the Donatists harboured a grudge and remembered 'the time of Macarius' as a spur to eventual retaliation.²⁴ The opportunity for such retaliation came when Julian declared them to have the same rights as every other Christian. They unleashed a period of terror such that the Catholics were almost buried in the avalanche. It was to be another thirty years or more before the Catholic Church was able to feel that it again controlled North Africa.

...OF CREEDS AND CREDIBILITY

Emperor Julian also restored the rights of the Jews which Constantine and his sons had revoked and he promised help in the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the Temple. Some historians see that as due not so much to any friendly sentiments he might have felt towards Judaism as to his antipathy towards the church.²⁵ However others have suggested that Julian was ripe for conversion to Judaism about that time but he died two years later and with him died the fears of the Christians and the hopes of the Jews.²⁶

Julian had come to power just as another of the Christian theological controversies was reaching fever pitch and while the struggle to determine the basic Christian statement of belief was still alternately regrouping and fragmenting the church. This time the controversy was over the nature of Jesus. Constantine's politician's solution of directing that the bishops meet at Nicaea had failed to produce a 'final' statement of Christian belief. Neither had the immense power which the church had been given to wield led to either a statement of belief acceptable to the whole church or to the stability which every emperor hoped for as a consequence of such a statement. In 341, four years after Constantine's death, the Council of Antioch was assembled at Constantinople for the dedication of his 'Golden Church'. The council reconsidered the sixteen year-old Nicene Creed, rejected it, and adopted an alternative known as 'the Creed of the Dedication'. It was that year that Ulfilas was sent by Bishop Eusebius – yes, the same one – as 'bishop for the Gothic race' to work in central and northern Europe. Ulfilas committed the Gothic language to writing for the first time and then translated the books of the Bible which were then in use for the use of the Goths. He was able to build on the knowledge of Christianity which the people already had from their Cappadocian prisoners and over a working life of forty years he developed a strong base of Christianity among the Goths.²⁷ It was the Arian Christianity which was to sweep down on Trinitarian Rome some years later.

But back to the Council of Antioch. Its Creed of the Dedication also failed to solve the problem. Only two years later, with bitter division between the western and eastern bishops a general council of the church was summoned to meet at Sardica in an effort to resolve the confusion. It didn't. The eastern group withdrew and held a separate council at Philippopolis. The western group approved another revision called 'the fourth creed of Antioch'. Only a year or so later a synod was called at Antioch and it promulgated a version of the fourth creed of Antioch known variously as the 'Macrostich', 'prolix' or 'long lined creed'. That was the point at which Constantine's sons ordered the complete closing of all pagan temples. So! Just what were the citizens of the empire to believe? All pagan and heretical writings were to be destroyed. But what constituted heretical writings? No wonder the population was confused.

For the next ten to twelve years the competing groups did their own thing and recited their own creeds until the Council of Sirmium adopted a strongly Arian creed in 357. This was when Constantius used his strong arm tactics to force Bishop Hosius, (the ecclesiastical adviser to his father who had proposed the Council of Nicaea), to toe the new party line.²⁸ If the population

was confused is it any wonder that Julian, waiting in the wings to assume the role of emperor, was antagonistic towards the church?

Of course Sirmium did nothing to heal the breach either. In fact the antagonism increased and the Trinitarians bitterly denounced what they called 'the blasphemy of Sirmium'. In May 359 Constantius presided over a second gathering at Sirmium in yet another attempt at a solution. It produced yet another compromise creed known as the 'dated creed' which was to be presented to a great ecumenical council. The importance of getting agreement to this creed was so great that Constantius tried to prepare the ground by holding two separate preliminary synods. The western group rejected the dated creed and reaffirmed the Creed of Nicaea. The eastern group rejected them all and prepared yet another revision. However the emperor's efforts were not entirely in vain. When the great council assembled at Constantinople in December of the same year it issued a modified form of the dated creed, with decidedly Arian influence, which was to stand as 'the authorized creed' for twenty years!

On the other hand Constantius must have felt somewhat thwarted when, just as his reign was drawing to a close, the Apollinarian controversy undermined whatever harmony he had been able to develop through theological accord. Apollinarius, the bishop at Laodicea, pressed the view that in Jesus the human nature was replaced by the divine nature and that Jesus on earth was not really man but God alone in human form. He strenuously opposed the majority of his colleagues who maintained that the personality of Jesus Christ was a union of God and man, deity and humanity in one nature.²⁹ As with a number of the other major theological controversies this was really one aspect of the continuing Trinitarian debate.

THE GROWTH AND EFFECTS OF MONASTICISM

It was also about this time that Christian monasticism began to have a real impact on the community and social life of North Africa and portions of the Middle Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. It was divisive indeed. The movement really gathered momentum from about 320 and multitudes flocked to the caves to lead a spartan existence in response to the example of Anthony.³⁰ In Egypt the movement mainly attracted men but in parts of the Eastern Church both women and men responded freely. There are several commands of Jesus which supporters of the monastic system offer as inspiration or justification for such asceticism. The best known are:

"...whosoever will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." [Mark 8:34]

"He that loveth his life shall lose it; and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal." [John 12:25]

"For there are some eunuchs which are so born from their mother's womb: and there are some eunuchs, which were made eunuchs of men: and there be eunuchs which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it." [Matthew 19:12]³¹

There is no doubt that Jesus called for conscious self discipline in all things. It is a means towards understanding the problems of others, of being able to relate to them, of maintaining a personal commitment to the sort of social concern and action on which Judaism had been based, and of moving towards an understanding of the relationship which humanity has with God. However it is very debatable whether Jesus was exhorting people to live in either cloistered or isolated privation and whether the purpose of Christianity can be achieved solely by living in either way.

There is also no doubt that, at least in part, monasticism arose as a defence against persecution and that it reflected the inability of many Christians to relate Christian faith to community life. People had practised self-imposed denial of various kinds within the framework of Christian family life from the earliest days of the movement in Jerusalem. But gradually, and especially in times of persecution, the self denial took more extreme and harsh forms. It became incompatible with normal life and everyday occupations. Because of that, the practice developed of seeking isolation in deserts and mountains, or, at least, outside cities in places where there was little contact with the rest of the world.³² If the number of people involved in such movements had remained small there may have been no adverse reaction. However the social stresses and strains within communities became very real indeed when substantial numbers chose to drop out in this way – especially when most of them were able bodied young men. In addition the personal difficulties and stresses for the people who joined the movements were also very real and a heavy mystique naturally developed around their settlements. Some of them insisted on living as hermits in isolation but, also quite naturally, the majority tended to live reasonably close together in loosely organized communities for mutual support.

As the number of ascetics and ‘drop-out’ communities grew so did antagonism towards Christians generally and, quite naturally, the level of persecution as well. The more widespread the persecution became, the more incentive there was for Christians to drop out and join the ascetic communities. Similarly, as hermits became more fanatical and as the monastic communities became more rigorous in the requirements which they imposed on those who joined them, so the persecution against them became more determined and more vicious. It was a typical case of action and reaction, and Egypt and the eastern provinces were home to some very determined hermits. The social and economic activities of whole regions went through periods of trauma and change as large numbers of men withdrew from productive effort in agriculture and trades. Many towns suffered what we would describe today as recession. They had to adapt to a situation in which quite large numbers of women faced the prospect of remaining spinsters other than by normal choice. The movement towards a feudal system of land ownership and employment was accelerated. Today’s demographers, economists and sociologists would have had a ball trying to work out the consequences.

In view of the immensely powerful political body which Julian confronted and attempted to either dismantle or restrict, (irrespective of the merits of his case for doing so), it is not surprising to find that his successor, Jovian, came under immediate pressure to reintroduce all

the former state aid for the church and re-established its position of privilege and most of its authority. He did so in very dubious circumstances in 363, just after he returned from the Persian front where his first act as emperor had been to make a treaty with Persia which was widely regarded as 'disgraceful' and he desperately needed a strong power base to ensure that he would be confirmed as emperor. Julian had been killed in battle during a retreat which followed some initial successes which he had directed with great vigour. His death left a power vacuum which meant that the empire was exposed to greater pressure from Persia and it was while they were still under pressure on all sides from the Persians that the chiefs of the Roman army chose Jovian as their new emperor. He certainly had to negotiate a peace treaty. But when it was learned that in order to avoid further battle he had surrendered not only the five Roman provinces beyond the Tigris but also the impregnable trading city of Nisibis, which sat astride both the silk and spice routes from the east, one hundred kilometres west of the Tigris on the modern border between Syria and Turkey, the public outcry was understandable. It was such that he could well have been deposed if it were not for the bought support of the church.³³

In those circumstances, with political survival as a key consideration, the Eastern Council met in a very conciliatory mood at Antioch and reaffirmed the Creed of Nicaea with minor modifications. Very soon, under Gratian, one of Jovian's joint successors, Christianity again became the only legitimate religion in the Western Roman Empire.

But the conciliatory spirit was soon exhausted. In 366, only three years later, when a new bishop of Rome was needed the hideous pitched battle between the supporters of the two contenders, Damasus and Ursinus, left one hundred and fifty men slaughtered. Damasus won. He was later canonized as a saint, of course! An honest pagan Ammianus Marcellinus was moved to remark with measured sarcasm that the splendour of the bishop of Rome's office and its wealth and luxury are such that any crime may be excused which enables a man to attain it.³⁴ Poor Julian. What chance did he have?

A MATTER OF MIGRATION

The empire-destroying internal religious conflicts were not the only problems Gratian and his co-emperors had to worry about. After a series of relatively minor movements and pressures against the fringes of the Roman Empire over a period of two and a half centuries, mass movements of people and armies began to threaten the whole empire. The Huns from northern Asia, thwarted in attempts to subjugate China, pushed west towards Europe. They displaced Gothic rule and populations in several regions and in 375 the Goths, in turn, pushed further west and south.

The pagan military pressure and mass migration from the east forced a confrontation between the Trinitarian controllers of the Roman Empire and the Arian Goths who were despised by Rome despite the fact that the program of evangelism among them had been initiated by the church in Rome. Having virtually no alternative, Rome agreed to the Visigoths crossing the Danube and settling in Thrace. However the Roman authorities in Constantinople

became even more antagonistic towards the Visigoths and took measures to thwart their migration and settlement. The result was a march against Constantinople in 378. Gratian's first co-emperor, Valens, was defeated and killed at Adrianople. The new co-emperor, Theodosius, made an agreement for the Visigoths to remain in Thrace and for the Ostrogoths to settle in Phrygia and Lydia, (Turkey). He then adopted Gratian's policy of strengthening the links between the state and the church by declaring Christianity the only legitimate religion in the Eastern Empire. However the following year he forbade unorthodox worship and handed all churches and church property to the Trinitarians. In view of the fact that the Arian dispute had developed in the eastern provinces and in view of the mass Arian migration which was still taking place into his half of the empire this would appear, at first glance, to be a simple case of flying in the face of reality. Was it that he was as intolerant in religious matters as the advisers from Rome who surrounded him? Was it that he was dependent on the Trinitarians for the support necessary to hold his position, or was it that he, too, was caught up in the bind of trying to produce political stability through the whole empire by means of religious conformity? It is certainly quite clear that if the Arian Christian migrants from north of the Danube had been allowed to dominate the religious life of the religious capital of the empire the whole intricate fabric woven from inter-dependent strands of state and church must have been torn to shreds in due course, unless agreement could be reached on a universal statement of belief.

We have already seen that it was proving impossible to achieve such a universal statement of belief. The choice for the joint emperors was therefore quite simple: face a crisis now and try to overcome it, or face a much bigger crisis in the near future. No doubt they made their decision to precipitate a crisis on a limited regional scale after making an assessment of the consequences of both alternatives. It was only a matter of months later, in 380, that Gratian and Theodosius, together, went a step further in imposing orthodox Christianity on their reluctant empire.³⁵ An Imperial Edict required "all the various nations which are subject to our clemency and moderation ... (to) ... continue in the profession of that religion which was delivered to the Romans by the divine Apostle Peter, as it has been preserved by faithful tradition and is now professed by the Pontiff Damasus and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria". The edict declared that:

"According to the Apostolic teaching and the doctrine of the Gospel, let us believe the one deity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, in equal majesty and in a holy Trinity. We authorize the followers of this law to assume the title of Catholic Christians; but as for the others, since, in our judgement, they are foolish madmen, we decree that they shall be branded with the ignominious name of heretics, and shall not presume to give to their conventicles the name of churches. They will suffer in the first place the chastisement of the divine condemnation, and in the second the punishment which our authority, in accordance with the will of Heaven, shall decide to inflict."

Finally, the next year, they delivered their ultimate insult to man's intelligence and civil liberties. They required the Roman Senate to disavow the belief in the old gods and made conversion to paganism a punishable offence. Confusion, bitterness and manipulation continued. Strangely enough there was no immediate uprising in the east. It seemed that the

emperors' gamble had paid off. But there had been a trade off. Theodosius had agreed to make grants to the Goths so that they could maintain an army. Officially it was so that they could participate in the defence of the Roman Empire but in reality it was a reflection of the Goths' power to bargain with Rome. It enabled them to defend the territory which they had been permitted to occupy and it was the price of stability. The uneasy relationship held and something resembling peace continued for fourteen years. But it snapped in 395 when Theodosius' son and successor in the east, Arcadius, ill-advised by an orthodox Cyrenian, Synesius, defaulted on the army grants to the Goths. Synesius, who became bishop of Cyrene in the year that the Goths eventually marched into Rome, advised Arcadius against admitting "these armed and predatory aliens" into the body of the Roman State and recommended instead the establishment of a national army to cope with the Gothic peril.^{36 37} The Visigoths broke out and ravaged Macedonia and Greece until a new truce was reached and they were settled in north-west Greece, in the coastal region of Epirus. But that is jumping ahead a bit. The manipulation implicit in, and made necessary by, the edict of 380 calls for closer examination.

THEODOSIUS AND A LITTLE BIT OF MANIPULATION

The methods used today to convey information to large numbers of people in a 'target audience' in order to manipulate them and to gain, firstly, their acceptance of that information and, secondly, a carefully predetermined response to it, are highly sophisticated. They can be applied to entire populations simultaneously at the flick of a switch. Fortunately we are often aware that we are being manipulated and we can consciously consider our response instead of making a spontaneous conditioned response, even though the manipulators are often able to stay one step ahead because of advanced training in manipulative techniques and technology. But we know that we are being herded like cattle and that we are being given only that part of the story which "the mass media" want to give us. We know that this is bad and that we have got to do something about it. Many of us are uncertain why it is bad, what the effects are and what, if anything, we can or should do about it. But we know that "the media is the problem". In fact it is not so much the media – the equipment or the aids used and the staff who operate them – which is the problem. The real problems are the motives and the aims of the people who commission material for presentation through the mass media and who exercise control over it. Those who actually plan, prepare and present material are also accountable in part for the effects of that material, but theirs is delegated or imposed responsibility. It may be that they have seen a personal challenge and gone hunting for a job opportunity in mass media but the real responsibility still lies with those who deliberately commission material which is designed to manipulate the people who will be exposed to it.

The tasks for the manipulators in today's Christian West are how to induce people with a freedom of choice to make a particular "buying decision", to give to a particular fund, or to accept and then support a particular political, economic or military situation. The principal manipulators are the controllers of resource extractive and consumer goods manufacturing

industries, political parties and special interest groups supported by marketing consultants, advertising agents, media providers and their public relations journalists. The support staff or operators are highly trained specialists selected for their single-mindedness. The target audience is generally highly literate, articulate, comfortable, well fed and therefore contented and receptive or pliable, but it is not a captive audience. As socio-economic conditions in the West become more strained and as the manipulators reach further beyond their original primary targets into the non-western world which is now easily accessible and recognized as having greatly increased buying power – or market potential – the total target audience becomes less clearly defined. However it is still not a captive audience. There is competition for attention. The obstacles are apathy, competition from other vested interests and cultural diversity and resistance. But surely we are a long way removed from Theodosius? Well, yes, but not totally removed.

The scene is different and the subject matter, the scale of operation, the equipment, the methods and training available for operators or manipulators are certainly all quite different. But the problem was basically the same: to modify community mass response. The urgent task for the manipulators in the dying years of the Roman Empire, after Gratian and Theodosius had made their abominable decisions, was to ensure that the people of an entire empire – reluctant at best and openly hostile at worst – would accept a new working basis for their lives. It was not a simple change. It was a new basis for their relationships with each other. It was a new basis for their personal and community worship and for their understanding of their creator. It was, indeed, an entirely new basis for their existence and it had been imposed on them by law.

The target audience was generally illiterate. It was poor. It was suffering from overcrowding and insufficient food and over much of the Eastern Empire it was also suffering from competition for work and space because of the influx of migrants on a massive scale. In addition, a large proportion of the people who made up the target audience were bonded. They were not free in any sense. Those who were free were culturally very diverse, deeply divided over some of the theological concepts of the new religion, and over deeply divided the social consequences of the antics of some of the fanatics among the believers. To make matters worse they were spiritually captive within the system and certainly they were not contented or receptive. An additional consideration was that a small but very significant section of the target population was unshakable in its adherence to its own system of beliefs and social conduct which had been rejected by the new majority. The Jews. Their example strengthened the will to resist of many of the others.

The manipulators were the priests of the new religious system. They were untrained. They were recruited in large numbers to cope with the need to ‘handle’ the entire population instead of a small community of dedicated believers. And they were attracted by the privileges and power which went with the new state positions. The basic tools available were the spoken word and the whip. Hardly a good starting point from which to inspire people with the Good News of love and salvation.

A simple solution was adopted: indoctrination and the use of fixed liturgy and religious practices. Fear of the consequences of not conforming was then exploited to the full to ensure conformity. A council of eastern bishops was convened by Theodosius at Constantinople. It ratified the Creed of Nicaea in its original form. The disqualification and repression of Arians was pursued relentlessly. They were regarded as worse than pagans or Jews. The Apollinarian heresy was also condemned and Apollinarius was forced to withdraw from the church. These steps taken by the council can be interpreted as two things. Firstly they can be interpreted as a political pay-off to the collaborating emperors for their compulsory “Christianization” of the empire and, secondly, as an effort to simplify the process of mass indoctrination. The emperors were caught in the old spiral binding. Political stability required religious uniformity which required political intervention and coercion, which caused unrest and political instability, which was supposed to be offset by the religious uniformity which required political intervention. The spiral became twisted tighter and tighter.

For his part of the bargain Theodosius affirmed the intimate alliance between the state and the church. He forced through the Senate a vote declaring “the worship of Christ” to be the religion of the Romans in place of “the worship of Jupiter” and proceeded with the destruction or seizure of all pagan properties, and the prohibition of all pagan assemblies, rites and sacrifices.³⁸ A few months later the authorized canon of Sacred Scriptures was published in the ‘Decree of Pope St. Damasus’. The full force of the state was then thrown against anyone who dared to question the official word of the church. Persons adopting the approved belief might “assume the title of Catholic Christians” but “...as we judge that all others are extravagant madmen, we brand them with the infamous name of heretics...” Heretics were also prohibited from meeting, their leaders were subjected to heavy fines, and those who continued to adhere to heretical views were gradually disqualified from holding certain types of employment and forbidden to make wills.³⁹

Oddly enough the first official burning of a heretic occurred not in the Eastern Empire where these disputes had been centred but in the Western Empire. Priscillian, a prominent Spanish layman who had founded an ascetic movement in Spain and southern France, was burned in Trier in 386 together with six companions. It is said that Maximus, the imperial usurper, was hounded into it by a group of bishops led by Ithacius. Other bishops, notably Martin of Tour, took their lives into their hands by publicly condemning the gruesome deed and by following a campaign of evangelism among rural populations without the use of force. It proved surprisingly effective while the program of enforced conversion continued to run into snags. In 392 Gratian and Theodosius issued an imperial ordinance declaring participation in pagan temple practices and sacrifices to be high treason. It was authorized to burn humans at the stake but it was not authorized to burn a lamb on a sacrificial pyre. Onward Christian soldiers ...

The years between 370 and the end of the century saw all sorts of other changes to the eastern and northern boundaries of the empire but it is neither necessary nor possible to discuss them all now. We can only touch on some of the highlights to illustrate major movements as church and state continued their interaction.

The influence of the Asding Vandals in the Western Empire increased greatly. Stilicho, commander of their armies, became virtually the prop and guardian of the emperor and the appointed guardian of the emperor's sons Honorius and Arcadius. He prevented the Visigoths from marching on Rome when, still dissatisfied with the settlements offered after the events of 395, they moved to invade Italy in 402. Two years later Honorius moved his seat of government from Rome to Ravenna for greater security. It remained there for more than four hundred years. This enabled the pope to strengthen his image as the focal point of the empire and also encouraged more Arian Goth attacks on Trinitarian Rome. However in 405, the year after Honorius made his move, Stilicho managed to keep at bay a combined force from several regions which included both his own Vandals and Goths. To do this he had to weaken the northern defences of the empire and this allowed another combined force to break through to annex Gaul only a few months later, in 406. Stilicho's power over the emperor and the alliance of convenience was finished. The emperor no longer trusted him. In which direction did his strongest allegiance lie? With the Vandals or with him as emperor? Stilicho was murdered by the emperor in August 408.⁴⁰ There was then a power vacuum of immeasurable consequences. But we are jumping ahead a bit. We shall come to this power vacuum again in chapter six. For the moment we must pause at 393.

In that year a council was convened at Hippo in North Africa and it is widely considered that it was this council which finally determined the books of both the Old Testament and the New Testament. In fact they were subsequently varied on a number of occasions by Roman, Orthodox Eastern and Protestant Eastern groups and it is interesting to note that the Roman Catholic Church does not give that council at Hippo the status or authority of an 'Ecumenical Council'. Nor does Rome put it on the same footing as twenty one other councils beginning with Nicaea in 325.⁴¹ It was apparently mainly concerned with reform within the church in Africa. As important as those matters were at the time, if they were the only reasons to remember it we could easily bypass the Council of Hippo. However they were not. On December 3 in 393 a priest who had been ordained only two years before and who would not normally have been present at a council as a participant, was invited to address it. He took as his topic 'On the Faith and the Creed'. Onto centre stage strode Augustine. He was not to leave it for the rest of his life. The church and the world of Roman times had come face to face with the man who was about to exert a more profound influence on both of them than anyone since Paul. His theology and his ideas on the relationship between church and state were to shape them for more than a thousand years. His ideas and his writings were to be taken (whether in the context that he intended or distorted) and used as the basis and the justification for the religious enslavement of Europe and for some of the most dastardly episodes in history. As well as being important to an understanding of those events, Augustine's life provides a classic study of the impact of environment, circumstances and personal contacts on both personal and community thinking, reaction and development. His teaching was to become a primary tool in the hands of the manipulators.

CHAPTER 4

CALL IT A CITY OF GOD

At the time of the Council of Hippo Augustine was 39. He had been ordained only two years before, baptized four years before that and was to become bishop four years later. It has been suggested that he may have even had a hand in summoning the council and in planning the program of reforms which was proposed. ¹ In any case if the summoning of a council in the town to which he had just gone to carve a niche for himself in the church machine had any influence on him it was subsequently honoured many times over by the impact which his actions and writings had on the church and, through it, on the world community. His influence was of very mixed consequences. But it was of such magnitude that we must take a close look at his life and at some of the things which helped to shape it.

We certainly could not grasp the importance of Augustine if we were content to say of him that he was born in 354 in North Africa; that he refused to adopt his mother's orthodox Christianity and followed a system of beliefs touching on both Zoroastrianism and Gnosticism, known as Manichaeism; that he took his illegitimate son with him when he went to teach rhetoric in Rome where he was converted by Ambrose; that he returned to Africa where he was ordained and then became a bishop; that he wrote many books, and that he died at the age of 76 while Vandals were preparing to over-run Hippo. However that will do as a starting point for a close look at his life, times and influence.

Augustine had the privilege of being born a Roman citizen. He was born in one of the provinces of the empire on the Mediterranean coast of Africa which is part of modern day Algeria. The town in which he was born is less than forty miles from the border with Tunisia. It was probably established in the very early days of the Christian era but in any case it was certainly established during the period when Rome was reconstructing and expanding communities in the region around the site of Carthage only a few generations after it had totally destroyed the former Carthaginian capital. He was born into the area in which Christianity had taken hold most rapidly and, so it seemed, firmly. It was an area served by a school of theology whose scholars had an immense impact on the future of Christianity, quite apart from Augustine himself. It has been said that the school of theology at Carthage did more than either the school in Alexandria or those in Asia Minor to shape the theological thought of Europe. ² It was also to be an area in which the Christianity of the day gave way almost totally to the vigour of Islam only two and a half centuries later. It is an area we ought to understand. It is Numidia, and Augustine's birthplace was the town of "the most resplendent council of Thagaste."

NUMIDIA: THE FORGOTTEN MOULD

Numidia, although seldom given much attention by writers, played a vital role in the Roman conquest of the Carthaginian Empire. It was being moulded during those same critical centuries that saw Yahwism and Jewish life moving relentlessly towards the crisis of the Messiah and Christianity. Carthage, a city established before 800 BCE by Phoenician sailor/traders from Tyre, dominated the Western Mediterranean for hundreds of years. It was well established before Phoenicia was over-run by Assyria and it was remote enough to attract migration and grow rapidly while Tyre and Sidon were under siege.³ After only a few more years, in 722 BCE, most of the Jewish held territory south of Phoenicia was also overrun and the first of the great dispersions scattered Judaists, (or more correctly Yahwists at that stage), from the Nile to the Tigris.^{4 5} It is doubtful whether any Yahwists reached Carthage at that time, or at least in sufficient numbers to ensure a continuing presence, but as a result of the second Jewish dispersion when the Babylonians overran the balance of the Jewish territory and destroyed the Temple in Jerusalem 136 years later, (586 BCE), it is probable that some Yahwists sought refuge in Carthage as well as in Egypt and Cyrenaica. However some writers suggest that the first significant contact between the Jews and the western powers was between 400 BCE and 300 BCE. Certainly there were well established Jewish communities in Carthage during the Punic Wars between Rome and Carthage.

THE PUNIC WARS

When its conflicts with Rome began Carthage may have been much the bigger of the two cities, with an industrial and trading population of possibly a million people.⁶ It dominated Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily and coastal Spain and France as well as parts of North Africa. It assumed that its powerful navy would continue to dominate the Mediterranean. Its wealth had been built up very largely at the expense of its great slave population and its subordinate states and there was no bond of love or even a strong community of interest between Carthage as a republican city and its subject states. It had been forced into a loose alliance with the rapidly growing Roman power by a common enemy, Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, a small territory straddling the modern border between Greece and Albania. That alliance lasted for only eleven years after Pyrrhus was defeated. Then the first Punic War started as a battle for control of Sicily in 264 BCE. The first gladiatorial combat was held in Rome in the same year and the rapid growth of combat-to-the-death as a form of mass public entertainment reflects the moral state of Rome at the time.^{7 8} Coincidentally the Jewish Bible was being translated in Alexandria from Hebrew into Greek for the first time.^{9 10} After twenty four years of the most destructive war which had been recorded up to that time, during which Rome broke the naval supremacy of Carthage and gained the upper hand, Carthage sued for peace in 240 BCE. It forfeited Sicily to Rome and paid a massive war indemnity. Both powers had been bled to a state of misery, civil violence and economic disaster.

The Carthaginians tried to suppress uprisings by mass crucifixions, thousands at a time.¹¹ Corsica and Sardinia rose in revolt. For their part the Romans managed to stave off an uprising in Gaul by slaughtering forty thousand Gauls as they marched south. Human religious sacrifices were offered in Rome. Rome annexed Corsica and Sardinia, possibly as a diversion and possibly to offset its own economic chaos by screwing more territory and indemnities out of her adversary.

“Peace” could not last. Impatient for revenge Hamilcar, a general who had assumed a dominant position in Carthage, went to Spain to organize a land attack on Rome. It didn’t begin in his life time but ten years later, in 218 BCE, his son Hannibal reacted to provocation by Rome and invaded Italy in the early stages of the second Punic War. Hannibal’s fifteen years of rampage throughout Italy make fascinating reading. He was gradually cut off from Spain, which was lost piecemeal to Rome, and eventually he was cornered in the heel of Italy. Taking advantage of Hannibal’s plight Scipio, young and dynamic but under a political cloud, took the few Roman legions which the Senate would approve from Sicily to North Africa, to take the fight to Carthage from the rear.

At that stage Numidia was dragged directly into the action. Scipio attacked through the Numidian hinterland which formed a semicircle around Carthage in 202 BCE. He captured a Numidian king and destroyed two camps complete with vast numbers of men, arms and horses. So great was his pressure on Carthage itself that Hannibal was recalled with his army from the heel of Italy to defend the heart of the Carthaginian empire. This led to a brief truce. But the politicking during the truce resulted in the Numidians under King Massinissa changing their allegiance. When the truce collapsed Hannibal faced a greatly superior force for the first time. The final battle was brief but violent. Hannibal was routed. Carthage submitted. It had to pay more reparations, forfeit the balance of Spain and all of its navy, except a handful of vessels, to Rome and undertake not to go to war without Rome’s approval. Hannibal went into exile rather than surrender and died by suicide, betrayed, with the Romans baying at his heels in Bithynia 19 years later.

Another period of “peace” followed. It was longer this time. Fifty three years. Rome tightened its repressive grip so that allies gradually became tribute-paying provinces of its empire. Social and community life became more base. Its home economy had been wrecked by the wars with Carthage. The ruling land owner classes screwed the general population so hard that Italy changed from being a country of free farmers to a country of slave-worked cattle stations. In modern terms, Rome followed an expansionist policy and relied on military force rather than citizenship for a people in partnership to hold its foreign provinces in subjection. It was greedy. It taxed the foreigner to relieve the wealthy in Rome of a burden.

And it was greed and envy of the way in which Carthage was recovering and prospering from its commerce that led to the third Punic War. Some of Rome’s prominent citizens had been calling for the destruction of Carthage ever since the second Punic War and in 150 BCE Rome triggered the war by inciting the Numidians to encroach and settle on the remaining

Carthaginian territory until the Carthaginians reacted and fought in despair. Rome pounced on Carthage for breaking the peace treaty. Carthage surrendered the balance of its arms and some territory and sent the hostages that Rome demanded. But, never satisfied, the wealthy Romans wanted no further trade competition from Carthage at all. They demanded that Carthage should be abandoned as a trading port and that the entire population should move at least ten miles inland. The Carthaginians resisted. Rome attacked. For two years its attacks were repulsed. Then in 146 BCE a Scipio of the third generation laid siege to Carthage. Despite fantastic suffering from famine the Carthaginians held out until the city was eventually stormed. Even then the street fighting lasted six days. It has been estimated that at the outbreak of that final war Carthage had 500,000 people. When it fell there were 50,000 left. They were all carried into slavery. The city was totally destroyed by fire and then by ploughing the ruins to wipe a civilization off the map completely.¹² Much the same treatment was handed out to Corinth the same year.

The total destruction of Carthage robbed Rome of the benefits of much trade, reduced the thriving rural area around it to economic ruin and deprived Rome itself of a foothold for expansion in Africa. Only the semi-barbaric kingdom of Numidia was left to fill the vacuum.

It appears that the vast majority of the people of the Jewish community of Carthage were killed or enslaved together with the rest of the city although remnants of the community survived in the surrounding country. It also appears that the religions of Rome, introduced to towns like Hippo Regius with the Roman 'arrival' in 202 BCE, lived quite happily alongside the Yahwism of existing Jewish communities.

It is probable that Jewish migration to Mediterranean territories such as Numidia increased after the Punic Wars under the stimulus of the vigorous expansionist activity in Palestine during the Hasmonaeen dynasty. As the last century of the pre-Christian era dawned the Hasmonaeans were taking advantage of the period of independence which followed the collapse of the Seleucid Syrian Empire. The Syrians had recognized Jewish independence in 142 BCE. In 130 BCE they tried to reimpose their authority but were discouraged by intervention from Rome. Then for the next fifty years or so the borders of the Jewish kingdom were pushed outward so that it rivalled or exceeded in area the kingdoms of David and Solomon when they were at their greatest.¹³ Areas of Transjordan, the Negev, north Galilee and the high range country which straddles the modern border between Syria and Lebanon were all occupied and the people forcibly Judaized and subjected to circumcision.^{14 15 16} The Jewish population in Egypt reached about a million with 100,000 in the city of Alexandria.¹⁷ Jewish trading and commercial activity reached a new peak.

CHANGES IN THE EMPIRE

In 118 BCE, twenty eight years after the destruction of Carthage, the ruthless but capable Jugurtha seized the throne of Numidia. He had served with the Roman armies in Spain and his knowledge of things Roman enabled him to defy Rome so effectively that, after a time, the

Senate was provoked to intervene. It sent consuls, commissioners and generals to restore Roman authority. Jugurtha bought them all off! ¹⁸ After five years of being so snubbed Roman diplomacy gave way to war but Jugurtha held Rome at bay. The war dragged on. A young soldier, Marius, was appointed consul and sent to take charge of the Roman army. Instead of relying on yeomen who would serve citizen-army style for short periods, Marius recruited troops from the poorest classes – men who he believed were likely to respond to being well paid – trained and disciplined them effectively and, within two years, (106 BCE), had carried Jugurtha to Rome in Chains. Numidia had earned a place in military history books. Its resistance had led to the establishment of a crudely professional army made up entirely of paid troops for the first time. Numidia was back in subjection, but, of greater importance, the concept of a defence force had changed permanently. ¹⁹

It is perhaps only a matter of passing interest that while the Numidian War was being fought in North Africa, tribes of Germans were pressing down through Gaul into northern Italy. Marius was eventually recalled from Numidia where he had stayed on as Consul without formal authority and he defeated the Germans in 101 BCE by using the same means. He raised and trained the first truly professional army. ²⁰ It would have happened somewhere at sometime under some commander or other, but the tenacity of resistance at Numidia which triggered it became part of the Numidian heritage. It is also a matter of interest that when Ptolemy tried to invade the Jewish kingdom the following year he was repulsed when an alliance between the Hasmonaeans and the Egyptians brought intervention by an Egyptian army under the command of two Jewish generals. ²¹ Only four years latter he bequeathed his portion of the Ptolomaic empire, Cyrenaica, in modern day Libya, to Rome in exchange for Roman citizenship for its people. When Alexander II of Egypt proposed a similar arrangement fifteen years later Rome declined the offer. It was not until a generation before the birth of Jesus that Egypt became a part of the Roman empire. It was then as a consequence of Cleopatra and her relations with Julius Caesar and Antony and finally her suicide, which she preferred to being paraded through Rome by Octavian.

In the meantime Rome's relations with her allies and her subject peoples went through a series of ups and downs and wars. From the point of view of setting the scene for the religious tensions, manipulations and conflict which eventually erupted, the most important were the uprising of the Italian Provinces about 91 BCE and the revolt of the gladiators 20 years later.

The first, the so-called 'social' civil war, broke out over issues of debt abolition for the poor, land tax, and the demand for some political power for the ordinary Italians, especially the veterans of the 'new' armies, in place of the absolute rule of the Roman Senate. Reforms were slow in coming but in 89 BCE Roman citizenship was extended to include all free Italians and the masses of people eventually gained some debt relief after years of repressive civil war. These reforms meant that Rome's relationship with all its other provinces changed. The establishment of professional armies of men who had no land or trade to return to when hostilities ended turned out to be a very mixed blessing. Quite apart from the questions of

citizenship and political rights for the veterans there were the struggles and intrigues between leaders for military control and the political power which went with it. These internal struggles actually led Rome into wars she otherwise might not have had to fight and weakened the fabric of the republic. Strangely enough these things were also factors in the decision of Nicomades, king of Bithynia, to cede his kingdom on the southern shore of the Black Sea to Rome in 74 BCE.

Then, only the next year, the capital and all Italy were shaken by the second event. It was an uprising which was the direct consequence of the depravity of the peasants and powers of the day. It was the revolt of the gladiators and the slaves. It could not have taken place unless a large 'pool' of gladiators had been built up from the slaves of the finest physique for the purpose of satiating the blood lust of the mob and thereby distracting them from issues such as poverty and political impotency. Spartacus and seventy other slaves being trained for the sport of killing each other broke out of a gladiatorial 'farm' at Capua. A few similar groups had already risen against their masters in Sicily but they had lacked the leadership or the ability to sustain an uprising. However Spartacus was joined by escaping groups of gladiators and slaves from many parts of Italy. Most of them were not greatly concerned about bringing the collapse of the system in which they counted for even less than pawns. Their main concern was about being able to get home. But both ideas were about equally impossible. During two years of freedom Spartacus and his colleagues brought terror to the ruling classes and most of the countryside, especially in southern Italy. Then when their natural fortress at Mount Vesuvius was overrun the Roman revenge knew no bounds. Six thousand captives were crucified. They were not even given a fighting chance in a final circus combat! ^{22 23} The uprising seems to have had little long term effect. Many historians don't even give it a mention. In fact gladiatorial combats apparently increased in frequency in parallel with the level of unemployment and with the unemployed in "constant attendance" at the games. ²⁴

AN EMPEROR FOR AN EMPIRE

So we move on towards the point at which this narrative began. Rome was concerned at the threat to its eastern interests from the armies of King Mithridates of Pontus, east of Bithynia in what is now northern Turkey. Pompey was sent to command the war against Pontus and from 66 BCE he progressively annexed territory as far east as the Caspian and south through Syria. It was in 63 BCE that he reached and annexed Jerusalem after a siege of three months which ended with the massacre of 12,000 Jews when he finally stormed the city. Pompey was well versed, no doubt, in the imperial heritage of bloody wars as Rome expanded and held onto its empire and in the circumstances he could not know that he had bitten off more than Rome could digest. As far as he was concerned he had annexed nothing more than an ordinary city: another piece of territory which would contribute to the security of the empire and the wealth of Rome. But as we have already noted, he had guaranteed that the Messiah would be born into the Roman empire rather than in some obscure independent and religiously exclusive kingdom. He

had guaranteed rapid passage for the Messianic message right throughout the Roman Empire at a time in history when that message was needed more urgently than it had ever been needed before.

Following the siege of Jerusalem Pompey returned to Rome, expecting a hero's welcome. However in an error of judgement he disbanded his army before he reached Rome and in complex circumstances he had to rely on an arrangement with a man called Julius Caesar to secure his position and to obtain the approval of the Senate for what he had done. For a few years the ship of state sailed more or less smoothly and from 59 BCE Pompey, Julius Caesar and a third man named Crassus governed the Roman state as a Triumvirate. But when Crassus died Julius Caesar and Pompey fell out. Much political intrigue followed and eventually the two lined up their armies and did battle, amid civil war, in 48 BCE. Julius Caesar won. Pompey fled to Egypt, only to be murdered. Caesar intervened and, in effect, put Cleopatra on the throne of Egypt. He suppressed the remaining supporters of Pompey and took a firm grip on the empire. But it was not to hold for long. In 46 BCE he was proclaimed dictator for a ten year term. In 45 BCE that was changed to dictator for life. In 44 BCE it was all over. Julius Caesar was assassinated by a group of his former supporters who found his claims of divinity and his demands for personal emperor-worship intolerable.

However, in the short period of his dictatorship Caesar had set about reconstructing the administration and the economy of Rome which had reached a parlous state. He commenced the reconstruction of the cities of Carthage and Corinth, realizing that their destruction had wrecked the maritime trade of the entire Mediterranean. He used mass emigration of Rome's dole queues to achieve this and he extended Roman citizenship to the provinces on a selective basis.

After Caesar's death another triumvirate of Octavian, Antony and Lepidus emerged to command the empire. Octavian, commanding the west and being in effect the monarch of Rome, was by far the most influential. Antony commanded the east and Lepidus had charge of Africa where he continued the reconstruction of Carthage which Julius Caesar had begun. But struggles and intrigues continued. Antony's affair with Cleopatra, his pretensions of divine kingship and demands for personal worship along the lines of Julius Caesar could, under the circumstances, have only one result. They did. Ten years after the assassination of Julius Caesar the senate deposed Antony with encouragement from Octavian who set about him in a great naval battle. Cleopatra's desertion, Antony's pursuit, their reconciliation and inglorious demise, he by his own dagger and she by a snake smuggled to her, is the stuff of school drama productions but it is also the stuff that helps determine the paths of governments. Egypt, declined as a legacy just 50 years before, was annexed by Octavian. On returning to Rome he was wise enough to volunteer to relinquish his authority and the Senate was wise enough to know that a change in government was called for. Out of it all, after a period of uncertainty, Rome reverted to a system of government with something very much like a monarch-by-appointment and Octavian re-emerged in 27 BCE as Caesar Augustus. He survived for 41 years, until 14 CE.

The ever increasing exploitation of slaves for both rural and town work across the empire threw ordinary free men out of work by the thousands. To avoid a revolt and social collapse the state had to feed them and their families and keep them either usefully occupied or entertained by means of public sport. While Julius Caesar's solution to the unemployment problem and the costly grain queues was to export labour for provincial reconstruction, Caesar Augustus put the emphasis on employment through public works at home. He continued the public games and atrocious spectacles to keep the under-employed mobs in Rome amused but he also set about reorganizing the police and security systems to keep them disciplined. He was anxious to restore not only discipline but also the spirit of religious devotion and full employment. He erected massive public buildings including temples for those essential religious devotions, of course. Never mind the exploitation of slaves and the slaughter of gladiators as if life has no value – let's have our religious observance! Similar policies were adopted in the provinces. On reflection, Rome's substitution of slaves for free man bears remarkable similarities to the modern western world's substitution of machines and computers for men and women.

It was during this time that towns like Thagaste were established in Numidia. Large areas were brought under cultivation and Numidia was set on its course to a level of prosperity the like of which North Africa had never known before. Prosperity and the Roman Temple went hand in hand in precisely the same manner as economic development and the Christian Mission in Africa in a more recent period.

Previous emperors had brought under one rule an immense area of strategic importance in the unfolding affairs of man. Now, given the opportunity, Caesar Augustus was kneading it, and tuning it through sound administration and stability so that it was ready and receptive to absorb and provide a vehicle for whatever religious truths might be revealed. He was dealing with a population in desperate need for moral enlightenment and release from social injustices. He was dealing with a population in desperate need of salvation. His empire had just annexed the land of the chosen people. He vigorously encouraged religious observance. So much so that he was regarded as a religious fanatic by many. He probably saw the blessings of power and prosperity for the empire and stability as the gift of the gods in return for religious observance, but the masses saw it as a sign of favour for a chosen or superior people.

Such views did not die when Christianity became established. It would therefore be easy to criticize Augustus for failing to anticipate revealed truth or for failing to understand the significance of the birth of Jesus at Nazareth in the middle years of his lengthy reign. But we ought, rather, recognize that he resisted belief in imperial divinity along the lines that Julius Caesar, whom he followed, and Antony, with whom he had shared responsibility for some years, had adopted. It is also worthy of note that in spite of being steeped in one particular tradition he was happy to approve and provide temple sites for new and foreign religions, provided that they were not subversive or immoral. While the Roman state religion was carried forward with each outward thrust of its boundaries and was reinforced by Caesar Augustus' temple building program, a series of other religions continued to enjoy, or were given, official recognition as the empire overtook them.

Conquest and trade brought many foreign cults to Italy and to the notice of Rome's officials and, just like the current period, it was a period when social conditions stimulated a search, by some people, for religious truth, for a better basis for human relationships, and the criticism of existing beliefs. But at the same time those very same conditions led to a materialism in which many other people believed they could do without gods and personal restraints. Put simply, when Roman officials agreed to recognize a non-Roman cult and granted it a temple site or officially listed its festivals they made sure that it was adjusted to suit Roman tradition. Its rituals, terminology and even its legends may have been modified or even purged so that it didn't conflict with Roman attitudes.²⁵ The cult of the Great Mother, Cybele, of Mount Ida in Asia Minor had been introduced to Rome during the second war with Carthage so that, according to the claims of its supporters, Hannibal could be kept at bay.²⁶ The cult of Bacchus, introduced only a few years later, was one which was officially suppressed, but even its adherents could get permission, on grounds of conscience, to meet in small groups. However it was not until Gallienus issued his Edict of Religious Toleration in 261 CE²⁷ that Oriental gods from Egypt, Syria or Persia were officially allowed within the sacred city boundaries, even though they had been acceptable in the surrounding Italian provinces.

Many of these religious cults and philosophies were carried across the Mediterranean to Numidia during the period of glorious reconstruction and prosperity which came as result of Roman self-interest. They joined those which were North African in origin and those which had been carried westward from Egypt. While it appears that most of them did not take root, either because of competitive pressure or simply because their concepts were totally different to the existing African religions, several of importance did take root. In doing so they added to the religious confusion in the region at the same time that they helped to shape the beliefs and attitudes of the community at Thagaste into which Augustine was born in 354 CE.

Religious plurality in a community has the potential to foster discussion and tolerance and to lead to development or evolution in philosophical and religious thinking. However when one religious community carries the baggage of self acclaimed superiority and finality, tolerance gives way to arrogance, conflict and instability, and, as we have already noted, authorities seek stability through imposed religious conformity and manipulation. The opportunity for philosophical growth and religious evolution is lost or suppressed, especially if one of the parties is as uncertain of its foundations as it is arrogant

Such was the Christian church in Numidia into which Augustine was born and which, as a youth, he was expected to accept. It was uncertain, but dogmatic. Consoling, and yet oppressive. Universal, but fragmented and exclusive. Intensely divisive, and yet supported by the State. Augustine's mother, Monica, even carried a name derived from the local deity which her forebears had worshipped – the goddess Mon. Christian parents of her generation still took the precaution of dedicating their babies to Mon as well as practising the Christian customs laid down by the church. The 'benefits' of Christianity were, after all, tied to acting out the forms of worship of the church. That meant total subjection to its systems, if you believed what the church said.

The Numidia of Augustine's childhood was quite different to the Numidia of a few generations earlier in a number of ways. Gone was the glory of Roman reconstruction. A rule of terror had replaced the period of enlightened self interest under Augustus as later emperors struggled to keep Rome's grip on its empire, as they tried to finance its administration by heavy taxes on the provinces and as they used North Africa as a granary to be exploited to feed the capital with its continuing grain queues of people without income from employment. Numidia was being administered from the rebuilt Carthage. Public buildings were falling into disrepair. Agriculture was being rundown. The peasant farmers were becoming the poor relations or second class citizens of society. Those with money were stacking it away and accumulating capital as quickly as possible while those without were being squeezed by rampant inflation.

Only a few generations before Augustine was born there had been a peasant revolt in southern Numidia. It was tinged by one of the combative forms of Christianity.²⁸ Perhaps it was inspired by it. Who knows? About the same time, 347, the orthodox party of Caecilian turned to violence to suppress the Donatist movement. They had the capable and bloody assistance of an Imperial Commissioner, Count Macarius, in trying to frighten all of North Africa into submission to the Catholic Church. His holy task left a deep scar of bitterness under the superficial unity which he achieved.

At the time that Augustine was born Constans and Constantius, the sons of Constantine, were sharing the Imperial throne. Ulphilas was in Central Europe committing the Gothic language to writing and building a strongly Arian Christian base for the nation. When he was five, the strongly Arian Authorized Creed came into use but it doesn't seem to have had much influence in North Africa.²⁹ When he was seven Julian became emperor and tried to curb the power and correct the theology of the church and to give Mithraism official recognition again. But then when Jovian came to power in a church-supported backlash against the two years of Julian's reign, while Augustine was at the impressionable age of nine, the power and influence of the church became even greater. In spite of all the signs of decline and conflict the Romanized elite were still optimistic about a perpetual empire. They took for granted their positions of privilege and their right to that position.

AUGUSTINE: CAST AS THE MODEL FOR AN AGE

Augustine and his friends grew up and were educated in a community in which life and attitudes were marked by deep division. Personal self respect and inflated dignity went hand in hand with open cynicism and vehement personal hatreds. The subservience of the peasantry to the protectors of the community contrasted with the system of patronage under which Augustine would become one of the select few. The poor man was well advised to rise and bow deeply to his lord.³⁰

Augustine knew the impact of religious conflict both in a community and family sense right from his childhood. His very possessive and determined mother was a pious Christian who seems to have had a strong fear of the consequences of non-observance of the rituals of the

time. She clung to traditional practices of the African church such as meals at the tombs of the dead and Sabbath feasts which educated men rejected as primitive. An age-worn maidservant in her parents household seems to have had more influence in her conversion and conduct, probably saving her from alcoholism, than her parents. She found the non-belief of Augustine's father very difficult to bear and there was constant tension and repeated conflict until he accepted conversion, almost certainly for the sake of domestic peace.

Augustine's descriptions of his mother are so lyrical that they seem more like adulation and promotional material directed at his readers than normal admiration. He wrote "... concerning that hand-maiden of yours [God] who brought me to birth, both in her flesh, so that I was born into this temporal light, and in her heart, that I might be born into eternal light. Not of her gifts, but of your gifts in her, will I speak. She neither made herself nor did she educate herself: you created her." ³¹ "Brought up modestly and soberly ... and made subject by you to her parents rather than by her parents to you, when she arrived at a marriageable age, she was given to a husband and served 'him as her lord'. She strove to win him to you, speaking to him about you through her conduct ... She endured offences against her marriage bed in such wise that she never had a quarrel with her husband over this matter. She looked forward to seeing your mercy upon him, so that he would believe in you and be made chaste." ³² "When she heard from either side many very bitter things, like something a swollen, undigested discord often vomits up, when a rough mass of hatred is belched out in biting talk to a present friend about an absent enemy, she would never betray a thing to either of them about the other except what would help towards their reconciliation." ³³ "Finally, towards the very end of his earthly life, she gained her husband for you. After he became one of the faithful, she did not have to complain of what she had endured from him when he was not yet a believer." ³⁴

A brilliant, sensitive child, Augustine was slow to reach physical maturity, being sixteen before he reached puberty. His father had some property, enjoyed Roman citizenship and was a member of the municipal curia. ³⁵ He was probably a minor official but he was certainly in a position of privilege for that period. Augustine wrote that "beyond the resources of his own estate" his father furnished every thing he needed to go to Carthage to take up his studies again after a break because of financial strain, and he notes how other people praised his father for this effort, but Augustine does not seem to have really grasped the significance of the personal sacrifice which his father made to raise the money for his education. ³⁶ He also wrote that neither of his parents took care "to save me by marriage from plunging into ruin. Their only care was that I should learn to make the finest orations and become a persuasive speaker." ³⁷ To his mother he attributes fine motives for this oversight, while his father gets only a blast.

Augustine writes at length and somewhat extravagantly of his adolescent immorality. "I was tossed about and spilt out in my fornications; I flowed out boiled over in them" ³⁸ "...the madness of lust, licensed by human shamelessness but forbidden by your laws, took me completely under its scepter, and I clutched it with both hands." ³⁹ Great stuff for cinema, but hardly convincing as autobiography.

Augustine was certainly a young man with problems. He found himself thrust into the university town of Carthage in a time of social and economic crisis and he was with a peer group much more mature, tending to violent escapades to intimidate teachers and civic dignitaries, but he had not shaken off the constraints and rituals of his idolized mother's brand of Catholicism. His mother, by then widowed, was at home in Thagaste struggling to finance his education.

It is hard to accept the self-portrait of a young libertine. It is much easier to accept a portrait of a sensitive young man deeply in need of counselling and support. After all, his "Confessions" were not written until he was 43. He had gone through his long years of searching for truth, bouncing from one philosophy to another. It was six years after he became a priest, he was riding hard to win a bishopric and his audience loved the image of a man who had "risen" from the levels of such debased conduct.

As we continue to study Augustine it becomes quite clear that in contrast to popular belief he was not a late convert from paganism after an early life of unbridled debauchery and irresponsibility. He never forgot that he had been "salted", or his pleading for baptism, or his upbringing in the "True Wisdom" of Christianity and he loved the solemn Easter vigils of the great basilicas. As a student in Carthage he remained loyal to the Catholic Church, at least in the sense that it was to church that he would go as a lonely stranger from the provinces in search of a girlfriend.⁴⁰ At the same time his religious thought apparently pivoted around Christ to the extent that impressive non-Christian ceremonials which he was to witness many times did not provide the inspiration for him that they did for most others of his generation.

Augustine had been at Carthage for about a year when his father died. Although their relationship seems to have been somewhat distant, it would have been difficult for Augustine to avoid a feeling of being sucked further into a vacuum. In reaching for an intimate personal relationship to fill that vacuum Augustine chose to live with a woman who, according to his "Confessions", loved him without being loved in return. He was "loving love" for sexual experience or gratification only. Hardly an unusual relationship, either for his day or ours. Their son, Adeodatus, was born the next year.

Augustine's disenchantment with some aspects of ritual Christianity increased. He became disappointed with the fruitlessness of his search for truth and wisdom in the books of the Bible then in circulation; the "half-hearted compromise with Judaism and the exceptional sensitivity of the bishops to any challenge to their authority. He found that Christianity as he knew it did not provide the spiritual wisdom which, as a student of Cicero, he was looking for. He reacted to the oppressive environment in which the Bible was treated as a quarry for rigorous legal rulings and in which a "true" Christian had to accept this "Law" completely and without debate.⁴¹ He became a Manichee hearer, or something like a student preparing for full involvement. The orthodox church regarded Manichaeism as an austere, illegal and sinister society. Orthodox Christians viewed it with fear and hatred. Many non-Christians were attracted to it because it

disowned the authoritarianism of the official church, while others viewed it with horror. But the Manichees saw themselves as reformers of Christianity.

At that point Augustine changed career direction as well as religious step. He dropped law, which his parents had pushed him into, and trained to teach philosophy. When he returned to Thagaste in 375 (aged 21) to teach philosophy his mother shut him out as a heretic. Not even her own Manichee son could darken her orthodox doorway! But after a while she relented in the hope that he would return to the fold. His faith and his self-understanding took a shaking a year later when a close Manichee friend fell ill, was given Orthodox Christian baptism by his parents while in a coma, recovered temporarily, rejected Augustine and then died in a matter of days.

Augustine fled to Carthage to think through his situation and his beliefs. While he struggled with religious questions in Carthage the Arian Goths were beginning to push south from Germany towards Rome. News travelled quickly from Rome to Carthage. It travelled less quickly from Carthage to Thagaste. For seven years he continued to defy his mother and actively supported the Manichees. As he taught and continued to study the philosophers he found no contentment or finality and struggled from one minor crisis to the next. He was an active Manichee in Carthage in 380 and 381 when Gratian and Theodosius issued their edicts imposing Trinitarian orthodoxy on the whole empire, making conversion to paganism punishable AND requiring the Senate to disavow belief in the old religious systems.⁴²

THE PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC

Then fate smiled on Augustine. The Roman Pro-consuls in Carthage happened to be the son and a son-in-law of the tutor to the new boy-emperor. They and their senate colleagues in Rome were just as happy to form an association with Augustine, a teacher-philosopher, as he was to form one with them. He received plenty of encouragement to go to Rome to seek a better post and such a move might also have provided a convenient escape from a difficult situation. He was becoming disillusioned with the Manichees and they were an increasingly persecuted sect living in fear of denunciation. He sailed for Rome in 383, choosing to deceive his mother so that he could go without her. His first year in Rome was spent in misery and sickness. However he began to feel more at home when he was introduced by Manichee friends to Symmachus, a Prefect of Rome who had been a Pro-Consul in Carthage while Augustine was a student there. Symmachus had not accepted Christianity. Heretics and pagans had good reason to be allies in the shadow of intolerant state Catholicism. In 394, through the influence of Symmachus, Augustine was appointed professor of rhetoric for Milan where the imperial court was then residing.

Among the responsibilities of his new post was the preparation and delivery of the official panegyrics on the emperor and the consuls. These speeches had something of the nature of a twentieth century Australian State Governor's address at the opening of parliament, being carefully tuned to publicize the planned programs of the court. In that way the professor of rhetoric became something of a propaganda minister.⁴³ He was in the public eye as well as the

emperor's. He could hardly avoid imperial edicts for very long even if he was "planted" on the emperor by the Manichees to influence him. Fear and disillusionment pressed on him again. He took to reading Cicero again.

Symmachus tried to use Augustine to persuade the boy-emperor, Valentine II, to reverse the edicts of 380 and 381, but he reckoned without his own cousin Ambrose. The son of a powerful administrator, Ambrose had been appointed to Milan as governor of Liguria Province but had promptly been "seized upon" as suitable to be ordained as bishop! That little exercise illustrates very well the relationship between the church and the state of the day. Ambrose was never baptized. He only received instruction for church membership. That is also very interesting indeed in view of the overpowering emphasis which he put on the baptism of others.⁴⁴ By the nature of his appointments Ambrose had become, beyond dispute, the most powerful man in Milan. He wrote to the boy-emperor reminding him that he was a catechumen of the Catholic Church, that the Roman gods were demons and that he would be barred from the bishop's church if he agreed to Symmachus' request.⁴⁵ Augustine soon adapted to the circumstances and the demands of his new station. He needed a legal wife rather than a concubine. Church, legal and social requirements meant that he couldn't simply change the status of his relationship with his son's mother. In 385 he dismissed her, sent her back to Africa an "obscure victim of the high Catholic principles and great snobbery of the Milanese" and became betrothed to a more suitable young heiress. Adeodatus, who was then twelve, stayed with his father.⁴⁶ Augustine also became a catechumen. He was an appointee of the Christian court. He could no longer be suspected of failing to uphold the edicts of the Christian emperor about whom he composed lyrical panegyrics or he would soon lose more than his post on religious grounds.

So much for his miraculous "conversion" at the hands of Ambrose. Augustine was learning about the power of the church and its strong men very quickly. But he was still shaken by misgivings. He lurched from the brink of baptism to Neoplatonism. Then the boy-emperor's mother, Justina, ordered the orthodox church to hand over one of its churches to the Arians. Ambrose refused. He portrayed it as a case of "the court against the city", barricaded his party in a basilica and prepared for a long siege. The court lost its nerve and Ambrose won. The Arians did not receive a church.⁴⁷

Augustine lurched all the way and formally accepted Catholicism. He put it down to his reading of Paul's epistle. But he could still not bring himself to face the trauma of baptism. The total rejection of life's pleasures, including the subjugation of all forms of sexual relations even for married couples, the break-up of family life because of this and the "heroic" stoicism which baptism involved for Christians of the late Roman era, especially as preached by Ambrose, were more than Augustine could stand.

To read Paul's letter to the Romans against this background, and to imagine oneself with Augustine in the Roman Imperial Court in Milan in that 'generation of St. Paul' just before the letters were canonized as part of the perpetual Christian 'truth' is stimulating indeed.⁴⁸ It is easy to see how Paul's efforts to balance or redirect the erroneous and highly superstitious

beliefs of his sparsely educated era misfired. They produced equally strongly held beliefs and fears with a different and very divisive emphasis. Augustine, a brilliant speaker, copious writer and a scholar/philosopher in search of a place in life was trying to work his way through it and rationalize the positions of intense conflict into which he had stumbled through his particular chain of personal circumstances. His health failed. He was on the point of a complete breakdown. He had to give up his job. He rejected his proposed marriage and retired to a villa with his mother and his son to convalesce and to write philosophy. A year or so of that and he decided to return to Milan and to be baptized by Ambrose at Easter 387 in his awe-inspiring and mystical manner before returning to Numidia.

Augustine planned to live in Numidia by whatever enterprise would provide an income and his party would have made its departure except that civil war overtook them. Maximus, the Roman general who had already scored a line in the record books by being the first person to burn a heretic at the stake, Priscillian, ⁴⁹ had blockaded the harbours to Rome in an attempt to usurp the throne. Theodosius, the emperor at Constantinople who had signed the edicts of 380 and 381 and who had bought “peace” with the Goths ⁵⁰ was preparing to take him on. Augustine and his party had to stay at Ostia, a harbourside town, for the duration of the blockade. While they were there his mother died and it was not until 388 that he and his son reached Thagaste via Carthage. During their brief stop over in Carthage Augustine met Aurelius, a deacon who became bishop of Carthage in 392. They forged an alliance which, with Aurelius as President of the Council of Hippo and effectively primate of North Africa, was to be Augustine’s springboard to power and a sword to impose reforms which he proposed.

It is not clear how Augustine earned a living at Thagaste for the next two years. He must still have had a small income from property unless he had a little nest egg from his post in Milan. His son Adeodatus was still a student. He continued writing but he had not brought his text books with him and his views show a gradual change as he was thrust into face to face contact with the church in North Africa for the first time. He wrote of the incarnation. He wrote on creation. He wrote in defence of the Catholic Church and against Donatists. He had begun to see a post as a Catholic Bishop as an alternative to a life as an insignificant Neoplatonic recluse.

Adeodatus died, aged 16, in 390. What was left of Augustine’s personal world was shattered. Out of the ruins he seems to have pieced together an idea. He would establish a monastery. It would have the security of a permanent community bound together by a commitment to Christian charity. He headed for Hippo Regius on the Mediterranean coast about 150 kilometres away. That, he thought, would be a suitable place for a man of his experience to set up a monastery! He arrived in 391, a lonely but very determined man. With the traditional show of reluctance he accepted ordination as a priest almost immediately. Possibly he was disappointed at not being appointed directly to a bishopric as Ambrose had been in Milan. ⁵¹ But after all he wasn’t a provincial governor. He was an out of work professor.

Hippo was dominated by Donatists and the Manichees had a lot of influence around the fringes of a demoralized Catholic community. ⁵² The training, education and leadership of the

clergy generally was pathetic and, quite naturally, Augustine was involved in preaching right from the start instead of being left on the sidelines at the bishop's feet. Only bishops preached! He also got approval to set up a monastery. Within a year he was debating publicly against the Manichees, among whom were his former friends who had helped him towards his professorial post in the imperial court.

THE PRIESTLY POWER GAME: DONATISTS MUST GO!

By December 393 he had really made it. Although still only a priest and not entitled to participate in a council of the church he was invited by Aurelius to address the Council of Hippo.⁵³ He took as his theme "On faith and the Creed." Because of that occasion he was soon known throughout the church, but more especially in North Africa. Very soon he was in full flight against the Donatists. He composed a jingle, "The ABC against the Donatists", which caught the public imagination and this led him to public debates in which his skills were, of course, decisive.

Against some strong opposition from fellow members of the clergy Aurelius arranged for Augustine to be appointed a coadjutor bishop in 395. At that time a bishop was idolized and venerated by his congregations in such a way that the belief that they were endowed with supernatural gifts and authority tended to be self-generating both among the clergy and the laity. They were provided with elevated sanctuaries, cloth-draped thrones and ceremonial processions with crowds of chanting consecrated virgins.⁵⁴ Augustine caught their imagination more than most.

In 395 there were about 600 bishops across North Africa. About half were Catholics and half were Donatists. Aurelius shared Augustine's attitudes towards the Donatists, he patronized his monastery, assisted its development as a seminary and then "planted" Augustine's protégés as bishops in leading towns across Numidia. These protégés were often men drawn from the imperial bureaucracy, including the dreaded secret police, and they enjoyed the support of some of the wealthiest landowners in the Western Empire.⁵⁵ In contrast the Donatist clergy tended to be drawn more from the poorer sections of the community, including the non-Romanized African peasantry. The balance of power and influence between the Catholics and the Donatists changed rapidly. So did the balance of power within the church and between the church and the state. The concentration of a ruthless power group in a single province, Numidia, was both a symptom and a factor in changing relationships across the empire.

Augustine had learned the power game in the shadow of Ambrose very well, but he became more and more dependent for support and for his authority on the wealthy and powerful landowners. In turn this complicated existing divisions between religious and secular groups in the community and concentrated power still further in the hands of the powerful. It was exercised ruthlessly. Augustine's clergy evolved into a distinct and powerful caste; celibate, living individually simple lives of poverty but being corporately wealthy, corrupt and austere.

They were intent on bringing to ruin every group which did not fall into line with their own theology and practices.

Theodosius, the emperor who had confiscated all Arian property and handed it to the Orthodox Trinitarians only 16 years before ⁵⁶ died only shortly before Augustine was appointed Coadjutor Bishop. He was succeeded by his juvenile sons Arcadius in the east and Honorius in the west. By their father's direction they were both subject to the guardianship of the Arian Gothic general Stilicho. ⁵⁷ Honorius was therefore very largely dependent on good relations with Stilicho for his ability to stay in power in the west and Arcadius had a similar dependence on Alaric, another Arian Goth, in the east. Whether this had anything to do with the eagerness which Aurelius showed to have Augustine in a position of authority is not clear. They had already combined to encourage or coerce changes such as the abolition of the celebrations of the anniversaries of martyrs in 394. The importance of the Goth uprising against Arcadius when he defaulted on military grants in 395 could hardly escape Augustine's notice. ⁵⁸ Progressively Aurelius and Augustine turned their wrath against the Donatists.

They denounced the tendency for Catholics to adopt Donatism in order to have any chance in law suits in communities such as Hippo where there was a numerical imbalance. In 397 they banned marriages between Catholics and Donatists – or any other non-Catholics for that matter, even for the sons of clergy! They drove the wedge more deeply into the community by forbidding the clergy to make donations or to leave legacies to non-Catholics. Within a few years they were using harsh police measures to suppress its activities. Shades of Macarius. They justified this because of the coercion which the Donatists had used to avoid a split within their own ranks.

Ambrose died the same year. Both the church and the state exploited the fantastic level of veneration which had built up around him. A Moor, Count Gildo, had been trying to usurp the power of Rome in North Africa. He had a strong base of popular support through his friendship with the elder statesman of the Donatists, Bishop Optatus of Timgad. Taking advantage of this, Augustine began to preach that the Donatists were trying to bring down the empire and Honorius sent troops against Gilda, inspired, or indoctrinated, with the belief that the ghost of Ambrose would protect them. They won, of course! Whether it was deliberate misuse of the Christian Church for political purposes or an example of theological error is not important in considering the consequences. Those actions compounded the veneration of "saints"; stimulated the hunt for more of them; helped to perpetuate belief in intervention by saints and intercession through intermediaries, whether living priests or dead saints; strengthened the mystical grip of the church over its adherents and the authority of the ordained, and thickened the cloud of theological garbage through which man had to struggle.

When a new count was appointed for North Africa there was a general hardening of Roman authority and in 399 imperial agents were used to close all pagan shrines. Augustine began to rail against an alliance of pagans, heretics and Jews which was supposed to be hell-bent on destroying the unity of Roman Catholicism. ⁵⁹ Mob wars erupted. Bitterness between the two

major factions grew deeper. Converts were attacked by their former colleagues. After he had been beaten up and left for dead the Donatist-turned-Catholic Bishop of Bagai went to Rome in 404 to seek retribution and police protection.

When he arrived Rome itself was in confusion. Honorius had mounted a massive triumph in honour of Stilicho and the defeat of the Goths in their attacks on Rome during the previous two years but, at the same time, he was preparing to evacuate his government from Rome to the more easily secured Ravenna, except that religious affairs would be administered from Rome.⁶⁰ In the circumstances, to whom would the bishop of Bagai turn with his request that another “Count Macarius” be sent to Numidia to make the heretics toe the line? Whoever he appealed to, he didn’t get his wish. Instead in June 405, an ‘Edict of Unity’ was sent to Carthage. It declared all Donatists heretics; it declared all their property to belong to the Catholic Church, and of course it disbanded their organization.

It appears that at the time Augustine was not in favor of that course. He knew that the Catholic Church couldn’t absorb them all without force, without massive upheaval and without violence, but he accepted the decision as an act of Providence. He could not control the situation. The Edict did, of course, result in harsh repression of the Donatists. It helped to set a pattern for attitudes and conduct for the next generation. The pattern did not change – only the ferocity – and Augustine was soon taking full advantage of it.

AN EMPIRE IN COLLAPSE

On the other side of the Mediterranean the base of the empire was being eroded by civil wars which were triggered in part by efforts to enforce religious uniformity, in part by economic collapse, and in part by conflicting ethnic ambitions. The empire was under greater pressure from outside and the Goths were no longer sure that they should cooperate to prop up the empire. The frontier was no longer a defended line. “Authorized” barbarians settled or were employed and moved freely through the northern provinces. The “unauthorized” barbarians stayed outside more from choice than because they were prevented from moving into the empire.

The pace of collapse quickened. In 406 the frontier crumbled and a combined force of various tribes led by Vandals took control of Gaul. Stilicho, to whom Honorius had still been something of a puppet, fell, his murder contrived by the emperor in 408. So we have come to that power vacuum again.⁶¹

Alaric, the Goth to whom Arcadius had also been virtually a puppet in the east and who had already marched against Rome twice, took advantage of the vacuum and marched an army into Italy again only a few weeks later. Although it seems difficult to appreciate at this time difference, he apparently still didn’t want to bring the empire to ruin. He demanded more territory, a bigger say in government and more money for his army. But the emperor, well defended in Ravenna, wouldn’t oblige. To press his case Alaric laid siege to Rome twice during the next two years. The inhabitants were starved into cannibalism on occasions. Although the

city had not been the political capital of the empire for some time it was still home to many of the empire's elite and Christians had been pounded with the idea that it was the God-given home of the church. Rome was therefore a symbol of empire, both earthly and heavenly.

These years were a period of crisis in North Africa but, preoccupied in Italy, the Roman authorities lost interest in Africa and left it largely to its own devices. Support for the Catholic Church was withdrawn, the campaign to suppress the Donatists was allowed to run down and the imperial laws against heresy were suspended. Emperor Honorius refused to reintroduce them without a full enquiry into the schism. The Donatists rejoiced and their bishop returned to Hippo. Augustine had to flee. Only an error by his guide saved him from martyrdom in an ambush. There was confusion and bitterness as disillusioned Catholics and reprieved Donatists fought for control of assets which had been forfeited by the Donatists under the Edict of 405, barely four years before. Segregation burst whole communities all over again.

Alaric finally entered Rome on August 24th, 410, when a traitor opened a gate. The city was "mildly" sacked and partly burned but the Arian Christian leader ordered that no churches of other Christian property was to be touched. Refugees headed for Numidia en masse and the authorities in Carthage panicked.

Only a matter of days after Alaric entered Rome a law was issued from Ravenna re-affirming all legislation against non-Catholics who included, of course, both Donatists and the heretic Arian Goths. Only a few weeks later, in October 410, Honorius convened a conference to be held in Carthage to resolve once and for all the position of the Donatists. He ordered that its work be completed within a few months.

Augustine continued to upset a lot of people. They were not only the "pagans, heretics and Jews" against whom he had been letting fly. They included a lot of orthodox Catholics on both sides of the Mediterranean. Prominent among them was a monk named Pelagius, thought to have been Irish, who had gone from Britain to Rome to take up an appointment about the same time as Augustine. He had read the "Confessions" which Augustine wrote and published progressively from 397 to about 401 and disagreed strongly with the author's views on sin and grace. In the wake of the sack of Rome, the disagreement came out into the open and developed into another of the major controversies of Christian theology, the so called Pelagian heresy. It compounded the crisis of doubts and fears for Christians, the bitterness of non-Christians towards the church which the fall of Rome had brought on, and the tensions in North Africa just as the conference called by Honorius was being organized.

Augustine joined yet another battle. He exaggerated and misrepresented the views of Pelagius in order to gain support to have them rejected and to maintain his own authority. In the meantime, in the months following the sack of Rome, his health failed again and he went to a friend's country estate to convalesce for a time. However illness did not force him into idleness. He began writing "City of God." Then on 18th May 411 the Donatist bishops arrived in Carthage in procession ready for the conference. When it opened on June 1st the Donatists declined to accept the arbitrator's proposal for a private conference with only seven

representatives of each side meeting with him and insisted on an open conference with all bishops present. Thus 286 Catholic bishops faced 279 Donatists. Augustine naturally played a dominant role in the conference. Some writers give him credit for having arranged and conducted it and say that he and his supporters were prepared to resign their offices if the Donatists would “return to the community of believers.”⁶² Others put the emphasis on his efforts to prove that there was no basis for a split church because Caecilian, around whom the schism had originally developed, had no case against the church.⁶³

By June 9th it was all over. It had been a put up job anyway. The arbitrator, Marcellinus, was in no way independent. He was an orthodox Catholic, a friend of Augustine, appointed by the Emperor and really only interested in finding a basis on which to determine that the Donatists had no case. As may have been expected there was a brief calm of uncertainty before the storm burst.

Ravenna was pre-occupied with appeasing the Goths and the Vandals and the court was not inclined to waste time and effort on the church schism in North Africa. But Numidia's fortunes were changing again as a result of the sack of Rome and the power of its Catholic church increased dramatically. The Vandals and the Goths had grown to regard themselves as a part of the Roman Empire. They were simply struggling for a larger slice of the imperial cake and personal elevation within the imperial service.⁶⁴ The Goths in particular were prepared to go on supporting the basic system of the empire if not the detail. Their power in relation to Ravenna and the traditional aristocratic and landowning authorities of Italy increased. The price for their continued support was more land to settle and more money – to support their armies in the Imperial Service of course!

The concessions necessary for Ravenna to keep a tenuous hold on the reins of the empire deprived it of a big proportion of its provincial taxes and its grain supplies. North Africa was the only region from which it could hope to extract a big increase in both. It became, in effect, a sheet anchor for the emperor, but being safely out of reach of Ravenna, its loyalty and supplies had a very high price. When Honorius had to give the Goths almost four fifths of Gaul in 412 his position became critical. The wealthy landowners in Numidia extorted tax concessions as the price for their grain supplies and the ever increasing tax deficit had to be made up from somewhere. It could only be made up from the not-so-wealthy and the defenceless who were ground into the dirt. The Catholic bishops, urged on by Augustine, also got what they wanted: resolute imposition of the Catholic faith throughout the province.⁶⁵ Honorius issued an absolute edict against the Donatists which made the edict of 405 sound like child's play. Membership of the Catholic church was made mandatory. An exceptionally heavy “tariff” was imposed on anyone who failed to join the Catholic church, regardless of his station in life, and many estates were seized. Unparalleled and fanatical aggression was let loose on the Donatists. Augustine's preaching on predestination inspired and was used to justify mass slaughter of those who were not “predestined” to enter the “true faith.”

At this point Augustine began distributing the early parts of “City of God” although he did not complete the work until 426, by which time he had modified some of his earlier inflammatory attitudes and pronouncements. But at that stage the early parts had an immediate impact. They were designed to justify “Christianity”, to refute claims that the church had been responsible for the collapse of the empire, to defuse the antagonism towards the church which was being generated because of what was happening in Numidia, and to ensure for it a dominant role as the emperor’s grip continued to weaken and civil administration crumbled throughout the empire. Augustine had to be recognized as an authority. After all he had been a senior figure at court and he was now the key figure in the “true church” in the only reasonably stable province of the western empire.

By 414 the Goths had moved on from Gaul to Spain, with encouragement from the emperor, and they set about the elimination of the tribes of Vandals which had settled there. Other tribes, including the Alans who had settled in what is now Portugal, would have suffered the same fate except that Honorius, still clinging precariously to office, persuaded the Visigoths to accept south west France as an independent kingdom in recognition of services to the empire.⁶⁶

About this time Dulciticus, a pious Roman civil servant who had a brother in the priesthood, was posted to Numidia as Imperial Agent. He had to enforce the edict against the Donatists. He was shocked by the ferocity of ecclesiastical politics and went to discuss with Augustine the threat by Donatist bishop Gaudentius to burn himself with the members of his congregation who had barricaded themselves into their magnificent basilica.

Augustine observed that “Seeing that God, by a hidden, though just, disposition, has predestined some to the ultimate penalty (of Hellfire), it is doubtless better that an overwhelming majority of the Donatists should have been collected and reabsorbed... while a few perish in their own flames: better indeed, than all Donatists should burn in the flame of Hell for their sacrilegious dissension.”⁶⁷ He described the separate suicides chosen by thousands as preferable to the alternative of brutal murder as “a part of their accustomed behaviour.”

Augustine now found that he had to pull out all the stops in his campaign against Pelagius whose clear reasoning had been accepted in the east and was beginning to undermine his own influence both in Africa and in Rome.⁶⁸ Put in a nutshell, the Pelagian view was that man had a free will. Freedom was to be taken for granted and this did not conflict in any way with God’s demand for obedience and the pursuit of perfect conduct; baptism indicated acceptance of a certain direction in a person’s life; and predestination, with its implication that God condemned masses of mankind to fail to reach perfection and salvation was a load of garbage. Augustine, an expert on the subject after fifteen years of repression in Numidia, wasn’t about to allow free discussion now. Synods and councils were manipulated willi nilli because, in the eyes of the North Africans, only a decision carrying the full prestige of Rome could undo the effects of the judgement of an Eastern Synod (which had met in Jerusalem) in favour of Pelagius. But Augustine did not get the Papal decision in his favour that he was looking for. He got instead a lecture on tolerance!⁶⁹

Imperial interest in stability through theological uniformity then reared its ugly head again. A riot broke out among Pelagian supporters against officials thought to be lobbying the emperor in favour of Augustine. This was too much. Honorius was still beholden to the church and to the church in Numidia in particular. On April 30th 418 the imperial law hit rock bottom. An edict was issued to the effect that Pelagius and his supporters, the new boat-rockers, “think that it is a mark of lower class pettiness to agree with everybody else, and think that they are exceptionally knowledgeable because they destroy what is agreed upon by the whole community.” Pelagius was expelled from Rome and anyone who continued to lobby for him was to be dealt with appropriately. Naturally that round of repression failed to resolve the crisis and the controversy raged on with the church continuing to tear itself apart over the issue for some time.

THE SACK OF HIPPO

For how long could Augustine continue in such vein? He was getting old. Surely people could see what was happening. Perhaps. But it was the same old story. Once a chain of relationships has been firmly established self interest and the assumption of “rightness” carries it on and only the greater self interest of particular links in the chain or dynamic forces outside the chain will make it break. In the public arena it was left to a young southern Italian bishop with a wealthy family background, Julian, to lead a vigorous rearguard action against Augustine and his theology from 418 when Pelagius was expelled. He was not strong enough to break the chain. He too, was exiled.

The economic and social effects of the obsessive repression of Donatists in Numidia had become serious. The ordinary people were little better than slaves to Augustine’s landed gentry. The country could not function normally and the state would have little enthusiasm for pressing on with the policy of repression except for Augustine’s constant goading. For the ordinary people there was, still, underneath their thin veneer of Christian doctrine and practice, a deeper interest in the pagan literary circles, circuses and festivals. Augustine and his bishops had been active only for themselves and their protégés. Augustine therefore had to rely more and more on his personal relations with the army commanders to see that the official policy of suppression against the Donatists was carried out. In 418, with the Pelagian controversy at its height and his personal reputation and authority possibly at its lowest, he formed an alliance of mutual benefit with Boniface who was commanding a force of Arian Gothic mercenaries in the imperial service in Numidia. Boniface was an Arian, and therefore a heretic, but his wife was a Catholic. A combination of blackmail and intrigue led to him continuing to ‘protect’ the Catholics. When his wife died Boniface wanted to enter a monastery but Augustine persuaded him not to and to continue in his military role. He did so and Augustine had no option but to support his assumption of powers as the ‘count’ of Africa.

Boniface had his position confirmed in 426 during a visit to Ravenna, possibly because of Augustine’s apparent support for him, but Augustine was greatly dismayed when he returned to Numidia with an Arian second wife, with concubines as well, and with his daughters baptized

by heretics. Augustine and Boniface drifted apart. Boniface fortified Carthage against attack from Rome and concentrated on securing his position against attack from the hinterland.

The campaign against the Donatists ground to another halt. The African ‘barbarians’, (a euphemism for non-Catholic), became restless. There was trouble brewing. In the meantime the empire in Europe was breaking up province by province. In 425 Valentinian III became emperor and forced an ‘enquiry’ to detect and suppress Pelagian supporters in Gaul. The bulk of the Arian Goths and Vandals had moved further west, leaving only a residue among the orthodox Catholic church communities which had already been there before the collapse of the frontier. Friction between the tribes which were cutting up France and Spain, and pressure on the Vandals from the Goths in particular, led to the Vandals looking for alternative territory in North Africa.

Ravenna’s dependence on grain from Numidia became so critical that Genseric was easily able to blackmail Valentinian into allowing him to ‘settle’ the most productive areas. With a total community of 80,000 Vandals which included only a small organized army he crossed the Strait of Gibraltar in 428 and moved east through Mauritania without resistance.^{70 71} The established Roman rule collapsed as they moved through but it was from the effects of long-standing internal conflicts rather than from any intervention by Genseric and his forces. The Catholic bishops in the Numidian country areas were totally demoralized. But when he reached Hippo in 429 Genseric found a different situation. For one thing Boniface was not about to give up his claims as Count of North Africa. For another, an emissary had been despatched from Ravenna to patch up the differences between Augustine, Boniface and the court and to settle the unrest of the ‘barbarians’ lest Genseric’s ‘settlement’ might prove to be a total annexation.

Boniface commanded the defence of Hippo with his Arian Gothic mercenaries but the Numidian countryside was left to the Vandals and each of the parties to thirty years of conflict helped to tear the heart out of it. Augustine could only watch and listen from his virtual prison in Hippo as reports came in of towns sacked and of villas burned with their owners killed or scattered as refugees. The bishops and clergy were on the run or murdered. The holy virgins and ascetics in their monasteries were dispersed, tortured or killed outright. Reversion to paganism was the rule rather than the exception as churches were closed or destroyed, and the sacraments were neither being sought nor offered, with few places available for the faithful to offer sacrifices to their God.⁷² Arian bishops began arriving. The Jewish communities gained confidence in challenging the exclusive position of the church.

Augustine fell ill in August 430 and died on August 28th. Hippo did not survive him long. It was evacuated and partly burned a few months later. What remained of the Catholic community was persecuted or driven out by the Arians as the Catholics had earlier driven out the Donatists. A Vandal kingdom was established and Arian Christianity was taught for just over 100 years.⁷³ Carthage itself remained in Roman hands as a military foothold in Africa until 439 although it was of little economic value once the surrounding granary of Europe had fallen to the Vandals, and Genseric was probably in no great hurry.

There was little left of Catholic North Africa. The province which had determined the course of the church in the Western Empire was being wiped off the map, but despite its annihilation it was leaving behind it the theology which would dominate Christianity for a thousand years. Fortunately Augustine's library, including his correspondence, survived when Hippo was overrun so that we are able to understand the things which influenced his actions, to understand his motives and to feel the atmosphere of his time. But centre stage was vacant

Although centre stage was vacant, Augustine's ideas could not be ignored for several reasons. His forceful character, his actions and the many decisions taken in which he had a personal influence during his active ministry, on both sides of the Mediterranean, left a legacy of mini-Augustines planted across North Africa. They were soon also planted as refugees over much of Europe, and, as a consequence, would have a lasting impact even without help from any other quarter. His protégés from the Hippo monastery so totally absorbed his thinking that their departure left a big void and meant the collapse of Catholic Numidia. Then there were his books and volumes of letters. They were studied and restudied, often in isolation from the context in which they were written, and they were often accorded status little different to that of the canonized books of the Bible. The historical importance of Augustine's writings can therefore hardly be exaggerated.

It has been argued that his 'Confessions' is the outstanding spiritual autobiography of a Christian writer, that his 'Literal Commentary on Genesis' sets the standard for later Biblical interpretation, that his 'Enarrations on the Psalms' was "most prized by the humanistic scholars of the Renaissance" and that his fifteen books 'On the Trinity' are unequaled in the early church.⁷⁴ On top of that it has often been said that no single book except the Bible had a greater influence on Europe in the Middle Ages than the book which Augustine regarded as his masterpiece. That book, 'City of God', almost defies evaluation in a few paragraphs.

A PRESCRIPTION FOR TRAGEDY

Some of Augustine's ideas have already been touched on but an outline of some of his other ideas will help to set the background to situations which unfolded progressively. The influence of his childhood, his own disastrous relationships with women and his reading of Platonism, for example, are all evident in his views on love and marriage. So is the impact of the strange roles reserved for women, especially virgins, in the church of his youth. Augustine believed that husbands should love the sexuality of their wives and the physical bonds of their families only as a Christian must love his enemies.⁷⁵ The taming of a man's carnal desires was supposed to be a symbol of his efforts to achieve a 'Kingdom of God' within himself.⁷⁶

Augustine played on the African Christian's fear of God as an awe-inspiring judge. He strengthened his personal authority through it and used it to encourage his flock to see him as an intercessory or as an intermediary with God. He told them that he would be responsible to God for the sins of his entire flock on the terrible judgement day.⁷⁷ He does not seem to have seen anything inconsistent between that attitude and his pronouncements on predestination. We may

wonder how he could tell a man one minute that he was utterly dependent on God even for his first initiative in believing in God and then tell him the next minute that he, Augustine, was held responsible for the poor man's sins. He would even send members of his clergy who had deep-seated arguments or grievances between them to a shrine in Italy where Divine Judgement was supposed to detect any perjury! ^{78 79}

The man who, as a youth, was disenchanted with ritual Christianity and the insensitivity of the bishops in their insistence on their personal authority could later write some of the most shabby documents of the relations of Christianity to the civilization of the ancient world when he wanted to put pressure on a town council. ⁸⁰ He could idealize the church as morally without a spot or wrinkle. He could describe it as a mother giving birth and nourishing its predestined members to take their place in 'the Body of Christ' or in 'the Heavenly Jerusalem'. ^{81 82} Then, as if to snap the cap off a volcano of bigotry, he could incite the mob to "love wholeheartedly: then do what you like'. That was quite sufficient basis for bigots of his own and later generations to oppress and murder without restraint. ⁸³ The end, Augustine would maintain, justified the means as long as it was done in the name of Christ!

SACRAMENTS, BAPTISM AND ELECTION

That linked in with his attitude towards the church, the sacraments, and a Christian's personal responsibilities. He wrote that the church had two 'tiers' of member. The inner core was a defined number of 'elect' or 'true elite' surrounded by a mass of 'false' members who constantly needed correction. ^{84 85} The individual was guarded by his sacraments, but the life of a 'true elite' Christian implied a relationship with God of innocence and holiness, and coexistence with sinners in humility and integrity, but also authority to actively rebuke and correct sinners if need be with force which was not consistent with Christian love. ⁸⁶

In 390 Augustine interpreted baptism as the beginning of withdrawal from public life. However by 410, when Rome was sacked for the first time, his position had changed to the point that he could say to the Roman authorities that the disasters of the empire came from the toleration of paganism, heresy and immorality in the new Christian empire, not from the neglect of old rites by those withdrawn Christians. In his view Baptism had become both the only way to salvation and a badge authorizing the enforcement of Catholicism and the repression of heretics and pagans. ^{87 88} It was at that time that he began work on 'City of God' with the main aim of countering the claims of those who said that that Christianity had brought about the collapse of the empire and to push the blame onto the non-Christian religions and their gods. However it proved to be a 14-year effort and, as already mentioned, he put it into circulation piecemeal.

The pagans could hardly be expected to distinguish between the God of Christianity, the theology of its adherents and the structures and personalities of the church. As far as they were concerned all three were rolled up into one general influence. In that respect their attitude was no different to the attitude of Christians generally towards other faiths today. However

Augustine took full advantage of that confusion and he appears to have deliberately confused and merged all three factors. What is more, by debating the conduct and effectiveness of Roman gods instead of denying them outright he maintained a competitive outlook and often implied acceptance of a multitude of gods with the God of Christianity simply being more powerful than the others. He wrote, for example, "I have shown that, far from having done aught to save their worshippers from the miseries that lay heavy upon them, the false gods did their utmost to increase the burden beyond endurance." "The fact is that the gods did not ward off the evils which pagans dread, even at a time when they were freely worshipped, At various times and in different places before the coming of our Redeemer, calamities beyond counting and description were scourging mankind. Yet, what others besides your recreant gods did the world worship?"⁸⁹ His use of the expression 'true and supreme God' also implies the existence of inferior or subordinate gods.⁹⁰ There is none of the simple, clear authority of Moses' final instructions to his people which we read in Deuteronomy 4: 35 and 39: "This (creation, revelation and law) he showed you so that you might know that Yahweh is God indeed and that there is no other. ... Understand this today, therefore, and take it to heart: Yahweh is God indeed, in heaven above as on earth beneath, he and no other." Granted, Augustine was in debating mode to coerce people away from pagan worship, but Moses had a similar task to persuade his people not to revert to the worship of Baal. And considering the vigour with which Augustine attacked the Donatists and others for their variations on a theme of orthodox Christianity it is reasonable to expect that his writing would at least reflect the vigour and confidence of the doxology to the Letter of Jude, verse 25: "To God, the only God, who saves us through Jesus Christ our Lord, be the glory, majesty, authority and power, which he had before time began, now and for ever."⁹¹ Therefore, in the absence of such an approach we can hardly be surprised that people elevated angels and saints to demi-god status and continued to confuse the Trinity.

But Augustine had other aims which probably evolved as he went along. He tried to justify the church as the paramount civil authority. He did this by contrasting a 'City', or some ill-defined all-embracing community based on the rule of God through a predestined elite of lovers of Christ, with a community which, also by predestination, had either rejected, fallen from, or been thrown out of the City of God. He tried to identify these two cities at different levels. There were, he said, the two cities of earthly life as we know it and two cities of eternal life beyond the earthly world. In effect he was describing a simple, classical caste system. In the wider mystical sense he painted a picture of the city which was the work of God which could not exist without God, and without which even God would have no meaning. In the earthly sense he promoted the belief that Rome held the promise and the role of the City of God.

In order to strengthen the position of the church in relation to the only state which he understood – the collapsing Roman Empire – he replaced Jerusalem as the Biblical City of God with Rome. He compounded the attitude which the politics of the early centuries of the Christian Era had introduced. Jerusalem fell in significance for Christians. Rome became a focal point in their thinking. God was supposed to have shifted his seat of government! Over the next few centuries Jerusalem would lose any great significance for Christians. Some church

leaders deliberately played it down to highlight the difference between Judaism and Christianity. They presented it as simply a historical factor in the development of Christianity which, of course, had superseded Judaism! On one hand the 'City of God' was something imposed by God but on the other hand it was something which 'elected' man had to strive for, establish and then defend. It was an obligation on the members of the 'City of God' to defend it! ⁹² The concept of Rome as the eternal city would bug men for a thousand years and then divide them viciously.

Across all of this Augustine superimposed his ideas on predestination or 'election' and the most amazing interpretations of life and death, He wrote: "... as the law is not evil, though it increases the concupiscence of sinners, neither is death good, though it increases the reward of martyrs. The law, when defied through love of evil produces sinners; death when suffered through love of truth produces martyrs. Thus, the law is good because it is the prohibition of sin; death is evil because it is the penalty of sin. Wickedness makes a bad use not only of evil, but also of good. In the same way, holiness makes a good use not only of good, but also of evil. Thus, sinners make a bad use of the law, although the law is good, while saints make a good use of death, although death is an evil." ⁹³

He follows that a few chapters later with: "... all Christians who really hold the Catholic faith believe that it is not by a law of nature that man is subject to bodily death since God created for man an immortal nature but as a just punishment for sin." ⁹⁴

Those thoughts became the basis of some of the church's most oppressive and frightening practices, personal coercion and financial manipulation on an unbelievable scale, the accumulation of power and wealth on an immense scale by the church, and a fanciful view of the role of the clergy. They substituted fear and depression for the freedom and joy which are the mainspring of the Gospel message. Augustine's views of two cities both assumed and perpetuated division within the community and he compounded the divisive influence of the teachings of Athanasius. His influence carried through in some Reformation views that people are 'saved' by being lifted from one city to the other. His oppressive emphasis on sin and the fall of man after Adam also had confusing and conflicting effects. In a few strokes of the pen it: emphasized both his theoretical acceptance of the 'oneness' of mankind and the absurdity of racial antagonism; highlighted his inconsistent and, in practice, ludicrous and pathetic attitude towards people beyond the borders of the Roman Empire; and contributed to Christians being anchored to the Bible as the literal, fixed and final word of God. Coupled with his claim that Holy Scripture was a more reliable source of historical information than the ancient historians ⁹⁵ it also reinforced the tendency to rigid fundamentalist attitudes in the church and resistance to social change and scientific experimentation. That resistance was so strong that the credibility of the church took a beating when Darwin eventually came along with the theory of evolution and it aggravated the growth of anti-Christian 'isms'.

It is, unfortunately, an apt description of Augustine that he was the first 'theologian of history' and 'the father of all philosophies of history'. ⁹⁶ He encouraged the belief that it was the

responsibility of emperors to Christianize so that the world would be a single community made in the image of the Heavenly City, or the City of God. He twisted the parable of the great supper from chapter 14 of Luke's Gospel, ("... go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in that my house may be filled ...") to justify his campaigns against heretics. His attitude was soon written into a decree by Gratian that "heretics have to be forced to their own salvation even against their will," ⁹⁷ and that cry was to echo and re-echo around Europe during the many inquisitions.

Augustine gave the church the reasoning which it was able to exploit to advantage in its efforts to dominate the state, or the empire, and at the same time he gave the state the justification for military conquest. It had to Christianize and bring people within the City of God! The same reasoning was used quite blatantly against northern Europe under pre-Reformation Roman Catholicism. It fanned the Crusades when Islam challenged the church's Augustinian view of itself. It was used by the entire church in the sixteenth century and it was used again in the 'enlightened' colonial era of the nineteenth century in Africa and Asia.

Such was the legacy of Augustine, Bishop of Hippo. We shall come to his name repeatedly. Undoubtedly, when he chose to become an official of the Roman state religion he devoted himself to his task with the same vigour and in the same conscientious manner that he would have if he had chosen some alternative field of law or teaching after he opted out of his earlier state office. Being no different to anyone else, he was influenced by his environment and by those with whom he came in contact and he reacted to the circumstances in which he found himself. And again, being no different to anyone else, he and his actions became a factor or an influence in the lives of others. The extent of his influence was a consequence of his personality, his education and experience, his opportunities and the fact that the church wanted to hear and to act on the things that he said and wrote. His attitudes and his direction of the church in Numidia quite clearly contributed to its collapse as the Vandals moved across North Africa.

If Augustine had said that the way to establish the City of God was by standing aloof from the state, by applying pressure for structural change in the community and the economy of the day, by dismantling the cumbersome machinery of the church and by simplifying Christian worship his books would not have been taken up with such fervour. The churchman of his day and of the following centuries wanted to dominate the civil organization of the state and they wanted some links with the military forces such that their will could be imposed. They needed a justification for what they wanted to do and Augustine was well aware of it. What ever else he may have been, Augustine was certainly intelligent, with tremendous drive and ambition for personal power. Because of his experience in Milan as propagandist for the emperor, alongside Ambrose, he was confident that with his rhetorical skill he could gain a position of personal power within the church. Once he had resigned himself to the fact of life that Christianity was the state religion the rest was simply a matter of course.

However to lay the blame for all that has been done on the basis of Augustine's writings on him alone is not realistic. The people who made up the church's leadership at that time, or since, could have cried "enough?" They must all share the responsibility. And besides, the power struggles within the church of the period of the Roman collapse were fought out between some other equally determined men for whom personal power was at least as important as salvation for all mankind. As Ling notes, "the period of greatest intellectual influence of Augustinian theology, the theology of the omnipotent deity, coincided with the period of greatest political influence of the papacy ... and the decline of the one also accompanied the decline of the other. The church was the City of God, of God the omnipotent ruler; the church was also, in the period which began towards the end of Augustine's own lifetime, the undisputed successor to the Roman Empire and its earthly ruler was Caesar's heir during the centuries when there was virtually no single secular power strong enough to resist ecclesiastical control." It was not until a new intellectual force – Aristotelian thought preserved and transmitted by Islamic philosophers – entered the European arena that there were serious challenges to the supremacy of both papal theology and secular control.⁹⁸

THEOTOKOS? NESTORIUS OBJECTS

The dust of the battle for Numidia between Augustine's Catholics and Genseric's Arian Vandals was just beginning to fly when another major controversy rocked both the church and the battered machinery of state. It cut deeper ruts in the road to the future and the church has never got out of them. In fact the chariots of the church have cut deeper and deeper even into the closing decades of the 20th century. It hinged around Mary, the mother of Jesus. As already mentioned, eagerness to absorb people of pre-Christian beliefs smoothly into Christianity had led to syncretism on a large scale in the earlier centuries of the Christian era. In particular this involved questions of the Trinity and Mary who was gradually elevated to a supernatural status because of her mystical relationship to God in the virgin birth. She was seen by many as something more than a person privileged to be an agent of God's will even though Tertullian was among the prominent churchmen who believed that Mary led a normal married life with Joseph after Jesus' birth.⁹⁹ The contrary proposition, that Mary was not only virgin when Jesus was conceived but that she remained a perpetual virgin seems to have gained ground from about the middle of the fourth century CE. The related issues of Mary's virginity, the encouragement of vows of chastity among young women, the role of virgins in church ceremonial and the presumption that these issues were consistent with Jesus' teachings became something of an obsession, or at least a preoccupation, in many areas. If we look on the bright side, it encouraged the growth of teaching and nursing orders for women. However on the dark side it complicated Christian understanding of God and Jesus and it put yet another barrier in the way of salvation by colouring people's attitudes towards the role of women in the community and by helping to perpetuate their position as persons with restricted domestic and community roles.

Among the descriptions of Mary which came into use during those early centuries and the titles which were applied to her were “spiritual fleece of salvation” and “spotless mother of holiness”, (both used by Theodatus); “hope of Christians” and “mediatress between God and men”, (drawn from Greek legends); “the new Eve”, (Justin); the “cause of salvation”; “the pure womb which regenerates men unto God”; “Mother of Life”, (Gregory of Nyssa); “the type of the church”, (Ambrose); and “Theotokos” or “Mother of God”, (Athanasius).

Very few of the church’s thinkers showed much concern at the direction which Marian devotion was taking or even seemed to be aware of its implications until December 23rd 428, (about the time that Genseric and his Vandal force were crossing from Spain into North Africa). On that day Proclus preached a controversial sermon in honour of Mary in front of his patriarch, Nestorius, in the cathedral of Constantinople. He called Mary “the rational paradise of the second Adam” and emphasized the idea that she was the Theotokos, the god-bearer. Nestorius took him to task and contradicted him in front of the congregation in the cathedral. The row was on. Nestorius was accused of not only belittling Mary but of undermining the doctrine of the Trinity by disputing the two natures of Christ. Proclus and the Mariologists appealed to Rome for a decision in their favour. This was a strange development because devotion to Mary had been most pronounced in the east until then. Feasts to commemorate Mary as “Mother of God” and to stress her stainless virginity had already taken root there but not in the west where the issue had not received much attention.

As patriarch of Constantinople Nestorius was, historically, in a sound position to debate with his counterpart in Rome on an equal footing. When he had moved his capital from Rome to Constantinople over 100 years before, Constantine had, of course, moved both his seat of government and the seat of the church as the state religion. But the bishops of Rome had clung to their authority with tenacity. They had actually been able to increase their grip on the church because they didn’t have the emperor breathing down their necks.¹⁰⁰ In spite of the subsequent division of the empire into two distinct administrative units, with the civil authorities in the east becoming increasingly independent of Rome, the bishops of Rome were able to keep their grip tight. However it began to slip very badly from 395 when, on the advice of the Trinitarian churchman Synesius from Cyrenaica, Arcadius defaulted on military grants to the Arian Goths and as a consequence rapidly became a puppet of their leader Alaric. The Roman bishops could see the church splitting not just on geographic lines but on theological lines as well with a Trinitarian west based on Rome and an Arian east based on Constantinople. From that stage the Roman bishops began to lean heavily on the historical association between Peter and Paul and the development of the church in Rome to justify their supremacy and authority. But then surprise, surprise after the fall of Rome to those very same Arian Goths in 410 they introduced a new twist! Faced with the real possibility of Arian theology being imposed in place of their Trinitarian orthodoxy they called on scripture. They quoted Matthew 16:18, “...Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church...”

LET'S SUPPRESS A CHALLENGE

Against that background the pope could see that it could be disastrous, at least from his point of view, if Nestorius in Constantinople were to win this round. He turned to Augustine for some ammunition to fire at Nestorius. Augustine's teaching on sin and the fall of man had fueled the view that in God's plan Mary was to undo the damage that the once-virgin Eve had done. His reasoning went that she was no mere physical tool in the great work of salvation. Through her obedient acceptance of God's will she became a counterfoil to Eve. The final disobedience which sealed man's fate was Adam's but Eve had a secondary role. (Not even equality for women in that sense!) His reasoning continued that Mary also had a secondary role in redemption. She was, he said, to prepare the way for salvation and life in the same way that Eve had prepared the way for condemnation and death.¹⁰¹ Augustine then took this a step further. In a fantastic exercise in semantics he described the church as "the bride of Christ" and "the mother of Christ" and the people of the church as "members of Christ." Not bad all in one breath, more or less. Giving free rein to his rhetoric he then asked "Whence ... is Mary the Mother of Christ, if not because she gave birth to the members of Christ?" He then related Mary to "Mother Church", saying "This mother is holy, honoured, similar to Mary, she brings forth, yet is a virgin. That she brings forth I prove through you: for you are born from her; she also brings forth Christ, for you are the members of Christ ... let the members of Christ give birth in mind, as Mary as a virgin gave birth to him in her womb; and thus you will be mothers of Christ."¹⁰²

The vital fact soon emerged. You can't debate the elevation of Mary to some supernatural position without either making certain assumptions about Jesus or debating the nature of Jesus as the Messiah. The emphasis in the debate swung back and forth from the nature of Mary to the nature of Jesus himself. This had been a matter of controversy between the schools of Alexandria and Antioch for some years. Put very simply the argument was whether Jesus was a human being under divine influence or whether he had two natures human and divine merged into one being like fire in a glowing coal.¹⁰³ It opened up many of the old sores of the Trinitarian disputes. It was in fact simply another aspect of that dispute.

Even though Nestorius himself did not dispute the divinity of Jesus the Messiah the new round of disputes led others to do so. It also led some to deny that he was human at all. The tyrannical patriarch Cyril of Alexandria, whose intrigue, barbarism and ambition seem to have been exceeded only by his hatred of Jews, had been eager to assert his superiority over the patriarch of Constantinople for some time. Shades of Rome! He saw an opportunity in the anti-Theotokos stand which Nestorius was taking. Skillfully mixing bribery, flattery and cunning manipulation he gained the pope's support. On the surface that would not appear to have been a very difficult task, but there could have been similar animosity between him and the pope. However he attacked Nestorius with a vengeance and undermined his position. Nestorius in turn gained the support of the eastern emperor, Theodosius II.

In 431, with both religious and political polarization deepening, Theodosius and Valentinian II in Rome summoned another council at Ephesus. They were back to the old bind. They hoped to achieve political stability through theological uniformity. In the event, Cyril's intrigue kept Nestorius and his supporters out and two counter-councils met a few days apart. It was like a re-run of some of the earlier councils which had been called to resolve disputes. Condemnation and counter-condemnation. Both Nestorius and Cyril were arrested but while Cyril was allowed to return to Alexandria, Nestorius was banished.^{104 105} The 'proper' council, under the sponsorship of the pope, condemned Nestorius and his teaching and approved and defined Theotokos as the title for Mary, mother of the second person of the Trinity or the Son-of-God-made-man. It also 'finalized' the controversy between Pelagius (who had died eleven years before) and Augustine (who had died under siege only a matter of months before) by finding in favour of Augustine and condemning Pelagianism. The question of Mary was therefore officially resolved but, like the controversy over the nature of Jesus, it refused to go away. However some of Nestorius' supporters did.

When Nestorius was banished his supporters saw the writing on the wall and fled to Persia where, under the protection of an agreement reached nine years earlier, they were allowed to practice and even teach their faith. While Rome could not tolerate any variation from orthodoxy and found it necessary for domestic reasons to try to prevent the intrusion of any religion from outside, Constantinople was finding it wise for 'foreign affairs reasons' to be a little more accommodating. Seven years earlier, in 422, it had reached an agreement with Persia that each would respect and permit the other's religions.¹⁰⁶ Within a short time the Nestorians established a number of Christian Churches and regained a degree of toleration along the fringe of the empire. Later they established two major schools of theology and a most impressive missionary program. In the same way that Christianity was first carried north beyond the Roman Empire by the Arians and not by the orthodox church, so the Nestorians first took it through Central Asia and deep into China, Tibet and Turkestan.

That is a matter for a later chapter, but it is important to note now that the establishment of the Nestorian Church was one of the few successful efforts to break with orthodox Roman theology before the final collapse of the Roman Empire. It was to be the first separated or 'reformed' church founded from the Roman church which would continue as a real force to the present day. The very early Ethiopian Church was also established beyond the borders of the empire, and free of any influence from it because of the local circumstances at the time, but it was not a reformed church. Both the Nestorian Church and the Arian movement before it had to move beyond the empire to survive and in doing so they became genuinely evangelical movements. After the Council of Nicaea the continuing influence of the Arian movement came from the Arian Christian churches which were established beyond the empire, mainly in southern and central Europe, and from the assumed threat to the authority and power of the parent church in the event of an occupation of Rome by a people which had accepted Arian theology. The threat was essentially to the positions of a few people and not to the welfare of the people generally.

The Arian churches had been established in what was nearly a religious vacuum. They did not step into an existing church/state framework such as in pre-Christian Rome. They had a simple, uncluttered theology and system of worship, and without the orthodox church's flamboyant view of its relationship with God, which could only be justified within the framework of the Trinitarian interpretation which it clung to. The Arians had no place for a state church. It is interesting to wonder what would have happened if Arian victors had tried to introduce Arian theology over the framework of the Roman state church. It would have been a case of square holes and round pegs. As events progressed the Arian churches were ill-equipped to compete and they failed to survive the trauma of the following centuries as the church of Rome rampaged across Europe. During the middle ages all that was left of Arius' influence was the occasional library book and the records of his heresy in the archives of those who had condemned him. There was no serious attempt to reappraise his theology until the 16th century when a number of Polish and British theologians took up the Unitarian issue. In due course, in the 18th century, an Arian school of thought developed in the USA, in the New England area, and gradually this crystallized into the present system of Unitarian congregations and conferences. ^{107 108}

But back to the question of Mary. The orthodox reasoning went that if Mary was not Theotokos, if she had not given birth to God-made-man, then Christ was not really God. On that basis the use of the title Theotokos was said to safeguard the true divinity and unity of Christ's person. It is therefore little wonder that the Nestorian controversy did nothing to offset the growing practices of adoration or worship of Mary. In fact the publicity given to the decision of the council greatly encouraged such practices. In some places the ritual of prayer to Mary as an intermediary between man and God became a substitute for prayer to God and even took precedence over it. The prayer "Mother of God hear my supplications: suffer us not to be in adversity, but deliver us from danger. Thou alone ..." is thought to date from some time between 290 and 350, but with the stimulus of the new controversy it now came into common use. ¹⁰⁹

FEASTS, SAINTS AND SUPERSTITION

The slightest pretext was enough to justify a new feast or a new practice and some sermon or other by one of the early fathers could always be found to explain it, so it is no wonder that the council's decision was followed immediately by the wide spread celebration of the feast for the Annunciation of Mary which became an annual event. Shrines in honour of Mary and sanctuaries where her aid could be enlisted began to appear throughout the east. In turn these things, coupled as they were with the teachings and superstitions of the day, encouraged the belief that intercession through other saints was both valid and more effective than prayer direct to God. Saints were discovered under every second gravestone. What else was to be expected? In the time of Nestorius it was accepted as within the religious competence of a bishop to declare any deceased person a saint and worthy of public veneration. After all, if, as Augustine said, a bishop was responsible to God for the sins of every member of his flock and was on the

intimate terms with God that such ideas imply, was there any reason to doubt his pronouncement on a person's saintliness?

Eventually, after many centuries, the church established formal procedures for canonization of saints but it remained essentially a local function until 1171 when Pope Alexander III 'reserved' the process for the Holy See. Only in 1588 – well into the counter-reformation years a Sacred Congregation of Rites “for the principal purpose of handling causes for beatification and canonization” was set up.¹¹⁰ According to the current teaching of the Catholic Church every person in heaven is a saint, not only those whom it has canonized, but it then distinguishes between “ordinary saints” and “patron saints” who are venerated as special intercessors before God on behalf of particular communities, occupations, professions or in times of special needs.¹¹¹ It bounces from one dogma to another in order to justify these practices and claims that canonization is an infallible declaration that a person who died as a martyr and (or) who practised Christian virtue to an heroic degree is in heaven and is worthy of honor in liturgical worship throughout the universal church.¹¹² A person's reputation for holiness, writings and miracles ascribed to him or her intercession after death are considered in the investigations before Canonization, except in the case of a martyr for whom the church does not require miracles. The Pope may, according to the church's current procedures, dispense with some of the formalities in such cases.

Butler's unofficial *Lives of the Saints* (1956) is reported to contain 2,565 entries but, apparently, many more saints have simply faded out of recorded or living memory and today the Church of Rome officially recognizes a limited list of saints. It appears to recognize those who have been passed down by tradition plus those added after nomination and investigation by the Congregation for the Causes of Saints (the body which succeeded the Congregation of Rites) according to procedures which have been revised at least three times this century. The most recent revision was carried out by the reigning pontiff, Pope John Paul II, in 1983.¹¹³ Even so, the 1990 Catholic Almanac gives brief biographical notes for 272 saints; 223 occupations or professions are listed as having recognized patron saints; 70 countries or places are similarly listed; the Roman Calendar for 1990 lists feast days for well over 200 saints, and there has been a sharp rise in the number of canonizations in recent years. In the period of 85 years from 1878–1963, roughly corresponding to the period between the first and second Vatican Councils, 102 persons were canonized as saints under the authority of six popes at an annual rate of little more than one each year. In contrast, during the 26 years from 1963 to 1989 a total of 339 persons were canonized under the authority of only two popes – at the rate of 13 persons per year. This matter will be considered again when we reach the post World War II period.

A disturbing proportion of the saints honoured with feast days are from the ghastly period within a hundred years before and after the Council of Ephesus. That period was also marked by other upheavals which we have not yet looked at and Augustine's teaching contributed to some of them as well. His ideas on predestination and two tiers of 'elect' and 'false' or 'half saved' Christians encouraged a rash of benefactions from the wealthy who wanted to jump from the outer tier to the inner. The accumulation of this wealth on top of the state's contributions to

the operation of the church led to a rash of monasteries being set up right across southern Europe. The life of a monk was very bearable indeed! Valentinian had already found it necessary to protect wealthy widows, spinsters and virgins who sacrificed pleasure and luxury for the praise of chastity from the over-zealous attentions of monks and clergy by banning the church from accepting benefactions from them. They had become prey to licentious clerics of real or apparent sanctity who had hastened to join the church to enjoy the monastic profession and who were chosen to direct the conscience and amuse the tenderness of heart of these virtuous virgins and widows. ¹¹⁴

In turn, those who entered the monasteries found it wise to pay close attention to whatever the powerful Augustine wrote. When one of them unearthed a copy of a letter written by Augustine in the heat of the Pelagian controversy, when any bishop suspected of Pelagian views was liable to be deposed and exiled by imperial decree, it led to a revolt of the monasteries. The reasoning of the monks went that if the destinies and personal actions of every person were predestined by God, and if those destinies were an expression of God's wisdom, and if God only prepared a few numbered people to join the 'elect' and if even the first stirrings of a person's will were controlled by God then no one had the right to rebuke them. Not even the abbot. He should content himself with praying to God for their amendment. ¹¹⁵

The revolt against discipline was soon widespread and disruptive. It followed an earlier revolt by monks in Africa against their being expected to do any menial tasks which had been based on a similar line of reasoning. Total obedience to either man or God lost any point if men were to believe that they had never been free to give up their freedom or their wealth for that matter. The lack of freedom to make a choice or a decision of any sort which Augustine's views implied was especially crushing to noblemen and landed gentry in Gaul who had entered monasteries as suppliant sinners after they had lost everything when their territories were overrun by the Arian Goths and Vandals who did not accept such views anyway.

Followed to a logical conclusion such views also make a mockery of criminal law codes and systems of justice and retribution imposed by the indignant victims of other people's decisions to commit a felony. It doesn't matter whether such systems of law are administered by a civil authority on behalf of some political machine of state, or whether they are administered by the church. Or could it be that the need for a system of law and justice makes a mockery of such views? About the time of the council of Ephesus, morale within the church was very near rock bottom and there was bitter antagonism towards it from both civil administrators and non-Christians. It was under strong attack from those who still said that it was a major factor in the breaking up of the empire, But its ruthless, ambitious leaders could see that a power vacuum was forming. They wanted to fill it. Instead of diving for cover, or at least keeping a low profile, they met the attacks front-on. In trench warfare terminology they stuck their heads up and fired back. They wanted a scapegoat towards which they could deflect the blame and the attacks, and they wanted no competition at all. Who better to use as a scapegoat than the Jews?

The church put pressure on emperor Theodosius II in Constantinople and in 438 he responded by issuing an edict in which he condemned Judaism and declared Jews to be a people apart. He used an expression remarkably similar to that which Jews themselves had used to describe their situation 501 years before, in 63 BCE, when they first became subject to a Roman emperor.

Cyril of Alexandria, not content with destroying Nestorius, vented his wrath against anyone who did not accept the church's teachings – and Jews in particular. Taking full advantage of the imperial edict and a civil riot in which both Jews and Christians were engaged, he appeared at the head of an armed force, expelled the Jews from the city and watched calmly while their houses were sacked. When the city prefect, Orestes, tried to intervene Cyril brought in 500 monks, sword in hand, to set the matter right. They surrounded the prefect, abused him as a heathen and idolater, and left him badly wounded by one of the villainous monks. The prefect was rescued by members of the public who then murdered the monk. Summary justice, perhaps. Or was it his predestined fate, Augustine style? Cyril's response was to preach a sermon in honour of the dead scoundrel, name him Thaumasius the Wonderful and give him the honours of a martyr. Cyril was subsequently canonized, proclaimed a doctor of the church in 1882 and honoured with a feast day on June 27.¹¹⁶

AN EMPIRE GONE

While the church was carrying on in this manner and weak emperors clung to the last vestiges of power in the western empire, Attila was strengthening the empire of the Huns to the north. From 433 he extracted additional land and enormous subsidies from the eastern empire. Shades of the Goth Alaric and Arcadius only 40 years before. When he took control of Germany and thrashed the Burgundians in 436 their survivors suffered the fate of homeless refugees until they were able to settle around Geneva in 443 under an arrangement with the Romans.

Probably soon after the capture of Carthage, Attila formed some sort of alliance with Genseric in Numidia who, having gained absolute control of the former 'granary of the empire', faced a joint threat from the western and eastern emperors who thought to make a desperate bid to recover it. It was probably this alliance which prompted Attila's next move which was to declare open war against the remnant western empire. However instead of marching straight for Rome he marched on France in 451 where the Goths and a mixture of allies had gained so much independence that they were regarded as a part of the Roman Empire in not much more than name only. In view of that it is interesting that large Roman forces joined with the Goths, Franks and Burgundians who made up the bulk of the army, for the bitter defensive battles that were mounted. The emperor didn't seem to mind his army fighting alongside Arian heretics instead of suppressing and slaughtering them, even if the church had to do a volte-face to justify it! It had done so before, when Arian mercenaries had helped defend the imperial presence and the Trinitarian line in Augustine's Numidia, and we must not forget the role of an Arian Goth named Stilicho, so why should it not do so again? In the decisive battle at Troyes over 150,000

men were killed on both sides.¹¹⁷ Attila, then aged 45, was checked in his tracks for the first time since becoming king of the nomadic Mongolian Huns at the age of 28. He fell back with his army to Hungary to lick his wounds and plan for another day.

While the sabres were rattling in France the state church was again meeting in council, this time in Chalcedon, to try to resolve the divisive controversy over the nature of Jesus which still refused to go away. During the twenty years since the council of Ephesus (when Nestorius had been banished) the Monophysite view had gained ground steadily, especially in the east. In a sense this was the exact opposite of the Arian view. The Arian view denied that Jesus was divine and maintained that he was human. The Monophysite view on the other hand denied that Jesus had a human nature at all. A 'Robber Synod', not recognized by Rome, had declared in favour of the Monophysite view two years before and Rome was intent on setting the record straight according to its own view that Christ had two natures, divine and human, coexisting as one. It did. The council of Chalcedon condemned both Monophysitism and the 'Robber Synod'. But the idea still didn't die and eventually it triggered a big split which is still evident today. A number of churches in countries from Armenia to Ethiopia still adhere to the Monophysite view and are not in full communion with Rome.^{118 119}

The church had failed to learn from Nicaea or Ephesus or any of the other controversies that crises of religious belief and faith are not eliminated or finalized by dogmatically finding in favour of one idea and condemning anything contrary to it. A few months later, in 452, sabres were rattling yet again. This time it was because Attila had turned his attention to Italy and Rome, and Emperor Valentinian III was powerless to stop him. Attila destroyed several major cities, looted Milan and prepared to capture Rome but stopped short. Pope Leo I is given the credit for persuading him not to attack Rome. In fact he bought him off, but his prestige and the authority of the Church in a civil and political sense increased strongly. Attila died within a year, on the night that he married again, and his sons were unable to hold the empire of the Huns together. In 454 the Germans revolted and crushed their overlords who then began to make their way piecemeal back towards Asia, leaving behind a series of tribal kingdoms.

Events moved on apace. For a short time Rome was in a power vacuum. Genseric and his Vandals took full advantage of it and having gained naval control of the central Mediterranean, made short work of sacking the city in 455. Emperor Valentinian was killed in the battle and there was no trade off with Leo in lieu of the spoils of victory for them, except that they agreed not to burn the city – if we accept the suggestions of church historians that it had been their intention to do so. Again Leo's standing rose and although the next 21 years saw a succession of puppet emperors supported by Constantinople and either accepted or deposed by the various invaders, the structure of the church and the autonomy of the pope were not interfered with very greatly.

In 476 the Teutonic Arian Odoacer put an end to the farce. He told Constantinople that he no longer recognized a Western Roman Emperor but that he would, as king of Italy, recognize the suzerainty of the Eastern Empire as long as no attempt was made to enforce it! Officially

Constantinople became the capital of a unified Roman Empire, but Dalmatia, being all that was really left of the western empire, was tacked onto its domain so that in fact it became the capital of a Romanized Byzantine Empire. There was no Roman Empire. In place of the imperial power which, 539 years before, had annexed an insignificant piece of territory with a troublesome population of religious fanatics there were three power regions. One was the new Byzantine empire in the eastern Mediterranean region, including part of North Africa, with its capital at Constantinople. The second was a series of warring, fluid kingdoms in central and western Europe. The third was the balance of North Africa with separate Vandal and Berber kingdoms.

The one thing which they all had in common was that they had each come under the influence of a new religious movement which had arisen within a small nation of religious fanatics which had been conquered by the mighty Roman Empire as it reached its greatest extent. According to its view of itself the new religious movement had an awesome responsibility. By virtue of the new situation it certainly had an unprecedented opportunity. But could it match the opportunity to the responsibility?

CHAPTER 5

THE LOST OPPORTUNITY: FROM ROME TO MEDINA

The church had an awesome responsibility. The Roman Empire was no more. However the growth of an empire indicates that a power has adopted a policy of expansionism to gain economic benefit through the long term domination of other people. That domination, while it continues, ensures that the imperial power benefits from both the personal effort and the natural resources of its subjects. But even if that domination also provides benefits for the subject people through the development of trade, transport and government it always carries with it the seeds of its own undoing and the demise of the empire. Even if the subject people are not prompted into revolt by some totally unacceptable factor such as religious or racial intolerance or economic or political oppression there are always competitors beyond the empire who are prompted by either need, greed or jealousy into an attempt on the empire – and disenchanted citizens. It may start as a piecemeal nibble at the fringes of the empire; it may start with a carefully planned frontal assault, or it may be triggered by internal dissent which causes social and economic disruption and fragmentation. Only one thing is certain: whatever the mechanism, the end is inevitable. The Roman Empire had therefore gone the inevitable way of empires before and after it but, because ‘empire’ also implies substantial military strength, its sudden demise had left a great power vacuum.

Up to 1945 the deployment of forces was always necessary to impose and maintain the interests of empire but developments during and since World War II have brought major changes. It may not be necessary for an imperial power to deploy military forces or to occupy the territory in which it is interested all the time, but the forces (either in manpower or non-manpower resources) must be available for deployment to “protect” or enforce its interests and to ensure the expansion. Whatever the perceived need or the justification for the forces is, it imposes a burden either financial or social which eventually becomes unacceptable. Pieces of the empire are progressively ‘liberated’ either by conquest by other powers, revolt, political negotiation, default, lack of interest from the imperial power or a combination of many of these.

This pattern of rise and fall of imperial powers began when humans began to settle. As humanity evolved from elementary beginnings, possibly in Ethiopia three or four million years ago, people developed simple systems of community and social organization. ¹ Gradually

people changed from a pattern of nomadic existence, heavily dependent on herded grazing animals, to settled agriculture with cultivation, organized water supplies and permanent buildings. It is not a matter of 'civilization'. It is a matter of urbanization. A nomadic people can be, and often are, highly civilized. An urbanized people can be, and often are, selfish, irresponsible and exploitative. In short they are often less civilized.

But of course it is very difficult to sustain an empire on a nomadic basis and without permanent buildings, so there have been few of them. Perhaps the best known, partly because it is the most recent, was that of the Huns whose activities in Europe helped to bring down the Roman Empire. As empires go, it was very short lived. It was only a little over 80 years from the time that the Huns entered Europe from Asia to their overthrow and withdrawal. What ever the immediate causes may have been, the decline of the Roman Empire was just as inevitable as the decline of the famous Babylonian Empire, or the empire of the Huns, the British Empire or the imperial positions of Soviet Russia and the United States of America. The speed and manner of imperial decline will always vary, because it is decided by human relationships. It is only the fact of decline which is inevitable.

We should certainly not be at all surprised at the breakup of the Roman Empire. In Rome's immoderate greatness prosperity generated decay and the causes of destruction multiplied with the extent of conquest. As soon as time, circumstances and man had combined to remove its artificial supports the stupendous fabric ripped apart under the tensions of its own making, just as it did with the Soviet Union.

Oppression by victorious legions which acquired the vices of strangers and mercenaries, corruption, the weakening of military government and the deluge of nomadic barbarians all contributed. ² The division of the empire must have had some effect but it is likely that as a factor on its own the establishment of Constantinople as capital contributed more to the strengthening of the east than to the loss of the west.³ It had, after all, been established in a concerted bid to strengthen the whole empire.

The abuse of Christianity also had a big bearing on the rate of decline of the empire. It was certainly not the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Among the things we can recognize, the effects of misinterpretation and corruption of the Gospel are prominent, of course, but not the Gospel itself. There is the way in which public and private wealth was consecrated to the false demands of charity and devotion. Then there is also the way in which funds which could have gone to the army for defence were lavished on the useless multitudes of both sexes who could only plead the merits of abstinence and chastity in the monastic system. However, among the most important factors was a complete misunderstanding of both the role of the church and the church's relationship to God. This led to the massive misuse of its powers as the state religion as it tried to enforce conversion and theological conformity.

The bloody, exhausting and distracting political intrigue, corruption and oppression which resulted from Rome's efforts to develop and impose a system of doctrine and the resultant faction fighting diverted the attention of the emperors away from matters of government,

foreign relations and defence. Councils came before Camps. Persecuted sects became subversive elements within the empire.⁴ It was not to be the only time.

Such was the overall influence of the new religious movement which was based on the teachings and instructions of a man called Jesus to his followers. They were simple enough instructions. Go out to the whole world and proclaim the Good News of the universal love and lordship of God and the message of Salvation for all mankind.⁵ There, indeed, was the church's awesome responsibility. The Catholic Church at Rome, the major organized portion of the movement, had an immense network of about 1,800 churches spread across the old empire. It had scores of monasteries and an inestimable total number of clergy, monks and nuns. The basic network, excluding much of the monastic system, had been established at state expense over a period of 150 years. It was very firmly established and the bishops had quasi-judicial and civil powers under the defunct but still highly regarded imperial constitution.

Although the church's direct links with the political and military authorities had been broken throughout the former western empire these links still existed in the eastern or Byzantine empire and its pyramid-style organization based on the geography of the former joint empire was still functioning. It had run in parallel with the failing imperial administration. Its very confident administration now provided a framework on which the feudal administration of the various tribal fragments of the empire could be hung or, perhaps, to which they could cling. It had been dependent to a very large extent on the use of imperial decrees to enforce its wishes but it had also used fear and coercion very effectively in its religious rites. Because of these things it had not only become a religious institution along the lines of any other priestly religion but it had developed a firm grip on the minds of the people as well. Furthermore, it was still associated with the glory, power and reputation of old Rome even though political leadership had fled from there a couple of generations before. In fact it had no option. It had to perpetuate the myth of Rome's omnipotence because it had put a great deal of effort into justifying Rome's claims on both historical and Biblical grounds. To back out at this stage would expose several generations of manipulation for what it was and it would undermine the credibility of the church in all respects.

A MATTER OF PRIORITIES

What, then, was the great opportunity which the collapse of the Roman Empire thrust at the church? As its ruthless and ambitious leaders saw it, it was to take the place of the former imperial power in the great administrative and political vacuum. They only had to link into each of the tribal kingdoms and hold onto their links with the Byzantine Empire to be able to impose their will through the concepts discussed in Augustine's "City of God." The former Roman Empire was, as they saw it, all that mattered. They neither understood nor cared about the people in the continents which fanned out from their Mediterranean base. Of course they had never heard about the Americas or Australia, Japan and the countries of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, the land masses and people totally separated from the land mass and people of Europe

by those daunting expanses of water. But there was the great bulk of Europe, untouched except by the so-called heretical Arians. There was the entire area of Asia stretching from Arabia to India, China and Russia untouched except by the Monophysites and an early sortie or two by the Nestorians into the Arabian Peninsula and Mesopotamia. And there was also the continent of Africa, untouched except for the northern fringe, more than half of which was now in the hands of either the Arians or the independent Ethiopian Church.

In fact the attitudes of the Roman church's self-indoctrinated leaders meant that they did not just ignore those areas but they positively rejected them as not subject to or entitled to the Good News. They did not warrant recognition in either of Augustine's two tiers of 'elect' and 'half-saved' Christians! That left the church free, in its view anyway, to concentrate on the institutional Christianization of the collapsing Roman Empire along similar lines to those which it had been pressing relentlessly for 150 years, but with greater control over the lives and actions of the people and with greater authority in its own right.

But the church was mistaken. That was not the real opportunity. Its leaders just could not see the real opportunity for their self made blinkers. Now that they were no longer the state religion of the Western Empire they had the opportunity to free themselves of any obligations to the state. They had the opportunity to 'think world' in place of 'empire' and to mix freely among all the mass movements of people backwards and forwards across Europe and to Asia and to carry the Good News where ever those movements took them. That opportunity didn't require a static institution. It didn't require massive funds, although of course the church had already accumulated them, mainly at state expense or by extortion. It only needed a relatively small number of inspired people who were not looking for the security of professional or public service type positions and who were prepared to face the unknown and probably a bit of hardship as they carried the Good News with them. It required social action or community activity. Not political administration. Not empire building. It also required an effort to understand other people either in their own land or on the move.

It is too easy to think that the mass tribal movements which had been taking place across Europe for 1,500 years suddenly stopped when Rome fell. They didn't. They continued for another thousand years. Commentators often talk about the mass movements of people and conquests and counter conquests across the cradle of western civilization in Mesopotamia and the Middle East while omitting to note that most of those movements didn't stop there and similar movements took place right across Europe and Asia. Indeed the pressure of the Huns and the Outer Mongols against the city states civilization of China in the centuries before Christ was intense. That civilization was itself already a product of interchange and the mingling between Mongolian influences of the north and various influences from the south. At that time it was, apparently, more humane and with a higher level of culture than its counterparts in Mesopotamia and Europe, even though it was essentially feudal and experienced centuries of perpetual warfare.⁶

While Rome and Carthage were caught up in the first and second Punic Wars Ch'in Shih Huang Ti was busy reunifying China under a central government and destroying the basis of feudal power. He codified the nation's laws, standardized weights and measures and standardized the system of writing Chinese language so that it could be read throughout the nation. He set up a road network radiating from his capital, a system of canals for trade and communications and massive land reclamation and irrigation schemes. He also built the Great Wall of China to buffer the nation against the aggression of the Huns who could not adjust to the unity and culture of China. ⁷ In doing that he effectively deflected the attacks of the Huns away from China and west towards southern Russia, Europe, Rome...and the church! Unfortunately to achieve all that in one lifetime he also resorted to ruthless tactics.

While Rome was setting up its first gladiator schools or farms to appease the population and to strengthen the grip of the ruling elite, Huang Ti was vigorously suppressing the teachings of the Confucian monks in order to break the grip of the elite. Confucianism had come to be a conservative bulwark which the feudal overlords used as a shield against social change. Huang Ti beheaded or buried alive some 460 Confucian teachers who would not renounce their teaching. It appears that after his death the teachings of the great idealist had gradually become corrupted and institutionalized until the Duke of Lu ordered sacrifices to Confucius and examinations in his teachings as a condition for entry into the public service. Shades of Rome and Christianity. Confucius (the name coined by the Jesuits for K'ung Fu-tzu) had actually denounced the greed of the aristocracy and taught a system of ethics which were aimed at reforming Chinese society and at introducing a new world of justice and peace through honesty and hard work. ⁸ Siddhartha Gautama (Buddha) was preaching his noble truths in an effort to offset human suffering and misery in India at the same time. ⁹

Born in other parts of Asia within a generation or so of the fall of Jerusalem in 587 BCE, Confucius and Buddha were both young men while Ezekiel was still prophesying to the Jews. Ezekiel had preached first to the Jews in Palestine about the impending fall of Jerusalem as Yahweh's punishment for their misconduct. Later he preached in an effort to bolster the spirits of the exiles in Babylon with plans for a new Temple and a new priesthood. ¹⁰ Of course Ezekiel was not on his own. He was a young contemporary of Jeremiah and built on the older man's message as well as being a part of the long established tradition of religious thought in Yahwism. However none of these three – Ezekiel, Confucius or Buddha – knew of the life or work of the other two because of the lack of effective communications between the great civilizations of the day. Of course there were many other inspired teachers straining to bring enlightenment and more civilized conduct to their particular communities, like the Hindu Sages in India and Zoroaster in Persia. But the coincidence of these three great Servants of God in their completely separate and isolated civilizations about seven hundred years after Moses received the Law on Mount Sinai illustrates again the need for man to know Yahweh and to live according to an agreed code of conduct towards each other. The need was growing, very rapidly, as empires and civilizations developed and men and women gave free rein to their greed and selfishness. Mankind was flexing his muscles, exercising his skills and shrinking the

distance between he and his neighbours very rapidly. Distance was shrinking and men were coming into conflict at a far greater rate than Yahwism was carrying an understanding of God and the divine will outwards from Jerusalem.

After Huang Ti and his attack on Confucianism the reunification and development of China went on apace. Within a hundred years of his death and still one hundred years before Christ, China had penetrated the geographical barriers to the west. It ruled Tibet and Western Turkestan and traded by camel caravan with the Persian Empire. In contrast the defunct Roman Empire and the church neither knew or seemed to care about what was going on around it except to the extent that its neighbours may have been a threat to its authority.

LET'S GO OUR OWN WAY. THE ROME/BYZANTIUM SPLIT

Ever since Rome had occupied Judea – long before Constantine sensed the importance of the Christians as allies in his bid for power – successive emperors had struggled through a fog of intrigue and politicking to achieve political stability through religious conformity. It was that which had triggered the original confrontation between the Roman authorities and the Jewish people. Now, with the empire in tatters, the Catholic hierarchy in Rome found itself surrounded by a sea of Arian Christianity. The entire area of the former Western Empire, except the British Isles, was controlled by Arians. Even Italy.

Rome was no longer a proud bustling, commercial and government centre and the vibrant hub of an empire. The loss of both the Numidian corn trade and control of the sea left its commerce depressed. Over dependence on slavery had given it an unsolvable unemployment problem and a level of depression which had long ago led to lawlessness and gross immorality. These all contributed to depopulation. The government and civil service still sat at Ravenna, and several wars helped speed up the depopulation. A couple of partial sackings, domestic vandalism and the lack of will and resources to carry out maintenance or rebuilding left large sections of the city derelict. Why should the new rulers waste their resources to put it back in order for very little purpose? The church could have it! But the church was clearly and quite definitely isolated from the Catholic-controlled Byzantine Empire. Its state finances had dried up to a large extent and it was in total disarray. Was this a signal for the church to become more tolerant and more concerned with people than with power? Was it perhaps an opportunity to rethink the theology and the attitudes which had become so bitterly entrenched? It was certainly an opportunity. It was not taken as a signal. It was not acted upon. The hierarchy dug its toes in. It continued its bitter assault on anyone who rocked the theological boat and tightened the reins in the Eastern (Byzantine) Empire as firmly as it could.

Despite renewed repressive measures, the Monophysite rebellion continued to rumble. It had gathered strength in Syria, Palestine and Egypt and in 475 Basiliscus, regarded by the church as an imperial usurper, issued an edict of toleration in an effort to relieve the tension and to bring unity within the church. Rome reacted with bitter antagonism but the following year Emperor Zeno found it necessary to confirm that tolerance towards the Monophysites. He issued a

‘compromise formula’ which became known as the Henoticon. Even that incurred the wrath of Rome and Zeno was under pressure to toe the line even though this meant more tension and more defiance from the dissidents.

In 483 the Nestorians, on the other side of the theological fence, called quits and formally broke from the orthodox church to establish the Nestorian Church based on their school at Edessa. How dare they! Six years later Zeno was forced to close it. His action – or the pressure from the dominant wing of the church – simply and effectively fostered Christian missionary work. The Nestorians moved their base to Nisibin, the important trading city which sat on both the silk and spice routes to the east through Persia and Arabia, where the Persian king was very pleased to continue to give them protection. They also went south into what was almost an imperial no-man’s-land – the Arabian Peninsula.

In the meantime, in 484, Acacius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, showing more tolerance than Rome, assented to Zeno’s compromise formula in an effort to hold the Monophysites within the church. He was promptly excommunicated. But the Pope, Felix III, went even further and dissolved the ecclesiastical bond between Rome and the East because of ‘excessive Monophysite influence’. Clergy ordained by the patriarchs of the east were not recognized and an effort was made to place Roman ordained clergy to dislodge or compete with them, but to little avail. Rome’s influence in the Byzantine Empire fell. For quite some years the patriarchates of Alexandria, Jerusalem and Antioch were all held by Monophysites as well as Constantinople.

CLOVIS AND THE CATHOLICIZATION OF THE FRANKS

The schism dragged on. In 494 with the new emperor, Anastasius, pressing hard for compromise but generally supporting the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Pope, Gelasius I, wrote him a very curt letter declaring that the Pope had power and authority over the emperor in spiritual matters! ¹¹ It had become theologically fashionable to dissent from Rome in the east but it was fast becoming politically expedient to accept it in the west. In Italy, focal point of the old empire, the church of Rome had a firm grip on the majority of the population through its immense network of churches, clergy and monasteries, even in spite of the state of the church. It sought a working relationship with the new rulers but at the same time it took every opportunity to ensure that relations between those new Arian masters from Germany and the local population were strained or, at best, distant. In addition, almost all of the 125 episcopal towns established across Europe by the former empire under its state-church arrangements survived the conquest by Germanic tribes and remained focal points for commerce and government. This automatically placed the Catholic bishops in a strong position when, only partly as a means of appeasing the population, the new rulers took no action to expel or shackle them but accepted them either with genuine tolerance or, at least, in a passive sense. Furthermore, what ever the motives for such policies of toleration were, the proud, isolated stand of the German Arians showed through. Their refusal to either adopt or to actively support

Catholicism did little to endear them to their new subjects. In fact it was a constant reminder of the narrow base and foreign nature of the Gothic and Frankish rule, and an impediment to the ambitions of the more powerful of the Germanic rulers which the Catholic church was adept and quick to exploit.

Theodoric was completely disenchanted with the Roman church's conduct, its attitude to his rule and its theology. He devised a plan to swamp it and to force reform by means of an alliance of all of the Arian tribes and the populations of the areas over which they had gained control.¹² Rome would again become the focal point of an empire: an Arian Germanic empire. But Theodoric was trumped by one of the classic examples of a change of faith for political opportunism. Clovis, the Frankish king of a small Belgium territory and one of Theodoric's competitors, accepted Catholic baptism, probably a couple of years before the turn of the century (although some commentators put it at the time of his coup in 507).¹³ This brought him the political support of the church and led to the almost automatic conversion of the entire Frankish population to Roman Catholicism. So much for their understanding of the finer points of theology. This meant an easy run for Clovis in his battle at Vouille against the Arian Visigoths in that fateful year 507 because he was able to pose as the liberator of the Roman provincials and their priests.¹⁴ Perhaps he was a student of Constantine. The Church of Rome not only felt very much less isolated, it was reprieved. Its political power recovered dramatically. One by one other tribal kingdoms went the same way. The Burgundians were suddenly inspired to adopt Catholicism in 516 and by 528 Catholic influenced rulers again controlled most of modern day France, Belgium and the Basque region of Spain.

As we have seen, the Byzantine emperor was in real trouble with his church during this period and relations with Rome were at a very low ebb. To placate the Roman Church, Emperor Anastasius found it wise to honor Clovis in some way so that he in turn would feel beholden to both the Byzantine Empire and the church. In 510 Anastasius awarded Clovis the rank of Roman Honorary Consul.¹⁵ It worked. Clovis felt obliged to protect the Catholic population and its bishops throughout the areas of Frankish influence. The population came to regard him as the legitimate governor of a province which they saw as part of a loosely-bound greater Roman Empire. However, although Clovis became the most powerful man in the west, Italy's Catholics were still ruled by his main rival – and brother-in-law – the Arian Ostrogothic king, Theodoric the Great.¹⁶ Theodoric had previously been encouraged to overthrow Odoacer by the eastern emperor and the church became a very effective fifth column in Theodoric's ranks. It steadily undermined his position, especially when Clovis started handing out court posts and land grants from the public purse to the clergy.¹⁷ To top it off the emperor prohibited Arianism throughout the empire in 523 and precipitated an open confrontation between Theodoric and the church in Rome.

Out of all of this classic politicking there was, quite naturally, a throwback towards the pagan attitudes of a god for a people or, almost, a god for each occasion. The ordinary Franks saw their new power and prestige as a flow-on from their new religion. They also saw themselves as special protégés of Christ, being granted victory and a dominant position since they changed

faith. The Lex Salica, drafted towards the end of Clovis' reign in 511 to codify the old Salic-Frankish law, began with the words: "Long live Christ, who loves the Franks! May he guard their kingdom, fill their rulers with the light of his grace, protect their army, provide the supports of faith, and grant peace, joy and happiness, he, the Lord of Lords, Jesus Christ." ¹⁸ Shades of Valentinian III! In an edict 66 years before, (445), he had proclaimed: 'We are convinced that the only defence for us and for our Empire is in the favour of the God of Heaven: and in order to deserve this favour it is our first care to support the Christian faith and its venerable religion.' He went on to promote the supremacy of the bishop of Rome over all others. "Therefore, in as much as the preeminence of the Apostolic See is assured by the merit of St. Peter, the first of the bishops, by the leading position of the city of Rome and also by the authority of the holy synod, let not presumption strive to attempt anything contrary to the authority of that See ... if any bishop summoned before the pope of Rome shall neglect to attend, let him be compelled to appear by the governor of the province ..." ¹⁹

The church was very quick to support and promote such ideas as well as any others which developed around them which showed the church and its clergy as the sole purveyors of Christianity and totally responsible for bringing such favours to the Franks. The popes and Charlemagne later took full advantage of the idea that the Franks were the new imperial people chosen to represent and institute the rule of Christ in western society after the fall of old Rome. In spite of the opportunity and the challenge to break the chains binding it to Europe the church was sinking further into the mire of politics which would find people in later centuries saying "Europe is Christianity: Christianity is Europe: let the rest of the world keep its own religions." The rest of the world was to find out the hard way that it may indeed have been better off keeping its old religions rather than being swamped by what has gone hand in hand with institutional Christianity. But that was still in the future. Or was it?

There is no point in trying to follow in detail here the toing-and-froing and power play of Western Europe for the next couple of generations. It is sufficient to note that the power play led very quickly to a deplorable situation with morality and ethics across the ballooning Frankish Empire plummeting to rock bottom. The results of mass conversions for political or selfish motives have seldom been any different. The forms of the church and the motions of its worship services may have been present but an understanding of the Gospel and of humanity's relationship to God certainly were not. Moral degeneration set in across the Frankish Empire like a disease. The kings assumed the role of master of the church in much the same way that Constantine had presided over his young state church at the same time that he held onto the role of pontifex maximus. They put their families and their aristocratic buddies into all the powerful ecclesiastical positions and made all decisions. Clovis had, after all, made a political bargain. Why shouldn't his successors extract their price? More and more pagan practices were adopted as Christian practices and any religious observance at all became a mere formality. During successive generations the royal household and the church of the Franks became sicker and sicker, to the point where it was almost completely devoid of any moral worth. ²⁰ Rome's

influence in the Frankish Empire weakened, but that didn't stop it from taking advantage of Frankish armies in the "Christianization" of other territories.

Right across Europe, but especially in the areas controlled by Clovis, the pattern of the times put a lot of strain on those men and women who, for what ever reason, adhered to the church. There was an upsurge in interest in monasteries. They sprung up everywhere. For some people the ascetic life of the Monasteries gave stimulus to faith and service in God's name. For many it offered peace, stability and security which were not available outside. Perhaps an escape. Perhaps a refuge. It also offered status. For a while there was a tendency for the ascetics to adopt the style of their eastern counterparts or to head for the caves but, quite quickly, people like Martin of Tours and Benedict put them on an organized basis with rules for conduct and lifestyles tuned to the European environment. Even Benedict began his religious career at about the age of 40 in 520 as a hermit in a cave near Subiaco. As followers gathered around him he organized them into monasteries of a dozen monks in each. When his following aroused the jealousy of a local priest he was forced to leave and in about 529 he set up a formal monastery at Monte Casino. A little later his sister set up a convent for women at Plombariola, not far away. The system which he organized provided a pattern for the establishment of many orders, including that named after him about 50 years later by a monk who founded the monastery of St. Andrew in Rome, became its abbot and was later elected pontiff as Pope Gregory.²¹

The development of the monastic system under the auspices of Rome was to have very mixed consequences over the next thousand years. But Benedict should not be blamed for the misuse of the system which he pioneered. In fact while he demanded firm discipline, more work than had been customary under earlier monastic models and a rigorous timetable in devotions to God he showed a level of tolerance towards those whose views differed from the establishment which was quite unusual at the time. He worked hard to reconcile the Arian Goths and the orthodox Catholics of Italy and for this reason he (and his successors) achieved considerable political influence as well.²² It has been said that the 'rule of Benedict' enabled monasticism to make a positive contribution to human progress and that it "might otherwise have wrought nothing but evil."²³

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE EAST

While the development of the monastic system was taking place in the west there were other critical developments taking place in the east. On the political front the Byzantine emperors and traders were beginning to flex their muscles and to see themselves – and certainly not the Franks – as the successors of the Roman Empire. They were, after all, steeped in the Hellenic tradition as well as the Roman tradition. Perhaps they yearned to take up history again where Alexander had left off. Greek was the language spoken most commonly throughout the region which now formed the empire and so it was made the official language again. The Byzantines eyed the trade routes supplying Europe with goods from the east with envy. There was the silk route from China across central Asia and Persia. There was the main spice route from India via

the Persian Gulf, along the Tigris through Babylonia (Iraq), meeting the silk route at Nisibin east of Antioch. And there was the much less important spice and ivory route via the Red Sea, Nile Valley and Alexandria. Could the Red Sea route be encouraged at the expense of the other routes? It was worth a try.

The Byzantines began to meddle in the affairs of the Bedouins of Northern Arabia, Abyssinia (Ethiopia) and the Yemen in Southern Arabia. To do so they had to cooperate with heretics and non-Christians in several places. Southern Arabia, including the region of the Yemen, was still an important agricultural area at that time with large scale irrigation from the huge dam at Ma'rib. The dam had burst about 450 but the kingdom was strong enough to call on surrounding tribes to mend it without delay.²⁴ Mecca was a growing trading centre on the Red Sea linking India and Syria by a land route which the Byzantines were happy enough to encourage, to compliment the existing sea route, provided of course that the rulers were sympathetic to Byzantium rather than Persia.

On the religious front both the Monophysites and the Nestorians were expanding their missionary activities. The Monophysites had developed a strong base in Abyssinia, extended their influence strongly into the Yemen and cooperated with Byzantium in an exercise which forced the Himyarite king of Yemen, Dhu Nuwas, to flee inland about the turn of the century. He adopted Judaism which had achieved an impressive spread in the region during the two centuries which followed the repeated destruction of the temple in Jerusalem, strengthened his little kingdom's position by making a more formal alliance with Persia, and turned the tables on the Abyssinian Christians who suffered fierce persecution for a few years. The tables were turned again in 525 when the king was killed and the Yemen became an Abyssinian satrapy.²⁵

MONOPHYSITES, PARTNERS AND NON-BELIEVERS

The small state of Ghassan in Northern Arabia, a vassal of Persia to the east of Jerusalem in what is now the Kingdom of Jordan, had also adopted Monophysitism. In the meantime, about two or three generations before, the Nestorians had established a see at Hira, further east in the fringe territory between Arabia and Persia when they first came under pressure from Rome. They gradually pushed south and developed a solid base at Najran, in Southern Arabia. Quite apart from their less complicated theology which people found more readily understandable and acceptable, a major reason for the Nestorian Church being tolerated completely in Persia was its break with the orthodox church.²⁶ The Nestorian bishops were free from any direction from the Byzantine or Roman patriarchs. This removed any suspicion of political duplicity and any overtones of racial or national superiority or exclusiveness. It gave the church's message a more universal outlook. It was closer to the basics of the Gospel. However, when the Abyssinian Monophysites forced the Yemenite king to flee, the cult centre at Najran also suffered and declined for some time after he had regrouped and turned the persecution back against the Christians.

By this time the Acacian schism which had been triggered by Zeno's bid to raise the level of tolerance towards the Monophysites had weakened Rome's influence in the east for more than a generation. Faced with the continuing growth of anti-orthodox branches of Christianity – "heretical" according to Rome's pronouncements – and with problems with both the Franks and the Byzantine Emperor, the church of Rome finally conceded that it had to resolve the dispute. It was officially patched up in 519. On the surface at any rate, the Byzantine emperor accepted the pope in Rome as head of his church and all of the clergy were again in communion with Rome. But there were clear signs that other splits were likely and it was probably as a part of his constant manipulation to avoid these (as well as to maintain his own position) that he prohibited Arianism throughout the empire four years later, in 523.

Within the orthodox Christian community Mariology had been given more and more prominence in the east since the Council of Ephesus and by this time, in places, it almost completely replaced the orthodox Trinitarian worship based on recognition of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Preachers and writers began to talk of Mary's bodily assumption to heaven and to present the most plausible sounding human logic in support of it. It is intriguing that the world had to wait until 1950 for a pope to give this the staggering status of dogma, but it was already having immense impact. Legends about Mary, concocted from earlier Greek stories, also took on the status of factual history in the minds of a very gullible people. After all, who were they to believe if not their clergy? And besides, there was very little Arian influence left in the east at that time to help restrain the development of religious fantasy. Along came a Syrian poet named Jacob of Sarug to introduce yet another title for Mary. "Mother of Mercy." Another Syrian writer, Romanos, expounded the idea that Mary remained for ever a virgin, that she was not only Christ's mother but mother of all men, and that she prays to God for all men. Such themes caught the Eastern mind very quickly and encouraged not only the use of icons, paintings, statues and jewelry, with images of Mary but also the collection and adoration of relics supposed to be from her earthly life. These were considered to have all sorts of mystical powers and to protect believers from all kinds of misfortunes.

But what about the non-believers? What were they doing? While the Christians were fighting among themselves over points of theology and for political power, Jewish scholars at Sura and Pumbeditha in Persia had been quietly compiling a more comprehensive collection of sacred and historical writings. Their Babylonian Talmud was completed in the early years of the sixth century and provided an encyclopaedia-like handbook of Jewish religious law and observance. It helped to strengthen the religious self-understanding and resolve of the Jewish community generally, but its publication was not an unmitigated blessing and some divisions developed around the use of the Talmud in later years.²⁷ Their people had not been free of harassment, but there was not, generally, the intense persecution of earlier centuries. In 460 the Persian ruler had tried to forcibly convert all Jewish children in Isfahan to his emperor-worshipping version of Zoroastrianism, Mazdaism, but it was a relatively isolated occurrence. The main concentration of Jews under Persian rule was not around Isfahan but along the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers in Mesopotamia (or Babylonia) where there were an estimated 806,000 Jews

by about 600 CE. With such a concentration of population developing it is not surprising that the Jews in Mesopotamia were looking for a bit of self government. However no government, or emperor, ever enjoys a secession move by a section of the population, especially on religious grounds, and when Mar Zutra set up an independent Jewish kingdom of Mahoza in the rich Tigris Valley in 513 the Persians were most displeased. In 520 they did battle with him, won, as was to be expected, and crucified him and his grandfather.²⁸

BYZANTIUM'S TWIN AMBITIONS

A number of Jewish communities had settled successfully and peaceably, as they usually did, in Southern Arabia during the previous few generations. Being in company with both Monophysite and Nestorian Christians as well as pagans, they were inevitably caught up in Byzantine political manipulation. When Justinian began his 38 year reign (527–565) two years after the death of the Himyarite king of Yemen, things really began to buzz. He set out to achieve the twin Byzantine ambitions of reconquering the west and eliminating all heresy – especially Arianism – both of which had gradually crystallized, in the shortest possible time.²⁹ No one would stand in his way! But of course people did. They included the Persians to his east and the Germanic tribes to his west, now in control of the whole of the western Mediterranean.

Justinian set as his first target the recapture of the west including Gaul, North Africa, Italy and Spain. Such a target required a defensive policy in the east and some sort of diversion or arrangement with Persia which would relieve the pressure from the east. He had to secure his flank. In 529 he marched on Ghassan, the Persian vassal state in Northern Arabia, to begin his campaign. Ghassan, the Monophysite stronghold, became a vassal of Byzantium instead of Persia, the phylarch, Harith ibn Jabala, received some new titles for his trouble and Monophysites throughout the east naturally gained a lot more support, prestige and influence.³⁰ Hira, the Nestorian stronghold, remained a faithful vassal of Persia. The church hierarchy at Rome was unable to do anything about either development. They didn't want to reopen the schism. Some sort of accommodation between Byzantium and Persia held for a couple of years but it was thrown out the window in 531 when Chosroes I assumed the Persian throne.

Of course Justinian's target also required the absolute cooperation and support of the church at Rome. But, as always, that cooperation and support had its price. After all it was only about 20 years since the church had forged its links with the Franks and, even if they were ethically reprehensible and as difficult to manage as a tail wagging the dog, it was an arrangement which had to be recognized! Within two years of the start of his reign Justinian closed the schools of the Greek philosophers in Athens which had been the last real source of opposition to the authority of the Christian church. They, too, fled to Persia.

Justinian captured Naples from the Ostrogoths and achieved both a foothold back on Italian soil and easy access to Rome just along the coast. By 532 he built the immense basilica of Sancta Sophia in Constantinople and, as a sponsor of the fine arts, he encouraged religious art in particular. This coupled with the wave of Mariology and iconography to produce a spate of

major works depicting the Creator with the Virgin and Child which dominated many of the main churches including Sancta Sophia. Justinian's first major military victory came in 533 when the Vandal kingdom in Numidia collapsed with unexpected speed. The first major slice of the heretical Arian-controlled territory had now, in Rome's view, been "liberated" to enable it to return to the true faith. According to the church the conversion of the Franks, Burgundians and others had been either "reasoned", "inspired" or at least "voluntary"! But Justinian had to lend a blood soiled hand. In 534 he promulgated the *Corpus Juris Civilis* as a 'guide' to civil and ecclesiastical law. Arianism was banned, again. The screws were beginning to turn. Just on 100 years after the death of Augustine, the Arian Vandal victory and the end of the Roman oppression of the Donatists which Augustine had orchestrated, the Numidians were again to experience the heavy hand of the church. But Judaism was also banned. Three years earlier Jews had been banned from giving evidence against Christians. Now they could not legally worship according to their long established practices.

However victory in Numidia did not bring the major trade advantage which Justinian was looking for because the Vandals, with Carthage again the capital, had neither been able to maintain control of the inland farming areas or trade with the Roman Empire effectively and corn production had fallen away sharply. Throughout his long reign Justinian was no more successful. He was back to the old bind of having religious dissension to contend with as well as political antagonism.

Sicily was the next to fall, in 535, and then Justinian turned his attention to Italy. He was able to apply a pincer movement from Sicily and his mainland base at Naples, and the expected quick collapse took place, with the encouragement of Rome, naturally. However the Ostrogoths rallied, recovered a lot of ground, and were not finally defeated until 17 years later when a second army was despatched by the land route. Italy was wrecked and shockingly divided. Agricultural production dropped sharply as large areas were deserted in more senses than one. But none of this mattered because the Church of Rome was back in command of the pulpits and men's minds. Or did it?

Nine years after the total ban on Judaism and nine years before the final defeat of the Ostrogoths, in 542–43, the attention of the population was diverted for a time from the glories of empire rebuilding. Bubonic plague struck. It was very largely the consequence of the attitudes and policies which had been followed over a long period. Political power had been given priority over public health. Urbanization was both a requirement and a result of the political policies of the two components of the empire – the state and the church – and both were therefore partly responsible for the tragedy. Granted, there was little detailed knowledge of the mechanism of disease and of epidemics but even the rudiments of personal and public hygiene were bypassed or, at best, neglected.

The state shared responsibility because the public purse had been drained for military purposes and the development of the urban areas to make living conditions a little better had been neglected. Slums had spread like ulcers. The church shared responsibility because it had

deliberately rejected the Jewish codes of conduct and hygiene which had formed part of the Jewish Law and therefore part of the Christian heritage from earliest times. The Jewish codes were portrayed as defunct religious rites in a conscious effort to dissociate Christianity from Judaism and to socially isolate Jews within the community. For this reason, once Jews had accepted the idea of their imposed social isolation and grouped together in sub-communities of their own they were never affected by sanitation-related plagues to the same extent as the rest of the community. This in turn became another point of friction between Christians and Jews, especially in later centuries when Jews were accused of actively spreading plagues in Christian areas. But in Justinian's Constantinople the Christian mind had not yet become quite so devious and although 10,000 people died in that city in one day alone (and it is said that one third of the total population died ³¹) no statistics have come down to us from that period to show a distinction between Christian and Jewish deaths. One consideration was that the laws and anti-Jewish guidelines of 534 had spurred a burst of Jewish migration out of the empire. From Constantinople Jews trickled northwest to the Crimea and from Italy they began to move north into Germany via the Rhone Valley and the three mountain passes of St. Gothard, the Brenner and Loebel pass.

Coinciding with the plague in Europe, Southern Arabia also had to cope with a calamity on a grand scale. The great Ma'rib dam on which the region depended for its social and economic cohesion, failed in 542 for the second time. Reconstruction had been achieved without undue difficulty after the first breach in 450 because there was strong regional leadership and cohesion. But by 542 that cohesion had been lost, probably because of the foreign incursions, politicking and religious interference of the previous few decades, and it required arduous negotiation by the local ruler with other feudal lords to ensure voluntary collaboration in the reconstruction of the dam. ³²

But the plague was a very temporary diversion for Byzantium. There was still a large part of the west to be regained and pressures building up in the east to be repulsed. Justinian bought an armistice with Persia in 549 by forfeiting any interest in Iberia and by paying a gold tribute. It is interesting that the philosophers who had fled to Persia 20 years before, when Justinian closed their schools, had not found the philosophical freedom which they had sought and the armistice included special provision for them to return to Byzantium.

Even further east, on the northern fringe of the unified and heavily defended Chinese Empire a revolt was brewing among the Turkish subjects of the Mongolian Empire. The revolt succeeded in 552 and the Turks first took charge of Mongolia and then pushed west to crush the major force of Huns whose empire in Europe had fallen 100 years before. They soon controlled a huge area stretching as far as the Caspian Sea. The people whom they defeated, the Jöuans, moved further west ahead of them, teamed up with the remnant of the White Huns, became known as the Avars, and accepted a deal with Justinian in 559. He paid them to suppress the other Hunnish and Slav tribes and to occupy their land in order to protect the northern flank of the Byzantine Empire. Within three years the Avars had control of almost all the territory from the Caspian to the Frankish border. ³³ Only the next year, 563, they took

advantage of Justinian's decision to make a push by land against Italy and pushed further west themselves. They took part of Thuringia from Rome's other protectors, the Franks, and neither Rome nor Constantinople were in a position to dissuade them.

The arrival of the Avars illustrates the limited vision of the Roman church hierarchy at the time and its total failure to understand the opportunity that the collapse of the empire had provided. In spite of the facts that, firstly, the Avars had done a deal with Justinian and were therefore to be regarded as allies and, secondly, that they were a new people controlling territory where either no Christian group had previously been active or where the Arians had been successful, the church does not appear to have taken any real evangelical interest in them. It appears to have taken the view that the Avars were foreigners, not part of the Empire, and the church had Spain to worry about. It is as if the church was deliberately acting on those nationalistic declarations by Valentinian III and Clovis that Christ was strictly the God and Saviour of particular elements of its empire. The business of re-imposing its will on the people to whom the Gospel was already known, in a fashion, in the old Western Empire had become a total preoccupation with Rome to the point of distraction. This is strange indeed, considering that a civil war between the Arian Christian Visigothic tribes in Spain had made Justinian's evil task a lot easier. In 554, five years before his deal with the Avars, he and the Roman Church occupied the southern one third of the Iberian Peninsula. Neither Justinian nor the church had forgotten about their parent faith and life for the Jews in Spain who had not been bothered by the former Arian Christian masters, became distinctly uncomfortable. The ban on the practice of Judaism, as well as Arian Christianity, was extended to Spain by that victory, naturally!

In the east a general council of the church was held in Constantinople in 553 while the Turks, the newest of the Asian invaders, were beginning their push west to within a few days march of the capital. But the conference wasn't about how to evangelize this wave of Asiatic people either. The church was no more interested in them than it was in the Avars. The council was a complicated affair convened by Justinian in a bid to resolve another heresy hunt and it highlighted that fact that all was not well in the corridors of ecclesiastical power. Justinian and the pope, Vigilius, disagreed about decisions which had been taken two years earlier and about tactics to resolve the crisis. The emperor wanted steps taken to appease the Monophysites in the interests of imperial stability. The church had to tolerate the Monophysites for political advantage and because a number of them still held influential posts, but why should it have to tolerate any pseudo Nestorians when their colleagues had gone and set up a competing church in Persia? The pope refused to attend or to sanction the council but in his absence it condemned a series of ideas which had become known as semi-Nestorianism and which were being circulated by three different writers in what became known as the incident of "the three chapters." The following year, after a bit of man-handling and threats of deportation from Justinian, Vigilius reluctantly ratified the decisions taken and the council stands in the record books as a recognized ecumenical council. The council may have eased a few immediate political problems for Justinian but it did nothing for the church, except to deepen the divisions which already existed between east and west, and between the factions within the church.

According to church historians “the prestige of the papacy sank enormously, and all through the fault of an ultra-confident and theologically incompetent emperor and of a wavering pope who lacked the strength to perform his duty” (Baus).³⁴ In reality the incident confirmed that the emperor was boss, that he saw the church as an instrument of the state, and that the church’s theology and decision making were still riddled with inconsistency.

During the period of the ‘incident of the three chapters’ Abraha, the reputedly Christian general who succeeded the Jewish king of the Yemen in 525, tried to strengthen his position across Southern Arabia, and in the trading centre of Mecca in particular, by using the influence of the Abyssinian Monophysites. However the social and economic life of the Meccan region was very complex and apparently revolved around three levels or elements of traders, the most influential being the ‘Quraish of the inside’, followed by the ‘Quraish of the outside’, then the ‘proletariat of foreigners and Bedouin’ with the Arabs of the Quraish in the surrounding region.³⁵ The basic religious and community life of the few oasis-based towns was also very complex, involving tribal cults which were symbolized by a stone or some other object which was guarded by the Sheikhly house. In the case of Mecca these had been brought together to form the Ka’ba to ensure more community cohesion, but this had the effect of weakening the consensus-based sheikhly authority and introducing a kind of oligarchy of ruling families.³⁶ The presence of some Judaism, Persian religious influence and Christianity naturally tended to confuse the situation. In the circumstances Abraha’s bid to use the Abyssinian Monophysite Christians to gain control of the city was repulsed around 550 or 560 and served merely to strengthen the national pride of the Meccans.^{37 38}

AN EMPIRE RETREATS, BUT DOCTRINE DICTATES

When Justinian died in 565 at the end of his 38-year reign there was a big gap in Byzantine cum Roman leadership. There was also a lot of serious questioning about the expansionist policy which he had pursued. Had the ‘recovery’, or more correctly the re-subjugation, of areas previously dominated by Rome been justified? The great recovery in trade and the increase in cheap resource supplies which Justinian had expected had not materialized. His only unqualified economic success came from introducing silk worms by stealth in the late 540s and this certainly didn’t win him any diplomatic or political friends to the east.³⁹ He had previously failed in his attempt to divert the silk trade away from Persia by negotiating with the Turks of the Oxus for a new route north of the Caspian. He also failed to significantly increase the spice and metals trade through the Red Sea/Nile Valley route at the expense of the Persian Gulf route but, naturally, both of these exercises had further antagonized the Persians. Under Justinian the power and prestige of the empire had certainly grown but it was dependent on continuity of policy, leadership and military expenditure. The military effort required, the disaster of the plague, the divisive and exhausting civil process of enforcing reconversion from Arianism to Catholicism, and pressure from Persia, Avars, and then the Turks all played their part in

undermining the morale of the 'home countries' and the ability of Justinian's successors to govern effectively.

The powers to the north and to the east quickly took advantage of the situation. The Avar Khan saw his chance to gain from a war between the Gepids and the Lombards, two independent kingdoms in Austria and Hungary. He took sides with the Lombards. The Gepids in Hungary were annihilated. The price for the Avar Khan's support for the Lombards was their territory. They kept their lives, their identity and basic independence but they were relieved of their country. They moved west and, again with the Avar Khan's support, they relieved the Byzantines of control of most of northern Italy by 568. They left Rome in control of the coastal strip which included Venice and Ravenna. Attempts by Rome to win revenge against the Avar Khan by seizing Belgrade proved counter productive. Although it took him until 581 to expel them, he then moved to invade the Balkans. The Byzantines, preoccupied with a war with Persia, had to buy him off.⁴⁰ While this was going on the Lombards were also able to gain territory in southern Italy. Between 572 and 582 they set up two large Duchies in the middle of Byzantine territory so that the country was in a more confused mess than ever.

For practical purposes Rome was again surrounded by an Arian population. The Lombards were the last of the major Arian Germanic tribes in central Europe with the Visigoths well isolated in Spain. Some churchmen saw this as another opportunity for theological discussion and, perhaps, either re-evaluation or compromise to bring accord within the church but others, including the man who became Pope Gregory "The Great" a few years later, saw it as a wonderful political opportunity to crush the life out of this anti-Christ heresy. "Divine intervention" enabled him to do it through petticoat politics. Queen Theodelinda, wife of the Lombard King, adopted Catholicism and, being under pressure from Gregory, applied pressure within the royal household so that it first became divided, with friction between the northern Lombards and the southern duchies, and then capitulated and adopted Catholicism.⁴¹

This was not the first time and neither was it to be the last time that sectarian or denominational division within Christian homes would have far-reaching consequences. We usually think of denominational division within families having little influence beyond the immediate home, but history reminds us that this is not the case even if we are not conscious of the problem in our own community. Justinian's wife, Queen Theodora I, who was crowned as co-regent empress in 527, was personally sympathetic to the Monophysite cause and has been credited with influencing Justinian towards conciliation with them, especially in the condemnation of the 'three chapters'.⁴²

Out west, in Spain, the Visigoths recovered from the sectarian civil war which had allowed Justinian to capture a third of it and by 575 his successors could only claim to be holding a small and decreasing strip along the southern coast. In 587 Recared, having succeeded his father as king the previous year, decided to adopt Catholicism in an effort to unify the country since the Catholic Church had by then become politically more powerful than the less highly

organized Arians. That old axiom again: political stability comes through religious conformity!
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In the other direction the Persians had sought to rebuild their influence in Arabia and to deny Byzantium the Red Sea trade route. Also, by 575 they had expelled the Byzantine-sponsored Abyssinian rule in the Yemen and reduced it to a Persian satrapy. At that point the Turks proved a distraction for both Persia and Byzantium. They succeeded in pushing further west the next year and occupied much of the Caucasus. However only a few years later it was their turn to be torn by domestic strife and in 582 the Western Turkish Khanate, being the main body of Turks, withdrew to east of the Aral Sea. They left only one Turkish tribe in the Caucasus. It set up the Khazar Khanate. In 582 it seemed to be of little consequence. But keep it in mind. It became a very important factor in long term world affairs as people chopped and changed their faiths and their relationships.

During this period there were also further important developments in Southern Arabia. In 570 the Ma'rib dam burst again, for the third time. Political disintegration as a result of the repeated invasions by the Byzantine and Persian empires as they sought to control the buffer region between them, with repeated changes in suzerainty and the allegiance of vassal states, meant that there was no will for the neighbouring communities to cooperate in its reconstruction. There can be no doubt that the long-running religious infighting and confusion contributed to the political disintegration. The catastrophe resulted in a great loss of fertile land and productivity and the social upheaval was made worse by Bedouin reoccupying large tracts of land. ⁴⁴In, or about, the same year the Byzantine-backed Abyssinians were pushed out of the Yemen by the Persians (in a sea-borne invasion) who then favoured a Nestorian Christian presence in place of the Monophysites. Not to be outdone, the Byzantines promptly tried to gain a foothold back in the region by bringing a pro-Byzantine regime to power in Mecca but the Meccans, while they are said to have been more friendly to the Byzantines than to the Persians, did not want this kind of subordination to one of the great powers. The would-be princeling fled. ⁴⁵

Then it was Persia's turn for civil war and King Chosroes II was toppled from his throne. However instead of going quietly into foreign exile and disappearing from history he fled to his arch enemy, Emperor Maurice in Constantinople, and bought his help for an attempt to regain the Persian throne. It was successful. In 591, after the Byzantine army had reinstated him, Chosroes II ceded Iberia (the territory in which Justinian had forfeited any interest in his bought peace only 42 years earlier) and most of Armenia to his benefactors. The vassal Monophysite Arab state of Ghassan also accepted direct Byzantine rule but it received subsidies for its trouble – for a few years, anyway – until Heraclius stopped them as an economy measure because of the cost of the Persian wars.

For Byzantium these territorial gains at Persia's expense made up in part for the mess in Italy. They also gave the church the opportunity to push its influence a little further east under the protection of Constantinople. It came into bitter conflict again with the Nestorians who were well established as an

independent church. The Nestorians were the losers. However they soon made up for it when the state of Hira, the Nestorian Persian vassal, came directly under the control of Arabs from further south only a few years later, about 604. Quite undaunted by the change, they took advantage of their continuing good standing in the eyes of their new political masters and happily carried their message of the Gospel still further south with them.

The church in Rome was quite content to go on its priestly, ritualistic and self centred way. Pope Gregory had begun his 14-year reign in 590 just as the Bubonic plague which had swept through Constantinople a generation before was sweeping through Rome. Perhaps it was a coincidence or perhaps he was eager to deflect some of the blame for the plague onto the Jewish community, but he certainly hardened the church's attitude towards them. They were allowed to retain their existing synagogues and to worship according to their normal practices, (this means, of course, that Justinian's total ban on Jewish worship in 534 had been just as impossible to implement as every other ban which we have read about), positive persecution was discouraged and forced baptism was deprecated. However they were not permitted to build new synagogues nor embellish old ones, proselytism was sternly repressed, the imitation of Jewish rites in Christian worship was prohibited, they were not permitted to own Christian slaves under any circumstances, they were excluded from appointment to public offices and Jewish physicians were only permitted to attend Christian patients in restricted circumstances. Of course not all clergy took the pope's restrictions on their rights seriously (did he really expect them to?) and in some areas direct persecution and forced baptisms continued.⁴⁶

To Pope Gregory also goes the credit – or the awesome responsibility – for the development of doctrines defining purgatory and transubstantiation, for the enforcement of papal supremacy and clerical celibacy, for strengthening the pope's position in relation to the emperor, and for the increased use and adoration of images.^{47 48} People were expected to believe that irrespective of the teaching of Jesus there is a "state or condition in which those who have died in the state of grace, but with some attachment to sin, suffer for a time before they are admitted to the glory and happiness of heaven." They were told that "in this state [of purgatory] and period of passive suffering, they are purified of unrepented venial sins, satisfy the demands of divine justice for temporal punishment due to sins, and are thus converted to a state of worthiness of the beatific vision."⁴⁹

Pursuing a similar tack, Pope Gregory introduced special penitential practices to be observed on a day at the beginning of the church's period of Lent, which he called Ash Wednesday. People were ceremoniously admitted to the beginning of a program of physical privation or 'penance' which, it was claimed, would bring about the forgiveness or remission of their sins. Various rituals involving sprinkling or 'crossing' a person with ashes were adopted and while they are still said, today, to be justified on the grounds of symbolism they were imposed and accepted as having mystical or magical effects. Was Pope Gregory perhaps trying either a cure or a distraction from the plague? Such rituals hung like a murky cloud of priestly corruption to blind man to the free and uninhibited Grace of God which Jesus' teaching had uncovered. They further complicated the church's teaching on such theological concepts as Augustine's

predestination. Slowly the church and its adherents – or subjects – were being dragged down to the level of indulgences.

In addition, pursuing the concept that Christ died sacrificially for the benefit of mankind, and to capitalize on the systems of ritual practised by some of the non-Christian religions, the generally uneducated masses were expected to believe that in commemorating his personal sacrifice in a communal act by sharing bread and wine they were actually eating and drinking the body and blood of Jesus of Nazareth. A touch of priestly hocus pocus helped to reinforce the state-imposed authority of the clergy, distract people from the mystical practices of their pagan priests, and encourage them to believe that – in the church’s words – “...Christ is made present ... by the change of the whole substance of the bread into his body, and of the whole substance of the wine into his blood ...[through]... this unique and wonderful change the Catholic Church rightly calls transubstantiation’. ⁵⁰

Let there be no doubt that the church intended these things to be swallowed complete. In his paper ‘Faith and revealed truth’ ⁵¹ G. D. Smith writes: “...the act of faith by which a Catholic believes the dogmas of the Church does not differ essentially from the act of divine faith ... [and]... the infallible authority of the church is by no means confined to the teaching of ‘dogmas’. The church is not only the teacher of revealed truth, she is also its guardian; and in the office of protecting God’s truth against error she needs to pronounce infallibly upon many matters which, although they are not formally revealed by God, are nevertheless intimately connected with revelation. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that Catholics are bound under pain of grave sin to believe the truths thus infallibly taught by the Church.’ [Emphasis added.]

BYZANTIUM, PERSIA AND A MESSENGER FROM THE EAST

But we are jumping ahead again. Let’s leave the mystique and mystery for a moment and come back to facts. Since the Avars had pushed the Lombards into Italy, relations between them and the Byzantine Emperor had changed rapidly. Instead of a loose alliance in which the Avars had accepted Constantinople’s financial support in return for providing a buffer against the other fluid masses of people such as the Slavs, Huns and Turks we find a bitter armed struggle. In 602 the Byzantine army wanted to sue for peace but Emperor Maurice wouldn’t hear of it. The army revolted, marched on Constantinople and disposed of the emperor. The empire began to crumble. The Avars marched into the Balkans which had been left defenceless by the army’s withdrawal to march on their own emperor. But they didn’t hold much of it for long. The Slavs moved south and engulfed them. Chosroes II, so recently reinstated by the murdered Maurice, took full advantage of the situation also. From 606 he moved systematically through the eastern provinces so that within ten years he controlled Egypt and Palestine as well as Mesopotamia, Syria, Armenia Iberia and part of Anatolia (Turkey). In fact his armies reached Chalcedon and faced Constantinople across the Bosphorus in both 606 and 615 before being repulsed.

For a couple of decades neither of the great powers seemed to be very much concerned with the Arabian Peninsula. It was a massive territory. It was greater in physical land area than either

the Byzantine or Persian empires of the time. They had previously competed for vassal states to control its trade routes and access to the Red Sea but it was of very little interest at the moment. It was very arid and hostile, sparsely populated, with very few settlements or nomadic tribes of more than 600 people, and it lacked resources which they could use. They were preoccupied with the real face to face war and it had no strategic importance as far as that war was concerned so they both ignored it. In fact about 610, when he became emperor, Heraclius thought so little of Constantinople's relations with the Ghassanids of Northern Arabia that he stopped the payment of subsidies to them as an economy measure. He doesn't seem to have learned from Arcadius (Chapter 3) that when you withdraw aid or subsidies from an ally you invite him to become an enemy. Of course it must be admitted in his defence that his coffers and his ability to administer his bruised empire were pretty low at that time.

Only the year before Heraclius came to power the church had consecrated the Pantheon in Rome as a Christian church for the honour of Our Lady and the Martyrs. Mariology, previously practised mainly in the east, was taking a firm grip. The Pantheon had been the main temple of pagan cults linked to Pantheism, a confused system of beliefs that the universe and God are in some way identical, or that everything and every living creature or person, good or evil, has both some input from, and some influence on God. In consecrating that temple the church may have picked up a few more ready-made 'converts' from those who continued to use the great building but in doing so it swallowed yet another massive dose of syncretism by encouraging people to confuse the teachings of the church and the teachings of the Pantheists. But it didn't seem to matter. The church was supremely confident in the role which it defined for itself as the appointed Body-of-Christ-on-earth and as the sole and absolute authority for the imposition of God's will, as it interpreted that will, throughout the world. It had never enjoyed a stronger position in relation to the Emperor and rulers of independent kingdoms with whom it was in direct contact.⁵² It had either crushed or reached a political accommodation with all but one of the sects or groups whose theological insights differed from its own within the broad scope of Christianity. Judaism had been shattered as a major religious influence, or so the church thought, and it was having no real difficulty keeping the isolated pockets of Jews who had clung together either submerged or subjected. And after a pretty rough period following the collapse of the Roman Empire the church was again healthy and wealthy. Nothing stood in its way. Nothing. All it had to do was make the necessary political alliances which would carry it – always as the state religion of course – into or over those populations which had resisted it or which still had no knowledge of it.

It was then that news of discord in that trading town of Mecca, midway along the Red Sea coast of Arabia, which Byzantium had been trying to manipulate, started to filter out through the land caravans to Syria. The third husband of some wealthy merchant's widow, said to be of noble birth but orphaned at six, poor and of little note until he married, was stirring up trouble. A bit of a dreamer with a sharp social conscience, he was supposed to be having visions and was gathering a few supporters around him. He was preaching vigorously against the corruption and paganism of the merchants and they were out to shut him up. And although he was

preaching that there was only one God he was critical of both Jews and Christians. Nobody in Constantinople or Rome took any notice. Why should they? There had been lots of these local religious phenomena before. His fellows would soon tire of his pinpricking disruption and put an end to him.

In any case neither Constantinople nor Rome were really interested in Arabia. Constantinople had enough on its plate trying to hold the empire together against Persia, and Rome was finally flexing its muscles for a push among unknown peoples in northern Europe. And besides, the population of Arabia is small, mainly nomadic, pretty rough and tough, and unlikely to want to have much to do with some religious freak. After all, haven't the Ethiopians, the Monophysites, the Nestorians, the Jews and the Zoroastrians all had a chop at converting those Arab pagans without much success? So both Byzantium and Rome ignored the first news of Muhammad.

By 616 Persia had succeeded in pushing Byzantium out of Syria, Palestine and Egypt. Jerusalem had fallen in 614 with the aid of Jewish allies to whom Chosroes II handed control of the city.⁵³ In Jerusalem, as in Constantinople, the veneration of relics of Jesus, Mary, and anyone or anything connected with the Apostolic period had become prominent in Christian worship and liturgy. Some say this was almost to the point of paranoia. This was partly a reflection of Monophysite influence over a very long period. At this time the city was officially orthodox Roman but there was still a strong Monophysite presence and, in addition, a heavy feeling of the supernatural pervading the city of the crucifixion and resurrection. Every church wanted a relic of the crucifixion. For centuries there had been a good trade in splinters and pieces of wood from the 'true cross'. Probably enough such splinters had left Jerusalem to build several crosses. In addition to that, Constantine's mother, Helena, as well as claiming to identify the sites of the crucifixion and the Sepulchre in which Jesus had been buried, also located what she announced to be the actual cross on which Jesus died. Most historians treat her claims with derision and considering the total destruction of the city two centuries earlier, there is little reason to do otherwise.⁵⁴ There is further confusion about whether she had all or part of what ever it was she located taken to Rome or whether it was held in Jerusalem and set up in the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre which Constantine ordered to be built on the site nominated by his mother.

However, from somewhere or other the church in Jerusalem had produced something it called the 'true cross' and this was the object of much adoration. When the city fell to him Chosroes II destroyed the basilica but whipped the cross off to Ctesiphon on the Tigris. Why he did would be interesting to know. Certainly he was not a Christian so it would not have had any direct religious significance or attachment for him. He probably assumed it to be false anyway, because the Nestorians to whom he gave full protection did not accept such practices. Perhaps it was simply one of the spoils of victory or perhaps he was he trying to teach the Monophysites and the orthodox church of Rome something.

By 619 all of Byzantium's other possessions east of the Ceyhan River in modern Turkey had fallen to Chosroes II as well. That put a very effective buffer between the cities of

Constantinople and Rome in Christian Europe and the infant religious movement in Arabia. Trade with the east would have fallen to a trickle and there was probably very little news reaching Europe from Arabia.

However it was then, while he was under imminent threat from both Persia and the Avars that Heraclius took stock of his tattered empire and considered shifting his capital to a more secure area on the untouched coast of North Africa.⁵⁵ He decided to hold his ground, but for a while the going was very tough indeed. In 619 the Barbarian Slavs actually attacked Constantinople itself. So fierce was the assault that works of art, icons and religious relics were taken from the great churches for safe keeping. They included a veil supposed to have been worn by Mary, the mother of Jesus, and very highly venerated. When the attack was repulsed the veil was returned to its shrine at Blachernae with great ceremony and a feast was instituted to commemorate the occasion. Whether the church deliberately tried to attach a mystical empire-saving capacity to the veil, giving its veneration very heavy overtones of idolatry, or whether the street mobs spontaneously adopted it in that sense probably doesn't matter. The church could have prevented it and it was the church's long-standing support for Mariology and the veneration of relics and icons which made it possible.⁵⁶ The feast of the veil is still celebrated in some eastern churches on July 2nd each year.⁵⁷

The toing and froing continued for the next few years on all of the borders of the Byzantine Empire so it is quite understandable that neither Constantinople nor Rome were very impressed to hear, in 622, that the Arab religious upstart Muhammad had been forced to flee with his followers from Mecca to Medina. We can almost hear the pope saying to his informants "I told you so: we won't hear much more of him!" The year of the Hijra had arrived. The community of Islam had been established. But the only Christians who felt any ripples were the few communities in Central Arabia.

While Muhammad was hurriedly shifting home, beating an attempt on his life by only hours, Heraclius was planning his counter attack on Persia. With shortened perimeters to defend and the great sense of urgency from the threat of complete destruction of the empire he was able to rebuild his army and regroup it in the east at the expense of the west quite quickly. He was determined not to waste his regrouped forces with long drawn out battles to regain ground inch by inch. In any case he had to keep strong forces at home to protect Constantinople. He decided to take the Persians by surprise. He would drive a wedge straight through to the heart of the Persian Empire. It was a very risky business because it meant virtually isolating a major army without protection for its long line of communication with Constantinople. It would have to be totally self-sufficient or live off captured Persian resources. But the threat to Byzantium was so great that the risk had to be taken. He succeeded.

Heraclius broke through the Persian front and got as far as the Tigris quite quickly, in 623. But Chosroes II wouldn't fight a set piece battle there. He chose to keep his main army on the front, make an alliance with the Avars, and to harass Constantinople. The Persians and the Avars attacked together in 626. The Avars couldn't breach the city walls and the Byzantines, having

naval control of the straits, prevented the Persians from crossing the Bosphorus. It appeared to be a stalemate with each empire having an army ravaging the other's territory. Then Heraclius got the upper hand, forced a major battle near the ruins of ancient Nineveh, the former Assyrian capital famed as the subject of Jonah's prophetic mission about 800 BCE, and won. Both sides were militarily exhausted. Each had an army at the doorstep of the other's capital but couldn't strike the final blow. Heraclius couldn't take Ctesiphon but Chosroes II couldn't expel him. Similarly Chosroes II's army couldn't cross the Bosphorus to get at Constantinople but the Byzantine defenders couldn't push them back. Within a few months Chosroes II was deposed again, but this time he was murdered by his nobles. They were not giving him another chance. His son Kavadh, said to have been among the plotters, took the throne and sued for peace.

The armistice provided for each empire to evacuate the territory of the other so that the boundaries of 610 would be restored. Egypt, Palestine and Syria were all returned to the grasping hands of Byzantium. The trade routes and their caravans from the east again carried goods and news through Byzantine territory to Alexandria in Egypt and through Palestine to Damascus and Antioch in Syria. Byzantium and its church again rubbed shoulders with the Arab world. Communications and trade soon returned to normal. The buffer between Byzantium and the Arabian Peninsula was gone – rubbed out by the armistice.

In spite of the demands of his military affairs Heraclius did not lose interest in religious affairs. Dissatisfied with the effectiveness of the restrictions which Pope Gregory had imposed on Jews, Heraclius imposed another total ban on Jewish worship along the lines of Justinian in 534, and let it be known that he thought other rulers should follow his example throughout Europe. Some of them took up the challenge and persecution increased throughout the regions in which Catholicism was established. In Gaul in 626, about the time that the Byzantines and the Persians were tearing each other apart, King Dagobert ordered a general expulsion of all Jews except those who 'consented' to adopt Christianity, and a similar policy was adopted in both Burgundy and Lombardy. But Heraclius had no need to worry about cooperation in Spain. King Sisebut was ten years ahead of him. In 616 he had totally banned the public display of Judaism and successive church councils in Toledo, at which the king presided, laid down measures including the seizure of Jewish children for rearing as Christians in Catholic households, and the exiling of any families found practicing Jewish rites in the privacy of their homes.⁵⁸

Out east, as a result of the armistice, Kavadh agreed to return the so-called 'true cross' to the Byzantine authorities and Heraclius replaced it in Jerusalem with great pomp and ceremony on March 21st 629. Idolatry and religious imperialism or nationalism came to the fore again. Christian apologists call it symbolism. Another feast day was instituted to perpetuate the memory of the return of the 'true cross'. It has since been renamed the feast of the 'Triumph of the Cross' in an effort to adjust the emphasis. It is celebrated as one of the Catholic Church's principal feast days on September 14th each year in both the Roman and the Byzantine Rites. In its modern form it commemorates Helena's discoveries and the consecration of the Basilica of the Holy Sepulchre as well as the return of the 'true cross'.^{59 60}

At times the return of the cross from Ctesiphon by Kavadh has been compared with the return of the Ark of the Covenant to Israel by the Philistines.⁶¹ Similarly the celebration of the event has been compared with the ceremonies and celebrations which King Solomon ordered when the Ark of the Covenant was placed in the newly-completed Temple.^{62 63} Such comparisons are odious. The cross, even if it was genuine, was basically a relic which put the emphasis on death. It served to concentrate the attention of the gentiles on the involvement of his own community in Jesus' crucifixion. It therefore further poisoned relations between the people who had been converted to Christianity by syncretism, and the Jewish community. It drew attention away from the resurrection which is the real message of Christ's ministry. The Ark was, on the other hand, the most tangible record of the covenant relationship between the people Israel and God, and the demands which God made of them. But in addition, it was partly from their misunderstanding of the Ark and their dependence on it as a 'shield' in battle that the Jews began to see Yahweh in the narrow restrictive sense of the God of the nation Israel. In this sense the comparison simply supports the criticism that the celebration of the return of the cross was a sign of religious imperialism and a distraction from the obligations of the new covenant which were to live according to the teachings of the gospel. Anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism or retribution for the trial and crucifixion of Jesus were certainly not part of the gospel message. A key injunction was to commemorate and reflect on his life-sustaining mission at a communal meal aided by the symbolism of sharing life-sustaining bread and wine.

While the war with Persia was in progress Heraclius set up his imperial headquarters in the wilderness south of Damascus. It was fortuitous that he did so, for while he was there, either in 628 or 629, an envoy approached him with a brief message. There is no certainty whether the message was written or oral, but it is probable that the messenger carried a letter written in Arabic which was the obscure Semitic language of the nomadic tribes of the Arabian Peninsula. In any case the message was simple. It called on Heraclius to acknowledge and to serve the one true God and to adopt the faith of Islam. It was from Muhammad.^{64 65}

CHAPTER 6

TURN BACK THE CLOCK!

Neither the Church of Rome nor the authorities of the Byzantine Empire paid much attention to the brief message from the leader of a new religious movement which had been spawned way out in the desert of Northern Arabia. They could not comprehend that out of revelation to one man in a pretty insignificant territory in which neither Rome nor Constantinople had very much interest had grown the embryo for a mighty community of faith. Islam had joined Judaism and Christianity as a universal religion based around Abraham and Jerusalem.

If we think in terms of parallel streams of faith within Yahwism, the third stream had begun to flow. In 628 it was certainly only the headwaters of the river which would very soon flood out across the plains of the Near East, North Africa, Asia and the southern perimeter of Europe with a wedge into the very heart of the continent. It must have required faith of quite extraordinary depth for its members to believe that they could have any influence on the affairs of the world, religious or otherwise. The story of the first band of followers who gathered with Muhammad at Medina is in the same tradition as the Acts of the Apostles and the flight of the Hebrew tribes from Egypt.

“How preposterous! This man Muhammad telling me to acknowledge and serve the one true God! Doesn’t he know who he’s talking to? Doesn’t he know that I am ruler of an empire charged with the responsibility of protecting the one true church of the one true God and to impose its God-given message throughout the world?” Maybe they were not the exact thoughts that ran through Heraclius’ mind when he received that first rather informal message from Muhammad but we can assume they were along such lines. His actual response has not come down to us. He may have just laughed. After all, he had been pushing efforts to bring uniformity of worship within his empire, he had recently taken steps to rid the empire and the whole of Europe of Jewish worship, and he had supported moves to strengthen the Christian presence in Southern Arabia. Chosroes II was dead but the armistice negotiated with Kavadh had not been finalized. The True Cross – or at least what was claimed to be the true cross – was still at Ctesiphon. After he had recovered Jerusalem and restored the True Cross to its rightful position he could then turn his attention to other religious matters.

Of one thing we can be sure. Muhammad knew quite well the position and power of the man at Damascus who was still licking his wounds and counting his gains and losses from his encounter with the Persians. He had got very much the better of the armistice. He was now in a

strong position to squash any irritating little sorties by raiding parties from places like Medina. Muhammad didn't even have the backing of his country or a national army to press the point of his message.

We are told that Kavadh was hopping mad when he was confronted with the same message from Muhammad. He was fully occupied at Ctesiphon trying to get the badly mauled Persian army back into fighting shape and he certainly wasn't going to waste time in idle chatter over such matters. He had his own state religion to foster and had shown unexpected tolerance in accepting and giving full protection to the Nestorian branch of the Christian Church. He wanted no more sects setting up in his empire and, in any case, the message was something of a personal insult in view of his personal heritage of god-kings. He tore up the message and threw the fragments at the messenger.^{1 2}

Of the four others who are believed to have received the same message one, the chief of the Banu Hanifa in South-east Arabia, was in an area of Persian influence and the others were a part of the Byzantine camp. The Negus of Abyssinia was in alliance with Constantinople in their joint efforts to get control of southern Arabia and its trade routes and the dominant religious influences in his territory were the independent Ethiopian Church and the Monophysites who were gradually merging into one stream. The Regent of Egypt was a subject of Byzantium, ascetic monasticism had first developed there and Monophysite influence was very strong indeed, possibly dominant by then, in his country. The Prince of Ghassan may have still been smarting from the withdrawal of Byzantine subsidies but he was still aligned with the empire and his state was one of the strongest pockets of Monophysite influence.

Actually there is no historical certainty about the number of leaders to whom Muhammad sent messages at that time, nor about whether they were verbal or written. Wells refers to the message to Heraclius as a letter in Arabic, suggests that only a deprecatory interpretation of it may have reached the emperor, and notes that there is no actual record of it being received. He then refers to Kavadh receiving a written message in the same terms, tearing it up and flinging the fragments at the envoy. According to von Grunebaum only the Persian king received the envoys unkindly and the others despatched them "with encouraging words and valuable gifts." However he then notes that the historicity of these events cannot be seriously upheld. What the reports demonstrate is that Muhammad was successful in establishing relations with the outside world and "his successors who devised the wording of the letters desired to provide documentary evidence that Muhammad had been sent to all peoples and not only to the Arabs."

In recent times the religious movement which evolved around Muhammad has been described in many different ways by observers according to their standpoint. It was a religio-political movement among the Arabs. It was the great enemy of medieval Europe.³ It has been to some an heretical development of Judaism, but it has been equally a Christian heresy more dangerous and more powerful than Arianism or Gnosticism.⁴ To some church historians trying to reconcile its success to their own faith it has been superior to the paganism which it displaced in Arabia, stronger than the type of Christianity which it met and overcame, with some

favourable aspects and elements of value to the world ⁵, while to others it has been simply a religion of the desert and the Middle East with outliers in all directions but not a universal religion. ⁶

Unfortunately the level of bigotry which was whipped up within an ignorant community by a fearful church in order to conduct the crusades was such that for several hundred years Christians generally regarded Muhammad as an impostor and as an instrument of the devil. In 1734 George Sale, a lawyer and linguist with experience in Arabia, published the first serious English translation of the Qur'an. He worked from the original Arabic instead of from Latin or French translations and provided detailed historical notes and explanations so that it could be used by Christians as a study volume. When R. A. Davenport republished the work in 1869, 135 years later, he wrote in a brief Life of George Sale that the translator had been vilified with "slander (and) the blind merciless rage which are characteristic of Bigotry."⁷ Sale was a founding member of a society for the encouragement of learning but he was also a member of the Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge and he made his own belief in the superiority of Christianity perfectly obvious. In a note inscribing his translation in honour of Lord Carteret he referred to "the detestation with which the name of Mohammad [sic] is loaded" because of calamities brought on by Arab conquests after he had formed them into an empire, and then wrote:

But as Mohammad gave his Arabs the best religion he could, preferable, at least, to those of the ancient pagan lawgivers, I confess I cannot see why he deserves not equal respect, though not with Moses or Jesus Christ, whose laws came really from heaven, yet with Minos or Numa, notwithstanding the distinction of a learned writer, who seems to think it a greater crime to make use of an imposture to set up a new religion, founded on the acknowledgment of one true God, and to destroy idolatry, than to use the same means to gain reception to rules and regulations for the more orderly practice of heathenism already established" ⁸

Sale's detractors accused him of belief in the divine mission of Muhammad and of placing Islam equal with Christianity. In his defence, Davenport wrote:

Sale was not one of those who imagine that the end sanctifies the means, and that the best interests of mankind can be advanced by violence, by railing, or by deviating from the laws of truth, in order to blacken an adversary. He enters into the consideration of the character of Mohammad with a calm philosophic spirit; repeatedly censuring his imposture, touching upon his subterfuges and inventions, but doing justice to him on those points on which the pretended prophet is really worthy of praise. The rules which, in his address to the reader, he lays down for the conversion of Mohammedans, are dictated by sound sense and amiable feelings. They are however not calculated to satisfy those who think the sword and the faggot to be the only proper instruments for the extirpation of heresy. That he places Islamism on an equality with Christianity is a gross falsehood. ⁹

However probably the most widespread Western perception of Islam during the middle generations of the twentieth century was that it was an outpouring of Arab Nationalism combined with religious fervour based loosely on Jewish and Christian beliefs and that the

political leaders of the day simply took advantage of it in much the same way that the European powers took advantage of Christianity. It has been perceived as a mechanism to generate political stability and national strength through religious conformity or, perhaps more accurately, to provide a religious justification for anti-Western adventures and desert wars of expansion. It has also been assumed by people in the West who have a short memory for history that as an instrument of Arab Nationalism it would never attract people beyond the region of its origins and that it would therefore not be a serious competitor or threat to the West and Christianity. After all (their reasoning went) the Arabs could never rise up and seriously compete with the superior powers of Europe!

Certainly the development of Islam from Muhammad's teaching, and under his leadership, accelerated the development of Arab Nationalism, but it had already begun and his religious community did not merge with the Arab community to produce a nation which could challenge the great religious communities and empires around it during the prophet's lifetime. However, the challenge to the Christian Church to re-examine itself and its teachings was quite clear. While some people took it seriously the majority did not and the imperial powers rejected it out of hand.

To Muslims, Islam is as the Qur'an describes it: a community of believers against non-believers. It is therefore most important that we look at what makes a 'believer' and the things he believes. However this brief Sura cannot be, nor is it the place for, a detailed discussion of Islamic theology. There are ample excellent references available for those who want such a discussion. These notes can only indicate key thrusts of Qur'anic teaching, put Islam in perspective together with the other two streams of Abrahamic messianic faith, and provide the background for the unfolding trouble in the triangle.

THE RELIGIOUS HERITAGE OF ISLAM

For too long the western world was fed the story that the Church had not been active in Arabia before Muhammad and therefore any understanding he had of Christianity was hearsay picked up on his caravan trips to Syria. It was implied from this that his criticism of Christianity and the church was both ill founded and unfair. Furthermore, it was said that he must have been a phoney or an impostor, that he could not have received revelation from God through inspired visions and that all of his knowledge of Judaic and Christian writings must have come from contacts on his travels.

Fortunately such statements appear less and less in Christian writings today but great damage was done over many centuries. They were used to justify the church's inflexible stand against Islam and, later, the crusades, and they generated bigotry towards Muslims among Christians on a frightening scale which is being broken down only very slowly.

It is correct that the official orthodox church of Rome had not set an evangelical foot into Arabia. Hung up by its Church State relationship and its doctrines, already noted, it had not seriously set such a foot anywhere outside the bounds of the Roman or Byzantine Empires on

an organized basis, except in Ireland where it had been carried by force of circumstances which we shall come to. But the Monophysites and the Ethiopians, both in communion with Rome, and the Nestorians had all been very active.

It was the same Christian general, Abraha, who pushed the Jewish king out of the Yemen and led the abortive Byzantine-sponsored push by Abyssinia for Mecca via the Yemen some time before 570, the year that (according to tradition) Muhammad was born.¹⁰ At that stage there were two confirmed Christian tribes in the Mecca/Medina region, known as the Hijaz. They were the Judham and the 'Udhra, and there were probably others. Large numbers of Hijaz Arabs had been baptized before Muhammad was born and the Monophysites had appointed many bishops with a priest and a deacon to each tribe in the region. Their women wore veils out of doors. They had founded churches and fasting and alms-giving were regularly practiced. Their monasteries, which were open to travellers 24 hours a day, gave food and drink to visitors before sending them on their way. Many towns had Nestorian schools, but mainly in the eastern region, including Bahrayn (Bahrain) which was a logical extension from their base at Hira.¹¹

The antagonism between these two branches of Christianity which resulted from their confrontation under Byzantium was inevitably carried into Arabia. It was compounded by the political situation. The north western region provided many mercenaries for Byzantium while the north eastern region did the same for Persia. Rivalry and raids between tribes of the two regions naturally took sectarian as well as tribal overtones. The clergy joined in the sordid displays and persecutions and anathema were commonplace. The divisions became so deep that instead of some four or so Arab kingdoms the peninsula fragmented into about fifteen principalities. The reputation and moral authority of the Christian churches were torn to shreds, heresy and corruption knew no bounds and contributed to the environment in which the young Muhammad would grow up.¹² Even the tribal system began to break down with infighting. Loosely knit confederacies would form and break up.

Then when the great Ma'rib dam burst for the third time in 570 there was no will and no prince strong enough to rebuild it. Organized irrigated farming in Southern Arabia came to an end and much of the fertile land was lost to erosion. Food shortages and the lack of work led to further inter-tribal strife, barbarism, a shift in power in favour of nomadic tribes and reoccupation of some districts by Bedouin tribes from further north. Uncertainty was always a characteristic of the Bedouin life style but in the wake of such a catastrophe it tended to give way to distress. The stronger tribes began to extort protection money from the weaker ones as well as from the merchants in trading centres such as Mecca who had previously gained most from both the stable farm production of the south and long distance trade.¹³

MUHAMMAD'S EARLY YEARS

At that time Muhammad, whose full name was Muhammad ibn 'Abdallāh, was an impressionable young boy, being reared as an orphan by relatives. Muhammad's father died before he was born. His mother was from another tribe and, as was the custom, she sent him to

be wet-nursed with desert clansmen, but although his grandfather, 'Abd-al-Muttalib, head of the noble Quraish clan of Hāshim, was his guardian he is thought to have spent a lot of his time with her until she died when he was six. After she died Muhammad was directly under the care of his grandfather until he also died two years later and his uncle, Abu-Talib, became both head of the clan and his guardian.¹⁴

During his youth, Muhammad travelled the Arabian desert trade routes with caravans in company with Abu-Talib. He is known to have visited Syria, and he had contact with the merchants of Mecca who, although the region was in decline, were able to gain commercial advantage from the new Persian domination of the region so that their commercial interests and prestige were growing. Muhammad therefore saw all aspects of life in Southern Arabia: the petty conflict between clans, the Bedouin incursions into previously settled areas, its very confused religious life and practices, and the politicking and dubious trade practices and trade organizations of Mecca. His clan played a leading role in the affairs of a sort of chamber of commerce known as The League of the Virtuous and this apparently gave him the opportunity for commercial and matrimonial contacts which, as a poor orphan, he would not otherwise have had. In due course, at the age of 25 and having demonstrated his commercial negotiating skills to her satisfaction, Muhammad received and accepted a proposal of marriage from a wealthy widowed woman trader named Khadijah who, it is thought, was fifteen years his senior.¹⁵

Muhammad's marriage to Khadijah enabled him to develop his commercial skills so that, together, they were able to engage in profitable enterprises. However the more important aspect of their marriage was the personal support and encouragement which Muhammad received from Khadijah as he struggled with his spiritual development, the way to respond to the visions and revelations which he began to experience, and his "moments of desolation" when he doubted his commission to be a prophet.¹⁶ According to the records available Muhammad began preaching in Mecca and claiming to be a prophet in 610, at the age of about 40, or about 15 years after his marriage, and 613 is taken as the year when his substantial ministry began.

In the intervening years conflict within and between the urban and nomadic communities had taken on new dimensions. Tribes would become aligned around issues such as the exclusion of Yemenite merchants from the Meccan trade. Then, either as a consequence of those alignments or in order to justify them, religious allegiance and access to shrines and oases on route would become an issue also.

In the case of the Yemen it is hardly to be wondered at. The failure of the hated Abyssinian Monophysite, Abraha, in his effort to annex Mecca to his semi-independent satrapy sometime about 560 strengthened Arab national pride and weakened the position of Monophysites in Mecca. They could after all, have provided some sort of foreign fifth column or at least have had divided loyalties – like Catholic Romans in the middle of Arian Italy for example. A few years later, as also noted in Sura 7, the Yemenites rebelled against Abraha and expelled him and his Abyssinian forces with the aid of Persia. Then in 597, because of internal division still threatening the stability of Southern Arabia in the wake of the collapse of the Ma'rib dam,

Persia decided to put an end to Yemen independence. At the stroke of a pen it converted all of the Yemen's Christians from Monophysites to Nestorians because of its hostility towards anything associated with Byzantium. Then the Persians went further. They gave Nestorian Christianity the status of State Religion of the second rank.¹⁷

Most of the Meccan traders had continued to practise pagan rites and stood aloof from the new religions of Judaism, Zoroastrianism and the two branches of Christianity. This was partly because of the ways in which these had been introduced and propagated, and partly because of the imperial links which they implied. If a merchant wished to trade freely in all directions, especially with Persia and Byzantium, he could not afford to be seen to be politically aligned.

This religious conservatism of the merchants certainly helped to strengthen paganism and to perpetuate animal sacrifices and other animist rites in the main towns including Mecca where a great number of deities were worshipped. A feature of pagan religious life was an annual pilgrimage to the shrine of one's choice. However those pilgrimages were, in turn, another factor in the religious conservatism of the merchants. Like Christmas in the Christian West, they were highly profitable and neither the merchants nor those who were the custodians of the Holy Shrines and oases on pilgrimage routes could afford to do without them.

THE PROPHET'S MINISTRY

Against this background Muhammad began his prophetic ministry and it was therefore inevitable that once he began preaching against the worship of pagan gods and against corrupt religious practices he would antagonize the merchant class in Mecca even though he had become one of them through marriage. No criticism stings more or is more difficult to reject than criticism by a member of one's peer group.

There is no evidence to suggest that Muhammad set out either to establish a new religious movement or to build an Arab Empire. He responded to a call to clean up religious practices and to bring his fellows to see the simple truth that there is one God. This is illustrated by Sura 23 which begins with reflections on earlier signs of God's authority and the relationship between God and humanity and then turns to the issue of the role of the Jewish community and its prophets. It reads, in part:

Then We sent Musa [Moses] and his brother Harun [Aaron] with Our signs and clear authority to Pharaoh and his nobles. But they received them with scorn, for they were arrogant men. 'What!' they said. 'Are we to believe in two mortals like us, whose people are our bondsmen?' They denied them, and thus incurred destruction. And We gave Musa the Book, so that his people might be rightly guided.

We made the son of Mariam [Mary] and his mother a sign to mankind and gave them a shelter on a peaceful hill-side watered by a fresh spring.

Apostles! Eat of that which is wholesome and do good works: I have knowledge of all your actions. Your brotherhood is but one brotherhood, and I am your only Lord: therefore fear Me.

TURN BACK THE CLOCK!

Yet men have divided themselves into different sects, each rejoicing in what it had. Leave them in their error till death overtakes them.

Do they think that in giving them wealth and children We are hastening to do them good? By no means! They do not understand.

Those who live in fear of their Lord; who believe in the revelations of their Lord; who worship none besides their Lord; who give what they give with their hearts filled with awe, (knowing) that they will return to their Lord: these hasten to good things and are the first to attain them. [Sura 23:45–57] ^{18 19 20}

[Unless otherwise attributed, quotations from the Qur'an are from the translation checked and revised by Mahmud Y. Zayid and approved by the Supreme Sunni and Shii Councils of the Republic of Lebanon (Beirut: Dar Al-Choura, 1980)]

However once Muhammad responded to that call to clean up religious practices and to bring his fellows to see the simple truth that there is one God his understanding of God and his religious insights developed in such a way that conflict with each of the established religions became inevitable. His limited knowledge of their mainstream practices gave them plenty of ammunition with which to attack him.

Six centuries earlier the apparently coincidental annexation of Palestine by the Roman Empire had provided the vehicle which carried Christianity across Europe, North Africa and East Asia and dispersed Judaism across the same region. Now, in the seventh century, in a very similar manner, the apparently coincidental development of Arab Nationalism was to provide the vehicle which would sweep Islam across the bulk of that area and place the Christian Church under intense self-searching pressure. These two factors, rejection of the prophet's call for reform, and the availability of a ready made vehicle to carry that call, made the evolution of Muhammad's movement into another religious institution inevitable. It was as inevitable as the establishment of Christianity once the people of mainstream Judaism had refused to acknowledge the Apostles' understanding of Jesus of Nazareth as Messiah. It was also as inevitable as the establishment of reformed churches once the church of Rome had rejected Martin Luther's call for a big clean up 900 years later.

It had taken a very long period for Judaism to evolve in its role as an instrument of God's will. Christianity, once having been triggered, evolved very quickly and became a force of major proportions in a much shorter time, say two or three hundred years. Islam, in its turn, once having been triggered, was a force of major proportions within a generation.

To insist that all three are equally instruments of God's will does not imply that they must, or will, be perpetuated in their present form, or that any more such messianic religions will necessarily be revealed. Yahwist tradition and Judaic prophecy made it clear that a Messiah would come through Israel to usher in an era of new relationships or, put another way, to lead mankind towards Salvation. There was nothing, other than prophecy that the Messiah would not be recognized, to suggest that establishment of a new religion or the rejection of the old would

occur or was necessary. The subject of prophecy was a Messiah, not the Christian Church. The Apostles could have remained within the Hebrew tradition and synagogue worship, and an understanding of the Gospel message as an extension of the message of the Torah and the prophets could have evolved quite rationally. As we have seen, the evolution of a second movement and the establishment of the church only occurred when Christ's disciples and the Apostles could not fully understand his relationship to God and sought to define it in terms which would attract non-Jews and which the Hebrew community could not accept. It is not so much a case of the Jewish authorities rejecting the Messianic message but of, firstly, failing to recognize the person of the Messiah and, subsequently, rejecting the Apostles' definition of Christ as Messiah. That definition was totally at odds with their scriptural expectation

It becomes quite clear from what we know of the Christian Church in the early centuries and of Muhammad's message that a third movement only became necessary because the church ran off the rails and also proved unable to grasp, or to spread, the Messianic message. The role of Islam was to push it back on the rails. Unfortunately it ran out of steam and jumped the tracks in much the same way as the Church. There was another stalemate or, rather, a period of stagnation.

Then we find the world moving forward again until we reach the present situation. We find our meat sandwich. We find Israel being the catalyst, or the meat in the sandwich, in a three-way confrontation between the people of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. But we can see only the obvious factors like the political and economic conflict over material resources, the territorial claims and counter claims – and the chilling distraction of the ruthless imposition of Islamic law when radical Muslims begin to dominate a country. We are again absorbed by the problems and by the status to be gained or lost, like the church at the time of the fall of the Roman Empire. Our thinking is dominated by concern for a potential catastrophe for the western world and, for some anyway, the institution of the church.

However the church overall is showing insufficient awareness of the opportunities which have been thrust at it. It has taken the church two generations since the establishment of the State of Israel and one generation since the crises of the Yom Kippur War and the oil embargo to develop a meaningful interest in its relationships with its partners and their joint responsibilities towards people of other faiths and those who have no religious faith at all. However it is being pushed relentlessly and inevitably towards three-way dialogue between Judaism, Christianity and Islam which can only result in the evolution of one common messianic understanding with a multi-pronged monotheistic religious movement carrying the Messianic message of love and salvation for all mankind. The circumstances which have locked us into that three way dialogue have taken a very long time to develop since Muhammad sent his message to Heraclius at Damascus.

Unfortunately Muhammad's message has suffered much the same fate as Christ's. Aside from the Qur'an, most of the statements attributed to Muhammad were not committed to verifiable records. It was not until after his death that a concerted effort was made to gather

together and codify all the notes which he dictated, and subsequently these were not retained in chronological sequence. The Qur'an has been subject to interpretation in the same way as the Christian Gospels. It has been put on a pedestal, canonized and declared absolute truth in exactly the same way as those papers which were selected for inclusion in the various Bibles of the Christian churches.

Subsequently it has been adapted, interpreted, modified, and added to by various streams of his followers as they have syncretised pagan, Jewish and Christian practices and ideas, developed heresies, caused schisms and fragmented into divisions and sects which, while they are no where nearly as numerous as Christian rites, churches and sects, are certainly just as confusing.

To find out what Muhammad really taught one would no more go to the first muezzin (crier) one saw in a Muslim minaret than one would go to the first brother found swinging a church bell to find out what Jesus really taught. Perhaps the Imam on the one hand, and the Priest on the other, but even then we would expect to get a particular denominational interpretation. We would reach for the Qur'an and the Gospels respectively to get as near to Muhammad and to Jesus as available records allow and we would probably be startled by some of the similarities.

THE THIRD PARALLEL STREAM

Muhammad's message, stripped of all the circumstantial detail which made it immediately relevant to the people among whom he lived and preached, looks remarkably like Jesus' message. Or put another way, the Christian message, stripped of all the syncretistic, priestly and idolatrous ideas and practices which have been attached to it over almost two thousand years, looks remarkably like Muhammad's message.

The Church's claim that Muhammad learned all he knew of God directly from Christian and Jewish hearsay does not stand serious scrutiny. There was no Arabic translation of the Bible available in pre-Islamic days. There were Jewish religious writings translated into Arabic but it is very doubtful whether Muhammad would have had access to a comprehensive set of these. The education and understanding of Christian bishops, priests and deacons in Arabia at that time would very likely have been restricted to the doctrines and rituals thought necessary at the time. Muhammad simply did not have access to the sort of material or people who could tell him what was Christ's basic teaching and what was syncretistic or dogmatic teaching tacked on by the church. This means that if we ask ourselves what could have been the sources of his teaching we are left with only two alternative answers: divine revelation or an acuteness of reasoning and insight which, according to the Church's teaching, is a gift through the Grace of God.

It is not necessary to work through the growth of Muhammad's following and the establishment of the Islamic Community at Medina in detail. Let's take them as read, or reach for a reputable book on the subject, but it is necessary to look at Muhammad's basic beliefs

before moving on to the military and political confrontation between European Christianity and the Islamic Arab Empire.

No GOD BUT GOD

Muhammad preached with great vigour that there is no god but God. There is no room for prayer to another deity or to any subordinate god-form. There is not even room for the use of alternative names for God. To use or to allow any other names amounts to admitting polytheism.

That basic statement of faith was aimed firstly at polytheists and other pagans but it was also directed squarely at Christians. Jews have no trouble with it at all but Christians who adhere to the doctrine of the Trinity have real difficulty with it. The statement that God is comprised of three equal 'persons', namely God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit, is simply not reconcilable with the concept that only God is God and all other 'persons' or 'forms' or 'presences' are subordinate to God and are instruments of God's will.

The Arian Christians, as we have noted, did not accept the doctrine of the Trinity. They placed Jesus and the Holy Spirit as subject to God, and Muhammad therefore had no issue with them. However the Catholic Church had succeeded in almost totally persecuting or politicking them out of existence by the beginning of Muhammad's prophetic mission about 610. The last of the Arian rulers, the Lombards and Visigoths, had been coerced into Catholicism a few years earlier and the few remaining Arian communities were being either swamped or induced to forsake their 'heresy' for the true faith one by one.

There were marked similarities between the views of the Nestorians and the Arians in as much as the Nestorians believed there was a divine presence or influence in the man Jesus and that they were not united in a god-man. But, of course, there were none of them left in the empire of Rome and Constantinople either. They had all been expelled as heretics and had taken their dynamic missions into Persia and beyond. They and Muhammad each had a close understanding of the other's position on the issue and the founder of Islam reached an arrangement with the Nestorians more favourable than that which he permitted for the orthodox Christian church.

Naturally the Monophysites incurred the special displeasure of the prophet because of their belief that Jesus was totally divine. Their doctrine was open to gross misinterpretation and encouraged mystical beliefs, rites, and behaviour which Muhammad could only see as polytheism or the worship of two separate and equal gods. One bishop, Julian, at first of Halicarnassus on the Aegean coast and later in refuge at Alexandria, had a big influence in fostering extreme Monophysite views among sects in Egypt and Abyssinia, and quite probably in Arabia also in view of the links between the churches of those countries. He died long before Muhammad began preaching but the influence of his teaching, known by the ghastly term *Aphthartodocetae*, that Jesus' earthly body was incorruptible, immortal and totally free of feeling, suffering or emotion, had a lasting impact.²¹

It was, as we have seen, the Monophysites who were numerically strongest and most firmly established along the Red Sea coast of Arabia, in Abyssinia and in the Yemen. They therefore had a profound influence in determining Muslim attitudes towards the Christian Church. They were hard pressed to satisfy Muhammad and his followers that they worshipped one God and only God.

THE MESSIAH?

Muhammad has often been accused of giving Jesus nothing more than the status of a Jewish prophet. This has usually been to discredit him in the eyes of Trinitarian Christians but sometimes out of sheer ignorance of the Qur'an. While Muslims are encouraged to read the Bible to complement their study of the Qur'an it is indeed rare to hear a Christian minister encourage his congregation to pick up a copy of the Qur'an.

Jesus, repeatedly referred to in the Qur'an as "son of Mary," is given the title of Messiah in the context of being a sign to the Jews, and a guide whose life and teaching in the Gospel completes the law and prophecies of the Torah. His Messiahship is not disputed. It is supported very strongly. It is the definition, or the Christian interpretation of the status of Messiah which is disputed in the Qur'an.

We have revealed the Torah having guidance and light. By it, the prophets who surrendered themselves to Allah judged the Jews, and so did the rabbis and the divines, by what they were required to guard of Allah's books, and to what they are witnesses. [5:44]

After those prophets We sent forth Isa, [Jesus] the son of Mariam, confirming the Torah already revealed, and gave him the Gospel, in which there is guidance and light, corroborating that which was revealed before it in the Torah, a guide and an admonition to the righteous. Therefore let the followers of the Gospel judge in accordance with What Allah has revealed therein. Evil-doers are those that do not base their judgements on Allah's revelations. [5:46–47]

Say: 'People of the Book, you stand for nothing until you observe the Torah and the Gospel and that which is revealed to you from the Lord.' [5:68]

Unbelievers are those that say: 'Allah is al-Masih, [the Messiah] the son of Mariam.' For al-Masih himself said: 'Children of Israel, serve Allah, my Lord and your Lord.' He that worships other Gods besides Allah shall be forbidden Paradise by Allah, and his abode shall be in the Fire. The evil-doers shall have no helpers.

Unbelievers are those that say: 'Allah is one of three. There is but one God. If they do not desist from so saying, those of them that disbelieve shall be sternly punished.

Will they not turn to Allah in repentance and seek forgiveness of Him? He is Forgiving, Merciful.

Al-Masih, the son of Mariam, was no more than an apostle: other apostles had gone before him. His mother was a truthful woman. They both ate earthly food. [5:68, 71–75]

There could be no more direct call for Jews to recognize Jesus as the Messiah of Hebrew prophesy and for Christians to continue recognizing Judaism, than the way of the Torah and the Gospel are linked in that manner.

Say: 'People of the Book, Let us come to an equitable agreement among us that we will worship none but Allah, that we will associate none with Him, and that we will not set up one another lords besides Him.'

If they refuse, say: 'Bear witness that we are Muslims.' [3:63–64]

THE VIRGIN BIRTH

Similarly, Muhammad did not dispute Christ's Virgin birth. He taught that it was by God's command, not as an act of fatherhood in the sense of having a son and successor, but as a sign to the Jews. In line with that, the Qur'an states quite categorically that Mary, while virtuous and honoured, was in no sense mother of God or even mother of the Son of God.

Never has Allah begotten a son, nor is there any other God besides Him. Were this otherwise, each god would govern his own creation, each holding himself above the other. Exalted be Allah above their falsehoods! [23:91]

The angels said to Mariam: 'Allah bids you rejoice in a Word from Him. His name is al-Masih, Isa the son of Mariam. He shall be noble in this world and in the next, and shall be favoured by Allah. He shall speak to men in his cradle and in the prime of manhood, and shall lead a righteous life.'

'Lord,' she said, 'how can I bear a child when no man has touched me?'

He replied: 'Such is the will of Allah. He creates whom he will. When He decrees a thing, He need only say: "Be," and it is. He will instruct him in the Book and in wisdom, in the Torah and in the Gospel, and send him forth as an apostle to the children of Israel.' [3:45–48]

The same issue is taken up in other passages also.

'I am the messenger of your Lord,' he relied, 'and have come to give you a holy son.'

'How shall I bear a child,' she answered, 'when I am not touched by man and not unchaste?'

'Thus it will be,' your Lord said: 'That is easy for Me. And We shall make him a sign to mankind and a mercy from Us. This is Our decree.' [19:19–21]

MARY'S STATUS

In line with that belief, Muhammad was particularly vigorous in his preaching against Mariology and the concept of Mary as the mother of God. The Qur'an records:

Say: 'Allah is One, the Eternal God. He begot none, nor was He begotten. None in equal to Him.' [112:1–4]

In the context of the absolute, sole authority of God, that is as powerful, as definite as any statement in the Old Testament, including Moses' instructions to his people, Deuteronomy 4: 35, 39.

Say: 'None can protect me from Allah, nor can I find any refuge besides Him.' [72:22]

Say: 'Praise be to Allah who has never begotten a son; who has no partner in His sovereignty; who needs none to defend Him from humiliation.' Proclaim His greatness. [17:111]

Putting the spotlight squarely on statements attributed to Jesus by the writers of the Gospels a passage of the Qur'an says:

The Allah will say: 'Isa, son of Mariam, did you ever say to mankind: "Worship me and my mother as gods beside Allah?"'

'Glory to You,' he will answer, 'how could I say that to which I have no right? If I had ever said so, You would have surely known it. You know what is in my mind, but I cannot tell what is in Yours. You alone know what is hidden. I spoke to them of nothing except what You bade me. (I said): "Serve Allah, my Lord and your Lord." I watched over them whilst living in their midst, and ever since You took me to You, You Yourself have been watching over them. You are the witness to all things. If You punish them, they surely are Your servants; and if You forgive them, surely You are Mighty, Wise.' [5:116–118]

JESUS' DELEGATED AUTHORITY

But, in contrast to those denials of Jesus' equality with God, Muhammad reinforces Jesus' subordinate or delegated authority and his capacity to perform miracles in God's name time and time again.

Then Allah will say: 'Isa, son of Mariam, remember the favour I have bestowed on you and on your mother: how I strengthened you with the Holy Spirit, so that you preached to men in your cradle and in the prime of manhood; how I instructed you in the Book and in wisdom, in the Torah and in the Gospel; how by My leave you fashioned from clay the likeness of a bird and breathed into it so that, by My leave, it became a living bird; how, by My leave you healed the blind man and the leper, and by My leave restored the dead to life; and how I protected you from the Children of Israel when you brought them clear signs: thereupon the unbelievers among them said: "This is nothing but plain magic"; how when I enjoined the disciples to believe in Me and in My Apostle they replied: "We believe, bear witness that we submit,"' [5:110–111]

THE RESURRECTION

Similarly, Muhammad's understanding and acceptance of Christ's supernatural elevation to heaven with God, in an exalted position, and the force of God's final judgement is quite clear.

However whether this ‘elevation’ occurred after death and resurrection or otherwise by divine intervention is subject to debate.

They (the Jews) schemed, and Allah schemed. Allah is the supreme schemer. He said: “Isa, I am about to cause your term on earth to end and lift you up to Me. I shall take you away from those who disbelieve and exalt your followers above them till the Day of Resurrection. Then to Me you shall all return, and I shall judge your disputes. As for those who disbelieved, they shall be sternly punished in this world and in the world to come: there shall be none to help them. As for those that have faith and do good works, they shall be given their reward in full. Allah does not love the evil-doers. [3:55]

That verse, referring to disbelievers being sternly punished, gives heart to those Christians who have accepted that the church’s anti-Semitism was justified and then pursued it on the grounds that the Jews rejected Christ and “killed God.” It relates to the passage attributed to Jesus in which he commented on the fate of the Jews who “kill the prophets and stone those who are sent to you,” whose house would be left desolate and who “shall not see me anymore” until they say “Blessings on him who comes in the name of the Lord.” However it does not support such views. It is not a claim to divine status or to Trinitarian equality with God. It refers only to prophets and those sent in the name of the Lord. It also leaves open the question of Christ’s elevation and return or recognition, and the interpretation placed on it depends heavily on the interpretation of the words “see me any more.” In any case, as noted on other occasions, if the church or its adherents want to justify a particular position on the basis of a Qur’anic text they must recognize the validity of that text as a part of an equally valid total message revealed through a divinely inspired prophet. They have never been prepared to do that, so they therefore cannot hide behind texts selected in isolation. The passage from Matthew reads:

‘Jerusalem, Jerusalem, you that kill the prophets and stone those who are sent to you! How often have I longed to gather your children, as a hen gathers her chicks under her wings, and you refused! So be it! Your house will be left to you desolate, for, I promise, you shall not see me any more until you say: Blessings on him who comes in the name of the Lord.’ [Matthew 23:37–39 Jerusalem translation.]

That passage relates directly to the Qur’anic passage, sura 5:116–118, quoted above under Mary’s status. Sura 19, entitled ‘Mary’, concerns related matters of Jesus’ virgin birth, death and resurrection. It reads, in part:

... We bestowed on him wisdom while yet a child and (gave him) pity (for others) and purity; and he grew up a righteous man; honouring his father and mother, and neither arrogant nor rebellious. Peace on him on the day he was born and the day he dies; and may peace be on him when he is raised to life.

And you shall recount in the Book the story of Mariam: how she left her people and betook herself to a solitary place to the east.

TURN BACK THE CLOCK!

We sent to her Our spirit in the semblance of a full-grown man. And when she saw him she said: 'I take refuge in the Merciful from you! If you fear the Lord, (leave me and go your way).'

'I am the messenger of your Lord,' he replied, 'and have come to give you a holy son.'

'How shall I bear a child,' she answered, 'when I am not touched by man and not unchaste?'

'Thus it will be,' your Lord said: 'That is easy for Me. And We shall make him a sign to mankind and a mercy from Us. This is Our decree.'

Thereupon she conceived him, and retired to a far-off place. And when she felt the throes of childbirth she lay down by the trunk of a palm-tree, crying: 'Oh, would that I died before this and passed into oblivion!'

But (a voice) cried out to her: 'Do not despair. Your Lord has provided a brook that runs at your feet, and (if you) shake the trunk of this palm-tree it will drop fresh ripe dates upon you. Therefore eat and drink and rejoice, and should you meet any mortal say to him: "I have vowed a fast to the Merciful and will not speak with any man today."'

Carrying the child, she came to her people, who said to her: 'O Mariam, you have done an unusual thing. O sister of Harun, your father was never a man of evil, nor was your mother unchaste.'

She pointed to him. But they replied: 'How can we speak with a baby in the cradle?' (Whereupon) he said: 'I am the servant of Allah. He has given me the Book and made me a prophet. He made me blessed wherever I go, and He has commanded me to be steadfast in prayer and to give alms to the poor as long as I shall live. He has made me kind to my mother and not insolent, miserable. So peace be on me on the day I was born, and on the day I die; and may peace be upon me on the day when I shall be raised to life.'

Such was Isa, the son of Mariam. That is the (whole) truth, which they still doubt. Allah forbid that He Himself should beget a son! When He decrees a thing He only need say: 'Be,' and it is.

Allah is my Lord and your Lord: therefore serve Him. That is the right path.

Yet the sects are divided concerning Isa. But woe to the unbelievers when the grievous Day comes. How sharp will their sight and hearing be on the day when they appear before Us! Truly, the unbelievers are in the grossest error.

Forewarn them of that woeful day, when Our decrees shall be fulfilled whilst they heedlessly persist in unbelief. For We shall inherit the earth and all who dwell upon it. To Us, they shall return. [19:16–39]

The first thing which catches the attention of anyone familiar with the Bible is that this story bears no resemblance at all to the Gospel versions of Jesus' birth and that has been the basis of

Christian claims that Muhammad had gained only a smattering of Christian teaching from local sources. However such claims are untenable, given that Muhammad had as much contact as he did with numerous Christian communities, that he must therefore have had a basic or elementary knowledge of the Gospel stories and would have known of the inconsistency of what he was dictating, and that he repeatedly exhorted everyone to study ‘The Book’, consisting of both the Old and the New Testament. One such reference is in Sura 5: “Say: ‘People of the Book, you shall not be guided until you observe the Torah and the Gospel and that which is revealed to you from your Lord.’” If local church communities were the only source of Muhammad’s understanding then it would be an even more damning indictment of the church of that era than the evidence which has already been noted. Similarly, if he were trying to promote an alternative version of the Gospel stories he would hardly tell people to go off and read them and act on them.

The importance of that passage lies in the fact that Muhammad was confirming – very clearly and very forcefully – one of the most fundamental and vital messages about the way in which God was communicating with humanity through the Jewish people. That message was, essentially, that Jesus was born by divine intervention; that Mary was a virgin at the time that she conceived; that she was a specially chosen and favoured servant of God; that Jesus was ordained by God as a sign and a blessing to mankind; that he lived a pure life free of vanity and sin; and that he died and was raised to life. Furthermore it carries the powerful message that anyone in the Jewish community who did not believe it – as a whole package – was in serious error. Some Muslim scholars and many Christian writers rely on later sources, other than the Qur’an, to suggest that Muhammad denied Jesus’ death and said that he was lifted, alive, to heaven, thus by-passing the question of the resurrection. Such a position cannot be supported on the basis of these sections of the Qur’an.

ON JUDGEMENT, SAINTS AND SINNERS

On the question of personal responsibility and judgement, Muhammad’s preaching left no room for purgatory, prayer to saints, or the worship of relics and idols. Together with priestly intercession these all brought a stern rebuke.

No mortal to whom Allah has given the Book and whom He has endowed with judgement and prophethood would say to men: ‘Worship me instead of Allah.’ But rather: ‘Be devoted servants of Allah, for you have taught the Book and you have studied.’ Nor would he enjoin you to serve the angels and the prophets as your gods; for would he enjoin you to be unbelievers after you have surrendered yourself to Allah? [3:79–80]

And warn with it those who dread to be brought before their Lord that they have no guardian or intercessor besides Allah, so that they may guard themselves against evil. Do not drive away those that call on their Lord morning and evening, seeking only to gain His favour. You are not by any means accountable for them, nor are they accountable for you. If you drive them away, you shall yourself become an evil-doer. [6:51]

TURN BACK THE CLOCK!

Avoid those who treat faith as a sport and a pastime and are seduced by the life of this world. Admonish them hereby lest a soul be damned by its own sins. It has no guardian or intercessor besides Allah: and though it offers every ransom, it shall not be accepted from it. Such are those that are damned by their deeds. They shall drink boiling water and be sternly punished for their unbelief. [6:70]

The places of worship are built for Allah's worship; invoke in them no other (god) besides Him. When His servant rose to pray to Him, they pressed round him in multitudes.

Say: 'I will pray to my Lord and associate none with Him.'

Say: 'I have no control over any good or evil that befalls you.'

Say: 'None can protect me from Allah, nor can I find any refuge besides Him. (My mission is) only to make known His messages; those that disobey Allah and His Apostle shall abide for ever in the fire of Hell.' [72:17-23]

The sharp contrast between Muhammad's message and the teachings of Augustine and Gregory, and the conduct of the church during the previous several centuries, was clear for everyone to see. In view of what we now know about the church's self-understanding and conduct we should not be surprised at the way it responded to the challenge of Muhammad's message, even if we are dismayed. But we should not lose sight of the fact that Muhammad left no room for the Jews to misinterpret their fate for having failed to accept Jesus as the foreshadowed Messiah, either.

THE PEOPLE OF THE BOOK AND MUHAMMAD'S SELF-UNDERSTANDING

O believers, be Allah's helpers. When Isa the son of Mariam said to the disciples: 'Who will come with me to the help of Allah?' they replied: 'We are Allah's helpers.'

Some of the Children of Israel believed in him while others did not. We aided the believers against their enemies and they triumphed over them. [61:14]

Say: 'People of the Book, why do you deny the revelations of Allah? He bears witness to all your actions.' [3:98]

[Unbelievers] have incurred the wrath of Allah and have been utterly humbled: because they disbelieved His revelations and slew His prophets unjustly; and because they were rebels and transgressors.

Yet they are not all alike. There are among the People of the Book some upright men who all night long recite the revelations of Allah and pray; who believe in Allah and the Last Day; who enjoin justice and forbid evil and vie with each other in good works. These are righteous men: whatever good they do, shall not be denied them. Allah knows the righteous.

TURN BACK THE CLOCK!

As for the unbelievers, neither their riches nor their children shall in the least protect them from Allah. They are the people of the Fire, and there they shall remain for ever. The wealth they spend in this world is like a freezing wind that smites the harvest of men who have wronged themselves, laying them waste. Allah has not wronged them; but they wrong themselves. [3:112–117]

Contrary to the belief promoted by the church and widely held among Christians, Muhammad did not see himself as on the same plane as Jesus. He understood himself to be an additional prophet, coming after Jesus to confirm Jesus' Messiahship and the word of Allah. He knew that he would be accused of being a false prophet and an impostor and the following passage shows that he also understood very clearly the personal consequences of false prophesy.

... The revelation of the Book is from Allah, the Mighty One, the Wise One. [46:1]

When Our clear revelations are recited to them, the unbelievers say of the truth: 'This is plain magic.' Do they say: 'He has invented it himself?'

Say: 'If I have indeed invented it, then there is nothing you can do to protect me from (the wrath) of Allah. He well knows what you say about it. He is an all-sufficient witness between me and you. He is the Benignant One, the Merciful.'

Say: 'I am no prodigy among the apostles; nor do I know what will be done with me or you. I follow only what is revealed to me, and my only duty is to give plain warning.' [46:7–9]

And again:

Muhammad is no more than an apostle: other apostles have passed away before him. If he die or is slain, will you recant? He that recants will do no harm to Allah. But Allah will reward the thankful. [3:143–144]

TOTAL SUBMISSION

The aspect of Muhammad's teaching which is best known among Christians is the apparent severity of his call for total submission to the will of God, from which the name of his religious renewal movement was taken. He is portrayed as preaching a God of harsh judgement, almost unforgiving. This is understandable in view of the fact that his task was to call the church back into line and to give plain warning to those responsible for the contamination of the Messianic message with Trinitarian theology, Mariology, and with a lot of priestly paraphernalia and other erroneous distractions. The most severe passages are directed not at those who had to carry millstones around their necks but at those who placed them there: the religious leaders and teachers. It is also understandable in terms of the situation in which he was preaching: the conflict, corruption and social disorder. After all, and it bears repeating, his role was not to deliver the Messianic message of God's love and the promise of Salvation for all mankind but to confirm that it had already been delivered through Jesus of Nazareth. It is no wonder the Church didn't take very kindly to his message. Similarly, it is not surprising that the Jews did

not take kindly to it either. They were repeatedly rebuked for failing to accept Jesus as Messiah. The term ‘unbeliever’ is used in the Qur’an basically to describe two groups: the Jews who did not accept Jesus as Messiah, and the Christians who claimed that Jesus, the Messiah, was son of God, equal to God or coexistent with God.

However, to portray Muhammad’s message with such a heavy emphasis on judgement is to do both the prophet and his message an injustice. The message of love and forgiveness comes through loud and clear when one is prepared to listen. Almost every Sura begins with the expression “In the name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful.” It is as if the Reformed Churches have paraphrased that Qur’anic expression in their widely used catch phrase “God is Love.” And quite apart from the often repeated Qur’anic command to read and live by the Gospel of Jesus, there are passages such as Sura 93 entitled “Daylight.”

By the light of day, and by the night when it falls, your Lord has not forsaken you, nor does He abhor you.

The life to come holds a richer prize for you than this present life. Surely your Lord will give you what will please you.

Did He not find you an orphan and give you shelter?

Did He not find you wandering and guide you?

Did He not find you poor and enrich you?

Therefore do not oppress the orphan, nor drive away the beggar. But proclaim the bounty of your Lord. [93:1–11]

As the circumstances of his ministry show quite clearly, Muhammad was working and preaching under enormous pressure. Try as he might to stick strictly to unembellished elements of faith and teaching, he found that if he was going to maintain the momentum of his response to God’s call it was impossible to avoid syncretism and the adoption of practices which gave his movement a regional identity. In his impatience to push on he went the way of the early Christian church.

He adopted the Nestorian Christian practice of praying on his knees with his head bowed to the ground. And who could criticize that? There are few more humble postures.

JERUSALEM AND MECCA

A key practice which Muhammad introduced was that of turning to face in the direction of Jerusalem during prayer. This was probably after his vision of Jerusalem and a heavenly encounter with Allah, Jesus, the prophets, Moses and Abraham, set at about 620, but this is uncertain. It may have simply been in recognition of the fact that Jerusalem is the holy city of the continuing Yahwist tradition of which he knew himself to be a part. However, politics

subsequently had a great deal to do with his decision to adopt Mecca as the focal point of prayer and religious observance in place of Jerusalem.

Muhammad was responding to the growing Arab nationalism which was pressing in around him and the change, in effect, completed the Arabization of his movement. It certainly made the capture of Mecca a lot easier in 630 and drew many additional tribes into allegiance with him. In addition he may have been actively snubbing the Jews. He had, until then, been trying to imitate the basic forms of their services of worship, probably in recognition of the fact that it was their community which had become the basic vehicle for divine revelation. But many of them regarded him as an impostor with a very inferior knowledge of Judaism and their contempt for his claims and his services of worship was very thinly concealed. He soon realized that it was not only counterproductive to try to imitate them, but that to do so also locked him into a defensive position in which he had to justify or explain the incompleteness of his knowledge of their practices. He could not avoid establishing distinctive practices. He developed prayer, almsgiving, fasting and public devotion as Muslim practices. In doing that, he was, as much as he wanted to avoid it, establishing a new and competitive religious tradition.

Again, if he was to gain the confidence of the bulk of the pagan nomadic tribesmen and the merchant class he had to avoid changing their lifestyle and their religious habits more than necessary. The annual pilgrimages to their shrines gave him an excellent opportunity to gain their support. He declared the pilgrimage to be a Muslim practice and the Ka'ba at Mecca to be a holy shrine of Islam. In step with Christianity all the way to the Pantheon!

Expansion of his young movement at such a pace was bound to bring Muhammad into conflict with the powers and tribes who didn't care for his ideas. It did. That was one justification for him to build an army around himself. But expansion requires expansion to sustain itself like industrial expansion and inflation. There is no stopping any of them once they reach a certain pace, without pulling the supports out from under them.

JUSTIFICATION

On top of that, Muhammad preached justification by support of the faith, as well as a concept much like the Christian concept of justification by faith. This was all that was needed to attract tribes of vigorous warlike nomads to his faith and his banner and to provide the forces which would sweep both Islam and the Arab Empire, or vice versa, across the Persian and Byzantine empires within a few years of the prophet's death.

Believers, have fear of Allah and seek the means by which you get His favor. Fight valiantly for His cause, so that you may triumph. [5:35]

However Christians should not be too concerned about the tone of that message. Non-Christians have just as much reason to be concerned about the words of hymns such as 'Onward Christian soldiers marching as to war,' or 'Soldiers of Christ arise, and put your armour on,' or

whatever else the Crusaders sung as they slaughtered their way through Jerusalem and a host of other places.

Permission (to take up arms) is hereby given to those who are attacked, because they have been wronged. Allah has power to grant them victory: those who have been unjustly driven from their homes, only because they said: 'Our Lord is Allah.' Had Allah not repelled some men by the might of others, the monasteries and churches, the synagogues and mosques in which Allah's name is frequently remembered, would have been utterly destroyed. But whoever helps Allah shall be helped by Him. Allah is truly Powerful and Mighty: (He will assuredly help) those who, once made masters in the lands, will attend to their prayers and pay the alms-tax, enjoin justice and forbid evil. Allah controls the destiny of all things. [22:39–41]

This passage, with references to the divine defence of places of worship of each of Christianity, Judaism and Islam makes it perfectly clear that Muhammad's mission and personal intention was not to supplant one or both of his partners in Abrahamic faith, but to complement them and clarify or clean up those aspects of their theology and practices in which they had been side-tracked – or had run right off the rails – and which were therefore subverting or reducing their capacity and their ability to act in accordance with divine will and to fulfill the purposes for which they were established. His supreme confidence in the absolute, unqualified and unqualifiable supremacy of God and God's ultimate control of all things is illustrated by the final sentence of that passage: "Allah controls the destiny of all things." That leads us directly into consideration of the Night Journey.

THE NIGHT JOURNEY

Here we have what may appear to be an anomaly in Islam and Muhammad's teaching. While he was systematically dismantling the non-Gospel based practices and teachings of Christianity such as Mariology, idolatry, priestly intercession, purgatory and, above all, the Doctrine of the Trinity, he introduced a doctrine of predestination which is very similar to the views of Augustine. Islam teaches complete submission to God's will, and that is usually taken by Christian observers to mean submission in terms of obedience to both the revealed scriptures, and God's will as it may be interpreted by believers from time to time. In view of Muhammad's emphasis on justice and mercy it therefore comes as surprise to read passages such as:

He whom Allah guides is rightly guided, but he whom Allah leaves in error shall surely be lost.

We have predestined for Hell many jinn and many men. They have hearts, yet they cannot understand; eyes, yet they do not see; and ears, yet they do not hear. They are like cattle – indeed, they are the more misguided. Such are the heedless. [7:178–180]

People in the West are generally comfortable with the idea that God 'guides,' but they are less comfortable with the idea that God might predestine them to eternal damnation in Hell, and they have come under the influence of translations such as that of Dawood in which the words

‘he who is led astray’ are used instead of ‘he whom Allah leaves in error’. The words “leaves in error,” indicate a deliberate decision on the part of God not to intervene to prevent an action which is contrary to the normal understanding of scripture. This clearly indicates uninhibited human freewill or choice in decisions to be made. It helps make sense of the concept of divine judgement, and it also indicates that salvation is not automatic for a believer who disregards the obligations implicit in being a believer. When that is related to the use of the term “rightly guided” in a positive sense, it suggests that the word “predestined,” when used in conjunction with a passage to Hell, indicates that a framework of judgement is in place and a person is predestined by the nature of a personal decision to err which falls within that framework. The idea that a divine decision has been taken in advance and that the life of a person has been decided in advance or ‘programmed’ so that he or she will take a definite action or adopt a particular position because God has prescribed it, is not consistent with the concept that God may leave a person in error.

However, the use of the words “led astray” in the Dawood translation in place of “leaves in error” indicates direct intervention by God to ensure a definite action contrary to the normal understanding of scripture. It places both terms (‘led astray’ and ‘predestined’) in the same context, denoting positive decisions by God in relation to human action and fate, and indicating that a definite action is to be taken, or a position is to be adopted, or a fate is to be fulfilled as prescribed by God. It therefore makes an understanding of the Night Journey much more difficult because of the implicit denial of human freewill.

In the circumstances, and given the subtleties of language, it is no wonder that scholars have struggled with such passages for years, and that they have had a profound impact on many communities of Muslims, tending to encourage acceptance of situations and actions by other people which might otherwise not have been tolerated. This sense of reluctance to challenge the authority of employers, others in superior positions, or governments is clearly not peculiar to Islam. It occurs among people of other religions as well, and in some circumstances employers and governments have been quick to exploit it. Notable among such situations was the readiness of employers in Britain and the colonies to take advantage of the religious ethics of Calvinism and early Methodism to exploit industrial workers, (especially but not only industrial workers), who saw it as a Christian’s responsibility to accept and tolerate the circumstances of whatever subordinate or menial positions they held, and whatever were the prevailing working conditions. There was an anomaly in the special appeal of Wesley’s ministry to that section of the population and the way in which it could, for a time, be exploited.

The most widely accepted understanding of that passage on predestination in the approved Zayid translation, as quoted, appears to be that although each individual action is not foreordained, the individual goes in the direction of that action and “acquires” it by identifying with it in earlier actions of self-will, and so becomes responsible for it.²² However, when it is related to passages from the Night Journey it begins to take on special significance. The key passage in the approved translation reads:

TURN BACK THE CLOCK!

The works of each man We have bound about his neck. On the Day of Resurrection, We shall confront him with a book spread wide open, (saying): ‘Read your book. Enough for you this day that your own soul should call you to account.’

He that seeks guidance shall be guided to his own advantage, but he that errs shall err at his own peril. No soul shall bear another’s burden. Nor do We punish until we have sent forth an apostle.

When We resolve to annihilate a town, We first command those that live in luxury (to obey Us). But they transgress therein. Thus the sentence is justly pronounced against it and We utterly destroy it.

How many generations have We destroyed since Nuh’s time! It is sufficient that your Lord knows and sees His servant’s sins. [17:13–17]

When the words “he that errs shall err at his own peril” are linked with the words “the works of each man We have bound about his neck” it indicates that one’s fate is influenced, or determined, by the record of one’s works. This is consistent with the idea in the passages quoted above of a person who has ‘erred’ being ‘predestined’ to Hell, but it does not preclude the idea of a ‘review’ by God, the Merciful and Compassionate. In fact that idea of a ‘review’ by God, the Merciful and Compassionate, is quite specifically referred to in a later verse in the same sura, the Night Journey.

Say: “Sufficient is Allah as a witness between me and you. He knows and observes His servants.”

Those whom Allah guides are rightly guided; but those who He leaves in error shall find no friend besides Him. We shall gather them all on the Day of Resurrection, prostrate upon their faces, deaf, dumb, and blind. Hell shall be their abode: whenever its flames die down, We will rekindle them into a greater fire. [17:96–97]

The words “those who He leaves in error shall find no friend besides Him” is as clear and definite a statement as one will find that compassion and judgement go hand in hand in God’s dealings with humanity – individually as well as on a whole-of-humanity basis. But it is equally clear and definite from the words which follow that the promise of God’s compassion is not to be taken as a ‘let out’ for a last minute pang of conscience, rites of indulgence, absolution or any other form of earthly penance. God alone will determine the status of human repentance, and the clap of thunder of divine judgement is firmly in place: “We shall gather them all on the Day of Resurrection ... Hell shall be their abode ...”

However, the Dawood translation uses the word “fate” instead of “works” and changes the whole complexion of that particular passage of the Night Journey. The use of the word “fate” corresponds with the use of the words “led astray” in relation to the concept of predestination in the previous passage quoted, and it makes an understanding of the Night Journey more difficult. A reader may well ask: “If one’s fate has been predetermined and is hung around one’s neck like a millstone, what room is there for freewill? What point is there in seeking guidance or responding to that guidance? What point is there in talking of repentance and acceptance by a loving and compassionate God?” So, as we

consider the significance of the Night Journey it is the words of the approved translation, as quoted, which we should have in mind.

The Sura of the Qur'an titled The Night Journey, of which the passages now quoted are only a small portion, reflects the theme of a vision of a journey by the prophet in company with the angel Gabriel "from the Sacred Temple to the Farther Temple" and sets down revelation received by Muhammad during that vision. In relation to that vision the Qur'an deals strictly with Allah's commands and revelation to Muhammad. However extended versions were recorded by colleagues who discussed the vision with the prophet. These included a great deal of detail about preparation for the journey with the angel Gabriel, and meetings with Jesus, the prophets, Moses, Abraham and other figures of Jewish history. In turn these versions have been subject to embellishment and mythology so that in the versions available to us today it is impossible to be certain where the vision as dictated by Muhammad and later myths begin and end. In fact some Muslim commentators do not regard the incident as a vision but as literal history, and when one is concerned with understanding its meaning it matters little whether it was an inspired vision or an historical event. Actually, Christians who accept as facts the death, resurrection and return of the Messiah – or all those who accept other supernatural events such as the appearance of Moses and Elijah with Jesus in the Transfiguration (Mark 9:2–8), Jesus' appearances to the disciples in locked rooms in Jerusalem (John 20:19–29) or the events of Pentecost (Acts 2:1–36) – should be very careful in entering the debate at all, unless it is to support the proposition. They may find themselves contradicting their own beliefs in supernatural occurrences and denying the absolute and never ending power of God to exercise divine intervention.

A FOCUS FOR CONTROVERSY

What is important is that the Night Journey is central to the controversy between Jews and Muslims. It is the basis of the annual Muslim festival of the Night of the Prophet's Ascension. It provides a direct basis for Muslim attachment to the Holy City of Jerusalem and it was the most important reason for the erection of the magnificent Qubbat al-Sakhra Mosque, known as the Dome of the Rock, in 691, together with the adjacent much larger al-Aqsa Mosque. The Dome of the Rock sits directly on the site of the former King Solomon's Temple on Mount Moriah. It encompasses the rock regarded by the devout of both faiths as the centre of the world, and which carries a mark said to be the hoof mark of the beast which carried Muhammad to heaven with Gabriel on the Night Journey.

While the political and interfaith considerations which flow from this situation are enormous, the extended story of the Night Journey is very important on its own account even though it has not been included in the Qur'an.²³ It has much the same character as the final book in the New Testament, the Book of Revelation, which most Christians are content to leave in the too-hard basket. So! When we look at the Qur'an's pronouncements on predestination against that background we may see them in a different light.

The key passage in the Night Journey is a prophetic pronouncement on the fate of the Jewish community in the event that the community, as a whole, were to 'return to mischief' or again transgress against its neighbours. There have been times when Christians have sought to exploit it on the gross misunderstanding that it is a simple piece of anti-Jewish rhetoric and it became a very convenient addition to the church's anti-Semitic armoury. But now, in the twentieth century, we are concerned with the need to understand that prophecy in the contemporary context, taking into consideration events which occurred during the century just past.

The Night Journey is quite specifically directed to the Jews as a community. It is not a general statement warning humanity-at-large of divine retribution for breaking divine laws, nor does it provide an example to illustrate the concept that 'punishment should fit the crime.' It is therefore necessary to look at the word 'transgress' in the context of the Covenant of Sinai. But first, the key passage from the Night Journey.

We gave Musa [Moses] the Book and made it a guide for the Children of Israel (enjoining): 'Take no other guardian than Myself. (You are) the descendants of those whom We carried in the Ark with Nuh. [Noah] He was a truly thankful servant.'

And We declared to the Children of Israel in the Book: 'Twice you shall commit evil in the land. You shall become great transgressors.'

And when the first of the two declarations came to be fulfilled, We sent against you a mighty (group) of Our servants who ravaged your land. And it was an accomplished threat.

Then We granted you the other round against them and aided you with wealth and children, and made you increase in number. (We said): 'If you do good, it shall be to your own advantage; but if you do evil, you shall sin against yourselves.'

And when the second proclamation came to pass, (We raised another people) to afflict you and to enter the Mosque as they entered it the first time and utterly destroy whatever they conquered.

It may be that Allah will have mercy on you. But if you return (to mischief), We will return (with punishment). We have made Hell a prison-house for the unbelievers.

This Qur'an will guide to that which is most upright. It promises the believers who do good works a rich reward, and threatens those who deny the life to come with a grievous scourge. Yet man prays for evil as fervently as he prays for good. Truly, man is ever hasty.
[17:2-11] ^{24 25}

The first two armies which were sent to afflict the Jews are taken to be the Assyrians and the Romans.²⁶ Then, after the second dispersion of the Jews at the hands of the Romans in 135 there was no opportunity for such a transgression by the Jewish people as a nation or no circumstances in which such transgression could occur until the twentieth century.

The most significant fact about the Night Journey, however, is not that it was a prophesy that a third transgression would take place. Rather, the prophesy related to the consequences for the Jewish community if a third transgression occurred. It therefore follows that if a third

transgression had not occurred, the consequences would not have been triggered and the prophecy would have remained an interesting topic for discussion among scholars of religion – much like the New Testament Book of Revelation – unfulfilled. The fact of a prophecy of the consequences of a third transgression indicate that, contrary to the church's long-held claim, the people of Judaism were not shut out of the divine plan that humanity should live in peace and harmony, and that, as a community, they were predestined to continue in their role as an instrument of God's will. This is consistent with Hebrew self-understanding that its people, as a community, are called to live according to divine guidelines and, in doing so, to lead humanity to an understanding of its relationship with God.

This is reinforced by the fact that the prophecy of the Night Journey was delivered in the context of the religious understanding of the Jewish community and its obligations. The terms 'transgress' and 'transgressor' must therefore be interpreted in the light of the unique role of the Jewish people and the covenants which bound them to God. Those covenants, and in particular the fourth, which is commonly known as the Covenant of Sinai, lost none of their significance by the fact of the birth and ministry of Jesus of Nazareth and the establishment of the Christian Church, nor by the subsequent fact of the ministry of the Prophet Muhammad and the establishment of Islam.

As the church progressively developed its own self-understanding and its links into the state structures of the day it claimed that the Covenant of Sinai was null and void as a consequence of the Jews' failure to recognize Jesus of Nazareth as Messiah, and that the New Covenant had superseded it. However Muhammad never made any such suggestion. In fact his utterance of the prophesy of the Night Journey is the most dynamic confirmation of its continuing relevance that there could possibly be. Similarly, there is no record that Jesus regarded the Covenant of Sinai as having been repudiated by God. He simply added another one, confirming at the same time that the Law and the Prophets remained valid for ever! (Matthew 5:17–19) He had no argument with Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist, who had said, in reference to the coming Messianic ministry: "Blessed be the Lord, the God of Israel ... (who) ... shows mercy to our ancestors, thus he remembers his holy covenant, the oath he swore to our father Abraham ..." (Luke 1:68–73) Certainly, Jesus was trenchantly critical of some Jewish authorities and their practices, as shown by the way in which he harangued the scribes and Pharisees, (Matthew 23) and he promised the people of Jerusalem: "...you shall not see me any more until you say: 'Blessings on him who comes in the name of the Lord!'" (Matthew 23:37–39. *Emphasis added.*) But he did not say: "Your covenant (or our covenant) has been repudiated." Neither did the Apostle Paul. Writing about the Abrahamic covenants he said that no law could make God's promise meaningless and added: "If you inherit something as a legal right, it does not come to you as the result of a promise, and it was precisely in the form of a promise that God made his gift to Abraham." (Galatians 3:10–18)

It is within this context that we must look at the implications of the Night Journey. We shall look at several points in sequence.

But, before that, there is another matter of prophesy – not generated within the Islamic or the Christian streams but within Judaism itself during the Christian Era – which relates directly to the Night Journey and must be seen in context with it. It is the understanding of the circumstances in which the state of Israel would be re-established, in due course, which was expressed by the Spanish Jewish scholar, Maimonides, about six hundred years after Muhammad. We shall come to the details of Maimonides' life and teaching soon enough, and in due course we shall examine in detail the way in which the two matters interlocked during the twentieth century. But, briefly, Maimonides foresaw that the Jewish community would be relieved of its enforced dispersion and that a state of Israel would be established in association with a war of Gog and Magog, after which humanity would move towards a better understanding of its relationship with God, and the Messianic Era of peace and harmony, or stability, would be ushered in.

Now: the several points concerning the predestination of the Jewish community that flow from the Night Journey.

A MATTER OF TRANSGRESSION ...

As noted, one important aspect of that act of predestination prophesied in the Qur'anic Night Journey, for which the Prophet Muhammad was the vehicle, is that the Jewish community might, in due course, transgress against its neighbours. If they did so, the most conspicuous aspect of the prophecy, the 'penal clause,' would come into effect.

Those aspects are straight forward enough, but a significant factor in the Jewish community's role as an instrument of divine intervention, is that its experience of transgression and suffering served a wider divine purpose. At critical times during Hebrew history divine intervention has been clearly recognizable. The Jewish people have been party to, or have been subject to, events in a manner which appeared to be beyond their control. This is illustrated in Jeremiah in which we are told that the Babylonians, having been an instrument for judgement against Israel, then rejected the opportunity to learn from and to recognize the understanding of God which was held by the people who were then under bondage to them. They abused their authority and suffered overthrow themselves at the hands of their neighbours. That mechanism of judgement is not restricted to nations or communities of believers. Jeremiah also made that clear in discussing relations between the twin pagan powers, Egypt and Babylon.

This brings us to a third aspect or implication of the prophecy. The Jewish community was predestined to act as the focus of divine intervention in the event that the dominant power or powers of the time – at some future point – would act in a manner which justified such divine intervention against them to protect the human rights of other peoples.

In other words, the Night Journey confirmed that the mechanism for divine judgement against powers was not changing from that which is illustrated in numerous situations in the Old Testament. Conduct which led to broken relationships because of the abuse of one people by another incurred judgement which involved eventual retaliation by the aggrieved people, or

intervention by another power, with the role of Jewish community, as the People of God's Covenant, being to act as a focal point for such events. But this implies a further aspect of the prophecy, the fourth.

As a community of faith the Jewish community was to be – is still to be – a body or an instrument through which the continuity and the nature of Divine Law could be demonstrated for all humanity to see and to understand without there being rigid rules of conduct or restrictions imposed on humanity which would contradict the God-given human capacity and opportunity to make value judgements and decisions, and to act in total free will.

At the time that the prophecy of the Night Journey was delivered, and as time passed, it was easy for the church to ignore the entire prophecy, and especially the third and subsequent aspects. It certainly did not wish to recognize them because to do so implied recognizing the validity of the whole of Muhammad's ministry. That was totally unacceptable. When it chose to give it any validity at all, it chose to interpret only the first two aspects which supported or justified the church's claims that the Jews were rejected, lost, and gone for ever and it was therefore able to treat the prophecy as justification for the church's anti-Semitism. They could then go the next step and interpret the prophecy to mean that God was simply saying to the Jews: "You have forsaken me. Put your foot out of line and I, Yahweh, will jump on it." This gave the church the justification it wanted for 'jumping on it' anyway because, in its erroneous self-understanding, it was the exclusive and divinely appointed representative on earth of God and therefore entitled to act on that authority as it saw fit. If God wanted the Jews punished it was very happy to oblige!

... BY TWO OF THE PARTNERS

In due course the dominant Christian powers of the world community – the amorphous Christian gel – did fail, miserably, in their particular responsibility, with enormous transgressions against both the world at large, during the European Colonial Era, and the Jewish communities of Europe. This placed the Jewish community in the situation envisaged in the prophecy. Consequently it transgressed against the people living in the region of Palestine in which it chose to re-establish a national home, and a critical aspect of its predestination – the penal clause – came into play. It cannot be regarded as directly a penalty for failing to act on the Messianic message. That failure or, as the church puts it, rejection of the Messiah, is the reason which the church has always given to justify its anti-Semitism. It is important to recognize the difference between rejection, failure to recognize and disbelief. Few people would dispute that some of the Jewish authorities rejected Jesus outright. Others did not, and there was considerable confusion and politicking. It is noteworthy that the Qur'anic term which describes the people and their overall response translates as 'unbelievers' which implies scepticism and disbelief rather than rejection. But it is not a crime to fail to recognize something or somebody, or to fail to understand something, or to be unable to accept something as a belief. Those are

only matters of human frailty or human response. The penalty is associated with the transgression against an obligation under the Divine Covenant

It is natural for Western Christians to think of 'transgression' in terms of the dominant Western philosophy and legal framework of the current or immediate past decades, and to think of offences under a criminal law code or some other rigid statute. But because of the way our laws have been framed, it has often been possible to abuse one's neighbour's civil rights or rights concerning the use of land, or to prevent them from enjoying the benefits of a normal relationship or a facility which should be generally available, and to do these things in such a way that they do not constitute an indictable offence. Similarly, it is very easy indeed for people to act in a belligerent manner, to withhold a welcome or to make life so difficult that neighbours feel so unwanted, so distressed, so fearful for their personal safety that they have no real option than to withdraw from the community, leave, sell their property and even migrate. Such conduct may not constitute an offence against a statute of parliament, but it certainly contravenes the spirit of compassion and brotherly love which is supposed to underpin our system.

In other words, personal or communal conduct may be quite oppressive and against the spirit of a law or the obligations of a covenant without being against the letter of the law. In addition there is another consideration. Like beauty, transgression is very much in the eye of the beholder, especially when conflicts of interest are involved. An action or a campaign by one community against another may be described by the one carrying it out, or by an outsider, as legitimate and defensive. But to the one against which it is carried out, or to a different outsider, it may not be at all legitimate. It may be offensive or oppressive. And if one of the outsiders has an interest in the effects or the outcome of the action, then its view will be greatly influenced by that interest. In view of these issues, if we think in contemporary legalistic terms we are distracted from the wider implications of broken community and interfaith relations.

SINAI: A COVENANT FOR ALL TIME!

Now, the Covenant of Sinai. Tradition tells us that the entire Jewish nation was released from bondage in Egypt some time during the thirteenth century BCE, or earlier, and that it trekked for several months through the wilderness of the Sinai Peninsula under the leadership of Moses before the people pitched camp at the foot of Mount Sinai. There is no certainty – in fact there is disagreement and confusion – about the number of people involved, the route they took, and when the release and the trek took place. Some scholars argue that only a few thousand people were involved in a series of such treks over a long period. Others maintain that one mass exodus occurred and that it involved up to 600,000 men in a total population of up to two million. That is a scenario which is extremely hard to support in the known circumstances of the time.²⁷ However the details are not important. We can accept that at some stage an encampment occurred at Mt. Sinai and that the Jewish emigrants must have been rather despondent and wandering what their future held, even though they had set out in an atmosphere of expectation. Within a few days, after a traumatic experience of direct divine intervention they realized that

they had been set apart from the rest of the world – permanently. Moses had delivered to them a message from God.

“... if you obey my voice and hold fast to my covenant, you of all the nations shall be my very own for all the earth is mine. I will count you a kingdom of priests, a consecrated nation.”
(Exodus 19:5–6)

They were within the world community, certainly, and a vital part of it, but set apart – permanently. No time limits. No ‘contract variations.’ No repudiation. No release. Moses had also delivered the main ‘strings’ which went with that divine promise: the Decalogue, or the Ten Commandments. Subsequently those strings were fleshed out with more details, conditions and requirements which, together made up the Jewish Law, known as the Torah, which is contained in the books of the Pentateuch or the first section of the Hebrew Bible.

That Jewish community had been set apart in the sense that it was the first to recognize and to proclaim the uniqueness of God, the immutability of divine law and their irreversible obligation to respond to it – through having been confronted by the Divine Reality. God alone was to be worshipped. Not the founders of the faith or successive generations of prophets. They were simply instruments of the Divine Will. Not the Ark of the Covenant which they were instructed to build to contain the Testimony of the Covenant. That was to be the focal point of worship and a constant reminder of their obligations under the Covenant. It was not to be the object of worship. And certainly neither was the law. That was simply to be obeyed in response to the Covenant. As Meir Meiseles states when discussing the mission of Israel:

[They] handed down their traditions of moral excellency to their descendants. On this account the Jewish people were singled out as G-d’s people with a mission to themselves and the world. By their conduct they set an example to the nations, and through their Dispersion the knowledge of G-d’s word was willy nilly spread to the furthestmost corners of the earth.

The privilege of being Chosen, has carried with it a grave responsibility from the very moment our ancestors accepted the Torah on Sinai. This consciousness of our special role as guardian of the Divine law has been regarded as a sign of His love and affection. ... The uniqueness of G-d is paralleled by the uniqueness of Israel. It bespeaks a relationship of mutual uniqueness.²⁸

In that context we now turn again to the Night Journey. As noted, the first two armies which were sent to afflict the Jews are taken to be the Assyrians and the Romans.²⁹ Then, after the second dispersion of the Jews at the hands of the Romans in 135 there was no opportunity for such a transgression by the Jewish people as a nation or no circumstances in which such transgression could occur until the twentieth century. Circumstances then changed as a result of the oppression of Jews in Christian Europe. That oppression provided the stimulus and the justification for the establishment of the World Zionist Organization which became the organizational base to plan for, and to establish, a substantial new Jewish community, relieved of a ghetto environment, which ultimately became the State of Israel. That oppression of the Jewish community by a church which had lost its way, and the need for relief therefore also led

to, or stimulated, the potential and the opportunity for communal or corporate transgression in the terms of the ongoing Covenant of Sinai and the Night Journey. That potential for transgression need not have been developed into a reality. The Jewish community was under a continuing obligation under the Covenant of Sinai to ensure that it did not become a reality, and its own teaching and history clearly indicated the consequences of a breach of the Covenant. The preamble to the statement of the Covenant reads:

Moses then went up to God, and Yahweh called to him from the mountain, saying: ‘Say this to the House of Jacob, declare this to the sons of Israel, “You yourselves have seen what I did to the Egyptians, how I carried you on eagle’s wings and brought you to myself. From this you will know that if you obey my voice and hold fast to my covenant, you of all the nations shall be my very own for all the earth is mine. I will count you a kingdom of priests, a consecrated nation.” (Exodus 19:3–6. Emphasis added.)

There is no ambiguity in those words. Recognition as “a kingdom of priests, a consecrated nation” is conditional upon obedience. But the permanence of the Covenant is not said to be conditional: only the status and recognition. And in the context of rebellion when the migrants rose against their own leaders because of the difficulty they were going to have in settling the area selected for them, Moses attributed to God the words:

“Yahweh is slow to anger and rich in graciousness, forgiving faults and transgression, and yet letting nothing go unchecked, punishing the father’s fault in the sons to the third and fourth generation.” (Numbers 14:18)

Similarly there is no ambiguity in those words. Punishment for breeches of the Covenant will certainly be imposed but, again, there is no suggestion that the permanence of the Covenant is affected. This leads us to the question of which obligations under the Covenant of Sinai and the Torah became critical in the context of the pressure which the Jewish community was under to convert the potential for transgression into reality, breeches of which, as a consequence, triggered a phase of punishment. They concern neighbours. The first two are from the Decalogue, Exodus 20:13 & 17. The third is from the Book of the Covenant, Exodus 22:20.

You shall not kill.

You shall not covet your neighbour’s house ... or anything that is his.

“You must not molest the stranger or oppress him, for you lived as strangers in the land of Egypt.”

And from the Prophets, an injunction from Ezekiel, often regarded as the most influential prophet of the period of the Babylonian Exile. Ezekiel laid down guidelines for the way in which the land of Judah should be apportioned between the tribes after their return from exile, he then said:

You are to share out this land among yourselves, between the tribes of Israel. You are to divide it into inheritances for yourselves and the aliens settled among you who have begotten children with you, since you are to treat them as citizens of Israel. They are to draw lots with

you for their inheritance, with the tribes of Israel. You must give the alien his inheritance in the tribe in which he is living – it is the Lord Yahweh who speaks. (Ezekiel 47:21–23. Emphasis added)

As we shall see, the Jewish community's transgression against the people of Palestine was circumstantial. It lost its patience, or its confidence in God, and responded in self-defence, and out of self-interest, to the oppressive pressure of the dominant community and, in doing so, it transgressed against its neighbours.

But the fact that it acted under provocation does not negate the fact that its transgression was deliberate. Zionist leaders were acting in a manner which they perceived to be in the best interests of their people. It can be argued that they had no option: that they did not have the power or the capacity to influence or redirect world affairs in a way which would have made their action unnecessary. But if that is the case, then the lack of option means that they were predestined to take the action which they did. If they did have an option, then they were not predestined to act in the way they did. Our reading of history as it unfolds will confirm that they did have options and that they made a deliberate decision to act in the manner in which they did – a manner which was not in accord with the Covenant. Therefore they were not predestined to take the particular action which they took in imposing the establishment of a Jewish settlement on their neighbours in Palestine. Their predestination relates only to their role as the people through whom humanity is to be enabled to better understand its relationship with God. But our reading of history as it unfolds will also confirm that whichever decision, or action, they took would ultimately have had similar effects. The route would have been different, certainly slower, and probably more tortuous. But the ultimate result would have been essentially the same: a revision of the relationship between the oppressive powers of the amorphous Christian gel and the rest of the world; relief for the oppressed peoples outside that gel; and progressive movement towards a better understanding of humanity's relationship with God.

By transgressing, and triggering the Holocaust of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* as the enactment of the Night Journey, the Jewish community led the world along the track it took, of which decolonization was one aspect. If it had not transgressed, but had overcome its frustration at being subjected to oppression by the church and Christian Europe, pursued its obligations under the Covenant of Sinai, and taken an even more positive role in community leadership, education, science and the development of socio-economic policy it may have averted the catastrophe which befell it during the second quarter of the twentieth century. Its role in guiding humanity more smoothly towards new relationships between peoples, a new understanding of its relationship with God, and a socio-economic environment less subject to the critical contemporary impact of globalization may have been less of a challenge than it now is. Its role has not changed. Only the route. An alternative route is now open to it in quite a different way because of the circumstances which evolved out of the unrecognized parody of *Mein Kampf*.

However if it were to choose not to go down that route, we can anticipate an extension, or a repeat performance, of the circumstances of the twentieth century in an aggravation of the

trouble in the triangle on a mind-boggling scale. The object of the entire plot is the Messianic Age as Maimonides understood it. Not the perpetuation of the position of privilege of those who currently sit atop the pinnacle of human endeavour as the embodiment of the amorphous Christian gel, or the Judeo-Christian ethic, but the future of humanity in the universal divine design. Further discussion of that point is best left until we have considered the trouble in the triangle in the context of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Europe (Volumes II and III).

A CATALYST

In fact, while the God-given role of the Jewish community has proven traumatic in the extreme, it is vital to the course of human communal evolution. The Jews have certainly not been rejected and cast out as the Christian church claimed, and that brings us to a further consideration – a fifth aspect – in the act of predestination which is an extension of the second aspect. The penal clause is not an end in itself and as the words which Moses attributed to God, already noted, indicate, divine punishment is a phase which does not affect the permanence of the Covenant of Sinai. The Jewish community is still bound in its special relationship with God in the terms of the Covenant. It has achieved the immediate aim of a Jewish State which its Zionist leaders saw as the logical route to take one hundred years ago, and the international Jewish community tends to regard the protection of the interests of that state, being as it is the focal point for much disputation, as its primary obligation. But in terms of the Covenant, it is not. The State of Israel is the focal point of disputation precisely because it is the focal point of the trouble in the triangle and the central fact of the Christian Era. In terms of the Covenant, the community's primary obligation is to recognize and foster the interests of its neighbours – in the broadest sense, everywhere – and, in doing so, to enable humanity to move towards a clearer understanding of its relationship with God. When it moves in that direction it is acting in accord with its divine covenant and it need be less concerned about its other aim. We can anticipate a continuing renaissance of Jewish faith and that, responding to divine inspiration, the Jewish community will act within the parameters of its Covenant as a catalyst to enable humanity to move towards a better understanding of its relationship with God and its responsibilities, and that in due course humanity will experience the Messianic Age in terms of Maimonides' understanding.

Israel's role as a catalyst may well be traumatic but in due course, as it responds once more to its Covenant responsibility, acting in consort with its partners in the triangle of faiths, its people will enjoy the fruits of their labour under that Covenant – but not on their own. All of humanity will share those fruits, and Israel and its neighbours will enjoy a totally new relationship. And when we think logically through the tangled web of history and the evolution of the trouble in the triangle we are inevitably drawn to the conclusion that, contrary to the fears of those who dreamed up and distributed the notorious Protocols of the Elders of Zion, the role of the Jewish community is not to act as controller of human affairs. That role, which the Christian church claimed was entrusted to it in succession to the Jews, which it sought to

impose through links with the powers of Europe, and which it feared it would lose if a theocratic Jewish state was established, has been delegated to no person and to no particular group or community. It rests entirely with God and remains a matter of divine authority exercised through whatever instrument God may determine – to be recognized and experienced through human interaction and responses. The Jewish community's role was and is to act as a catalyst to bring the world to its senses; to act as a safety valve to prevent the absolute and catastrophic abuse of human capacity and ability; and to provide a focal point for the reassessment of the relationship between God and humanity, if and when circumstances require such a catalyst, safety valve or focal point. That point was reached during the European Colonial Era, and the Parody of Mein Kampf provided the opportunity and the stimulus for the parties involved to recognize it and to do something about it. But that opportunity was missed, for reasons which are considered in Volume III, (Suras 18 to 28), and the situation has continued to deteriorate so that at this time there is a greater need for the exercise of that role than ever before. It is only now, with the benefit of time and evolved circumstances, that we can really assess the folly of that period and the interlocking roles of the three Abrahamic messianic faiths.

BUT A CATALYST IN WHAT?

The outcome of the transgressions and the failures of the dominant white Christian Western World – the amorphous Christian gel – coupled with the Jewish community's transgression in the terms of the Qur'anic Night Journey, was the establishment of the State of Israel in circumstances of great bitterness and trauma for both its neighbours and Israel. Now: through the antagonism generated against them by their transgression against the people of Palestine – which they were forced to make in self defence – they have acted, and will continue to act, as a catalyst or a 'lightning conductor' in a number of responses which flow from the continuing three-way confrontation between communities linked to Judaism, Islam and Christianity. That situation will continue until and unless the three streams of faith act together on their joint and individual obligation to lead humanity towards the Messianic Age. For that to happen there is a major precondition. To enable the three faiths to move forward in that way, the Christian church must rethink its self-understanding and its relationship with its two partners because that is the fundamental cause of the trouble in the triangle and the massive transgressions by the powers of the amorphous Christian gel. That requires the development of a common messianic understanding by the three faiths. And that, in turn, requires the church to repudiate the Doctrine of the Trinity on which its self-understanding has been built and because of which Muhammad was called to his prophetic ministry. Clearly that process and that end can only be achieved by scholars of the three faiths working together.

While that precondition is being met there are three results, or effects, which we can anticipate from the situation which the world has blundered into. First: ultimately and inevitably the confrontation between the three faiths must bring benefit to those peoples who have been exploited,

either currently or previously, by the amorphous Christian gel which has been acting on the basis of Christian self-understanding. Second: and with equal inevitability, the confrontation must result in substantial loss of privilege or detriment – judgement and discipline if you like – for the amorphous Christian gel. The extent of the detriment or discipline will be determined by the resistance of either Christians or Jews, or both, to the negotiation of proper settlements for the transgressions in which they have both been involved. Third: both of those aspects of the situation will inevitably contribute towards a clearer understanding of the Messianic message and humanity's relationship with God. The State of Israel and the City of Jerusalem will be seen in quite a different light – a unique light – and will assume a unique status in human understanding. The entire process is being triggered through the interaction of prophesy which has been generated within all three partner faiths in the triangle: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. More about that later. There is a lot of history to trace first.

These three points raise a host of questions. Why? Why? And why? We shall consider them after we have traced the history of the trouble in the triangle. But briefly, it is a matter of the consequences, or the effects, of continuing conflict within the triangle of Messianic faiths and the progressive loss of the capacity to exploit the rest of the world at its whim by the amorphous Christian gel. This can be either by the conscious decisions of Western leaders to relinquish the position of privilege which they have imposed and cling to by force, or, by the collapse of the system which they impose and dominate, brought about by concerted action with collaboration between those who have been exploited by the amorphous Christian gel in the process of achieving its privileged position.

The situation outlined implies, in simple terms, a divine “plot.” That plot implies that there was to be – is – a mechanism through which people will be drawn towards a clearer understanding of humanity's relationship to God. It also implies that the divine intention is that humanity will live in peace and harmony, understanding and responding to divine will and constantly searching to enhance that understanding and the human response to it. And the interlocking prophecies referred to already are the key to understanding the plot. The entire flow of human history and interaction must be reassessed on the basis of the failed relationships between the people of the three Abrahamic messianic faiths. The conclusions reached as we make that reassessment are at times shocking and at times deeply disturbing, but always challenging.

There can hardly be a practicing Jew who would deny the concept of communal predestination. It is the very basis of Jewish self-understanding that the people of Israel are those chosen to bring mankind to a closer understanding of God and to Salvation through the Messianic message. That role may not be unfolding in quite the way that most of them have anticipated. It may not carry the style of national authority for which many have longed and which the Vatican has greatly feared. But it certainly carries the responsibility. Now this raises the question which will arise from time to time of Jewish identity and whether this is linked to community or family origin – the so-called race question – or whether it relates to religious belief and identity, or cultural identity in the case of those who can trace a connection by one of the other routes but who do not adhere personally to Judaism as a religious faith. It is a question

which still bedevils Jewish scholars and political leaders, as illustrated by the proceedings of the President's Conference on Jewish Culture and Identity in the Twenty First Century, which was held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in May, 2000. From the population dynamics of the Jewish community during the Christian Era, the ebb and flow of expulsions, migration, mass conversions and inter-marriage it is apparent that the twentieth century Jewish community was a product of volatile circumstances. This means that there is not necessarily continuity of tribal origin in the people whom we now know as Jews. There is therefore another vital connection to be made. This is the attachment to Jewish identity and the connection with the land of Judaea and the City of Jerusalem which is unbreakable. That attachment is Biblical and it is as divinely inspired as the decision by Abraham to migrate and to settle in the region. It will continue until time is no more. The people who hold that attachment are the primary, and very fluid, instrument of Divine Will in causing, or perhaps requiring, world attention to focus, eventually, on that Divine Will and to seek to act in accord with it.

And that brings us back to the use of the expression in the Night Journey that "the works of each man We have bound about his neck." The leaders of the early Zionist Movement achieved the immediate goal they set themselves and which they saw as their most important obligation. That was the establishment of a Jewish State in the homeland to which they had an inviolable attachment – and with which they had an affinity such that few people other than dispossessed indigenous people can fully comprehend. The people who they dispossessed in achieving their ambition comprehend it very well indeed. Their successors in the worldwide Jewish community are imbued with much the same determination, much the same affinity, and much the same sense of obligation to protect that state above all else. That is understandable. However, in the light of what we now understand about the trouble in the triangle and their eternal obligation under the Covenant which they cannot abrogate, it is now incumbent upon them to reflect long and hard on whether they are going about it in a manner consistent with that Covenant. They will be the first to acknowledge an obligation to their neighbours, in the very broadest sense, and an obligation to enable humanity to better understand its relationship with God. But that is jumping ahead too far. There is a lot of ground to cover yet as we explore the development and the consequences of the triangle. We are only at the point at which Muhammad issued a major challenge to the Christian church.

A WISP OF SMOKE ON THE HORIZON

Muhammad was, in his turn, the instrument through whom the imperative message of the Night Journey, of continuing Jewish predestination, was conveyed, but there was nothing in the message or on the horizon to indicate how or when the purpose behind the message would be disclosed and if it would ever be fulfilled. That would depend on populations yet unborn whose conduct would bring about a situation in which divine intervention would become necessary in the interests of the world at large. There was the possibility that the prophesy would never have to be realized. It could have remained in the "too hard basket" baffling scholars and never being

fulfilled, if the world's conduct had been different: if the amorphous Christian gel had acted on its responsibility and not run off the rails.

However, long after Muhammad's personal ministry was complete, as conflict within the triangle became progressively worse and when the church had plumbed new depths in the abuse of its position and power, new insights into how the situation might unfold were provided through the Spanish Jew named Maimonides, already mentioned above. The time lapse between the ministries of Muhammad and Maimonides was about the same as that between the ministries of Jesus of Nazareth and Muhammad and there would be a further time lapse of the same order before events would occur to bring their critical prophesies to a point of conjunction. That conjunction would come with the parody of Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, the Holocaust – the fulfilment of the Night Journey – and the establishment of the State of Israel.

But this is not the point at which to consider Maimonides' expectations, either. That will come soon enough. It is sufficient to note, now, that the conjunction of the Night Journey and the first stage of Maimonides' prophecies set the scene and provided both the opportunity and the challenge for the world to move forward to the final phase: the realization of the Messianic Age. Unfortunately the self-understanding of the Christian Church, based on and securely tied to its erroneous doctrines and dogma prevented it from understanding either of those messages at the time they were delivered or the significance of the subsequent establishment of the State of Israel. At the time that Muhammad delivered his message the church refused to even recognize that there was a triangle of messianic faiths. It said it had all the answers. It had written them – or the basics of them – into its chest of doctrine and dogma. It did not want to hear what Muhammad was saying, in effect: "You have run off the rails. Turn back the clock! Rub out all your doctrines and dogma. Pick up the Gospel message of the Messiah, and start all over again!"

The Christian Church had been called through a man who had nothing to do with either the Roman Church or the Byzantine Empire to reassess not only its practices and actions, but also its basic statements of faith. It would be expecting too much to think that the Church would have immediately accepted the message of the prophet Muhammad, sat down in conference and began to rewrite its articles of faith and its constitution. It had convinced itself that it was the sole purveyor of God's truth. It had convinced itself that might was right and that the means justified the end in everything it did. With the deadweight of that self-understanding on its shoulders it had succeeded in crushing almost every spark of theological insight which might have led to enlightened evangelism, to conversion through love instead of the lash, through reason instead of ritual and, ultimately, to Salvation instead of sadism and subjection. In fact, in conjunction with the imperial powers, it had already put an enormous effort into suppressing moves by some very senior and respected members of the church for theological and liturgical changes which were virtually the same as those that Muhammad was demanding. Why should it now turn around and make those changes because a mere outsider said so?

It certainly would have been expecting too much to expect such an about face. It is very rare for a group or an organization to carry out such a review when things are running in its favour or when its position is reasonably stable. Such a review is only carried out under pressure from someone else, such as when competitors make the going tough or when one's peer group or superiors issue a "please explain" or take disciplinary action because of poor performance. When Muhammad issued his challenge from way out on the fringes of the church's world the church did not believe it had to bow to any superiors and it certainly did not recognize a peer group of religions. It need not worry about the imperial powers because they were at least as dependent on the church to help prop up their positions as the church was dependent on them. It had succeeded in suppressing Judaism to the point that the Jews were most unlikely to be able to mount any such pressure in the foreseeable future. The neighbouring nationalistic pagan religions were disappearing one by one and their remnant populations were being absorbed into the church by syncretism. Persia's emperor-god cult variation on Zoroastrianism was no longer a real threat and neither Buddhism nor any of the other Eastern mystical religions were at all aggressive. The Roman wing of the Christian Church virtually had the religion field on its own and that is how it believed it should be because, according to its self-understanding, it was the body appointed by Christ as his exclusive nominee on earth, endowed with his full authority, and he was one third of the Triune God. Well, the church did not have to wait very long, historically speaking, before the pressure began to build up.

THE BIRTH OF DAR AL-ISLAM

The establishment of the community of Islam and, in the view of many writers, the birth of the new religion is taken to be the Hijra or the flight to Medina in 622. However a community of probably between 200 and 300 based on 83 male members, many of whom were married with families, had migrated across the Red Sea to Abyssinia (Ethiopia) in 615. They went to escape persecution from the pagan merchant class of Mecca. They went to settle and to establish a new home based on their new found faith and a desire to found a God-fearing community. They did not go in anger or armed to impose their will.³⁰ Islam's first peer group contact therefore gave it the same experience of community conflict and persecution which the Jewish communities had known, say, in Constantinople which prompted them to migrate to the Crimea and the Caucasus; which the early Christians had known in Palestine and which was to prompt pockets of Protestant Christians to migrate to the Americas and Australia over a thousand years later. That migration to Abyssinia, actually provided the first substantial evidence of the new faith for both Rome and Byzantium. It took place before Byzantium had been pushed out of Egypt by Persia and while it still had active links with Abyssinia. Muhammad's opponents in Mecca, apparently fearful that he was up to some political tricks, sent a delegation to the Negus of Abyssinia demanding the repatriation of the emigrants. The Negus refused to oblige.³¹ It is highly unlikely – even if that approach had not been made to the Negus and rejected, virtually in the presence of imperial officials – that local imperial officials could be unaware of a religious group migration on that scale. It follows that the migration could hardly have been

missed by the authorities in both capitals, Rome and Byzantium. That migration could therefore be taken as the birth of the faith and as a warning signal for Rome of that fact. It was but one of the incidents which both tested and developed the determination of Muhammad and his small community to push ahead in response to the call which they fervently believed had come from God. In this we can see another parallel with the two older faiths.

The call to Muhammad is quite similar in nature to the call to Samuel as a young man. It fell to him to clean up the Jewish worship of his day and to establish the Jewish monarchy. And the call to Muhammad's supporters, and the way they approached their task, can be compared with that of the young Christian community which gathered around the Apostles of Jesus after Pentecost, but the sense of urgency and the demands made on them might have been somewhat more acute. They had to secure both their safety and their credibility with a series of skirmishes, among the most important of which was the Battle of Bu'ath in 617. They also had to secure their economic independence which was, under the circumstances of tribal animosities, an important factor in establishing credibility. They did it by using methods a bit like those used by Augustine against the Donatists, but not nearly as brutal or devastating. They raided trading caravans. From their position of gradually increasing authority they were able to negotiate recognition, then treaties of allegiance, and gradually bind the warring and divided tribes of the peninsula into a cohesive body. Of course in Christian tradition, myth or call it what you will, there was no comparison. Augustine was said to be quite justified in putting down a dreadful heresy. Muhammad on the other hand, was a preacher who, being unable to succeed through moral influence, soon changed his methods and became a warrior leading his united and fierce Arabs to the conquest of unbelievers! ³²

NATIONALISM: A VEHICLE FOR RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT

Emerging nationalism always needs a focal point. Arabian nationalism in the Seventh century was no exception. It was largely triggered by the interference of the three major powers abutting the massive peninsula territory. That interference had several important effects. Firstly, it introduced tribal animosity through the competing vassal states or satrapies which were financed or imposed both along the northern land frontier or fringe territory and on the rugged southern coastline. Secondly, it introduced religious conflict. Thirdly, it fragmented the structures of tribal authority and trade because of the first two factors and then, as a result of those factors, it provided an environment ripe for the emergence of a spirit of nationalism. This was partly as a direct reaction to all the interference and partly because the tribal fragmentation left a series of smallish tribes. None of them were strong enough to become dominant on a purely military basis and all of them were prepared to throw in their lot with a leader who, having developed a strong personal and military position, was offering something quite different to old style tribal dominance.

The nature of the Arabian Peninsula also encouraged nationalism. Its 5,100 miles of frontier included only 900 miles of land frontier. This was divided more or less evenly between the

warring empires but the vassal states along that frontier acted, to some extent, as a strategic buffer. The 4,200 miles of coastline, most of which is rugged and uninviting, was divided about equally with 1,400 miles along each of the Red Sea, the northern reaches of the Indian Ocean, (known as Arabian Sea and the Gulf of Aden), and the twin gulfs of Persia and Oman. Along these coastlines it was only at the strategically important and agriculturally more productive south west and south east corners of the Yemen and Oman, which commanded the trade approaches to the Red Sea and Persian Gulfs, that the big powers had sought to establish their states. The peninsular was militarily secure. The same factors which make it vulnerable to naval attack in the days of aircraft carriers, submarines, Polaris missiles and Omega made it militarily secure in the days of chariots, galleys and swords, although the relative difficulty of occupying it is still a factor today. Once the spirit of nationalism was well established and coupled with both military capacity and religious fervour the new nation was well placed to take on the great powers. Not only was it militarily secure, but it sat like a great wedge driven into the soft underbellies of the two great powers.

But the spirit of nationalism did not develop around Muhammad and his young movement spontaneously. After the Abyssinian emigration he continued to face a lot of opposition, especially from the influential traders of Mecca whose caravans the prophet raided regularly to obtain the goods his growing community needed for survival. A confrontation was only a matter of time. On one hand the Meccans wanted Muhammad out of the way: on the other hand, he had to either win them over or defeat them to gain a secure base without the need to constantly fight for survival. In March 624 the Meccans took the initiative and sought to crush Muhammad's small force of about 300 men by sending a force of about 950 men to protect an especially rich caravan and to make a frontal attack on the Muslims near the small market village of Badr, south west of Medina. In fact only between five and six hundred Meccans actually took part in the battle but the Muslims, still outnumbered two to one, fought with skill, discipline and fervour and gained an impressive victory. It proved to be the turning point in Muhammad's fortunes. The Muslims did not believe that they had won by their own effort but that they had been supported by troops of angels, giving the victory the same significance as historically important victories by the struggling young Jewish community.

Although the Battle of Badr did not achieve control of Mecca for Muhammad it gave him the standing and the capacity to gradually gain the allegiance of tribes all over the peninsular by either negotiation and alliance or conquest. At that stage the Jewish communities began to feel the consequences of snubbing Muhammad during the earlier years of his ministry. They probably thought for a while that Judaism was in for a rougher ride under Islam than under Christianity. There were three Jewish tribes in the Medina region. Only a month after the Battle of Badr Muhammad used some trivial incident as a pretext for expelling the first tribe. The second was expelled in August/September 625, and the third was annihilated, not just expelled, in 627. About 600 men were executed and the children and women were sold into slavery.³³ They were accused of ambiguous behaviour during the 'Battle of the Ditch', the defence of Medina against a force of between 7,500 and 10,000 tribesmen sympathetic to the old establishment at Mecca. The attack was cleverly broken up and repulsed and it was the last but

one concerted attempt to stop Muhammad's expansion. It also marked a change in Muhammad's approach from the use of force to diplomatic negotiation in his efforts to woo other Arab tribes. Although he had gained access to Mecca in the meantime, it was not until a year or so after he sent his messages to Heraclius and Kavadh that Muhammad finally gained control of the city, in mid January 630.

Just two months later, Heraclius made his special – and very provocative – expedition to return the true cross to Jerusalem. Muhammad was well aware of the significance which Heraclius placed on that expedition. It was the diplomatic move par excellence aimed at boosting the morale of the Christianized Arab regions of Palestine and Syria and of strengthening their allegiance to Constantinople. Heraclius maintained only fairly small forces in that part of the empire. He didn't have any option. He still had to depend on the support of the vassal Arab states along the northern fringe of the peninsula territory for his authority. The stronger Muhammad became, and the more compelling his message sounded in the ears of Arab nationalists, the more tenuous became Constantinople's hold on the area.

Heraclius, in league with the church, was determined to show that the Christian faith was superior to Islam and that it would protect the Holy City of Jerusalem. He was well aware of the significance of Jerusalem in Muhammad's faith and that Mecca was to be an interim focal point until the time that people of all faiths caught the Messianic message and gave Jerusalem rightful recognition as the focal point of faith. It may not have occurred to Heraclius that in making that political gesture so that it would be more difficult for Muhammad to take Jerusalem he was inviting him to formally confront the Byzantine Empire and not only the church as an institution of religious faith. If the Muslim leader could mount a force strong enough to take Jerusalem he would, in fact, have mounted a force strong enough to take on the empire. History had already shown that. However, even if Heraclius didn't fully appreciate the significance of his gesture it appears that Muhammad did. Later that year he assembled an army of 30,000 men for a campaign which ran from October to December to take the Christianized fortress centre of Tabuk, near the head of the Gulf of Aqaba. It was his biggest campaign and the force was two and a half times bigger than any force previously assembled under his leadership. It was a trial run for a push towards Syria, Damascus, and then Jerusalem.³⁴

Muhammad did not live to lead Islam either beyond the Arabian Peninsula or into Jerusalem. He personally led the pilgrimage of the Hajj in 632 and died soon afterwards, on June 8, 632. In his later years, as he came into more and more direct contact with the Christian church his opposition to its theology and its practices became deeper. He would not tolerate any images, icons, Mariology or ideas of priestly authority which placed anyone or anything between man and God, such as those he came into contact with more and more as he went further north. His determination to clean up Christian worship became intense. To avoid a weakening of the faith and any tendency to acceptance of such practices he forbade a true believer to marry the idolaters who place other Gods on a par with Allah. His tolerance towards Christians gave way to a general instruction to "Fight against such of those to whom the Scriptures were given as believe neither in Allah nor the Last Day, who do not forbid what Allah and His Apostle have forbidden, and do not embrace the true faith, until they pay tribute out of hand and are utterly

subdued.” (Qur’an Sura 9: 28,29). Of course at that time Muhammad was well and truly into deeply entrenched Monophysite territory controlled by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. There was none of the Nestorian influence which led him, in 628, to permit the Christians of Najran to keep their faith and to be exempt from both military service and levies which were required from other non-Muslim communities. An ordinary tax was the only contribution they were required to make towards Medina’s coffers.³⁵

SUCCESSION CRISIS AND FRAGMENTATION

Muhammad did not make detailed arrangements for a leadership structure which would perpetuate the movement which had grown around him.³⁶ This led to a period of uncertainty as his followers struggled to fill the void and it looked for a while as if the new-found Arab nationalism, sense of destiny and tribal cohesion would all disintegrate. Western writers have often been critical of Muhammad for what they read as a bad failure of leadership. Such criticism suggests only a partial understanding of Muhammad’s role and self-understanding. It also suggests that Muhammad should have done more in this respect than Jesus of Nazareth. Muhammad’s decision to simply appoint Abu Bakr to lead prayers at Medina was quite consistent with his belief that his task was not to set up a dynasty or establish an empire but to call mankind to submit to the will of God. If he had nominated a line of succession or forms of ministry or government they would have become enshrined, established tribal favourites and animosities, and provided a basis for ready made politicking such as that within the Christian church over Rome’s claims to apostolic succession through Peter. In fact Muhammad left very definite warnings and instructions against Muslims splitting into sects and he believed that every community or state had to work out the form of government best for it within the framework of total submission to the will of God. He also recognized that Arabia was still far from unified.³⁷

Turn to Allah and fear Him. Be steadfast in prayer and be not of those who associate others with Allah, those who split up their religion into sects, each exulting in its own beliefs.
[30:31–32]

Even so, he wasn’t able to avoid it and, as we shall see, some aspects of the current world situation bear the mark of a regional split in the ranks of Islam over the very issue of succession to the prophet. After the brief period of intense grief at the prophet’s death from a fever had passed, the community of Medina appointed Abu Bakr as successor to the prophet, or caliph. He first had to put down a series of revolts against Medina by those tribes which had seen themselves as being in allegiance with Muhammad and not subject to the town in which he lived. He then pressed on with the northern campaign which the prophet had started, but the political situation had changed so much that after only a couple of months he allowed the campaign to lapse without a significant result. But very soon the tribes began to realize that Arab nationalism was a reality as well as Islam. The tribes around Hira sensed the weakened position of Persia, embraced Islam and had no difficulty in taking the predominantly Arab city. Even though they had not received support for the battle from Medina, the

alliance had been forged strongly and permanently. The push against Persia began in earnest and simultaneously the Medina linked forces regrouped and took up the push towards Byzantine Syria where it had faltered only the year before. The vigour and quick success of the twin thrusts took both the Persians and the Byzantines by surprise. Southern Palestine fell immediately after Hira in 633. Damascus fell in September 634 after a siege of six months. Jerusalem held out for two years. It fell in 636, the same year as the Persian capital, Ctesiphon. Constantinople deployed as many reinforcements as the other fronts would permit but they could not slow the fanatical messengers of God. They should not have been surprised.

In Mesopotamia and the western flank the Arab followers of Muhammad had a big advantage over the great powers. They were, in a much more real sense than that in which we often hear the term used today, liberating their own people from an imposed foreign rule. Quite often they received either open or undercover cooperation from local Christians. None of the Arab vassal states or subject countries of the Empire really wanted to stay subject to Byzantium or Persia for the limited benefits their overlords from a decaying empire were able to provide. They had been exploited and persecuted by either Romans or Greek or Persians for a long period.³⁸ The main thing which spurred the troops of the vassal states into a reasonably solid defence was the anti-Muslim propaganda of the church. Then there was fear of what might happen if they didn't defend the faith, and belief that the "true Cross" would protect them or, if it did not, that Mary or their patron saints would intercede with God to save them. Against that, the Muslims had Muhammad's words ringing in their ears:

When the sacred months are over, slay the idolaters wherever you find them. Arrest them, besiege them, and lie in ambush everywhere for them. If they repent and take to prayer and pay the alms-tax, let them go their way. Allah is Forgiving and Merciful.

If an idolater seeks asylum with you, give him protection so that he may hear the word of Allah, and then convey him to safety. For they are ignorant men. [9:5–6]

Those that have embraced the faith and migrated from their homes and fought for Allah's cause with their wealth and their person are held in higher regard by Allah. It is they who shall triumph. Their Lord has promised them joy and mercy, and gardens of eternal bliss where they shall dwell forever. Allah's reward is great indeed. [9:21–22]

Within two years of the fall of Jerusalem the whole of Syria had gone. Another four years and all of Egypt, Cyrenaica and Tripolitania (modern day Libya), had become part of the expanding Arab Islamic Empire and the thrust westward across North Africa was only stopped by the Berbers of Tunisia, formerly Numidia.

The difference from that point on was that the Arabs were not liberating other people of Arab stock. They now faced an ethnically quite different people for the first time. For the Berbers, accepting the Arabs would have simply meant swapping one imperial overlord for another. It was a case of "better the devil you know." Going the other way, the whole of Mesopotamia had followed within ten years of the fall of Jerusalem. The entire Arab community was then welded together by a common faith that God is the only God and we must submit to His will. The

surprising success was the conquest of the entire Persian empire within twelve years of the fall of the capital, Ctesiphon, because there was an ethnically different people putting up only little resistance to the invaders. The speed of that thrust compares with the speed with which the Goths and the Huns had swept from Asia across western and central Europe. But that is where the comparison ends, even though it gave the church fuel to pile on the fire of bigotry for many centuries with either false or grossly exaggerated stories of conversion by the sword.

The Persian empire had been held together with great difficulty and with real force being used to suppress separatist movements from time to time. It was the separatist areas which provided the economic strength for the empire, not the so-called heartland. We have already noted one such separatist effort, that of the Jewish kingdom of Mahoza about five generations earlier. When the Muslim armies converged on Nihavand in the Persian heartland in 642 and gained a fairly quick victory, a rash of separatist movements was triggered across the empire.³⁹ It was these internal separatist movements which forced the last of the Sasanid emperors, Yazdgard III, to retreat north east. He was murdered in 651. His son followed in the steps of his great-grandfather Chosroes II, and went running to his enemies for help to recapture his empire. In this case it was the Turks and the Chinese to his north and east, and they didn't respond immediately, although the stage had been set for subsequent invasions of a fragmented empire. The Sasanid nobility was left with only the mountainous fringe of the Elburz region between the Caspian Sea and the modern Iranian capital of Teheran. The task of the Muslim armies was certainly made much easier by these manoeuvres, but now we come to the vital factor.

The Goths and the Huns had come with migrating populations to occupy and settle land and the empires of Ebla and Rome had come to dominate and exploit resources for the economic benefit of their home base populations, (and their ruling classes in particular). In contrast, the Arab Muslims came simply to impose a new religious message. They had not come with territorial or resource demands in the usual sense. Yes, it is correct that, put very simply, they said "adopt the faith of Islam or pay taxes or lose your life", but very few chose the third alternative. Generally the Jews held to their faith and chose to pay taxes; the Christians vacillated with some opting to pay taxes and some adopting Islam; and all the people of non-messianic religions, state paganism and the like, readily adopted Islam. There had to be a new system of government to coordinate everything and a system of taxes to finance it but stability and cooperation were to be the key words, not force and exploitation.

The man with the task of organizing the new empire was Caliph 'Umar ibn al-Khattab, who was appointed by Abu Bakr on his deathbed. The Arab Muslim administration which he set up was closer to a theocratic state than anything else at that time or since. The Caliph nominated a governor for each region. He was responsible for internal order, command of the army, financial affairs and religious affairs. He often had a financial officer to help him whose job was to see that taxes were raised to cover local administration costs and that any surplus was despatched to Medina. Within a generation or two most governors also had a judge to relieve them of the burden of jurisdiction. Within that general framework the local populations were left to run their own affairs and to trade as they wished. Communities which accepted Islam peaceably or, in

effect, surrendered voluntarily received some extra considerations not allowed for those which resisted and had to be taken by force. They were allowed to retain their land with only a collective levy made under an Islamic agreement so that the local government could not arbitrarily increase it. The resisters forfeited their existing property rights but were allowed to retain their land against payment of a tax assessed by the government.

While the Muslim troops kept the minor trophies of war, like those of most eras, mass expropriation of land was strictly forbidden. Tribes which had taken part in the wars were encouraged to emigrate into the new Islamic provinces, taking their goods and chattels with them from Arabia, but they were generally brought together into military centres and were not allowed to assume the role of landlords to the village populations. They were there to propagate the word of God and to conduct themselves contrary to that word would incur the wrath of Allah.⁴⁰

They ask you about the spoils. Say: 'The spoils belong to Allah and the Apostle. Therefore, have fear of Allah and end your disputes. Obey Allah and His Apostle, if you are true believers. [8:1]

O believers, when you encounter the infidels gathered (for battle) do not turn your backs to them in flight. If anyone on that day turns his back to them in flight, except it be for tactical reasons, or to join another band, he shall incur the wrath of Allah and Hell shall be his home: an evil fate.

It was not you, but Allah, who slew them. It was not you who threw at them: Allah threw at them so the He might richly reward the faithful. He is Hearing, Knowing. And he will surely weaken the designs of the unbelievers. [8:15–17]

O believers, do not betray Allah and the Apostle, nor knowingly betray your trust. Know that your children and your worldly goods are but a temptation, and that Allah's reward is great.

Believers, if you fear Allah, He will give you discrimination and cleanse you of your sins and forgive you. The bounty of Allah is great. [8:27–29]

The double standards of the church of Rome are clearly exposed when we compare what it said about the Muslim conquest of Palestine and Persia with the sham which passed for the Catholicizing of the rebellious Donatist community of Numidia in the time of Augustine. (Sura 7). The Ghost of Ambrose protecting the troops of Rome; mass confiscation or destruction of property; oppression of the non-conformists; sympathetic heretics being burned at the stake, factional murders and the full force of the empire being applied to impose conformity, all by the body which claimed to be the sole representative of God on earth! The best it could do was claim the Arabs were converting by the sword and spread stories that they burned libraries in Alexandria. That is another myth which cannot be substantiated. The story gained currency during the Crusades but its source is uncertain. What we do know is that the Muslims crossed the Egyptian border in 639 and the Byzantine army was decisively beaten near Babylon (or Old Cairo) in July 640, although the fortress itself was not occupied until some time in 641. The

Patriarch Cyrus then made an agreement that Alexandria, the naval key to Byzantine control of Egypt, would be evacuated in September 642. However, a few months later, the City was re-occupied by the Byzantines following a coup. Force was required to dislodge them the second time, but when the navy left all Byzantine influence went with it.⁴¹ The naval war was then taken right into Byzantine home waters for the first time and Cyprus was occupied in 649. It was only twenty years since Muhammad's message had been rejected and the "true cross" had been so defiantly returned to Jerusalem. But the challenge to rethink their theology which Rome and Constantinople had denigrated had grown from a tribal challenge into a greater military threat than they had ever faced before.

Wait for the day when the sky will pour down visible smoke, enveloping all men: this will be a dreadful scourge. Then they will say: 'Lord, lift up this scourge from us. We are now believers.' But how will they avail themselves of the Message when an undoubted prophet had come to them and they turned away from him, saying: 'A madman, taught (by others)!'

There was a wisp of smoke on the horizon. Furthermore, the triangle of faiths was complete. The three faiths which formed it were still identifiable as three streams arising from one source because of their fundamental common ground. However their divergent secondary beliefs ensured that tension and conflict – not cooperation – would dominate their relationship as they either competed for the hearts and minds of people or sought security for a very long time. The sides of the triangle were certainly not equal, and over many centuries they would be battered and distorted as great forces were brought to bear on them. But the triangle was formed and ready to be used as an instrument of God's will to draw all humanity towards a clearer understanding of its responsibilities and relationship with God when the world's affairs reached a critical point.

Volume I

Part 2

THE YEARS OF CHALLENGE: SCIENTISTS, REFORMERS, PHILOSOPHERS

CHAPTER 7

ON THE ROMAN ROAD

There was a wisp of smoke on the horizon but no one in Rome or Constantinople seemed very concerned to investigate the cause of the fire. A lot had happened since Heraclius spurned Muhammad's message way out on the fringe of the empire in the Syrian desert during the Persian campaign. Now the old man was gone. He died in 642, about the time that his army and the Berbers were combining to bank back the Arab Muslim flood at Tunisia. He had probably realized then that it was only a question of time before the banks would break and the flood would rush on. He had close personal knowledge of the sincerity and fervour of the Muslim forces and the directness and appeal of their message. One of his saddest moments as emperor had been the debacle at the River Yarmuk, mid way between Jerusalem and Damascus, in 636. It was to have been the decisive battle with Khalid and his Muslim forces. It was. What Heraclius needed and expected was determination in his infantry and the backing of a strong cavalry force. What he got was a great parade of priests with their holy relics, pictures of Mary, sacred banners and the backing of a gaggle of chanting monks.

The Christian Arab cavalry from the vassal states deserted and joined Khalid's Muslims as soon as the armies joined battle. ¹ Heraclius' infantry was forced to retreat. Retreat gave way to rout and then massacre with the Byzantines trapped, unable to escape across the river which cascaded over the corpses of the troops where they fell. What else could he expect? Perhaps, he may have thought, it would have been different if he hadn't listened to the church. He might have been able to salvage part of the eastern provinces or, at least, he might have retained some sort of imperial relationship if he had been able to negotiate with Medina. But no, the church hierarchy had insisted on that relic of all relics being carted back in ceremony in open confrontation with Muhammad and his scandalous views. Nothing could have been planned more carefully to strengthen the prophet's determination if they had tried. What could he have done about it? As emperor his hands were tied. If he had refused he would have been attacked for rejecting the teaching of the church and undermining its position. He had the choice of a fifth column in his ranks, out to get rid of him, or a battle with Muhammad. Perhaps he had made the wrong choice. The immediate result was that he had been forced to surrender to the Arabs part of the territory which he had just recovered from the Persians.

In fact the consequences were a lot more serious than that. The Arab front had proved to be a drain on resources which he couldn't afford and their victory had encouraged the troubles brewing on his other fronts. He may have thought: "Surely God doesn't intend man to fight

over his religion all the time.” But then he might have reflected that they don’t as he pondered the incident which seemed so incongruous at the time: the Patriarch walking Jerusalem with Caliph ‘Umar to show him the holy places personally. The Byzantine governor had left the patriarch in charge of the city to supervise the surrender and the Patriarch had insisted that he would only formally surrender to the caliph in person. He had to wait until 638, almost two years, for the Caliph to make his visit, by camel, with only one attendant for his 600 mile desert journey from Medina. The Caliph had even agreed that the Christians could retain all of their churches and their much despised relics. Fat lot of good they would do them. ² The Muslims had promptly built their own places of worship in the city in line with their policy of not taking over other people’s property, but now, 21 years after that stupid confrontation over the ‘True Cross’ and fifteen years since they captured the city, they were building their first mosque up on Mount Moriah where the Jewish temples and pagan shrines had stood. Jewish temples. The very thought of them probably sent cold shivers down his spine. The church had insisted that he tighten up the controls which Justinian had imposed because people were not taking any notice of them anymore. He had obliged by putting a total ban on the public exercise of Judaism in Byzantium and had thrown his weight behind a call for all European rulers to do the same. In Gaul in 626 King Dagobert had ordered a general expulsion of all Jews except those who consented to adopt the dominant religion.³

But at last the Muslim armies were beginning to get bogged down on all of their fronts. Not only were they stopped at Tunisia but they had run into trouble in Armenia also. The Khazars, inspired by the troubles of the Byzantines, had begun to move south. The Byzantines were determined not to be pushed back any further and the Armenians found themselves in a no-man’s land being savaged from three directions. The Arab Muslims finally triumphed in 717, just as they made the third of four unsuccessful attempts spread over 60 years to capture Constantinople itself and were thwarted by the Bulgars with whom Byzantium had made a deal. They had come closest in 667 when they occupied Chalcedon and invaded Sicily, without being able to gain control of the island.

On the eastern front the going got tougher when they reached the limits of Persian territory so that it was 664 before the Muslim armies reached Kabul in modern day Afghanistan. It was another ten years before they crossed the Oxus River to Bakhara, much fabled Samarkand in southern Russia and Khiwa, all in the area of Turkish-controlled small city states. They were now well into the zone of influence of the Chinese Tang Dynasty and were very likely to invite trouble, especially as there was already a hotch potch of heathen Shamanism, Nestorian Christianity, Buddhism, Zarathustrianism and Manichaeism present. ⁴ However they seem to have trodden as diplomatically as they had in Jerusalem and to have recognized that the perpetual tribal skirmishes of the area were based on divisions between Turks and Iranians, and between the peasantry and steppe-dwellers rather than on religious conflict. The local powers were not replaced by Arab garrisons and Islamic local government for another twenty or thirty years and during that period the local petty princes usually remained as either indirect rulers or

allies. It was, after all, only 40 years since the first Europeans had formally approached the Chinese ruling house.

An embassy from Byzantium arrived in 635, about the same time as a party of Nestorian missionaries from Persia. Emperor Tai-tsung, the second of his dynastic line, had taken the throne in 627. The emperor welcomed the Nestorians with great respect, listened to their claims and creeds, and ordered the Christian scriptures translated into Chinese so that he could study them further. Three years later he declared the religion satisfactory and gave approval for a church to be built and for a monastery to be established. But another religious party had already been to his court seven years earlier, in his second year as emperor. It was a party of Arabs from Medina who had arrived at Canton in the trading vessel Yanbu with a message from Muhammad which was probably along the same lines as those to Heraclius and Kavadh. The response which the party received was quite different to that which Muhammad's messengers had received from the Byzantine and Persian rulers. Tai-tsung is said to have listened to their views with interest and to have given them assistance to build the mosque at Canton which stands as one of Islam's earliest buildings.⁵ Whether Tai-tsung related these two visits, seven years apart, is uncertain but apparently he saw no conflict in them or he would probably have rejected the Nestorian approach. He certainly had no need to kowtow to either Byzantium or Arabia. The unity, culture, power and effective urban development of China were in sharp contrast to the decay, disorder and disunity of the Western world.⁶

The Arab march south east into the Indus Valley went step by step with the march north east into the Oxus Valley region and by 712 Daibul (Karachi) and Nirum (Hyderabad) in Pakistan were both in Muslim hands. However dissension within the camp had already begun to take its toll on the fervour and capacity of Islam to carry out the prophet's commission. Whereas in the Christian church the wrecker had been theological disagreement which then took on a regional dimension, in Islam it was tribal jealousy and discord which then took on a regional dimension. The development of a complex of mythology and mysticism intertwined with fragments of Jewish history and the prophet's revelation, then fell like a veil over the whole religion. It paralleled the development of pagan-Christian mythology in earlier centuries. But the church was not prepared to recognize that. It further complicated relations with the other two faiths in the triangle and provided ammunition which the church could use to justify its continued denigration of Islam and its reluctance to re-examine its own doctrines and theology. The church also took advantage of the opportunity to compound and confuse the mythology as well.

ISLAM DIVIDES

The tribal intrigue which led to Islam splitting into two major divisions over the issue of succession to the prophet Muhammad was too complex to deal with in any detail here. However it appeared right from the appointment of Abu Bakr as Caliph and successor to the prophet. The Medinans believed that one of their number should be elected but they were persuaded, possibly by Abu Bakr himself, that it was Muhammad's wish for a member of the Quraish to succeed

him.⁷ He survived for only two years. On his deathbed he nominated 'Umar whose ten year rule saw some of the greatest Muslim Arab conquests before he was stabbed to death for private vengeance by a Persian slave in 644. 'Umar was succeeded by another Quraish, 'Uthman ibn 'Affan, an elderly son-in-law of the prophet, possibly the weakest of the candidates for the office, and the third caliph related to Muhammad by marriage. But he was a member of the Umayyad family which had remained opposed to Muhammad's movement until he came to power and as a result his appointment stirred the debate on how, and on what basis, the caliph should be appointed. During his 12-year period in office the latent tensions and tribal antagonisms came into the open and have never been finally resolved,⁸ but his decision in 653 to declare an exclusive canon of the Prophet's revelations, or an authorised version of the Qur'an, deepened the divisions. Critics said that the state was hindering the implementation of the Word and that the power of the state was opposing Allah (God). If the moral values of the religion were absolute and could not be challenged, then it meant that the sovereignty of the state could not be reconciled with the principle of tribal autonomy. Rebellion broke out, with tribal overtones as was to be expected, and 'Uthman was murdered in Medina while at worship in June 656.

There were two contenders for the appointment to succeed 'Uthman. One was Ali ibn abi Talib, a cousin from the Hashimite clan of Mecca who Muhammad adopted into his family and who subsequently became a close confidant and his son-in-law through marriage to the Prophet's eldest daughter, Fatima. Claims have been made that he had been nominated by Muhammad as his successor three months before the Prophet died⁹ but these are not consistent with other statements that Muhammad had made no provision for a successor.¹⁰ The other contender was 'Uthman's appointee as governor of Damascus, Mu'awiya ibn abi Sufyan. When Ali assumed the office of caliph on the day of 'Uthman's death he was not recognized by Mu'awiya who continued to rule Syria while Ali ruled the balance of the caliphate from a new capital at Kufa on the River Euphrates. The bitter and divisive power struggle which followed developed into full scale war between them, but 'Ali clung to power for four years until he was murdered by the Kharijites, a sect which had been among his strongest supporters in his bid for power. Mu'awiya forced Ali's elder son, Hasan, a grandson of the Prophet, to resign his claim to the caliphate and Mu'awiya was proclaimed caliph later that year, 661, in Jerusalem.

Mu'awiya's appointment marked the beginning of the Umayyad Caliphate which continued for ninety years, and a period of remarkable expansion in Dar al-Islam. The civil war came to an end, but the internal debate over who was the legitimate caliph continued and the power struggle ignited again when Hasan died a few years later. The Shi'at 'Ali, (the Party of 'Ali), claimed that Hasan had been poisoned on the caliph's instructions and asserted that he was therefore a martyr. When Mu'awiya was succeeded by his son Yazid I in 680, Hasan's younger brother, Husain ibn 'Ali, rebelled, supported the notion of a counter government set up in Mecca, and set out for Kufa at the invitation of the Shi'a in Iraq to claim the Caliphate. His small force was surrounded by Yazid's vastly superior forces at Karbala and when they refused to surrender they were cut to pieces. Husain, the second of the Prophet's grandsons to die, was

beheaded on the victor's orders and his head was sent to Damascus. The site of his eventual burial at Karbala became a major sanctuary of the Shi'a, and he was declared a Martyr.

The political opportunities for the Shi'a through Ali's family seemed to have been played out and the party began to take a more religious turn and to formulate its own principles and doctrines. However a few years later, in 685, Al Mukhtar, a distinguished member of the Thaqif tribe which had been in competition with the Quraish near Mecca, began an uprising in the name of the only remaining son of Ali, Muhammad ibn al-Hanafiyya, who was born to a second wife and was therefore not a grandson of the Prophet. Al Mukhtar rebelled using the slogan "Vengeance for Husain" and proclaimed the message of the Hidden Imam who would reveal himself at the end of time as Mahdi to set up the kingdom of righteousness. The rebellion proved short and abortive but it gave the Shi'a a new lease of life and helped to weaken the Umayyad grip on the caliphate. Subsequently the Shi'a supported the Abbasids in their successful bid to claim the caliphate, on the assumption that the Abbasids would adopt Shi'a Islam and revert to Ali's line of succession. However such was not to be. The Abbasids did not like the mythology and the religion which they had seen and, having gained the office, they saw no reason to relinquish it to anyone else on any historical ground. They retained Sunni Islam as the orthodox belief, destroyed Husain's tomb, killed the leaders of the Party of Ali, set about eliminating everyone who stood in direct line of descent from Ali and, in doing so provided the basis for a number of additional Shi'a myths and annual laments or celebrations.¹¹

The division between the orthodox or Sunni Muslims and the Shi'a was permanent. Islam had two streams each claiming legitimate succession from the Prophet and to be endowed with his authority.

Other sects have formed, deep divisions have occurred within Islam from time to time, and the history of the struggles to maintain the caliphate in spite of the crumbling of the Arab empire is very involved. But our main concern is not the history of the development of Islam or the decay of the Arab empire. We are concerned with the evolving relationships between Christianity, Judaism and Islam. It is therefore sufficient to note at this point that there are only two main streams of Islam. The majority of the world's Muslims adhere to orthodox or Sunni Islam and are generally known as Sunnis. They recognize a leadership system in which the caliph is the head of the community and is responsible for the welfare and defence of Dar al-Islam and for ensuring justice through the shari'a. Each successive caliph attains office either as the nominee of the previous caliph or by being chosen by the current leaders of the Muslim community.

However, within the early Muslim community there were those who believed that the head of the community, or Imam, is divinely appointed to assume the rights, privileges and responsibilities of the Prophet and to be the ruler and teacher of the faithful. As such he is endowed with super-human qualities which descend to him supernaturally from Adam, through Muhammad, a light which is a divine gift to the chosen of each generation. This does not necessarily imply perfection or freedom from sin in personal conduct, nor infallibility in

decision making, nor hereditary succession. However it is very easily interpreted to mean hereditary succession and that is the way in which those who wanted the caliphate to remain at Medina and within the Quraish interpreted and taught the matter. It was basic to the Party of 'Ali's demands that he be recognized as caliph without any consideration of alternative appointees, as it was to the case for his sons to succeed him. But it was also basic to the perceived need for the elimination of all those who may have been able to trace their descent from Ali once the Abbasids were in power and wanted to circumvent that understanding of succession.

Considering the circumstances of the formation of their stream, the Shi'a, (Shi'ites), showed relatively little variation from basic Sunni theology for some time (apart from putting greater emphasis on their demands for a hereditary line of succession) until after the killing of the second of Ali's sons. They adopted a number of distinctive doctrines and beliefs, they rejected the principle that community consensus determined Muslim law and justice, and they adopted the doctrine that in every age God entrusted the guidance of his servants to an infallible Imam. This was a modification or a refinement of the alternative view of succession mentioned above.

PARALLEL CONFLICTS OVER DOGMA

It is noteworthy that the Shi'ites were adopting such a position at the same time that the church in Rome was having great difficulty trying to rationalize conflicting statements and dogma which had been supported by successive equally infallible pontiffs. It was not the first such incident and it certainly was not the last, but its importance lies in the fact that it involved Patriarch Sergius who held office in Constantinople from 610 to 638. His period in office directly coincided with the period of Muhammad's ministry from 610 to 632, the early growth of Islam, and some of the greatest conquests by Caliphs Abu Bakr and 'Umar, including the victory over the Byzantine forces at al-Ajnadin in July 634, the surrender of Damascus in September 635 and the battle of the Yarmuk in 636. Sergius got into trouble with the church because of his efforts to reduce the controversy over Monophysite theology. There is little doubt that he was influenced by the vigour of Muhammad's teaching that there is one God and that Christ, the Messiah, was a human instrument of God's will, and it is reasonable to assume that he was trying to reduce the points of friction with the Muslims.

Sergius redefined the two natures of Christ in terms of an intimate union of divine and human wills so that Christ had only one natural-divine human energy. He persuaded Pope Honorius I to approve this line of teaching and in 638 Emperor Heraclius issued a statement of faith, the *Ecthesis*, drafted by Sergius, forbidding the use of the term 'energies', whether one or two, in defining the person of Christ, and asserting that the two natures were united in one will, ("monothelism"). These actions did not resolve the crisis of defining Christ for the church but deepened it and in 655 at a Lateran Synod Pope Martin I rejected the statement as heresy. He was "maltreated" – presumably that means tortured – and "banished to the Crimea where he soon died as a result of this treatment." However a General Council, summoned by the emperor,

meeting in Constantinople from November 680 to September 681 and chaired by the Papal Legates put the record straight by condemning monothelism, Sergius, Pope Honorius and others. Such was the church's distorted self-understanding and so great was its arrogance that even in the circumstances of the time anyone who wanted to accommodate Muhammad's thinking in even the slightest way just had to be put down. The council confirmed the previous decision of the Council of Chalcedon that: "Corresponding to the two natures which are united without confusion and separation in the God-man Christ, there are also two wills and two energies, divine and human, which without confusion and separation act together for the redemption of mankind." Pope Leo II was not present at the council but he must have realized that the council had undermined the concept of papal infallibility and, shortly after he had approved the decisions of the council and the condemnation of Pope Honorius, he issued a defence of his predecessor. He said he did not accuse Honorius of direct participation in the heresy but simply reproached him because "he had not smothered the fire of the heretical doctrine in the beginning, as became his apostolic authority, but had promoted it through his negligence."^{12 13} An interesting concept: infallibility and negligence in making decisions and determining doctrine are apparently compatible, together with sleazy politics, as confirmed by Bettenson.

Chalcedon left the Eastern Monophysites in schism, and the Monophysite tendency of the Second Council of Constantinople had not repealed the Chalcedonian definition. Meanwhile the threat to the Eastern Empire from the Persians and the Arabs made the schism politically dangerous. Cyrus, Patriarch of Alexandria, encouraged by the Emperor Heraclius, suggested to Pope Honorius that the schismatics might be reconciled by a formula (which had been put forward by Sergius of Constantinople) which admitted the two natures but only one 'divine-human operation or will'.

Bettenson then explains why Honorius accepted this formula which was published by Heraclius in 638 and continues:

But the successors of Honorius saw in it the thin edge of the a Monophysite wedge, and Martin in 649 condemned the Ecthesis. There followed a schism which lasted until 681, when the Arab conquest of Egypt and Syria left no reason for conciliating the Monophysites at the expense of antagonizing the West. The Emperor deposed the patriarch, asked Pope Agatho for guidance, and a council reckoned as the Sixth Ecumenical met in the Trullus (domed chamber) of the palace. The Monothelites, including Honorius, were condemned, and the schism was ended.¹⁴

It is interesting to ponder whether the Shi'a were aware of that incident and the implications and the trauma behind it when they prepared their own doctrine of infallibility. Husain was martyred on October 10th 681, just three weeks after the council in Constantinople issued its final statement and the trauma of that incident would have surely encouraged early discussion on their own doctrines. In any case the circumstances of Husain's death encouraged them to adopt a more rigid approach to the question of succession to the caliphate. They also encouraged the development of myths which quickly assumed historical credibility for most

adherents. These myths raised expectations for the return of the Imam and are held with the same intensity as their overall faith for those who hold them.

Having adopted the doctrinal position that God will always provide an infallible imam, the Shi'a leadership had to teach that the faithful must, as a principle of Islam, or a pillar of faith, believe in all Imams and in particular in the Imam of their own time. This had the effect of raising the status of the caliphs and led to a web of mythology growing around them as well, especially when the Abbasids seized power with the support of the Shi'a. This was aggravated by the fact that when 'Uthman appointed a commission in 653 to collect and put in order an authorised version of the prophet's revelations, he also ordered that all others were to be suppressed or destroyed. He thought he was simplifying religion and avoiding contentious debate. He fell into the same trap as the church three or four centuries before him. He and his advisers took on themselves the personal responsibility of deciding what was the correct and final word of God. He then set that selection on a pedestal at arm's length from the Bible on one hand and the Talmud on the other. The Qur'an became to the Muslim what the Bible was to the Christian. Muhammad's call for Muslims to read the books of the other two partners was gradually downgraded. The world had gone from one to two and then to three competitively pushed versions of God's final word. Not only that. It is a matter of great concern that personal judgement and bias played an important part in the selection and rejection of writings and records for both the Bible and the Qur'an. It is of considerable importance that while the church included the Book of Revelation in its Bible, without even knowing who wrote it, Uthman's commission did not include the full description of Muhammad's Night Journey. The differing status of these two important works has consequently provided fuel for bitter disputes. Similarly, the inclusion of material from different periods of Muhammad's ministry, without any indication of sequence, means that some material which was little more than battle orders issued during his later years when he was in conflict with units of the church which were more extravagant in their priestly practices have the same status as his earlier fundamental revelations. This has had several serious consequences. Firstly, it makes the Qur'an subject to the same kind of disputes as the Bible over the question of inerrancy. Secondly, it has given Christians who want to be mischievous ample opportunity to denigrate the prophet. Thirdly, it has enabled radical Muslims who want to take a hard line against unbelievers to do so in the name of the prophet with impunity. The overall effect has naturally been to widen the gulf between Muslims and Christians and Jews, especially since the re-invigoration of Islam in the 1970s, to heighten the dangers and to increase the urgency of a joint re-assessment of their self-understandings. Of course it is obvious that if the church had responded differently to Muhammad's challenge in the first place the pattern of subsequent events would have been completely different.

As already noted, dissatisfaction with 'Uthman's succession and his reign led to rebellion in several areas, a small Holy War was launched against Medina in 656, the local population did not come to his aid and he was murdered. When 'Ali assumed the Caliphate it was his turn to be the centre of battles legal and military to determine his right to the office and it is hardly

surprising that he, too, was murdered five years later. He had based his Caliphate not at Medina but at Kufa in Iraq and on his demise the placing of the capital provided a spring board for the mixed populations of Persia and Iraq to try to shake off Arab domination. They supported the Party of Ali in a struggle with the rest, including most of the tribes of Syria, Palestine, the Arabian Peninsula and Egypt, who supported a Caliphate of the Umayyads. This was when the competing parties each developed doctrines and historical material – some of it no better than propaganda – to support its case, often clutching at straws in the wind and introducing themes foreign to Islam,. These helped to perpetuate the division and introduced twists which Muhammad would never have approved. They ignored the prophet's advice about not splitting into sects and failed to learn from the troubles of the Christian church.

Just as Rome had latched on to apostolic succession through Peter, the Shiites developed their claims of transmission by inheritance of a divine element from Adam to Muhammad, Ali and his successors.¹⁵ They claim that 'Ali is second only to Muhammad. Mainstream Shi'ites do not elevate him any higher than that, but some sects within the Shi'a believe that 'Ali is the only true ruler of Islam's destinies and have developed beliefs that he has Messianic authority which will somehow be restored in due time. That belief is linked to the recognition by the Imamites, or Twelvers, of twelve Imams in the 'Ali-Fatima line of succession, despite the fact that the Abbasids systematically eliminated all known descendants of 'Ali or, perhaps, because of the fact that they were eliminated. The last of them, Muhammad al-Mahdi, is reputed to have disappeared in 880 and the sect believes that he will come again as the Guided One to restore justice and righteousness to the world. A similar belief, not unlike Christian belief in the second coming of Christ, has become widely accepted in other Shi'a communities as well.

As already noted, the Caliphate stayed with the orthodox Umayyad and followed a dynastic line until 750 when the Abbasids seized power with the support of the Shi'a and troubles (which will be discussed in chapter eleven) burst again. But in the meantime much was happening further west. Although their rulers had adopted Roman Catholicism in place of Arianism for the sake of peace, the Visigoths still wanted independence from the Byzantine Empire and they succeeded in pitching the last of the Greeks out of Spain in 631. Similarly, the Lombards took Genoa in 640 and were well on the way to pushing Byzantium right out of Italy. To the north of the Black Sea the Khazars were expanding rapidly and by 650 they controlled the Volga about as far as Moscow, and the Bulgars, forced out by the Khazars, were encroaching on more Byzantine territory along the Danube. However they had not reached their eventual home in modern Bulgaria. They were quick to take full advantage of the defeat of the Byzantine navy by the Arabs in 655 to wring further territorial concessions out of Constantinople.

THE CHURCH GAINS INFLUENCE IN BRITAIN

While Constantinople was fighting for its life, the church and politics were getting well and truly entangled across the Channel in the British Isles. They have never really been disentangled since. The church was already well established in the Roman controlled part of Britain when

Constantine was there, and as there had been no deliberate program of evangelism from Rome it is most probable that Christianity had been introduced by travelers who simply recognized Jesus' command to take the Gospel with them wherever they went. Like the Ethiopians, they must have asked for priests to be provided and the church grew as a consequence of that. The first clerics may have come from the community of Martin of Tours.¹⁶ Although British bishops attended councils of the church from time to time, with York, London and one other centre being represented at Arles in 314, (mentioned in chapter 2 page 18), it appears that the doctrinal conflicts debated at those councils were not carried into Britain. It also appears that the church in Britain held to a fairly orthodox line and remained reasonably well integrated until Pelagius clashed with Augustine over grace and sin.

Pelagius, an Irish-born monk who received his training in Britain, went to Rome to teach sometime within a few years either side of 400. At the time that he was embroiled in bitter controversy with Augustine, a Welsh teenager named Patrick was either toiling as a slave-herdsman in Ireland or studying for the ministry after his escape. Historical detail about the two men is very thin (in contrast to the mythology which has flourished around them) but we can piece together a brief outline of what happened. Patrick was probably born in 385 because he was about 16 when he was captured by Irish pirates and put to work at Mayo in Western Ireland about 401.^{17 18} If he was at Mayo for six years before receiving a divine message, escaping and persuading some sailors to give him free passage to Britain, it means he was at Mayo from about 401 to 407. By the later date, 407, Pelagius was most certainly teaching theology in Rome. He left for Africa in 409 or 410, when the Goths were menacing the city, and moved to Palestine shortly afterwards. It was 411 when the Council of Carthage condemned his teaching, and Augustine attacked him with vigor during the following few years.

Pelagius' crime was that he tried to vindicate ascetic monasticism against the criticism of Manichaeists by emphasizing man's freedom to choose good by virtue of His God-given nature. The denial of the transmission of original sin from Adam which was probably implied by his teaching was then taken up by his colleagues. Thus, in order to protect one of his pet hobby horses, his teaching on original sin, Augustine had to attack not only those who had criticized him but also Pelagius who had given them a base from which to do it. Pelagius was accused of heresy by Orosius who had been sent by Augustine as one of his hatchet men to enlist the support of Jerome in Palestine. Pelagius cleared himself at a synod in Jerusalem only to be condemned and excommunicated by two successive Popes, Innocent 1 and Zozimus, in 416 and 418. His fate is uncertain but the circumstances suggest he lost his head as well as his church membership at that point. Other theologians took up the case, either as it was, or in the modified form of semi-Pelagianism in the hope of seeing reason prevail, but the council of Ephesus in 431 finally closed the chapter with another dastardly decision in favour of the memory of Augustine. (Chapter 6, page 10.) Or at least they thought they had closed it.

The views of Pelagius had taken anchor in Britain and in parts of Gaul and they continued to influence the course of religious thinking for a long time until they were simply swamped by the tide of events. In the same year as the council in Ephesus, Pope Celestine I showed Rome's

first streak of interest in Ireland by sending a mere deacon named Palladius as the first bishop to the Christians among the Irish.¹⁹ Whether the need to suppress those ideas of Pelagius in his home country had anything to do with the decision or not is uncertain. Palladius was followed the very next year by that former slave-herdsman, Patrick, then about 47 years of age, who may have been a student for the ministry 24 years earlier while Pelagius was teaching in Rome. But Patrick had been sent back to Ireland not by Rome but by the church authorities in Britain with the role which he described himself as 'Bishop in Ireland'.²⁰ Whether Patrick had been trained solely in Britain or also in Gaul is disputed, but it probably doesn't matter either way. Similarly it is uncertain whether, as a teenager, he ever met Pelagius or heard of him as a theologian, or whether he was sent to counter the influence of Rome's nominee, Palladius. However, as he set up monasteries, ordained clergy, monks and nuns, preached, evangelized, arbitrated inter-tribal disputes and generally organized the church in Ireland, he did so with a distinctly Pelagian outlook. Ireland and Scotland north of the Firth were never brought within the Roman Empire and so even prior to the expulsion of Roman Rule about 407 any Christianity in those regions had still been organized from England. After that expulsion the position had gradually changed. Successive waves of new settlers began arriving by cross-channel invasions to dominate particular regions and although the church began to fragment it was basically the same religious presence across all of southern Britain.

SYNCRETISM AND MORE BATTLE CONVERSIONS

The Jutes and the Frisians in the first waves assimilated fairly readily, but the Angles and the Saxons who followed brought their own particularly vigorous forms of paganism, very manly, priestly and somewhat like the religion of the early Greeks.²¹ They didn't assimilate, they dominated, and for a period the church was virtually pushed out of East Anglia and the south east which reverted to pagan control under the Anglo-Saxons.²² Because of the established links between Ireland and Scotland, and the disruptive influence of the Anglo-Saxons in the south of Britain, efforts to evangelize Scotland from Ireland instead of from England were stepped up. Patrick's influence went with them. Several factors then combined to introduce a degree of competition between the Celtic churches, led and serviced from Ireland, and the churches in the south of Britain. There was the geographical separation of Ireland from Britain. There was the very important fact that the Irish and the Picts north of the Firth had retained control of their territories while invaders from Europe were continually changing the whole character of the south of Britain, and this was now coupled with the gradual colonization of the north west coast of Britain by Irish settlers who took the new name 'Scots'. Then there was the strong organizational flair which Patrick had introduced, with monasteries and the growth of teaching orders on an unprecedented scale, and the continuing influence of the former local boy, Pelagius.

On top of all that the population instability in the south of Britain and competition between a number of petty Anglo-Saxon kingdoms made it easier for Rome to re-exert its influence and to

counter the Pelagian heresy. Two distinct streams developed within the church as if to illustrate the regionalizing influence of theological dispute. Armagh, in northern Ireland, controlled Ireland and north Britain, and Rome controlled south Britain. Then enter the politics. In 596 Pope Gregory sent a prior and forty monks to reinforce the church in Britain. They set up a base at Canterbury near the channel coast of Kent and, by some means, persuaded Ethelbert, one of the Anglo-Saxon kings, to accept baptism at Christmas the next year. Ten thousand of his people went through the ritual with him. No wonder, if the pope's letter of 601 is any guide to the understanding expected of them. He sent instructions that the people were to be allowed their harmless external pleasures and that as many as possible of the pre-Christian religious customs should be used so that they would be more easily filled with Christian spirit and contentment!²³ Deliberate syncretism. Nothing circumstantial about that. Kent officially adopted Christianity on that basis about the time that Muhammad was establishing his infant Islamic community at Medina. It was followed about 624, (the year of the Battle of Badr), by Wessex and about 633, (while 'Umar was sweeping from one conquest to another), by Northumbria.

The Northumbrian conversion was another of the church's 'inspirations'. Some say that it was a sick-bed job and others that it was a battle-banner job like Constantine's. King Edwin had come to the throne in 617. He married a Christian in 625, personally accepted baptism in 627 and was killed in battle in 633. When he died there was a reversion to the pre-Christian religions. King Oswald, his successor, had been forced into exile among the Scots on his father's death in 616 when he was a lad of eleven. He became a convert to Christianity due to the influence of Irish monks from the Island of Iona in the Hebrides. On returning to claim his Northumbrian crown he stuck a wooden cross in the ground on the battlefield of Heavenfield and proceeded to do battle with his rival, Caedwallon.²⁴ He won. He thereupon sent for some of the Irish monks at Iona to help put down some of the anti-Christian reaction. He triggered tension between the Roman and the Irish missionaries. Poor fellow. He wasn't to know that Christianity is not one simple set of beliefs! He didn't understand the niceties of clerical and theological debate. He was only interested in community and social development and allowed large scale evangelization by the Irish-based Celtic church. Monasteries sprung up everywhere to become centres of education and a strong civilizing influence. On the other hand Mercia was holding to its brand of Catholicized paganism which carried not only Gregory's approval but his encouragement.

It is interesting to ponder the state of communications at that time between Britain and the rest of the world, outside the tight-reined system of the church, that is. We can only wonder whether Oswald would have known that while he was using the teachings of the Celtic wing of the church in his military battle at Heavenfield and being locked into his political battle over the teachings of the Roman and Celtic wings that some of their teachings and practices were being banned in the Muslim world under the Pact of 'Umar dated 637. It may be that the Christians were abusing the religious freedoms which 'Umar had allowed them when he visited Jerusalem nine years earlier, or it may be that authorised public displays of Christian ritual were continuing to distract waverers from the recognition and worship of God as the compassionate,

merciful sole creator and absolute judge. Again it probably doesn't really matter, because the consequences would have been the same anyway.

Whatever made it necessary, Christians in Syria and Palestine were subjected to restrictions which did not apply to Jews or to people of other religions. They were barred from carrying religious images in public, displaying crosses on churches or in the street, chanting loudly at funeral processions, shaving the front of their heads or wearing distinctive clothing. In addition, Christians were not to harbour spies in their churches, prevent a Christian from converting to Islam, convert Muslims to Christianity, imitate Muslims, strike them, or remain seated when they entered a meeting.²⁵ The Pact of 'Umar was one of the very few pieces of legislation which actively discriminated between people on religious grounds during the long period of the Islamic Empire. Even if Oswald did know about the conflict between Islam and Christianity and even if he understood the implications behind that pact it is doubtful whether he enjoyed the political strength or security to be able to force his churches to take it into account. His kingdom of Northumbria and the neighbouring kingdom of Mercia, being the major Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, became locked in a long term struggle for the control of Britain in which the support and agitation of their respective sponsor churches was a significant factor.

In 642 Mercia gained control of most of Britain south of the Humber except for Wales and the south west which, by then, were the only areas still controlled by the pre-invasion British. Even Northumbria owed it some subject allegiance. But, only twelve years later, Northumbria turned the tables. It regained the dominant position and even made the Welsh, Picts and Scots mere vassal states. The tension between the two churches ran high. A synod was held at Streaneshalch, near Whitby, in 664, but it seems that the differences in theology and practices were only patched over and not resolved. The tension continued to run high with a rash of struggles between Mercia and Northumbria and the next Northumbrian king tried his own solution. He officially adopted the Roman position and severed formal links with the Ireland-based Celtic church in an effort to gain the support of the church in the south. Even so, the Northumbrians were unable to hold their grip on Britain.

Within a generation of the beginning of the power struggle the smaller Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in the south changed their allegiance back to Mercia with its 'natural' Roman connections. Following the Synod of Whitby the fanatical and unscrupulous Wilfrid of York who had trained with the Celts in Lindisfarne, and Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury from 668 to 690, had tried to eliminate all Irish influence and even refused to recognize orders conferred either on or by Irish missionaries.²⁶ Sussex, previously not involved in the alliances and disputes, also adopted the pro-Roman position some time in the 680s (just after Sergius had been anathematized by the council in Constantinople). By 695 the Picts and the Scots on the other hand had thrown off the Northumbrian political yoke and strengthened their connections with their Celtic co-religionists. In spite of the pressure from Rome to suppress the independence of the Irish church it began to have a very big impact on the life of the church overall through an intense missionary zeal and the development of the practices of Confession

and Penance. These things in turn brought Ireland and Rome closer together and by about 740 the church in Ireland was back in the fold and the hatchet had been buried

Unfortunately it was dug up again later to be used not against Rome but against England during the bitter power struggle of the Reformation period. Ireland had not lost its independence of spirit. It had simply reached an accommodation with Rome. Perhaps it might be more accurate to say that Rome reached both an accommodation with Ireland and a relationship with it which it built on and exploited as the years passed. From the days of Patrick, Ireland had developed a fervour for Christianity which had not been seen anywhere in Europe. Being an almost totally rural country with no towns of any significance its circumstances encouraged the establishment of monasteries on a clan basis. The life and organization of every community was very soon closely linked to its monastery which was the focal point for education, nursing, trading and local political decision making as well as worship. The abbot tended to become the most powerful man in the district as well as the spiritual leader. It was a natural development. It was also a natural development that young men should be attracted to the monastic life in large numbers, especially when a surplus of rural manpower was another regular feature of the environment.

Security was important. Life in the monasteries gradually became more and more rigorous. Celibacy, regarded as the norm in European monasteries, became obligatory in Ireland. Worship and celebration of the ritual of the Mass became more and more regular until the monks in many monasteries were required to practice hourly prayer. Penitential discipline, austerity and hardship became such hallmarks of personal virtue and achievement among young monks that they were often imitated by clan members outside the monasteries. The number of members of a family who entered monasteries became a matter of pride and competition and was flaunted as an indicator of a family's piety and moral worth. Very quickly the practice of confessing to a monk-priest and private penance became general.

Public penance for major offences had been imposed by the church in Europe for a long time, but in Ireland the practice began to take on a new dimension.²⁷ In Europe penance had generally been imposed on a confessing sinner only once in his lifetime, on completion of which he was declared reconciled and final remission of his sins was granted by a bishop acting, in the church's view anyway, as God's authorised agent. In Ireland the priests began to declare immediate absolution on hearing confession, whether it was weekly, daily or at the drop of the latest thought of criminal intent – or sex. While some abuses of priestly power were reduced, such as the extraction of a confessor's wealth from him for penance on his death bed, there was room for much more abuse in other ways and the manipulative power of a priest over his flock reached new heights – or depths. He was provided with a catalogue of sins and corresponding penance and he was expected to have a working knowledge of it so that he could handle penitential discipline correctly. Confession before communion became the regular thing.

Before many of these practices had been finely tuned by the church, Irish missionaries were seen in many parts of Europe including Gaul, Italy and Germany. Among the best known was

Columban-the-Younger who established several European missions and the abbey of Bobbio in Italy between 590 and 615. To say that he introduced a higher religio-ethical standard than the Frankish kingdoms were accustomed to is to damn him with faint praise, but it is a fact. By the time that Muhammad moved home to Medina there were hundreds of Irish priests in Europe, often identified by a leather shoulder bag containing their books and a neck-capsule for consecrated bread for the mass – and their sacred relics. If those things were not enough to identify them, their tall travelling staffs, beards and long flowing hair around shaven foreheads certainly were.²⁸ Possibly Oswald knew something about the Pact of ‘Umar after all. However, when the political instability in Britain in the 680s and 690s highlighted the need for Rome to be reconciled with Ireland the availability of these missionaries, whom Theodore had previously refused to recognize, became one means towards reconciliation. They were given recognition and packed off with a new wave of missionaries from the Anglo-Saxon monasteries, some of which the Irish had built and staffed anyway, and most of which showed strong Irish influence. They took with them their penitentials and by the early 700s the Irish version of the confessional and penance had been adopted throughout the Western Church.

TOWARDS A HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

At this point Anglo-Saxon cum Irish influence reached its first peak within the church and across Europe. The second peak would come after the Reformation, but at the moment we are only approaching the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire. One Anglo-Saxon name, Wynfrith Boniface, is inseparably linked with that little exercise. But our starting point is Wilfrid of York. It was Wilfrid who had introduced the Benedictine monastic system in 650 at Ripon, possibly because of dissatisfaction with the Celtic system, but possibly because of his views on papal primacy. He had been largely responsible for engineering the result of the Synod of Whitby to strengthen the papal position in Britain. For that reason he was not wanted at York, to which Rome had appointed him as bishop, and when he arrived to take up his post he found it occupied by a Northumbrian appointee named Chad. Wilfrid had to rely on Theodore to rearrange things in his favour in 669 but nine years later Theodore cut the see of York into two and Wilfrid ran off to appeal to the pope. He was sent off to preach among the Frisians in Holland until about 686 when he regained his post in York, only to be forced to flee back to Frisia a few years later with several of his Ripon students. One of them, Willibrord, became associated with the Frankish mayor, Pepin, gained papal support and started a monastery for the Franks at Echternach, in modern day Luxembourg, in 697.

The following year, 698, news came that Carthage had fallen to the Muslims. The Byzantines had been losing their grip on North Africa for a generation or so. It wasn't only a question of military power which had become very difficult to maintain but, rather, one of allegiance. The Muslims had been gaining converts to their faith and their system of provincial government also looked very attractive to the Berbers. Now they had gone over to the Muslims in large numbers and the Byzantine garrison had been unable to hold out any longer. The Muslims were moving

across North Africa with the same ease that Vandals had 260 years before. Orthodox Roman Christianity was being evicted from North Africa for the second time. The Muslims would soon be at Gibraltar and then the church would be under pressure from a pincer movement. Well, at least it had been able to rescue Augustine's remains and enshrine them at Padua in northern Italy. Then: enter Boniface.

BONIFACE

In church tradition Boniface is credited with converting the Germans to Christianity by felling the pagan Oak of Thor, but while he helped to establish a dominant position for the church in Germany, his exploits are smothered in myths which have elevated him in public esteem. He was born at Crediton in Devon of proud pre-invasion British stock. His forebears had managed to avoid becoming involved in the church's politics in Britain until 26 years before he was born when Northumbria, with its Celtic church sympathies overlaying pagan religions, gained control of the South West country and Wales. Then came the forty year period of politicking with Wilfrid and Theodore and the Romanization of the southern kingdoms one by one, and Boniface was born right in the middle of it. The date is uncertain. It could have been as early as 672 or as late as 680.^{29 30} He was reared in monasteries at Exeter and Nursling to become a monk whether he liked it or not. His early work was teaching at Nhutscelle where he had received his own higher education. Then in 716 when he was about 40 he was sent to join Willibrord in the Frisian dukedom of the Frankish Kingdom. Mayor Pepin may have had five years to run in his pivotal position of power or he may have already been dead for two years, again depending on whose dates you work on.^{31 32} It was there that Wilfrid had been posted by the pope in lieu of York in 678. Boniface was imbued with the Augustinian view of the church and world power and he continued in the role of papal political manipulator in the Frankish Kingdom which Wilfrid and Willibrord had set up very well.

To describe him as a missionary is to use that term in a way in which it is not understood today. He knew that if provincial rulers were coerced into adopting a particular religious position the whole population had to follow suit. Whereas the earlier generation of Irish/British missionary monks had concentrated on man-to-man evangelism among the ordinary people of the Frankish Kingdom, he quickly became involved in upper level politics to coerce provincial nobility away from the Frankish church camp and into the papal church camp. Naturally enough, when the new mayor of the Frankish palace, Charles Martel, (a son of Pepin and by then the effective power in the kingdom), did battle with the Duke of Frisia to put a stop to that silly nonsense Boniface had to do a disappearing act. He had blotted his copy book. He returned to England.

A MUSLIM PUSH TO CRUSH IDOLATRY

It was while he was there that the Arab Muslims mounted their biggest offensive against the Byzantine Empire. They were determined to bring it down and thereby crush the idolatry and

polytheism out of its Christianity once and for all by capturing Constantinople. Then there would only be Rome left to deal with and it didn't have the military backing of an empire – yet. The pincer movement was already beginning to take effect, although the Arabs do not seem to have been working to a master plan and some historians maintain that if they had ignored the western approach and thrown all of their available resources into the eastern approach they would have quickly overwhelmed Rome. If that had been the case, history would have taken a markedly different course and we would now be looking at relationships between the religions in the troubled triangle from a totally uncharted perspective. On the western flank, the first Berber crossing into Spain in 711 had developed into a broad frontal movement which, with the support of the strong Jewish minority, had soaked up Spain like a sponge. Within two years the Muslims had reached the Pyrenees Mountains. After another two years, 715, they had firm control over all of Spain except for the northern regions of the Asturias and the Basques.³³ On the eastern flank Armenia had finally fallen in 717 and this freed Arab forces to support the drawn out naval push on Constantinople which, on that occasion, failed.

The church knew it would have to change its tack. It no longer had the means of coercing the nobility. What was more important, the Muslims would soon come sweeping across the plains of southern France. They didn't have to defeat the Basques. They could bypass them. It was really no wonder at all that the Jews were happy to see the Berbers and the Arabs arrive. Armed with Justinian's inglorious *Corpus Juris Civilis* the church had made life distinctly uncomfortable, especially after the Visigoth King Recared had adopted Catholicism for the sake of peace. On the other hand the Visigothic people, having reluctantly accepted Catholicism in place of Arianism, had no love for either Byzantium or Rome and showed very little fight. Of course the church blamed the Jews. It could never admit to being its own worst enemy. It could never admit to the sheer inhumanity of the minutely detailed regulations which it drew up in councils at Toledo, with the king presiding, such as that prescribing how Jewish children were to be seized, taken from their families and brought up in orthodox Catholic households.

THE NEED FOR AN ARMY

Rome desperately needed the support of an army. With the Lombards mounting their final push to expel the last of the Byzantine forces from Italy, the fledgling Papal States could do little more than defend the Vatican, if that. Byzantium was crumbling and it would never again be able to defend the authority of the church in the west. It was having to cede more territory to the Bulgars as the price for support in the desperate defence of Constantinople. The pope knew it. Willibrord and Boniface knew it. Charles Martel knew it. In any case the pope didn't want Byzantium interfering any more. As Boniface left England in 718 for an audience with the pope it was little consolation that because of the support of the Bulgars and the brilliance of the new emperor and his Greek engineers in preparing new defences, the Muslim Sulaiman was being repulsed in his bid to capture Constantinople. Boniface was deeply concerned about the church's daunting responsibility to carry the Good News of the Gospel throughout the world.

How could it possibly be achieved without large scale forces? Of course Boniface was not alone in the church in being unable to grasp the concept of evangelism by example and teaching. If it was able to understand the concept, the church leadership generally was either too impatient or lacked the confidence and the ability to put it into practice. Perhaps both. Once the decision had been taken to simply expand the church's sphere of influence by absorbing whole populations through leadership change-of-religion the die was cast. Coercion and force were needed because conflict was inevitable. The pope knew that. Boniface and Charles Martel knew it, too. And the very fact that the decision was taken demonstrates not only that the church's understanding of salvation was quite inadequate but also that its self-understanding was spurious.

Yes, the church could point to Islam and say "the Muslims are doing it," but what did that prove? Only that the church had still not understood the role of Islam. It wanted to plant another forest and not look for the cause of the fire in the present one. It couldn't even emulate the religious tolerance shown by the Muslims after they occupied each new area. At least that was the general stance of the church. There were a few exceptions. Among them was Emperor Leo III in Constantinople. But what did he know about such matters? He was only a layman. The clergy's view was that he should shut his mouth and let them get on with their job! They had decided in 692 at the Council of Trullanum II in Constantinople, (eleven years after the previous council there had condemned Sergius), that Islam was simply Arab militarism veiled in religious propaganda and that the use of images and relics in Christian worship was quite proper. And yet there he was, he had only seized the throne the previous year, just in time to tighten up the capital's defences to defeat the Saracens, and he was trying to order the church around. Leo was adamant that Islam was an instrument of God's will, sent to discipline the church. He was campaigning to end the extravagant use of art treasures, raving against the idolatrous use of icons and attacking the worship of Mary. The dominant view among the church's power brokers was: "He doesn't know what he's talking about! What a pity he's got the support of a handful of ratbag bishops, otherwise we, the clergy, might be able to do something about him!"

As a result of Leo's attitude, relations between Rome and Constantinople had become very strained and such thoughts were no doubt in the pope's mind when he instructed Boniface to return to Frisia with Willibrord. Again the English monk found that it wasn't all beer and skittles politicking out there in the Frankish provinces. After four years divided between Frisia and the German provinces Boniface found that he was unable to work with the Irish, Scottish and Frankish missionaries already there and that he was not gaining sufficient response from the dominant, wealthy nobility. He headed for Rome again to seek reinforced authority and swore an oath of specially close allegiance to Rome. He was consecrated a bishop and given letters from the pope to Charles Martel.³⁴ That was the turning point in Rome's relations with the Franks. Whatever those letters said, they brought special guarantees of protection for Boniface from Charles Martel. Thereafter the Anglo-Saxon bishop worked with an eye towards benefits for both camps. Whatever his suburbicarian oath to the pope meant in terms of his relations

with the churches of the Franks and the British Isles, he undoubtedly had obligations to both the pope and the mayor of the Frankish palace. He was in a very delicate situation.

In 722 the pope and Charles Martel shared a common concern that the Muslims had broken out of Spain. They had succeeded in getting control of the narrow coastal pass between the Mediterranean and the eastern ridge of the Pyrenees. After that the Visigoths in southern France offered little more resistance than their colleagues had in Spain. As a result the Muslims held all the Mediterranean coast as far as the River Rhone and they were half way to Lyon. They only had to break through the westward pass from Carcassonne to Villefranche and they were on their way to Toulouse, Bordeaux and the heartland of the Frankish Kingdom. No formal alliance was entered into at that stage, but it is clear that the messages which Boniface relayed back and forth between the pope and Charles Martel involved an understanding that if the Frankish palace supported the church of Rome instead of its own independent church, then the church of Rome would support the Frankish palace. Boniface had the job of ensuring that the understanding was acted upon. There had to be quite a change of heart from Rome's earlier efforts to tear away the Frankish allegiances province by province, but Boniface was obviously a very competent politician.

Parties of monks and nuns, and financial aid, were sent from the British Isles to relieve Boniface of much of his work in Germany – and to strengthen his position in Frisia. It was about that time that the tax known as 'Peter's Pence' was devised in England. In modern understanding it is applied for the maintenance of the pope and his works of charity, and it is collected generally throughout Roman Catholic communities.³⁵ But at that stage it probably helped support Boniface and the British-staffed conversion programs in Europe. Originally levied on St. Peter's Day each year at the rate of one penny per Catholic household, it was at the centre of some of the church's troubles during a later period.

The situation for the church continued to worsen. By 725 it was getting desperate. The Muslims were through the pass and heading for the centre of France. Boniface concentrated on tightening the church's organization and on fortifying his positions. It was likely that the monasteries would have to be defended. Pope Gregory II died in February 731 but work went on without interruption. In fact Boniface was in the thick of the politics which gave Charles Martel direct control over the German provinces as well as France. When Muslim armies reached Tours the next year, 732, they were more than half way across France. The new pope, Gregory III, appointed Boniface Archbishop-at-large with even greater organizational authority. He had wide powers to set up new monasteries and to establish new bishoprics, and the links with the Frankish palace had to be tightened even further. Then came Poitiers. Charles Martel called on the support of the Lombards, mounted a massive counter attack against the Muslims and won decisively. Muslim morale was shattered and their capacity to regroup quickly to move forward was destroyed. Frankish military morale was buoyant. The tide had turned. If all went well the Frankish armies would be back in Bordeaux within five years and on their way to Toulouse again.

The church should have been in a very good frame of mind, but it wasn't. It was that man Leo III causing trouble again. After the victory over the Saracens he went quiet for a while but then he got a bee in his bonnet about Islam and started publishing all sorts of regulations restricting the use of icons. In 726 he issued an edict that the worship of images, pictures and relics was idolatrous and must stop. Iconoclasm was in full swing and, not satisfied with the response, he directed that all such icons should be systematically destroyed. The majority of the clergy opposed the decree and argued publicly that the icons should be maintained. They could not see that in parts of the empire, and especially in the Balkans, Christianity was little more than superstition, morally and intellectually degraded.³⁶ They believed that the saints represented on the icons exercised beneficial powers through them, that they presided at all important events of human life wherever the icons were displayed, and that the icons themselves were a powerful channel of grace.³⁷ Violence broke out in many areas. In 730, in the closing stages of his papacy, Gregory II had spoken out against the emperor at a synod in Italy and Leo promptly responded by extending the prohibition of image worship throughout the empire, including the remaining Byzantine provinces of Italy. He deposed the Roman-appointed patriarch of Constantinople, seized part of the papal lands and placed the dioceses of South Italy and Sicily under the direct control of Constantinople. (In fact, because of continuing wars in the east, he could not enforce those decisions in the west.) It is hardly surprising therefore that another of Gregory III's first actions on assuming the papal office was to anathematize Leo and to excommunicate all who supported or took part in the destruction of the icons or, in Italy, statues.

The whole controversy played into the hands of the Lombard kings who, having accepted Catholicism, were open contenders for political power in Italy. Morale in the church in Rome was low but that of the Frankish church, which was still largely controlled by the degenerate and perverse royal household, was up like that of its army. Why should they take any notice of Boniface or anyone else from Rome? So Boniface paid another visit to Rome in 737/738. The Arabs had continued their push north and had just defeated the armies of the Khazar Khanate. It must have been uppermost in the Pope's mind that the Khanate would shortly convert en masse to Islam and when it did the Arabs would have a very powerful ally and a stepping stone on the route through Russia to eastern and northern Europe and Scandinavia. That put them in an even stronger position to move on Rome from both east and west. The Pope desperately needed to strengthen his alliances. He needed a diplomat capable of some very deft foot work. Boniface had arrived in Rome as an Archbishop but left as Papal Legate to the German provinces and the pope's personal envoy and negotiator. In 739 he carried a very special message from Pope Gregory III to Charles Martel. The Lombards were continuing to threaten an attack on Rome in spite of their conversion to Catholicism. The blunt question was whether Charles would enter an alliance against the Lombards and come to the pope's aid in the event of an attack. The answer was no. Charles needed continuing good relations with the Lombards so that in the event of the Muslims breaking north again or crossing the Rhone to the east he could call on their help again. He said the pope should negotiate a twenty-year peace treaty with the

Lombards. The pope didn't have much option. He did as he was bid. Two years later both men – Charles Martel and the pope – were dead.

PIPPIN, BONIFACE AND AN ALLIANCE OF CONVENIENCE

Charles Martel had built on the authority which his father, Pepin, had established as mayor of both the German and French provinces and had virtually set up a dynastic succession. He was succeeded by his sons Carloman and Pippin as equally autocratic mayor-rulers of the French and German provinces respectively. Gregory III was succeeded as pope by a Greek named Zachary whose appointment was largely a matter of imperial politics. Rome became even more dependent on the goodwill of the Franks than it had been before, because of Lombard antagonism to a Byzantine pope. In turn the new pope became very heavily dependent on Boniface and his connections. Boniface was elevated, yet again, to the office of Papal Legate to the whole of the Frankish Kingdom. The power game was hotting up, both within the royal household and across Europe. When the king died his successor was such a puppet to the twin mayors as to be little more than an irritation at the breakfast table. Then in 747 Carloman relinquished his office of mayor for the French provinces and entered a monastery. Pippin wanted absolute authority. Boniface wanted total control of the Frankish church under the Roman umbrella. They were surprisingly accommodating. Boniface supported Pippin's claims and Pippin supported the organization of a combined synod assembled under the direction of Boniface. The synod sent the pope a solemn promise of loyalty.

The alliance had been concluded, but Pippin didn't like the thought of Boniface as a powerful competitor at the head of a body more tightly knit than his own civil administration. Boniface had done his dash. Pippin began to negotiate directly with the pope and set out to clip the legate's wings. He wanted no competition, either royal or religious. He asked the pope to clarify who should be regarded as king of the Franks: he with his power, or Childeric III with his crown. The pope was caught. To retain control of the church in the Frankish Kingdom which he had only just achieved – and to secure Pippin's military support against the Lombards – he had to dump the old monarchy which the church had originally sponsored for the very same purposes. Claiming the support of the supreme spiritual authority which his church, with his bidding, had just acknowledged, Pippin convoked the Diet of Soissons, had himself duly elected King of the Franks and was anointed by one of the Frankish bishops – in the pope's name, of course. Pippin had outmanoeuvred Rome and Pope Zachary didn't get his quid-pro-quo. But when he died and Stephen II, a Roman, assumed office in March 752 the new pope made another effort to get an alliance against both the Lombards and the Byzantines. He sent a special team to negotiate with Pippin. It did not include Boniface. He was to return to organizing missionary work in Frisia.

ICONS AND DONATIONS

The negotiations dragged on. They were still in progress in 753 when a synod at Hieria, convened by Emperor Leo's successor, Constantine V, re-opened the debate on icons. It declared those of Mary and the saints to be idols and those of Christ to be theologically unsound. It ordered their destruction. Persecution increased, and relations between Rome and Constantinople plunged further. Stephen's negotiators and Pippin reached agreement on the conditions for an alliance in January 754 and it was ratified in April.

Within a couple of months Pippin's Franks were doing battle for the pope to recover the territory in dispute with Constantinople. Boniface wasn't there either. The former monk from an insignificant little English village who had been largely responsible for engineering the Frankish-Roman alliance had been ambushed and killed in Frisia on June 5th. It would be another 46 years before the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire would be formalized, but the framework had been built. A few weeks later, on July 28th, with almost indecent haste, the pope apparently relied on a forged document, the 'Donation of Constantine', to justify re-anointing Pippin and anointing his two sons as well with imperial titles which implied Frankish responsibility for the protection of the western church. It was probably intended to bring about a break with imperial Byzantium. In any case it certainly hastened the process. The forged document was designed to show that Constantine had ceded sovereign authority over the whole of the western empire to Pope Sylvester when the capital was changed from Rome to Constantinople. It seems that if it had really been necessary to produce such a document, the 'donation' would have been used to substantiate Rome's claims to the imperial cities of Rome and Ravenna and to the whole of Italy. Pippin seems to have understood the message. Two years later he obliged. His armies swooped and cleared the Lombards from the disputed territories.

By then the Abbasids had been in power for six years. They had crushed the last Chinese army to be sent to Central Asia at the Battle on the Talas, they had virtually completed the elimination of the Umayyad Caliphate hierarchy and they were planning their next northward expansionist move. But perhaps the church in Rome had been getting the wrong vibes from the intelligence it received just after Pippin had claimed the Frankish crown. The Arabs, as we know, were being distracted by the question of succession but also by attempts to set up local-language forms of Islam, especially by the Berbers, in view of wide differences in culture between regions of the empire. The Abbasids, with their strong Persian links, saw themselves as bearers of the revealed law of religion and upholders of the Islamic form of personal and community life and government rather than as Iranian rulers of an empire and they had little interest in maintaining the power of an Arab empire. Their caliphs assumed roles something like a cross between popes and emperors with even a touch of the god-king philosophy which was the downfall of both Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar. They paraded as "the caliphs of God" and not of the prophet. Not being tied to the Arabs, they endeavoured to unify the Muslim world by showing that every ethnic group, men and women, slaves and masters, artisans and

peasants were all equal before God and fighting for God's universal reign. But their simultaneous efforts to impose their own reign from above, to promote the idea that they were predestined to lead Islam, and the deification which they did nothing to discourage, meant that Islamic decision making lurched from popular consensus to decree by an isolated caliph.³⁸ This was consistent with the Shi'a philosophy but it meant that the Abbasids lost touch with large sections of the Arab community, the Berbers and the Moors, who each saw them as Iranian impostors and set out to tear the caliphate apart to retain what they each saw as true Islam. This was especially the case in Spain, furthest removed both geographically and ethnically from the new rulers in Baghdad, and local power struggles added to division between supporters of the Abbasids and the Umayyads. Spanish cohesion was lost.

Buoyed by the Frankish successes in pushing the Muslims back as far as the pass at Villefranche, the Christian communities rose against the weaker Muslim rulers and began to pick them off one by one. Rome was reprieved and the church survived the challenge of Islam. But it was victory by default. It was Islam's turn to suffer because of the inflated ego of its religious rulers and their misunderstanding of themselves, their role and God. The Arabs could be expected to fall back as they squabbled among themselves and the church should be prepared to follow, or so the reasoning ran in Rome. When Pippin died in 768 his two sons succeeded him but one died after only three years and the other, Charles, assumed full control of the Frankish Empire. In spite of his arranged marriage in 770 to a daughter of the Lombard king in an effort to absorb Italy without a fight, relations did not improve. The royal marriage was dissolved a year later. The Lombards threatened the cities claimed by the Pope who then called on Charles to honour his obligations and swore an oath of eternal friendship with him at the grave of Peter at Easter 774. Charles very obligingly put down the Lombards – completely this time – and assumed the title of king of the Lombards to go with his title king of the Franks. But he may have had a twinge of conscience. Instead of executing his former wife's father he packed him off to a monastery.

In Constantinople the new emperor, Leo IV, who was crowned in 775, thought the policy of religious reform had gone far enough. With Charles now hand in glove with the pope and surrounding his remaining Byzantine provinces in Italy, he feared for their security and called off the program of iconoclasm. He was just in time. A few years later, when Charles crowned one of his sons, Pepin, King of Italy the Byzantine provinces in the south held out against him. In any case Pepin died shortly afterwards without being able to press his claims. A few years later again, in 787, while Charles was fighting the Muslims in Spain, Empress Irene convened a general council at Nicaea and the decisions of the synod of Hieria were reversed. The issue of the icons was buried, at least for 27 years.

THE BIBLE OR THE SWORD?

In the meantime the unholy alliance between the pope and Charles had already been reaping great material gains for both the church and Charles, although the same could not be said for the

people of northern Europe. Charles' men carried the swords which encouraged the Saxons to join the church and the pope's men carried the Bibles which sanctified each extension of the Frankish domain. The new program to subjugate the Saxons and the balance of the Frisians by repressive force which began in 772 made Boniface's coercive tactics look angelic. The people were required to adopt Christianity and to acquiesce in the rites of the church as a condition of peace and protection. When any of the pope's men were assaulted or killed, when there were patriotic uprisings or when communities reverted to their pre-Christian worship practices there were massacres. Four thousand five hundred Saxons were slaughtered in one day alone.³⁹ A papal decree, *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*, specified death as the penalty for refusing baptism. The Anglo-Saxons might not have been happy to know how their 'Peter's Pence' were being spent, especially when the program was pushed north into Denmark and the Danes began to retaliate with attacks on Britain. Lindisfarne, the monastery where Wilfrid had trained as a monk, was sacked in 793 and Jarrow the next year.

When Leo III became pope at Christmas 795 he decided that what was good enough for the Danes was good enough for the Jews. Those who refused baptism were for the high jump. The years of his pontificate saw chaos in many directions and his decisions dragged the church deeper and deeper into the mire. Charles had fought against the Muslims in Spain in 778 and now he founded "the Spanish March" which was to protect the regained areas of northern Spain from falling under Muslim influence again. The 'march' was the last thing Spain needed, but Leo III sent Charles the keys to the tomb of St. Peter and a banner as symbols of his gratitude and of Charles kingship. There were, of course, those who believed he had done the wrong thing, and pressure built up against him so much that in 799 Leo had to flee to Charles in Germany for protection. With an eye to the future, and with designs on Byzantium, Charles promptly reinstated him. He needed him in Rome. Leo would be useful as pope when the right time came. But Leo beat him to it. When Charles visited Rome for Christmas in 800 Leo popped a crown on his head as he rose from prayer and declared him Charlemagne, Caesar and Augustus. The mob was happy. It had a better guarantee of protection than ever before. The Church was happy. The final break with the Byzantine Empire and freedom from imperial interference would now be a mere formality. But Charles was not happy. He had hoped to get control of Byzantium by some means – fair or foul didn't matter – but now his chances had been dashed. However he was undoubtedly in a much more powerful position than before and he would make the best of it.

The road to Rome and power had been rough but now the Holy Roman Empire was a reality. Conceived in fear and jealousy and fathered through intrigue by a church which had run completely off the track, it claimed to represent God the Father and God the Son and to be driven by God the Holy Spirit. Bastardy would remain its hallmark until it crumbled. Civilizations would flourish and develop in Asia and Southern America while oppression was the rule in Europe. The world would have to wait a long time to hear the Good News of Salvation through the Gospel which had been delivered to a small nation in the Middle East by the Messiah a long time before. Unfortunately the Good News had become enmeshed in the

ON THE ROMAN ROAD

self-misunderstanding and machinations of a corrupt and ruthless church intent on wielding absolute authority through a shackled, obsequious and equally ruthless imperial power.

CHAPTER 8

A CHALLENGE WITH A DIFFERENCE

In an age when most western Christians know more about the T.A.B.¹ than the W.C.C.² and when the morning talk-back star on local radio has more apparent influence in their day to day thinking and action than the church, it is difficult for many of them to appreciate that it was ever any different. And when all they hear of religious affairs in other communities is that strict Jews require their food to be cooked in special ways or that priests in Thailand wear saffron coloured robes they find it equally hard to understand that there is any more meaning in religious faith for other people than for themselves. It's only a question of different rituals they might say, or "they" don't believe in the proper gods. The idea that people actually allow their religious beliefs to influence their business operations and their personal conduct sounds either faintly amusing or incredible. "But after all we used to make our pubs close on Sundays and there are still restrictions on some activities at weekends," they might think – perhaps a little ruefully. "Yes, of course. It's our superior western ethic which we are just born with, combined with our superior education system. We don't need to worry about organized religion any more when we've got that! What a lot of nonsense."

The factors which have resulted in Western thinking developing in this way are both important and complex. An outside observer may well ask why it is only in history books that we read much about church-based mass movements like the ones which helped to force changes to child labour laws, prison reform and the establishment of schools for the general public. Then our observer may also ask us about all those foreign mission programs which the churches set up to take Western civilization to the developing countries. Yes... We will come to that issue later. Certainly the church has known periods of dynamic activity and social influence and there are still many serious efforts to bring salvation just a little closer, like development aid projects, political awareness programs, human rights campaigns and programs of aid without strings attached for self-determination movements such as those which helped to bring down Apartheid in Southern Africa. The pity is that such efforts are swamped by counter-productive attitudes and activities and sheer apathy which have become dominant features in the Western way of life. But before we throw too many bouquets about the church's achievements in its recent history we should recognize that many such movements are now initiated and organized either by people with no direct connection with the church or by people of other faiths, and we still have to work through that ghastly period of the Holy Roman Empire. While it seems a long time ago it was largely during that period that the ingredients for today's trouble spots, and

especially the Middle East, were prepared and the relationships between the three partners in the triangle were fixed.

The church has never liked the idea of being one partner in a triangle. Before Muhammad it didn't even like the idea of being one member of a partnership in which Judaism was the other partner. In its view the people of Jewish faith had reneged on their responsibility and forfeited any right for their community of faith to exist, and we have already noted many situations in which the church had tried to force Judaism out of existence. It continues to deny, even today, that it forms a triangle of faiths together with Judaism and Islam. Its self-understanding simply does not allow for any competitors or partners in the Salvation business, and there we have the basis of the problem: the church's understanding of itself. When it comes to grips with the question of what it is and why it exists we can then begin to resolve the trouble in the triangle.

Any student knows that an error in one part of a calculation compounds the error in every later stage of the calculation. So it is with theology. One misunderstanding leads to another and another. The early church used unsound human reasoning to define itself and its role right from the start. It made an error. It arrived at a faulty answer. It then used that answer as the basis from which to reason every aspect of its doctrines, its policies, its practices and its organization. It also used its answer to justify whatever it chose to do. It became expert at producing carefully reasoned theological statements in support of some of history's most dastardly deeds. But as if that wasn't bad enough it chose to redefine God on the same faulty basis. Having done so, at Nicaea in 325, it proceeded to use that definition both as the basis for all future reasoning and in defence of the faulty pronouncements it had already made. The more and more it extended its fabricated castle of doctrine, dogma, mystique and self satisfying liturgical embellishments the more and more it was forced to extend its argument beyond reason into fantasy, and to defend itself both by calling on claims of its own infallibility and by recourse to denigration of both its critics and reason. So we are back to the same point. When the church corrects the original errors it will be able to dismantle the maze of walls and mirrors it has built around itself as scaffolding. When it has done that it will no longer need to be forever on the defensive. The basis of the triangle will have collapsed and all three partners can get on with the job for which they were established. The Good News will be enough to lead humanity towards salvation.

As we have already seen, anyone who was silly enough and brave enough to challenge the church's reasoning got the chop, quite literally for a long time. The first real challenge, led by Arius, was essentially an internal challenge, although when it moved to the political and military arena the church portrayed it as an external challenge. By forcing the challengers into that situation and by continuing to institutionalize in line with its role as an instrument of the state, the church backed itself into a corner. It became no different to any other large institution such as a government agency, political party or commercial enterprise. In fact it very quickly took on the roles and the appearance of all three. Deeply ingrained attitudes, policies and exploitative or corrupt practices can seldom be eliminated from such organizations by management changes alone. Outside investigations or audits and pressure are necessary. The church has proved to be no exception. Muhammad and Islam, as the third partner in the triangle,

came along to provide such outside pressure. It proved insufficient at the time and the church hung on desperately and consolidated its position. That is the point we have reached in our long march along the Roman road.

But another outside challenge was building up on the horizon to prompt the church into a thorough reassessment of itself and its theology. It wasn't a matter of military pressure against Rome's authority but exactly the reverse. It was the stimulus of brilliant minds becoming attuned to a rational understanding of the triangle and exposing the basic errors of the church, (the second partner), as the people of Judaism, (the first partner), responded to continuing inhuman pressure from the church and began to reassess their own role in the unfolding history of mankind. A name to remember especially is Moses Maimonides. His intellect towered above his contemporaries and for that matter the whole of the Middle Ages. We shall come to him shortly. Unfortunately the church ignored the opportunity provided by these people and sought to eliminate them by its well tried methods. It had become so inflexible that it couldn't change its stance at all. It couldn't lift an index finger to beckon mankind towards salvation, but it could lift a sledge hammer to crush the challenge.

Eventually the church became so depraved that internal rebellion was inevitable. It erupted with Luther, Calvin and the Reformation and after the dust and fury settled, Europe experienced a burst of sunshine, love and a little hope for two centuries. But the Reformation proved to be only partial and Europe's Jews and much of the world didn't enjoy the burst of sunshine for very long, if at all. The Reformation was more organizational and practical than theological. There was a lot of theology talked but it was an internally triggered reformation and not the result of outside pressure. The great reformers didn't go right back to the basic theological rethink which was called for through Islam. They didn't challenge the basic self-understanding which the church had devised in its early centuries. They accepted those while they challenged the corruption and practical religious barriers which the church had built between man and God which had reached such frightening proportions during the days of the Holy Roman Empire. It is only now, several hundred years after the Reformation that circumstances have developed so that outside pressure can, and will, force that total rethink. The world desperately needs it. People have never needed to understand their relationship with God more than at present and never has the cry for Salvation been louder. In the twentieth century since the Messiah delivered the Good News it is finally becoming a case of 'let's go right back to basics.' No half measures this time. We have got our political sandwich with Israel hard pressed in the middle.

But it was a long hard haul for the European community from Christmas day 800, when a desperate pope thrust an unwanted crown on an ambitious king's head to convert him into an emperor, to October 31st 1517, when Martin Luther nailed his 95 theses to the door of the Schlosskirche at Wittenberg. Only two days before Luther took his action, Leo had been tried on serious charges by a church court which acquitted him and restored his authority as pope when he said he was very sorry, he wouldn't be naughty again, and made an oath of purification.³

In taking his action to crown Charlemagne (Charles) as emperor, Pope Leo had, in fact, double crossed him completely. A coronation had been planned but it was that of another of Charlemagne's sons as King of Italy to succeed the elder son, Pepin, who had died. Charlemagne had designs on the widowed Empress Irene in Constantinople who had, in her capacity as regent for her son, convoked the second council of Nicaea to smooth relations over the iconoclasm row and who had supported his 'Spanish March' to restrain a resurgence of the sympathy for Muslim rule. He apparently believed, like Theodoric, that a marriage or two between royals could do wonders for one's imperial prospects. (See chapter seven, The lost opportunity, page 11.) ⁴ But of course the Synod would not regard a little thing like double crossing the king as a sin if, in its view, the means justified the end. In contrast, only shortly before he took his action which triggered the Reformation, Luther had sat through a sermon to the effect that the purchase of an indulgence to help rebuild St. Peter's basilica in Rome was a guarantee to get a soul out of purgatory. ⁵ Such indulgences would, said the preacher, provide both forgiveness of sins and release from punishment and the soul could be either that of the purchaser or his nominee. ^{6 7} Luther was a priest trained in an Augustinian monastery. The preacher was a special representative of the pope, the papal subcommissary. The most remarkable thing about the Reformation which followed Luther's criticism of indulgences is that the world had to wait so long for it to happen. The most disappointing thing is that the reaction was incomplete and fizzled out for the reason already mentioned. Both factors simply illustrate how deeply ingrained the church's self-assessment had become.

There is no need to work right through the whole 715 years between those two events but there were several major happenings which helped to set the pattern of Europe's life for a very long time. The most important of those events were the series of Crusades and the second major outside challenge. They are intimately related and must be looked at together. At that time the church was not an exclusive group on either the conservative or radical fringes of society. It was the biggest single factor in fixing society's course. It was also the biggest political organization in the world and a devastatingly conservative influence, maintaining the social and economic status quo once it had established its grip on an area. As an instrument of state over much of Europe, for much of the period it received generous financial support from the state but it also had its own devious methods of extracting taxes. In addition it had an insatiable appetite for land and frighteningly sadistic methods of obtaining it. With its private armies as well as the support of the emperor's very obliging armies it didn't take long to stake its claims. Because of these things the church became the most enduring feature of the European scene as the years passed and the tribal and political map changed continually. But it was certainly not the most endearing feature.

Charlemagne died and was succeeded by Louis the Pious in 814 but the well established methods of Christianizing new areas, either military pressure or power politics, were used with numerically good effect for the entire period of seven hundred years of the Holy Roman Empire and then longer. Actually, if the church had chosen to recognize the prior authority of its Judaic heritage it could have justified a program of conquest for imposed conversion by reference to

Deuteronomy, the fifth of the Judaic books of law, the Torah, which is attributed to Moses. Some passages in Deuteronomy set out conditions under which a Jewish king may wage war against another nation, including the obligation to offer a peaceful settlement before waging war, and the action to be taken if the other nation refuses to discontinue idol worship and to adopt basic Judaic law.⁸ However to acknowledge Deuteronomy in that way and to act on its precepts would have required the church to show that the people being conquered were the essence of depraved idol worship, that it had the support of the civil judges, and that it was not appropriate to enter into a treaty for peaceful settlement and the renouncing of idol worship. These laws provided the basis on which King David and King Josiah conducted their wars, but not all of their counterparts were equally scrupulous. John Hyrcanus was less than faithful to the law when he used an army of pagan mercenaries to force the Idumaeans to adopt Judaism and to accept the practice of circumcision.⁹

Such recognition by the church should not have been difficult because in Matthew 5:17–20 Christ is reported as saying that he came not to abolish or annul the Judaic Law but to complete it, and that not a letter or a stroke of the law shall disappear until all its purpose has been achieved. But of course such recognition would also have required recognition of a continuing role for Judaism and the acknowledgment of the working relationships between religious, political and civil authorities which that involved. That would have required a new self-understanding on the part of the church and, of course, it is around that issue that the whole trouble in the triangle revolves.

ENOUGH OF THE SWORD!

However, apart from confirming that Muslim military conquest policy was completely civilized and innocuous, the consequences of Christianizing new areas by the sword were not always quite what the popes and holy emperors might have liked. The Vikings, for example, stepped up their retaliatory raids against Britain and also took the opportunity to export surplus population. They destroyed a large number of Irish monasteries and churches over a period of fifty years and had the audacity to set up a pagan kingdom in Dublin in 851. Six years earlier they had burned Hamburg in retaliation for the Frankish efforts to subjugate and Christianize Denmark by the sword using that city as a base. They had earlier taken the defensive but fairly ineffective step of building the immense Danevirke Wall right across the Isthmus of Slesvig. Still pretty upset, they sent a party to Northumbria in 867 to burn everything within reach.

The Swedes were a canny lot. Their merchants at Birka had developed lucrative commercial connections among the Franks and rather than wait to be ravaged by Louis and his equally pious Christian rabble they sent an emissary around 830 with a request that a party of Christian missionaries be placed in Sweden.

The Carolingian Empire of the Franks, which had been formally established by Pippin's election in 747, broke up on the death of Louis the Pious in 843 and the title 'Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire' lapsed for some years. When it came back into regular use again with the

crowning of Otto, a Saxon, as king of Germany in 962 it carried more prestige than power but the church was still the main beneficiary of the links it provided: certainly not the emperor, nor the people.

Quite apart from the concessions which they had wrung out of the Byzantines for help in the defence of Constantinople, the Bulgars had continued to expand the territory which they controlled. They did a deal with Charlemagne when he returned from Spain. They helped crush the Avars whose territory had sat between them and the Franks and thereupon gained the apparent advantage of common border contact with both Byzantium to the east and the Holy Roman Empire to the west. However they found themselves in the middle of bitter rivalry between the two wings of the church for the minds of the people and Tsar Boris eventually had to make the customary leadership decision. In 864 he aligned himself with the eastern church, accepted baptism and allowed Bulgaria to be used as a springboard for the church's expansion into Yugoslavia, Rumania and Russia. Scandinavian traders had begun to open up trade routes to Asia Minor via the river systems of western Russia which flow south into the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea. Of the two major routes, the Volga and the Dnieper, the latter gradually became the more important. Access to eastern Mediterranean trade via the Muslim-controlled Bosphorus sea route was much easier than via the rugged land routes crossing the mountains of Armenia which had blocked the Arab movement northwards. Colonies were being established at Kiev in the south and Novgorod in the north. Kiev was the more important because it became a tribute collecting centre for the Norman soldier-traders and was a vital trans-shipping point for the movement of cargoes past the Cataracts which blocked the Dnieper River to fully loaded vessels. So the patriarch of Constantinople sent a bishop and a mission to Kiev. The Norman prince who controlled the fortress city of Novgorod was not at all keen on the idea of a Byzantine power base in his midst. He was well aware of what the Holy Roman Empire was doing in Scandinavia. He probably expected the same from Constantinople, couldn't see any point in being subjected to Christianity and its rituals, either with or without a sword, and decided to overrun the mission. It was abandoned.

A few years later both centres were merged into a single state together with about four other trading centres between the Black Sea and the Gulf of Finland on the Baltic by Prince Oleg, who took Kiev as his seat. Claiming descent from the semi legendary Norse prince Hroerekr (or Roderick) as his justification he thus set up the first organized state in modern day Russia. Based on trade between two alien peoples, the Normans in the North and the Black Sea traders, it was in part precipitated by the need to prevent political interference by the power brokers of the Christian Church. But that was not the first contact with a piece of the jigsaw-triangle of Semitic messianic religions for the people of western Russia.

Judaism, Islam and Christianity were each present to some extent in pockets scattered among the tribal peasant farming communities which were ethnically very mixed as a result of waves of Goths, Slavs, Finns, Huns, Alans, Bulgars and Turks all moving through at some stage. They had all been getting along quite well together and without wrangles with the pagans who worshipped gods whose favours were thought to be directed to particular tribes or communities.

Prince Oleg no doubt hoped that his action in establishing the Principality of Russia would lead to political and religious stability. However it did not prevent a steady stream of Christians from moving into the region from Constantinople via Bulgaria or from Germany via Hungary, where, after 50 years of bitter struggle and varying fortunes the Magyars were finally defeated in 955 by King Otto I and the usual process of forced Christianization began. Only two years before, in 953, three of Otto's nepotistic appointees to subordinate thrones, (a brother, his eldest son and a son-in-law), rebelled and joined forces with Hungary in an effort to protect its independence. They were soon brought to heel with great venom. Monasteries began to appear in close proximity to the Russian principality and an army of monks roamed the countryside 'Christianizing' with the aid of Otto's armies.^{10 11}

REFORM BEGINS AT CLUNY

Otto had established a church structure around himself which was somewhat like the earlier competing Frankish church and it was very ready to do his bidding. It had many of the trappings of the Byzantine church. He nominated bishops and abbots and demanded an oath of loyalty to himself.¹² He is said to have done this to offset the sale of such offices by the degenerate and treacherous pope, John XII, whose reign fell as low as any during the Middle Ages.¹³ John XII was eventually deposed in December 963, only the year after he made a desperate bid to hang on to office by inviting Otto I to Rome to be crowned emperor.

There followed a long period when a number of popes were appointed directly by the emperors, when several popes were deposed, and when competing popes claimed to hold office and anathematized each other as anti-popes. The position was only partly resolved in 1059, 96 years, 26 popes and six anti-popes later, when the then pope, Nicholas II, used the device of a papal decree to reserve the appointment of popes to the cardinals and to remove the influence of the laity, whether commoners, nobles or emperors.^{14 15} In the meantime the level of papal degeneration and corruption had already led to a movement for reform from within the monastic system.

The reform movement was led from the monastery of Cluny for which the Duke of Aquitaine had engineered autonomy for the Abbots who were to be freely elected, independence from the jurisdiction of bishops and a guarantee of non-interference from the pope. The movement for reform received a big boost from the struggles between the emperors and the popes but unfortunately the monastic system became the plaything of kings and a very effective lever for more power. The monasteries tended to become pathetically introspective with little in-house activity other than lengthy religious ceremonial, cloistered study and hourly prayers. They were a very heavy financial drain on the community and in some regions had a very negative effect on the population's outlook. In 933, just 22 years before Otto came to the throne, a monastery based on Cluniac lines was set up at Gorze in Lorraine. Aiming to strengthen his position, Otto got right behind it and very quickly there were 150 affiliated monasteries across Germany alone.

OLGA'S TRIP TO CONSTANTINOPLE

It was against that background that Princess Olga at Kiev was persuaded to adopt Christianity and to Christianize her court – and the whole principality – in 957, only two years after Otto became king. However it was to Constantinople that she went to be baptized.¹⁶ It is most likely that her motive in adopting Christianity was the same as that of the traders at Birka: get in while the going is good and don't suffer the fate of your neighbours. However she struck strong opposition from members of her court who were well aware of the situation and when she sent to Otto for a Roman bishop to help put down the opposition, she compounded the problem. Before he arrived she had been deposed and her son Sviatoslav was on the throne. He wanted nothing to do with the politics of Christianity but he soon learned that to rebuff Otto didn't pay. The share of trade between Scandinavia and the Black Sea and Mediterranean which passed through the young Russian principality began to fall. Imperial pressure was re-directing it through regions under imperial domination.

It appears that at the same time the balance between the trade passing along the Dnieper to and from the Black Sea through the principality and the trade passing further east along the Volga to and from the Caspian Sea in Turkish Muslim and Khazar country was swinging in favour of the Volga. This was aggravated by the refusal of the last of the Slavic groups to transfer payment of its tribute from the Khazars to the Christian principality. Sviatoslav attacked and destroyed the capital of the Khanate in 969. His impetuous action, although triggered by his deteriorating trade position, must be seen as a response to the complications which flowed from both the conflict between Constantinople and the Holy Roman Empire and Otto's determined efforts to use his religious position to expand his own empire within an empire. The situation which developed had such long term consequences and implications that they are still unfolding today.

The first effect of Sviatoslav's sortie was to bring him into contact with some of the Muslim settlements and to consolidate his determination not to be absorbed by either of the Christian forces. He was so attracted by their beliefs and way of life that for a time it appeared that he may adopt Islam as the religion of the principality and although he did not do so, because of diplomatic intervention from Constantinople, it gained a substantial following.

The next effect of the destruction of the Khanate capital and its military capacity was to destroy the barrier between the Russian principality and the belligerent Turkic tribes further east who had been kept in check by the Khazars. They began to disrupt trade on both the Volga and the Dnieper so that both powers suffered. Instead of gaining a greater degree of independence the Russians became more dependent on Constantinople and less able to resist pressure from Germany and the Holy Roman Empire. Eventually the Turks brought trade between Kiev and Constantinople to a standstill. This meant the break up of the principality into smaller and smaller power groups and their regrouping around Moscow, but that was still some time away¹⁷

It is said that Olga's grandson Vladimir, wanting to finalize the dilemma she had thrown the principality into, sent emissaries to investigate the religions of each of his neighbours after

Sviatoslav's death. Their representatives also called on him at Kiev. We can not be certain whether the issues which most influenced him were their creeds, social policies and theology; the relative magnificence of their rituals and ceremonials (claimed by some to have been important); their diplomacy and trade, or their potential political and military impact on him.¹⁸ He is said to have rejected Islam because of its prohibition of alcohol, saying to a Muslim emissary that Russians are merrier drinking and without it they cannot live.¹⁹ But whatever his real motives may have been he formally adopted the Christianity of Byzantium in 987, married a sister of Emperor Basil II in an obvious bid for influence, and invited the patriarch to send bishops and priests throughout Russia. After having forcibly converted his people to Christianity he was, naturally, canonized as Saint Vladimir.

Within a few years the Khazar exercise started by his father, Sviatoslav, had been completed. Vladimir began a joint military campaign with his Byzantine ally, protector and brother-in-law which was not completed until the year after the end of his reign, 1016. The Khanate was then totally destroyed, its people were scattered far and wide, and within 15 or 20 years their territory had been totally annexed by other tribes. That is where we come to the most important consequence of Sviatoslav's petulant action when the church upset him and we must look more closely at the Khazars.

THE KHAZAR KHANATE

At its peak about 300 years earlier, the pagan Khazar Khanate had stretched about 800 miles north of the Caspian, as far as the climate would allow peasant agriculture, and as far west as Princess Olga's seat of Kiev where they had probably established a town. Its people had come from much the same stock as the Bulgars and there were continuing links between them. At one stage the Khazars and the Bulgars provided an army of 40,000 to help Byzantium in its wars with the Persians.²⁰ But in 737 the Khazars were invaded and defeated by the Arabs. They lost much of their power and could not prevent the Khanate from breaking into three fragments, two of which were controlled by the Magyars and the Volga Bulgars who apparently recognized the Khazars in their homeland area as having some degree of continuing seniority.²¹ The Khanate had already taken a hammering in the three way contest for Armenia which the Arabs had finally won in 717 and other existing powers and fresh waves of Asiatic tribes had gradually annexed its northern and western territories, leaving it somewhat weakened at the time of the invasion in 737. However, although the Khanate was then defeated by the Arabs it was not absorbed into the Caliphate because of the dynastic succession troubles which were paralyzing the Muslims at the time. In fact by their long drawn out fights the Khazars had prevented Islam from flowing freely into the southern and western areas of Russia. They had, however, come into intimate contact with all three portions of the triangle.

After his defeat by the Arabs when, in ordinary circumstances, he would have become a subordinate ruler within the caliphate with Islam being adopted by all of the people (except those who were prepared to pay higher taxes for the privilege of adhering to the faith of their

choice) the Khagan Bulan found himself free to follow whatever religion he chose. In 740 he made a deliberate decision to reject paganism and called representatives of the three Abrahamic “heavenly religions” and had them present and then debate their creeds in his presence. The debates did not resolve the issue for him, but having firmly decided to discard paganism he asked each of them which religion they would adopt if they were not free to follow their own. The Christian and the Muslim both said Judaism. His decision was made. Judaic law was introduced.²²

Bulan’s successor, Obadiah, built synagogues and schools, encouraged the study of the Bible and the Talmud, invited Jewish sages to settle and rewarded them royally, and determined that only Judaists could succeed to the Khazar throne. Trading links were soon established with any country which was happy to trade with the Khanate. This meant, in effect, that there was no trade with either papal Europe or Byzantium, but that trade flourished with North Africa, Spain and Marseilles. Immigration also occurred at a steady rate, especially from the Tigris and Euphrates valleys where the short-lived Jewish Kingdom of Mahoza had been set up, and from Byzantium when Jewish refugees fled during the periodic purges against them.²³ And even though the Khanate lived by Judaic law and the throne was reserved for Judaists, religious tolerance was of a high order. The Supreme Court was constituted to include two Jews, two Christians, two Muslims and one pagan.²⁴ The civilization overall was of a very high order compared to anything in Europe.

The establishment of a Judaic Kingdom in this manner, by the peaceful conversion of almost an entire population, provided an immense pool of Judaists which would not otherwise have existed. Its attachment to Palestine and Jerusalem as a focal point for its faith was reinforced by the immigration of Judaists from other regions. However, while many of those immigrants would have had direct ancestral links with the Jewish tribes of pre-Christian times, (and there is no question that at least some of them would also have been converts), the vast majority of the people living in the Khanate at the time of its destruction would have had no ancestral links with Palestine at all. This destroys the basis of the widely promoted claim that all Judaists are of “Jewish ancestry” and, in turn, the politically convenient argument that this ancestry justifies modern Jewish claims to Palestine as a national home. We shall come to that point again later.²⁵

There seem to be no reliable estimates for the number of Judaists in the Khanate in 1016 but those people, violently ejected from their homeland for no crime other than standing in the way of the Christian Church and its political affiliates, like countless hundreds of thousands before them, probably more than doubled the number of Jews in the countries in which they settled. Many settled uneasily in western Russia, Byzantium and the Mediterranean ports while others went south to Caucasian Mountains of Georgia and Azerbaijan and even further south into Asia Minor.²⁶ The Crimea, Hungary and Poland each became home for large numbers of refugees and some were even taken to Kiev.²⁷

The scattering of these people, whose dogged determination to resist forced conversion was not an ethnic factor but a result of their theological self-understanding, made the task of the

Christianizers much harder and exposed it historically as an exercise in politics and not salvation. The church's attitude became harder, its bitterness more deeply entrenched and its repressive tactics even more obnoxious. Christians were deliberately and callously indoctrinated with anti-Semitic attitudes. They were taught to believe that their two worst enemies were both Semitic: Jews and Muslims. The Muslims were more often called Mohammadans in a deliberate effort to establish the erroneous belief that such people worshipped Muhammad, whereas Christians worshipped Christ. Gradually accelerating interfaith conflict was guaranteed unless the church adopted more responsible attitudes. That scattering and later forced resettlements provided communities of Jews to be used as the playthings of nineteenth century Christian Russia's pogroms and Hitler's twentieth century holocaust. The addition of the Khazar population of Judaists to the population of Jews already in Europe ensured that community trauma would be on such a scale that the community-at-large would eventually have to recognize the nature of those two situations. It also ensured that the remnant populations, again scattered as refugees, would be of sufficient strength to exercise substantial political influence in the period following World War II.

JUDAISM REVITALIZED

However the conversion and scattering of the Khazar population had a much more important result than any of the factors so far discussed. It severed the tribal link between Judaism and Palestine. It lifted Judaism temporarily above and beyond the tribal limits which the building of the Temple at Jerusalem had tended to place on its thinking. The blinkers were removed and it was Yahwism for all mankind again. Yahweh was God of all and therefore Judaism could encompass all. Jerusalem was more than ever simply a focal point for faith and a symbol of hope for the full flowering of the Messianic age. At one stroke the ancestral connection between Judaists and Palestine as a homeland was severed. Judaism had become its own living illustration of its deeply and sincerely held conviction that Yahweh is God of all. It had a revitalized basis on which to set about preaching to the world and it was in competition with Christianity for believers.

A few Jewish scholars caught the significance of the situation and tried to lift the morale and aspirations of their people. The close links which had developed between the Khazar Khanate and the Jewish communities of Spain, encouraged by the freedom of trade under the Muslims, gave a marked impetus to the reawakening. Among those who played an important role in the reawakening was a Jewish physician named Hasdai ibn Shaprut. He had been appointed to the court of the caliph, Abdur Rahman III, and gained his confidence to the extent that he became, in effect, minister for foreign affairs without title, but he was also officially appointed Inspector-General of Customs for the port of Cordoba. He was still holding that post under the Caliph's son and successor, al-Hakam II, at the time of Sviatoslav's attack on the Khazar capital. He took full advantage of the diplomatic influence of his positions to support and improve the lot of Jews in other countries, including France, and is given much credit for promoting education

generally and Spanish Jewish scholarship in particular. Another man holding influential state posts and who played a similar role was Talmudist, poet and statesman Samuel ibn Nagdela who became vizier to King Habbus of Granada from about 1030 to 1055 while the refugee exodus of the Khazars was in its later stages.²⁸

MAIMONIDES

Among the flood of Jewish scholars who achieved prominence under men like these and who require special mention for their influence in developing new insights into the role of Jews and Judaism were the poet Judah Halevi and the philosopher-physician-historian Maimonides of whom mention has already been made. Halevi, (1071–1141), another physician by profession, became very disillusioned by the divided and harassed state in which he saw his community and the world at large. He abandoned his family, wealth and training and began to think and speculate on the meaning and purpose in the scattering of the Jewish people around the world. He was among the first to express the belief that the restitution of Palestine would herald the redemption of the whole of mankind and not just the Jewish people. Through his poetry, the idea took an almost obsessive grip on the imagination of Europe's Jews. Their morale, personal endeavour and achievements reached new heights and Spain's Jews were soon on the edge of their golden age.

Maimonides, (Moses ben Maimon, otherwise known as Rambam), the son of a distinguished rabbinic judge in Cordoba, was born in 1135. He was a young lad at Cordoba during the period when Muslim imperial unity and religious tolerance had failed. The Islamic Empire had broken up into numerous caliphates and sub-kingdoms with decidedly different religious and political emphases. All cohesion had been lost and new waves of Asiatic conquerors, although adopting Islam as a faith, understood nothing of its unifying influence and simply pressed on with expansion of their empires at the expense of anyone and everyone. Asia Minor and Russia were in a mess. The Seljuk Turks had relieved Byzantium of the region of modern day Turkey, between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. What was left of the Byzantine Empire had disintegrated, regrouped and was about to finally disintegrate.²⁹ And the Spain of Maimonides' childhood was vastly different to the Spain of Hasdai ibn Shaprut also. The Christian kingdoms of the north, aided by Rome and the Franks, had burst out of their northern confines, and, although fighting among themselves, had regained and re-imposed Catholicism over more than half of the country. They had taken full advantage of the Berber invasion and the civil wars which had fragmented the Caliphate into five factions by 1071. But then they had been checked and pushed back for a time when Muslim Spain was reunited under the Saharan Berbers who, at first, brought a new vitality and single-mindedness to Islam in that part of the world. Many Jews were either attracted or coerced into adopting the religious forms of Islam because of its single-minded recognition of the absolute authority of God and, because of the impression which Muslim military success conveyed, that God had rejected the people of Israel and appointed the prophet of the Arabs, Muhammad, as successor to Moses.

During his childhood years Moses resisted his father's efforts to lead him into an academic or rabbinical career. Unable to cope with bitter rebukes, censure and punishment, he left home for a time to seek his own religious understanding and to study at his own pace. When he returned, his father and the community of the synagogue were surprised by his maturity and scholarship. By the age of 16 he had completed his first serious work, a treatise on logical terminology, which indicated the direction his future work would take. In later years, when he dominated Jewish scholarship, his detractors claimed that he placed too much reliance on reason and too little on inspired tradition.

In the meantime, when Maimonides was 13 years of age, Cordoba was overrun by the fanatical Almohad Berber sect and the Jewish religious practices which had evolved as a blend of Judaism and Islam were suppressed. The Almohades imposed conversion to Islam using the well known methods of the Roman church and destroyed much of Cordoba. Increasing oppression and the progressive elimination of the Jewish community led to his father's decision to flee to Almeria, on the Mediterranean coast. In 1157, when Almeria was also overrun, the family fled again and a year or two later they settled in Fez, Morocco, where many Jews had responded to the pressure of circumstances and converted to Islam. Rabbi Maimon set about counseling and supporting those Jews who had remained faithful and wrote widely in an effort "to free the people from the calamitous delusions that the persecutions afflicting them were a sign that God had turned away from Israel and had chosen the Arabs to carry the teaching of God through their prophet Muhammad."³⁰ Maimonides, then 22, studied rabbinics under Rabbi Judah ibn Susan (or Sossan). But he also studied medicine, some other sciences and philosophy with great zeal, taking full advantage of a phenomenal memory, and he continued work on his commentary on the Mishnah in Arabic which he had begun in Spain.

In 1165 Rabbi Maimon took Maimonides and his younger brother, David, to Acco in Palestine, possibly as a consequence of the martyrdom of Rabbi Judah ibn Susan at the hands of the fanatics in Fez. Having experienced the pressure of the Almohades in Spain and Morocco they would have been very concerned to learn that the equally fanatical Shi'ites in Yemen were also trying to impose conversion to Islam on the strong Jewish community in that region. Then, after about a year, Maimonides and David settled at Fostat, (old Cairo), in Egypt where David supported them both for some years through his trade in precious stones while Maimonides continued his studies, trained as a physician and wrote prolifically.³¹ Maimonides' first interest was to pursue the knowledge of God and prophecy but to do this he turned to logic and the works of both Aristotle and Plato. He did not rely solely on the Talmud. Undoubtedly the dominant memory of Spain which the impressionable young man took with him was the fierce fanaticism of an extremist Muslim Almohades, but he knew both Christianity and Islam very well and the decidedly different philosophy which he developed split Jewish scholars and theologians as well as antagonizing both Christians and Muslims.

Between 1166 and 1172 he completed *The Book of the Commandments* and the *Commentary on the Mishnah*, he broke the influence of the Karaites in Egypt, and he intervened

in the Yemen to encourage Jews to remain faithful, to stand against the pressure from the Shi'ites to convert, and to resist the temptation to follow a false messiah who had gained some prominence in the region. Controversy raged in 1168 when he wrote that revelation is not to be taken literally and that the words "God said" in the Torah are to be taken as a metaphor for 'this is a prophetic communication.' The implications for Jewish teaching were enormous but they were even greater for the Christian Church with its self-understanding as the exclusive mouthpiece for Christ and thus, in its view, for God. However controversy did not undermine his authority and as his reputation spread Maimonides was consulted increasingly for responsa to questions on civil and religious practice, even by the Gaon of Baghdad, and as early as 1170 there are Arabic references to him being regarded as the leader of the Jewish community. In fact such widespread consultation was a further cause for controversy because his critics maintained that only the geonim or heads of the academies in Babylon, backed by the full authority of their institutions, could make responsa which could have application throughout the Diaspora. As well as that he did not cite authorities, name authors or give any references in his writings and this suggested a "presumption of sovereignty" which made verification of his rulings difficult and impeded further research by others.³² After his brother drowned in 1173 he served from time to time as personal physician to the family of Saladin, (the Kurdish officer who had seized the Sultanate and recognized the authority of Baghdad), but his other interests tended to draw him away from his practice of medicine.

THE MISHNEH TORAH

During the years from 1175 to 1185 Maimonides worked feverishly on his 14-volume Code of Jewish Law, the Mishneh Torah. But during those years there were interesting and contradictory plots being hatched in the playgrounds of the theologians. Saladin, a Muslim assisted by trusted Jewish advisers, worked equally feverishly, preparing to expel the Christian Crusaders from Palestine; the Christian Spanish formulated the Law of Teruel which stated that "the Jews are the serfs of the king and the absolute property of the royal treasury"; and Pope Alexander III and the Third Lateran Council adopted their canon on relations between Christians and Jews which stated that Jews were prohibited from having Christian servants, that Christian testimony against Jews was to be accepted in all lawsuits and that Jews who converted to Christianity were not to be deprived of their possessions. That contrast in attitudes and policies from one faith to another is another sad indictment of the church's self-understanding.

Regarded as one of Judaism's most magnificent achievements,³³ the Code of Jewish Law is so comprehensive, with interpretations of the Law from both the Talmud and the Geonim that, for a time, it made direct study of the Talmud almost unnecessary for ordinary people. Copies prepared by professional copiers were carried to all parts of the Diaspora and it helped to strengthen Jewish self-understanding and commitment or resolve. Considering the state of communications at the time its impact was enormous and rapid and it soon "conquered the hearts of scholars, students, rabbis and judges", and many communities made it their book of

laws.³⁴ However, because the processes of learning and understanding constantly expand human capacity for learning and understanding and make the concept of a pool of knowledge (which the church had promoted and by which it had been unwittingly inhibited) redundant, Maimonides' Code did not become a virtual everyday replacement for the Talmud and it is now regarded as simply one element in Talmudic study.³⁵ Of course even if there were no other issues to consider that would be sufficient reason to place the Mishneh Torah in a list of the world's most important works, but there is a far more important issue: its contribution to our understanding of the trouble in the triangle.

In the last of the fourteen volumes of the Mishneh Torah, *The Laws of Kings and Their Wars*, Maimonides reviews Talmudic teaching and comments on the appointment of kings, their responsibility in war, the future resettlement of Eretz Yisrael, relations between Jews and gentiles, the Jews' obligation to teach gentiles the seven key commandments the re-establishment of the monarchy, and the future Messianic Age. His astute understanding and his prophetic interpretation of earlier writings now provide a vital piece as we try to complete the jigsaw puzzle which is the trouble in the triangle. In his preface to the entire work Maimonides wrote that in the Diaspora Jews no longer gathered in their traditional way to study the oral law because of the difficulties and dangers involved. "In the present era", he wrote, "troubles have multiplied and the times weigh heavily on all. The wisdom of our wise men has been lost and understanding has been hidden from our men of knowledge. Thus, those explanations and halachot (aspects of the law) have now become difficult to comprehend and many do not understand their intent." His aim was, he said, to clarify what was permitted or forbidden, the pure and the impure, and other laws of the Torah until the entire oral law could be set in order without questions of difficulty, thus revealing all the laws to both great and small. But the translator and commentator Rabbi Eliyahu Touger places Maimonides work and motives in a wider context. In his introduction to his own modern English language translation of *The Laws of Kings and Their Wars* he quotes the passage that the (future) king's purpose and intent shall be to elevate the true faith and fill the world with justice, destroying the power of the wicked and waging the wars of God. He then maintains that the Rambam did not compose those final chapters to conclude his work with reassuring prophecies of a glowing future but, rather, because the Messiah's coming is the key to the return to the observance of the entire Torah, and because "the Messiah will lead Israel and the world at large to its ultimate goal: the knowledge and service of God as expressed by Torah and Mitzvot (commandments)." ³⁶

... GATHER THE DISPERSED OF ISRAEL

Maimonides wrote that at some time in the future the Messianic King will arise, renew the dynasty of King David, return it to its initial sovereignty, build the Temple and gather the dispersed of Israel. He said that anyone who does not believe in him or does not wait for his coming denies not only the statements of other prophets but also the Torah and Moses. He then set out a series of references to the prophets and the Torah to support his contention, beginning very deliberately with Deuteronomy 30:3–5 which is to the effect that "... God will bring back

your captives, have pity on you and gather you once again from among the peoples where He has scattered you. Had you wandered to the ends of the heavens God would gather you even from there, reclaim you and bring you back to the land your fathers' possessed so that you in your turn might make it your own, prospering there and increasing even more than your fathers."³⁷

Similarly, Maimonides drew on Deuteronomy to support his contention that the borders of the re-established Israel would be expanded by the addition of three more "cities of refuge." This command was never carried out, he said, and surely God did not give it in vain. But, somewhat surprisingly, he drew on the notorious incident from the early Christian Era in which Rabbi Akiva supported the claims of Bar Kozibah (Kokhbah) to be the Messiah to "prove" that the Messiah need not work miracles, bring about new creations or resurrect the dead to establish his credentials. If a king can demonstrate that he is from the line of David, is learned in the Torah, observes the commandments, compels all Israel to walk in the way of the Torah, fights the wars of God, builds the Temple and gathers the dispersed of Israel, then he is definitely the Messiah, he said. However he added a qualification based on Zephaniah 3:9 and Daniel 11:35 that if the king did not also improve the entire world by motivating all nations to serve God together it would show that although he was a proper king of the line of David, God had caused him to arise "to test the many" He put Jesus of Nazareth into that category, more or less comparing him with Bar Kozibah, saying that he had aspired to be the Messiah and was executed by the court in line with the prophecy in Daniel 11:14 that "the vulgar among your people shall exalt themselves in an attempt to fulfill the vision, but they shall stumble."³⁸ Then in a scathing attack on the church for having elevated a false messiah to the status of a unit of a Trinitarian God Maimonides asked whether there could be a greater stumbling block than Christianity. He said that all the prophets spoke of the Messiah as the redeemer of Israel and its saviour, one who would gather their dispersed and strengthen their observance of the commandments. And yet the church, which claimed Jesus as Messiah, caused the Jews to be slain by the sword, scattered and humbled their remnant people, altered the Torah and led the majority of the world to err and serve a god other than the Lord.³⁹

MUHAMMAD, JESUS AND THE MESSIANIC AGE

However Maimonides went on to recognize a constructive role for both Jesus and Muhammad. "It is not within the power of man to comprehend the intention of the Creator," he said, because "His ways are not our ways and His thoughts are not our thoughts, but ultimately all the deeds of Jesus of Nazareth and that Ishmaelite who arose after him will only serve to prepare the way for the Messiah's coming and the improvement of the whole world by inspiring the nations to serve God together." This would be consistent with Zephaniah 3:9: "I will make the peoples pure of speech that they will all call upon the Name of God and serve Him with one purpose."⁴⁰

Then, as the finale to the entire Mishneh Torah, Maimonides added his key assertions: in the Messianic Age the nature of the world will not change, nor will there be innovations in the work

of creation. The world will continue according to its pattern. The words of the prophecy in Isaiah 11:6 that the wolf will dwell with the lamb and the leopard will lie down with the young goat are a metaphor and a parable meaning that Israel will dwell securely, together with the wicked gentiles, he said. The “wicked gentiles” are described in Jeremiah 5:6 as a wolf from the wilderness and a leopard which shall stalk their cities. However Maimonides maintained that they will return to the true faith, that they will no longer steal or destroy, that they will live at peace with Israel, and that everyone will understand what has been implied in the parables. The only difference between “the current age” and the Messianic Era will be the emancipation of the Jews from subjugation by the gentile kingdoms, he said. Then he added his own “simple interpretation” of the prophets’ words: the war involving Gog and Magog will take place at the beginning of the Messianic Age, but before that war a prophet, Elijah, will arise to make Israel upright, to prepare their hearts to serve God and to establish peace within the world.

Acknowledging that the coming of the Messiah was a matter of controversy, Maimonides noted that some sages expected Elijah’s coming to precede the coming of the Messiah. He said that such matters were not defined in the prophets’ words, that the wise men had no established tradition on them, and that they could not be known definitely until they occurred. Furthermore the timing and order of the events or their details were not matters which people should concern themselves over because they are not “among the fundamental principles of faith” and their study will bring neither fear nor love of God. One should simply wait and believe in the general concept, he said, knowing that the Sages did not yearn for the Messianic Era in order to have dominion over the world, to rule the gentiles or to have special privileges, but simply to be free to work within the Torah so that they would merit the world to come. In that era there will be neither famine nor war, envy or competition, but good will flow in abundance and the whole world will concentrate on the knowledge of God.

GOG AND MAGOG

Any prophecy concerning the person of the Messiah and the Messianic era or, (as Maimonides presented it in the Mishneh Torah), a clarification or restatement of earlier prophecy, is bound to be controversial, especially in an environment of dramatic interfaith tension, but the confusion is made worse by different understandings of the names Gog and Magog, and different translations of Maimonides’ words by different scholars. In his translation of *The Laws of Kings and Their Wars* published in 1987 Rabbi Touger uses the expression “the war of Gog and Magog” on both occasions in which the war is mentioned and places the war in the context of Ezekiel 38 and 39 in which the setting is Gog coming up against the land of Israel to do battle with it. In contrast, the translation by Schonfeld-Brand and Newman of Rabbi Meir Meiseles’ *Judaism: Thought and Legend*, published in 1964, reads: “...the dawn of the Messianic Age will be heralded by the war between Gog and Magog, and ... before this war of Gog and Magog, a prophet will arise...” Clearly, in the context of the return of the scattered Jews to Eretz Yisrael a war between Gog and Magog as separate entities cannot also be against the land of Israel or

involve it, except if it is the subject of the war or as a third party in some other way. On the other hand in a war of (or involving) Gog and Magog the two parties can either be opposed to each other with or without Israel being involved, or they can be in alliance against Israel. There are therefore people who look for a war between Gog and Magog, and people who look for a war with Gog and Magog in alliance against Israel. That distinction is very important and we shall come to this matter again soon enough, but at this point a review of Biblical references to Gog and Magog will help to set the scene for the twentieth century stage of the trouble in the triangle and may help towards an understanding of the way in which Maimonides used those names.⁴¹

The first mention of Magog is in Genesis 10:2, which was compiled from material gathered progressively by three groups of authors between 950 BCE and 400 BCE. It identifies a person of that name as a grandson of Noah, the first tiller of the soil and grower of vines for wine, who settled far to the north of Palestine and who gave his name to that region. A similar reference to his ancestry occurs in I Chronicles 1:5 (compiled from the oral sources between 430 and 370 BCE). The first reference to the name Gog then follows in I Chronicles 5:4 and is applied to a fourth generation descendant of Abraham, the line of descent being Abraham, Isaac, Jacob (whose name was changed to Israel), Reuben, then Gog. There is no suggestion of a direct link between them and research since World War II has brought about such far-reaching reassessments of biblical history and the way in which the early books of the Bible were composed that it is virtually impossible to establish any such links. In any case, writers are not in agreement on whether Noah of the ark and Noah the tiller of vines are the same person. H. H. Rowley⁴² indicates that they are, while John H. Marks⁴³ maintains that they are different persons. But in addition, current understanding⁴⁴ is that there were two periods of major local flooding in the regions of Mesopotamia and Babylonia which are drained by the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, the first about 2,900 years BCE and the second, which is assumed to be the subject of the biblical narrative, some 1,250 years later, about 1,650 years BCE. Because it is now thought that Abraham lived between 1,800 and 1,700 BCE⁴⁵, somewhat before that flood, there is clearly a great deal more work required to reassess the origins of the early books of the Bible and to develop a clearer understanding of the relationship between myth and history.

The references to Gog and Magog which appear next, in Ezekiel 38 and 39, were actually written somewhat earlier than Chronicles, between 600 and 580 BCE, during or following the Babylonian exile. They involve both names, linked, with Gog referred to as a prince in the country of Magog. The prophet anticipates an attack by Gog in alliance with other forces against Israel, either out of greed and lust for its resources or acting under divine direction. He then anticipates that Yahweh will defend Israel and totally destroy Gog in an awesome display of power which will demonstrate the Lord's holiness, absolute authority and special care for Israel in a manner that all the nations will recognize it. Because neither the name Gog nor Magog actually applied to any ruler or country at the time that Ezekiel was writing, scholars have sought to either identify them as Alexander the Great and Macedonia or as future powers

of evil drawn from throughout the world, whose defeat will be associated with the redemption of Israel and universal recognition of Yahweh's authority.

THE REVELATION OF JOHN

From Ezekiel we move to the New Testament Book of Revelation which most Christians tend to avoid, finding it the hardest book in the Bible to understand. Written between 90 and 95 CE, its setting is attempts by Roman emperors to impose emperor worship and the martyrdom of many Christians who resist that direction. The aim of the writer, John of Patmos, is generally understood to be to encourage the Christians of the seven young churches to stand up against state pressure and to look for personal redemption and life in the New Heaven and the New Earth. But there is a distinct second phase in the book: prophetic visions of the future in which Jerusalem is depicted as God's seat, with all authority and divine judgement delegated to Christ, the lamb, and with recognition of the faithful of both Judaism and Christianity in a manner which reflects Christ's words that he had come not to abolish the Law or the Prophets, but to complete them. Unfortunately some Christian commentators, noting the crudeness of the original writing and the similarities between Revelation and the prophecies of Isaiah and Ezekiel, regard the writer as a bit of a plagiarist who aped them and merely added some of his own touches, and they therefore cast doubt on the originality and the inspiration behind the prophetic writing. One who does not is J. B. Phillips. He gives the writer credit for writing under divine inspiration and for leaving his work in a somewhat crude form because he did not believe it would be proper to edit what he had written during visions "in the spirit."⁴⁶ When we consider Revelation in the light of the trouble in the triangle, Phillips' attitude is well justified.

The references to Gog and Magog in the Book of Revelation must be read in context with other portions of the second phase of the book which opens with a vision of God enthroned in the Heavenly Jerusalem and with Christ placed in the very subordinate position of a right hand assistant to open seven seals to reveal seven aspects of the future and the nature of salvation and judgement. Although he wrote that Christ was the only figure in the presence of God able to open the seal it was hardly a vision which would support the concept of a Triune God or the Messiah's equality with God. Later there is a visionary exchange between the writer and an angel of the Lord which is a ringing command to worship only God and no subordinate figure. It is strikingly similar to the Qur'anic exchange already noted.

"Then I knelt at his feet to worship him, but he said to me, 'Don't do that: I am a servant just like you and all your brothers who are witnesses to Jesus. It is God that you must worship.' The witness Jesus gave is the same as the spirit of prophecy." Rev. 19:10 [Jerusalem translation]

Then follows a vision of the devil (Satan) being overpowered, chained and thrown into the Abyss so that he could do no evil until "he must be released" (at God's will), and a single reference to Gog and Magog.

When the thousand years are over, Satan will be released from his prison and will come out to deceive all the nations in the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, and mobilize them for war. His armies will be as many as the sands of the sea; they will come swarming over the entire country and besiege the camp of the saints, which is the city that God loves. But fire will come down on them from heaven and consume them. Then the devil, who misled them, will be thrown into the lake of fire and sulphur, where the beast and the false prophet are, and their torture will not stop, day or night, for ever and ever. Rev. 21:7–10 [Jerusalem translation]

Several things are noteworthy. First: that this passage is written in the future tense in the style of a prophecy and not in the past tense as a description of a vision, although some translators substitute ‘was’ for ‘will’ in the reference to the devil being thrown into the lake of fire. This is presumably to have it correspond with the vision of the devil being thrown into the Abyss in the previous paragraph. Second: Gog and Magog are not characterized as powers of evil. They are simply ‘all the nations in the four corners of the earth’ deceived by the devil and mobilized for war. Third: there is no reference to the destruction of Jerusalem but only to besieging ‘the camp of the saints which is the city that God loves.’ In the context of the last decade of the first century CE it is reasonable to assume from the use of the words ‘the camp of the saints’ that this long term prophecy anticipates the population of Jerusalem acknowledging Christ as Messiah and living an upright life according to both the Law and Gospel teaching.

THE VISION SPLENDID ...

In its closing phase John’s vision and the prophecy turned to a new heaven and a new earth with Jerusalem coming down from God. It had no temple because the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb were, themselves, the temple, and the city did not need the sun or the moon for light, since it was lit by the radiant glory of God and the Lamb was a lighted torch for it. But it had twelve gates and twelve foundation stones. Above each gate was the name of one of the twelve tribes of Israel and each of the foundation stones carried the name of one of Christ’s twelve Apostles. William Barclay, writing in 1959, eleven years after the establishment of the State of Israel, interpreted the reference to twelve gates to mean that there are many ways into the City of God, that there is not one exclusive “gate” or church but many and that “a man can find his own” church or gate. He then suggested that the reference to the twelve tribes of Israel as well as the Apostles “stands for the continuity of the church.” He wrote: “The God who revealed Himself to the patriarchs is the God who also, and far more fully, revealed Himself in Jesus Christ; the God of the Old Testament is the God of the New Testament. From beginning to end it is one unbroken line of revelation culminating in Christ.”⁴⁷ Such an interpretation reflects the long-standing Christian position that there is no role for Judaists in the City of God or the Messianic Age. However there is an alternative interpretation. Christ’s Gospel is the foundation on which the city stands but a city wall has little point without means of entry and the Torah was that point of entry. The city can only function when its component parts (the walls and the

gates) complement and support each other and when its people work in harmony. The gates are open to welcome those who may enter in from any direction:

“The pagan nations will live by its light and the kings of the earth will bring it their treasures. The gates of it will never be shut by day – and there will be no night there – and the nations will come bringing their treasure and their wealth ...”

and there is a role for both the successors of the twelve tribes of Israel and the twelve Apostles, to guide them there. But the pathway to the City remains obscured, strewn with stumbling blocks thrown up out of ignorance and in long-running disputes. This is not a message which the church was eager to receive in the first century CE, or which most of its commentators even after World War II have been prepared to recognize. But when prophecy becomes reality the gates of Jerusalem will never shut and the pagan nations will live by its light which the prophet saw as “the radiant glory of God and the Lamb being a lighted torch.”

... AND THE CAVE

But finally we come to the Qur’anic parable of Dhul-Qarnain in Sura 18, The Cave, verses 83–110. The key figure in the parable, Dhul-Qarnain, (whom some commentators, including Qur’anic translator N. J. Dawood, identify as Alexander the Great), is portrayed as being made “mighty in the land” (by God) and as being given means to achieve all things. He receives a divine command to either punish or show kindness to a series of communities which he shall encounter, according to their circumstances. He encounters two communities and acts on the divine commands without incident. Then he encounters a third in the valley “between the Two Mountains” in which the people “could barely understand a word.” The parable, which opens with the injunction which identifies statements which Muhammad is believed to have dictated under Divine inspiration: “Say: ‘I will give you something of his story ...’”, continues: ⁴⁸

‘They said to Dhul-Qarnain, “Gog and Magog are ravaging this land. Build us a barrier against them and we will pay you tribute.” He replied: “The power which my Lord has given me is better (than any tribute). Lend me a force of labourers, and I will raise a barrier between you and them. Come, bring me blocks of iron.” At length, when he dammed up the valley between the Two Mountains, he said: “Blow (with your bellows).” And when he made the iron blocks red with heat, he said: “Bring me molten brass to pour on them.” Thus they (Gog and Magog) could not scale it, nor could they dig their way through it. He said: “This is a mercy from my Lord. But when my Lord’s promise has been fulfilled, he will level it to dust. The promise of my Lord is true.” On that day, We will let them come in successive waves. The trumpet shall be sounded, and We will gather them all together. On that day Hell shall be laid bare before the unbelievers, who have turned a blind eye to My admonition and a deaf ear to My warning. Do the unbelievers think that they can make My servants patrons besides Me? We have prepared Hell to be their dwelling place.’

The message of the parable is, briefly, that if those who profess to believe neglect the responsibilities which their belief involves, scoff at Divine revelation and the Lord’s apostles

and place their faith in servant/patrons of similar weak faith, they will be subject to Divine intervention and judgement. It is very easy indeed to interpret the circumstances of the Jewish community and the key players at the close of the nineteenth century and in the years leading to the establishment of the State of Israel as a classic illustration of that message. The ‘people between the Two Mountains who could barely understand a word’ are represented by the Zionist communities of Europe. Gog and Magog are represented by the competing and oppressive Christian forces of Eastern and Western Europe; the servant/patron is represented by Britain; the iron and brass barrier by the Balfour Declaration; the levelers of the barrier by Nazi Germany; and the Trumpet by Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*. Some ‘People of the Book’ find it difficult to accept the idea that God might involve a tyrannical oppressor as an instrument of judgement upon a nation which is the subject of a Divine Covenant and which has been – at least nominally – righteous. However the brief Book of Habakkuk, in which the writer foreshadows the invasion of Judah by the Chaldeans as an instrument of Divine judgement upon the injustice and tyranny within the decaying kingdom, provides a clear illustration of the concept.

We may still have some way to go to fully understand how Maimonides’ saw the roles of Gog and Magog and the dawn of the Messianic Era, but the prospect cannot be discounted that he anticipated a situation such as that illustrated by the Qur’anic parable of Dhul-Qarnain in The Cave. And certainly there is a marked similarity between his approach and that of John of Patmos in that they both anticipated a role for Jews, Christians and, in Maimonides’ case – because of his historical placing – Muslims.

By the time that he completed the *Mishneh Torah* Maimonides was already the accepted leader of Jewry in Egypt, but in 1187, two years after it was published, he was honoured by the Vizier with two special appointments. The first was as court physician, which meant that medicine again became first call on his time. The second was as *nagid*, or supreme head of the Jewish community within the sultanate. The office had been allowed to lapse some years before because it had been disgraced by the despotism of the previous holder, and Maimonides’ appointment restored it to a place of honour. His appointment also ended the “dismal state of chaos” which the community had experienced, and is said to have “aroused universal joy among the Jews.”⁴⁹ The office carried considerable authority and responsibility but, being very conscious of the consequences of the abuse of power and apprehensive about both his personal ability to be completely even handed in his dealings with other people and the reaction of Jewish leaders in other regions, Maimonides was reluctant to flaunt the title or to exercise his authority except when there was a degree of urgency. He expressly asked that Jews not attach the title to his name in documents or letters so it was used only by the Arabs.⁵⁰

Maimonides’ appointment as *nagid* was a consequence of the esteem in which he was held by the sultan, the vizier and officials of the Egyptian court, confirmation of his ability in a number of fields, and a reflection of the personal relationships between him and the sultan and the vizier. However the importance of his appointment lies in the fact that the office existed and that it was filled at that point in history, and in the self-understanding and attitudes of the three Abrahamic faiths which it indicates. The mainstream Muslim authorities, generally acting

within the Qur'anic understanding of 'the people of the Book', not only permitted the Jews to organize their own community but gave official recognition to its leadership. With complete freedom and with the security and protection of the Sultan's court a Jewish leader could write objectively and critically about the religion of the host power – in its own language. He could even counsel (or incite) Jews in other regions to resist the authority of radical Muslim sects in power in those regions. (See above, Maimonides and the Jews of the Yemen.) There was no such tolerance in Christian Europe where the church and its associated powers were intent on either subjugation, assimilation, conversion or elimination of the Jewish community.

THE GUIDE OF THE PERPLEXED

In spite of the enormous demands of his medical practice, the nagidship, his additional role as a judge, and a constant stream of requests for advice from throughout the Jewish world, Maimonides continued his studies of prophesy and the great philosophers, notably Aristotle, and eventually completed his major philosophical work, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, in 1195, nine years before he died. The Guide set a new benchmark in philosophical and religious thinking and as a consequence it generated enormous intellectual debate which was fueled by his enigmatic style of writing. This aggravated controversy which had broken out in 1188 around Maimonides' interpretation of the resurrection of the soul and the body. In his Codex he had included belief in resurrection as an article of faith. Later, when he was questioned on this, he referred to resurrection as the cornerstone of the Torah and said that it must be considered as "the soul's return to the body." This satisfied no one and instead of reducing the level of controversy it made the situation worse and in some rabbinic circles he was subjected to scorn and ridicule.⁵¹

Maimonides showed strong affinity with the ideas of Aristotle, as did many Muslim writers of the time, but he disagreed with Aristotle on the question of the eternity of matter, insisting that it was created by God's divine authority from nothing. Nothing occurred contrary to the creative laws of God and any apparent exceptions expressed through miracles or prophesy were exclusively at God's will. In other words, only God can make exceptions to God's laws of nature. He insisted that in spite of God's omniscience man bears responsibility for his deeds because he enjoys free will and ethical choice. He opposed the tendency – most evident within the church – to define God by attributes, insisting that man can only affirm the negative: what God is not, and not what God is.

THE TRIANGLE IN PERSPECTIVE

Maimonides was greatly concerned by the state of the scattered Jewish people, the extraordinary and diverse pressures on them and their natural tendency to adaptation and he had those concerns in mind when he wrote that while custom precedes law it also annuls law. However he was writing just as well for Christians and Muslims who had shown a far greater readiness to syncretize. He saw quite clearly that both Christianity and Islam are historical

extensions of Judaism and that all three have an important role in preparing for mankind to face and understand the truth of God and the truth of humanity's relationship with God in the era of the Messianic awakening. However, as already noted, he rejected the proposition that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah of Jewish understanding and he knew that Muslims reject the Christian understanding of the term 'Messiah.' It therefore appears that on that basis he saw Islam as arising directly from Judaism rather than as a consequence of Christian error, distortion and abuse of the role of the church. In the 'Guide of the Perplexed' he went to some length to show that one movement results from the one before it and so on, until you get back to God as the ultimate cause.⁵² Then, later in the book, discussing the theme from the Biblical Book of Lamentations that Israel would go through a period when its prophets would receive no visions from the Lord, he wrote that the obvious reason for this "truth" was that "the instrument", Israel, had been impaired. He believed that prophecy would return to Israel in the days of the Messiah and he pleaded that the Messiah would reveal himself speedily, as Israel had been promised.⁵³

Now, from our vantage point as the trouble in the triangle unfolds, it is apparent that Maimonides did not grasp the inconsistency in the links he made between three vital factors: firstly, the idea of a sequence in the development of the three movements; secondly, his assumption about the derivation of Islam; and thirdly, Israel's loss of prophetic capacity after failing to recognize Christ, the Messiah, (or, as he put it, until the Messiah is revealed). He was simply too close to the power structures of Islam, its claim to be the true faith, and the trauma of oppression by the Almohades in Spain and Morocco, and the Shiites in Yemen to fully appreciate the relationship between Christianity and Islam. However Maimonides was, in fact, in the finest prophetic tradition himself.

While the church was vigorously insisting that the earth was the centre of the created universe and that the stars were fixed around it as if painted on a huge revolving ceiling, Maimonides could use Aristotle's views of an uncreated universe as a building block in his own reasoning which foreshadowed scientific discoveries of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He argues that the universe was created by God; that man was the ultimate piece in creation; that God would not use or allow a change in natural law to bring about the unnatural destruction of the world, and that these situations are quite consistent with a non- eternal universe in a state of continuous change.⁵⁴ Hundreds of years later, when people like Copernicus, Darwin and Mendel were rapidly confirming Maimonides' views about change and the universe, the church was still suppressing scientific reasoning and insisting on the infallibility of its pre-conceived notions as strenuously as it ever had.

BURN IT!

Maimonides believed passionately that the Messianic Age would not differ materially from his own era but that it would involve a society with moral and intellectual conduct patterned on, or determined by, humanity's fuller understanding of God and God's absolute righteousness. There

would therefore be no dictators, oppressors or master races: just peace.^{55 56} Then the scorn and ridicule which greeted his earlier works turned to bitter denunciation and cries of heresy when he wrote of Judaism as a rational religion. Although the progressive intellectuals welcomed the opportunity to develop a rational view of religion, the Jewish conservatives attacked him with vigour. In the years following his death the Maimonidian Controversy reached the stage of open conflict between the 'pro' and 'anti'-Maimonidians. Rabbis in Southern France pronounced an excommunication against anyone who read the Guide to the perplexed and in Paris some rabbis burned copies in their possession. The 'pro' camp in Provence then proclaimed a counter-excommunication, sought the support of their colleagues in Aragon for similar action, and wrote letters of protest to rabbis in northern France. The Jewish 'anti' party even took their complaints to the Inquisition, claiming that The Guide of the Perplexed constituted a heresy.⁵⁷ The Jew-terrorizing inquisitors must have been very happy at this turn of events with unsolicited collaboration from their arch enemies and cooperated with highly organized burning of Maimonides' works. This denunciation by his own people brought such disgrace to the anti-Maimonidean camp that attacks against the Rambam ceased and the campaign shifted to attacks on his disciples for spreading dangerous philosophical teachings. However the interfaith antagonism ran so deep that when a cardinal in Paris burned all available copies of his Guide of the Perplexed it was the signal and the excuse for the church to go on publicly burning not only Maimonides' works but the whole of the Talmud for about 300 years.⁵⁸

Perhaps the conflict and confusion was to be expected in view of some of his writings.

The Israelites did not believe Moses our teacher in consequence of the signs he performed; for he whose belief rests on signs must still harbour a suspicion in his mind of the possibility that the sign might have been performed by magic or wizardry. All the signs which Moses performed in the wilderness he did through necessity and not to adduce evidence of his prophecy ...

It is a clear and unequivocal feature of the Torah that it is an ordinance designed to endure for eternity and admits of no alteration, diminution or addition ... Hence we learn that no prophet is authorized to introduce any innovation at any future time. Should therefore a man arise, either from the Gentiles or Israel and perform any sign or wonder and declare that the Lord has sent him to add any precept or abrogate one in violation of what we have received from Moses or should he declare that the commandments ordained for the Israelites were not meant for all time, but were only temporary enactments; behold this man is a false prophet; for he indeed comes to repudiate the prophecy of Moses our teacher. The penalty to which he is liable is death, because he presumed to speak in the name of the Lord that which He had not commanded him. [Maimonides. Yesodei ha'Torah]⁵⁹

Argument raged over such statements. If they were directed at Muhammad and Islam then, in the church's view, they were correct. But if they were directed at Christ then of course they were wrong and had to be destroyed. If it did occur to the church that they could have been written with the fathers of the church in mind rather than Christ, then that was just as bad anyway. Let us agree, the church said, that it is quite impossible that Muhammad could have

received direct revelation, but that does not suggest that revelation stopped with the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. Numerous Christians, enjoying the exclusive benefit of the Holy Spirit (according to the church) received visions and revelations, like Patrick in Ireland, Constantine and Bridget.⁶⁰ And of course during the Apostolic period there were Stephen, just before he was stoned, and Peter when he was given the universality of the Gospel through his vision of the unclean food.

But there were even stronger statements to be considered. Maimonides' assertions that the Messianic Age would be heralded by a war between Gog and Magog and that the King Messiah will restore the kingdom of David to its former position and dominion, rebuild the Temple and gather the dispersed of Israel, were hardly calculated to endear him to the church.^{61 62} After all, the Messiah had already arrived, been rejected by the Jews and, at least in its view, appointed the church as His sole successor. And Maimonides couldn't say who Gog and Magog would be either. He didn't have a crystal ball. But we will come to him again soon enough. But gradually his work was recognized as a towering contribution not only to the life of his own Jewish community, but also to the evolution of humanity's overall thinking about civilization and salvation.⁶³

For a long period the situation in Europe was complex and chaotic. In the far west, in Spain, the Jewish community recovered, enjoyed a Golden Age under Muslim rule and developed its religious life and thought quite strongly. The Christian church continued to split down the middle around the roles of Rome and Constantinople, and it continued its extension-by-faulty-reason into the murk of superstition, myth and flamboyant practices while it set about its series of dastardly crusades. The Islamic empire was also plagued by intrigue and its progress faltered around the establishment of a hashish-dependent cult of Shi-ite Assassins, but the Asiatic Mongols were preparing to clean up the lot.

MARY'S ELEVATION

In the east – the front line against both Islam and any invading forces from Asia – the church was pursuing earthly magnificence and cloaking almost any local superstition in a ritual of respectability. The investigators sent to Constantinople by Vladimir had reported that the splendour of the church's ceremonial was greater than it would be possible to find anywhere else and beyond their ability to describe. Mary was gradually being elevated further and further. The belief that she appeases the wrath of God, mediates between man and God and, as the mother of God, even exercises power over God in matters of justice and condemnation became widespread. The patriarch of Constantinople had even gone as far as to preach that no man is redeemed except through the Mother of God.⁶⁴ The use of the Rosary had become accepted, the recitation of the Hail Mary was made obligatory by a synod in Paris, Saturday was dedicated to masses for Mary who was said to be the neck connecting the head (Christ) to the body (the Church), through whom man received everything from God and who made everything more acceptable for transmission to God. Two religious orders were set up especially for the

reverence of Mary and a rationale was developed to support the proposition of Mary's immaculate conception and bodily assumption.⁶⁵ To cap it off, Mary was described as both the bride of Christ and the equal of Christ in terms that are positively degrading to the glory of God and the role of the Messiah.⁶⁶ Veneration of Mary, the Star of the Sea, the Mother of Mercy or simply Mary the mother of Jesus of Nazareth, had become an obsession.

The church was on a treadmill and it had lost its grip on the brake. Before Luther would appear to swing his hammer the Feast of the Immaculate Conception would be added to the calendar; writers would be claiming that Mary chanted with the angels instead of crying like a normal baby and that she knew rhetoric, logic and physics better than any other person; a house said to be that of the Holy Family would be set up in a basilica at Loreto, supposedly having been miraculously transported first from Nazareth to Dalmatia, and all members of the University of Paris would be required to take an oath to defend the immaculate conception.^{67 68}

Relations between Rome and Constantinople had deteriorated steadily over a long period but as the popes felt more secure in their relations with emperors and kings in the west a break with the church in the east came closer and closer, but no single issue can be highlighted as the cause of the final split. Charlemagne was like some of the emperors shortly after Rome adopted Christianity as its state religion and liked to dabble in theology as well as the politics. After all, the popes dabbled in his domain, so he felt free to dabble in theirs. He insisted on credal statements being altered to mean that the Holy Ghost proceeds from both the Father and the Son while the Eastern church insisted that the Holy Ghost proceeds simply from the Father. It was just another twist to the time-honoured arguments over the Trinity. Modern-day students may be tempted to wonder how one thing may proceed from either one or two other things of a group of three equal things. If they can't find an answer they have no need to feel inferior. Some pretty brilliant Jewish, Muslim and Christian students haven't found an answer either, including Maimonides.

DEBATE, NEGOTIATE, EXCOMMUNICATE ... BREAK!

But those matters of theology aside, three issues seem to have dominated the debate. One was the great iconoclasm controversy. Another was Byzantine territorial claims in Italy. The third was the matter of celibacy. The marriage of priests was prohibited by Rome but it was required by Constantinople, and also by the Jews, while for Muslims it was basically a non-issue, although Muhammad was trenchantly critical on occasions of celibate monastic or ascetic life. He apparently believed, from his contact with the Christian church, that such systems were a distraction from the realities of a person's regular responsibilities and imposed additional burdens on other people.⁶⁹

No other doctrinal disputes were as important as those three, although there were many more thrown up. But of course, regardless of what was raised in theological debate, politics was at the heart of the issue. Rome dominated the state. Constantinople was subordinate to it. Rome insisted on primacy in all matters. Constantinople denied it that authority. In Eastern Europe the

two church authorities were competing for the allegiance of kings and for numbers. The situation was unreal. It came to a head in 1054 when the Normans wanted a piece of the action in the Mediterranean and annexed the Byzantine territory in the south of Italy. The Byzantine Emperor, Constantine IX, wanted an alliance with the pope to shift them out, but the patriarch in Constantinople opposed the arrangement for fear of greater ecclesiastical interference. He closed the Latin churches in Constantinople, demanded several reforms and waited.

A papal delegation of three legates arrived to negotiate, or at least to press Rome's claims, on the basis of the pope's primacy and the forged Donation of Constantine. The pope had died in April and his successor had not yet been appointed, so the patriarch probably made much of his claims to seniority as patriarch of the See ranked second in Christendom. The negotiations failed. The senior legate, a cardinal, drew up a bill of excommunication and placed it on the alter of the Hagia Sophia on July 16th 1054. The patriarch responded, of course, by offering the three legates a similar compliment. The break was complete. The world had two bodies of Christ instead of one.

The Prophet of Islam had not succeeded in forcing a thorough review of either Christian or Jewish understanding of the relationship between God and Jesus of Nazareth – and the Christian theology, self-understanding and practices which flowed from that – but his influence had been very great indeed. The Byzantine Empire and the Eastern Church were in the front line against the onrush of Muslim Arab imperialism and they were therefore forced to think very carefully about their position and their theology. There was a combination of genuine theological response and fear of military subjugation by the Arabs or their allies brought on by religious dispute in the wave of Byzantine iconoclasm, attacks on Mariology and excessive veneration of saints, and also in some aspects of the ongoing Trinitarian disputes. Quite clearly the Eastern Church's reactions to the challenge and the threat from Islam were very significant factors in the break between Constantinople and Rome.

ISLAM FOLLOWS SUIT

However it was not only the front line Christian communities which were forced to begin to rethink their religious beliefs under the impact of Islam. We have already noted some of the reactions within the Jewish community, especially the work of Maimonides and Judah Halevi, but there had also been reactions within Jewish communities living in the heart of the Muslim empire. They coincided with the iconoclasm disputes within the church outside the Muslim empire.

The Umayyad Caliphate, which had governed from Damascus, (leaving to Mecca the role of focal point of the Muslim faith) began to lose its grip and experienced mixed success and failure from about 700 to 750. To the west, the African Berbers had adopted Islam, become an important part of the caliphate and ejected Byzantium and the Christian church from its North African provinces in 696 before sweeping the Arian Visigoths out of Spain in 711. Similarly, on the eastern flank of the Byzantine Empire the Arab forces of the caliphate had overrun Armenia,

Iberia and Lazica by 717, but then it ran out of steam. Its bid to overrun Constantinople that year failed and Charles Martel routed the Muslim forces and blocked their progress in France in 732 and the caliphate's only partial success for some years was the defeat of the Khazar Khanate in 737. It was partial in that the caliphate was not able to establish continuing control over the region and, three years later, the Khan adopted Judaism in preference to either Islam or Christianity with quite dramatic consequences which we shall consider in due course.

Dissatisfaction with the direction and leadership of the caliphate, and its system of succession, had been an issue ever since the death of the prophet and, with the ability of the caliphs to hold the semi-independent units of the caliphate together being questioned, that dissatisfaction gradually increased. It was fueled by any other matters of contention which arose. These included disagreement over the administration of taxation, the role of non-Arabs in regional government, and the payment of military pensions in areas where the subject communities had become devoutly Muslim and fully integrated into the Islamic system, and where Arab armies were no longer seen as armies of occupation but as protectors: all matters which the Umayyads were finding difficult to handle. But they also included conflict over the personal style and conduct of the caliphs, disagreement over the role and treatment of non-Muslims in a Muslim community, and open competition between clans for the leadership. Minor conflict gave way to open rebellion and in 750 the Abbasids, a people with direct ancestral links with the family of Muhammad, seized control of the caliphate with the support of the Shiites and a largely Persian army. The survivors of the defeated Umayyad dynasty – for that is what it had become – were hunted down and virtually eliminated.^{70 71}

The new dynasty of the Abbasids immediately set out to establish new directions for the caliphate. The caliphate was to be a theocracy. A new capital was established at Baghdad. A new system of administration was introduced with a staff hierarchy and access to the caliph, Abu 'l-'Abbas, was restricted so that he assumed the status of lawmaker and semi-divine god-king, administering religious affairs from above his subjects in a manner which suggests some influence from the Persian god-king version of Zoroastrianism. Regional differences within the caliphate became more marked and the political influence of Arab appointees was reduced, although this was offset to some extent by the use of Arabic as the cultural medium for Islam, and military service pensions for Arabs were gradually reduced and finally discontinued in 831. To demonstrate that no one else was of equal status to the ruling Abbasids they married only slaves, and from 800 to the end of the dynasty no caliph was born the son of a free mother. The effect of these changes was that the dynasty became the focal point for Islamic unity which was no longer dependent upon the political stability of the 'Arab Nation.'⁷² In this revised role the caliph was on a pedestal. He became the arbiter of all religious and legal decisions, his pronouncements were taken to have the full authority of the word of God, and even if his personal conduct was actually quite licentious and did not match his public utterances it was assumed that his conduct was above reproach and his word was absolute. It was as if the caliphs had modeled their role and authority on the Roman Pontiff.

While he was personally leading Dar-al-Islam, Muhammad, although recognized as reciting portions (but not all) of the Qur'an at the command of God, spoke of and used the Qur'anic statements which he had already recited or dictated in the sense that they were for guidance in personal conduct and matters of public administration and not in the sense that they were hard and fast laws. When he was approached for decisions on such matters he would reflect for a time and give a response appropriate to the circumstances. This showed clearly that he allowed for interpretation of the simple words of the Qur'an. The Umayyad caliphs had endeavoured to work in the same manner to maintain the spirit of the prophet's approach, but of course they were at a distinct disadvantage. However, as a result of their new approach to the caliphate, Abu 'l-'Abbas and his successors found it necessary to have an indisputable law which their subordinates, not necessarily well schooled in the sharia, could work from without having to refer a constant stream of disputes to them for an interpretation. This was a change of immense importance.

It did not lead to the centralization of law, and the administration of law remained a local or regional matter, but it placed even more emphasis on the Qur'an as the written word of God and the basis of civil law, and it raised the status of the officials who had to arbitrate in matters of law. Local legal practice had to correspond with, or be underpinned by, prophetic tradition. There was greatly increased emphasis on the literal acceptance of the word of God as recited by Muhammad and much less encouragement for Muslims to turn to the 'The Book' of the Jewish and Christian faiths. There was a gradual shift in understanding. The Qur'an, instead of being an additional flow of God's word, complementing the others, became the final and absolute word of God and in direct competition with The Books of the Christian and Jewish communities.

Islam was following the same course as Judaism and Christianity. Judaism evolved very slowly from the days of Abraham and continues to evolve. The church was established by those who followed Jesus. Its very elementary organization and practices, its basic theology and its codes of civil conduct were determined by those people but they have evolved or been developed over a period of two thousand years. They are continuing to evolve. Similarly, when Muhammad died only the basic concepts of Islam were in place and its organization, theology and civil codes were developed by his successors.⁷³ Neither Jews nor Christians can criticize Muslims for that. Without being fully aware of it, the Muslims were responding to the fact that Jews and Christians had failed to recognize Muhammad and had rejected his call for a rethink and renewal. If they do not like the form which Islam assumed in its early days or the evolutionary path it has followed in recent years they have only themselves to blame – especially the church. As obvious as it may be, it bears repeating: if the Roman and Byzantine church authorities had sat down to talk with Muhammad world history would have taken a substantially different course. They did not.

ANOTHER THEOCRATIC STATE

In line with the Abbasids intention that the caliphate was to be a theocracy, the state became pre-occupied with matters of religion to the point at which maintenance of religion and the fulfilment of the requirements of the divine law, as recorded in the Qur'an, became the state's main responsibility. Then, because the state, the law and the administration of justice were all to be based on the precepts of religion, the status and number of people who studied and practiced the sunna and the traditions of the Prophet rose to accommodate the aims of the state. ⁷⁴ About the time that the Abbasids seized the caliphate, or soon after, the first of a series of four great Islamic schools of law was established by Imam Abu Hanifa. This was followed by a school established by Malik ibn Anas, from Medina and, about the same time, probably in the early years of the ninth century a Palestinian who had been educated in Medina, ash-Shafi'i, began the task of systematically coding all of the legal sources which were recognized within Dar-al-Islam. ⁷⁵ This was an important step in the development of the Islamic system of law and justice. Two additional schools were established; one by the Imam al-Shafi'i, and the other by Ahmad ibn Hanbal. Each of these schools gained greatest recognition and influence on a regional basis but, together, they represent the development of a strong continuing line of religious law which may be blamed for a period of stagnation, or perhaps disaster, in Muslim religious life and development. ⁷⁶

The principles on which the law of the caliphate was to be interpreted or expanded included some very simple and direct statements: Man-made laws are defective but God-made laws are perfect; God-made laws are comprehensive and all-embracing, covering spiritual as well as temporal aspects of man's life; man-made laws have limitation of time and age whereas God-made laws are eternal; the Divine law requires no amendment, being perfect and final, and standing good for all times, climes and people; God-made laws include devotion and mundane affairs alike whereas man-made laws have no concern with religion; man-made laws require the sanction of a chief, a court or a government whereas Islamic law, being God-made law, does not depend on such sanction and therefore if a court or state rejects it, it amounts to treason against the Divine Law. ⁷⁷ Naturally there were, from time to time, matters which led to strong disagreement between the schools but these were suppressed under the influence of the Qur'anic teaching that God's community could never agree on error. In simple terms, when regional common usage did not satisfy a case, the truth, or justice, was to be recognized on the basis of *ijma*.' This was consensus among the legal authorities or the general agreed position across the entire Islamic community. ^{78 79} A person could accept this spirit of *ijma* or leave the orthodox Muslim community. ⁸⁰

Coinciding with these developments in Islamic jurisprudence there was a surge in the development of dogmatic Islamic theology. It, too, was quite natural because the Prophet's message had been very simple and very direct: go back to basics and start again at the point of the relationship between God and the Messiah, Jesus of Nazareth, using the building blocks of

The Book of the Jews and the Gospel as relayed by Christ. There was no need to spell out a new theology anymore than there was a need to spell out a new law. Christ had said:

Do not imagine that I have come to abolish the Law or the Prophets. I have come not to abolish but to complete them. I tell you solemnly, till heaven and earth disappear, not one dot, not one little stroke, shall disappear from the Law until its purpose is achieved. Therefore the man who infringes even one of the least of these commandments and teaches others to do the same will be considered the least in the kingdom of heaven; but the man who keeps them and teaches them will be considered great in the kingdom of heaven. [Matthew chapter 5: 17–19, Jerusalem translation.]

Muhammad had set out in strict accordance with that commandment. However, as with the law, once the Jewish community and the Christian church rejected Muhammad's call and it became inevitable that the partnership of faiths would become a triangle, it also became inevitable that Islam would require form, laws and theology. And there was no reason why the development of those things should be any more straight forward and free from conflict or trauma than the comparable developments in Judaism or Christianity.

So: shortly after the Prophet's death the Muslim theologians began their debates. Among their concerns was the status of the Word of God, the Qur'an, of course, and how it was transmitted to or through Muhammad. There are sections in the Qur'an which are not consistent with each other or with sections of the Bible in much the same way as there are sections of the Bible which are not consistent with each other. The inconsistencies between books of both the Old and the New Testaments have naturally been a factor in debate on the inerrancy of the Bible (a debate between scholars which, given the circumstances of its composition and the fixing of the Biblical canon is quite remarkable) but there is an important difference between the composition of the Bible and the Qur'an. Whereas the Bible is made up of writings by many people over a long period, the Qur'an was recited or dictated by only one person over a period of only a few years. In addition, differences in purpose and emphasis are apparent between those sections which can be identified as belonging to the Meccan and Medinan phases of Muhammad's ministry. This immediately raises questions about whether the inconsistencies in the Qur'an are of divine or human origin, their meaning and how they should be reconciled.

Did God change direction as the composition proceeded? Did Muhammad make some errors? The first is not conceivable. The second is not an acceptable explanation if the view is to be maintained that Muhammad recited the work under divine inspiration. In any case the debate had to take in the broader question of the nature of God, and the Qur'an required careful study and interpretation, especially in sections in which figurative speech is used in a manner somewhat related to the use of parables in the Christian Gospels. Was the message of the Qur'an absolute and final? Or was there room for free will and reason in interpreting the message? In the same way that the Trinitarian debates had the potential to undermine the self-understanding of the church and the faith of its people, so the debates over the origin of the Qur'an and the nature of God had similar potential. They gave the church and other enemies of

Islam much ammunition with which to attack the young faith and the Muslim community. If it had been hard to build bridges between Christianity and Islam right from the moment of Muhammad's challenge it rapidly became more difficult.

THE MU'TAZILITES: UNCREATED REVELATION

One of the groups which played an important part in the debates from the time of the founding of the Abbasid Caliphate to the end of the ninth century and in the formation of Shiite theology was the Mu'tazilites, said to have been founded by Wasil ibn 'Ata.' It stood firm on the belief that the Qur'an and Islam are vehicles for divine revelation and aimed to develop a systematic theology, presented through a series of dogmatic statements, which would become the basis of standardized Islamic teaching. Although it did not succeed in this its influence was so great for a time, and the debates were so divisive, that Caliph al-Ma'mun tried to impose his version of an imperial solution to bring political stability through religious conformity. In 827, believing that they were the only group which could ensure disciplined and reasoned theological and religious development, he issued the decree *mihna*, (test of faith) backed up by harassment, torture and imprisonment for defaulters, that all Muslims were to adopt the Mu'tazilite belief that the Qur'an was divinely created. With an inquisition-style campaign which coerced the majority of theologians into submission and acquiescence, (although they maintained a firm contrary belief), Caliph al-Ma'mun was also keeping strictly in step with Rome! His successor, Caliph al-Mu'tasim, later confirmed his decree and that belief stood, officially, until 849. In that year the new caliph, al-Mutawakkil, still looking for a political solution to strengthen the caliphate, reversed the decree, dismissed the Mu'tazilite chief judge, and publicly adopted the orthodox Muslim view of an uncreated Qur'an which still found fairly general support among theologians. The orthodox view, briefly stated, was: God's attributes, including revelation communicated through speech, are eternal, without beginning or intermission; the [message of the] Qur'an, being a manifestation of God's revelation, did not originate in time by a specific act of God's creative will, but has existed from all eternity; the Qur'an is therefore uncreated. ⁸¹

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The struggle had been bitter and drawn out, at least one of the contentious issues had been resolved (at least superficially), and the power of the Mu'tazilites had been undermined, but there was also another important outcome. The government and religious leaders realized that both Islam and the Caliphate would be better served if the government limited its interest in religious life to guaranteeing its physical security. In contrast to the situation in the Holy Roman Empire, politics was largely dissociated from religion and increasing independence encouraged renewed momentum across the universal Islamic community. Of course the debates did not stop there and many related issues of theology and government remained on the table. But one thing was clear: however God's attributes and the Qur'an were defined, the revealed Word of God was to be the basis of the total social, political and economic life of Dar al-Islam, its law and its

system of justice. And Caliph al-Mutawakkil intensified the campaign to show that Jews and Christians were inferior to Muslims.

THE RABBINICAL DEBATE

Such was the environment in which the Jews of Mesopotamia began to consider their own theology and their own position, and to question the social institutions and fundamental dogmas of the Rabbinical tradition. The process began at the time that the Abbasids seized the caliphate and led to the establishment of a sect known as the Karaites which exercised considerable influence for several hundred years. According to Cecil Roth there was a time when it appeared likely that the Karaites would become the dominant force in Judaism and that rabbinic Judaism would be reduced to an unimportant sect.⁸⁴ Although that did not happen Karaism still has adherents in Israel and several other countries including the United States Egypt, Poland and Russia.

At the time that the Abbasids came to power, Rabbinical Judaism was functioning effectively across the caliphate, taking advantage of a network of commercial links with the somewhat strange protection which Dar al-Islam provided, and it was apparently serving the diverse Jewish community to its satisfaction. Guidance in Jewish law and religion was being provided by the heads (the Geonim) of three academies (Yeshivah), two in Babylon, at Sura and Pumbedita, and one in Jerusalem. Jewish communities sent their queries to the Yeshivah of their choice, received responses from the Geonim, and acknowledged that support with contributions towards the cost of maintaining the Yeshivah. The system had faced and weathered criticism, and dissident groups had formed and disappeared from time to time throughout the history of the faith but there was no continuity in their organization until Anan ben David rebelled against the rabbis and founded the movement of Karaism in Babylon in the wake of the establishment of the Abbasid caliphate.⁸⁵ It is uncertain whether his action was prompted by the vigorous debate within Islam about the status of the Qur'an and the Mu'tazilite resolve that the Divine Word was absolute and sufficient basis for faith and action without a maze of codes and embellishment, or whether he reacted in anger or disappointment when a younger brother was preferred for the prestigious post of Exilarch in 767 on the authority of the Rabbis.⁸⁶ However he rejected the authority of the Rabbis and the oral law, branded the Talmud an imposture, adopted very fundamentalist attitudes to observance of the Sabbath, recognized only the authority of the Bible, and promoted its direct, independent and critical study.

A band of intellectual disciples, known as Ananites, gathered around Anan ben David to help formulate strict tenets for the sect and it gathered strength as they preached at Jewish centres throughout the caliphate. However its early leadership disintegrated and it fell to Benjamin ben Moses Nahawendi to regroup and to establish a Karaite cause in Persia. During the tenth to the twelve centuries expansion continued and the sect spread across North Africa and into Spain, Turkey, Greece and Russia.

After the formal break between Rome and Constantinople competition between the two churches in Russia and eastern Europe soon knew no bounds. However the two church capitals soon had more than competition from each other to worry about. Within a generation after the break the Seljuk Turks overran the whole of the Muslim territories east of the Mediterranean and pushed as far as the Bosphorus, taking Nicaea, totally destroying the Byzantine army and threatening Constantinople across the straits. Rome fared even worse for a time. It was plundered by the Normans when they were consolidating in Sicily and Southern Italy, but it was reprieved.

CRUSADING ZEAL ...

Then a totally new dimension was added to the crisis. Constantinople sent a delegation to Rome to ask for help against an expected thrust across the Bosphorus. The pope, Urban II, saw a wonderful opportunity. By organizing a massive volunteer army in the name of the church he could achieve several aims at once. He could reabsorb the Eastern Church by occupying Constantinople in the guise of an allied defence effort. He could regain access to Jerusalem which had been denied by the Seljuks who were much less tolerant of Christianity than the Egyptian Caliphate had been and he could set up a Holy Roman State along the eastern Mediterranean and recover trade routes to Asia at the same time. These had been almost completely closed by the Christian-Muslim conflicts. As well as that he could gain a major diplomatic victory over Islam. Two councils (or perhaps Synods) were held in quick succession to drum up support for the plan. It had to have religious justification. It would be called a crusade and a "Truce of God" would be declared for the duration. Because of its spurious self-understanding the church was about to plumb new depths of religious intolerance, bigotry and human depravity.

The decisive council was held at Clermont in France in November 1095. A major propaganda program was launched against Islam and a papal declaration was made that all crusaders would receive indulgences and martyrdom in the event of death. Urban II set up a new rite for granting immediate plenary indulgences to remit all temporal punishment for sins which would normally have incurred penance.⁸⁷ The response to the program was quite fantastic. It would have gladdened the heart of any 1990s media manager and illustrates the grip which the church had on people's minds at that time. The rabble flocked from everywhere to indulge their lusts of every sort, protected, so they thought, by the promise of indulgences. The condition in which they left the country, property and people wherever the crusades wandered was reprehensible. Some seven identifiable crusade movements took place but they are often divided for historical ease into three periods or crusades. The contrast between the conduct of the crusaders and the Muslim armies of 460 years earlier can be put down, in large measure, to the difference between the Pope's indulgences and Muhammad's instruction that Believers should not betray Allah and the Apostle nor violate their trust. "The spoils belong to Allah whose reward is great," he had said.

At the end of the whole abortive exercise the church could claim to have made some material gains but the consequences were disastrous. Christian attitudes towards non-Christians deteriorated to such an extent that bigotry became so deeply entrenched that it has prevented proper understanding and fathered the presumption of religious superiority until the present day. With the system of indulgences the same thing happened as it did with Mariology. The treadmill got faster and faster and the practices more depraved. The church was manoeuvring itself further and further into a permanent theatrical role of playing God and building barriers between man and God. Asia Minor became dotted with outposts of Christianity that perpetuated the attitudes of the crusades, added to the burdens of governments and guaranteed an effective base for conflict in the twentieth century. Central and western Europe's economies took a battering and feudalism, with the church taking full political and economic advantage of its position, became more firmly entrenched. Instead of reuniting the eastern and western churches the crusades bricked up the wall between them and established a precedent for separation rather than reform. Denominationalism and community division would henceforward go wherever the church went. Jerusalem was relegated to the role of a religious relic in the Christian mind with five or six branches of the church competing for the right to take advantage of its shrines, with a minimum of cooperation between them. It gradually ceased to be a focal point of faith and became little more than a tourist attraction and a focal point for conflict. Rome was firmly the centre of the faith.

... JEWISH COHESION

But the first crusade had another remarkable effect, the importance of which can easily be overlooked. In chronological sequence it was the very first major effect. The crusade was launched within six months of the firm decision being taken to launch the program, in May 1096, with Peter the Hermit leading it. A massive gang of murderous thugs, discontented peasants, monks and soldiers released from duty by their nobles shambled from Cologne through the Rhineland, Hungary and Bulgaria towards Constantinople. Whole villages of Jews who wouldn't accept instant baptism were slaughtered in what were the forerunners of the nineteenth century pogroms. The general looting, rape and property destruction which the mob unleashed right across central Europe pales into insignificance against the impact of that crusade on the Jewish population.

That single episode wiped away the distinction in Jewish minds between ancestral Jews of Palestine and the Khazar converts. They all suffered the same fate because of their faith, not because of their ancestry. They were now all more Jewish than ever. Their communities became more tightly knit and because of that their attachment to Jerusalem and their longing for the Messianic Age became stronger and stronger. Judah Halevi, the poet-physician, was 25 at the time. Another ingredient for the twentieth century showdown was being weighed out. The Khazar dispersion and the crusade calamity were complementary in developing the new Jewish self awareness.

When the Western Christian rabble reached Constantinople the Byzantines were so aghast that they were refused entry to the city and were shipped across the Bosphorus to face the Turks as quickly as possible. They got their just deserts. They were massacred completely by the first Turkish attack. But the church was quick to take full advantage of that needless, stupidly devised exercise in papal influence and tragedy for humanity. The massacre on October 21, 1096 of 300,000 lily-white martyrs – the pope had said they were – provided first class propaganda material for the anti-Muslim campaign and to whip up recruits for successive crusades.^{88 89 90} However while it was happy to take advantage of the abortive operation it is no wonder that the church is reluctant to admit responsibility for that “people’s crusade” and that the military exercise which was only then being organized is usually described as “the first crusade.”

Some 80,000 well organized and somewhat better disciplined crusaders, including strong cavalry forces which have become revered as knights in shining armour, led by Frankish and Norman princes in league with the pope and dominated by their armies, had gathered at Constantinople by May 1097. They captured Nicaea quickly and easily and Byzantine forces then occupied it promptly to prevent it from being looted. The crusaders then moved on to a major battle at Dorylaeum on June 29th. Organized Turkish resistance ended at that point. But the Turkish army was not their only opponent. Dogged local resistance and ambushes combined with summer conditions in harsh unfamiliar environments to make progress slow and to bring the worst of treachery and self interest out of the crusaders. Private crusader states were set up at Edessa in lower Armenia and at Antioch in Syria by the most disgraceful methods.

... SLAUGHTER AND DESTRUCTION

Jerusalem was reached just two years after the crusaders had crossed the Bosphorus and it was captured on July 15th 1099 after a one month siege. The savagery and butchery of three days of blood lust compares with anything in recorded history – including the destruction of the Holy City in 135. The pope’s brainwashed crusaders splashed through streams of blood of women, children and defeated defenders as it ran down the streets.^{91 92} Under Muslim rule quite a large community of Jews had grown up in Jerusalem and those who had not been slaughtered in three days of holy terror were rounded up, driven into one of the synagogues and incinerated. That little exercise marked the end of Jewish settlement in the city of their faith for several hundred years. One of the Pope’s aims had been accomplished. At least he would have been happy on that count. Among the Jews slaughtered was the entire, substantial settlement of Karaites which had provided missionaries for work in centres throughout the Byzantine Empire as well as throughout the Muslim world. Karaite missionary enterprise therefore virtually ceased and this compounded the decline of Karaism (especially in the East) which had already been triggered by Saadiah ben Joseph’s vigorous counter-campaign against the sect and the recovery of Rabbinical Judaism⁹³

A Latin state stretching from the Gulf of Aqaba to Edessa and based on Jerusalem was set up and the “legality” of the crusader states of Edessa, Antioch and a third at Tripolis was recognized with their inclusion in it as principalities. The Greek Orthodox patriarch was replaced by a Latin, the Orthodox community found itself under harsher restrictions than it had experienced under the Turkish Muslim “infidels” and the struggle between Constantinople and Rome became deeper instead of being solved by Rome’s aid. Synagogues and mosques, including the Mosque of ‘Umar, were seized and converted into churches in yet another sharp break from Muslim tolerance. But worse was still to come. Jerusalem was declared a Christian city. Was Rome trying to invoke the prophecy of Revelation, perhaps? Both Jews and Muslims were excluded from it, their property was forfeited and they became serfs in a feudal system imposed by European overlords whose law, culture, medicine and education were quite inferior to their own.

Muslim moves to reverse the situation ought to have been expected, but Europe’s Christians, indoctrinated with ideas of their own superiority, were shocked when Edessa fell in 1144, and another crusade was declared. The Muslims of Syria, Palestine and Egypt united under Saladin (for whom Maimonides later became family physician) to fight it. The outcome was a drawn out debacle for the crusaders who were led by Europe’s two senior crowned heads – the kings of Germany and France – but there were two small side benefits. A small English contingent was organized officially to take part in the crusade but most of its members were never to enjoy the views of Palestine. They joined up with a Flemish contingent and relieved the Muslims of Lisbon. The city was gratefully accepted by the Portuguese as a base for a new Christian kingdom. They had been trying to secede from the kingdom of Castile for several years. The pope recognized that as crusading, of course. Similarly, one German division stayed home from the Holy Land and subjugated the Wends at the southern approach to Denmark. That was also crusading.

Perhaps it was a coincidence, or perhaps it was trumped up in another recruiting exercise, but it was in the year Edessa fell that the notorious story began to circulate that during the Passover, Jews must kill a child, crucify him and drink his blood as a part of their ritual. A youth, William of Norwich, who was said to have been killed by Jews was declared a martyr and although he was never officially canonized stories of miracles performed in his name were spread by Thomas of Monmouth, an abundance of icons was produced and his remains were transferred to Norwich Cathedral in 1171. Similar martyrdoms were ‘documented’ with monotonous regularity during the second half of the century. Perhaps the most infamous was that of Simon of Trent in 1475. Seventeen Jews were forced to confess to his ritual murder. They, and a host of others, were executed and, amid some controversy, confirmation of the verdict became the subject of a papal bull. Simon was beatified and Jews were not admitted to Trent for about three hundred years.⁹⁴

England became totally entangled in the net of the crusades in 1187 after Saladin captured Jerusalem in a Jihad or Holy War which brought the Latin kingdom to an end with surprising mercy compared with the Christian crusades. Richard the Lion Hearted and Philip II of France

were caught in the politics of international competition but, for all that, Richard's determination to take England into the crusade is still difficult to understand. To raise the money needed he released the Scots king from vassalage for a lump sum of 10,000 marks, levied a tax on landowners with 100 acres of land or more and also levied a tax on men who were not prepared to take a trip to the Holy Land. It was a case of your money or your life. Out of that crusade came the annexation of Cyprus; the relief of Acre and a series of other coastal towns; and a peace treaty which gained access to Jerusalem for Christians, plus three territorial footholds for Christian powers. That peace treaty provided a talking point hundreds of years later when world powers were again tussling for economic gain from Asia Minor. England held the Palestinian coast from Tyre to Jaffa, France held the Lebanese/Syrian coastal section from Beirut to Margat and also Antioch, and the Armenians held a section of the south eastern coast of Turkey. In spite of tales of brilliance to be woven into English heritage, Richard came away with blood on his hands. He executed 3,000 Muslims in cold blood in Acre when their ransom money didn't arrive on time.

In addition to that, his decision to lead a crusade, and the manner in which he raised money for it, triggered the first large scale civil purges against Jews in England which had previously been a haven for refugees from oppression in Europe. Communities in London, Norwich, Lynn, Dunstable and Stamford all felt the deadly thrust of the bloody sword – even while Richard was being crowned in London on September 3rd 1189. But the worst came in York. The local Jewish community took refuge in the castle and held out against a siege for some time. When all hope was lost they systematically killed each other one night, led by their rabbi, to deprive the English Christians of their pleasure in a blood bath next morning.

Richard was captured in Austria while on his way home in December 1192 and held to ransom for the immense sum of 150,000 marks. The Duke Leopold was determined to take revenge for insults he suffered at Richard's hands while they were together in Palestine.⁹⁵ The decision to raise that money from further taxes in England over the next twelve months kept interfaith antagonism running at fever pitch and the people could hardly be told that it was necessary because of Richard's religious or racial bigotry.

After so much experience with the crusade technique Rome began to put it to other uses. Three so-called orders of chivalry were established. The Order of St. John was to run hospitals for veterans. It did. But its involvement in less savoury aspects of Latin power politics kept it on the run. It was expelled from Jerusalem, set up a base in Cyprus, then Rhodes and finally Malta.

The Knights Templars, with a base on Mount Moriah, were to protect Christian pilgrims en route to and from Jerusalem. They may have done that, but they also set themselves up as a banking and trading house, 'acquired' large tracts of land throughout Christendom, including the Crusader States, and dabbled in inter-tribal Muslim politics. Their order was finally dissolved a hundred years later by order of a Council at Vienne.

It was the third order, the Teutonic Knights, which had also been established to run hospitals, which left the greatest scar on Christianity. The pope and the Duke of Masovia enlisted the aid

of the order to Christianize Prussia and the Baltic States and the emperor granted its grand master princely powers. It was entitled to annex any lands which it might capture from pagans, provided they were given Christian instruction and compensation for the seizure of their land. As the knightly enthusiasm degenerated into a lecherous scramble for estates the pope called in the newly-founded Dominican order to take over the religious work. He changed the split up of captured land to allocate one third to the bishop and only two thirds to the captor. It took fifty years to convert Prussia by this technique. Castles and German immigrants to work the estates appeared everywhere. The “new Christians” were simply the serfs again. When it came to Lithuania’s turn for the conversion treatment, its king, Jagiello, took a leaf out of the Swedish and Russian books and accepted Christianity “freely” in 1386 by making an alliance with the Poles, marrying a Christian princess, being baptized and inviting a Roman bishop to Vilma. The Teutonic crusaders were foiled. Done out of another big land grab.^{96 97}

Under a treaty between the Teutonic conquerors and the conquered the rite of baptism was obligatory for everyone within one month. Anyone who declined the privilege was to be banished and anyone who relapsed into pagan worship was to be reduced to slavery. Converts had to adopt monogamy; build churches and attend on Sundays and feast days; support the clergy financially; confess to a priest at least once a year; observe the Lenten fast and take communion at Easter.⁹⁸

... AND OPPOSITION CRUSHED

Another secondary use of the crusade technique was to eliminate Rome’s theological opponents. Even before the Lateran Council in 1215 and well before the Inquisition was officially constituted by Pope Gregory IX hoards of crusaders were being gathered to remove the irritation of heretics. The city of Beziers was an important centre in that Mediterranean coastal strip of France which had seen a political change from Visigothic Arianism to Catholicism then a welcome change to Islam and an unwelcome change back to Catholicism.

It was only natural that such changes would lead through syncretism to the adoption of all kinds of unorthodox beliefs and practices as people tried to rationalize conflicting teachings and retain some sense of identity. Beziers became a fruitful hunting ground for any group which promoted a new “final” religion. Supporters of the Cathari and Bogomil sects from Bulgaria and Germany took refuge from persecution in southern France during its more settled period under the Muslims and a blend of their beliefs took root rapidly with the sect taking the name Albigenses. They and their beliefs, known as the Albigensian heresy, were condemned at the third and fourth Lateran Councils (1179 and 1215) and a drawn out crusade was mounted against them. Some 20,000 people were put to the sword in a bitter campaign without regard to age or sex.^{99 100 101} But the crusades were not over. In 1204, the year Maimonides died, after three years of shame the pope temporarily “reunited” the eastern and western churches in a crusade which had been diverted from Jerusalem partly for that purpose and partly to raise

funds to pay Venetian banks and shipping companies for the cost of the crusade by looting Constantinople and its coastal provinces.

Then came the most heinous crime of the crusades. Working on the basis that the adult population was disenchanted with the crusades and needed a fresh stimulus to gather recruits, quite apart from the fact that the flower of its manhood had been killed during the crusades anyway, a children's crusade was organized in France and the Rhinelands in 1212. It got out of hand and the excitement generated led thousands of young boys to march to Marseilles and into Italy. At the French port they were lured on board ships and sold into slavery in Egypt. Those who headed for Italy either perished on the way or dispersed among the serfs.¹⁰²

In turning even that tragedy into a recruiting campaign against Islam the pope declared that children had put adults to shame and he pushed on with preparation for a crusade against Egypt. An absolute political farce developed from the struggles between the church hierarchy which was intent on maintaining its religious self-righteousness, its dominance over the various states, and its dominance over an emperor who brought Jews, Muslims and pagans into his court in open defiance of the church and as a public criticism of its arrogant self-misunderstanding. Frederick II had absolutely no intention of mounting a military crusade against the Muslims or against any other people on the basis of their faith. The pope excommunicated him, proclaimed a crusade against him and invaded his Italian provinces with the intention of annexing them to the papal states. Responding appropriately, Frederick sailed with an army for the Holy Land after he had married the daughter and heir to the Christian claimant to the throne of Jerusalem. But of course he didn't draw swords. He drew chairs at the table of the Sultan instead, discussed the Mongol push west, and returned with not only a peace treaty but also the crown to a revived Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem. He had no trouble in either expelling the pope's crude crusaders from his territory or in extracting absolution from the pope.

GENGHIS KHAN: A COUP FOR ISLAM

It probably meant nothing to the pope that the Sultan's accommodating gesture was a short term plan to avoid a war on his western front while he had the Mongol invasions to worry about out east, nor that it was equally in Europe's interests to have that arrangement. The brilliantly led and highly disciplined Mongols had already made one exploratory push into Russia via Persia, Iraq, the Caucasus and the former Khazar Khanate about seven years before. The European powers had badly misjudged that expedition. They seem to have been unable to grasp its significance as an armed exploration to determine what resources there were and what resistance there would be to a full scale invasion. They saw it as a hit and run looting expedition and simply rejoiced when the Mongol armies moved on.

Genghis Khan had the same idea as the pope. World domination. But he made no pretence that his aims were other than political and he was determined to do the job properly in due course. He was consolidating his position in China and had gained firm control east of the Caspian sea and Ural Mountains. In west Asia the Shahdom of Khwarism had been pushed

further west into Persia, the smaller caliphates had been eliminated and the major ones had been brought into somewhat closer cooperation. They were expecting and preparing for another attack. But in Europe there was no coordinated defence against a future attack. The region was preoccupied with religion-based conflicts. The northern Russian principalities were energetically trying to keep the Teutonic Knights in the Balkans at bay. The central European states, linked with the Roman Church, had nothing in common with either the basically pagan northern Russian principality or the southern Russian principalities and their Byzantine allies. The result was that when the Mongols came again in 1236 to conquer and to establish vassal states, Europe was completely unprepared and the eastern states began their dominoes dance. The Mongols had got as far as Poland and Hungary and were moving on to Austria before the unexpected happened. The Great Khan died, the Mongols got caught up in their own succession struggle, and their armies withdrew from everywhere west of Russia. That was when the Sultan saw his opportunity, struck at Jerusalem in 1244 and relieved Rome of that artificial kingdom which Frederick had taken home with him.

The stop-go crusades were about to start again with Louis IX of France immediately agreeing to lead one. But before he did, the pope sent emissaries to the new Great Khan asking him to lay off Christian Europe, to adopt Christianity and to cooperate in areas of common interest with the pope. They were well received, invited to stay for the grand installation and then packed off back to Rome with a message that the pope and his princes should submit to the Great Khan. A question mark hung over the issue of collaboration. Stalemate perhaps. But at least there was not a renewed attack and so Louis IX took his turn to lead a crusade in 1248. He reached Egypt and spent some time there – as a captive until his ransom money arrived in 1250!

More papal emissaries visited the Great Khan and we are told there was no positive response. But only a few years later a Mongol army struck west again and this time it stayed south of the Caspian in Muslim country. To the great relief of everyone, it eliminated the Shiite sect of Assassins but then captured and destroyed much of Baghdad and Damascus before being checked in 1260 by the Muslim armies near Nazareth. In the same year Mongol expansionism came to an end when the empire was divided among a number of princes who settled down to either govern their new territories or fight among themselves. With the pressure relieved the Egyptian Sultans were able to regain the coastal regions from the Latins one by one, but of course a strong Christian presence remained. Only one more abortive crusade was attempted.

If the popes and their emissaries had been hoping that the Mongols would eliminate Islam and then link up with the church at the Bosphorus their hopes, high until 1260, soon turned to despair. The Mongol rulers found Islam to their liking and adopted it one by one. Persia was the first in 1295. Although Islam was already the dominant religion of the region its decision was very significant because its territory included the base of both the fanatical Assassins, which had brought Islam into disrepute, and also the Nestorian Christian Church. The Khan had sent a deputation to the Council of Lyons in 1274, twenty one years before, as well as giving full consideration to the Nestorian Church. At Lyons the Eastern and Western Churches have been

temporarily reconciled, but neither of them took any action to establish an alliance with the Khan or to build on his approach.

Then in 1340 the Mongol Khanates of Russia and Turkestan followed suit and adopted Islam.¹⁰³ Part of modern day Russia, lying north of Afghanistan and Iran, Turkestan had an effective presence of all of the religions of the period except Roman Christianity. The central Russian region apparently only had a smattering of Greek Christianity and Islam over its basic paganism. However because of the religious tolerance of the Mongols, the existing strength of the Greek Church in Western Russia, and the rapidly changing power patterns in Russia, these decisions appear to have had little effect. They were only a ripple in the progress of Orthodox Christianity at the time although they became an important factor in the twentieth century.

But the Church in Rome had only itself to blame for the fact that the decisions were even made. The Great Khan, no doubt recalling the papal emissaries' visits of 1246 and Rome's apparent eagerness for a relationship which amounted to an alliance against the Arab nations, sent a request to Rome in 1269, five years before the Persian Khan's approach to the Council of Lyons, for one hundred Christian teachers for his court. He got only two. There was no pope at the time to respond properly to the request and the church was too busy tearing itself apart in the west to worry about a bit of evangelism in a kingdom only four times the size of all Europe. The Inquisition was in full swing. The Great Khan was therefore very fortunate indeed that Rome declined the opportunity to spread that sort of Christianity and bigotry across Mongolia, China, Korea and a half of Russia. Six years later, and only the year after Persia's Khan formally adopted Islam, the Nestorian Church happily established an archbishopric at Peking. Christians were back again after abuses of the monastic system had led to all monasteries in China, Christian and Buddhist alike, being closed 400 years before. The Muslims did not operate a system of monasteries and had not been expelled, but against that they had not established a large scale evangelical program either.

Of course the church had not been inactive in Western Europe while the crusades and Mongol invasions were in progress in the east. It had been stung into action by the vigour of Jewish scholarship in Spain and France, the professional and commercial success of Jewish communities and, in particular, by the effect of Maimonides' writing. His talk of rationalism in religion was bad enough when the church was preaching that Christianity was strictly a matter of faith and absolute acceptance of doctrines which it, as the exclusive and infallible interpreter of divine revelation, had politicked into the record books. If people began to believe his story the church would have a hell of a job on its hands. But when he claimed that Christianity and Islam both had a divine role to play, together with Judaism, in bringing mankind to the Messianic Age and Salvation he had really gone too far!

THE CHURCH'S ANSWER: AQUINAS

If Maimonides was correct, then the entire fabric of Christianity had to be dismantled and rebuilt from the bottom up. Where would it start and where would it finish? The doctrine of the

Trinity was untouchable. Everything was built around that. Then Muhammad: the church had gone to great lengths to deny him and his attacks on the church, Mariology, icons, saint worship and intercession. If Islam was indeed an instrument of God's will, what would Europe do to a church which had sent hundreds of thousands of its young men in their prime to their deaths to recapture the Holy City from it? The answers and the implications were so staggering that Maimonides had to be wrong. The trouble was that a lot of people believed him.

The Church knew that the challenge from Maimonides, a Jew, was at least as great as the challenge of Islam through Muhammad. They were both saying "turn back the clock and start all over again." The church either had to prove he was wrong or produce its own rationale to justify its position. It could also resort to its old well tried tricks of intimidation and denigration. It tried the lot. Already, in 1215, the Fourth Lateral Council in Rome had decreed that all Jews must wear some form of identification at all times and the decree was being rigorously enforced from country to country by various techniques and with a wide variety of identification tokens. Maimonides had been dead for eleven years but his *Guide of the Perplexed* was read more widely every day. Thomas Aquinas would not be born for another ten years. The tide rolled on.

Born into the nobility of Naples in 1225, Aquinas was placed in the Benedictine monastery at Monte Cassino as an oblate at the age of five. Shades of Boniface. However his family resisted his decision to take religious orders and he went through a rough period while he was making up his mind at the age of 19 whether to stay in the church system or get out. He stayed in, took Dominican orders, extended his studies in theology, and began lecturing in scripture in 1252 at the age of 27. After a period in Paris he returned to Italy, served in the papal court, became preacher-general of the Dominican order then served in a series of senior posts in Italy and France.

A prodigious but enigmatic writer, Aquinas sits at the pinnacle of the Western Church's pre-Reformation attempts to present its teachings and its doctrines in a rational manner.¹⁰⁴ He was widely hailed as the Christian Church's answer to Maimonides whose writing was by then dominating theological thinking and attracting the attention of academics and active thinkers who were not committed to a particular religious viewpoint. However the influence of Maimonides and his successors was not restricted to the uncommitted and, in any case, there just wasn't room for anyone who was uncommitted. His influence had begun to undermine the authority of the clergy in France and Spain and this in turn aggravated the conflict and power struggle between the French and Roman wings of the church. In some regions, especially in France, the struggle of the former Frankish church to avoid subordination to Rome which the politics of Charles Martel, Boniface and the popes had imposed, still simmered just beneath the skin. It erupted periodically with competing claims for papal office and the so-called 'decisive' crusades against heretics in southern France which Innocent III had called for at the fourth Lateran Council, after the "Children's' Crusade" had brought several related issues to the boil again.¹⁰⁵

The Dominican order in which Aquinas had taken vows, had been set up between 1220 and 1223 at Bologna, northern Italy, to put an end to the continuing Albigensian heresy in Southern France and to tidy up the mess which the crusade against it had left. At the same time the Franciscan order, which had been set up in 1209, was expanded and reconstituted to help with the task.¹⁰⁶ As a young oblate Aquinas would have been told of the glorious exploits of both orders in putting down the heresy to keep people on the straight and narrow. He was about six when the Inquisition really began to pick up steam and he was nine when the Dominicans condemned Maimonides' Guide of the Perplexed as prejudicial to faith.¹⁰⁷ To have a copy of it was as big a crime as being an Albigensian. He was 17, and it was still two years before the confrontation between the church and his aristocratic parents over the question of his joining the Dominicans, when a big public bon fire of 24 cart loads of Talmudic books, priceless Judaic manuscripts and Maimonides' writings was held in Paris. They had been collected in raids by Dominicans and Franciscans on Jewish homes, institutions and Libraries while the Jewish community was at worship on the Sabbath a few weeks earlier.¹⁰⁸ Perhaps these events seemed distant and hardly the sort of things he would become involved in, but perhaps the glorification of them was a stimulus to his decision to join the order. In any case by the time he was 38 (in 1263) some of his major works were being used as ammunition in just such situations. There was a never-to-be-repeated exercise in freedom of speech and Christian-Jewish dialogue when Rabbi Moses ben Nahman (Nahmanides) won hands down in a four day debate with a Jewish convert to Christianity in front of the King of Aragon.¹⁰⁹ At that stage Aquinas was home in Naples after his first round of posts in Paris.

Aquinas cannot be described as a critical, independent writer. He did not go back to square one and apply his undoubtedly brilliant mind to the basic theological issues which separated Judaism and Christianity. He started quite definitely with the church's self understanding with which he had been indoctrinated from the age of five and the doctrines which he was appointed to teach. Because of this, what he did in fact was not demonstrate Christianity to be a rational religion but use the techniques of rational thinking in an attempt to justify the church's self assessment, its definition of God and most of its doctrines of the day. He confirms this in the forward to his "Summa Theologiae" which is regarded by many as his greatest work.

*"Since the teacher of Catholic truth has not only to develop advanced students but also to shape those who are making a start...we propose in this work to convey the truths which are part of the Christian religion in a style serviceable for the training of beginners...(and)...we shall try to pursue the truths of Christian theology..."*¹¹⁰

Aquinas set out to justify most of the church's doctrines, but not all. He developed an elaborate case to support the church's system of sacraments but he seems to have been distinctly uncomfortable with its teaching about transubstantiation. This had only been formalized at the Lateran IV even though belief in the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist under the appearance of bread and wine had been widely preached from the eighth century. The denial of the belief that any change takes place in the bread and wine used in the Eucharist, called the

Berengarian Heresy after its proposer, had actually been condemned by various synods from 1055 and finally by a council held in Rome in 1079, 146 years before Aquinas was born, when Berengarius was forced to retract his teaching.^{111 112} He relied quite heavily on Aristotle's philosophy to justify it.

However he didn't throw up any smoke screens to hide his feelings on the church's teaching about Mary's conception. Working in the very city where support for that doctrine was later made obligatory for all of the university's staff, Paris, he bluntly opposed the proposition that she was immaculately conceived. And he produced some quite amazing reasoning to interpret or modify some of Augustine's teachings while appearing to justify them. His discussions on the unity of God, the Trinity and the origin of the Holy Spirit within the Trinitarian concept show masterly skill in the use of words (with due credit to the translator), but also emphasize quite dramatically that the concept cannot be supported by rationale.

Extracts from his published works illustrate the point.

On Being and Essence is one of his earliest works and is thought to have been written between 1250 and 1256 (when he was between 25 and 31 years of age) which places it either in his advanced student or early teaching years and possibly before he was ordained, which was sometime between 1248 and 1252.¹¹³ In it he wrote:

*...therefore everything that is such that its existence is other than its nature must have its existence from another. And because everything that exists through another is led back to that which exists through itself as to its first cause, there must be one thing which is the cause of existence in all things because it alone is the ACT-OF-BEING.*¹¹⁴

A great effort is needed to interpret that as a statement supporting equality and eternal co-existence within the Trinity. Later, writing about 1269 in the most famous of his works, *Summa Theologiae*, having laboured his way at length through an effort to rationalize the Trinity he wrote:

The Holy Spirit is distinguished personally from the Son insofar as the origin of one is distinguished from the origin of the other; but the difference itself of origin is found in the fact that the Son is only from the Father, but the Holy Spirit is from the Father and the Son; for otherwise the processions would not be distinguished from each other....Because it is from what the Son received from the Father that the Holy Spirit proceeds from him, it can be said that the Father spirates the Holy Spirit through the Son or that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father through the Son, which means the same thing.

Later in the same work he wrote:

*Augustine says (Fulgentius, De Fide ad Petrum ii): 'It is a property of the Father to beget the Son.' But to beget is an act. Therefore, notional acts are to be found in God. In the divine persons distinction is founded on origin. But origin can be properly designated only by certain acts. So in order to designate the order of origin in the divine persons, we must attribute notional acts to the persons.*¹¹⁵

These passages must be seen against the back drop of the ever-tightening tangle which the church had got itself into. The Inquisition was in full swing by then and the church had officially been running heretics, Jews and Muslims to ground for 38 years although, in practice, for a great deal longer. In 1229 Frederick II approved an edict entrusting the hunting out of heretics to state officials but Pope Gregory IX believed that the emperor would not press the issue because of his well established religious tolerance. The pope thereupon claimed the office for the church in 1231. He had already appointed panels of inquisitors who were, as already noted, largely chosen from the Dominican order of which Aquinas was a member and the Franciscan order. The inquisitors were assisted by juries of clerics and laymen and if an accused refused to confess to heresies the most outrageous methods were used to bring about a change of heart. Penalties for proven guilt ranged from confiscation of property or imprisonment with torture to death by burning at the stake. Confessors were let off lightly with fines, flogging or appropriate penances.^{116 117}

The church needed a fairly uniform basis on which to judge heresy and the writings of Aquinas helped to provide it. But in addition to that, his *Summa Theologiae* also provided the justification for the death penalty.

*There is the sin, whereby they deserve not only to be separated from the church by excommunication, but also to be shut off from the world by death. For it is a much more serious matter to corrupt faith, through which comes the soul's life, than to forge money, through which temporal life is supported ... But on the side of the church there is mercy, with a view to the conversion of them that are in error; and therefore the church does not straightway condemn, but after a first and a second admonition...if he be found still stubborn, the church gives up hope of his conversion and takes thought for the safety of others, by separating him from the church by sentence of excommunication; and, further, leaves him to the secular court, to be exterminated from the world by death...*¹¹⁸

THE BASIS OF CATHOLIC THEOLOGY

But there was even dissent over the basis for faith, heresy and punishment which Aquinas provided. Three years after his death both the bishops of Paris and the Archbishop of Canterbury condemned selections from his teachings. As if in response to these criticisms the Dominican order officially upheld Aquinas' teachings in 1278 and declared them to be the basis for its operation. But then, in contrast, the Franciscans, the other main partners in the Inquisition, prohibited the reading of the "*Summa Theologiae*" in their schools only four years later. At least the papal office was being consistent with some of its previous decisions when it canonized Aquinas about 50 years later. However his influence and reputation only reached its peak six hundred years later, in 1879, when Pope Leo XII directed that his teachings should be the basis of the theology of the Catholic Church.¹¹⁹ Quite a departure from the use of the Good News as the basis for the life and teaching of the-body-of-Christ-on-earth in the Messianic age and certainly a long way from the teaching that he who is without sin should cast the first stone.

Aquinas was also named patron saint of Catholic schools and education.¹²⁰ The pope wrote in his encyclical at that time that "... as the enemies of the Catholic name borrow their warlike preparations from philosophic method when they begin their attacks on religion, so the defenders of the science of God borrow many weapons from the stores of philosophy by which to defend the dogmas of revelation."

The church was beginning to feel the pressure of close scrutiny again. Darwin had published his "Origin of Species" and "The Descent of Man", and the church had responded by declaring the pope infallible. Karl Marx, whose Jewish family had given in to the church's coercion and accepted baptism had published "Das Kapital" and, with Friedrich Engels, "The Communist Manifesto." In addition Europe's pogroms against Jews were approaching that intolerable climax which led directly to the establishment of the World Zionist Organization and plans for a national home for Jews.

In declaring Aquinas' teaching to be the basis of the Catholic Church's theology the pope was proclaiming to the world that in over 600 years the church had been unable to produce a more reasoned response to Maimonides and his religious rationale than that which one of its teachers had written in the heat of the Inquisition as an urgent response to the logic of developments in Jewish thinking. The one bright spot is that the pope's decision played down Augustine and his teaching.

Another 38 years on, in the upheaval of World War I, with his peace plan rejected by both sides, with the church despised in Russia where the revolution was by then a fact, and with the British Government secretly negotiating to arrange a Jewish national home in Palestine, Pope Benedict XV could do no more than uphold Aquinas' teaching yet again. The study of philosophy and theology and the teaching of "these sciences" was to be carried out accurately by seminary professors according to the "arguments, doctrine and principles of St. Thomas which they are inviolately to hold." he said. Clerics who had already studied humanity were to devote themselves to further study on that basis: to philosophy for two years and to theology for four years.¹²¹

It seems the church was determined not to learn. Aquinas had been a very faithful servant to it and had tried to present its teachings as theology but above theological comparison and as science but above scientific evaluation.¹²² Even in spite of his lengthy reasoning, he was caught in the same rut as his predecessors: believe what we tell you to believe because as the church we tell you to believe it. But by the time the church reached the twentieth century it should have had a new line of reasoning to support its position if it was not prepared to review its theology and if it had to play according to Maimonides' rules of rational thinking. It had run out of excuses. It was living in an age of science with every aid that scientific method and thought could offer readily available to it and yet all it could do was cut deeper into the same old rut: believe what we tell you to believe because our saint, Thomas Aquinas, told you to believe it 650 years ago.

Poor man. That was another part of the church's teaching that he had difficulty with: saints, intercession and Mariology. His teaching on prayer was simple and direct. When we approach the throne of grace our prayers should be confident, ordered, suitable, devout and humble he said, and he who taught us the Lord's Prayer graciously hears our prayer along with the Father.¹²³ There is not much room for saintly intercession in that sort of teaching, and yet there are still prayers addressed to both Mary and Augustine, and popularly attributed to Aquinas, in circulation and use.¹²⁴

Having spent his working life trying to justify faith by means of rational thinking, Aquinas introduced a new twist with the last of his major published works. He set out five arguments to try to prove that God exists and that the world existed because of God. It was another response to Maimonides who had built on the arguments of both Aristotle, then much despised by the church, and a Muslim philosopher, Avicenna, in setting out four proofs of God's existence and unity in the "Guide of the Perplexed." Maimonides' arguments were aimed squarely at the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. They were devastating, but at one point in his work he admitted that it was easier to negate the non-existence of God than to assert God's actual existence.¹²⁵ Aquinas' "proofs" were a Christianized adaptation of Maimonides and they were going to provide the absolute statement which, in effect, would eliminate the need for faith. His rationale was not equal to the task.

In December 1273 Aquinas was working on an assignment which was never to be finished. It was probably part III of the *Summa Theologiae*. Some say he experienced a vision while others say that he suffered a breakdown. But, for what ever reason, he put aside his pen, declared that he could not go on and that such things had been revealed to him that all that he had written seemed, then, to be as so much straw.¹²⁶¹²⁷ This raises the question whether he was inspired with new insight to reinforce his published views of the church or whether he was overwhelmed and disillusioned by the enormity of the tragedy which flowed from the inquisition in which he had played such an influential role. Perhaps he had glimpsed a new Jerusalem rising from the heap of straw. Perhaps he then saw a difference between what God is like and what he was teaching. He died without adding to his writing three months later while on his way to Lyons for the council of reconciliation with the Eastern Church to which he had been summoned by Gregory X. Some writers say that he died as the result of an accident but Clark reports that he was already in weakened health when he began the journey, that he fell ill, broke his journey at his sister's house and was taken from there to the Cistercian monastery at Fossanuova where he died listening to the *Canticle of Canticles*.¹²⁸

It was that council to which the Mongol Khan of Persia had sent a deputation only to be rebuffed or, at best, ignored. The church was still preoccupied with its internal struggles and the inquisition. It would stay that way for some time. The ferocity of the Inquisition was still rising and falling with its terror concentrated into France and Italy, of less influence in the rest of the Holy Roman Empire and Spain, and hardly apparent at all in Britain. Intimidation was a most effective way of maintaining the church's political authority and its vice-like grip on the minds of the people. It was also the most effective way of preventing people from understanding their

relationship with God. It bottled up human aspirations and salvation because it retarded human and social development, put blinkers on education and human understanding, inhibited normal community and trading activities, and inhibited contact with other peoples and development in political thought.

Maimonides had said that man needs peace and security for his physical well being so that his spirit may be free to acquire truth. The sole aim of political law should be to regulate the relations between man and man to provide a base of external well being, he said.¹²⁹ The church just could not comprehend such a concept. In its view what humanity needed was the church's teaching, its ritual of baptism and maybe a few other things like absolution. It couldn't understand that ethical self-discipline and not imposed ritualistic discipline is necessary for the liberation of the spirit which then enables mankind to achieve knowledge and enlightenment. It couldn't understand that baptism isn't something magical and exclusive but that it is public confirmation of a commitment to the Messiah's teaching and example.

Also, in the church's self assessment, it had faced and defeated another challenge and was establishing its proper and impregnable position. It failed to see that by shaking off that challenge, by refusing to reassess its position and the theology on which it was based, and by continuing to use intimidation to strengthen its political position it was making the inevitable reassessment more traumatic. It was building a solid shell around itself. But it did not stop to think that the hardest shell takes the biggest hammer and makes the biggest bang when it breaks. It was busy proving Maimonides' point about intimidation having the opposite effect to peace and security. It was also confirming – without wanting to and without being aware of it – Maimonides' point about one movement or course of action being the forerunner of the next and the next, and so on. Every major action which it took to strengthen its position at the expense of someone else or out of disregard for the Messiah's teaching-by-example brought about a situation or a reaction which became an ingredient in the twentieth century trouble in the triangle. Now, about eight hundred years after the publication of Maimonides' major works and the church's effort to suppress them, and in the second generation after the establishment of the State of Israel as a consequence of the trouble in the triangle, academic interest in his writings is at a new peak. In 1954 a Maimonides Year was proclaimed in Israel to mark the 750th anniversary of the death of the man who has been described as 'the greatest of Jews since Bible times'¹³⁰ and 'the supreme theologian of Medieval Jewry' who 'stood at the confluence of four cultures (Arab, Christian, Greek and Jewish) and whose mind carried the main intellectual currents of his time.'¹³¹ But the level of interest and the importance of his work to each of the partners in the triangle is such that in 1985 UNESCO¹³² organized a conference at its headquarters in Paris to celebrate the 850th anniversary of his birth. Although the conference was proposed by the World Jewish Congress, it was co-sponsored by Pakistan, India, Cuba, Spain and the Soviet Union, none of which had formal diplomatic relations with Israel at that time, and it attracted scholars from Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas, including Jews, Muslims and Christians.¹³³

And now when we look back over the first 400 years of the Holy Roman Empire the main trends are easy to recognize. It was actually long before that period that the church's self-misunderstanding and misconduct had set the scene for the establishment and spread of Islam and it had been largely the challenge of Islam which prompted the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire in the first place. It was Islam which also provided the umbrella and the freedom which enabled Judaism to reach new heights of cultural and philosophical achievement in Spain and in Egypt. Then, together, they exposed the basic errors of the church which moved to inhibit European thought and economic and political development even further through its repressive backlash.

The church's antagonism towards both of its partner faiths in the triangle which was then fully formed caused Europe to lose its eastern trade routes and helped to prompt the crusades in an effort to reopen them. The politicking within the church to bring the Franks under Rome's authority deepened the internal divisions and helped to increase the severity of oppression in France. That politicking reached its peak with the crowning of Charlemagne and this aggravated the rift between east and west. That rift led in turn to competition for a place in Russia and the establishment of foreign principalities there; the destruction of the Khazar Jewish kingdom; the scattering of a massive population of converts to Judaism; and the very conspicuous severing of the ancestral tribal links between Judaism and Palestine.¹³⁴ It also strengthened the position and influence of Islam beyond the Arab empire and left Europe's defences unco-ordinated and ill prepared to face invasion.

These things also helped to bring on the crusades which then welded ancestral Jews and converts to Judaism into one tightly knit community; strengthened the Messianic attachment of the entire Jewish community to Jerusalem; replaced Muslim tolerance towards Christians with deeply entrenched bigotry between communities, and established European political footholds in the Middle East. The crusades also tightened the feudal system in Europe, repressed its social, economic and political development and introduced interfaith bigotry and terror to countries such as Britain where it had not been experienced previously. However another of their main effects was to stimulate Jewish scholarship even more. This led to a new understanding of the triangle – at least outside the corridors of power of the church – and to a new understanding of the Messianic Age for mankind. The ever-increasing complexity of the situation encouraged further syncretism, the growth of heresies and, of course, the Inquisition to put them down.

The church's self-understanding prevented it from seeing that the Inquisition was crushing Europe's spirit and its scholarship. If it had understood the opportunities for evangelism beyond Europe, which it neglected to concentrate on enforcing the Inquisition, the church did not show it. It was too busy screwing down the blinkers over the eyes of the people in its seven percent of the world's land masses to worry about the other 93 percent, especially since it was still preaching salvation in terms of Athanasius and Augustine.

Unfortunately Europe was only half way along that rugged Roman road from the papal Christmas celebrations of 800 to Luther's hammer and nails. The rest of the world still had a long wait to enjoy the thrill of salvation at the point of an inquisitorial sword. But the long term relationships between the three partners in the triangle had been firmly established. The church had made a bed of swords and the people of the world would have to lie on it for a very long time.

CHAPTER 9

WHEN THE COFFER RINGS

When Aquinas set out in January 1274 for the gathering he would not live to attend, the Council of Reconciliation at Lyons, the world was still only half way through the era of the Holy Roman Empire and the situation across Europe was generally very bleak and very unstable. For a couple of hundred years the design of the jigsaw puzzle which was Europe had changed repeatedly as principalities, kingdoms and khanates rose and fell and as popes and kings struggled for supremacy and for control of secular administration. The Mongols had made some strong exploratory sorties into Europe in 1221, crushing the Shahdom of Khwarizm in Persia and a number of Russian and Eastern European principalities along the way. They had then come back in force in 1236, staying north of the Caspian and Black Seas that time, and took only six years to sweep through Russia, Hungary and Poland, giving many principalities the temporary dual status of affiliates of the Holy Roman Empire and vassals of the Mongol Khan. The indicators all pointed to a continuation of instability.

The fringes of the continent had changed even more than its heartland, because the conflict between the church (together with the powers which it could coerce or beg to support it from time to time) and Islam complicated the situation. For the previous two hundred years the Muslims had continued to push east and south east through Afghanistan and into the Indian sub-continent and expansion in that direction did not seem to bother the church much at the time – as long as they stayed away from Europe. Of course the eastern Mediterranean and near east regions were subject to the same invasion pressures and instability as Europe. The result was that when Dar al-Islam began to decay also, with a lot of infighting and fragmentation, and the Mongols resumed their push westward in 1258 the Muslims were unable to resist and the Mongols crushed the Abbasid Caliphate at Baghdad. They appeared ready to sweep through Syria, Turkey and into southern Europe, and the fear of being swamped brought dramatic changes in the power structures of Dar al-Islam. The Muslim Turkish Mamluks regrouped very quickly and in 1260 their strength in the near east even brought a glimmer of hope for a bit of stability for the people of Europe when they blocked the westward thrust of the Mongols at the battle of Ayn Djalout, near Nazareth.

The turmoil and complexities of the second four hundred years of the Holy Roman Empire clearly make it impossible to deal with the period in detail so we must be content with a selection of highlights which helped to shape it and which illustrate the evolving relationships between the three partners in the triangle of faiths. Of course the power struggles for control of

the church (or churches) continued. The Greeks had been flexing their muscles in an effort to topple the pope's puppet in Constantinople. They were fed up to the back teeth with 57 years of papal domination which followed the devious crusade of reunification in 1204. In 1261 they succeeded in re-establishing a rather weak Byzantine Empire by revolt, taking advantage of the breathing space which had been provided when the Seljuk Turks were removed from Anatolia by the Mongols a few years earlier. It was that new political situation, coupled with the fact that the Mongols in Syria had lost their belligerence as a result of the battle of Ayn Djalout and they, too, were showing a close interest in Islam, which made the Council of Reconciliation politically necessary. The Roman church's rebuff to the delegation from the Persian Mongol Khan which attended that council is therefore all the harder to understand – until we learn that Pope Gregory X used the council as a forum in an unsuccessful bid to finalize a crusade planned by Charles of Anjou for a few years earlier but canceled. Charles had personal ambitions which got in the way of his religious zeal and his nephew, Philip III of France, would not cooperate either.¹

DIVERSE VIEWS OF JEWS AND STATE

Other developments had brought another glimmer of hope for relief for some people in regions in Europe where the church of Rome had been unable to maintain its vice-like grip. Poland was such a place. It was Catholic but it was distinguished by real religious tolerance. Perhaps its tolerance had been influenced by the need to rebuild the country after the Mongol invasion of 1240–41 had left the Christian middle class cut to ribbons, the economy wrecked and the principal cities in ruins, but it was real. The Polish monarchy set about a deliberate policy of attracting merchants and craftsmen from Germany and the immigrants naturally included large numbers of Jews for whom Poland meant not only business opportunity but also escape from oppression in the Germany of the Holy Roman Empire. The first crusade could not be forgotten. There was the ever present prospect that it might happen again. What was good enough for the people of Beziers could surely be considered good enough for the Jews. But King Boleslav the Pious had other ideas.

BOLESNAV'S CHARTER

In 1264, (just after the great Jewish-Christian debate in front of the King of Spanish Aragon, while the prospect of a seventh and ultimate crusade was still only a papal daydream, while Aquinas was working on his Summa of Christian Teaching for Jews, Muslims and Pagans, and still then years before the Council of Reconciliation), Boleslav issued a model charter for the protection of liberties for Jews. Poland's Jews were assured of relative freedom from molestation as well as freedom of opportunity to an extent which was quite rare in Christian Europe to that time.² No door was to be closed to them. However the shine of apparent humanity in the king's decision loses a bit of its brilliance when we scratch a little deeper and find that the politics of immigration and capital cash flow did have quite a bit to do with it. As

an incentive for enlistment in the glorious crusades the Fourth Lateran Council had ordered a moratorium on interest payments on money borrowed by crusaders. Just how the scheme worked is a little vague but it appears to have been effective in recruiting crusaders for various foul purposes in between the major treks towards the Holy Land and the eastern trade routes. It appears also that almost anyone could be declared a crusader for the purposes of gaining interest remission on money borrowed from a Jew. And of course during the Inquisition Jews would be arrested when they sought to press their claims for interest at the end of a four year moratorium and would not be released until they agreed to write off the debt altogether. Of course they could always be encouraged to agree by having a few nails torn out or some similar pleasantries. Then if a Christian beneficiary had any qualms about enjoying the financial benefits of such Jewish generosity he could always share them with a Papal pious cause such as financing the crusade against the Albigenses or Constantinople to ease his conscience.³

URBAN'S USURY CHARGES

Whether Pope Urban IV was dissatisfied with Jewish cooperation in this scheme or whether he was already gearing up for another crusade does not really matter, but in 1263 he turned the screws a bit tighter. He ordered that Jews were to be forced to remit usurious charges and that until they complied they were to be denied any contact at all with the Christian community.⁴ That was when Boleslav stepped in with his Jewish Charter. It worked well because the Jewish migrants got the peace and opportunities they were looking for and Boleslav got what he wanted too: large scale migration complete with the capital needed for Poland's rehabilitation. Of course the church couldn't let such a situation continue indefinitely and the clamour eventually broke in synods for the "equal treatment" of all Jews so that within a few generations Poland, too, was responding to the well tried inquisitorial techniques of France and Italy. Actually, so that we can get to the root of all the trouble which flowed from so-called Jewish usury we must delve a little deeper. When we do, we find, yet again, that the situation was a consequence of the church's exalted view of itself and its role, its narrow interpretation of Christian theology and the decisions which it took.

Medieval European society had no organized provision for banking or money lending either to provide for cases of need or to allow for personal initiative. The aristocracy didn't need one. Its members had adequate provision for personal negotiation with recourse to no end of devious alternatives if negotiation failed and they were not in the least interested in a financing system for the masses. It could mean competition and the break down of the existing social order in which the church was at the top of the pecking order. There was no room for that! At a time when, in the words of church historian J. L. Hurlbut, the papacy was at "the high water mark of power" Pope Innocent III wrote that not only the whole church but the whole world had been committed to the pope with "the right of finally disposing the imperial and all other crowns."⁵ When he was trying to justify the crusade against Constantinople a few years after the Third Lateran Council, he proclaimed himself, in the office of pope, to be the Vicar of Jesus Christ, a

servant given pre-eminence over a family; successor of Peter, the Anointed of the Lord, the god of Pharaoh; set midway between God and man, less than God but greater than man and judge of all but judged by no one. ⁶ On this basis, according to August Franzen's reasoning, the sovereignty of the secular rulers was not excluded and the papal claim to leadership was only of an indirect character. Papal leadership "merely demanded the acknowledgment of the supreme norms of the Christian faith and the moral authority of the papacy," and in this way dualism was preserved. However countless previous and subsequent contests between the papacy and monarchs, suggest otherwise and Innocent worked with great cunning to develop a structure of papal liege lordships.

FOR INNOCENT, THE SUN RULES

In an episcopal letter 'The moon and the sun' dated October 1198 he wrote that: the Creator set up two luminaries in the heaven, the greater light to rule the day, the lesser to rule the night; similarly He set up two great dignities, one (the pontifical authority) to rule the souls, the other (the royal power) to rule over bodies; as the inferior moon derives her light from the sun, so the royal power derives its dignity from the pontifical authority. ⁷ In March 1202 he followed that with a claim of over-riding papal authority in the election of kings. Writing to the Duke of Zahringen he said the princes should recognize that the right to examine the person they elect king "belongs to us who anoint, consecrate and crown him ... and ... when in an election the votes of the princes are divided we may, after due warning and a fitting interval, favor one of the parties." ⁸ By various devious, coercive means, beginning with Sicily in 1198, Innocent soon numbered the kings of England, Aragon, Portugal, Denmark, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, Dalmatia and other smaller territories among those who accepted their countries and their crowns from the popes as fiefs. In Franzen's words: "The preservation of law and peace, the traditional duties of the emperor, therewith passed to the papacy and a papal system of vassalage developed which was construed entirely on the strong moral authority of the pope." ⁹ However not everyone would accept his contention that the papal system of vassalage was construed entirely on the strong moral authority of the pope. It was a case of sheer power politics and callous exploitation of the church's grip on people's minds by the papacy.

After discussing the nature of the struggle for power between the English crown and the church which led to the appointment of Chancellor Thomas Becket as Archbishop of Canterbury and his subsequent assassination, Leslie Paul describes King John's abject vassalage to Innocent III as an even clearer example of the depth of the church's conflict with the state and the reality of papal power.¹⁰ In a dispute over authority for archiepiscopal appointments, the king denied the pope's appointee, Stephen Langton, entry to England and forced him into exile. England was placed under papal interdict, churches were closed, no masses were said, only baptism and burial was permitted, and the king was excommunicated. After four years, threatened with deposition and invasion, King John agreed to pay heavy reparations,

surrendered his throne and the kingdom of England to Innocent III, and received them back as the pope's vassal.

From the powerful political and commercial positions which the church had gained (and was in the process of imposing more strenuously) and from the make up of its clergy it is reasonable to believe that these considerations were far more important than theology when the Third Lateran Council debated usury in 1179. The gradual change from a barter economy to a money economy since the depressing impact of the first crusade had already changed the face of feudal Europe and weakened the church's position as well as that of the aristocracy. However vast sums of money had been borrowed privately by crusaders without which the church would never have been able to mount its ghastly campaigns and that was the reason Council had the issue before it. In an historic and momentous decision the Council decided that interest could not be charged on loans between believers and, by way of a penal clause to enable the decision to be enforced, Christian burial was to be refused to all who followed the heinous practice of charging interest. The council had devised a very effective method of imposing hardship, retarding development and maintaining the existing system of social privilege. The church was not only the representative of God, and therefore the spiritual leader and the teacher of the world, it was also its economic planner, controller, policeman and judge. The decision was justified by misinterpretation of Christ's Sermon on the Mount and there was no right of appeal. Even so it may have had some moral justification if the church had financed its own wars and if it made provision for loans without interest in cases of need. But it didn't and people still needed loans in an inflating money economy.

The reason that the issue of the conduct of the crusades even had to be raised at the council was a damning indictment of the church. The fact that it reached the decision that it did is equally damning. To justify it by misrepresentation of Christ's teaching and to perpetuate it by giving it the status of a religious absolute was worse.

As the economic system changed both in response to urbanization and as a means towards urbanization and industrialization, and as money became the standard for wages and exchange in trade a shadow of moral impropriety was cast over the developing finance system because of the church's decision. But at the same time the status of the church changed and it became more and more dependent on capitalism and income from revenue generating investments which were not directly under its management. For a very long period this has meant that when certain aspects of capitalism which are very clearly exploitative and of questionable morality have come under attack the church has seldom had enough courage, proven capacity and public confidence for it to be heard in moral judgements on the issues involved. In addition, many of the corporate bodies now involved in the complex and fragmented total life of the church are dependent for management expertise on people who are drawn from, and who are themselves dependent upon, the operation of the capitalist system as it exists. Because of this, actual resistance to change has been added to reluctance to think through the problems associated with it. This has led to a further drop in confidence and to polarization within the church around

conservative money management and activist groups have become frustrated at their inability to change the system. It is only in the past two generations that the situation has slowly changed.

However, at this point we are more concerned with the immediate consequences of the Third Lateran Council's decision on usury in 1179 which was made in the context of, and greatly influenced by, its decision to forcefully suppress the Albigensian Heresy. This was one of three related heresies which had taken root in Germany, Italy, the Balkans and France, its stronghold. The Albigenses believed that Christ was an angel with a phantom body whose redemptive work was limited to his teaching, who did not suffer and did not rise again. They rejected the sacraments and held to an extremely rigorous moral doctrine.¹¹ The council declared them and their beliefs anathema and prohibited any person, prince or commoner, from supporting them, having any financial dealings with them or allowing them housing. When this had little effect a crusade was mounted against them in 1208, and in 1220 a special papal inquisition was set up. Lords or princes were threatened that if they did not cooperate they would be excommunicated, their rights withdrawn and their land divided among the Catholics who would then be required to exterminate the heretics. And "Catholics who assume the cross and devote themselves to the extermination of heretics shall enjoy the same indulgence and privilege as those who go to the Holy Land..."¹²

As so often happens, practical politics, financial considerations and theology were all mixed up and the council's decision only forbade the charging of interest by Christians. This was an immediate encouragement for lenders to enter into arrangements with Jews and other non-Christians or to find alternative lending procedures and legal fictions to get around the restrictions. They were little different to twentieth century finance houses and bankers in this respect. They were very much human beings.

Those who were put at a disadvantage in ordinary transactions were those whose scruples led them to obey the church and those in a weak or insecure position. There was a natural tendency for Christians to turn to non-Christians for money transactions and they – especially Jews who were isolated from the mainstream of the Community by the church's previous decisions – were encouraged to enter an important field which Christians were supposed to reject. This naturally generated further friction, intense competition for the bigger money markets which were dominated by Italian Christian finance houses and a tendency for the Jewish financiers to be left with the smaller domestic transactions, pledges and pawnbroking.¹³

So the church had done it again. The complications and increased interfaith tension which flowed from Pope Urban IV's subsequent decision in 1263 that Jews were to be forced to remit usurious charges led to even more pressure for discrimination against Jews, their isolation from Christian society and the infamous "equal treatment" regulations.

FOR ORTHODOXY, SUBORDINATION MEANS SECURITY

Further east, in the principalities of north western Russia which had become tribute paying vassals dominated by the Mongol Khanate of the Golden Horde, the Greek Orthodox Church

secured its position by seeking a role subordinate to the princes instead of trying to compete with them or dominate them in the manner of Innocent III. The princes were very happy to accept as their state religion a form of Christianity which actually asked them to rule it rather than trying to push them around, but again it was a matter of politics which determined the church's attitude. Subordination to the princes in the same way that it had remained subordinate to the emperors in Constantinople, up to 1204 anyway, was the only approach that the Eastern church could take to compete with the church of Rome. Byzantium had neither the military or economic strength to enable the Eastern church to compete directly and it could not survive as a second denomination without them.

The papal attitude left no room for either cooperation or competition. It wanted only total absorption. The Inquisition was proving that. Anyone whose theology was not strictly orthodox Roman was a heretic and the conflict over the status of Aquinas' writings between the religious orders which were conducting the Inquisition was showing quite clearly that even Rome could not decide exactly what was correct orthodox belief. It followed that a person with strong personal convictions who was not going to be told exactly when and how to bow was very likely to be declared a heretic and to provide one body-weight of fuel for a public bonfire. Burning at the stake was the church's preferred method of disposing of heretics. The Greek-based church in the Russian provinces could not leave its people in this position and it therefore had to either make some very tough decisions and a clean total break with Rome, or take an easy decision to do nothing and therefore accept total subjugation very quickly.

Several other factors, coupled with the church's reactions to them, also helped to shape the church in Russia as it began its long march towards the crucial nineteenth century and took the stance which made it a focus for conflict in the twentieth century, but this was the vital one. The undercurrent of the church's exalted view of itself, its authority and its role was dragging it into ever deeper water.

While the Mongols were unifying Russia in a political sense their oppressive relationships with their Russian vassal princes, many of whom were of Finnish or Nordic ancestry rather than Slav, forced them to take brutal and arbitrary measures to maintain communal obedience and drove a wedge between the princes and the people.¹⁴ It also led to a devil-take-the-hindmost struggle for power between the princes to whose coat tails the church was clinging for protection and authority. The church could not avoid being linked with and involved in tyranny. Nor could it avoid becoming nationalistic in the same sense as pre-Christian pagan religions, even more formal and ritualistic, and more removed from the purpose for which it came into being. The foundations were being laid for a religious institution just as sick as that of the Holy Roman Empire from which it had cut loose.

Such was the state of the church when Rome eventually began to take a closer interest in the world beyond the Muslim empires from where the Mongols had come. Pope Nicholas IV sent embassies to the Great Khan's successor in China in 1289 and in spite of strong opposition from the Nestorians and other Europeans already in Peking, a competing Catholic church was

established. About ten years later an Archbishopric was set up. It is probably fortunate that there were relatively few Christians and Jews in China at that stage because the indications are that if it could have come to an understanding with the Khan it would have set up an office for an Inquisitor also. The purges had already gone the other way and crossed the English Channel.

CLEMENT'S EXPANDED INQUISITION

Not content with the anti-Jewish policies of Urban IV, his successor, Clement IV, had extended the authority of the Inquisitors to cover Jews who, inspired by Maimonides, were attempting to convert Christians. In his infamous bull 'Turbato Corde' he referred to exceedingly numerous reprobate Christians denying the Catholic faith and going over to the rite of Jews in a manner worthy of damnation. He then went on to direct the Inquisitors to act against Christians who showed any sympathy for Jews in the same way as against heretics, but that in the Case of Jews caught inducing Christians into their abominable rite due punishment was to be imposed, with the help of the secular arm if need be, and with no right of appeal.¹⁵

But it was left to Honorius IV to enforce the Inquisition across the channel. In 1286 he soundly berated the primate of England and his clergy for their negligence in failing to act on earlier instructions to restrict Jewish influence and to prevent Christian conversion. He commanded the primate to report the steps he would now take to correct the situation. The English clergy very quickly got the message to act or else! In 1290 all Jews were expelled from Oxford and their property was granted to the provost of Wells.¹⁶ Determined to track down and to convert or denigrate every Jew behind every lamp post or sand dune, Honorius also directed the University of Paris to train Arabs and other recruits from the East for the clergy so that they could carry the church's message back to their own countries. Two years later those papal embassies were on their way to Peking.¹⁷ Another five years on and his initiative in England brought traumatic results. All Jews were given three months in which to sell up their property and to be out of the country.

Honorius had set in motion a program of mass Jewish population expulsions which would make the map of Europe look like the pattern on an island beach with winds and tides sweeping the sand first one way and then another.¹⁸ The church's crude, manipulated theology and abuse of power, evident in every morally bankrupt political move it made, was building up a massive bank of dud cheques which would eventually be tendered for Salvation which the church was supposed to be in the market place to offer without charge.

Papal demands for ultimate authority over the crown in all matters, whether the levying of taxes, waging wars or his own divorce proceedings, the excesses of some of the knightly orders and the general abuse of ecclesiastical authority reached such a level and had such a fearful, disruptive and degrading effect on society that King Philip IV prohibited the export of money from France in order to cut off French finances to the pope and so clip his wings. The pope, Boniface VIII, replied with a bull in high flown terms to the effect that the church, outside of which there was neither salvation nor remission of sins, inherited from Christ absolute authority

in both spiritual and temporal affairs like two swords. One was wielded by the church directly through its priests and the other by the kings and captains on behalf of the Church, at the will of the priests and by their permission.¹⁹ Actually he was only putting into different words the sickening sentiments of Innocent III, and Pope Gregory VII (Hildebrand) at the time that he and Henry IV exchanged exile for excommunication (1077) over the issue of the papacy having absolute power over sovereigns. According to J. L. Hurlbut: "Gregory VII did not aim to abolish the rule of the state, but to subordinate it to the rule of the church, and of the pope as the church's head. He desired the secular power to govern the people, but under the higher jurisdiction of the spiritual kingdom, as he regarded it."²⁰ Augustine would have been proud of him! Quite a departure from "Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things which are God's." (Matthew 22:21, Kings James translation.)

PHILIP'S TRIAL OF STRENGTH

It was too much for King Philip. He summoned a Council of the Three Estates (the Lords, the church and the Commons), and with its support tried to bring the pope to trial. He was arrested but was released, in poor health, after only three days. Far from resolving the dispute between the church and the state the incident piled more fuel on the fire. The church dug its toes in. It did everything it could to distract public attention from the church-state issue, and Christian bigotry plumbed new depths as the church whipped the populace into a frenzy of anti Jewish lust. Accusations and rumours of the ritual or sacrificial murder of Christians by Jews were assumed to be fact and 'justice' was dispensed freely with little or no trial. The church succeeded in driving virtually all Jews out of Paris in 1306 and attempted to prohibit their return for forty years.

However the papacy and the power of Rome had suffered, French influence within the church increased. The king was able to insist on more Frenchmen being appointed to the College of Cardinals, a number of Frenchmen were elected popes in succession and in 1308 the papal court was shifted from Rome to Avignon where it sat for seventy years, some say as an instrument of French political power. Philip was even able to force Pope Clement V to dissolve the Knights Templars, to enforce the forfeiture of their property and the trial and execution, at the stake, of the order's grand master as a heretic.

This period marked the beginning of the decline of both papal power and the vigorous application of Augustinian theology. The decline of one accompanied the decline of the other. Theologian and historian Trevor Ling says: "The church was The City of God, of God the omnipotent ruler; ...(it was also)...the undisputed successor to the Roman Empire, and its earthly ruler was Caesar's heir during the centuries when there was virtually no single secular power strong enough to resist ecclesiastical control." Challenges to both the theology of the papacy and papal secular control began to appear by the fourteenth century and "a new intellectual force had entered the European arena in the shape of Aristotelian thought – preserved and transmitted to Western Europe by Islamic philosophers." The relationship

between faith and reason had begun to change. In earlier times reason had been subordinate to revelation. By the time of Aquinas there was something approaching a partnership between reason and revelation, even though the papal powers either did not understand it or could not tolerate the thought. Ling says that Aquinas had sensed the decline coming, and that his development of a system of philosophical theology may have been “a valiant attempt to stave off the day of the divorce of reason and faith.” By the next century “faith based on revelation, and knowledge based on reason were beginning to be regarded as separate and distinct from each other.”²¹ Responsibility for the trauma which the long drawn out process of change involved rests squarely with the church and its self-misunderstanding. The writings of theologians who challenged the church’s established theology, and who took their lives in the hands when they published, contributed to the process but it was really built into history, predetermined by the church’s conduct and its abuse of the power which it grasped so avariciously.

Time dragged on and the burden of both feudal and church oppression weighed heavily on the populace. The states of western Europe remained fairly stable but in the east the states and powers were grouping, fragmenting and regrouping with constant conflict and instability. Commercial activity was certainly on the increase right across Europe, with the basis of trade being the import of silks and spices from the east and furs, wax and honey via the Baltic, coupled with the export of finished cloth to Russia and the east.

Unfortunately the benefits of that commerce were not spreading uniformly over the continent and the disparity contributed to the tensions and conflict. A handful of major cities had grown up with a merchant and banking class competing with the church and the princes for authority. Urbanization was an ever present influence and brought with it new social influences and stresses. Construction and retail trade were becoming more and more important as people began to crowd into towns in preference to living in rural areas. The tendency was encouraged in the interests of commercial activity.

Craft guilds and leagues of merchants were growing as a means for their members to either protect or monopolize their particular activity. The bigger leagues, such as the Hanseatic League which was based in the towns of the Baltic and North Sea, cut across state borders and religious faith, causing the church more and more difficulty in its devilish efforts to isolate Jews from all contact with the Christian Community. Because of their protectionist policies both the leagues and the guilds also caused conflict within their communities, especially when they included a particular religious affiliation as a condition of membership.

THE BLACK DEATH

Such was the social condition of Europe when the Black Death struck. A fearful combination of bubonic plague, spread by rats, and pneumonia-type complications, it was apparently introduced from China to Sicily about 1346. Within two years it had spread through Italy, Germany, France, Spain and across the channel into England. It is said that within three years

between a quarter and a third of Europe's population died, but it is also said that an estimated forty per cent of the clergy succumbed.²² With earlier plagues it was largely a problem of poor living conditions, the lack of organized sanitation, overcrowding, poor elementary hygiene and inadequate clean water supplies. However this time the clergy, with anti-Jewish elements well to the fore, took full advantage of hysteria, superstition and ignorance to pursue their miserable campaigns. Mass baptisms were organized as vast numbers who had resisted the church's rituals rushed to take advantage of its preventive medicine much like the people of Augustine's Numidia. When they found it didn't work and their families were still dying of the plague the mobs naturally turned against the church. But how easy it was for the clergy to deflect their wrath onto the Jews who were accused of everything from poisoning wells, poisoning water supplies and breeding rats, to having supernatural resistance to the Black Death, which implied that they had demonic witchcraft in their rites.

The anti-Jewish fever reached a peak in 1348 when the plague reached the Savoy region of France, bordering Italy and Switzerland, and only 200 kilometres from the seat of the papacy at Avignon. A Jew at Chillon on Lake Geneva confessed, under torture, that his fellow Jews in the south of France had developed an elaborate plan to poison the water supplies of the Christian populations. The argument would have then followed that by eliminating Christians (including the papal entourage at Avignon) the Jews could dominate the world. The poison, prepared from spiders, frogs, lizards, human flesh, the hearts of Christians and consecrated hosts (from the Eucharist), had been distributed, so the poor man admitted, to Jewish communities throughout Christendom. The wave of massacres which followed probably accounted for the deaths of far more Jews than the plague did. Bands of Flagellants gathered in Avignon and paraded through Europe, their numbers swelling as they demonstrated at churches, flogging themselves mercilessly for long periods in penance, and calling for the extermination of Jews as a means of bringing on the Second Coming of Christ and the Millennium.

The campaign of violence swept north, right across Switzerland and along the Rhine to Strasbourg where the route divided. Some bands of Flagellants went to Holland and back into northern France. Others went through Germany as far as Hamburg, east through Poland, then south through Austria, into Italy and across to Sicily. The massacres exceeded anything in the history of Jewish martyrdom to that stage, with the possible exception of the Crusades. At the start of the outrage the entire community of Chillon was put to death with refined horror and then a total of sixty large communities and one hundred and fifty small ones were utterly exterminated. Twelve thousand died in Mayence alone. Not all of the slaughter can be blamed on the Flagellants but in Frankfurt they took their own appeals so seriously that they murdered every Jew in the city.²³ German Jewry was crushed and could not recover except by forced migration from elsewhere. The Flagellants had saved the Inquisitors quite a lot of work. The pope, Clement VI, is said to have issued several statements condemning the massacres and pleading the innocence of the Jews but they were couched in such double-talk that they did little to correct the situation and they were probably not intended to, having been issued after approaches by Jewish leaders to the man who had ultimate responsibility for the Inquisition

anyway. However such unauthorized slaughter apparently raised either his anger or his embarrassment to the point that he issued a prohibition against any further such processions in 1349.^{24 25}

Paul Johnson gives a brief but very telling note on the history and practice of flagellation in the church in his *A History of Christianity*. He notes that it was introduced in the fourth century by certain sophisticated pagan sects being “absorbed” into the church. Processions were led by priests with banners and candles; in Germany the whole process was especially ferocious with iron spikes added to the leather scourges, and after the reading of ‘a heavenly letter’ spectators dipped pieces of cloth into the blood and “treasured them as relics.” He also notes that Pope Clement VI encouraged public flagellation in Avignon in 1384. This date cannot be reconciled with the fact that Clement VI held office in Avignon from May 7, 1342, to December 6, 1352.²⁶ It therefore appears that either the date should be 1348, in which case Clement encouraged the mass processions of the Flagellants across Europe during the Black Death and then issued his prohibition after they got so out of hand, or that it was Pope Urban VI (in office at the later date of 1384) who formally encouraged them again at that later date. A few years later, in 1396, “the pillar of Spanish orthodoxy, the Dominican anti-Semite and rabble rouser, Saint Vincent Ferrer, led a party of flagellants through Spain, France and Italy, following the instructions of a vision.”²⁷ The fact that the church absorbed the practice of flagellation in a blatant act of synchretism is inexcusable, even if some may argue that it was understandable, just like every other act of synchretism. However the fact that the practice continued under official sponsorship for such a long period with such catastrophic consequences indicates the depth of moral and psychological sickness to which the church had sunk at a time when it was demanding recognition as the sole and divinely appointed spiritual and temporal representative of God – and ordainer of all monarchs, princes and lesser fiefs.

On a different level the Black Death also had other far-reaching social and political consequences. It highlighted the conflict of interests between the landed gentry, merchants and the aristocracy on one hand and the mass of the population on the other. The first group was much less affected by the plague than the second group, in terms of the proportion of deaths, because of the marked difference in living conditions. However they lost at least a quarter of their labour force and their markets in a very short time and that really hurt much more than the tragedy and stench of death all around them.

The economy was in disarray. Manufactured goods were in short supply so prices soared. So did wage demands and with labour in short supply workers were able to move freely from one job to another to improve their prospects and their wages. But because of developments in farming practices and the reduced population, food was in good supply.²⁸ This aggravated the friction. In an effort to peg wages and prices at pre-plague levels, royal ordinances were introduced in both England and France to control wages and to prevent workers from leaving their jobs in search of better pay or more congenial working conditions. They had little effect and so the aristocracy petitioned the King of England to enforce them through the courts. The

broad base of the population against whom the laws were selectively disadvantageous reacted strongly. Both England and France experienced their first civil riots.²⁹

The struggle to improve the ordinary person's lot in life was on. But it didn't result spontaneously from the plague and its labour laws. It had been brewing for a long time. The plague simply brought it to a head. The church had the ball at its feet again and it could really show what the Good News of Salvation and reconciliation was all about. But it had already crossed to the other side of the road again and it botched the chance. For one thing it made a recovery more difficult by stepping up its efforts to eliminate the Jewish communities which had developed a great deal of expertise in merchant and banking activities, (encouraged by the Lateran Council's anti-usury laws of the crusades), and which were therefore in an excellent position to help alleviate the difficulties. For another its attitude was hardly one of reconciliation and negotiation. But apart from those real impediments it had anchored itself squarely in the camp of the oppressors in several ways.

With its immense chain of monasteries across Europe the church was by far the biggest land owner, quite apart from the holdings acquired by the Teutonic Knights and others through their so-called evangelization programs. In most of the monasteries the religious did little or no work. They were there to contemplate and pray to Mary, and the saints of course, for the souls of the Christians. Never mind about their earthly conditions. Peasants were employed on a pittance to work the estates of the monasteries and naturally the church wasn't at all keen to see them go or to have to pay higher wages.

Then there was its increasing financial dependence on the wealthy land owners and the aristocracy for funds. It wasn't the ordinary people who directly kept the church afloat financially, it was the wealthy by whatever means the church could extract their wealth. They, in turn, extracted it from the ordinary people. That income was in jeopardy for two reasons if the church sided with the populace in demands for higher wages and less servile conditions. Firstly, because such demands would place a strain on the finances of the landed gentry and merchant classes and so reduce the funds available to be extracted. Secondly the church's support would strain relations between the wealthy and the church.

In 1348 the papacy was already in financial difficulty but the pope greatly aggravated the situation right at the time that Europe was under greatest strain by a decision to purchase massive properties at Avignon for the papacy, complete with the curia and the church hierarchy. It was to provide an alternative papal territory corresponding to the Vatican in Rome. The gradual transition from an agrarian to a mercantile economy with growth of merchant cities was steadily reducing the strength of the papal states and the church's control over these was under constant political challenge also and, midway through the Avignon papacy (which the church chooses to call its 'Babylonian captivity'), as we have seen the collapse of the economy due to the Black Death aggravated the situation, so it was hardly the right time to embark on a property buying spree of that magnitude.³⁰

RELIGIOUS BLACKMAIL

These things all led to a lot more questionable financial practices by the papacy to bolster its dwindling finances. In fact the curia resorted increasingly to religious blackmail. It looked for all sorts of ways to levy taxes and tributes outside the state system. The sale of religious offices, privileges, pardons and dispensations was rampant. Existing fees were increased and new fees were levied on the slightest excuse, even for some of the church's sacraments. Among the most despicable examples of the sale of supposedly sacred offices was the demand for substantial payment for an archbishop's pallium. This was held to convey or depute the papal plenary authority to a subordinate and while its use and consecration was more akin to superstition than religious practice it was held in the highest awe and reverence. Those who received an income producing authority or benefit from the pope were required to pass on to the curia the revenue for the first year, crusade taxes were levied under threats of censure or excommunication for non payment, and feudal taxes from monarchs under the system of papal fiefdoms, and anything else it could think of were increased. There was sharp contrast between its own actions and the theology used to justify those crusade anti-usury laws. Resentment grew among the civil elite and those who owed their positions of privilege to the favours of the church, but the church's hold over most of these people was still so strong that few could resist the threat of censure and excommunication or even the possibility of being declared a heretic and gaining first hand experience of the stake.³¹ And besides: if they had to raise more money to satisfy the demands of the papacy they could always pass the demands down the line to the ordinary people who sat in their pews or worked their land.

On top of all that there was the complex relationship with kings and states which had been a constant source of conflict. Both the church and the states had either controlled or used their influence in the appointment of their puppets in the other's domain over a long period and the issue of the pope's right of veto in the appointment of kings and princes had still not been resolved. King Louis of France intervened in an attempt to clip the papal wings a bit further in 1324, midway between the forced transfer of the papacy to Avignon and the Black Death. He appointed a general council to draw up proposals for a democratic church structure. The council, which included prominent university figures, notably Marsiglio (or Marsilius) of Padua, adopted Marsiglio's paper *Defensor pacis* as the basis of its proposals. It denied the church's claims of the divine origin of papal supremacy and declared that the state derives its authority from the people, the state is the unifying power of society, and the people retain the right to censure and depose the ruler. The council also maintained that the church had no inherent jurisdiction, either spiritual or temporal, that its rights are delegated by the state and may be withdrawn by the state, and that its hierarchy is an institution of human and not divine authority. On the basis of the concept of the priesthood of all believers the council maintained that the clergy was not superior to the laity and proposed a structure with a general council composed of lay persons and clergy as the chief authority in ecclesiastical matters, with the pope as a sort of chief executive officer responsible to that council.

As was to be expected, the pope, John XXII, condemned the paper as heretical and when its authorship became known in 1326 Marsiglio fled to Bavaria and the protection of Emperor Louis who had already been excommunicated. He was joined there two years later by William of Ockham, an English Franciscan teaching at Oxford, who had been asked by his Minister General to examine the papal constitutions on the order's poverty. Ockham was already under attack from Avignon for teaching that any church structures or practices which had the effect in people's thinking of limiting God's omnipotence and freedom of action should be done away with. His report that in the Franciscan dispute Pope John XXII had taken an heretical position was the last straw. A conciliar movement grew out of the work of Marsiglio, Ockham and others of like mind and proved to be a precursor to the eventual Reformation. (Sources: ^{32 33 34 35})

And so the church had failed again. When it could have provided a powerful spear head to a campaign to lift the lot of the people and give them a glimpse of the Good News the task was beyond it. It was only concerned about its own aggrandizement and the politics of power. The struggle for the Messianic Age to break through the bonds of human degradation shifted course with the Black Death. It had to take on the form and therefore the status of a political movement rather than a religious cause. The church had forced it to by the actions which it either took or did not take in the critical years from 1348 to 1351 because of its view of itself. The need which it perceived to maintain the power and privileges of institutional religion had again set in train events and stresses which would build up a case against it ready to burst as another of a chain of challenges just 500 years later. That challenge was Europe's rash of revolutions in 1848, Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* and the Communist Manifesto.

At least the church was being consistent with its economic policies. Its opposition to change after the Black Death and its anti-usury laws during the crusades both worked against the interests of the ordinary people and were repressive in their long term effects. The church had not made a serious attempt to understand the situation. All that it was capable of doing in 1348 was to deflect any blame for the tragedy and the catastrophe onto the Jews and to organize and promote public displays of religious fervour by groups such as the Flagellants. With or without the Flagellants there were public processions with dancing to the accompaniment of chanted psalms and proclamations of penance for the sins of the world which had brought the Black Death upon them. The psalms were carefully selected to illustrate the failure of the Jews and the need for judgement against them. At best it might be described as a cheap recruiting campaign which failed. There was certainly nothing evangelical about it. At worst it can be seen as a diversionary tactic to demonstrate the church's presence, to camouflage its abject failures and corruption, to increase its influence and its hold over the people, and to incite the ghastly interfaith hatred which was firmly linked with it.

It would be interesting to look closely at the whole period of the Avignon papacy, the factionalism of French and Italian churchmen, and the political as well as ecclesiastical turmoil in Italy which the church admits was "a factor of significance in prolonging the stay of popes in Avignon" ³⁶ and which contributed to the decision to purchase an alternative seat for the papacy at Avignon in 1348. It would also be interesting to ponder why it had not seemed so vital for the

church to be intimately linked to Peter's so-called original seat of authority for seventy years, but we must move forward thirty years to 1378 and the politicking around the return of the papal seat from Avignon to Rome.

It is unclear whether Gregory XI, the seventh pope to hold office at Avignon in 70 years, intended to shift the seat of the papacy back to Rome or whether he had visited the Vatican in 1377 to assess the situation, but he died on March 26, 1378 while he was in Rome. According to the rules adopted at the Council of Lyons in 1274, the conclave to elect the next pope had to be held ten days after the death of the pope at the place where he died, so the Roman clergy and politicians had a distinct advantage if they wished to influence the decision of the conclave and the decision on where the new pope would reside. However they were fearful that with the sixteen available cardinal electors being eleven Frenchmen, four Italians and one Spaniard there was a strong likelihood that the next pope would also be a Frenchman inclined to return to Avignon.³⁷ The locals played their advantage with vigour and the electors were put under extreme pressure with scenes of fearful violence. A turbulent mob of thousands of peasants, brigands and rabble surrounded the Vatican and kept up an overnight chant of "A Roman pope, or at least an Italian", interspersed with threats of bloody violence. Windows were smashed, doors axed, armed bands actually invaded the conclave demanding that a Roman be elected, and a massacre was a real possibility. With survival a matter of personal concern but not wanting to install a Roman, the electors chose an Italian archbishop from the city of Bari, not Rome. He was elected on April 8, and crowned Pope Urban VI ten days later – with the cardinals' assent extracted on the day under duress.

COMPETING POPES

Three months later, in July 1378, the non-Italian cardinals all left the papal court, declared Urban's election null and void because of the use of force, organized a fresh conclave at Fondi, 100 kilometres south east of Rome, on September 20, and with the support of the three surviving Italian cardinals, elected a Frenchman, Clement VII, who made Avignon his papal seat. It is not clear whether the action of the cardinals was pure geo-politics or whether they were influenced by Urban's unexpected approach as an "uncompromising, aggressive reformer" who showed violent extremes and was "most extravagant in his denunciation of worldly and immoral clerics." (Sources: ^{38 39})

For forty years the western church had competing popes with their full retinue sitting on two competing thrones – four on the Roman throne and two on the Avignon throne (it actually became three competing thrones for the last few years of the period) – making competitive appointments, successively excommunicating each other and their appointees, and bidding, very divisively, for the allegiance of kings and princes as well as clergy and institutions, and competing in their claims for rights to properties across the continent. The schism caused even greater trauma for the ordinary people of Europe. It would have mattered less if it had affected only the institutional church by weakening its power over the civil authorities and enabling

some rulers to change the authority relationship substantially. Numerous unsuccessful attempts were made to bring competing popes together but none would resign to enable a fresh single election.

A breakthrough appeared possible in 1394 when the University of Paris proposed three alternative solutions: concurrent resignations, arbitration, or a general council. The crisis and the debate dragged on, with little prospect of a conciliar solution because that would have really meant adoption of a conciliar structure and a complete review of the origin and basis of papal authority and the role of the papacy. Regardless of the views of radical academics, neither of the competing hierarchies nor the majority of the clergy would seriously consider that because of the threat to the church's self-understanding and, consequently, its fundamental theology. The reasoning ran, with great vehemence, that Christ had founded the government of his church on St. Peter, the holder of the keys. Christ could not be a parliamentary president whose office and works would be regulated by a majority vote, and neither could his vicar.⁴⁰ The clergy preferred the easy path – acceptance of corruption and mismanagement in the papal office – to the soul searching which a serious review of the church's self-understanding would involve.

However, when desperation temporarily took precedence over self-understanding a number of cardinals from the hierarchies of both competing popes agreed to convene a general council, modeled on proposed conciliar lines, to resolve the crisis. It met at Pisa in March 1409 with well over four hundred persons risking the wrath of their respective popes to attend. There were more than 100 bishops, delegates from a similar number, and more than 200 persons carrying accreditation from abbots, cathedral chapters and universities. The council tried both popes, in their absence, pronounced them both enemies of the church, deposed them, and elected a new pope, Alexander V. Of course neither of the deposed popes stood down, they clung to the structures around them, and as neither the council which had elected him nor Alexander had any means of enforcing its decision the church then had three popes instead of two. The situation was ludicrous. The decadence of Christendom, with the Byzantine Empire reduced to three small enclaves, was an open invitation for the Muslims to swoop, but Dar al-Islam was also fragmented, with no strong leader in a position to take advantage of the opportunity.

When Pope Alexander V died one year after his election by the council the church had an opportunity to re-open conversations between the two remaining competitors, but nothing came of it. Support for the conciliar appointment was so strong – Alexander had far more support than the popes in Rome and Avignon at that stage – that the leaders of the Pisa faction may have thought they had gained the upper hand, and the same conciliar mechanism was used to elect Alexander's successor, John XXIII, in 1410. John's election did nothing to resolve the crisis but after some time the German King, Sigismund, proposed a fresh general council, which John would convene and therefore give a greater degree of legitimacy, in a bid to regain unity throughout the church. John agreed, with widespread expectation that he would be confirmed as the legitimate pope.

However when the council convened at Constance on November 5, 1414, the debate centred on the need for all three popes to resign to enable a fresh election, and a system of national voting was agreed upon to avoid the ballot being dominated by John and the Italians. A fresh round of intrigue began and John fled the council to undermine its authority, but Sigismund insisted that it continue without the presence of a pope and on April 6, 1415, it carried a decree, *Haec Sancta*,⁴¹ claiming authority direct from Christ and placing councils above popes. John was arrested on May 29, tried, and deposed. A few weeks later the Roman faction's competitor, Gregory XII, (who the church now recognizes as the official pope of the period), formally reconvened the council to give it legitimacy (perhaps to undermine the impact of the council's decree on authority or perhaps to improve his own chances of being confirmed in his office) and then, on July 4, announced his voluntary resignation.

HUSS AND WYCLIFFE

It was then two down, with one competitor left still standing: Benedict XIII at Avignon. But as it might take some time to decide his fate the council turned to other business: the fate of the Bohemian preacher John Huss. Huss had been attracted by the writings of Englishman John Wycliffe and took up some of his reform proposals. Wycliffe was working towards his doctorate in theology at Oxford while the Black Death raged. He developed an abhorrence for papal influence at the royal court while the church openly abused its trust and authority in civil matters. He criticized the church's view of itself as having been established in a mystical sense from time immemorial. He maintained that while God's essence was changeless and indestructible the material church on earth derived its secular authority solely through God's grace while it stayed within the moral bounds of that grace. It wasn't at all hard for him to show that many clergy were way out of bounds and that papal authority, monastic life, priestly absolution, confession, indulgences and doctrines such as that of transubstantiation had no basis in scripture. It was during the later years of the official Avignon papacy that he began the English movement for reformation and freedom from Rome, or wherever the church was to be based.

Wycliffe could not have survived for long in Europe but in England he was appointed Master of Balliol College and, later, Warden of Canterbury Hall, Oxford. He developed a strong organization of supporters who preached reform and, under his direction, set about translating the Bible into English. A thousand years after the church had canonized selected papers and declared them to be the complete and absolute Word of God it was still denying the person in the pew the right to read it in his or her own language. God's Word could only be presented to them as interpreted by the pope. Vigorous efforts were made to prevent the distribution of Wycliffe's translation and his 'heretical writings' but they soon had a strong influence in eastern Europe where John Huss took up the cry.

Unlike Wycliffe, Huss was to pay the ultimate price for rocking the holy boat. He preached violent sermons on the morals of the clergy and provoked such hostility that Alexander V, the

first of the Pisan popes, issued a bull ordering the Archbishop of Prague to destroy all of Wycliffe's works and to curb Huss' influence by prohibiting him from preaching in private chapels, namely the university where he was Rector. Huss refused to stop preaching or to appear in Rome, and in 1411 John XXIII excommunicated him. He went into hiding with Czech nobility and to flush him out John put the entire city under interdict, withdrawing the administration of sacraments. He then promptly reinforced popular support for Huss and contempt for papal political interference by declaring indulgences for a crusade against another anti-papal leader, Ladislaus, in Naples and tension in Prague reached flash point. Huss had appealed against the curia's decisions and to defuse the situation he agreed to go to the Council of Constance to debate his stand. He was granted the protection of an imperial guarantee of safe conduct from Sigismund, the person who had initiated the meeting of the council.

Huss reached Constance in safety on November 3, 1414, two days before the council was opened by John XXIII and the pope lifted the ban he had imposed on him but, on November 28 he was called to face a heresy trial – not a debate – and after the first hearing he was imprisoned pending the outcome. He remained in prison, in spite of Sigismund's protests, while the long drawn out proceedings on papal authority and succession continued and until after John XXIII fled. His case was then considered by the council on and off over several weeks until the council was in a position to continue with the major task in hand. Then, after Gregory XII's resignation on July 4 Huss's trial continued on July 5. Next day the verdict was finalized: guilty of having dogmatized, defended and preached the heresies of Wycliffe in his own writings. The council declared the imperial guarantee of safe conduct invalid and of no consequence on the ground that faith was not to be kept with a heretic.⁴² Huss was burned at the stake at the Cathedral of Constance, the same day, to close another of those travesties of justice for which the church was famous and which passed as a heresy trial. In the same sick state of mind and as if to make up for a serious error in allowing him to die peacefully in England, the council directed that John Wycliffe's remains be exhumed and destroyed.⁴³

The council then continued with its other business. Sigismund went hurriedly to Perpignan on the Franco-Spanish border to negotiate Benedict XIII's resignation, but, having failed, he returned with delegates from the church in Spain to ensure that, with their support, a move to depose Benedict would succeed. It did, and the council adjourned after deposing Benedict on July 26. It met again in October to agree on procedural changes and the relationship between future popes and the general council of the church, then in November a conclave was held and a new pope was elected: Martin V. The schism in the western church was ended. The Catholic Church officially had a new conciliar structure and the authority of the pope was restricted. But what direction would the church take?

The state of its corporate mind shows through its self-portrait in the decree "Haec Sancta" which was claimed to establish its authority. It saw itself as a holy council lawfully assembled in the Holy Spirit, constituting a General Council of the Catholic Church and therefore receiving its authority immediately from Christ. All men of whatever rank or condition including the pope himself were therefore required to obey its decisions in matters of faith,

reformation and the ending of the schism. Anyone who disregarded it would be subject to appropriate penance and punishment unless he came to a right frame of mind in time to save himself and recourse might also be taken to other remedies at law. ⁴⁴

The decision in Huss' trial and his death has been described as a symbol of the independence which the council was trying to express, but the contradictions and the irony in the situation serve to demonstrate how desperately the church was in need of reform and a total re-think of its role. Although the council had been convened on the basis of the conciliar model it was dominated by conservative papists⁴⁵ who, presumably, saw collaboration in a council which they did not want as a means of securing (or propping up) the church's self-understanding and an eventual return to the former authority patterns. This would account for the fact that the first conciliar-model council condemned and murdered one of the key figures in the conciliar movement. It would also account for the fact that having rejected Marsiglio's *Defensor Pacis*, with the view that the church acted under authority delegated by the state, the church was eager to demonstrate its claimed superior authority by rejecting King Sigismund's imperial guarantee of safe conduct, even at the risk of humiliating one of its key supporters and advocates. The reaction to its sadistic action and the confirmation of its warped self-understanding soon became apparent. Huss was no longer simply the former Rector of Prague University. He was a symbol of the struggle to throw off papal and German domination and abuse. The religious reform movement grew into a nationalist political party: the Hussites. Wars broke out four years later, dragged on for five years and brought a degree of independence with separation of the church from Rome. The Moravian Church is a development from the turmoil of that period.

As it was in England and Bohemia so it was further east. The papal representatives just couldn't keep their fingers out of politics. A mission was set up in Persia in 1318, ten years after the papacy took up residence in Avignon. It had three aims. One was to undermine the Nestorians who had been allowed to operate unhindered through numerous changes in control of the region and had grown to become a significant community. Another was to bring the Armenian Church back into the Roman fold. The other was to convert Muslims. However its only lasting effect seems to have been to cause such dissension in Armenia that a violent nationalist reaction set in about sixty years later and efforts to achieve that sort of unity soon lapsed. ⁴⁶

CONTACT IN INDIA

About the same time a Franciscan four-man mission went to the Bombay region of India. It arrived while the disruption and division caused by Mahmud's conquest and 'pacification' programs in the Hindu regions of northwest and central India – and bloodcurdling reports of his crimes – were still uppermost in people's minds. However Mahmud's invasion by land from his Ghaznavid base of Afghanistan was certainly not India's first experience of Islam and earlier contacts had not led to the trauma which the Franciscans were able to report. The first phase of India's contact with Islam came during the early years of the Umayyad caliphate, possibly

during the 660s. Muslim Arab traders buying timber for shipbuilding and other commodities merged with trading settlements on the Malabar Coast of South India which had been established before the birth of Islam. Their personal conduct led to their acceptance by the Hindu rulers who saw no threat to the established religions including Brahmanism (which was making a recovery), Buddhism and Jainism, and permitted the Muslims to build mosques and to take wives from among the high-caste Nair women, and to manage their own community affairs.

In other parts of India there were also strong trading links between Arabs and Indians, with the Indians quite content (due to their own traditional reluctance to travel) to leave the maritime operations to the Arabs. Unfortunately, during the reign of Caliph Walid I a ship carrying gifts from the King of Ceylon to the Viceroy of the Eastern Caliphate, and the widows and families of Arab seamen who had died in Ceylon, was blown of course and into the hands of pirates from the Sind region of the Indus Valley in North India who carried off both the gifts and the women and children. This led to the second phase of India's contact with Islam. When the Raja of Sind did not respond to the Caliph's protest a military expedition led by General Muhammad ibn Qasim was despatched to put the matter right. The town of Debul was captured in 711 and the capital of Sind, Bramanabad, the following year. The raja was killed, Muhammad ibn Qasim married his widow, became ruler of all of Sind by 713 and then began to extend his control over part of the Punjab. The raja of Kashmir appealed without success to the emperor of China for help, but Sulaiman, successor to Walid I and a bitter enemy of the general's family, recalled Muhammad ibn Qasim, imprisoned him and called off the first Muslim invasion of India.

While part of the credit for Qasim's success goes to his ability as a general, part of it also goes to his considerate treatment of the local population, the majority of whom were Buddhists. Qasim did not distinguish between the Hindus and the Buddhists and, on the basis that both religious communities had their own scared scriptures and codes of conduct, he gave them both the protected status of 'People of the Book', that is, the same status as Jews and Christians. The Buddhists therefore welcomed relief from the rule of the Hindu raja. Qasim's tolerance towards Hindu and Buddhist practices and beliefs which later Muslim invaders saw as idolatrous may have been a sign of laxness on his part and it was certainly a factor contributing to his recall. However Trevor Ling says that it is possible to see him "as a representative of Islam at its best during the Umayyad period; vigorous, resourceful, hardy, possibly aggressive, but also tolerant of the religious attitudes of other worshippers of God."⁴⁷ He appears to have championed the philosophy which comes straight from the Gospels: accept people at the point of understanding they are at in their circumstances, then preach and teach by the Word and by example, not by the sword and by casting stones. What a pity the church could not understand that philosophy.

A MIXED APPROACH TO RELIGIOUS TOLERANCE

Back to Mahmud's visit, or phase three of Indo-Muslim contact. Mahmud came to power as the third generation ruler of the Ghaznavid Emirate, an offshoot of the Samanid Emirate, in

succession to his father, Subuktegin, in the early stages of the Turkization of the leadership of the newly emerging component states of Dar al-Islam. Arab leadership had necessarily given way to non-Arab leadership as Dar al-Islam expanded. To the west it was the Berbers who gained control and to the east it was initially the Persians. But then at the beginning of the eleventh century the Persians were replaced by the Turks as successive waves of invaders swept down towards them from the north and east, and contrary to normal expectations, the invaders adopted the religion of the people whose territory they were absorbing instead of imposing their own. An important consideration in their decision was the need to retain the strong communal structure and local leadership systems which the Arabs had developed based on Muhammad's teaching, but the simplicity and the authority of Islam's message had enormous impact and commanded immediate attention. The young emirate found (like many new states before it and since) that the only way to survive in the face of both internal and external rivalries was territorial expansion, and organized Islam became both the means of achieving expansion and the beneficiary of it. The remnant Samanids were liquidated first, in 999, then a series of small territories were absorbed into the emirate progressively over a period of about twenty years.

Mahmud's expeditions to India via Afghanistan from his base just east of the Caspian Sea began in 1001. Eventually, overcoming strong and, at times, heroic but disunited opposition from the Indian princes, they reached into Central India. According to von Grunebaum the troops showed great religious zeal and what has been described as "unmistakable signs of their irreconcilable hatred of the heathen" as they stormed temple strongholds, destroyed idols and plundered treasure.⁴⁸ However it is probable that their zeal and the extent of the plunder was due in part to the fact that they were being paid in cash from a share of the proceeds of booty and not from military fiefs (fees) paid from other government revenue because Mahmud's young emirate did not have reserves from which to pay fees. Whatever the reason, von Grunebaum says that after the pacification of the occupied territories Mahmud treated people of other faiths correctly and it was only later rulers who engaged in "unrestrained acts of cruelty which are engraved in the memory of the conquered peoples." The bloodcurdling descriptions of the storming of the temple city of Sumnath which some writers have perpetuated "are founded less on fact than on the general mood of the time," he says.

But Mahmud's toleration of the continuation of non-Muslim religious communities did not extend to non-Sunni communities within Islam. He insisted on strict orthodoxy and Shi'ite congregations which had developed from trading activities in the Indus Valley were destroyed as being a sectarian blot on Islam. It can be argued that Mahmud's invasion was no more violent or traumatic than the crusades, the Inquisition, the Christianization of Scandinavia, or other episodes in the church's history which we have yet to come to, and that he established the basis for a very vigorous, determined orthodox Islamic society in the regions of India which came under his influence. However such arguments do not justify his policy and there is no doubt that he was very largely responsible for the virulent tensions which continued between Muslims and Hindus in India, which Britain exploited without scruple during the colonial era, which resulted

in the partition of India into two nations on a religious basis, and which still explode with violence from time to time.

After Mahmud's death in 1030 his son Mas'ud maintained the Indian campaign until he misjudged the challenge from the Seljuks, because of his concentration on India, and was defeated in 1040. This enabled the Seljuks to continue their push south and west, to gain control of Persia, Iraq and Syria, and to re-establish the Eastern Caliphate with the unifying influence which had always been expected of it.

On arriving at Tana, near Bombay around 1320, the four Franciscans took much the same line as if the power of the state was theirs and not the Muslims and followed the church's standard misrepresentation of the prophet's teaching. A dispute broke out and one of them, Thomas of Tolentino, described Muhammad as the son of perdition whose place was in hell with his father, the devil, alongside all his followers with their false, pestilent, accursed laws which were hostile to God and the salvation of Souls.^{49 50} Three of the party, friars, were promptly executed and the fourth, a lay brother, after burying his colleagues and deciding that success would be very difficult in that region, set out for the safer environment of Quilon in South India where a Nestorian community was well established. As if there were not enough people in India to evangelize and to help, Rome did its usual thing and in 1329 appointed him bishop for the region and succeeded in disrupting the area to such good effect that all traces of the community disappeared for a time.

In the territory of the Mongol Golden Horde, (Russia, north of the Black and Caspian Seas), and China the story was really little different, but there was an interesting twist to relations with the Golden Horde. It appears that by some means (probably the work of a Franciscan 'mobile convent') the Khan, Toqtaï, (ruler since 1290), was persuaded to accept baptism in 1311, together with his wife, three sons (at least two of whom had already adopted Islam) and a number of lesser Mongol chiefs. Hopes were high for another mass conversion. But within months the khan died and his two elder sons reverted to Islam. His successor, Ozbeg, who ruled until 1240, was already a convinced Muslim. He allowed the missionaries to remain but two years after his death they realized that the future of the Mongols was with Islam and not Christianity. Perhaps their welcome mat had been removed.⁵¹

In China, where John of Monte Corvino claimed to have baptized 6,000 people by 1305 at the unwelcome archbishopric at Peking, a church was established at Zaitum, which must have been in territory disputed by the Mongols and the Chinese, using Peking as a base in 1313. The sources available indicate that the papal representative dabbled in relations between the Chinese and the Mongols, presumably with an eye to influencing the status of both of the Mongol-approved churches – the Nestorian Church in China and the Greek Orthodox Church in Russia. Papal influence gradually increased, but so did antagonism towards Rome, so that about the same time that John Wycliffe was preaching against the same sort of interference in the English court, the Chinese at Zaitum rose against the Mongol authorities, threw them out and killed the Latin bishop. The date for his death is given as 1362. Retribution against the Chinese followed

but, in addition, all Christian missions were closed and the Latin population was expelled from Peking seven years later, in 1369.⁵²

In Spain the people of three religious traditions were enjoying a short period of relative peace together, the *convivencia*, but it was about to come to an end. In 1391 social unrest resulting from the same changes in rural-urban employment and relationships which had affected the rest of Europe built to the point that peasant revolts erupted, with the Jewish community as the main target. Thousands of Jews were forced to adopt Christianity; synagogues were destroyed, and hundreds of Jews were massacred. The wave of terror began in Seville on July 6 and by August 13 it had swept the country from south to north, reaching as far as Perpignan. The Jews were under enormous pressure to disperse, or flee the country.

Expulsions, it seems, were becoming fashionable again and the church tried another one just before the turn of the century. King Charles VI of France is possibly best known for loosing effective power to his uncles when he reputedly went mad in 1392 and for signing the Pact of Troyes which (in theory anyway) gave Henry V of England the French crown as well after the conquest of Normandy. But it was he who also signed a decree in 1394 expelling all Jews from France “perpetually” except for subsistence communities in Avignon and Provence. These two centres are especially interesting in view of the fact that Avignon had been the starting point for the Flagellant-inspired excesses against the Jews during the Black Death and it was still the seat of one of the three claimants to the papacy, Benedict XIII, and Provence is in the watershed area of the Albigensian heresy struggles. [See above, footnote page 5.] Pangs of papal conscience, perhaps. In 1413, two years before Sigismund tried to persuade him to step down voluntarily, Benedict sought to influence the church with his claim to the sole papacy by the conversion of Spanish Jewry. In cooperation with the king of Aragon he organized a missionary attack on the Jews with threats, intimidation and civil benefits for the converts under the guise of a Christian-Jewish disputation in Tortosa. By the middle of the century the number of ‘New Christians’ or Conversos in Spain was greater than the number of professing Jews, although a high proportion of the ‘New Christians’ continued to practice Judaism in private and were known scornfully as *Marranos*.⁵³

It is not surprising that even before the Council of Constance, ever increasing stresses and strains were showing in Europe’s international affairs. In 1411 the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, which had been formed by union in 1386 to avoid the “Christianization” of Lithuania by the pope’s Teutonic Knights, challenged the knights and defeated them decisively at Tennenberg. However with competing papal machines each churning out the absurd story that the knights were selfless crusaders in a heathen land and saying nothing about financial or political implications, the sympathy of western Europe was strongly with the knights – until John Huss started preaching a few home truths.⁵⁴ It didn’t matter that release from the knightly tyranny was what the people needed, or that Poland and Lithuania had a genuine need for trade and military security to back up their victory. The overriding consideration was that if they proceeded to dissolve the states of the Teutonic Knights they would suffer diplomatic and trade isolation and, most probably, reprisals orchestrated by one or more of the three competing

popes. “Peace” was therefore agreed on the basis that the Knights would relinquish only their most recently acquired province. Germany and the Holy Roman Empire held on to much of their Baltic and North Sea trade, especially grain and amber, through links between the Teutonic Knights and the Hanseatic League.

The fifteenth century dragged on. The Roman church was back on its self-appointed track with only one pope, although it was still deeply divided over the question of authority and structure. Martin V, having accepted office by authority of the conciliar general council, insisted that the decree *Haec Sancta* was specific to the Council of Constance and that having been elected his authority took precedence over that of the council. Dissension erupted again when his successor, Eugene IV, called a council at Basle in 1431. The council curtailed his authority in 1437 and when he responded by transferring the sittings (first to Ferrara, in 1438, and then to Florence, in 1439), the conciliarists, continuing to meet in Basle, deposed him, and elected Felix V in his place.

For the next twelve years – while relations between Rome and Constantinople reached crisis point – the church again had two competing popes, but the papists soon gained the upper hand, Felix resigned in 1449 and the conciliar cause was lost. But before he was deposed Eugene had proved that he was capable of carrying out his other papal responsibilities: he introduced restrictions to ‘correct’ the situation in Spain where Christians, Jews and Muslims were all living in harmony. He prohibited any personal contact or business dealings between Christians and Jews; the building or enlarging of synagogues and the giving of evidence against Christians by Jews, (but actions against Jews were to be heard by Christian judges, of course). In addition the segregation and identification of Jews was to be enforced; Jews and Muslims were prohibited from charging interest on loans to Christians and the failure to enforce these regulations was itself an indictable offence.

Europe gradually became more tense and the western countries felt more and more isolated. The spice route and the Red Sea route were both totally controlled by Muslim countries which saw no reason to make trade advantageous for papal Europe. The Mongols of the Golden Horde had been squabbling among themselves since the 1360s and this was interfering with trade and encouraging a powerful principality in Western Russia, based on Moscow, at the same time. Then, after Tamerlane the Turk had destroyed the Mongol capital of Sarai in the last of a series of three raids in 1395 the Horde was unable to recover fully and began to fragment. It still levied tribute from the Russian principalities and could launch punitive raids at will but it could not control the principality completely. While this meant more freedom for the princes it also meant less organization in trade across an immense area of the continent.

RECONCILIATION AT A PRICE: PAPAL PRIMACY

But then the Turks began to step up their pressure against the remnant Byzantine Empire based on Constantinople and the complications snowballed. Constantinople appealed to the west for help. The price? Church reunion with primacy of the pope of the Roman church and acceptance

of the Roman version of the filioque clause of the Nicene Creed.⁵⁵ A decree of Union was signed at the Council of Basle/Ferrara/Florence in 1439, but Rome had badly misjudged the effects of its decisions again! For exactly the same reasons that the princes had welcomed the Greek Orthodox Church as an alternative to Roman Catholicism they now broke off relations with Constantinople. The idea of papal interference and absorption into the Holy Roman Empire was abhorrent. While they were the heads of their own churches they were willing to recognize an allegiance to the Byzantine Emperor. There was some sort of harmony between the authority of church and the state even though such an allegiance and authority was meaningless while they were vassal states of the Mongols. However they wanted no dealings at all with either a pope or an emperor who were constantly at loggerheads over their respective powers, to the readily proven disadvantage of the empire. Even if such a relationship were only nominal the Russian princes could not risk being the meat in the sandwich of a power struggle between the Mongols and Rome or Germany.

In addition to that political opposition to church union, the clergy in Russia objected on the same theological grounds which had led to the break with Rome in the first place and, furthermore, they feared that the Inquisition would be imposed on them if, having been sold down the Bosphorus for a few soldiers, they refused to toe the Roman line. And of course the Bosphorus itself was another factor. The traders at each end of the various trade routes which ran through it, (from the Baltic and also from the east, both north and south of the Caspian Sea), were fearful of interference and were well aware of the earlier intervention and diversion of trade when Rome was trying to get into Russia at the expense of the Eastern church.

So the Edict of Union was never put into effect and the west's military support was not provided, but several reactions had already been triggered. Relations had been so severely strained that trade began to fall off but, even more important, the fall of Constantinople was virtually assured. The Russian princes began to appoint their own metropolitans, and Greek influence in Russia, which had mainly been exercised indirectly through the clergy, began to fall away. The Romans continued to recite that 'the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son', and the Greeks and Russians continued to recite that 'the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father through the Son.'

The end was not long in coming but in 1451 the emperor in the east made another desperate attempt to obtain western aid by sending a special ambassador to Rome. The reigning pope, Nicholas V, replied, in writing, confirming that reunion and total submission to papal authority remained a condition of aid. He said that as schism has always been punished more severely than other crimes, the defeat of the Greek Empire, "the most miserable of all nations", by the infidel Turk would represent God's heavy judgement for the deliberate continuation of the schism. He then repeated the rigid and totally unacceptable conditions for reunion, saying that if the emperor and his people refuse this last chance, "You compel us to do that which is demanded by your welfare and our honour."⁵⁶

To rub salt in just a little the pope reminded the emperor that the decree of union had been drawn up in front of all the monarchs of Europe or their embassies. They were all witnesses to it and they all had copies to confirm that the ancient schism had finally been healed, he said. But what he apparently didn't refer to was much more significant. He had called a Holy Year or Jubilee celebrations – the first ever – to raise funds through a pilgrimage to Rome and a scheme of indulgences to support the war against the infidel on the basis that the schism had been healed and Christendom was reunited under the pope. In any case the emperor understood the papal mentality very well. He knew that Rome was still reeling under the devastating impact of the plague which swept through it as a result of the pope insisting on holding a Holy Year pilgrimage, and that the Vatican was almost empty. It is therefore very unlikely that he had held much hope that his appeal would succeed.

A HOLY YEAR INDULGENCE: THE PLAGUE

The pope had personally decided in 1448 to proclaim a Jubilee and Holy Year although members of the Curia had advised against it. They believed the risks were too great. War was still ebbing and flowing across Italy and the plague, which had broken out again in Venice the previous year, was already evident in some other centres as well. They feared that it would be carried to Rome by pilgrims. But the pope knew better of course, through his exclusive direct line from heaven, and planning went ahead. Divine intervention would prevent the plague from being carried to Rome.

Indulgences would be gained by daily visits to each of Rome's four main points of pilgrimage: St. Peter's, St. Paul's, the Lateran Basilica and St. Maria Maggiore. If the pope had really tried he could not have devised a more effective means of spreading diseases which were both contagious and highly infectious. There was an attractive provision for the nobility of Hungary, the front-line state against the Ottoman Turks, to gain their indulgences without making the pilgrimage. Provided that they left Hungary for no purpose other than to fight against those Muslim Infidels during Holy Year they would gain their indulgences by paying only half what it would have cost them to travel to Rome and make the pilgrimage round for fourteen days. To make it even easier for them, special locked boxes were placed in several cathedrals in Hungary to receive their contributions.

So the mob descended on Rome. There were millions milling around the city from the grand opening of the Jubilee celebrations on Christmas day 1449 right through January. Then the numbers fell away so much during February that the innkeepers were discontented at the poor trade. But there was a massive build up during lent as a prelude to the canonization of St. Bernadine of Sienna which was set for Whitsunday, 24th May 1450, and billed as the special attraction of Holy Year. A special lofty papal throne was built for the occasion and even the vestments to be worn by the cardinals cost 7,000 ducats. Unprecedented crowds converged on the city. Hundreds of thousands slept in the streets, in doorways, gutters, anywhere. The bridges

across the Tiber were totally clogged to a standstill all day as pilgrims struggled to each of the four churches each day to gain their indulgences.

Then the plague struck. People “fell like dogs” in the streets, on the bridges and into the river. Pandemonium broke loose with hospitals, churches, convents and monasteries crammed with the sick, dying and dead. On July 15 the pope fled from Rome and moved from castle to castle in search of safe air. The papal court was virtually closed, its officials fled to other countries, and Nicholas V did not return to live in the Vatican for almost three years. At one stage he took only one secretary with him and no one who had been in Rome was allowed within seven miles of him on pain of excommunication and loss of papal preferment and favours. Only certain cardinals and their attendants were allowed audience on vital matters ⁵⁷

One such visitor must have been an emissary from Spain, because in November 1451 Nicholas approved in principle the establishment of a tribunal of the Inquisition in Castile in response to a demand from King John II. That was an extension of the saga of the Benedict’s push to convert all Spanish Jews. On January 27, 1449 an attack against taxation in Toledo had turned into an attack on wealthy Converso merchants and rebel leaders took control of the town. Tension must have stayed high for some time because on June 5, the town council adopted a statute proclaiming that Conversos and their children could not hold any public office in the town. In spite of the fact that the destruction of the Khazar Khanate had decisively severed the Jewish religion-race link and the Spanish Jews had responded to the church’s demand that they convert to Christianity they were still regarded as “racially Jews” and the statute was therefore a straight out act of racial discrimination. It was the first such act against the “New Christians.” The council’s decision made a mockery of the church’s enforced conversion program and gave the Jews strong encouragement to go through the motions of conversion and baptism while retaining their faith and private practice as Jews. Nicholas V was in a quandary. On September 24, he took the only action he realistically could, and issued a bull denouncing the Toledo Statute. “All Catholics constitute one body in Christ,” he said. Then, at the end of October Fernan Diaz circulated a memo explaining why the statute was impossible to enforce anyway. Mixed marriages between members of the Catholic aristocracy and families of Conversos were so frequent that any measures to discriminate against men of Jewish descent would affect the entire upper class.⁵⁸ The conversion program was therefore heading for failure. Force would be required to ensure that those families took their Christian obligations seriously. Thus the decision to set up an office of the Inquisition.

THE FALL ... WITHOUT DISASTER

Such was the pope’s situation and frame of mind when he replied to the Byzantine Emperor’s appeal for help a couple of weeks earlier, in October 1451. Naturally when Constantinople fell to the Turks on 29th May 1453 Christian Europe was not prepared for the event. After all, God was on the side of the Christians against the Infidel so it must have been a very dastardly assault by the Muslims to bring the city down. That reaction by the general public was a natural

consequence of the doctrines, the self-assessment and the attitude towards non-Christians which the church had gone to such pains to instill, in exactly the same way that the catastrophe of Holy Year had been. The church took full advantage of it. It gave credence to the horrific stories which soon circulated, with its help, and then took further advantage of them to support the papal offer of indulgences for yet another crusade.

So barbarous were the Muslims supposed to be that the eastern states directly bordering the Turkish Empire suffered a big wave of emigration and their economies were affected by depopulation even in spite of the fact that the city-empire of Constantinople, sited on an isthmus into the Bosphorus, had been completely surrounded by Muslims for some years. Such was the power of rumour, innuendo and the pulpit. Actually, once the city's defence had been broken and bloodshed had subsided the Turkish command of the city didn't differ much from Muslim command in other countries. It bore no resemblance to the atrocities of the crusades. Some reports claim that slaves were taken, (including Cardinal Isidore), as well as prisoners and while this was probably the case a little exaggeration in such matters does wonders in a campaign to raise fear and hatred of the one who is being presented as the enemy. Apart from that, the worst that Rome could claim was that Santa Sophia was stripped of all its icons and turned into a mosque, and a crucifix was carried through the streets with a Turkish Soldier's cap on it to shouts of "Behold the God of the Christians."⁵⁹

The Greeks of Constantinople were not even required to renounce Christianity and adopt Islam. Their patriarch was simply required to recognize the Sultan in such matters that previously had been the prerogative of the emperor and to pay the usual sizable tribute for the right to organize a religion other than Islam.⁶⁰ By the reaction in Rome to this "payment for investiture" anyone could be forgiven for thinking that simony and extortionate payments for offices was not a regular practice and a prime characteristic of the papacy of the period.

The Orthodox Church in Constantinople had simply joined the other branches of Eastern Orthodoxy under Muslim rule, except for the church in Ethiopia which alone remained a Christian monarchy, but something had changed. The common bond through an imperial connection in Constantinople had been severed and the Orthodox churches were subject to three different Muslim rulers, viz. the Turkish Ottoman Sultanate, the Mamluke Sultanate of Egypt, Palestine and Syria, and the Emirate of the White Sheep Turks of Iraq and Iran. Each one was now adrift on its own, swamped by Islam, threatened by the Roman Catholic mission in Persia, its morale shattered and looking for something to cast a line to. Moscow provided the answer. The only power which could offer any real protection for the orthodox churches was now Russia and the need for survival demanded that the clergy support the princes of Moscow even though they may not have wished to be associated with the divisive oppression of the land-grabbing profiteers who had grasped for their offices as vassals of the Mongols.

Moscow was on its way to becoming the Rome of the East but it was more than a hundred years before a Synod acclaimed the Russian Tzar, Ivan IV, as the head of Orthodox Christianity throughout the universe.⁶¹ In the meantime the princes of Moscow had absorbed other

principalities by either conquest or the political processes of the day and the Mongol Khanates had weakened to the point where they could no longer demand tribute from the Russians.

Western Europe on the other hand was struggling to break out of its economic inertia, dependence on two major groupings of traders (the Hanseatic League and a cluster of towns in the central Mediterranean) and the difficulties of trading with the east through a massive Muslim community which now controlled the Bosphorus routes as well as the spice route and the Red Sea route. In addition the increased suspicion between Russia and the Holy Roman Empire made meaningful cooperation in trade difficult. Russia was now virtually locked into close cooperation with the Muslim powers and the east through the Roman church's pompous, domineering and deadly attitudes. Russia was therefore in a position to develop at the expense of Europe – or at least its princes were. They had been encouraged to make their first grab for power by the negative politicking of Rome. They were being encouraged to make their second grab for power by being propped up and pushed along by the positive politicking of the orthodox churches in yet another reaction to the papal self assessment.

Western Europe was becoming desperate for goods to trade freely without the interference of other parties. The rewards would be great for anyone who could locate and control new sources of supplies or open up direct lines with the east. While the church had most to lose if Europe was pinned into the terrible situation which became apparent when Constantinople fell it also had most to gain, or at least the chance of hanging onto the power it then exercised, if its initiatives brought new hope for the princes and traders of Europe.

CONFLICT: THE STIMULUS FOR EXPANSION

So the world had reached a point of curious paradox. Through its self-misunderstanding and beastly conduct the church had brought Europe to the point where conflict and need would stimulate initiative in exploration and inventiveness in technical design of eventual benefit to the whole world. By default and not by design, in fact in spite of itself, the church was providing the stimulus so that humanity could, if its leaders chose the right course, develop material things and human relationships which could help the world along the road towards Maimonides understanding of the Messianic Age. There was nothing magical or mystical about it at all. Religion in human affairs was looking distinctly rational. It was simply a matter of action and reaction in human behaviour. It was not the only road open. It was certainly not the smoothest road available. It was simply the road which the church had determined from its misunderstanding of both the Messiah and itself. In doing so it had missed many options and opportunities.

Printing, as a means of easily reproducing the same written item time and time again from a simply carved block, had been developed in China during the 6th Century CE, before the Nestorians and Byzantine Catholics had arrived in 635, and moveable type faces came into use during the 11th century.⁶² The complications of the system of written Chinese characters would have made the extensive use of the system difficult at that stage, but certainly it was in use well

before Rome's missions were readmitted by the Mongol rulers in 1289. It is therefore difficult to believe that the missionaries could have been ignorant of the existence of printed material and it then follows that they either failed to grasp its significance or the authorities in Rome failed to take up the idea.

So Europe had to wait until between 1440 and 1448 before Coster, Fust and Gutenberg developed their versions of printing presses to service the growing demands of commerce in Holland and Germany. Within a few years of the fall of Constantinople the new processes were being put to good use to speed Europe on its new course, with full advantage being taken of the simple alphabet of European language. The printing press did more to make the idea of comprehensive universal education attainable than any other single factor. Although the Catholic Church held to its view for a long time that only the eyes of the clergy were fit to read the Bible the would-be-reformers quickly took advantage of the presses, often at great risk to the printers who could be traced fairly easily, and Europe was soon flooded by the unprecedented flow of papers and booklets inciting religious reform.⁶³

But while the printers were beginning to exercise real influence as well as providing a service, other developments of immense importance were unfolding. Until the fall of Constantinople, Europe's sailors had confined themselves to the Mediterranean, the coastal waters of the Atlantic, the North Sea and the Baltic with the exception of some Hansa merchants who had traded regularly with Iceland via the port of Bergen in Norway since about the time of the crusades. They were following routes identified by Vikings while they were engaged in their voyages of reprisal against the British Isles and coastal Europe in response to the 9th century northward "Christianizing" thrusts by the Holy Roman Emperors.

After all, no self-respecting Christian would trust his luck out of sight of the Atlantic coast. In spite of the long standing evidence to the contrary, the church was still pursuing the line that the earth was flat and if he went any further he could be over the edge in a flash. Just why the church chose to pontificate on such matters of a practical scientific or geographic nature no one really knew, but it did, and it knew everything, so the world must have been flat.

As trade and politics became tougher and more tightly intertwined many adventurous characters proposed voyages of exploration to find trade routes around Africa to the east and some even dared to suggest that the world was round and that there must have been a way to the east by going west. But it was so ludicrous that no one would finance such a voyage and even if they would the men would refuse to put the ship to sea. The European powers seemed to have forgotten that the Vikings knew of Newfoundland or even the New England coast of America, that a Carthaginian named Hanno had sailed some seventy ships as far as Liberia and the Cape Verde Islands and that an Egyptian had apparently sailed around Africa, taking three years from the Gulf of Suez to the Nile, probably 600 years BCE⁶⁴ They had to start all over again.

Portugal had good reasons to lead the new spate of exploration. It desperately needed trade, it wanted to outflank the Muslim Moors in North Africa, the challenge of the Atlantic haunted every mariner who mastered its exposed coastline, and it was the youngest and weakest of the

Western monarchies.⁶⁵ The Portuguese therefore struck out. In 1420 they settled Madeira and next came the Azores. By 1445 they had rediscovered and colonized the long forgotten Canary Islands and the modern colonial era had been born. Portugal was flexing its muscles to challenge the Hanseatic League, Genoa and Venice, and to offset the dominance of the Muslim Turks and Arabs over the Eastern Mediterranean. Admittedly it was only kid stakes compared with the east, but they had made a start. Rome did not miss the significance of the situation.

ROMINUS PONTIFEX: A BRIBE FOR ANOTHER CRUSADE

Within a few months of the fall of Constantinople, Pope Nicholas V, in the words of the New Advent Catholic Encyclopedia, “addressed a Bull of Crusade to the whole of Christendom. Every sort of inducement, spiritual and temporal, was held out to those who should take part in the holy war. Princes were extorted to sink their differences and to unite against the common foe. But the days of chivalry were gone: most of the nations took no notice of the appeal; some of them, such as Genoa and Venice, even solicited the friendship of the infidels.”⁶⁶ Not to be discouraged, Nicholas V was soon in touch with the King of Portugal. He believed they might have a common interest in a couple of matters arising from the fall of Constantinople. For one thing there was an urgent need to replace lost trade, to find new resources for the markets and industries of the empire, and perhaps do a bit of embargo-breaking by finding an alternative trade route to the east. For another thing there was the little matter of a final crusade against the Muslim infidels to settle which assumed new importance now that they had control of the Bosphorus and a very big slice of Eastern Europe.

The Franciscans were especially keen on the idea of a grand crusade – based on a concerted cooperative effort involving the whole of Christendom. It was believed in Rome that there was a Christian kingdom or Khanate somewhere in India which had grown out of an early mission set up by St. Thomas. The Vatican was hopeful that if direct contact could be made with the Khan he would cooperate and open an eastern front in collaboration with the Christian Negus of Abyssinia, (Ethiopia) while the European powers attended to the Mediterranean fronts. Portugal would, of course, receive recognition if the king, with the proven naval expertise of Prince Henry and his school of navigation and exploration at Sagres at his disposal, would cooperate in the plan which was set out in a papal bull *Rominus Pontifex* in 1454.^{67 68} But the concerted cooperative effort was definitely not forthcoming. So: Portugal was offered the first ‘recognition’ in advance. It was to be granted all lands of the unbelievers that might be discovered along the west coast of Africa. By that means a special relationship was established between the pope and Portugal. Its people would be the standard bearers for Christianity around the world and the king and the pope would share the benefits. The pope had pulled off a coup. Or so he thought.

He may have been reacting against the rejection of his crusade proposal by the other powers, but through another simple papal manoeuvre based on the church’s view of its role, its

understanding of what constituted appropriate conduct and that little bull Rominus Pontifex, Nicholas had triggered another round of competition between Portugal and its neighbours, (Castile and Aragon), and indeed among all of western Europe's monarchs. But that was only a small part of the story. A papal standard bearer could hardly come from a people contaminated with a strong fifth column community of both Muslims and Jews. The whole of the Iberian Peninsula would have to be cleansed. The justification for the Spanish Inquisition had been provided.⁶⁹

Similarly, a standard bearer could not allow his standard to be sullied through the influence of any other religion wherever it might go. It had a God-given responsibility and authority to impose papal Christianity wherever it went. The countries of the New World could not escape a dose of Europe's religious bigotry and papal corruption and, naturally enough, once the church began to fragment, each new fragment would feel a responsibility to take the Gospel, as it saw it, and evangelize in competition with Rome. Other churches and other monarchs might not agree with the papal theology or methods but they had to agree that they were equally as responsible to take Christianity to the world as was Portugal, and probably more capable. Portugal had no right, in their view, to special papal consideration just because circumstances had forced it to sail before any other power.

JEALOUSY, STABILITY, CONFORMITY: THE SPANISH INQUISITION

Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Aragon, and Isabella, heir to the throne of Castile, got their heads together, married (fifteen years after the fall of Constantinople) and set about merging the two kingdoms into one, Spain, although they did not assume their thrones until 1479 and 1474 respectively. Regardless of the impact of Rominus Pontifex they were both imbued with that ghastly but ever-present concept that economic and political strength and stability could only be achieved through religious conformity. One of history's most bigoted characters, Isabella teamed up with her husband and the popes, among whom they had relatives, and together they concocted programs aimed at achieving religious conformity which were even more dehumanizing than Europe had previously experienced at its worst.

The Spanish Inquisition was authorized for both Kingdoms by a papal bull issued by Pope Sixtus IV on November 1st 1478, apparently at the urging of Ferdinand,⁷⁰ the year before Ferdinand became King of Aragon. It differed from the 'ordinary' inquisition in that it was aimed especially at nominal converts from Judaism, known as Marranos, and from Islam, known as Moriscos. The sovereigns of both kingdoms were empowered to appoint a Holy Tribunal of three bishops or other equally unsuitable persons above the age of forty with full jurisdiction over heretics and their accomplices. However some open-minded persons in the more cultured sections of the community advised against the new Inquisition. They reasoned that the attachment which the Conversos felt towards their former religion would weaken and disappear in time and that they would become fully integrated. Never the less, work began after Ferdinand assumed the throne. On September 17, 1480 there was an 'Act of Faith' by two Dominican

friars commissioned for the purpose in which six men and women of Jewish extraction were burned alive in Seville for holding to the faith of their fathers.^{71 72}

The long period of Muslim rule in Spain had left such a high level of religious tolerance that it was totally unacceptable to the church. As already noted, about forty years before the Inquisition was formalized Pope Eugene IV had introduced restrictions to 'correct' the situation in Spain and the nature of his regulations was such that, in contrast to other countries of Europe, large numbers of both Jews and Muslims succumbed and accepted the formality of baptism while holding to their real faith. They had been readily accepted by the ordinary people of Christian congregations and this led to intimate dialogue on matters of faith and helped to undermine the credibility and authority of the clergy. It was like Maimonides and his Guide of the Perplexed all over again. The Judaization and Islamization of Christians was an effect of the regulations which the popes had not bargained for. Nicholas V took careful note of the status and influence which the Marranos and Moriscos had achieved and the immunity from trial for heresy which had grown around them. He instructed that no discrimination was to be made between the 'New' and 'Old' Christians in matters of heresy and that Eugene's restrictions on Jews and Muslims were to be more vigorously enforced. Muslim criers were not permitted to call the faithful to prayer by voice from tall minarets but only by muted trumpets from tresses brought down to the level of the mosques.⁷³

And so to such a pitiful fanfare the Spanish Inquisition began. All hell was let loose from 1481 as a joint act of the Crowns and the church. Hardly a family in Spain would be free of mental or physical scars from the Inquisition during the next few generations. Reports on the number of casualties in this war against humanity by the church vary. One indicates that close to 30,000 were put to death by the Holy Tribunals with some hundreds of thousands tortured.⁷⁴ Another, by a church authority, suggests merely that about seventeen thousand Marranos and Moriscos are said to have repented in double quick time and so they were let off with punishment short of death! Those who resisted usually ended up on a stake, after an appropriate trial supported by faithful witnesses and with suitable torture to help them recall the sins and heresies to which they should have been confessing.⁷⁵ Those who chose suicide avoided only the torture, and their families often got that in their place. Their bodies were exhumed and burned, and their heirs were deprived of their property, public offices and civil honours. Sometimes, like the repentant who escaped the stake, they were thereafter required to wear flame-coloured crosses which had to be open to public view. They were forbidden to wear gold or silk and many languished in sub human prison conditions for years. Then there were those who were sold into slavery. They probably enjoyed a happier fate than those who remained free.

The numbers of Jews, Muslims, Marranos and Moriscos who fled Spain in this period is not definitely known but it certainly ran into tens of thousands and has been put as high as 200,000.⁷⁶ The fortunate ones went to Muslim North Africa and the Ottoman Turkish Empire. The presence of the others in papal Europe simply increased the tensions and triggered further sectarian outbursts around them. Quite a few thought they went to safety in Portugal ...

Of course the continuing existence of a small pocket of peace, prosperity and civilized interfaith harmony in Muslim Granada was a major embarrassment to both the pope and the royal households. It had to go, and a campaign began in 1481. It combined military invasion, political bargaining with promises of a liberal peace, and a ten year campaign to convert or eliminate the Jewish and Muslim populations. The Catholic monarchs entered Granada on January 2, 1492, but some resistance must have continued because the campaign was finally declared successful in March. No Muslim administration remained in Western Europe.

All pretence about a liberal peace was dropped immediately. On March 31 in the council at Alhambra in the captured territory Ferdinand and Isabella signed a decree expelling all Jews from their entire dominions, including Sicily and Sardinia, and giving them four months to be sold up and gone. The Inquisitors took steps to prevent them selling anything to Christians and because there was no one else left to sell anything to, most of them left as paupers, their property forfeited to the crown.⁷⁷ Of the 160,000 refugees who fled, 110,000 found their way to the Muslim countries of Turkey and Morocco, an estimated 20,000 died attempting to find a new home, and most of the balance, about 30,000, settled in the Ottoman Empire. About 50,000 remained in Spain to accept baptism and take their luck as Marranos.⁷⁸ The date for final departures from Sicily was put forward to January 12, 1493, but the last Jews left Granada and the other Spanish territories in August 1492.⁷⁹

All that their Muslim rulers required of the new settlers was payment of the poll tax and acknowledgment of Islam as the superior religion. They were welcome wherever they went and the Ottoman Empire became their safe haven. Within twenty years both Istanbul (formerly Constantinople) and Salonika had Jewish communities of 20,000 persons. The Spanish and Portuguese settlers soon outnumbered the indigenous Jews who were assimilated into the culture and community of the immigrants. Ottoman Jewry underwent a gradual transformation as semi-autonomous self-sufficient Jewish communities evolved. Being beyond the clutches of the church they were able to trade freely with European traders as well as Asia and North Africa, so commerce and industry flourished. In addition there was a renewal of religious and cultural awareness, and the new Prepared Table of Hebrew Law, *Shulhan Arukh*, by Joseph Caro, became the authoritative code for the entire Jewish community. New and influential trends in Jewish mysticism also developed in Palestine.

A DEEP SEA BOUNTY HUNT

Just as the last of the Jews were leaving Spain to go south and east another traveler left to go west. Christopher Columbus sailed on his first voyage from Palos on August 3. A Genoese-born sailor, possibly a bankrupt Marranos, Columbus had settled in Portugal and offered his services and a plan to sail across the Atlantic to Asia. He was convinced that the world was round.^{80 81} The king listened, said no, but promptly adopted the plan using one of his own captains in an attempt which ended in mutiny in 1483. Columbus offered his services to Spain but Ferdinand and Isabella were preoccupied with getting the Muslims out of Granada. He tried England next but Henry VII wasn't interested.

Then when Granada fell Columbus got his commission and three ships from merchants at Palos who were anxious to fill the void left by the successful Muslim traders who had either been expelled or otherwise disposed of. After sailing on August 3 he sighted land on October 11. It was not Asia as he thought, but the West Indies, and he returned to Spain with gold, cotton, birds, animals and two West Indians – to be baptized of course.

In the meantime Portugal had taken advantage of the pope's encouragement and had established several settlements along the West African coast, including the resource rich Guinea and Gold Coast. The mouth of the mighty Congo was sighted in 1482. The crown then financed an expedition by Diaz in 1487 which took him around the Cape of Good Hope and the route to India and the papal grand crusade plan lay ahead at last, although it would not be chartered for another ten years. Then in 1490 the church reached one of those long awaited beacons. Portugal, acting for the pope, established a mission on the Congo. Darkest Africa had the benefit of Christianity for the first time or, more correctly, the church had the advantage of darkest Africa for the first time.

The race was on. Jealousy between Spain and Portugal increased and the question of territorial claims had to be settled. The new pope, Alexander VI, a Spanish grandee who largely owed his election to the Spanish monarchs, could not have his two most ardent allies tearing at each others throats. He may need their help because France was contemplating an invasion of Italy with encouragement from dissatisfied Puritan reformers like the Dominican Savanorola at Florence. He issued several bulls giving his noble friends in Spain exclusive rights to trade with all lands that might be discovered west of the Atlantic.

If his main aim had been to secure the papal position, Alexander's intrigue backfired in exactly the same way as virtually all of the church's previous political manoeuvring. He stirred up a hornet's nest among the other powers who, regardless of papal fantasies about the sun and the moon and claims of over-riding papal authority in the election of kings, saw no reason for him to exercise such authority. They were certainly not readily going to forfeit their rights to new territory or trade at the stroke of a Spanish papal pen. He also hardened France's resolve to invade Italy and encouraged squabbling among everyone.

In any case the territorial division didn't suit Portugal. Columbus had set sail again in 1492 with seventeen ships, 1,500 men and twelve priests to convert the native races and annex all lands discovered in the name of the Spanish crown and by authority of the pope. But before he returned to tell of his many discoveries Spain and Portugal had signed the Treaty of Tordesillas on June 6, 1494. The treaty was based on a papal bull which Alexander VI had issued a month earlier, on May 3, which fixed a demarcation line along a circle passing one hundred leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands and through the two poles. That demarcation gave the entire New World to Spain, while Africa and India went to Portugal. However under the treaty which the two powers signed, the demarcation line was modified. Portugal could have everything as far west as 370 leagues from the Cape Verde Islands. This vague point lying somewhere

between the lines of longitude of 45 degrees and 50 degrees west gave it that part of Brazil between the estuaries of the Amazon and Rio Grande as well as Africa and India! ⁸²

Portugal had stolen another march on Spain. But there is always a solution to any problem, even if it takes a little time to find. Ferdinand and Isabella had always cast envious eyes towards Portugal, especially since it began to reap the benefits of its African possessions, but they dared not risk a war to ‘unify’ the peninsula. Their chance came when John II died and his young bachelor cousin Manoel assumed the throne in 1495. If their daughter Isabella were to marry Manoel union could be achieved without tears. The parties agreed to the match but Isabella put a condition on it. She would only enter Portugal if the union produced one purified Christian country free of the 100,000 refugees of all types who had been allowed to enter from Spain.

A CONDITION FOR MARRIAGE: NO JEWS OR MUSLIMS

On that basis a marriage treaty was signed on November 30, 1496 and on December 5 a royal decree was issued banishing all Jews and Muslims within ten months. But Manoel had both a heart and an economy to build as his empire expanded and he had second thoughts. He couldn’t face the consequences of reneging on the treaty so he “commuted” expulsion to forced conversions. Between April and October 1497 thousands of children were dragged screaming to the baptismal fonts. Adults were simply sprinkled, protesting, with holy water and declared Christian. Those who wanted to migrate were refused permission and kept under guard until the ten months were up. They were then told that as they had failed to leave the country they had forfeited their freedom and were to be slaves of the king unless they accepted baptism. Few refused. A few years later, in 1500, the pope offered extra encouragement for the Jews to convert. He struck a special tax on Jews to help finance a crusade against the Muslim Turks. The rationale was that the crusade would benefit everyone who lived in Christian countries, whether Christians or Jews, and the Jews should share in the costs as well as the benefits or the potential disasters. ⁸³ Then in 1507 a law was introduced establishing the same “civil equality” between New Christians and Old Christians in Portugal as other countries had experienced.

Manoel had saved a lot of people, his conscience and his crown but to do so he had made a bitter enemy of the church and Spain at a crucial time for all concerned. The ‘New Christians’ of Portugal were allowed to practice their Crypto-Judaism and Islam with relative openness and freedom until 1531 (ten years after Manoel’s death) except for occasional fanatical outbursts against them, and although the Inquisition then set about a big backlog of work it was not until 1579 that the Holy Tribunals gained the terrible power they had enjoyed in Spain.

So Spain and Portugal pressed on with their grabs for territory in the New World. With the explorers, soldiers, traders and administrators, many of whom were no better than thugs, went the priests. They were there to baptize and eliminate whatever religious or cult practices may have been present. In fact they sanctified the rape of Latin America, the destruction of the Aztec and Inca Empires and the economic and spiritual enslavement of people they previously didn’t

even know existed, who certainly hadn't done them any harm and were not in a position to do so.

They were a reflection of the ever worsening sickness of the church right across Europe but fortunately the pressure for reform was building up. There were people like Jerome Savonarola, who could fill the great cathedral at Florence to overflowing with people eager to hear him on the social and religious evils of the day. It is only surprising that in view of his vitriolic attacks on the papal hierarchy and his support for the French invasion of Italy he survived until 1498 when he was hanged, and burned for good measure, in the great square of Florence – after a fair heresy trial, of course.⁸⁴

While some of the pope's supporters were celebrating the end of Savonarola and his nonsense they were unaware that some of his other supporters were celebrating the beginning of papal Christianity and influence in India. Vasco da Gama, who had sailed from Portugal in 1497 intending to make a clean sweep around the Cape of Good Hope without landing had miscued and spent Christmas Day on the beach at Natal before reaching Calicut in South India about the same time as the bonfire in Florence. He didn't find a Christian Khan either. He found Muslim traders who were not at all pleased to see him. In fact they were rather hostile. But he still managed to take home a cargo of pepper and cinnamon. On his next voyage three years later he first established a Portuguese colony on the east coast of Africa, at Mozambique, and then returned to sack Calicut in revenge for the murder of a couple of his men.

It was left to Cabral or his voyage to India to make contact with the Thomas Christians, to negotiate a trade treaty of sorts and to prepare the ground for the first Portuguese Viceroy to take up his post in 1505 and establish the framework for a trading empire. Although he lost seven of his thirteen ships on the voyage, including one commanded by Diaz, Cabral could well consider it successful. On the outward leg he had sighted and claimed Brazil for Portugal. A Spaniard, Vincente Pinzon, had landed there earlier but naturally Spain had not laid claim to it because it was on the Portuguese side of the papal gift line!

The popes, one by one, were becoming quite ecstatic as the world unfolded before their eyes. It didn't really matter that they had been wrong and that the world was round and not flat after all. There was an awful lot of it and with a bit of luck, a successful grand crusade against the Muslim infidels, and a more effective Inquisition it would very soon all be theirs! Orthodox Russia had begun to cooperate on the Jewish question with the leaders of a Judaizing sect being burned on Grand Duke Ivan's orders in 1504 and the Jews were on the run from one country to another.

TERRITORY, WEALTH AND POWER

With the New World unfolding as its empire in addition to Europe the church was outgrowing its offices. The Vatican would have to be enlarged and St. Peters would have to be rebuilt. The centre of Christendom had to have a temple to end all temples. Julius II, pope from 1503 to 1513, spent most of his time enlarging Rome, annexing more territory to the papal states and

beautifying buildings. Never mind the people or the corruption we must have a magnificent institution. He commissioned Michelangelo to design a tomb for him (perpetuating an image of him as a powerful Moses) and to paint the Sistine Chapel ceiling.⁸⁵ He also commissioned plans for the reconstruction of St. Peters to provide the temple of temples and the foundations were laid on April 18th 1506.

By that stage the lone voices of reformers had turned into a steady chorus, aided by the new fangled printing presses. Among its leaders was Desiderius Erasmus, a former Augustinian canon who had left his order in good standing and become a university teacher and prolific writer. Erasmus was born the year the church was expelled from China and Ferdinand married Isabella. His first major work, 'Handbook for the Christian warrior', set out a Bible -based theology for life stripped of the heavy handed doctrinal commentaries which characterized most of the Christian writings of the period. It showed, through his barbed criticism of abuses in church life, a little of the pen-lashing the church was about to get. Its publication coincided with the sacking of Calicut by Vasco de Gama. However, although he prepared the ground with his incisive, humorous attacks on church corruption and the fallacies in some of its teaching so that Europe was in a better position to respond to the great reformers he did not engage in a frontal attack on the papacy or break with Rome.^{86 87 88}

The fun really began when Julius II was succeeded by Leo X in March 1513. Triumphal arches were specially built for a magnificent coronation procession which was more pagan than Christian. Gilt nude boys along the route must have given it a festive air, to say the least. After the procession hordes of papal guests responded to Leo's cry of "Let us enjoy the papacy since God has given it to us!" They let their hair down and wallowed through banquets, dancing, bull fights, hunting parties (each with 150 guests) and other equally edifying entertainment. It had taken a pope to introduce bull fighting to Rome 830 years after the gladiators and lions had been finally laid to rest. One seventh of the substantial treasury left by Julius towards Vatican reconstruction, whatever we may think of that as a purpose, went on the papal coronation.⁸⁹ When Leo died the Vatican was bankrupt – financially as well as morally – but that was still eight years away and well into the reformation struggle.

It was Leo X who presided over much of the Fifth Lateran Council although it had been convened by Julius II who presided over its early sessions. The tussle for control of the church in France had not been resolved by a series of abortive wars across Italy which began in 1494, and in 1511 Julius founded the Holy League to bring more pressure to bear in his favour. Louis XII responded by calling a Council at Pisa to depose the pope who, in his turn, convened the Fifth Lateran Council in a bid to gain the support of Emperor Maximilian and to annul the deposition.

That power struggle was of such importance for the church domestically (because the composition of the hierarchy had long been determined by nepotism and simony), and for the outcome of other struggles by Europe's monarchs to control their national churches that any

matters before council which were not related to that struggle tended to be treated as distractions.

This was the case with evangelism in the New World. At the same time that Louis and Julius were politicking over control of the church in France, just a matter of months before Lateran V, the first bishopric west of the Atlantic was being organized at Santo Dominigo – by the Spanish crown – and the appointee, Alessandro Gerardini, attended council in December 1516.⁹⁰ While the council was still in session Portuguese ships reached Java and the Moluccas, Cortes accomplished his brutal conquest of Mexico and Portuguese traders reached China by the Indian Ocean route. But the council took no direct initiatives. In spite of all the lyrical sentiments of earlier years, and in spite of Rominus Pontifex and the role the church was trying to maintain in civil affairs by whatever means it could, the establishment of Christian Causes and evangelization in the New World were left to the monarchs concerned. Their care was for political advantage, not the people in the territories they were acquiring.

In this regard the politicking to outmanoeuvre Moscow and Constantinople in Asia Minor had been stepped up progressively and, also in December 1516, council received three envoys from the Maronites of Syria with a message of submission and homage from their Patriarch. It was dated February of the previous year, and the pope had already bestowed the necessary honours and favours on the patriarch in order to confirm the new relationship and his “mediation” in Maronite affairs in Cyprus and Venice.⁹¹ A touch of bribery had achieved much the same relationship with the Minorites. Naturally the final session of the council followed up those political initiatives with a decree requiring the powers to wage war against the Muslim Infidel and, as the church’s contribution, it ordered the levying of tithes on all papal benefices (income earning offices), throughout Christendom for three years.

TITHES, TEMPLES, INFIDELS AND INDULGENCES

Such was the extent of the council’s interest in evangelism. But on the other hand Julius had managed, in the closing days of his papacy, to initiate a doctrinal statement which was intended to justify the organized sale of indulgences to finance his pet project – the reconstruction of St. Peters. The priorities of the church came through loud and clear. Power and properties before people.

That doctrinal statement and the purpose for which it was callously introduced were both a consequence and a reflection of the church’s view of itself, its role and its God. It provided more opportunities for corruption and further distorted the Gospel message. In other words it was quite consistent with the pattern of policies which the church had been following right through the period of the Holy Roman Empire, but it had gone too far.

Then the church joined the reformers in one respect. It began paying close attention to the printing presses. Leo told the council that the presses had surpassed all expectations and were proving at some times a blessing and at other times a curse, bringing down both the favour of heaven and the distraction of heretics and their errors. Accordingly, with the support of the

council, he forbade the printing of any book without the approval of the local bishop and the Inquisitor or senior curia officials in Rome on pain of excommunication and suitable penalties for any offences. He directed that every book published contrary to that ruling was to be burned. Then he set the printing presses rolling again, to produce indulgences in vast numbers. The official position was, put very simply, that a gift towards the reconstruction of St. Peters by a penitent sinner would atone for the person's sins and thereby bring remission of the punishment which otherwise would have been appropriate. The piece of paper, signed by the pope, was to be a token affirming the person's penitence. However the credibility gap between the official position and the operation of the ever-widening indulgences schemes was unbridgeable.

The more gullible, browbeaten Catholics of Central Europe started making their gifts in the superstitious hope that their piece of paper would protect them when they had to front up for judgement. The more unscrupulous began buying their indulgences as a demonstration of their piety, as a suggestion that they would go straight in future, and as a means of raising their status with the local clergy. Of course there were also those who genuinely believed that the pope had some God-given power to get a person off the hook of his or her misdeeds. They may have believed that the concept of purgatory was not, itself, a convenient mechanism which helped to deter people from joining the ranks of heretics and reformers, and helped to ensure subjection to the papal line. In spite of that enormous market potential it seems that the Vatican had not done its home work very well, again, and there was not the fantastic rush to buy indulgences which the pope looked for. This encouraged the organizers to turn to even more dubious methods of selling them.

The twenty seven year old brother of the Elector of Brandenburg, Prince Albert, coveted not just one but two archbishoprics. In 1516 he managed to make the necessary well established arrangements with the Vatican to couple the offices of Archbishop of Mainz and Archbishop of Magdeburg which happened to include the castle town of Wittenberg. However the papal fee for a 'dispensation' to formalize the holding of two such offices concurrently was quite enormous, in line with the personal benefits which were available to the office holder. To raise the fee of 40,000 ducats the prince cum archbishop(s) borrowed heavily from the Fugger of Augsburg, one of the great banking houses and, at that time, bankers to the Vatican. As security for the debt, and with papal concurrence, he undertook to proclaim the papal indulgences for rebuilding St. Peters throughout Germany. Part of the revenue collected was to go to the papal building fund and part to the bank to repay the archbishop-prince's debt. The arrangement was known only to a handful of powerful diplomats, the Vatican and its financiers.⁹²

Johann Tetzel, a Dominican, was appointed as papal sub commissary to promote the indulgences in Magdeburg and Halbertstat. Tetzel's preaching, or sales pitch, went beyond the authorized doctrine which was already being questioned by many theologians who had not previously aligned themselves with movements for reform. He preached that when a coffer rings to the coins of an indulgence a soul springs from purgatory to heaven.

The theologians were disturbed. But the competitors of the archbishop-prince of the House of Brandenburg were more upset. The archbishop and his lackey were poaching into other people's territory. Indulgences money which should have stayed at home in places like the castle church at Wittenberg (with its 17,443 holy relics) was crossing the border to support the House of Brandenburg.

Then it happened. Someone took a copy of Tetzel's instructions from the archbishop to the professor of Holy Scripture at the University of Wittenberg, thirty four year old Martin Luther. Luther, who had been teaching a simplified theology for some time, was shocked. He wrote to the prince-archbishop and the bishop of Brandenburg. When they ignored his letters he worked carefully through the ideas behind the indulgence system, drew up his 'Ninety-five theses' on the subject and sent them to the archbishops and bishops of the region. But to confirm that he was ready to defend them in public debate he nailed a copy to the door of the castle church at Wittenberg on October 30, 1517.⁹³

The Reformation had been triggered. The debate was out in the open. Theological concern and princely self interest coincided for once and with a power base to push it along, the reform movement soon engulfed Europe. The warped self-assessment of the Christian church and the practices which it adopted had finally brought on an internal challenge strong enough to trigger a reassessment which the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem, Arius at Nicaea, Muhammad at Mecca and Maimonides in Spain had each been unable to achieve.

The church's attempt to achieve an exclusive religious and political power for itself throughout the world through the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire seven hundred years earlier was at last falling apart at the seams. There was a chance that through an internal reformation the Christian Church could yet achieve the purposes for which it was established: to carry the Good News throughout the world and to provide an environment in which man could understand his relationship with God and with his fellows.

But there was an immense challenge ahead, with very big hurdles for the church to jump which it had erected itself while it tried to strengthen its own power base and mercilessly put down the challenge from Maimonides with the Inquisitions. It had completely failed to eliminate its two partners in the triangle. By means of its oppressive programs it had prevented its senior partner, the Jewish community, from establishing a political power base anywhere and had kept it on the run, but in doing so it had guaranteed that Judaism would be uniformly spread wherever European expansionism carried the church. It had also deepened the division between itself and its junior partner, the Muslim community, and forced the establishment of three massive power blocks based on religious affiliation.

There were, firstly, the power block of Christian Europe and, secondly, Muslim Asia Minor and North Africa. But then there was the block of Russian principalities whose isolation from Western Europe had been guaranteed by the politicking of the church in such a manner that it would permanently colour the relationship between them. The Christian church, in the broad

sense, was permanently linked into political struggles in which each of the three blocks would be involved.

Without being aware of it the church had generated regional, political and trade conflict which helped to push Europe into its colonial land grabs in an atmosphere of intense competition and bigotry which need not have been the case. Then, because it had sunk into a foul domestic quagmire of its own making, it abdicated the New World crown which was within its reach by delegating its real responsibility – to carry the Good News to countries colonized in the rape of Africa, Latin America and Asia – to the political powers which gained the economic benefits from that rape.

However the biggest hurdles which the church had built were the barriers between its partners in the triangle and itself in terms of personal and community attitudes towards the Christian position. The Jewish community's conviction that the church was wrong and its determination to survive to carry the truth became more deeply entrenched. The Muslim community's conviction that the church was wrong and its belief that man could survive perfectly well in direct submission to God were also very firmly entrenched, together with the conviction that man does not have to oppress those around him politically and economically to be at peace with himself, with his fellows and with God.

But in the Christian camp the belief in its own superiority, the belief that its exclusive rituals and Sacraments are essential to Salvation, and the belief which follows from those, that the church is the only route to Salvation, became indelibly ingrained into the personalities of almost everyone who was subject to them. Those beliefs became a guarantee that the church would continue to resist a reassessment of its self-understanding so that as it finally takes place the church is bound to be exposed in the most searching and embarrassing manner. All its foolishness, arrogance and gross misconduct are apparent to all the world.

The coffers were ringing loud and clear with a call for reformation.

CHAPTER 10

THE ONE THAT GOT AWAY

When Julius II devised his scheme to finance his temple to end all temples ¹ Europe was bursting at the seams, relatively speaking, with about seventeen percent of the world's population competing for the productivity of seven percent of the world's land mass. That situation compounded the pressures which had built up to force Europe's crowned heads and traders to look for more territory and resources. Europe accounted for about seventy million of the world's estimated total population of somewhat more than four hundred million people.² Other major population concentrations were in China with 120 million, India with 110 million and Japan with 15 million. Although more than three quarters of the world's people were crammed into those four regions, a reasonably high degree of regional stability had developed other than in Europe. Only about ten million people could still be classed as nomadic and they lived mainly in Asiatic Russia, Central Asia and Australia.

There was no longer the migratory pressure of huge populations from North and East Asia looking for a place to settle. Similar pressures would be experienced shortly in other parts of the world, and in due course enormous pressures would again build up with the explosion of the world population and technology, but at the beginning of the sixteenth century they were certainly not anticipated. Farming, no matter how elementary, was providing a new basis for settled community life and increasing urbanization. With one notable exception, there was no great moral void which the Christian church should have felt obliged to fill to prevent serious social abuse or collapse. Of course there were points of conflict, but in most communities, systems of ethics or religion which helped to provide stable social conditions had been developed. They ranged from elementary animist religions, through highly developed systems of ethics such as Buddhism and Confucianism, and the complex culture of Hinduism, to the intense and submissive devotion to God of Islam. And, of course, in spite of – or because of – all that the Church had done for fifteen hundred years to eliminate or disperse them and to persuade the world to believe that they were of no consequence, there were the highly organized and professionally led networks of tight-knit Jewish communities which lived strictly according to their carefully documented codes of conduct in tandem with Christianity and Islam wherever they were spread.

The church failed to understand for a long time that about the same number of people were living under the influence of the third partner in the triangle of Abrahamic or Messianic faiths, Islam, as were living under the influence of Christianity. It also failed to understand the nature

of the non Messianic religions and the way in which these provided firstly, a system of ethics to provide stable self-regulation within their communities and, secondly, fertile ground for a quick and deep response to the Messiah's Good News of peace, divine love and harmony – provided it was conveyed to them in that context of peace, love and harmony. The church could only see them as inferior systems without the Trinity and the Christian sacraments which it thought were required to climb out of its own creation, purgatory, and through the pearly gates at which St. Peter stood in firm control with his keys.^{3,4}

The notable exception to the general rule about the non-messianic religions was the religion of the Aztecs of Mexico. Even so, their religion had helped them to achieve a high level of social organization and discipline, and an advanced agricultural economy centred around their magnificently engineered capital, Tenochtitlan, built as an easily defended stronghold on islands in the middle of a marshy lake. To them, the gods were the forces of nature personified and to be rigidly obeyed in terms which their priests might interpret. Tribal life pivoted around the priests who were linked closely with the civil elite, who directed the intellectual life of the tribe and who held a vicelike grip on the minds of the people, inhibiting freedom of thought almost totally. The Curia and its Inquisitors should have been proud to enroll them. Their rituals and sacrifices were aimed at gaining the protection and support of the gods in war and the assurance of bountiful crops. In that respect they did not differ greatly from Christian practices like planting a cross in a battlefield and blessing the plough. However there the similarity ends.

The Aztecs believed that the gods responded best to sacrifices of human hearts and that the most valuable of these were hearts torn from living prisoners of war. To satisfy the gods, a constant supply of prisoners was needed, so naturally the Aztecs lived and battled through a steady cycle of wars. Sacrifice led to war, and war back to sacrifice.⁵ The sacrificial slaughter is said to have reached up to 20,000 prisoners per year.⁶ They were almost on a par with the Crusades, the Inquisitions, the conversion of the Scandinavians and the Flagellants. All that such practices prove is that Europe wasn't the only region that urgently needed a religious reformation. Certainly such practices were not a justification for the total destruction of a very advanced civilization which had a great deal which it could have contributed to the rest of the world. What was needed was a stop to such practices and a program of evangelism. We shall come to this matter again in due course.

In spite of the close links between the aristocracy and the church, there were many among Europe's nobility who were happy to see papal Rome get a good shake up, but their attitudes reflected a wide range of motives and experience. There were those like the Elector of Wittenberg who found themselves in conflict with the church over financial issues, or who found themselves forced into a power struggle with other members of the aristocracy.⁷ There were those who simply objected to the papal power broker role and those who wanted a complete separation of the roles of the church and state. Then there were those who objected to the corruption of the church, its rejection of basic human rights and the economic and political effects of the church's policies, while others objected for doctrinal reasons. But of course there

were also those who supported the church just as it stood, complete with all the blood on its hands, and the policies and circumstances which had led relentlessly towards reformation within the church were the same ones which guaranteed a long drawn out conflict. Caught in the middle were those ordinary people who had naturally looked to the church for moral support, for whom it provided the only alternative leadership to their feudal over lords and who were overawed by the clergy and thought it impious to disobey or query them in spite of the state that the church was in.⁸ The morals and integrity of the church were supposed to be superior to those of the civil authorities and its grandiose ritual was designed to give an impression of priestly incorruptibility and of a monopoly on the direct line to God. However, the shine had begun to fade.

With increasing emphasis on regional or national political power and gradual urbanization providing a stabilizing influence through a broader community power structure, the attraction of a central Roman power as a focal point and a defensive shield was waning. Eastern Europe was being tugged from two directions as a result of the division of the church, and Western Europe resented the intrusion of papal interests in its struggles, so that no group of countries shared sufficient common interests to want to see a renewal or an extension of Roman power. They needed a church to provide community cohesion, spiritual and moral guidance, with stability resulting from submission to the lawful powers. But the concept of political stability through religious conformity was apparently unattainable and they were being attracted more and more to the idea of national churches instead of a universal church.

The end of the wars between France and England in the same year as the fall of Constantinople had combined with the rise of Spain and Portugal under papal patronage to produce completely new power groupings in the West also. During the last minute politicking in March 1452 over whether the West would help defend Constantinople against the Muslim Turks, the pope, Nicholas V, had crowned King Frederick III of Germany with the defunct crown of Lombardy while conducting his marriage, in Rome, to Eleanor of Portugal. Three days later he crowned him Emperor. Such displays of pomp and circumstance were again acceptable because the plague had subsided. A year or so later he could get no powers other than Portugal and Spain to agree to his proposal for a crusade against Muslim Turkey. Another year on and he could barely raise a defence pact with Naples, Florence, Venice and Milan. Their traders were more interested in non-aggression pacts with Turkey to protect their dwindling commercial operations with the East.^{9 10}

At the domestic level, the degeneration of the papacy, its abuse of civil and ecclesiastical law, its corruption, mania for miracles, unhealthy veneration of relics and saints, and an inescapable obsession with witchcraft had become apparent to almost everyone. The church had become a welfare haven for selected nobility, harnessed to the family interests and intrigues of the aristocracy who made up its higher echelons and staffed the cathedrals, while the lower clergy who had been attracted to the church for quite different reasons lived in poverty, misery and mental bondage.¹¹ It has been said that the church of that period was a product of Roman society during the previous few hundred years. In as much as it may be intended to justify the

condition and conduct of the church that statement is completely untenable. The reverse is nearer the truth. As already noted, Rome was finished as a city of importance in 455 when Genseric finally cracked the power vacuum and sacked the city. Civil administration had been based at Ravenna for some time and the new rulers saw no point in rehabilitating Rome. The church missed its opportunities to return to Jerusalem and reorganize, to vacate Rome and either decentralize or re-establish elsewhere, or to rethink its theology and link up with Arian Christianity as a reformed church.

The hierarchy of the day was desperate to fill the power vacuum left by the collapse of the empire. It took full advantage of both the attachment which people felt towards Rome and the early Christian connection with the city which it had used to justify the idea of papal primacy. It would have lost at least some of its influence if it had been seen to be just a band of human beings shifting from one place of business to another with the ebb and flow of political fortune. Again it was saddled with the image which it chose to present to the world. It was stuck with the remnants of a decaying city which would respond to the life and influence of the body which had decided to keep it alive. It did. No 'New Jerusalem' rose on the site of old imperial Rome and the church must take full responsibility for the moral condition of the city when Luther was finally inspired to swing his hammer by the discord of the ringing coffers.

THE NADIR OF THE PAPACY

Rome had become a city in which "God's commandments and Christian justice are despised"; in which "tyranny, avarice and worldly pomp" sufficed for canon law; in which "the hellish dregs of personal vices" had reached the limit of understanding, and in which, according to Luther, the papal ravaging wolves stole and extorted money from the whole of Christendom by indulgences, bulls, letters of confession, butter letters and other confessionalia in scandal perpetrated in the Holy names of Christ and St. Peter.¹² While right and reason enjoyed some respect in Venice, Antwerp or Cairo, the popes had built an ecclesiastical market place where money bought marriage or release from vows for the clergy, legitimacy for bastards and knighthoods for the iniquitous. The kind of morality in which shameful conduct and dishonour assumed dignity flowed "like a tide into all the world"¹³ and the only theological activity the popes engaged in, apart from the canonization of a few more saints, was heresy hunting. Serious theological thinking, even if it was not totally beyond their capacity, training or experience, was a distraction from the serious business of personal power politics and the corrupt accumulation of family fortunes. Family fortunes?

It has been said that the pontificate of Alexander VI, who assumed office as pope eight days after Columbus sailed on his first trans-Atlantic voyage from Palos, represented "the absolute nadir of the papacy"¹⁴ and that the situation could get no worse. Having secured election by bribing a few cardinals¹⁵ he proceeded to abuse his office with licentious conduct, nepotism and total disregard for the spiritual responsibilities of the church; he furthered the division of the people of the New World between his friends and relatives in Spain and Portugal; he authorised

the excommunication and subsequent execution of his critic Girolamo Savonarola, another leading reformer, and he arranged principalities for several of his illegitimate children, four of whom were born from adulterous relationships with women of noble standing in Rome; One of them, Cesare Borgia, was attached to the papal court as a member of the College of Notaries at the age of seven, he was appointed Bishop of Pamplona at 16, Archbishop of Valencia at 17, and Cardinal at 18 – without ever training for the priesthood. Then he resigned his cardinal's post to concentrate on corruptly acquiring a personal empire in central Italy by carving out pieces of the papal states, with papal assistance, of course... So much for celibacy, morality, honesty or a commitment to Christ and the Gospels. But to talk of a recovery in the conduct of the papacy from the demise of Alexander VI is somewhat premature.

When Pope Leo X died in 1521, there were a total of 2,150 saleable offices to be accounted for, 1,213 more than when he was elected. But all the funds raised didn't even go into the papal treasury. A considerable share was siphoned off by the princes and bankers.¹⁶ Prostitutes helped to entertain cardinals and other papal guests at licentious banquets of the greatest extravagance.¹⁷ In a scathing attack on papal morality at the closing session of the Fifth Lateran Council in March 1517, Gianfrancesco Pico called for reform and a new morality so that the clergy would provide clothes for the naked rather than costly trappings for their mules, stop spreading gold and purple in their dwellings while their churches looked like hovels and stop decorating their concubines with expensive jewelry. It was, he said, the Pope's responsibility to stem the luxury, ambition, greed, self-indulgence and corruption of the clergy, to demand restitution for squandered property, prevent the accumulation of a multiplicity of high offices by men not even worthy of the office of deacon and restore the rule of virtue.¹⁸

Even while the council was still convoked Leo was handing out offices to children. In one case a canonry was to become effective when a boy reached the age of eight and Prince Alfonso of Portugal was approved for the office of either bishop or archbishop at the age of fifteen even though the council had set twenty seven as the minimum age for such offices. Leo released Wilhelm von Enckenvoirt from the council's decree against pluralities almost before the ink was dry¹⁹ and then we find his key deal with Prince Albert of Mainz and Magdeburg had also been made in 1516, before the final session of the council. However the determination with which he was going to oppose any serious reform was signaled in July 1517, just four months after he had closed the council against strong opposition from the Emperor and reform-minded clergy. In one fell swoop, so that he could retain firm control, he more than doubled the College of Cardinals by adding thirty one of his buddies to the twenty four existing members.²⁰ Perhaps by now we should not be surprised at all this. Leo X had been born into it all in 1475 as Giovanni de Medici. His sister married one of the two illegitimate sons of Pope Innocent VIII and in the fourth year of Innocent's papacy Giovanni was made a cardinal at the age of 13. But he had to wait his turn until he was 38 to claim his papal crown with such enthusiasm.

HERESY?

Fortunately disenchantment with the papacy had already reached the point among central Europe's nobility that enforcement of the Inquisition and heresy hunting were beginning to lose their attraction. Actually the concept of heresy as it came to be applied by the church is totally insupportable if human life and dignity are seen to have any value. It entrenches an established view, it implies absolute correctness and authority in the persons or institutions who happen to control the decision making process, it violates every human right, dignity and democratic freedom, and it imposes untenable restrictions on human thinking, especially in matters of philosophy and religion. As a consequence it also imposes untenable restrictions on total human development. It is as base and debasing as the purpose for which it was devised way back at Nicaea: to serve as an instrument in the hands of Emperor Theodosius and the Trinitarian manipulators.

In fact, the early church adapted the concept of heresy to suit its self-understanding. The term is derived from a Greek expression meaning an act of choosing between alternative philosophical principles or points of view and it was in this sense that it was used within the early Christian communities as they formed around the apostles. It did not come to be used in a critical or derogatory sense to describe a variation from a generally accepted, or standardized or 'orthodox' view for probably two or three generations, when the 'letters' were being circulated.²¹ Then, because the dominant leaders of the Christian communities felt it necessary to institutionalize and to determine an orthodox teaching position, the term became used in a judgemental sense to define what was acceptable and what was not. It appears from works by Irenaeus (c. 130 – c. 200), *Against Heresies*, that the concepts of orthodoxy and heresy were established at the time that he was writing, although his work probably did much to consolidate them.²² Finally heresy was enshrined in Roman law to define a destabilizing and treasonable crime which justified the death penalty when the church became enmeshed in the political plots to ensure imperial stability through religious conformity at the time of the Council of Nicaea, 325. In an exercise in ghastly distortion of Christian teaching a couple of Jesus' parables were even used to help describe the crime and justify the punishment. They are the parable of the dandelion, Matthew 13: 24–30 and 36–43, and the parable of the good and bad fish, Matthew 13: 47–50.²³

By definition there can be no 'heresy' without a position of 'orthodoxy'.²⁴ If a statement of belief is to be declared a 'heresy' then it follows that there must be an officially accepted or 'orthodox' statement with which to compare and contrast it, plus an acceptable and understandable explanation of why one is right and one is so wrong. As we have seen, in the major question of the relationship between God the Father and Christ the Son the church's orthodoxy was not spontaneous and it has never been static. It was adopted after a long period of debate and contention and depended very much on those who accepted Paul's minority view gaining a dominant position. If circumstances had been different, if Jerusalem had not been sacked and its population dispersed in the early years of the Christian era, it is very likely that

the Judaeo-Christian view would have prevailed and become the orthodox view. In any case, as we have seen, the process has been so fluid that sometimes, when a fanciful new idea has been dogmatized and has become accepted as part of the orthodox position the result has been either the rejection of orthodoxy in favor of the establishment of new sects or denominations by those so inclined, or further tinkering with the orthodox view to plug up the leaks and to accommodate still further variations.

It is inevitable that when the process of defining orthodoxy in a system of beliefs has begun the process is never ending and the number of definitions or determinations which must be made increases. In some cases the process of adopting and adapting an orthodox position has been quite drawn out. For example, among the wide range of controversial ideas which Origen expounded in the third century, were his ideas on the possibility of obtaining 'perfection', or release from sins, after death. He was deposed from his teaching post, exiled, then arrested, imprisoned and tortured for somewhat less controversial ideas than these, but his ideas on personal fate after death gave rise to the concept of purgatory which gradually became a general assumption in church teaching from then on, but it was not formalized as part of the church's dogmatic teaching until the sixth century.²⁵ The church then laid gradually more emphasis on it for several hundred years until it became subject to such varied interpretation and open abuse in the fifteen and sixteenth centuries that it was a major trigger of the Reformation. Thus, as already noted, one error or misconception, once adopted, must compound the pattern of existing doctrinal statements (whether they already involve errors or misconceptions or not) and future responses by individuals or groups.

On many occasions subtle differences in interpretation have led to horrific rows and a plentiful supply of nominees for the living-funeral pyres of the heresy stakes. On other occasions what has been an heretical view in one era has become an acceptable or orthodox view in another, even after some of its earlier proponents have paid for the change in advance with their lives, and vice versa. The fate of the Dominican prior Girolamo Savonarola, illustrates this. He was forbidden to preach in 1495, excommunicated in 1497, arrested and thrown into the dungeon on April 8, 1498, subjected to "torture, interrogations without pause, lying prosecutors, and falsified minutes" until it all led to his conviction as a "heretic, schismatic, and scorner of the Holy See" and his judicial murder on the pyre some seven weeks later, on May 23rd. However the Dominicans now regard him as a saint and not a heretic, and began pressing for his beatification in 1955.²⁶

In another instance, Clement of Alexandria, head of the city's Christian catechetical school prior to Origen, accepted some of the teachings of the Gnostics which had already been condemned by the dominant churchman of the late second century. The Gnostics' aim was to develop an understandable Christian philosophy and a system to live by. In his own writing Clement incorporated some of the Gnostic beliefs as well as ideas from the Greek philosophers whom he regarded as forerunners of Christianity. He taught that truth is truth wherever it is found and it is everywhere the word of God. Christ, he said, was essentially a teacher and a revealer who came to lead men, through wisdom, to become Sons of God and the Word was

manifest anew in Christ. He rejected the idea of teaching authority passing through a line of bishops by divine succession, and wrote that “after the resurrection, the Lord delivered the Gnosis to James the Just and to John and Peter; they delivered it to the other apostles.” Unlike Origen he was not attacked during his lifetime for these views and from his death until the eighteenth century he was acknowledged as a saint. However when his writings were drawn to the attention of Benedict XIV, pope from 1740–1758, his name was struck from the catalogue of saints.²⁷ Fortunately today a heresy trial can lead to no greater penalties than the loss of a teaching or pastoral position, de-frocking, or excommunication.

This chequered history makes it clear that the concept of heresy – a mechanism to ensure absolute acceptance of, and obedience to, a set of principles and rules – could, at best, be justified as a test for continuing membership of a narrow sectarian institution. When it is used by the church: in its ordinary form it contradicts the Good News of the Gospel; but, at its worst, when it is imposed with the threat or the use of corporal or capital punishment or genocide, it inhibits mankind’s search for, and progress towards, an understanding of his relationship with God. And yet many Christian churches still have constitutional provision for proceedings to be taken against members in cases of heresy or breaches of doctrine. In spite of a period of relatively free thinking within the Catholic Church since World War II, the idea that “the obstinate denial or doubt, after baptism, of a truth which must be believed by divine and catholic faith”²⁸ is an offence punishable with greater severity than the sort of gross misconduct and abuse of human rights on which the pre-Reformation church built its empires is still one of the gutters in which the church’s spurious self-assessment continues to flow. The things which are to be believed by divine and catholic faith include “the word of God as it has been written or handed down by tradition, that is, in the single deposit of faith entrusted to the church, and which are at the same time proposed as divinely revealed either by the solemn magisterium of the church, or by its ordinary and universal magisterium, which is manifested by the common adherence of Christ’s faithful under the guidance of the sacred magisterium (and) All are therefore bound to shun any contrary doctrines.”²⁹

Now, four important points. First: the ordinary person in the street or the church pew seldom gets closer to the solemn magisterium (teaching authority) of the church than his or her parish priest. Second: traditional beliefs have resulted from the interaction of fact, syncretism, myth, assumption and misunderstanding of fact, all compounded by error during the development and passing on of those beliefs. Third: the distinction between the word of God, developed tradition, and what the church proposes as divinely revealed truth is so blurred that the faithful are left to assume that they each have the same status. Fourth: according to Canon number 749, “infallibility in teaching” embraces not only the Pope of the day, and the College of Bishops meeting as an Ecumenical Council, but likewise, “the Bishops, dispersed throughout the world maintaining the bond of union among themselves and with the successor of Peter, together with the same Roman Pontiff authentically teach matters of faith and morals, and are agreed that a particular teaching is definitely to be held.”

CANON LAW SAYS ...

Therefore, at the stroke of a papal pen on January 25, 1983, when Pope John Paul II promulgated the new Code of Canon Law, and ratified the work of the Pontifical Commission which had prepared it (based on the decisions of the Second Vatican Council) he perpetuated the incredible impost that the world's Catholic Christians must accept and defend a range of competing statements which have been at the centre of heresy controversies for centuries, many of which are insupportable in terms of current knowledge and rational understanding. At least, late in the twentieth century, the church has added a clause to canon 747 that "No doctrine is understood to be infallibly defined unless this is manifestly demonstrated," although it retains for itself the authority to decide whether something has been 'manifestly demonstrated.' And it has also taken a step forward with the long overdue clause added to canon 748 that "It is never lawful for anyone to force others to embrace the catholic faith against their conscience." However that canon loses a bit of its lustre through the use of the expression that once a person has found "the truth in the matters which concern God and his Church ... then by divine law they are bound, and they have the right, to embrace and keep it."

The obligation to accept, to maintain and to defend particular ideas imposed with the coercive threat of sanctions could have been justified only if the role which the church adopted was absolutely proper and if its conduct was impeccable. However if the church had met those criteria the very idea and the need for disciplinary measures would have been self-eliminating anyway. It follows that those who have pursued a policy and a program of heresy hunting backed up by a system of corporal and capital punishment at any stage since the beginning of the Christian Era must be regarded as at least as depraved as the church claims those responsible for the crucifixion of Christ to be. Furthermore, for a church to retain the punitive concept of heresy is no different to a political party retaining the right to discipline members for breaking ranks in matters of political philosophy whether of the left (Communism) or of the right (Fascism).

In modern times the church has argued that in spite of its admitted corruption it had a unifying influence right across Europe during the Middle Ages and there is no point in denying it. However any police state operation has a temporary unifying influence, especially if it eliminates all opposition and any thinkers as ruthlessly as the church did, but the costs are immense through the destruction of human spirit and retardation of personal and community development. A unifying influence on its own is therefore nothing to be proud of, nor is it a suitable criterion by which to assess the church. What is debatable is whether the church was, firstly, any more of a unifying force and, secondly, as uplifting and as fruitful in human terms as any alternative which may have been available during the Middle Ages. When we compare it with Arian Christianity, Judaism in the Khazar Khanate and Islam in Spain the comparison is indeed odious for the mainstream church.

The same comparison favours Buddhism and also Confucianism, at least until it was declared China's state religion with worship of Confucius thrown in for good measure. It then

also became an instrument in the hands of politically and socially conservative forces. Even the religion of the Aztecs was unifying although certainly not uplifting. However, the web which the church had spun around itself was such that a completely new beginning was just not a real possibility. The reformers themselves were products of the institutional church, encouraged into it by virtue of the role which it promoted for itself and their acceptance of that role, trained by it and unable to stand off and view it dispassionately. Their only contact with the other partners in the triangle was in the context which the church was hell-bent on perpetuating: competition, opposition and denigration. In addition, the Turkish Muslim pressure against central Europe, through Hungary, was very effective in pushing the church and the princes together against the perceived common enemy which was at once religious and political, like the church itself.

REFORM REQUIRES A POWER BASE

Without a power base the Reformation could not have got off the ground. The long and impressive tradition of the church, its methods of indoctrination, the lack of any ordinary contact with the other partners in the triangle and the aura of mystique and authority which pervaded the church all helped to hold the people in awe of it and reluctant to move against it. All that the people wanted was spiritual guidance along the promised path to salvation. In the circumstances it was to the princes that the reformers had to turn for a power base and as they were so intimately intertwined with the church hierarchy the appeal to them had to be at least as much political and social as theological. Everyone – the reformers, the princes, the ordinary people and the church hierarchy – were all subject to a range of pressures in an environment which was changing more rapidly than during any previous period in history, but they were not in a position to understand the significance of those pressures nor the fact that the church was a factor, usually in a negative sense, in shaping them. The pressures included economic and social change with swirling population dynamics; the rise of mysticism (the search for direct personal contact with divine beings); nominalism (the simplifying of complex concepts into individual issues and the denial of the plurality of God, especially in the Trinitarian sense which required “faith” or unquestioning acceptance of the statements of an authority such as the church); humanism and natural science. Humanism was seen as more or less a reversion to the philosophy of the Greek classical period, but it was in reality an attempt to re-order the philosophical priorities of the time by focusing attention on the study of man as the pinnacle and centre of creation. Humanists held that man was exalted over the rest of creation by the power of his rationality, creativity and free-will. In natural science, people placed emphasis on the study of nature independent of consideration of God. Until that time nature had always been studied in the context of some over-arching religious or spiritual principle, and the new approach to nature led to a systematic approach to scientific investigation.

Another important factor as the Reformation broke was that although the church could be described as a great monolith, shaped like a pyramid with the pope perched at the pinnacle (above, below or alongside the Holy Roman Emperor, depending on which interpretation one

accepted) the church was a very complex institution with practices, beliefs and attitudes which varied from one region or country to another. The issues which triggered movements for reform were therefore not the same in every case. Serious moves towards reform had begun about a hundred years before but they had all been ruthlessly suppressed and there was little communication between would-be reformers. Some of them were churchmen who reached their reforming position through a studied academic approach to the documents and practices of the church and who expected reason to prevail. Some were men who found themselves pushed or “called” into positions of leadership among small groups of dissidents whose concerns had been shaped by their local experience. Others were men whose decision to press for reform had been precipitated by a ‘religious experience’ which they attributed to divine intervention in their lives or direct interaction with the Holy Spirit.

In this sense the religious reformers as a group were no different to the great figures of history who had established, reformed or participated in earlier religious movements such as Arius, Zoroaster, Confucius, Muhammad, Mainonides or the boy Samuel. Clearly they were all marked by a streak of determination or they would never have tackled the tasks which they did, but some were more dogmatic in their belief that because of their particular religious experience or divine call, their interpretation of reform theology and practice was absolute and was not to be tampered with. To make matters worse every would-be reformer took his life in his hands, or his mouth, when he spoke out. Therefore, because there was no common starting point for reform, because there was no planned coordination of effort between the reformers, and because the church’s abuses of authority and the sacraments were so diverse, disagreement was bound to arise between leaders of the reformation over some of the key theological issues. It did.

Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli were opposed over the question of the Eucharist and transubstantiation.³⁰ Those two and Jean Calvin were all opposed to the Anabaptists led by Thomas Munzer, Jacob Hutter and Melchior Hoffman who maintained that baptism was a basis for fellowship among those who already believed and not a mystical ritual to be applied like Augustine’s salt to children willy-nilly. But to cap it off there were a few reformers who wanted to turn back the clock and start all over again, and dispute broke out in the reform camp over the doctrine of the Trinity. It was to end in a tragedy which shows Calvin, probably the most influential reform figure after Luther, in a most inglorious light. Similarly, Luther’s decision to support the princes in suppressing the Peasant’s Revolt does him little credit but it was possibly forced on him by the circumstances of the Reformation.

Because of their enormous influence, brief biographical sketches of those two key reformers – Luther and Calvin – will help to provide an understanding of the reformation process and its limitations before we continue with the ongoing evolution of the trouble in the triangle. But at this point, even before we look at Luther and Calvin, we must look at the broad pattern of the Reformation. The course of the Reformation was so drawn out, the politics, personal power play and religious intrigue were so confused and so different from one country to another that we can only pick out key points and we cannot consider every country, their various rebellions, civil wars and programs of organized religious persecution. As we have seen, religious conflict

had swept back and forth across Europe and the church was in such a corrupt state that the Reformation could have erupted in any major centre such as Rome, Constantinople, Avignon, Moscow, Seville or Frankfurt instead of that out-of-the-way town of Wittenberg in Saxony, northern Germany.

However once it was triggered, pent up emotions and repressed ambitions were released in all directions and reform movements gathered strength in every country of the Holy Roman Empire. There was no clear pattern of cause and effect and no overall plan hatched in any one person's mind. There was a vague assumption among the reformers that reform would affect the whole church, world wide, but monolith or not, the Vatican was not interested in coordinated reform of any type – world-wide or isolated. This attitude of total resistance fueled the tendency towards the establishment of national churches because it meant that there had to be local trigger points before any reform would take place, irrespective of the fact that the princes and politicians generally favoured national churches so that they could exercise control, regardless of what the ordinary people may have wanted.

In Saxony the trigger was religious, as we have seen, but the movement quickly became a mixture of religion and politics. In France, Holland and Scotland the pattern was somewhat the same. In Denmark and Sweden the Reformation has been described as “more a political revolution with religious consequences than a religious revolution with political consequences”.³¹ But in England where papal influence had been relatively less overpowering³² in spite of situations such as the vassalage of King John, (see above chapter 9, p. 2R), the Reformation was primarily political and had its origins in the personal affairs of the king, Henry VIII, of many wives fame. In fact Henry's affairs of the heart affected affairs of the church and state in Europe as well as in England. His first wife, Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, whom he wanted to divorce, had already been contracted in marriage to his elder brother Arthur who died before assuming the throne.³³ To enable him, as heir to the throne (his father Henry VII was still on it) to marry Catherine when he assumed the throne, Henry sought and was granted a papal dispensation by Pope Julius II, the ostentatious and worldly Giuliano della Rovere, a nephew of Pope Sixtus IV (who included him in the college of Cardinals at an early age), whose main interest was enlarging and beautifying Rome and the papal states and winning glory for himself by the use of simony, politics and force.³⁴ To enable him, as king, to divorce Catherine in order to marry Anne Boleyn in the hope that she might bear him a male heir to the throne, even though there was already a female heir from his first marriage, quite naturally also required a papal dispensation. Working through his Lord Chancellor cum much-favoured cardinal, Thomas Wolsey, Henry sought a papal dispensation on the grounds that the first dispensation was not valid and therefore, on the basis of canon law, he had not actually been married to Catherine at all. Perhaps on the basis of the personal conduct of the popes of the era he had a case. Conduct which was acceptable for a pope should surely have been good enough for a mere king. However either Wolsey or Pope Clement VII, or both were loathe to arrange a dispensation. Their official reasoning may have been based on church doctrine but there is no doubt that it had more to do with politics and personal relationships.

Emperor Charles V was a nephew of Catherine. In the early stages of the Lutheran controversy Charles had backed the pope – naturally, because he was head of the Holy Roman Empire – and sought to haul the reform princes into line. But Charles owed his position to the princes, many of whom he had bribed, and they had to stand together against the threat from the Muslims, so he progressively moved to a position of compromise which the pope had to accept for fear of pushing him all the way into the reformers' camp.³⁵ For the same reason, fear of pushing Charles into the reform camp, the pope could not annul his aunt's marriage to the king of England. But in addition the church's self-understanding and the issue of papal infallibility, which Luther and other reformers were vigorously denying, would have come under even closer scrutiny if the reigning pope either used the excuse, or admitted, that one of his recent predecessors had made a serious error of judgement in a matter of doctrine.

In 1521 Henry wrote a response to Luther's *The Pagan Servitude of the Church*³⁶ which earned him and his successors on the English throne the title 'Defender of the Faith'. It therefore appears that during the early years of his reign he had no interest in going over to the reformers. Or were he and the pope, Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici), simply currying each other's favor in 1521, one to obtain his dispensation and the other to avoid a split? In 1527, when he was still pressing for an annulment, the pope at that time, Clement VII (Giulio, another member of the de' Medici family of popes), agreed to a canonical trial to decide the preliminary issue of the consummation of Catherine's marriage to Arthur. That was possibly one aspect of a loose alliance between the pope, Henry VIII and Francis I which, it was thought, would prevent Charles from totally dominating Europe. However Charles then intervened to break that alliance and to uphold his aunt's honour and, regardless of the fact that as titular head of the Holy Roman Empire he was supposed to be the pope's chief defender, his troops in Milan marched on Rome and, stung by the fact that they were not being paid, pillaged the city. The pope was forced into virtual captive refuge, then surrendered and suffered harsh imprisonment for six months. Charles insisted that the canonical trial be held in Rome. Henry responded by dismissing Wolsey, summoning parliament in 1529 and the Convocation of the Clergy in 1530 and again in 1532. He secured, over a period of three years, recognition of himself and his successors as the head of the church in England, agreement that the convocation would submit all existing and proposed canon laws to a committee appointed by him, the annulment of his marriage to Catherine, the crowning of his new wife Anne Boleyn as (very temporary) queen, the transfer of all payments and legal rights from the pope to the crown and, finally, in 1534, the Act of Supremacy declaring the king to be the supreme head of the Church of England.

The birth of the Church of England proved a moderately bloody affair just like a minor event in the Inquisition and the birth of the Reformed Church in Europe. Anne Boleyn was beheaded after three years as queen, for adultery. The message was: the king can be an adulterer, but not the queen. Wolsey 'died' on his way to his trial for high treason, and Sir Thomas More, Bishop John Fisher of Rochester and a number of lesser clergy were beheaded for refusing to swear allegiance to the royal supremacy. Of course that was only the birth pangs. The Church in England fared no better than the church in Europe with a very rough passage for the next two

generations, including: gross misdirection of resources by the crown and a well orchestrated backlash from the displaced clergy when the monasteries were compulsorily closed; confusion and conflict when Henry tried to retain the Roman liturgy in his reorganized church; and forced, repressive reversion to Roman Catholicism for five years under Queen Mary Tudor. But so much for Henry's anti-papal reorganization of the church in England. Now for a closer look at the two key reformers, Luther and Calvin.

Martin Luther was born in 1483, 26 years before Calvin, and he was the undisputed father figure of the Reformation in Germany by the time that Calvin became involved in the movement in France and Switzerland. However, although they shared a major common aim to reform or replace the papacy, and Calvin was well versed in Luther's work, they had been influenced by different circumstances and responded to different issues, and Calvin did not adopt much of Luther's theology nor his approach to church structure. (Nor, for that matter, did he adopt much of the work of previous reformers in Switzerland.) As a consequence, the two major divisions of the Reformation Church which grew out of their work were significantly different and were in competition with each other, as well as with the Church of Rome, as they and their associate churches evangelized around the world. According to their own writings they were both influenced by religious experiences and both believed that they were called through divine intervention to reform the Catholic Church, but from that point their self understandings diverged.

LUTHER: A MATTER OF DEEP CONVICTION ...

With great humility Luther wrote a preface to his Latin writings in 1545, only a year before his death, to explain why he had not wanted his consolidated writings published. He wrote that: "At first I was all alone and certainly very inept and unskilled in conducting such great affairs. For I got into these turmoils by accident and not by will or intention." ... "I did not want the labours of the ancients to be buried by my new works and the reader kept from reading them. Then, too, by God's grace a great many systematic books now exist ... with which a theologian and a bishop can be beautifully and abundantly prepared to be mighty in preaching the doctrine of piety, especially since the Holy Bible itself can now be had in nearly every language. But my books, as it happened, yes, as the lack of order in which the events transpired made it necessary, are accordingly crude and disordered chaos, which is now not easy to arrange even for me. Persuaded by these reasons, I wished that all my books were buried in perpetual oblivion, so that there might be room for better ones. ..." ³⁷ Clearly, reform was to come before personal authority and pride. Luther saw himself simply as an instrument of God's will.

In sharp contrast, an incident in 1546 in which a member of the Little Council of Geneva dared to attack Calvin as "nothing but a wicked man, a Picard who was preaching false doctrine," shows a very different self-understanding on Calvin's part. He so completely identified his own ministry with the will of God that instead of passing the insult off with contempt he declared that he would not preach again until the magistrates imposed sufficient

reparation, whereupon they re-heard the case and imposed humiliating penalties on the poor man which caused concern among the citizens.³⁸ Calvin continued to dominate the clergy and the civil authorities of Geneva in that manner and six years later, in 1552, when a controversy over his teaching on predestination and the authority to impose excommunication was at its climax, he declared that he would rather be discharged from his office than have to bear the opposition he was encountering. Addressing the Magistracy in an indictment of his opponent he stated: "As for myself, noble seigneurs, being assured in my conscience that what I have taught and written did not grow in my brain, but that I hold it from God, I must maintain the same, if I do not wish to be a traitor to the truth, for which I think I have already answered enough." In effect Calvin was not debating the theology of predestination but claiming to be the absolute interpreter of God's will by divine authority. The ministers of Geneva had little option than to support Calvin's teaching and the Council buckled under his onslaught. A commission set up to finalize the matter declared "the said book of the Institutes (written by Calvin) to be well and saintly made, and its teaching to be the holy doctrine of God, and that they regard it as good and true ministry for this city; and that, now and in the future, no one may dare to speak against the said book, nor against the said doctrine."³⁹

The extremely restricted nature of the reformation over which Calvin was presiding is illustrated by the way in which, using the methods of the Inquisition, he was able to impose his personal will with such arrogance and intolerance on the young Protestant Church in Geneva. He demanded, and was credited with, at least the same level of divinely ordained infallibility which the papacy had claimed and which the balance of the reform movement was eagerly trying to dismantle. But back to some basic biography of the two great reformers.

Martin Luther's father, Hans, was a peasant who found a niche in the copper mining industry and became prosperous. His mother came from a family of some social standing. The family moved from Saxony to Mansfield while Martin was a child and his schooling began there. At age 14, in 1497, the year that Manoel's agents were dragging thousands of Jewish children screaming to the baptismal founts of Portugal, he was enrolled at the cathedral school in Magdeberg. He entered the University of Erburg at age 18, gained his bachelor of arts degree followed by his master's degree at the minimum age permitted, 22 years, then began to study law. But midway through 1505 he was almost killed by a lightning strike while returning to university and, somewhat traumatised by the experience, he invoked the name of St. Anne and vowed to enter a monastery and devote his life to the church. He entered the Augustinian Monastery at Erfurt, his personal choice, against his father's wishes. He was ordained a priest in 1507 and Hans, having become resigned to the fact of his son's decision to enter the church, attended the first mass which Martin said, even though he was certainly not completely at ease with his decision to enter the church. Martin's superior, Johann Staupitz, encouraged him to undertake further study in theology and he received his degree in Biblical Studies from the University of Wittenberg, aged 26, in 1509 the year that Jean Calvin was born at Noyon in France.

Luther continued his studies and was awarded his doctorate in 1512. In the meantime he had been required to teach Biblical studies, and although he seems to have been uncertain of himself at times, Staupitz nurtured him and selected him to be his successor as professor of Biblical Studies. In 1515 he was also given responsibility for the oversight of several Augustinian monasteries. In 1510 he had been sent to Rome as a member of a delegation to plead the cause of the Erfurt Monastery in a dispute over jurisdiction. That visit, and in particular the opulence of the Vatican, left a strong impression on him and a few years later, after what is referred to as ‘the Tower Experience’ he became aware of a new understanding of the Gospels and of faith. He developed a deep awareness of the grace and righteousness of God in a sense which the church had not previously recognized, and he began to preach that a person is saved by faith alone, not works. As a consequence of that belief he denied that the church or the priesthood had any role or authority as mediators between God and mankind. It was his preaching on that matter which prompted some one to send him a copy of Tetzell’s instructions on indulgences in 1517 and which provided the basis for his Ninety five theses.

... AND THE BACKING OF PRINCES

At that point the importance of the support which Luther received from some of the princes becomes apparent. The Archbishop of Mainz initiated ‘an examination of Luther’s orthodoxy’ – the first move towards a heresy trial – and he was summoned to Rome but the Elector of Saxony insisted that any examination take place in Ausburg. Luther refused to withdraw what he had written and, fearing for his life, fled back to Wittenberg. However his confidence received a boost the following year, 1518, by the direction from Johann Staupitz that he should further develop his ideas in his Heidelberg Theses for a debate at the annual Chapter meeting, and by the support which he received from members of the chapter. In 1519 he extended his reasoning somewhat further, denied the primacy of the pope⁴⁰ and questioned the authority of church councils in relation to the interpretation of scripture, then, as he gained more recognition and authority he wrote a series of papers, three of which, published in 1520, are known as ‘The Reformation Treatises’. In the first, An Appeal to the Ruling Class of German Nationality, he invited the German princes to take steps to reform the church themselves. The second, The Pagan Servitude of the Church, concerned the concept of transubstantiation and the denial of communion in both kinds to the laity. And in the third, The Freedom of a Christian, he expanded on his belief that faith frees Christians from the obligation to do good works. From that point on, regardless of Luther’s fate, the emergence of a reformed church was inevitable, partly because of the increased support from the princes which followed Duke Frederick’s installation as Deputy pending the election of Charles as successor to Maximilian.

Princes or no princes, the church had had enough. Luther was censured and in June 1520 his works were condemned in the bull Exsurge Domine. The following January he was excommunicated but he was given one more chance to recant at the Diet of Worms in April. He refused and was rescued by being taken into safe custody at Wartburg.⁴¹ When it appeared safe

he returned to Wittenberg the next year, 1522, largely in an effort to stop the destruction of alters which was occurring as people vented their anger against the papacy, but he also set out his views on ecclesiastical reform, discontinued the conduct of private masses, confession and fasts in the city, declared that the Monastic life was no higher calling than others, ended the requirement for celibacy, and discarded his clerical dress. The impact of that declaration was prompt and enormous. The monastic system across Germany collapsed as monks, nuns and others in service deserted their monasteries to return to civilian life, and the church and the reformers struggled to cope with the tasks of counselling and resettling large numbers of former religious, and re-stating their understanding of religious vocation. A very significant sidelight was that in 1524 Luther married one of the former nuns who had deserted her post. However, regrettably, some of the displaced clerics interpreted the new freedom of a Christian in a way which Luther did not anticipate and urged the peasants to seek greater freedom from their economic distress by violent means through the Peasants' Revolt. With the support of some townspeople and knights they circulated Twelve Articles demanding, among other things, the abolition of serfdom and certain taxes and the right to elect their own pastors. Luther's dependence on the support of the princes to press on with the Reformation then put him in an invidious position. He was conscious of his own family's peasant origins, he was in sympathy with them and he tried to mediate between the peasants and the landlords, but he was antagonized by the brutality which some of the rebels resorted to and he knew that he owed his own survival and the Reformation to the princes. He therefore sided with the princes and in 1525 he published a pamphlet calling for the extermination of the rebels. The rebellion was then put down ruthlessly.

NATIONAL CHURCHES AND DIVISIONS

At this point the parent Church of Rome seems to have recognized that the formation of reformed churches could not be prevented, even if it still hoped to suppress them, and in 1526 the Diet of Speyer caught up with history and established the right under canon law of the princes to establish national churches. No doubt Rome's expectation was that offering the princes legitimacy in what they were doing would encourage some of them to retain their links with Rome rather than establishing totally independent organizations and that, in either case, there would be sufficient goodwill to enable military alliances to be maintained against the heinous Muslim Infidels. Perhaps the power brokers of the Vatican also thought that they might be able to quarantine the movement for reform and restrict it to Germany, but if they did they were too late. The movement had already taken root in other countries. However the circumstances in each country were different and the stimulus was not necessarily the same, so the reformers and theologians each did their own thing and even if they had read the works of Luther, his colleagues and some of the earlier would-be-reformers who had already graced the stakes, they produced their own proposals for church structure and their own theology and doctrines, framed within their particular local community and political situations. Thus the

reformation was fragmented and uncoordinated and, partly as a consequence of the Vatican's devious manipulation as well, disagreements developed between the reformers.

Even with the best will and intentions the pattern of the reformed church was therefore bound to resemble the pattern of the parent church, Judaism, Islam and other major religious movements: regional or ethnic orientation with doctrinal differences. A conference, known as the Colloquy of Marburg, was arranged by the Landgrave, Philip of Hesse, in 1529 in an effort to develop unity, or at least closer coordination, between the German and Swiss reformers and to overcome some of the disagreements. Luther was accompanied by his Wittenberg colleague Professor Philipp Melanchthon (Schwarzerd) and the Swiss party included the founder of the Swiss Reform Movement, Ulrich Zwingli, John Oecolampadius, a German preacher who had reluctantly become involved in the Reformed Church in Basle in 1522, and Martin Bucer, also a German, who had adopted Lutheranism in 1523, was excommunicated, moved to Switzerland and became the leader of the Swiss Reformed Churches after Zwingli was killed in a battle between the Protestants of Zurich and the Catholic cantons only two years after the colloquy.

The group reached agreement on 14 of the 15 points listed for discussion but Zwingli and Luther could not agree on the remaining one: the nature of the Eucharist. Luther 'dug his heels in' over the words "This is my body", saying he was not prepared to argue over whether Jesus was using the word 'is' in a symbolic or an absolute sense.⁴² While he rejected the Roman concept of transubstantiation he could not bring himself to accept Zwingli's view that the use of bread in the Eucharist was to symbolize Christ's bodily sacrifice. The German Lutheran group of churches and the Swiss Reformed Church therefore went their own ways and the following year, 1530, the Lutheran Confession of faith was adopted by the Diet of Augsburg and presented to Emperor Charles V. There was widespread support for Zwingli's interpretation of the Eucharist but Luther would neither adopt that Zwinglian view in order to secure the Reformation nor agree to any further theological accommodation with Rome to settle the dispute. In the short term he therefore had to turn increasingly to the civil authorities and the princes – to call up favours in a sense after he had helped them to suppress the Peasants' Rebellion – in order to gain doctrinal unity. In the long term his decision to reject Zwingli's interpretation was one of the great tragedies of the Reformation. Little had changed since the days of Constantine. People looked for political stability through theological conformity.

CALVIN: A YOUTH OF PRIVILEGE AND TENSION

At the time of the Marburg Colloquy Jean Calvin was still a more or less faithful Roman Catholic, vacillating between the study of theology and law, financed by appointments under two benefices, one as a chaplain and one as a curate, which had been arranged by his father, Gerard, from his position of privilege within the church. Gerard Calvin (or Cauvin), who is said to have been an artisan or a boatman as a young man, was probably born about 1460 because he is reported to have been appointed as one of the town's registrars in 1481. This means that he was close to 50 when Jean was born the second son in a family of four sons and two daughters.

He had progressed as a public and church official of moderate importance, becoming solicitor to the episcopal offices, a fiscal agent, secretary to the bishop, and finally procurator to the cathedral chapter, and he enjoyed the distinction of being appointed a citizen. He is thought to have married Jeanne Lefranc, a young bourgeoisie, about 1498 when he must have been close to 40 and after mothering six children she died while Jean was still a child.

Jean attended the college of the Capettes in Noyon for a few years, then when he was twelve, in the year that Luther was excommunicated, he was appointed to the first of the two benefices from which his continued study appears to have been funded: a chaplaincy at the Cathedral of Noyon. When he was fourteen he was sent to Paris to school in company with three young men from the extended family of the local ruler, Charles de Hangest, and the next few years had a strong influence in the development of his aristocratic bearing and his view of the role of the crown in religious affairs. On arriving in Paris, Calvin was tutored privately at first before attending the very progressive College de la Marche for a short time and then the terrifying and ultra-orthodox College de Montaigu which was the centre of anti-Lutheran teaching.

It is said that his father harboured strong ambitions for all his children but especially for Jean who he hoped would enter the clergy. Whether that hope came before the negotiation of the benefices and was a part of the bargaining process on the part of his father, or whether the benefices led to the hope is uncertain. Similarly it is not known what commitments Gerard had to enter into with the bishop and/or the chapter to procure those benefices, but two things are certain. First: the benefices entailed some form of direct personal obligations for Gerard and indirect or moral obligations for Jean, either to his father or to the bishop. Second: because of that 'special relationship' between his father, himself and the church Jean would have carried certain preconceptions about the church when he finally reached the point of entering the clergy. His elder brother also became a priest, before he did. Jean's appointment to a second and concurrent benefice, a curacy at a parish church, was arranged while he was studying philosophy and theology, still at the College de Montaigu, aged eighteen, in 1527, one year before he completed his Master of Arts degree. Then problems soon began to surface.

In his capacity as an official of the cathedral chapter, Gerard Calvin was responsible for the winding up of an estate. His management came under scrutiny and when he was not able to satisfactorily account for the proceeds of the estate he came under attack from the chapter and was subsequently excommunicated. At the point of the attack against his father, Jean Calvin resigned the first of his benefices, the chaplaincy in Noyon, but retained the curacy elsewhere, and in 1529 he undertook studies in law, first at the University of Orleans but later in the year at Bourges. In his own explanation of that change he later wrote that from his childhood his father had intended him for theology but later, considering that the study of law "commonly enriched those who followed it", he incontinently changed his mind and "I was withdrawn from the study of philosophy and put to the study of the law, to which I strove to devote myself faithfully in obedience to my father (until) God, in his hidden providence, at last made me turn in another direction." However one of Calvin's biographers (and a family connection), A. Lefranc, wrote that as a result of Gerard's dispute with the chapter he "caused his son to abandon theology because he was no longer assured of the support of

the church dignitaries of Noyon, upon whom he had been counting to provide Jean with a first-class appointment.”⁴³ When Gerard fell ill in 1531, Jean left Bourges in haste and teamed with his elder brother Charles, the priest, and argued a case with the chapter in a bid to have their father’s excommunication reversed before he died. They failed, and Charles was also excommunicated. For reasons unexplained Calvin resumed his chaplaincy benefice and returned to Paris to study humanist philosophy, freedom of action, and Hebrew and Hellenic studies, at a different centre. Then, after seeing his first book (on Humanism) published with a very mixed response, Jean again changed direction and returned to Orleans in 1532 to complete his law degree.

Regardless of the conclusions which may be drawn from the evidence of his father’s conduct, his inconsistent approach to his personal benefices, and the bitter row between him, Charles and the chapter, Jean Calvin maintained that throughout that period he had been “obstinately addicted to the superstitions of the papacy”⁴⁴ and that his conversion was a spontaneous reaction to a religious experience some time in 1533. He had attended a session of the general chapter at Noyon on August 23 at which a procession against the plague had been arranged but he does not appear to have taken a reform stand at that meeting. However after being associated with a pro-reform sermon by his friend and university rector Nicolas Cop on All Saints’ Day, November 1, he went into hiding and was associated with the reform movement from then on. In May 1534 he surrendered both of his ecclesiastical benefices and his open association with the reform movement soon made it dangerous for him to stay in France. He chose Basle, Switzerland, as the centre at which to study and write.

MUNICIPAL SUPPORT FOR RIGID INSTITUTES

In between visits to Basle, Italy, Paris and Geneva, Calvin worked on *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* in 1535, at the age of 26, and it was ready for the printer in 1536. At the same time, and with an imperious touch of ‘holier than thou’ he began to attack the ‘Nicodemites’ or waverers among the clergy who favoured reform but retained their links with Rome to avoid the loss of ecclesiastical benefices. He then set out for Strasbourg to link up with reformers there, but he had to travel via Geneva to avoid the war between Francis I and the Emperor, Charles V, and while he was there he was invited by Guillaume Farel to stay as Reader in Holy Scripture and to assist with the organization of the Reformed Church. The citizens of Geneva had recently asserted their independence from the Catholic Duke of Savoy and many were eager to join the reformers. He was also asked to assist in sorting out some problems in Lausanne. He began working on a plan for a completely new church organization, the main elements of which were: membership of the church for the laity based on recognized adherence to its rules; a confession of faith which would be obligatory for everyone who wished to remain in the city; the power of excommunication to be wielded by the church consistory; the singing of psalms in the order of worship; education in a catechism as a requirement for membership; and rigid ordinances of marriage. However when the articles were adopted by the City Magistrates in March 1537, (the year that Calvin’s brother Charles died, still under

excommunication), a wave of dissent swept through Geneva at the rigidity of the discipline which he was trying to impose and the retention of the power of excommunication, and this resulted in the councils of the city demanding some changes to the plan. It also led to the Catholics and other opponents of the plan mounting a campaign against Calvin and six months later they gained control of the councils at the 1538 elections.

In the meantime an opponent of some of the reforms, Caroli, identified some aspects of Calvin's Institutes and the Summary by his collaborator, Farel, as anti-Trinitarian or heretical of true Christianity and he accused them of complicity with Arianism. Recognizing the acute danger which they faced Calvin chose not to debate the issue of the Trinity but to mount a vigorous defence. However he refused to sign the creeds of the Apostles, Nicaea and Athanasius which he had been asked to do to establish his Trinitarian credentials. The dispute was referred first to arbitrators in Bern and then to the Synods of both Bern and Lausanne in May and June 1537. Although the two defendants won their case and Caroli thereupon rejected the reform movement and returned to the Catholic Church, the dispute ran on. It divided Geneva, took on other aspects, and turned into a struggle for control of the city between the civil authorities and the church. The net result was that Calvin, Farel and another minister were relieved of their posts and ordered to leave the city within three days. They made their way to Bern and were received favourably at first, but when church and state politics threatened relations between Bern, Geneva and Zurich, and raised the distinct possibility of the region reverting to Roman Catholicism, their position in Switzerland appeared untenable. Calvin went to Strasbourg where he was given responsibility for ministry to refugees, his reputation was soon restored and, among many other things, he worked towards the revised or 'Strasbourg Edition' of his Institutes of the Christian Religion which was published in 1539. It was much larger than the original, contained more theology, and was much more dogmatic in tone.

Gradually order was restored in Geneva but the organization of the Reformed Church was at risk and in October 1540 Calvin was invited to return. He did not do so until September 1541 when the authorities of Bern, Geneva, Zurich, Basle and Strasbourg had each agreed that his return was in the interests of peace and stability throughout the Republic of Geneva. Immediately he arrived he demanded the setting up of a commission of pastors and advisers, his revised Ordinances were adopted only two months after he returned and he very quickly had Geneva organized into a theocratic city-state. His victory in enforcing a system of excommunication and discipline which carried the hallmark of the Inquisition had serious consequences for the Reformed Church, suppressing freedom of theological thought just as dramatically as it had in the parent Roman Church. Life in Geneva became, for some, excessively Puritanical. Restrictions were placed on theatre performances; inns were declared strictly for travelers and local residents were banned from visiting them; and parents were censured for the use of non-Biblical names (1546). The 'Power of the Keys' was vested in the church, authorizing pastors to visit every home once a year to assess whether the ordinances were being acted on satisfactorily and to take appropriate action if they were not (1550).⁴⁵

At the level of parish church life in Geneva, the recitation of a catechism was required for membership and participation in communion, and parents were obliged to ensure that their children attended Sunday School. Although other serious issues are raised by such a system of compulsion in religious belief, especially when it is linked to a system of discipline and excommunication, these were major achievements at the time. They helped to broaden the base of lay understanding and initiative beyond the scope of the mass and the homily and to break the repressive grip which the clergy could maintain when its members could demonstrate exclusive knowledge in matters biblical and religious. A system of four ministries was introduced, with pastors, teachers, elders and deacons. Celibacy had already been rejected by the Reformed Churches and Calvin, who saw marriage basically in terms of relief from domestic chores to enable a man to concentrate on the things which mattered, had married the widow of an Anabaptist minister before his return to Geneva.

Such was his personal authority and his inability to accept personal criticism that Calvin sacked a friend, the highly regarded director of the school, over a minor theological matter about which they disagreed. He unfrocked one clergyman, humiliated many others, and one poor citizen, Gruet, who openly opposed the disciplinary power of the church consistory was tortured and then beheaded (1547), basically on Calvin's insistence. All this – and the death of Servetus – in spite of the fact that prior to his conversion Calvin is supposed to have spoken against the use of excessive force in disciplining reformers and other dissidents. Although he achieved a system of interlocking church and state authority in Geneva, Calvin had to acknowledge the superior authority of the civil magistracy and it has been suggested that the state gained more authority than he wanted to concede.⁴⁶ However, after the basic relationship had been established, Calvin accepted an invitation to help draft the civil code for councils as well.

The level of controversy and conflict during the 1540s was so great that Calvin was never out of the spotlight for very long and it is impossible to consider all of the incidents but another, concerning relations between the church consistory, the council and the magistrates, occurred in 1548 (after his supporters had lost control of the council) and Calvin feared that it could lead to his expulsion from Geneva for the second time. It did not. Council simply told him to do his duty better in future. Calvin knew that it was vital to have maximum common ground between the major reform groups if they were either to achieve recognition and security or to swing the whole church to their views. The councilors knew that too, and they also realized that in Calvin they had one of the few persons strong enough to achieve it. He therefore continued to work hard to bring the French, German and other reform groups to his particular understanding of common ground. Unfortunately the disagreement with the Lutherans over the Eucharist was so deep little progress could be made. However after years of discussions there was finally a breakthrough with the Zwinglians and in 1549 a 26-clause agreement on the sacraments known as the Consensus Tigurinus was signed.

THE TRINITY: A CHALLENGE FUMLED

Calvin remained the focal point for the powerful reform movement in Geneva and by 1555 he was also the undisputed master of the city. In that powerful position, and having shown deep-seated reservations about the divinity of Christ when he wrote some of his earlier works, even though he did not directly write against the Doctrine of the Trinity, Calvin could have grasped the real challenge of the Reformation, gone back to basics and urged the church to start all over again. However he was essentially a pragmatic reformer and at the critical time when he came under attack from Caroli he knew that the only useful reformer was a live reformer. As a result, after he had survived the attacks against him as an Arian sympathizer in 1537, Calvin moved further and further into line with the traditional Trinitarian dogma, and unquestioning, almost servile, support for it became a vital plank in his reform platform.⁴⁷

It is impossible to assess the consequences of Calvin's change of attitude towards the divinity of Christ because he cannot be considered in isolation from all the concurrent factors in Reformation Europe. However we can be sure that if the question of the Trinity had been confronted and resolved then, in the sixteenth century, we would now be looking at history from a very different perspective. As it was, the issue was consigned to the stake in good Inquisition fashion with the full support and encouragement of not only Calvin but people like Luther's right hand man, Professor Philipp Melanchthon, and the major part of the reform movement.⁴⁸

Among those calling for a thorough reconsideration of the Trinitarian issue was the physician to the archbishop of Vienna, Michael Servetus. At first he campaigned using papers published secretly because of the danger of speaking openly on the subject. Then, in order to have his major work published in 1553, (sixteen years after Calvin had survived the attacks on him and changed direction), he sought discussions with Calvin but was rebuffed, so he published that secretly too. After a copy reached Calvin certain incriminating correspondence between the two fell into wrong hands. Calvin referred the matter to the Catholic Church and this led to Servetus being arrested in Vienne, charged with heresy and condemned to burn. He escaped and planned to make his way to Italy via Geneva. However he was arrested in Geneva and clashed vigorously with Calvin. Incensed at having been dragged directly into the matter Calvin pressed for the death sentence in his most intolerant and dictatorial manner. Servetus was tried for the second time on October 26th 1553 and burned at the stake the next day. It made no difference that he was the discoverer of the mechanism of blood circulation in the body. He was a heretic. Calvin thereupon wrote his Defence of the Orthodox Faith concerning the Holy Trinity in which he not only defended his own attitude at the trial of Servetus but also the long-standing Augustinian principle of repressing heresy by the secular sword.⁴⁹

So much for Calvin's pre-conversion views and his first edition of the Institutes which got him into trouble at the hands of Caroli. It is interesting to ponder at what point the personal infallibility on which he insisted took effect! The issue then subsided for some time as the Roman Catholic Church and the reformers locked in battle over the issues which more directly concerned people and which did not involve such deep reassessment of the nature of God and

the role of the church. But inevitably it came up again and a confession of faith was devised in 1558 as a means of pinpointing troublemakers. One who refused to sign it was Valentin Gentilis. He was taken before Calvin, got the message about how to stay alive, retracted his views, made an act of submission and personally burned his books. However after being released and fleeing Geneva he took up the anti Trinitarian case again. He survived for a time but after being arrested repeatedly he was finally hanged at Bern in 1566.⁵⁰

By the time the issue of the Trinity reached the stage of a major controversy again the Reformation was an established fact. Calvin had become the dominant influence in the organizing of Reformed Churches in Switzerland, France, the Low Countries, Northern Germany and Scotland. His achievements were monumental. He had played a major part in laying the foundations for both the organization and the theology of Reformed Churches around the world. He made a major contribution to the development of modern Biblical exegesis, or the explanation of texts in a contemporary setting. He lifted religious education to a completely new level for both the clergy and adherents, and a few years before he died he established an academy of theology in Geneva which catered for study at both secondary and tertiary levels. He has been described as the greatest theologian in Christendom since Augustine⁵¹ but his achievements – and those of other reformers as well – fell far short of the demands of the circumstances. The Christian church was in fragments and the Reformed fragments were in no position to offset the crises in human affairs which the parent church had thrust upon the world. They had taken some very tentative steps, but they had a long way to go.

REPRESSION PROMPTS FURTHER DIVISION

The suppression of debate on the Trinitarian issue during the critical early years of the Reformation had simply led to the establishment of additional denominations which were rejected by the mainstream denominations. Unfortunately the issue left deep scars on the reform movement which was shown to be little more humane and only a little more visionary than the pre-Reformation church. There was an unhealthy desire in some reform quarters to demonstrate that the Reform leaders could enforce “doctrinal purity” just as effectively as the pre-Reformation church and as a result hundreds of heretics and Anabaptists died at the hands of the reformers just as if they had stayed and rattled their pens and pencils inside the Roman church. Calvin believed, together with the Romans and most of the reformers, that the Christian church was the exclusive body of Christ, that as long as the reform communities each acknowledged the same Lord and protected scriptural doctrine there was nothing to prevent them uniting and assuming – or asserting – their proper role as ‘the church’.⁵² This meant that the church’s existing view of itself prevailed yet again and in those vital years of the Reformation the most important casualty was, as before, man’s ability to know God through Christ the Messiah.

POPULAR SUPPORT FOR REFORM 'UNEXPECTED'

So much for our brief biographies of Luther and Calvin.⁵³ When we look back over those critical years during which the Reformation took root and pick up the threads of the trouble in the triangle, it is apparent that when Luther was placed under a papal ban in 1518 because he refused to quietly withdraw his ninety-five theses the possibility of a major eruption in the church seemed very remote. The Vatican was so confident in its spurious self-understanding and in the amount of force which it could bring to bear that it did not expect such a minor administrative and financial matter to rock the boat for long. Leo X is said to have passed the matter off only a few months before the ban as “a monkish quarrel”.⁵⁴ The Vatican authorities were therefore surprised when the ordinary German laity flocked to support the professor in his stand against papal authority. Neither did they expect Luther’s objections to indulgences to be deflected by that papal ban into a full scale attack on the papacy but in view of the popular support for the man and the political climate of the time they were reluctant to take strong direct action against him. A public debate at Leipzig was accepted as a suitable way to defuse the issue and to bring Luther back into line. But it didn’t and the doctor of theology, whose parents had wanted him to take law after he had completed a master of arts degree rather than enter an Augustinian monastery, found himself being hailed as the leader of the anti-papal reform movement.

Public reaction and pressure had begun to shape events rather than cold official logic. Luther was cast into a role he neither sought nor wanted.⁵⁵ But he was fortunate because time was on his side. Dissent and disillusionment within the church and conflicting commercial and political interests were making it more difficult than ever for it to raise the war against the Muslims which the Lateran Council had decreed. If it was going to be able to raise that war at all, or even protect its own vital interests, the absolute minimum requirement was some sort of accord with, and between, the German princes. If the Vatican acted to get rid of Luther by the easy Inquisition method, Germany would be lost to the Roman cause and Islam would be on the rampage through central Europe, with the Ottoman Empire able to dictate its own terms.

A papal emissary, Charles von Miltitz, went to Germany with a dual purpose in January 1519. Firstly he was to bestow the papal honour of the Golden Rose on Elector Frederick and thereby persuade him to make war against the Muslims. Secondly he was to haul Luther into line. But being a capable diplomat and sensing the feeling of the German people, von Miltitz reversed the order. He left the Golden Rose in safekeeping at the Fugger bank and interviewed Luther before fronting Frederick. He knew that even with an army he couldn’t get the professor to Rome by force. All he was able to do was persuade Luther to write a courteous letter to the pope in which he retracted nothing.⁵⁶ Muhammad had not succeeded in forcing the Christian church to rethink its theology during his lifetime but at long last his successors were indirectly forcing a situation in which the church had to accept internal criticism. It is reasonable to believe that if it had not been for that situation, coupled with the attack on papal corruption by Pico at the Lateran Council, Luther would have already suffered the fate of boat rockers before

him. Because of the political situation, criticism was possible in Germany which would not have been tolerated anywhere else and printers, ignoring the Lateran decree, spread reports of the affair and reform leaflets far and wide.

The pulse of events was still leisurely until Rome issued the bull *Exserge Domine* on 15th June 1520 condemning many of Luther's theses, threatening excommunication and requiring his books to be burned. It was not until six months later that Luther defiantly burned a copy of it along with books of canon law and papal documents at Wittenberg. At first his supporters were subdued but the mood changed, they gathered courage and more books to add to the bonfire. But on January 3rd 1521, when Luther's excommunication was confirmed, the chips were down. The Luther affair held centre stage in European politics. The emperor, Charles V, called the Diet at Worms. Luther refused to recant and was banned from the Holy Roman Empire. Taken into hiding at Wartburg he recuperated from the strain of the previous four years, wrote, began translating the Bible into German and waited. With reforms very slow in coming he incited a more direct attack on the church with his own program of ecclesiastical reforms but, as we have noted, it backfired with the peasant revolts and he didn't know how to handle what he had started. He sided with the princes in crushing the revolts ruthlessly and Germany was not only divided against the pope, it was divided against itself. Civil war was looming.

THE OPTIONS: THE PRINCES AND LUTHER, OR THE TURKS

Out of a protest against the activities of the pope, the emperor and the Catholic princes which a minority of reform princes issued at the Diet of Speyer in 1529 grew the Protestant League of about seven Electoral regions or principalities with some twenty major cities. Religious reform, politics and trade were caught up in the crisis just as inseparably as they had been in the days of Pompey and on an even grander scale. Princely support for the reformers against the Catholics went hand in hand with reform support for the princes against the emperor. There lay the vital power base for the Reformation, because of the way that the church was organized on a regional basis. But the emperor, Charles V was in a curious fix indeed. To defend his imperial power he had to defend the papacy, even though his family connections on thrones all over Europe fell on both sides of the Reformation fence and Leo had actually opposed his election as emperor in 1519. As King of Spain he was pressing ahead with Spanish imperialism and the rape of Latin America, enjoying the papal patronage as joint standard bearer for Christ – and the pope. But as King of Spain he was also at war with France and its ally the pope. At the same time France was fostering friendly relations with Turkey and supporting its move into Hungary, partly to spite Charles and partly because it desperately needed access to eastern trade.

The pope would have had a fit if he had seen a Turkish admiral celebrating the Muslim fast of Ramadan in the streets of Toulon while he, the pope, was urging Charles V's brother, Ferdinand, in Austria to intervene in Hungary against the Turks and to silence Luther at the same time. That issue had come to a head in 1526, (the year of the Diet of Speyer and three years before the Protestant League was born), when the Turks had humbled Hungary with a

decisive victory at Mohacs in which the King of Bohemia and Hungary was killed. Ferdinand felt that he was therefore in a position to ignore the question of Luther because the Muslim menace could be shown to be real rather than hypothetical and, in addition, he could lay a reasonable legal claim to Hungary on ancestral grounds. He thereupon followed the example of his brother, Charles, who had paid bribes totaling 850,000 ducats ⁵⁷to make sure he was elected emperor in preference to Francis of France, and bought the support of barons in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia to secure his claims to the Hungarian throne. ⁵⁸ However the Hungarian barons and the Turks to whom they then owed allegiance didn't like the idea at all and the fight was on. The Turks invaded Austria in 1529, (the year of the Marburg Colloquy and Henry VIII's break with the pope), and again in 1532, (the year before Calvin's conversion), to teach Ferdinand to keep his fingers out of Hungary, but eventually a compromise was reached and the tattered country was split down the middle: half for Ferdinand and half for the Ottoman Empire.

In spite of the methods he had used, Germany's princes were rather impressed by the way Ferdinand had stood up to the Sultan and helped to save Central Europe and Christendom from the Muslim Infidel and he was installed as Holy Roman Emperor when Charles V abdicated in 1556. He wasn't the last titular head of the Holy Roman Empire but in reality it was dying in his hands, slain by the combined pressures of the Reformation and Islam, represented by the Ottoman Empire. Before Ferdinand inherited it in 1556 Charles had been forced by the Muslim threat to reach a truce with the Lutherans, and Ferdinand, (acting for Charles), and Rome had likewise reluctantly agreed that the German princes could organize their own national churches. They were already doing it anyway and it dramatically boosted his prospects of getting the coveted imperial crown. The Teutonic Knights had broken with Rome, become a principality under Poland and the Grand Master had adopted Lutheranism. Reform fever, with or without political anti-papery had swept Europe and reformed churches were firmly established in Switzerland, France and England.

The period of two generations, or about 50 years, which we can date from Luther's formal excommunication in 1521 was a period of such upheaval and violence that the conduct of Europe's affairs bears little resemblance to a search for the ultimate route to salvation via the Gospel of Jesus Christ which the whole ghastly episode was supposed to be. We cannot consider all of the political and military conflicts of the period nor the host of other reformers and counter-reformers whose work contributed to setting the competing fragments of the church on their new courses. But there was hardly a region where reformers were not battering down the barriers, printing Bibles and taking great risks to try to get the church back on the rails or to replace it with new ones. Attacks by Luther on the monastic system brought interesting complications, especially in Germany. They didn't only weaken the grip of the teaching and policing orders, they led to a mass exodus from monasteries which left the community to absorb and rehabilitate large numbers of disenchanted people who had been more accustomed to meditation than work and who had to work out completely new relationships with the people around them. And the parent church, after much political intrigue, had at last moved towards putting its house in order.

DEMANDS FOR REFORM STILL DENIED

For many years the Vatican opposed moves to hold another general council of the church to put its affairs in order, in spite of the fact that Charles V pressed repeatedly for such a council to meet in Germany. The popes and cardinals feared that a general council outside their control, especially if it were chaired by someone other than the pope and away from Rome, would lead to a transformation of Catholicism with the See of Rome being swept into insignificance.⁵⁹ The first pope to accept the need for a council was Pope Paul III. He summoned a council in 1537 but had to postpone it repeatedly due to opposition and stalling tactics by those around him. A man of some strange contradictions, on one hand in a burst of the customary nepotism he appointed a 14 year old nephew as a cardinal, but on the other hand he appointed nine cardinals as a commission to bring proposals for reform. They included the very enlightened Contarini whom he elevated from lay diplomat to cardinal and, as a step towards a council, he authorised him to convene a conference with Protestants at Ratisbon in 1541. Agreement was reached on the question of justification by faith, but leaders on both sides of the divide, including Luther, became suspicious and no consensus could be reached on the question of transubstantiation. Ratisbon was therefore a dead issue. Worse still, any chance of reconciliation appeared impossible the next year when the pope was persuaded by the conservative Cardinal Caraffa, who later became Pope Paul IV, to set up a powerful new Roman Inquisition into Heresy. Caraffa was one of six cardinals appointed Inquisitors-General with authority to imprison on suspicion, confiscate property and execute the guilty. Among rules which he laid down was one: 'No man is to lower himself by showing toleration towards any sort of heretic, least of all a Calvinist.'⁶⁰ The pope reserved the power of pardon to himself.

Eventually Paul III was able to convene a council at Trent in 1545, after Emperor Charles and the French king had signed a peace agreement in 1544 and Francis had pledged, secretly, to support the emperor's plans for the council. But when it met for the first time it soon became very clear that the pope and the emperor had quite different priorities for the work of the council. Their row became very public. The emperor pressed for an end to abuses and corruption in the church and concessions to the Lutherans which would bring peace in Germany. The pope wanted questions of doctrine dealt with first. It was therefore agreed that discipline and doctrine would be considered in parallel, but in fact this did not happen and the first 'session', 1545–48, dealt mainly with doctrinal matters in the absence of any representatives of the Lutherans present and this deepened divisions and hardened the positions which the two sides took.

Unfortunately Martin Luther died in 1546 and that was a signal for the emperor as well as the cardinals to try to reverse the Reformation in Germany and the cardinals managed to use stalling tactics so that the council became a long drawn out affair. It met on and off for eighteen years, (seven years into Ferdinand's reign after he succeeded Charles as emperor), and it did little of consequence until the final sessions. During that time three popes out of the five who held office during the period presided at some stage, (Paul III, Julius III and Pius IV), and the

mood changed more often than the popes. Two years after Luther's death, with religious wars having already broken out and Charles having turned against the Reformers, the Diet of Augsburg adopted a harsh Interim formula as a basis for permitted operations by Protestant Churches until the council reached a final settlement. However seven years later, in 1555, with Ferdinand about to assume office as emperor, that formula gave way to the Peace of Augsburg in which it was agreed that both Catholicism and Lutheranism would be recognized, provided that in each land the subject people would follow the religion of their rulers. It was a very interesting variation on the old theme: political stability through religious conformity.

In the meantime the Vatican had moved quickly and decisively to destroy or to undermine Protestantism wherever it appeared and to proselytize with great vigour through the Order of Jesuits which had been established in Spain in 1534, eleven years before the Council of Trent began. The church's policy was 'admit nothing and destroy before you reform'. A few changes to regulations governing things like plural office holding had already been made at the Lateran Council in response to pressure from people like Pico, and the Vatican went through the motions of eliminating the worst abuses of the indulgences system, but that had been little more than an exercise in window-dressing. (See note above, Fifth Lateran Council and Pope Leo.)

TRENT, PAUL IV AND THIRTY YEARS OF TERROR

Nothing had really changed. During the middle years of the Council of Trent, 1551–52, Pope Paul IV (Caraffa), choleric and impulsive – elected at the age of 79 – actually stepped up the Inquisition to unprecedented levels of terror, saying that if his own father was a heretic he would gather the wood to burn him with his own hands.⁶¹ He published the first index of prohibited books and bigots all over Italy had some wonderful bonfires. In Venice 10,000 books were burned in one afternoon. And of course he could not forget the Jews even if he was pre-occupied with the Reformation. He ordered that all Jews in Italy were to wear a yellow hat and live in a ghetto with only one gate, and 12,000 books were burned at the great Hebrew school at Cremona.⁶²

Other records of the period confirm that the morals and conduct of the popes had not changed and such a papal mentality was a guarantee for even more determined reformation movements and the recipe for more and more violence. A massacre at Vassy in 1562 became the signal for religious wars to erupt and tear the soul out of France as well as Germany. Seven hundred and fifty years of spiritual starvation and human repression under the Holy Roman Empire had reached its climax. Pent up feelings and aspirations exploded like fireworks, shooting ideas in all directions like seeds to fall on fertile ground, burst with the flood of events and reaching up for truth and salvation. Every community produced its own groups which fervently believed, from reading the Gospels in their own language for the first time, that they had found the absolute truth and the final answer. They were eager to share it with the world and to talk down everyone else, especially the parent church. Turmoil and the fragmentation of

the church with Christian action groups and new denominations springing up everywhere was a natural consequence.

The situation in France also put great pressure back onto the Vatican which feared that the success of the Huguenots would lead to a French National Council and that the effects would spill over into Germany and elsewhere. The Council of Trent was therefore reconvened for a third and final session, 1562–63, six years after Charles had abdicated in favor of Ferdinand. The confrontational approach of the earlier sessions (when decisions were made to prop up existing Catholic usage and to repudiate anything which was tainted with reform) gave way to the need to recover lost ground, and debate on a number of doctrinal issues took on a new sense of urgency. Although no doctrinal concessions were made to the reformers a number of changes were made to religious orders, the appointment of bishops and matrimonial regulations. The revision of the Catechism, the Breviary and the Vulgate Bible were authorised and the conduct of the hierarchy came under scrutiny as Charles V had wanted at the beginning. Regulations were tightened and new systems of clerical discipline were adopted.

The implementation of most of the council's decisions fell to Pope Pius V, (Michele Ghislieri, the Grand Inquisitor under Paul IV), who was elected in 1565 and he set about his task with great vigour. He set about ensuring an educated clergy, adopted a Calvinistic approach to Sunday School, restrained the issue of indulgences, imposed penalties for simony, blasphemy, sodomy and concubinage, cleaned up prostitution in Rome, clamped down on the extravagance of the hierarchy, and issued a decree to abolish bull-fights – but the Spanish bishops were scared to publish it. However he maintained the Inquisition with equal vigour, decorating the Duke of Alva for his good work in pursuing a reign of terror in the Netherlands; encouraged the slaughter of Huguenot prisoners in France and Spain; and aggravated the religious wars in England as well by excommunicating Queen Elizabeth. Well ... at least he made a start towards cleaning up the mess.

Calvin, who died a few months after the close of the Council of Trent, was quite correct when he insisted that coordination and union were very important, but under the circumstances of the day they were simply not achievable and it was pointless trying to impose them by the methods of the Inquisition. The Reformation had been worthwhile and a fresh breeze was lifting the spirits and aspirations of ordinary people right across Europe. But while the efforts and sacrifices of the church's internal auditors had achieved a great deal they had not achieved the near impossible. The church's self-image and its doctrine of the Trinity had both survived another challenge. The so-called "counterreformation" instituted through the Council of Trent was in reality a hole plugging rearguard action designed to justify the status quo with a facelift. Regrettably there were no longer basically two 'Bodies of Christ' trying to impose their wills, one from Rome and one from Moscow. There were many, and they were in conflict both on a doctrinal and a regional basis. In France the papal Medici family-inspired massacre at Vassy foreshadowed the slaughter of the Protestant Huguenot minority in Paris ten years later, in 1572, when tens of thousands of people were hunted out and cut down in a matter of weeks. The Edict of Nantes in 1598 was supposed to restore peace and prosperity to the country by

granting freedom of worship for the Huguenots and subsidies to support their troops as well as their clergy but the bull was short-lived and the edict was revoked in 1685.

The Spanish Inquisition was exported to the low countries of Belgium and Holland, then under Spanish rule, as an insurance against Protestantism taking hold there, but it still did. England found itself swapping religion as often as it swapped monarchs and Ireland found itself a pawn in Pope Gregory XIII's intrigue to bring down Queen Elizabeth, thereby getting a royal backlash through persecution of the Catholic population. Gregory then compounded the problem by authorizing an assassination attempt against Elizabeth⁶³ and relations across the Irish Sea took on permanent overtones of religious as well as political and economic conflict. From 1618, just one hundred years after Luther had swung his defiant hammer, and after a respite because of the deals done to get common cause against the Muslims in Hungary, Germany found itself facing thirty years of civil war between the Catholic and Protestant states.

But the Thirty Years War didn't remain a German domestic affair for long. Half of Europe chose to become embroiled in what Fisher describes as "a catastrophe which plunged a large area of central Europe into an abyss of barbarism and misery" and left Germany suffering "social depression consequent upon the devastations of a war waged with a ferocity to which history offers few parallels."⁶⁴ In a war which was supposed to demonstrate which was the proper route to salvation, Catholic or Protestant, entire villages died out, moral restraints broke down in wild bursts of profligacy with starvation, marauding and even cannibalism. The war was triggered by a bid by the emperor, Ferdinand II, to impose his view that there was still only one route to salvation, the Catholic route, and to eliminate any Protestant presence from Germany. Trained as a Jesuit and embittered by Jesuit teaching, Ferdinand chose to interpret the Treaty of Ausburg (approving churches according to the princes' will) as giving him, the supreme prince, the right to determine the church for his entire domain. He began his campaign immediately he gained the throne and thereby incited the Protestants to rebellion but when he issued his Edict of Restitution in 1629, requiring Protestant Churches to surrender to the Catholic Church all properties appropriated since 1552, all hell let loose.

In Fisher's words: "Few men so honest, pious, and consistent have brought upon the world so great and avalanche of misery or have ensured for the intellect of a people so long a period of theological constraint." Other crowned heads and their people who chose to enter the conflict did so as much to settle old scores and to gain a bit of territorial advantage as to help resolve the route to salvation. Sweden, France, Denmark, the Netherlands, Austria, Poland, Hungary, Spain, Portugal, Transylvania and some of the Papal States were in the thick of it, as well as Germany, Prussia, Bohemia, and Saxony of course, with both the English and the Turks being party to the politicking. When some form of sanity finally prevailed and a settlement was reached with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 there was a return to the religious relationships within Germany which had been set down at Ausburg a hundred years before, except that the Calvinists were admitted to the club as well as the Catholics and the Lutherans. There were also a number of territorial adjustments, including the ceding of Alsace to France. The northern provinces remained Protestant but Bohemia and the Austrian dominions became subject to rigid control by

the Jesuits. One thing which certainly was not achieved was religious tolerance or understanding. Hard line sectarianism and intolerance were exported to wherever the massive flow of religious refugees settled around the world.

The growth of Anabaptist groups also illustrates the turmoil and fragmentation which the church was going through. The rite of Baptism has always been one of the church's two foremost sacraments, the other being the Eucharist or communion, and on that basis alone any abuse of the rite or change in teaching about it was important. However, infant baptism as it was preached and practiced in association with the rites of penance, indulgences and unction in the pre-Reformation church, embodied everything which was questionable in the church's image of itself as both the body of Christ on earth and the exclusive path to salvation. In view of the authority it claimed to exercise on that basis, a challenge to the church's teaching on baptism was therefore the nearest thing to a challenge to the church's view of itself short of an outright attack on the doctrine of the Trinity. Of the rash of Anabaptist groups which sprang up across Europe about six major ones survived and the rest either merged or faded away.⁶⁵ Their range of teaching on baptism defies a brief description but at one extreme there were those who saw it simply as the basis of Christian fellowship while at the other extreme there were those who outdid Augustine, taught that only the baptized were fit to rule the universe and introduced secondary rituals which brought their sects into disrepute.

Such was the life of Europe and the state of its Christianity as its monarchs, traders, churchmen and other rogues set out to colonize and exploit the people and the resources of the world which had suddenly opened up all around them. The Reformation had been triggered at the right time but unfortunately it was only partly effective. It had been triggered by the consequences of the church's doctrines and its view of itself but in turn they were the very things which prevented it from being fully effective.

However, while the Reformation had been triggered by the consequences of the church's self-understanding it had only been made possible by the presence and the influence of its junior partner in the triangle: Islam. Few people gave much thought to the fact that the reformers only survived because of the threat to the papacy and its role which the Ottoman Empire posed. The popes' reliance on the princes of the Holy Roman Empire for, firstly, protection in the event that the Muslims might again break through Europe's military barrier and, secondly, support for another push against the Muslims in one final crusade to eliminate them, made it impossible for the popes to move against Luther and his colleagues without the agreement of the princes. They could not get that support for the very same reason that the Reformation had been triggered: the church's conduct because of its self-understanding. Muhammad's successors had become a factor in the process of Reformation which he had not been able to persuade the church to undertake – or to impose on it – nine hundred years earlier.

Certainly the Holy Roman Empire was tottering on its last legs and the links between church and state were being broken, even if slowly and somewhat painfully. It was not possible for competing sections of a deeply divided church to either retain or to develop the same

relationships with civil and political bodies which the pre-Reformation church had enjoyed. But equally certainly, the church which was being swept by the current of events out into the New World had essentially the same view of itself and essentially the same doctrines as the church which had proclaimed Rominus Pontifex. It was just a little less tarnished and a great deal more divided. In resisting a reassessment from within, the popes and their cohorts had guaranteed the fragmentation of the Christian church and the extension of its division and bigotry throughout the world. They had also guaranteed a far bigger and more critical audience while the inevitable event takes place. The Reformation had been hooked, but it was a case of 'the one that got away'. It was already fairly clear that the impact of the Reformation would not be sufficient to result in the total rethink of the church's theology which was necessary. But one by one the pieces which make up the jigsaw puzzle of the trouble in the triangle were falling into place. It would only be a matter of time ...

CHAPTER 11

FOLLOW THE LEADERS

As Christian Europe struggled to break out from the self-imposed blockade of the Muslim empire, still spreading from the eastern Mediterranean, the church was being swept along by the swirling current of events in which it – the church itself – had been one of the leading forces. The secrets of the big round world were secrets no more. It was full of unknown people who had to be saved. The church knew nothing about them, their cultures or from what evil mysteries they had to be saved, but it was determined to save them by applying its exclusive sacraments and by the use of force if it was so inspired through its exclusive, divinely ordained, absolute and infallible wisdom. But because of the mess which it was in it ~~delegated~~ relegated its responsibility to the political forces of the states of the Holy Roman Empire with which it had a queer love hate relationship and with which it was locked in a power struggle. Thus, from the very beginning of the European colonial era, when Columbus took twelve priests on his first voyage to found a settlement, the Roman church¹ rode into the New World with, and on the back of, Europe's political and commercial interests in a manner such that it guaranteed that Christianity would be chained to Western interests and influences whether they were good or bad.

The church gloated over every European success, getting numerically fat by either force of arms, coercion or simply the cargo cult reaction that he who brings the goodies must be protected by the right gods. It all boiled down to 'might is right' whether it was military or economic. And all of Europe, including the church itself, was duped by the line of reasoning which went round and round in a vicious circle: "We are taking Christianity to the 'backward people' and we are being rewarded for it, therefore the church is right and it is our responsibility to boost the church and convert the natives." The trio of Alexander, Isabella and Columbus had come just twenty five years before Leo, Charles and Luther. But unfortunately that was long enough for the pre-Reformation church at its worst to get its self-image and its methods well and truly set over much of the New World before the reform movements were well enough established to have any leavening influence.

The conduct of Isabella's Spaniards in their first New World colony in 1493 set a despicable precedent for what was to follow. Very few people in Europe knew what was happening west of the Atlantic and the privileged few who did were generally quite content to reap the big short-term benefits which they took for granted as their papal due and, in any case, what was good enough for Europe was surely good enough for the rest of the world.

THE PATH TO SALVATION

On the island of Hispaniola, Columbus laid out a rectangular city plan, established a Spanish-style municipal system among the one thousand five hundred people in his party and ‘assigned’ a group of West Indians to each settler. Mass baptisms were organized, of course, because the natives had to be ‘saved’. But the West Indians didn’t like what went with being saved. They didn’t like their women being seized as playthings for the Spaniards or becoming forced labour for their ‘saviours’. They rebelled. So they were slaughtered. So disgraceful was the conduct of the colony that Columbus and his brother were arrested and shorn of their authority as governors in 1498 by a Commissioner sent to investigate. Some effort was made to improve the situation when the next convoy of 2,500 settlers arrived from Spain in 1502 although the pattern had been well established. It was to be little different as colonies were set up progressively in other islands of the Caribbean, including Cuba, and the populations were cut to ribbons by a combination of deliberate slaughter and epidemics of European diseases.

The situation became so bad that a Dominican priest, Antonio de Montesinos, was moved to preach on Christmas Day 1511 (the year the bishopric had been established) against the abuses by his fellows. But as well as recording European conduct at the time his sermon also shows clearly how the church saw itself and its partners in the triangle at that stage.

“Tell me”, he demanded, “by what right or justice do you keep these Indians in such cruel and horrible servitude? — Why do you keep them so oppressed and weary, not giving them enough to eat, nor taking care of them in their illnesses? For with the excessive work you demand of them, they fall ill and die, or rather you kill them with your desire to extract and acquire gold every day — Are these not men? Have they not rational souls? Are you not bound to love them as you love yourselves? Be certain that in such a state as this, you can no more be saved than the Moors or Turks.” ²

EXPLORATION AND EXPLOITATION

Then along came the Conquistadores. Exploration gave way to exploitation, if it had not already, when Balboa and Del Cano returned from their epic voyages. Balboa crossed the isthmus of Panama to see the Pacific in 1513 and Del Cano completed Magellan’s fateful attempt to circle the globe via Cape Horn and the Philippines in 1523. Their tales of gold and gems stored in the mountains of Peru, Colombia and Mexico triggered a plundering stampede under both royal and papal patronage and the rape of Latin America was soon in full swing. The royal patronage was direct while the papal patronage was indirect, authority having been delegated to the King of Spain for the control of the Catholic Church in both Spain and Spanish America. Catholic missionaries, usually Dominicans or Franciscans until the Jesuits were well established, accompanied every expedition to bless and name each city, build churches and begin the mass baptisms.

Gold in large quantities in South America was exactly what Spain, Portugal, the pope and his holy empire wanted to hear about. The principality of Moscow had been gaining strength at a

great rate ever since the fall of Constantinople and its interdependence with the Greek Orthodox Church was helping them both. Ivan III was frighteningly power and land hungry and a real threat to the Baltic Teutonic princes, Lithuania and Poland. About 1471 he had begun the conquest of the vital trading city state of Novgorod through which the Hanseatic League linked into Russia and the east. Brute force won the day for him in 1477 but in 1484, wanting to avoid any chance of an alliance against him by Novgorod, Poland or the Teutonic princes, he occupied the city and transported some 7,000 people to Moscow. Ten years later, while the pope was dividing the new world between Spain and Portugal, Ivan shut down the League's depot in Novgorod, arrested its members, and confiscated their goods. The effect on the great trading and finance houses of the League was catastrophic. They had not recovered to any extent before the Conquistadores left to pay their respects to the brave new world, so that was Spain's big chance to fill the void.³

GENOCIDE? NOT QUITE ...

It was Hernan Cortes, described as a farsighted, courageous, well educated and charming Spanish gentleman, who made contact with the Aztecs in 1520. He usurped command of a Spanish garrison, destroyed the magnificent city of Tenochtitlan, decimated the Amerindian population and put the rest to work to build Mexico City on the site of their former capital. ⁴ Today the descendants of those few poor souls can stand, (together with the tourists), and marvel at the engineering and city building skills of their ancestors depicted by the remnants and models on display at the Museum of Anthropology. A second model in Mexico City's Independence Square lies between what remains of the foundations of the great Aztec temple (rediscovered after World War II) and the enormous sinking, tilting gilded cathedral with tens of tonnes of ill-gotten gold adorning countless statues in towering shrines and naves which stands as a lurid reminder of the wanton greed, perverse extravagance and licentious arrogance of a church which had drowned any understanding of its proper role and responsibilities in a mire of self-aggrandisement and the lost hopes and aspirations of an entire nation. The total elimination of that civilization and the subjugation of its remnant community in such abject circumstances cannot be justified on the grounds that Christianity had to supplant the human-sacrificial Aztec religion. It was a simple case of unrestrained lust and greed taking full advantage of superior fire power. A touch of restraint, a little more evangelism and a lot less lust and the world would be culturally richer today. Cortes was rewarded with appointment as Governor and Captain-General of the 'New Spain' by Charles V in 1522, the year that Luther published his German language New Testament from his protective custody in the castle of Wartburg.

The condition of Europe and the papacy and the personal and national greed of the power-hungry Charles V are thrust into even sharper focus by the circumstances at the time that two illiterate scoundrels were appointed to similar posts in Peru six years later. The Muslim Turks were in full control of Hungary following their invasion in 1514. They had gained control of central Hungary in spite of the pope when a movement originally set

up to resist them turned into a peasant insurrection against their Catholic feudal lords and was brutally suppressed – together with the fruits of their Renaissance of the late fifteenth century which was expunged. In Rome an army of Spanish and German rabble under the command of Cardinal Pompeo Colonna, a loyal friend of the Emperor, had just released Pope Clement VII, another member of the Medici family of popes, from imprisonment in the Castel S. Angelo. His conflict with the emperor had led to his being bottled up there for seven months while he begged, borrowed and melted down papal tiaras and gold chalices to buy his way out. During that time the occupying rabble – Roman Catholic at that – had sacked the Vatican and desecrated it more violently than the Vandals under Genseric a thousand years earlier. Thousands had been tortured to death, the Sistine Chapel and St. Peter's had been used as stables and holy relics had been sold to mobs looting the burning city.⁵

The two scoundrels, Francisco Pizarro and Diego de Almagro, neither of whom could sign his name, had just led a party of ruffians from Panama South along the coast of Colombia and Ecuador to the Peruvian border where they learned of a wealthy civilization in the mountainous country further inland. Pizarro headed for Spain where Charles V, ever eager to capitalize on the 850,000 ducats it had cost him to gain the imperial crown, granted royal patronage to an expedition and appointed Pizarro Governor and Captain-General of Peru, a country whose people no European had ever met and in which no European had travelled beyond the border coast. Almagro got the governorship of the border town of Tumbes. Another civilization was about to be destroyed, but naturally the church would be there to sanctify the destruction.

SLAUGHTER AND DESTRUCTION? CERTAINLY!

It was not until 1532, four years after being commissioned by Charles, that Pizarro made contact with Atahualpa, the Inca ruler, but then the ghastly deed was done quite efficiently. A chaplain lectured him on the authority of the pope and the supremacy of the King of Spain, then, at an agreed signal, Pizarro and his Christian mob fell upon the Incas, slaughtering thousands and taking Atahualpa prisoner. He would get his freedom, he was assured, in return for a room full of gold. Enough priceless treasures to perpetuate forever the skills of Inca goldsmiths in the art museums of the world, were melted down to transport as solid bars, one fifth being Charles V's share of the loot. Atahualpa was rewarded with salvation for his cooperation. After being accused of treason to justify the deed he was condemned to death, baptized of course, and executed by strangling. At the end of 1533, just as the pope, the emperor's family and Henry VIII were politicking over marriage and divorce towards the separation of the Church of England from Rome, Pizarro stripped the Inca capital of its gold completely.^{6 7} He lies at rest, perhaps, in a glass coffin in Lima's splendid cathedral.

The story was much the same in many parts of the New World and gradually competition from other European governments, manipulation by the church and its missionaries and abuses

of human rights which were more like slavery than forced labour, turned the colonization of South America into one of history's great tragedies.

SLAVERY RETURNS TO AFRICA AND EUROPE

On the other hand the Portuguese in their African adventures had made actual slavery in Europe a fact again after a break of a thousand years or so. The mark of real Christian progress. We shall come to it shortly. First, the background.

When the papal standard bearers began to penetrate the great continent of Africa from the west coast and the east coast instead of from the Mediterranean coast (from which they had twice been expelled, first by Arian Christianity and later by Islam) they were somewhat shaken to find that Islam was there long before them. It was living reasonably smoothly alongside tribal animist religions in a number of regions, having been introduced through commerce and not conquest, except in its initial push along the Mediterranean and in one or two particular cases. Community and social systems were much more highly developed than Europeans either recognized or were prepared to admit. Kings and tribal chiefs in many areas depended heavily on Muslims for guidance in matters of justice and social order even when they were only a small minority.⁸

Even before Muhammad had left Mecca for the safety of Medina the first Islamic settlement had been established in Africa when a party of migrants crossed the Red Sea to Ethiopia. Islam had reached Cairo in 641, Tripoli in 647 and Tangier in 711 before crossing to Spain, and Europe seemed content to think that it had gone no further. The church was certainly not keen to either recognize the extent of its junior partner's spread and influence or to encourage discussion of it. Islam was to be denigrated and defeated, not encouraged. From 652, only sixteen years after the debacle at the River Yarmuk, the Nubian Christians had a treaty of non-interference with the Caliphate which is now regarded as a tributary relationship and the Arabs traded corn and oil for Nubian slaves.⁹ Then the steady spread of Islam from the Mediterranean began.

By the time the Holy Roman Empire was established Muslims were evangelizing in Ethiopia, Somalia and the island of Lanizar, and before the crusades they had established communities along the coast of Kenya and Tanganyika. The big breakthrough came about the time that Olga and Vladimir were being politicked into adopting some form of Christianity for their young Russian principality. The Trans-Saharan trade route was established from Morocco to the Niger Valley and the King of Gao adopted Islam in 1010. He was followed by leaders in Ghana (1076), Mali and the King of Kanem-Bornu in 1086. Trade and evangelism began in Mauritania, Nigeria and Senegal about the same time and Islam had almost reached the Gulf of Guinea by the overland route. Farther east it reached Uganda via the Nile about the same time.

¹⁰

A CIRCLE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

Islam in the Sudan was helping to establish another link in the chain of more enlightened communities encircling the unholy Holy Roman Empire but the church was not capable of understanding what was happening around it. Its homemade blinkers were painfully tight. The circle had started with the immense semicircle of Muslim communities which stretched, when at its greatest extent, from the Black Sea south through Asia Minor, west along the Mediterranean coast then northward again into central France. Then, next, joining it to the northeast, came the Jewish Khazar Khanate and just as that was being destroyed two more links appeared to the west and south. One was the group of new Muslim States of the Sudan which also provided more depth to the existing chain as weak spots appeared on the Mediterranean coast. The Norman conquest of England in 1066 provided the other quite unexpected link. It was another backlash against the church's military expansion into non-Christian Scandinavia and therefore can be compared with the adoption of Greek Orthodox Christianity by the young Russian principalities under Vladimir only 69 years earlier.

When the Holy Roman Empire finally succeeded in subduing the Danes, Swedes and Norsemen it triggered several waves of exploration, emigration and counter invasions to the British Isles, the coast of France, Iceland, Greenland and North America as already noted. At the same time Rome thought it had eliminated the Norse religion for good and always when it was banned in 1030.¹¹ But not everyone was keen to toe the papal line even if they had gone through the ritual of baptism. One such person was William the Conqueror. His Danish forebears had carved a piece out of the Frankish kingdom at Normandy in one of those retaliatory raids against the Holy Roman Empire four generations earlier. For one reason or another William had been promised the crown of England. It doesn't really matter whether it was through inheritance, marriage or personal pact, all of which have been suggested, but he decided a promise was a promise and crossed the channel in force to make it good. He was in constant conflict with the church and it could even be that it was the church which had put barriers, like his illegitimacy, in the way of his gaining the crown. In spite of the church he transformed England into an independent, secular, nationalistic state. It was the first well organized state to rise from the rubble of the old Roman empire.¹² It was a link in the chain of enlightened communities closing in around the Holy Roman Empire.

But the Vatican didn't give in easily and although William's successors continued his policies his son, William II, tried further reducing the power of the church with a touch of extortion and began a running battle with Archbishop Anselm. This drew Henry I into the so-called "lay investiture" power struggle between the French kings and the popes.¹³ Royal efforts to improve justice and administration and to further curb the power of the church went hand in hand until, several kings and the murder of Thomas Becket later, the church had got itself back into allegiance with sufficient barons through the devious work of Archbishop Langton to force King John to sign the Magna Carta in 1215. Often billed as a great victory for the people, the

real winners in the event were the church and the barons. The “rights” of the church were reaffirmed and the baronial system was reinforced against interference by the monarchs.¹⁴

Unfortunately, while that was going on in England, nomadic Arabs had begun to settle the agricultural areas from Tunisia to Morocco, pushed out by religious conflict further east and, being unaccustomed to farming practice, they wrecked the land. The economy and the region have never fully recovered.¹⁵ But then, also during the crusade period, came the Muslim conquest of Christian Nubia by Arabs from Egypt. It probably involved an element of retaliation as well as expansionism but, whatever the motives were, it opened up trade both within the immense northern half of the continent and between that region and the Arab countries, and the rulers of the city states of Kano and Katsina in Hausaland (northern Nigeria) also adopted Islam as a consequence of increased contact with it.¹⁶

So great was the impact of Islam in the Western Sudan that in 1324 King Mansa Musa of Mali made the first pilgrimage by a Sudanese sovereign to Mecca. That was the year that Pope John XXII instituted the Feast of the Trinity and it was right at the height of that struggle between the popes and the princes of Europe for overriding authority. King Mansa Musa took with him an entourage of 80,000 people and such masses of gold to distribute as gifts that the economy of Egypt took more than a decade to recover from the inflationary pressure of his generosity as his party moved through to Arabia. He persuaded a number of Muslim scholars, jurists and architects to return with him to Mali and African civilization had very soon reached a level of cultural achievement which Europe prefers to ignore or make believe was a product of later Christian influence. Muslim teachers established Qur’anic schools for reading, writing and comprehension and the University of Timbuktu, built by the Arab architect es-Saheli, attracted professors and students from right across North Africa and the Middle East.¹⁷ Although the majority of the population held to their traditional religions and rites and although no attempt was made to forcibly convert them, Muslim ethics and law became the standards of the Sudan. Muslim judges, teachers, doctors and other advisers dominated the courts of the rulers and mosques were built in all main centres.

Mali remained important for a couple of centuries but gradually the neighbouring kingdom of Songhai assumed the dominant role. Askia the Great became king in 1493 just as Spain and Portugal were haggling over papal lines of demarcation and Morocco was struggling with the task of absorbing the Moors, Berbers and Jews fleeing as refugees from Ferdinand and Isabella’s priestly thugs in Granada. Two years later he made his first pilgrimage to Mecca, recruited additional scholars, jurists and Muslim advisers and built Timbuktu into an even greater centre of learning than it had been under Mali. Having been appointed Khalifa for all of the Western Sudan while he was in Mecca, Askia at first tried to impose Islamic law exclusively throughout the region but when friction developed he modified his approach, balancing the interests and role of Islam and the traditional religions.¹⁸

ENTER THE PAPAL STANDARD BEARERS ...

Such was the Africa which the Portuguese standard bearers were “given” by the pope. It didn’t take them long to start tearing it apart, aided by Spanish pressure along the Mediterranean coast. The trade routes from the Sudan to Granada via Morocco, Algeria and Tunis had linked Europe into a major gold supply system with a varied two-way trade involving metals, cloth, jewelry, kola nuts, salt, shells, skins and ivory. In addition there was a steady trade in slaves from the Sudan to the Arab countries and Turkey via Tripoli and Benghazi.¹⁹ At least that was the case until Ferdinand and Isabella stepped in and began their war of attrition against Granada in 1481. Morocco’s trading position was undermined badly when Granada’s main port, Malaga, was captured six years later. As part of their cooperation with the popes in a crusade against Islam, the Spanish then picked off each of the North African ports from the Straits of Gibraltar to Tripoli over a period of fifteen years. However, as they were unable to control the hinterland they only succeeded in weakening the Arab and African positions without greatly strengthening their own.

... FOLLOWED BY THE TURKS

Then it was the Turks turn and they had little trouble relieving Spain of most of its North African possessions to expand the Ottoman Empire to its greatest extent. Morocco remained as the sole Muslim state on the shoulder of Africa which was able to resist being absorbed into the sprawling Ottoman Empire. But it had two Spanish forts cut out of its Mediterranean coast, two Portuguese possessions cut out of its Atlantic coast and Portugal was establishing trade and diplomatic relations with its trading partners in the Western Sudan as well by means of a series of west coast and Guinea Coast possessions. Its position was therefore precarious, but worse was to come. In 1578 King Sebastian led a full scale Portuguese invasion of Morocco. The defenders under the Sharif of Marrakesh gave battle and the result was a catastrophe for Portugal. Sebastian was killed in the rout and this gave Philip of Spain the justification to absorb (or “unite with”) Portugal in the way Isabella and Ferdinand had planned. Portugal did not regain its independence until 1643 when the French and the Dutch became a military distraction, because of religious oppression, coincidentally with its own revolt.²⁰

Although Morocco had pushed back the invasion the cost had been great and the pressure from Spain increased. Its position became untenable. It was completely blockaded and had to break out somewhere. In 1591 it made a push across the Sahara to absorb the Songhai Kingdom and the rich gold fields of the Sudan. Unfortunately the main result was the destruction of the most advanced state in Africa and all that had been achieved in three hundred years of enlightened administration. However we cannot lay the blame on Morocco. That rests fairly and squarely on Christendom which, through the bigotry and misunderstanding of itself and its role had done it again. Its crusading zeal had indirectly destroyed another civilization.^{21 22}

On the other side of the continent the situation was not so immediately critical but more groundwork was being laid for the twentieth century’s trouble in the triangle. Omani Arabs had

established trading posts along the East African coast progressively ever since the Byzantine Empire had joined battles for control of their Persian Gulf and Red Sea trade routes in a prelude to the evolution of Islam and the rise of Arab nationalism. It was they who then carried Islam southward along the African Coast. Their trading posts had grown gradually into Arab controlled city-states and, especially where they were trading in slaves, there was a degree of friction as they and the Africans struggled for control of the hinterland. However the rivalry had been buffered by their ethnic, cultural and historical relationships. Then along came Vasco de Gama on his second voyage to India in 1502. The 'colony' which he established was actually the Arab city-state of Kilwa (Tanganyika) where he forced the Sultan to acknowledge the sovereignty of Portugal and to pay an annual tribute or have his town burned to the ground. Zanzibar got the same treatment a year later, then in 1505 a fleet of over twenty ships left Spain with orders to take control of the whole of the Indian Ocean trade routes by establishing a series of forts. Kilwa had defaulted on its tribute payments so it was an automatic choice. Then came a long series of ports including Mozambique and Mombasa which proved a very reluctant victim. Strong opposition from combined forces of Arabs, Swahili townspeople and inland Africans was crushed in 1505 and the town was looted and burned.

There was a repeat performance in 1528 and the Turks eventually intervened to help in 1585 and 1587, but the resistance of East Africa's most powerful city-state had been crushed and the citadel named Fort Jesus was built in 1593. A remarkable backhanded compliment to the Messiah with the Gospel of peace and goodwill, it was an affront and a provocation to every person whose view of the church and the Messiah didn't correspond with that of the church so that the small African states revolted and turned out the Portuguese with the aid of the Imam of Oman and his navy in 1698, just a century later. By that stage the quick naval successes of Portugal's first fifteen years east of the Cape had been reversed. Turned out of its Persian Gulf fortress of Hormuz by the Persians and from the East Indies by the British and Dutch, it had to concentrate on exploiting Indian trade through its enclave of Goa, and East African trade through its remaining southeast coast possessions.

Along the central east coast an Omani dynasty established slowly over the next century. Initially it was the representative of the imam, but eventually, in 1746, it declared itself independent and ruled a sovereign state from Mombasa. However that didn't suit Oman because East Africa had gradually become an area of vital interest for it and as Britain increased its interests in the Persian Gulf Imam Sayyid Said did some deals with the British and as a result he was eventually able to bring Mombasa under direct Omani control again in 1837. He was now controlling a split empire with the tail tending to wag the dog, so he took a leaf out of the lessons according to Constantine (who had shifted from Rome to Constantinople for similar reasons) and shifted his official residence from Muscat to the island of Zanzibar in 1840. Assuming the title of Sultan he dominated the East African coast between Cape Delgado and Mogadiscio and Islam took on an expanded role in the region.²³ But that is jumping ahead again.

TO INDIA!

In the meantime, while Portugal had held to its proud course as papal standard bearer, providing the means and support for Catholic missions in India and further east, a great deal of conflict was building up between missions based on competition between religious orders and their differing royal patronage. When Cabral had made contact with the Christian community of South India it numbered about 100,000 persons. It lived in harmony with the Hindu population and followed Nestorian teaching under the guidance of the Nestorian Patriarchy in Persia with which it had only occasional contact.²⁴ It had apparently recovered from the Franciscan disruption of two hundred years earlier, (see chapter 12, page 15L), and it was all set to become the pawn in another ecclesiastical and political power struggle. The church in Persia was torn into factions which either wanted to retain their Nestorian independence, become attached to Moscow or become attached to Rome and they were each eager to control the offspring church in South India. But the Portuguese didn't like any of those alternatives. They were the official representatives of the pope and they would control the church. A Portuguese bishopric was established at Goa and the church and state were soon both trading on the latent friction between Hindu and Muslim communities, from which the Nestorian Christians had stayed clear, in an effort to extend their power. The poor Hindu fisherfolk belonging to the Bharathas caste along the Coromandel Coast were among those offered protection from the Muslims and baptism, (or maybe baptism and protection from the Muslims), as a means by which Portugal and the church both got a toe hold on the eastern side of the subcontinent. In 1536 about 10,000 were baptized en masse and then left, in effect, at the whim of the traders and a gun boat or two.

It was to such communities that Francis Xavier, one of the original Jesuits, went when he arrived in India in 1542 with the joint roles of Apostolic Nuncio and special representative of the King of Portugal to step up and put some order into evangelism, to Catholicize and to introduce elementary education. Regrettably he put heavy emphasis on creeds, Pater Nosters and Ave Marias at the expense of an understanding of the Messiah and the Gospel message about how to live with each other²⁵ and his influence must be seen alongside two other religious influences of the same period.

In 1525, seventeen years before Xavier arrived at Goa and at the same time that both Luther and the pope were busy putting down the Peasants' Revolt, a onetime chieftain of the Muslim Turkoman province of Samarkand, Baber, who had been pushed over the Hindu Kush to Afghanistan, gathered an army, defeated the Sultan of Delhi and assumed the title Emperor of Hindustan. The dynasty which he established lasted for six generations and carried Islam over almost all of the Indian subcontinent before it fell to the British. In 1556, just as Charles V was abdicating as emperor in Europe, Baber's grandson, Akbar, became emperor and extended Mogul control southwards to include central India. A man of quite unusual vision, Akbar determined that his empire would not

be racially aligned. It would not be Mongol, Aryan, Rajput, Dravidian or anything else in particular. It would be Indian without discrimination. Similarly, although he was a devout Muslim and knew that a religious consensus helps to cement people into a nation, Akbar recognized that narrow sectarianism of the sort which earlier rulers had imposed in the Indus Valley was destructive. He had noted the fidelity, devotion and nobleness of spirit of the Hindu princes around him, he saw no reason to compel religious conformity and he became more and more wedded to the principle of religious toleration. He established schools according to both Muslim and Hindu tradition and introduced a court cult with rituals adopted from each faith and which he thought ought to have been acceptable to all the religions within his empire, but they did not survive for long after him. He substituted the basic creed that "There is one God and the emperor is His regent" in place of the Muslim "There is one God and Muhammad is His prophet" and the papal claim that there is one God (in the Trinity) and the pope is Christ's vicar.^{26 27}

RIVAL STANDARD BEARERS

During Akbar's reign only a few of the Christian settlements were within the Mogul empire and neither the church nor Portugal showed any inclination to share his views on religious tolerance. The year that Akbar assumed the throne a bishop, Mar Joseph, appointed by the patriarch of the pro-Roman faction of the church in Persia, arrived in India. Somewhat displeased, the Portuguese detained him in a Monastery for eighteen months and he was not released until the bishopric of Goa had been elevated to an archbishopric so that he was outranked. When he was allowed to go south to Travencore he was constantly harassed. Twice he was shipped off to Europe to stand trial for heresy, but he was one of the lucky ones: he was cleared both times.²⁸ . Another bishop, Mar Abraham, sent to India by one of the other competing Eastern patriarchs, fared somewhat better. He managed to keep out of the clutches of the Portuguese for most of the time and held a strong independent community together until he died in 1597. But immediately he was out of the way the Jesuits stepped in and began a process of manipulation towards "uniting" the two groups which was completed by devious means when a new archbishop arrived a few years later.

On the interfaith front the church appeared to be expert at promoting friction between Muslim and Hindu communities to score points and to draw in the numbers for mass baptisms. In fact it was equally expert at generating friction within a community in which only cooperating and/or competing orders of the Roman Catholic Church were present. This became a very serious problem, especially in Japan. Jesuits, with their Spanish connection, and Franciscans with their Portuguese patronage, sank to public slanging matches, abuse of each other's practices and competition for both government recognition and the souls of the heathens. But it was only a curtain raiser compared with the friction which would build up once the reformed churches began to send missionaries into the field as well.

In 1622, just a hundred and one years after Luther had finally been excommunicated and well over a century since the Kings of Spain and Portugal accepted responsibility for organizing the church overseas, the Vatican finally decided that it should be responsible for organizing Christian mission work and not the political rulers of the states of Europe. Its motives were mixed but in establishing the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (the Propaganda) it at least took a step in the right direction. The Vatican had been jolted into realizing that the world was a big place; that there were a lot of people to whom the Gospel had to be taken; that the political powers were not the proper bodies for the job; that the other world faiths were actively evangelizing; and that the Protestant Churches, being firmly established and not likely to dissolve into thin air, might get in first if Rome didn't. It also knew quite well that inter-order friction had developed, that differing doctrinal emphases were being preached and that the church would have to include clergy appointed from indigenous people if Christianity was to be more than an item of colonial trapping.

But as so often happens, the cake didn't look quite as good as the picture in the cookery book. The Propaganda became yet another instrument of repression working closely with the Inquisition in Europe and because of opposition from the two papal standard bearers and civil and mission officials in the field it did little outside Europe until the Spanish and Portuguese empires began to crumble.²⁹ But at the time that the Propaganda was set up those empires had not crumbled and the slave trade, a hallmark and a legacy of the church's involvement in the European colonial era, was in full swing. The church, sugar and European slave traders had all arrived in Africa together.

SUGAR AND SLAVES

The unoccupied island of Sao Tome in the Gulf of Guinea was sighted by Portuguese opportunists while they were setting up posts to collect and ship gold from the Gold Coast and they assessed it as suitable for sugar cane cropping. Sugar had been introduced to Palestine, Syria and Egypt via the delta of the Tigris from its natural habitat in India by Arab traders. The Crusaders then took it to Sicily and the Iberian Peninsula and Prince Henry arranged for it to be grown by Portuguese settlers on Madeira. But sugar cropping was labour intensive and Portuguese growers found difficulty competing against the preferred product from Egypt. So when plans were made to establish a settlement on Sao Tome and to open a Catholic mission on the Congo in 1490 the action was a bit like that in a shunting yard. Settlers and their cane were dropped at the island. Priests were escorted on to the Congo to set up Christ's kingdom, and the first slaves of the new era were shipped offshore to set up the settlers' kingdom.³⁰ The rush had started. The Spanish planted sugar in the Canary Islands the following year and it was from there that Columbus took it to the Caribbean only two years later.³¹ The crop was successful but the settlers were not. The settlement failed due to the lack of labour and when it was re-established African slaves were there to do the hard work.³²

Everywhere the Portuguese and Spanish went, sugar and slaves went too. By 1583 there were over one hundred sugar mills in Portuguese Brazil producing 2,700 tons of sugar for the tables of Europe between them. It was to Brazil that the first trans Atlantic shipment of African slaves was taken in 1510. Before that the gold mine and plantation operators had tried Europeans as slaves but they proved unmanageable and decidedly homicidal so they soon turned to both Amerindians, who were being pacified and baptized by the church, and Africans who were even more peaceable.^{33 34} However in the early stages of the slave trade the emphasis was on slaves for the markets of Europe and not the New World. An estimated 35,000 people had been 'exported', mainly to Portugal, Spain, Italy and Sicily before 1500.³⁵ Europe's collective consciences were therefore well-conditioned to the concept of the trade before its sheer greed for the resources of the Americas triggered the Atlantic flood. But the church, which ought to have taken strong action against it, had worked itself into such a corner that it was totally incapable of opposing the sordid business. It clearly lacked both the moral standards and the interest to do anything about it and in any case it had chained itself economically and politically to those who operated the trade. There were many who were scared to rock the boat because the tattered fabric of the institution would tear straight down the middle if it took a stand on the issue.

The situation was remarkably similar to that which followed the Black Death when the church was incapable of applying moral judgements to economic policy and fell down on the side of human oppression. It did the same with the new era of slavery. It is doing the same with abuses of the capitalism of today. In each case the church's view of itself and its role and the need to maintain the institution have been the root of the problem. There were occasional churchmen who spoke out against slavery but the vast majority either supported it and could misquote scripture to justify their stand or were simply apathetic. Somewhat surprisingly Pope Leo X, of banquets, bare boys and bullfighting fame (chapter 12, page 25R) declared in a bull in 1514 that not only the Christian religion but nature (also) cries out against slavery and the slave trade.³⁶ Somewhat less surprisingly, little notice was taken of it in the atmosphere of the Lateran Council just three years before Luther swung his hammer.

THE BENEFITS OF BAPTISM ...

The attitude of the church is better illustrated by its practices. Among the duties of the bishop of Luanda, Angola, was the mass baptism of shiploads of slaves as they left with a one way ticket to paradise. He would sit in an ivory chair on the quayside baptizing bound slaves as they were rowed beneath him on their way to the ships. On the other hand, later English clergy declined to baptize slaves on the basis that it was wrong to keep a Christian soul in slavery.³⁷ There is no end to the interpretations of baptism, the church and the role of the clergy which can be drawn from such situations. For one thing, the church was saying quite clearly that it could arbitrarily determine who would get to heaven and who would not. That ties in with the indulgences

controversy, too. Again it was being consistent, saying “your earthly physical condition is none of our concern” and guaranteeing that social reform would become the province of political movements. However it was also saying that black Africans were not worth saving and that if it chose to do anything for them a touch of its magic would compensate for a lifetime of degradation, broken spirit, cruelty and probably an early death. This was indeed its most important response.

By being associated with the slave trade in the way that it was the church did more to consolidate racialism than murderous marauding Conquistadores, sophisticated English business gentlemen or grasping governments could have done in all history if the church had stood against them. It guaranteed that wherever European Christianity went racialism would rear its ugly head. As the slave trade became more profitable, as Portugal strengthened its grip in Africa and as the traders became more confident the church waded deeper and deeper into the mire. One of its most common justifications for its involvement was that both Jews and Muslims were already in it up to their necks in league with African traders and rulers. What a wonderful compliment to its senior and junior partners in the triangle that the Christian church had to follow their examples. If the best it could do was emulate them or use the actions of their adherents to justify its own actions or those of its adherents then it was damning itself and its own attitudes and it should have reversed its efforts to eliminate its partners. In fact it not only emulated them, it outbid them on a grand scale.

Slavery under the Roman Empire and again under its European Christian successors of the second slave trade era was generally far more barbaric than bonded service east of Suez. Actually slavery and the slave trade east of Suez had not stopped when it finally ground to a halt (or perhaps more correctly when it evolved into the feudal serf system under the combined pressures of the church and an ailing economy) in the Roman Empire. This means that the slavery in which Jewish and Muslim traders were involved in East Africa and the Sudan was a continuation of the horrific slave system which predated all three of the faiths. It had been modified by the ebb and flow of each force of invaders, including the Mongols, the Turks and the Crusaders and it had also been influenced by the teachings of both Judaism and Islam.

However the constructive influence which Christianity might have exerted had been inhibited by the actions of the church itself and the influence of its major effort, the crusades, had been distinctly counterproductive. The church must therefore accept a large share of the blame for the continuation of slavery east of Suez, and any defence of its position during the colonial era on the basis of competition with an existing market force is sheer fabrication to camouflage hypocrisy. Jewish community and social law had evolved when the conditions of slaves were harsh indeed. It imposed responsibilities on masters and ensured rights for their slaves which are remarkably enlightened in view of conditions in the surrounding empires.³⁸ There is every reason to believe that Jews involved in the modern slave trade in Europe, North Africa and Asia Minor adopted a similarly enlightened attitude. They had gained sufficient experience of the trade at very close quarters over a long period to know a lot about it. East of Suez, only a small proportion of bonded servants were bought for direct income earning manual

labour in situations such as plantations, for dock gangs, as pearl divers and as merchant crewmen. The majority were used in non-income-earning or service situations such as guards and mercenary soldiers, domestic and personal servants and as concubines. Their conditions were relatively easy and they were usually treated sympathetically as human beings.

In sharp contrast, slaves under Roman rule, and again under the modern European powers, were essentially income-producing and saleable chattels. They did the heavy manual labour, the demeaning and dirty tasks, had few rights, often could not marry, were seldom allowed to earn a personal income, suffered intense privation and were expendable if their work output was below expected levels. A plantation, mine or factory owner could own many hundreds of his fellow human beings and as they were not only valueless but a cost to feed when they were too old or weak to work they seldom reached that stage. Although only the fittest men and women were shipped after a close physical examination, naked of course, death rates on the voyage from Africa to America reached 26 percent and were typically 13 percent. Infant mortality among babies born in slavery was as high as 50 percent.³⁹

The scale of the trade east of Suez never approached the scale of the trade to the west and Arab slave traders usually bought their slaves by negotiation at their coastal stations from African or Swahili (Afro-Arab) traders who brought caravans of Africans from inland carrying gold, ivory and other goods for sale and then sold the carriers as well as the goods. The pattern only changed to large scale inland raiding some years after the expulsion of the Portuguese from the central east coast when the Omani Sultan moved to Zanzibar to protect his interests and began competing directly with the European powers which had begun to exploit the “labour resources” of east as well as west Africa because of the political intrigue between them.⁴⁰

... AND THE BENEFITS OF BONDAGE

Under non-European masters there was a marked tendency for bonded servants to become their personal confidants and to rise to positions of authority and great responsibility in contrast to the servile roles reserved for slaves by Europeans. This contrast and anomalies within the eastern system had showed up from time to time but they were thrust into sharp relief soon after the dynasty of the Abbasids was established in 750. (chapter 10, page 11R) In order to support the idea which they were promoting that they were predestined to lead Islam, the Abbasid caliphs felt obliged to demonstrate in some way that they were different from or set apart from the people of the world. No one was of equal rank to the Abbasids while everyone apart from them was equal. They therefore adopted the policy of marrying only slaves and not a single Abbasid caliph was born the son of a free mother after 800.^{41 42}

The motivation behind that policy was more than suspect. It was not supportable either in terms of Muhammad’s teaching or the logic of human relationships. However the policy itself had an immense influence. It obviously raised the status of slaves and led to further

improvements in their conditions and opportunities. It also strengthened intensely the established Muslim beliefs in the personal equality of all men before God and the absolute right and obligation for all men to approach God directly without any intermediaries and, as already noted, those beliefs and the traditional forms of Christian ministry, sacraments and rites were just not compatible. But even more important, even though the policy gave validity to the slave trade, those Muslim beliefs negated any supposed basis for racism and therefore made it much simpler for four out of five people to know God through Islam than through the Christian church with its deeply entrenched racial prejudices.

Strangely enough it was under the Abbasid caliphate that the use of African slave labour for sugar cultivation became an issue and not under the Portuguese at Sao Tome. Sugar cane had been grown in small quantities along the Tigris for about 400 years but the government now decided on a labour intensive scheme to desalinate and denitrify large plantations, and large communities of African slaves were established. The area near Basra, was part of that which had formed the short-lived Jewish kingdom of Mahoza 350 years earlier. There was still a large Jewish population in the region and it was the centre of a Karaite sect which preached what was, to orthodox Jews, the heresy that the Talmud was unnecessary and that the Bible had sufficient guidance for every man. A schism developed within Judaism as its fundamentalist teachings, rejection of Rabbinical traditions as a source of authority and its stoic, almost primitive, approach to life spread across Asia Minor, along the Mediterranean to Spain and into eastern Europe and the Russian principalities. Its overall impact was to stimulate a renewal within Rabbinical Judaism which was more effective than the later Reformation within Christianity.^{43 44} However its local influence was also very important. It coupled with the rousing leadership of an African slave overseer to inspire an uprising by the sugar slaves against the weak government authorities in the region. The inexperienced but highly disciplined slaves organized a state and held it together for fourteen years. The army, which also had large contingents of slaves, was not at all keen to put down the uprising, even after the shock of a massacre in Basra in 871 and a punitive expedition near Baghdad in 879. Similarly the caliph, al Mu'tamid, was not keen to put them down by force because of his Abbasid philosophy.

When the slave state was eventually overthrown in 833 the economic structure of the region was not greatly altered and the rebel slaves were integrated into the caliph's army instead of being forced to return to cane field drainage work.⁴⁵ Two other notable armies during this period also included contingents of slaves. In Egypt the army of Ibn Tulun was made up largely of Greek, Sudanese, Berber and Turkish slaves.⁴⁶ In Spain the army included Berber, Christian Spanish and European slave troops but it was largely in action against European Christians of the Holy Roman Empire, and the Muslim government also recruited Christians and Jews into its civil service in the normal manner.⁴⁷ The presence of those slave troops was therefore arguably more disruptive than elsewhere.

When the Ghurids, who had adopted Islam, invaded India it was a Turkish slave, Aibak, who commanded the army which captured Delhi in 1193 and during the years that followed a number of autonomous "slave rulers" governed states as far east as Bengal.⁴⁸ Then in 1250,

(just when Pope Innocent IV was busy introducing the rack for the correction of heretics in Christian Europe, having just excommunicated his emperor and having persuaded Louis IX to lead his crusade), a slave – and a woman at that – became ruler of Egypt in her own right. She was Shajar ad Durr. Born a slave, she became wife of the Ayyubid Sultan of Syria and Egypt, then regent-empress for her son while he regained Damietta from Louis' crusaders. Named ruler by the palace guard of Turkish slave-officers, she married one of them, General Aibak, and finally met a violent death in a palace power struggle. On her death another of the Turkish slave officers assumed the role of Sultan as the first of a series of "slave rulers" of the Mamluk Sultanate.⁴⁹

Such was the environment in which slavery existed east of Suez, the treatment of slaves and the opportunities for them when Europe set out to make its fortune from them. The impact of Judaism and Islam on the philosophy and conduct of the slave trade which had continued without a break from the days of Ebla and Abraham and through the days of Severus and the slaves he carted off to Rome from Jerusalem, was quite apparent. Such also was the situation in which the mainstream of the church could have exerted a strong influence if it had not botched up every opportunity which came its way because of its view of itself and the doctrinal and political barriers which it had built around itself. Now, as it rode into the New World on the shoulders of its colonial collaborators, if the best it could do was emulate its partners in the triangle or use the actions of their adherents to justify its own actions and those of its adherents then it was damning itself and its own attitudes. It should have reversed its efforts to eliminate them on the simple basis that if a thing is good enough to emulate it is too good to destroy. In fact it did not emulate them. It outbid them in a very negative manner.

Slavery under the Christian successors of the depraved Roman Empire in the second slave trade era was generally far more barbaric than under their partners in the triangle to the east of Suez. The consequences of that trade and the church's involvement in it were to build up gradually to become a hidden legacy as the trouble in the triangle reaches its twentieth century climax. Europeans often invoked the church's teaching that "your sins shall find you out" as a lever to keep Christianized slaves, freedmen and indentured labourers in docile subjection. They didn't know that they would become the best illustration of their own teaching. They were following their leaders. But their leaders had lost touch with the others up front.

CHAPTER 12

LET'S MAKE A NEW START

For eight hundred years the rigid bonds of the church's self-understanding had restrained European man's reach for salvation. It had restricted his capacity to think freely and his capacity to develop, and it had prevented him from living in neighbourly love and harmony. But by the middle of the sixteenth century those bonds had been subjected to severe stress. Contact and conflict between the church and its partners in the triangle which it so heartily despised, coupled with political and economic developments across the land mass of Europe and Asia, and the internal audit of the Reformation, had tugged, twisted and loosened those bonds so that people were gaining a bit more freedom to breathe and flex their muscles. However although there were signs of hope, the bonds were still holding and the effective power of the church had not yet been broken.

RENAISSANCE!

Yes. There were signs of hope in escape from the tyranny which was Europe. The first signs were evident during the pre-Renaissance period in Italy which writers variously trace from as early as the poet Dante, when there was a revival of interest in classic literature in the late thirteenth century, or from Petrarch whom some regard as the first humanist, early in the fourteenth century. The stimulus for that development was provided indirectly by the church and the powers of the Holy Roman Empire through their failure to provide a stable and unifying framework for the organization of spiritual and material life during the period when there was a rise in importance of city-states and national monarchies, the development of national languages, and the breakup of old feudal structures. Those failures and the stirring of Renaissance were much more apparent by the end of the fourteenth century when influential scholars sloughed off their dependence on the church's teaching system and took bold new initiatives in the arts and architecture, philosophy and even science. The trend was probably recognized, but it was certainly encouraged, by Pope Nicholas V – the same one who issued the infamous Bull of Crusade, Pontifex Maximus – when he set up a library in the Vatican and sponsored the translation of Greek classics. However the coincidence of those two actions suggests that his motive was the reinforcement of the church's dominance rather than stimulation of a trend which would subsequently undermine that dominance.

Stimulated by the fall of Constantinople and the movement of Christian scholars from the east to Rome as refugees, or into self-imposed exile, the Renaissance as we understand it was about to burst and impact in Germany and other European states. So: as the Renaissance was bursting, the era of exploration and colonization also burst, followed by the Reformation and three major thrusts of human endeavour went forward in parallel. Each influenced and contributed to the others, and as it happened people who had had a gut full of the church and were not prepared to kowtow to it any longer, could pick up their bits and pieces and move across to the New World with their family and friends who felt the same way. And that is exactly what oppressed Europeans did in droves, especially when the Church of Rome's bid to reverse the expanding Protestant movements in the so-called "Counter Reformation" really got underway from the mid 1500s. That pressure, which continued until well after the end of the Thirty Years War a hundred years later, guaranteed that there would be a steady stream of people of vigorous Protestant faith flowing out from the clutches of the corrupt and repressive churches and states which they feared and despised towards the unknown where they could fashion a new environment and a new life.

Those emigrants, or religious refugees, would be side by side with the papal standard bearers of Spain and Portugal, so that friction was to be expected as they confronted each other's religious doctrines, practices and personal philosophies. They would be side by side with the greedy traders, princes and explorers whose main interests were exploitation of the resources of "new" lands and routes to the east around the so-called Turkish/Arab trade barrier so that they could challenge whatever abuses might occur. They would be side by side with the bigoted papal emissaries and the junior partners in the triangle against whom the Vatican was still planning to launch yet another crusade. In due course they would also be side by side with fleet after fleet of European society's outcasts, shipped off as convicts to minimize the pressure for prison, law and social reform, mainly in England. They would have plenty of opportunities to practice what they preached about human relations.

That steady stream of people faced immense challenges but they set out in high spirits, very conscious of their role and responsibilities and making a lot of noise about putting their trust in God. Their situation and their motives have been neatly summed up by the Librarian of Congress:

The Pilgrim Fathers did not by any means see the New World as that revolutionary opportunity to new-fashion society. On the contrary, they were escaping in order to old-fashion it to the perfect Biblical model. They aimed not at making history, but at fulfilling theology.¹

They would certainly not lack opportunities. Settlement of the great bulk of North America had been surprisingly slow after the headlong rush of the Spanish into the region of the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico ran out of steam. One reason was that the kings, princes and popes of Europe were still intent on redrawing the map of their continent to the disadvantage of everyone except themselves. They alternately secured and denied religious and political freedom and office for groups and

principalities which moved in and out of favour. But another reason was that North America was not an attractive proposition. The entire continent north of the Gulf of Mexico was virtually uninhabited. There were a mere one million people in an area more than four times as great as the whole of western Europe.² There had been very little direct contact with them, they didn't build towns and the Atlantic coast was not very welcoming. That meant there was no one to plunder. There were not even communities to trade with legitimately. Any crop production or raw materials had to be found and won the hard way and there wasn't even a docile population to put to work to do it! Men had to be mad to go there or, at least, be the victims of circumstance. The circumstances were not propitious.

COPERNICUS: A CHALLENGE TO CREDIBILITY

Europe's headlong rush for spoils which had been stimulated by the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the promulgation of Rominus Pontifex immediately afterwards had provided a most uninspiring start – in fact a totally degrading and depraved start – for European settlement in the bold new world. As the rush got underway the world was still spinning- perhaps reeling – from the impact of a challenge to the authority of the papacy which Nicolaus Copernicus had triggered. The trouble began when the brilliant young Pole, then only 26 years old, became professor of astronomy at Rome University. He had actually studied both law and medicine. He became uneasy when he found that he had to teach the belief (which had not been questioned for 1,350 years) that the universe revolved around the earth which was the centre piece of creation over which the popes ruled, on behalf of God, of course. His own observations led him to believe that the sun was the centre of the universe and that the earth revolved around that.³ But it was 1499. The criminal pope from Spain, Alexander VI, “a slave to his vices to the last”, whose affairs have been noted several times already, was in the middle of carving up the brave new world and commanding Michelangelo to adorn the Vatican in a manner fit for a universal pope rather than for “the most humiliating pontificate in the whole history of the church.”⁴ He was greatly encouraged by the wealth which Columbus had discovered and which he and his bothers were intent on exploiting in Hispaniola with ruthless repression, excessive use of the noose, and the enslavement of the indigenous people either for work in the placer mines or for export to Europe. He expected to reap some of the benefits to finance his self-aggrandisement. He must have known that the Spanish Chief Justice had responded to reports of atrocities and the appeals of the people of Hispaniola and was on his way to the colony where Columbus and his brothers were arrested for return to Spain in chains. But Alexander VI and his loyal royals in Spain were all so impressed by Columbus' further reports, liberally laced with biblical illusions to the Earthly Paradise, close to nearby realms of gold which he was sure he could locate, that they soon released him to undertake another voyage.

In those circumstances Copernicus realized that to teach his own theory would seriously test the credibility of the papal position and that it could turn people back towards the sun worship of the pre-Christian era. He must also have realized the personal danger that it would place him in. He left his teaching post, returned home, took part time posts as canon at Frauenburg

Cathedral and physician to the bishop (his uncle) while he continued his investigations. He confirmed his earlier belief and prepared a summary of his work which, we are told, received the approbation of the pope at the time, Clement VII.⁵ But as it was then 1531 and the Protestant princes, the Emperor and the Vatican were trying to tear each other apart and stave off the Infidels at the same time, the paper was not published. It was eventually published just before he died in 1543. The controversy which he had feared was not long in breaking.

Publication of the paper coincided with, and drew attention to, another effect of the Reformation which was just beginning to show up. The church had always kept a very tight rein on the six universities established in Europe up to the Reformation as well as on advanced studies undertaken through its monastic system. Any deviation from the church's doctrinal or dogmatic teaching was just not permitted. Once the pope ruled on any subject, that was the end of the debate and, like a modern TV quiz program, no correspondence (or research) was to be entered into. But now a few thinkers began to get a little bolder. If reform theologians were game to question the correctness and even the authority of the pope why shouldn't physicists, astronomers and other scientists? After all if the church based its claims to ultimate authority even partly on scientific assumptions which were not correct, then what other assumptions which the church insisted on may also be found to be incorrect? And if its assumptions were incorrect, what did that say about its self-understanding and the doctrines which it had developed and on which its self-understanding and claims to authority were based? That challenge had to be suppressed!

THE PAPAL RESPONSE: THE SOCIETY OF JESUS ...

A new teaching and missionary order had been established in 1534 in the heat of the Reformation controversy by Ignatius Loyola a wealthy knight of the Spanish Basque province of Guipúzcoa who had served the duke of Nájera and been injured in the defence of the citadel of Pamplona against the French in 1521. It soon became the pope's means of suppressing dissent and ensuring conformity to established doctrine and dogma. Initially small, a group of only six companions, it based its conduct on The Book of Spiritual Exercises which Loyola had written, and adopted a program of poverty, chastity and pilgrimage or, roughly, missionary endeavour. However in 1537 the six offered their services directly to the pope, Paul III. He subsequently approved the Spiritual Exercises, which were markedly different from normal Catholic practice for religious orders, and a constitution for the Society of Jesus which included a special vow of obedience to the pope, which Loyola regarded as "the cause and principal foundation" of his society, and which had a highly disciplined hierarchical structure. It took effect in 1540. Known as the Jesuits, its members thereupon became, for practical purposes, the pope's private army, committed to imposing whatever may be the pope's whim from time to time. That was generally a campaign to undermine the Reformation, to strengthen the Catholic position through the Counter Reformation, to retain its strong links with the self-perpetuating civil powers, and to beat the Reformed and Protestant churches to establish missions and to

evangelize the world beyond Europe. With virtually limitless resources at Loyola's disposal, the order flourished and expanded at a great rate. Within twenty two years the society was operating in twelve provinces with more than a thousand members: three in Italy, three in Spain, two in Germany, one in France, one in Portugal, and two beyond Europe, in India and Brazil. But with quite unusual autonomy it was widely feared and distrusted and the theology and practices which it sought to impose were opposed from within the Catholic Church as well as by Protestant and Reformed churches. A hundred years later it was in deep trouble.

Other issues linked to the reform movement continued to arise as well. During the years which followed Luther's challenge to the church, radical reformers had been urging changes not only to liturgy and theology but to the patterns of government, relations between church and state, and the rights of peasants. Those issues could not be separated. They were intimately interwoven. The radicals wanted concrete liberties for peasants under game and forest laws and changes to the system of tithes or taxes on all rural production which, officially, financed the church, its clergy, and elementary welfare services. However some of the tithes were appropriated for personal and commercial purposes which had nothing to do with the church, and political unrest increased.

In 1523, six years after the '95 theses,' Luther was in a bind. He had thought only in terms of the theology involved when he issued his challenge. In emphasizing the sole authority of God, and the direct relationship between the individual and God through the medium of conscience, he and other Reformers had dissolved at one stroke the complex web of religiously sanctified duties and obligations that bound together the ranks of the feudal hierarchy. At the same time, by sanctifying work as a religious duty, they had given an impetus to the industrious middle classes who had only ever fitted uneasily into the feudal order. In effect the Reformation had pulled the rug out from under the feudal social order and now he could see that the radical teachings could provoke revolution. But he had no intention of changing the relationships between the power of the church and the princes or the economic system which they jointly controlled, and he published a paper, "Of Earthly Government." He firmly asserted the duty of a Christian prince and the place of secular government within God's ordinances for mankind; distinguished between the two realms of spiritual and temporal government, through which the one rule of God is administered; and stressed the duty of civil obedience and the sinfulness of rebellion against lawful authority.

Two years later, in 1525, when a prominent radical reformer, Thomas Muntzer, helped lead a peasants' revolt against the princes, Luther held to his stated position. He published a statement sympathizing with the just grievances of the peasants, criticizing the princes, denouncing such social evils as usury, repudiating the notion of a 'Christian rebellion,' and noting that the worldly kingdom could not exist without inequality of persons. He then declined to act as a mediator between the opposing groups and when the revolt erupted, with some prospects of success, Luther feared imminent political chaos. Acting in league with the princes who provided his security and his power base, he wrote yet another article which was trenchantly critical of the "Murdering and Thieving Hordes of Peasants." His consistency cannot be disputed, but

while he retained the support of the princes he lost the confidence of the peasants. Many of them moved into the camp of the Anabaptists and they continued pressing for economic and social change through other means. Change came gradually and with it came steady growth in the development of local enterprises and the requirement for more small commercial loans. This kept the question of usury in the public eye and in 1545, fearing a backlash from the strengthening reform movements, the English government introduced a fixed legal maximum rate of interest on loans. Other countries soon followed with similar laws. They were, in part, recognition that the lender of money on fixed interest did not share the risks of a venture being financed with the person who provided the initiative and the labour, but it was also a reaction to the growing influence of the reformers. Social upheaval could not be allowed to spill across international boundaries.

... AND AN 'EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT'

Then there was another issue related to authority, who was fit to exercise it, and doctrinal purity. It was the issue of who was fit to teach and maintain the faith and all its appendages, and, therefore, to administer the sacraments which went with them. The faith may have originated in Asia Minor and Jesus may not have been a European, but that did not give anyone other than a European under authority of the Roman pope the right or the capacity to teach it. Surely the Creed of St. Athanasius made that clear. So: in 1555 the first Council of Mexico, acting faithfully on the excellent examples set for it by its king back home, prohibited any person not of European race from being admitted to religious orders. Apologists for the church try to present that ruling as a matter of educational achievement and not racism but their case is thin indeed. It was 35 years since the destruction of the Aztec civilization and its remarkable capital Tenochtitlan, and surely that was time enough to provide formal education for a handful of the baptized local people to the doubtful levels required to satisfy admission to the clerical orders of the day. But even if every young Aztec had refused to accept Spanish education in the "four R's", ('retched Romish religion added to "readin', 'ritin' and 'rithmetic") so that the council's action could be given a thin veneer of respectability, the events of the next twenty years or so completely expose the motives of the church and the king.

That prohibition was issued in the year that Philip, king of Spain, decreed death for any layman who dared to read the Bible for himself and, seemingly concerned for the welfare of Holland's heretics and Protestants, sent his leading general, Alva, to help them to conform to his wishes eleven years later. The violence with which Alva responded to his master's voice left Holland without either civil liberties or rebels.⁶ They had fled to Germany and England where a handful later took a trip on the Mayflower.⁷

ELIZABETH: THE POLITICS OF FAITH

Elizabeth found it opportune to approve the Thirty Nine Articles of Faith^{8 9} in 1563 as a means of resolving the Anglo-Roman dispute which Henry VIII had precipitated by his affairs of the

heart (see chapter 13) and, when she learned that an English ship was slave running for the first time she rejected slavery on moral and religious grounds with the words: "If any African were carried away without his free consent it would be detestable and call down the vengeance of Heaven upon the undertaking." However she then very promptly bought shares in the second expedition for which she provided a ship and from which she pocketed the proceeds with gratification, all in a matter of months in 1563/64. Morality was not to interfere with profitability.^{10 11} If her attitudes and actions were anomalous they were no worse than those of the popes and Philip of Spain. While Elizabeth was approving the Thirty Nine Articles, Pope Pius IV, the former Inquisitor General and licentious father of at least three illegitimate children,¹² was presiding over the final session of the Council of Trent which confirmed that celibacy was obligatory for the clergy. Holy Orders were to remain "an invalidating impediment to marriage"¹³ but not, it would seem, to sexual excesses.

In Britain, Elizabeth had strengthened her position somewhat since she promulgated the Thirty Nine Articles and she reacted to the papal intrigue against her and to being excommunicated in 1570 by tightening penal measures against Roman Catholics progressively from that time. In his bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, Pius V had not only repeated but embellished the spurious self-portrait of his predecessors and called on Spain and France to enforce it by war against Protestant Britain in the manner of a crusade against the Muslim Infidels. He made the claims of the first Abbasid Caliph, Abu'l'Abbas, which had begun the fragmentation of Islam (see chapters 10 and 11) read like the writings of an amateur. The only bright spot was that he said that he had been entrusted with the government of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, rather than claiming that it was his by delegation.

He that reigns in the highest, to whom has been given all power in heaven and earth, entrusted the government of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church (outside which there is no salvation) to one man alone on the earth, namely to Peter, the chief of the Apostles, and to Peter's successor, the Roman pontiff, in fullness of power. This one man he has set up as chief over all nations and all kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, dispose, plant and build ... (from) ... this supreme throne of justice.¹⁴ [Emphasis added.]

Britain was moving relentlessly towards its own civil war, the threat of a Spanish invasion, and the consequent execution of Mary Stuart who, as a logical alternative to the queen, provided a rallying point for Catholics. It was not simply another case of politics. The situation was symptomatic of the fact that the church had fashioned itself as an institution, and as a substitute for God, on the basis of earlier misunderstandings, and the more it sought to justify its position and its teachings the greater the degree of credulity was required of its believers. It had acted within the framework of humanity's freewill and its capacity to make decisions and choices, but it had not recognized the limits of its own corporate ability to comprehend the consequences of the decisions and concepts which it sought to impose on the world. It had gone too far. People had gained the unrestricted use of the printing press so that they could build on the ideas of other people, and there was relative ease of movement so that they could communicate directly with each other. Therefore once its civil power and its links with political

power began to weaken and once people could work and think within their expanded parameters, the substitute would be exposed for what it was. A sham. And every scientific development would extend the process. After Copernicus it was irreversible. The evidence and the forces were building up for yet another challenge, but even the reformers were not conscious of it. They were flushed with the successes they had achieved and they were becoming more secure as separate entities, (or so they thought); but their minority situation, their ethics and the political situation eliminated the option of a frontal assault.

MARY: A NEW OATH

The church was not ready to make a fresh start. It was pressing on regardless. In 1449 Nicholas V had directed that all members of the University of Paris take an oath to defend the doctrine of the immaculate conception in connection, one assumes, with his pre-plague preparations for his abortive Holy Year. Other universities soon toed the papal line too. That was just 50 years before Copernicus came along to trigger tougher resistance within Europe's universities to the mind-crushing interference of the church. In the meantime, in 1476, the status of the cult of Mary and the doctrine of the immaculate conception had been strengthened and perpetuated by the institution of a mass, and a feast had also been added to the calendar. But as the Reformation picked up steam so did debate on Mary's role and the doctrine of immaculate conception. This was especially so in France and England. Then in 1571, shortly after he issued the bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, Pius V instituted the Feast of the Rosary to commemorate the victory of a bawdy Christian navy, crusading with Philip of Spain, over the Muslims at Lepanto. That victory, he said, was due to the rosaries recited that day by the Roman confraternities.¹⁵ Similarly, when the weakened Teutonic Knights defaulted and joined the Lutheran princes after the absorption of Novgorod by Moscow and the collapse of the Hanseatic League the Jesuits had assumed their trading mantle in the East and Latin America. Surely they were being blessed by divine intervention on the strength of Mary's intercession. They soon became the dominant bullion brokers and profiteers between Japan and China when they gained control of Nagasaki, also in 1571. But it would be only 16 years before they were expelled from Japan, dragging all other missions down with them.

Leading Mariologists such as the French Cardinal Berulle were determined that the Puritan reformers and the Jansenists would not appear to have an exclusive appeal through their rigorous moral servitude which was gaining recognition. They responded by declaring themselves slaves of the blessed virgin, taking vows of subservience to the mere person whose authority, they said, was even greater than that of God. They said that while God had only created the universe Mary had produced its author. To demonstrate their slavery they chained their necks and wrists. By 1621 their conduct and influence had become so depraved that even the Holy Office of the Inquisition was moved to act against them, even if in a somewhat half-hearted manner. It banned their vow of subservience, although it still permitted reference to the concept of implied bondage in private devotions.¹⁶ The development of such debasing ideas and

practices should hardly surprise us in view of the church's attitude towards itself and God and the way it had not only allowed but actively imposed the cult of Mary.

But it was not only Rome which was stuck with a crisis of self-understanding. In 1572 Thomas Cartwright, a Cambridge professor of divinity, was dismissed for publishing his Puritanical views on the need for total separation of the church and state in England and elsewhere. He fled to the continent and remained there until it was safe to return to England in 1585. The efforts of people like him to eliminate the office of bishop and to introduce a Presbyterian style of church government were causing friction between the House of Lords, in which the bishops sat, and the House of Commons. But it was not until thirty-five years later that James I imposed the ultimate anti-Catholic oath of allegiance after the Jesuit-inspired gunpowder plot against him and parliament. Another eight years on and a general ban on Roman Catholicism was imposed right across Scandinavia. Protestant princes in England and Germany were conspiring to launch another war against the Vatican; China and Japan were both trying to expel their papal missions and the Holy Roman Empire was disintegrating piecemeal. It was like a manmade satellite plummeting earthwards through the atmosphere, sloughing off bits and pieces, its human designers having to abort its mission through their errors after every effort to hold it in its manmade heavenly course. Stripped of some of its burden, its operators have managed to keep it aloft in a modified orbit, but today the world still waits for the big bang while its designers still refuse to admit any errors in their basic design. And talking of satellites, one of the people who contributed to the debates and could be credited with encouraging the turmoil was Giordano Bruno, who was born five years after Copernicus died. Bruno joined the Dominican order at the age of 14, read philosophy and took up Copernicus' theory, criticized the church's official position and was censured. In 1576 he fled to England and wrote extensively. When he returned to the Continent in 1592 it didn't take the Inquisition long to nab him and press accusations of pantheism. It was exactly what Copernicus had feared would happen. When Bruno refused to recant he was held in confinement for eight years before being invited to make his short walk to the stake in 1600.

GREGORY'S CHANGE OF DIRECTION

In the meantime, also in 1576, Pope Gregory XIII had finally overruled the Council of Mexico's long standing decision and permitted the ordination of half-castes and the illegitimate sons of European men and Amerindian women in view of the lack of priests who knew the Indian language. Then, two years later, Philip, most upset, and exercising his fully delegated authority for the conduct of the Catholic Church in his realms, countermanded the papal decision with his personal directive that holy orders were not to be conferred on those mestizos. It was a simple extension of the debate over baptism of African slaves. Philip wasn't only jealously guarding his authority for the conduct of the church. He was hell-bent on preserving Spain's exclusive papal right to the entire north American continent. Nine years earlier, in 1565, when a French expedition tried to establish a settlement in Carolina (largely prompted by France's religious

civil war) Philip had first done battle with the French fleet and then indignantly established a Spanish settlement further south, at St. Augustine in Florida, with the first Catholic Church in what was to become the United States of America. But he had not only upset the English, Dutch and French. He was in real trouble at home too. Only three years later he reinforced the Inquisition in Spain with bitter intensity and imposed a total ban on all Moorish customs and literature. His and his forbears' bigotry was beginning to reap its rewards. His religious, economic and political policies combined to bring on a rapid decline in Spain's stature and fortunes (which was already apparent before his joust with the pope) as well as putting pressure on reformers and Puritans to flee to the New World.

It is hardly uplifting to note that, in the midst of such turmoil, the first serious attempt to establish an English settlement in North America was the unsuccessful one in 1584 by Walter Raleigh to grow a highly profitable narcotic which the health authorities of the world are now doing their best to discourage. There were any number of food crops which Europe needed more, but Raleigh was knighted by Elizabeth I for his trouble, of course. However it would be another 34 years before the first Negro slaves were landed by a Dutch vessel to do all the hard yakka for the handful of Englishmen at their 12-year old Protestant settlement of Jamestown, Virginia, in 1620. The 'Mayflower' dropped anchor off New Plymouth the same year with the first party of Puritan Pilgrims from Congregational Separatist communities in England and Holland. The Negroes were "required" to help the Virginians grow that crop – tobacco – which was entirely new to Europe.

BACON'S INTERVENTION

By the time they arrived there were a number of other luminaries bringing pressure to bear for change and social and economic renewal. Among them was Sir Francis Bacon, later Viscount St. Alban and Baron of Verulam, a barrister and lecturer in law who came to prominence in England in 1589 when he wrote a 'Letter of Advice' to Queen Elizabeth I and published 'An Advertisement Touching the Controversies of the Church of England.' Such an audacious bid to interfere in the affairs of state and church brought him prominence as thinker in a new age of Enlightenment in which the impregnable intellectual and political edifice of European Christianity was being challenged by the combination of three complex movements, but it brought him into disgrace with the establishment and curtailed his advancement in law and politics for a few years. However, not to be suppressed for long, Bacon continued to write and when Elizabeth died in 1603 he was soon ushered into the Commons, appointed a commissioner for the purposes of uniting England and Scotland, and his influence in redirecting English legal and civil development was outstanding. In quick succession between 1605 and 1614 he published *Advancement of Learning*, *The Wisdom of the Ancients*, *Essays* and *The New Atlantis*. He held a series of cabinet posts, rising to Lord Chancellor in 1618.

HUMANISM, PREDESTINATION AND ARMINIUS

Just at that time debate within the Reformed churches over the relationship between humanism and the Christian understanding of predestination and divine control of the affairs of humanity was reaching a very distracting peak, and the Synod of the Assembly of the Dutch reformed Church was convened by the States-General at Dort, in the Netherlands, in 1619. Its purpose was to settle the Arminian Controversy. Professor Jacobus Arminius of Leyden had had the audacity to query the Calvinist Doctrine of Predestination and to insist that Divine Sovereignty was compatible with human free will. This contradicted the notion that the human population was divided by God into two schools: the elect and the reprobate damned for whom there could be no salvation. He had logic on his side. To argue otherwise was to argue that there were limits on God's power of creativity which the Calvinists, without realizing it, were doing. But he went further. He argued that Christ died to lead all humanity towards salvation and not only the elect. That raised questions about a number of other concepts being debated within the church and it led inevitably to the position which the church had been in ever since it sought to enshrine its understanding of Jesus of Nazareth in doctrinal statements. Every idea had to be condemned and eliminated which did not conform to the majority decision of a council of theologians or church politicians.

There was certainly inconsistency between the two basic concepts under discussion; the prescribed predestination of Calvinism and the free will of Humanism. Put simply, in common understanding, if human fate was predestined, then human effort was of little consequence. The debate was, of course, far from that simple. Humanists placed emphasis on the supreme value, importance and centrality of humanity in the universe. They were suspicious of scientific endeavour and tended to be indifferent to religious imperatives, although the majority made firm avowals of Christian faith. It could still be a serious disadvantage if one chose not to do so. Heretics were still being burned at the stake in France and there were plenty of people elsewhere who were eager to demonstrate that the stake was certainly not a museum piece. The Humanists put new emphasis on personal responsibility and on a person's capacity to determine his or her own responses and performance, and therefore on their place in society and the social order. This was in large measure a result of the reawakening of interest in the classic philosophers who had been submerged by the torrent of Christian doctrine and dogma – in particular, Plato. The Humanist philosophy, like Christianity, had many streams and interpreters, but overall it was a moral and literary movement rather than a narrow philosophical movement. Similarly the Reformers were far from unanimous in what they understood by pre-destination. Furthermore the limits of their debate were constrained by the imperative that they must stay within Trinitarian belief. Stray beyond that, and you were gone! There was a clear danger that as a person enquired into Humanism and into the secular realm, he or she would stray away from faith. Not from belief in God. Just from faith as prescribed by the church. But because there could be no discussion about the fundamentals of faith, it was very difficult to recognize that the morality and basic understanding of Humanism did not preclude either belief in God as creator or the concept of divine intervention and circumstantial predestination.

Although Calvin had made the doctrine of predestination a cornerstone of his system he had never sought to spell out the consequences of predestination. The concept was so complex that few people had. In fact Calvin was in sympathy with the basic ideas of humanism, his understanding of predestination was very similar to that of both Luther and Thomas Aquinas, and it was not of central importance to his theology. But he stated it very emphatically. It was a great mystery, to be approached with fear and trembling in the context of faith, and he saw it as a comforting doctrine which said, simply, that salvation would be taken care of by a loving and utterly reliable God. Now, because it was subject to much debate and Calvin had made acceptance of it a cornerstone of his system, the people steering the Synod of Dort decided that it was time to spell out a corollary of predestination. They passed five articles asserting unconditional election, a limited atonement, the total depravity of man, the irresistibility of grace, and the final perseverance of the saints. Then, as with so many of the church's early synods, they had to kill the debate by getting rid of the trouble makers.

About two hundred clergy were deprived of their posts and recognition. Some were persecuted. Many were banished. They moved to other splinter denominations and from their new posts they exerted considerable influence on the development of later Protestant theology. But the mainstream Calvinist Reform churches were locked into doctrinaire support for the concept of predestination. It followed, to the ordinary mind, that if one was predestined by an external decree of God to either salvation or damnation, then one was also predestined to one's status. With status comes either power, authority and money, or the lack of power, authority and money. Calvin's teachings had had the effect of legitimizing both usury and wealth, and this had proved especially attractive to the rising merchant and manufacturing classes both in Geneva and elsewhere. That was a very sobering thought for the majority, but the princes and the bureaucrats loved it! Just don't argue. Get on and accept life as it is. Boat-rocking had to stop. Any basis for criticism or reform of the communal and economic structure of society was undermined. The Reformed Churches were anchored to a conservative position in matters political, economic and social. This was essentially the same position that Luther had reached at the time of the peasant's revolt. And this was a fundamental influence which later led Max Weber to write that Capitalism was linked to the Protestant Ethic. In retrospect, the Synod of Dort had ensured that the twin streams of humanism and natural science would become more closely intertwined, and that a more reasoned or analytical approach to philosophy and religion would follow.

On the fringe of the theological debate at that time there was also another development which owed its origins to the Renaissance: the rise of Rosicrucianism following the publication of the *Fama Fraternitatis* (Account of the Brotherhood) in 1614. Some writers contend that the growth of the sect, which still has lodges in Britain, the United States, Australia and possibly other countries, resulted from the anonymous publication of writings which sought to satirize Christianity by introducing alchemy and the investigation of esoteric matters.¹⁷ Others regard it as a serious attempt to relate Christian teachings to elements of occultism drawing on philosophers and the religious experience of the Middle East and North Africa prior to the rise

of Christianity.¹⁸ However such developments were a direct consequence of the confusion which was caused by the decision of the early church to enshrine its beliefs in doctrine and dogma which could only lead to continuing dispute – complicated by the return to the study of ancient philosophers during the Renaissance.

A SPATE OF DEEP THINKERS ...

Europe was enjoying the benefit of a spate on deep thinkers in the same mould as Bacon, Bruno and Copernicus, and while they did not all challenge the church directly, they challenged and gradually brought change to the relationships between church and state and enabled a rash of changes within the amorphous Christian gel. Together they were establishing the basic intellectual framework and impetus for the modern era. Their key theme was 'Reason', around which a set of sub-themes involving science, society and progress were interwoven within a framework of belief that all men were equal by nature: equal in moral worth and the rational potential to recognize truth unfettered by the church's doctrines. Individuals, they believed, could come to sure knowledge of nature and morality. Reason, they believed, could furnish a science of man, including a science of morality, in the same way that it furnished a science of nature. In due course the fruits of science, both natural and human, would bring material and moral betterment of human societies, and the eighteenth century would see an explosion of activity in the natural, human and political sciences which would be reflected in some aspects of the American constitution. The new thinkers were a cosmopolitan lot, with some moving for the abolition of privileges and patronage, as well as local traditions and customs, especially where these affected the consistency of the law. Some (very few) were even democrats, and advocated the redistribution of wealth, although most of them saw freedom as a matter of being left alone by governments under the rule of law. They nevertheless expected governments to legislate for the general welfare and to promote the rational reform of society, and were quite happy for 'Enlightened despots' to do the job. Above all they believed that good laws would create a virtuous and prosperous citizenry, and that the intellectual enlightenment of society would lead to progress.

Among them was the father of modern philosophy, Rene Descartes, a Catholic who had enjoyed a very wide education in a vigorously anti-Protestant environment. He had even wider interests, including music, the classics and science, and he was expected to enter either the law or military service before a career in politics. But he came under the influence of a Rosicrucian colleague and shared many of the movement's goals and habits. He advocated religious tolerance, objected to the expulsion of the Jews in 1615, glorified reason and openly questioned some of the prevailing scientific and theological assumptions.

To save his skin Descartes fled to Holland, built on the work of Bacon with whom he shared a dynamic interest in new scientific, mathematical and philosophical approaches, and wrote a series of works which led Europe's academic communities to think in new dimensions. His crowning achievement was *Principles of Philosophy*, published in 1644. He saw philosophy as

theoretical enquiry towards practical consequences, saying that philosophy was a tree which had metaphysics as its root, a trunk of physics and branches of morals, medicine and mechanics. And he wrote extensively on a new approach to each of them. But worse, from the church's point of view: Descartes explored the relationship and the interaction between the human mind and body, and discussed external stimuli, responses of the mind, and reactions of the body. He argued that people can be conditioned by experience to have specific emotional responses, but he supported the concept of free will and the mind's ability to control the body. He scored no friends among the Calvinists or the Jansenists with his claim that grace is not necessary for salvation and that human beings are virtuous and able to achieve salvation when they do their best to find and to act upon truth. He believed that humans could, through their will and ability to reason, find truth and therefore reach salvation, and in taking that position he left no room for Catholic belief in saintly intercession or the priestly rites of indulgences.

Along side Descartes we can briefly note a few other key figures. The mathematician, physicist and philosopher Blaise Pascal laid the foundation for the modern theory of probabilities, formulated Pascal's Law of Pressure, and constructed a calculating device which operated by counting integers and was, in a sense, the first digital calculator. Thomas Hobbes, a political theorist and liberal philosopher, wrote extensively on the law, citizenship, the social contract, democracy, monarchy and the church as state between 1640 and 1658. Benedict (or Baruch) Spinoza, of Jewish heritage, whose forebears had been compelled by the Inquisition to adopt Christianity on pain of death was a philosopher of Rationalism. His main works were published between 1655 and 1677, but quite early he found himself in trouble with both the Jewish authorities and the Christian church. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, whose fields included politics, philosophy, mathematics and metaphysics, published systems of calculus and theory of dynamics between 1676 and 1714... and there was a host of others of similar status. The Age of Enlightenment was sweeping Europe and the Church of Rome was losing its capacity to restrict thinking to the doctrinal and dogmatic parameters which it set, but it was not giving up without a fight!

... AND GALILEO'S TELESCOPE

Among the illustrious contemporaries of Giordano Bruno was the Italian mathematician, astronomer and physicist Galileo Galilei who developed experimental techniques in hydraulics, discovered four satellites around Jupiter by means of his newfangled telescope and proved a new principle about the velocity of falling objects. But his new principle also contradicted what the church was teaching and in spite of his experimental proof he was first forced to revert to the "proper" teaching and, later, to leave his teaching post at the University of Pisa. He took up a new post at Padua about the time that Bruno was thrown into gaol and he also took up the work of Copernicus as he developed his telescope and peered deeper into the universe. That was also too much for the Holy office of the Inquisition. In 1616 he was instructed by Pope Paul V to drop his studies, and the paper by Copernicus was banned. But Galileo couldn't keep quiet.

When he published his own findings in 1632 his book was banned along with that of Copernicus and, like Bruno, he enjoyed the hospitality of the Inquisition in Rome for a while. It was probably his fame as a scientist which saved him. Galileo was not required to take a walk to the stake. He was simply forced to publicly recant and was held a house prisoner for the rest of his days.

It was the same old story. The vicious circle of the main stream church's view of itself, of God and the Messiah was dragging it deeper and deeper into the depths of conceit, arrogance and the gross misuse of authority to perpetuate the ideas and things which it had determined and which it was intent on clinging to. In spite of the Reformation it was doing all it could to inhibit freedom of thought and human development in order to avoid the inevitable: an in-depth rethink. In doing so it was naturally tending to turn thinkers against belief in God the Creator, the ultimate authority throughout creation, as well as against itself.

A TORRENT OF NEW CONFESSIONS

As fragmentation had run its course in Islam so it did in Christianity. The lay investiture power struggle between popes and kings had already dragged on for a depressingly long time but after the Thirty Nine Articles and the papal excommunication of Elizabeth the tide in the affairs of man turned into a raging torrent as group after group published its articles of faith. Dissenters or non-conformists made a mockery of the efforts of kings and parliaments to maintain political stability through religious conformity and Europe and the British Isles were wracked by religious or civil wars which brought with them the beginnings of economic and cultural revolutions, distinctly coloured by Puritan or Calvinistic philosophies and a rise in the influence of the laity as well.

In England the Puritanical Oliver Cromwell saw it as his divinely inspired purpose to wage a religious civil war against Charles I who was taking the Church of England back to a pre-Reformation position in major matters of theology. The war erupted in 1642. Cromwell defeated Charles I; was instrumental in his execution; disestablished the Church of England and sought to replace it with a Presbyterian system; put down rebellion in Ireland, defeated the Scots, and installed a Lord Protector in place of parliament. The reversal was only a few years coming. The Westminster Confession (1643–49) came first. It provided the base for a Presbyterian movement around the world with heavy emphasis on lay and corporate decision making. It flowed from John Knox' direction of a reform movement in Scotland more radical than that in any other country in Europe.¹⁹ Today some of its clauses may sound little better than the pre-Reformation statements which were so offensive to non-Christian non-European man, and in particular to the other partners in the Triangle, but seen in perspective they were a remarkable advance. Fortunately it has only been a "subordinate standard" for most reformed churches since early this century but it would be better confined to the archives for historical study only.²⁰ The self-contradictory task of getting the majority of mankind to obey the Gospel, which European man had certainly not been doing, while they accepted predestination to sin,

dishonour and wrath ought to have exposed such doctrine for the stupidity of its lack of logic, at least before it was ratified by parliament, even if the divines who drafted it were hoodwinked by their own prior indoctrination.

Charles II's Toleration Act of 1649 was little more than the English version of the German Peace of Augsburg of 1555 which had recognized a splinter group, Lutheranism, as well as the church of the state or empire, Catholicism, on the basis of 'one state, one church' according to the decision of the German princes, but not by personal choice of the people. The Act of Toleration gave conditional freedom of worship to dissenters or non-conforming splinter groups from the state church, (the Church of England), such as the Baptists, Congregationalists and Quakers who had pressed for it, but it did not apply to either Roman Catholics or Unitarians. There was certainly no suggestion that it should apply to non-Christians such as Jews or Muslims. It was another reflection of the church's Trinitarian self-understanding and yet another bid to achieve political stability through religious manipulation and the partial isolation of the British Isles from the religious wars of Europe. It was a severely limited form of toleration which did little more than demonstrate that the Reformation was incomplete and smooth the way for the establishment of many more splinter groups or denominations. It certainly was not a bid for reconciliation (acceptance of the major division of the Western Church and the establishment of friendly relations between those warring divisions) or the introduction of freedom of worship.

In quick succession came the Baptist Confessions of Faith (1646/77); the Savoy Declaration of Faith and Order by the Independents of Congregationalism (1658) and the Chief Principles of the Society of Friends (1678). Of these groups it was perhaps the Society of Friends, better known as the Quakers, who came nearest to a complete renewal in religious thinking and showed the level of courage which was necessary even then, 160 years after Luther, if a real rethink was going to be achieved. The Society, which today maintains a low profile while it plays a dynamic part in world peace and reconciliation movements, formed around the teaching of George Fox in England about 1647. It rejected the notion of priestly authority and intercession and had no priests or salaried ministers. It regarded consecrated buildings as irrelevant, believed that a personal recognition of the presence of the Divine (the Inner Light) and a commitment to accept and to act on Christ's teaching was vital. In addition its members believed that baptism and communion were very personal and spiritual occasions not to be given the status of formal rituals, and they therefore rejected the concept of sacraments. They paid the usual price at the hands of both Catholics and other reformers. About 15,000 Quakers were thrown into prison, two hundred were transported and sold as slaves and many died either in prison or from mob violence between 1647 and 1689 when parliament passed the Toleration Act.^{21 22} They have been described as a group whose emergence was a feature of the final falling apart of the Augustinian system of authoritarian orthodoxy,²³ but it may be more appropriate to credit them with a significant role in bringing down the system, especially considering that the English Toleration Act was rather inaptly named.

Each of these new non-conformist movements, or the reactions against them, brought a fresh wave of emigration to North America as their dedicated members sought to escape such persecution and as the king of Spain lost his capacity to prevent the flow of migrants. Quakers led by William Penn established Pennsylvania. French Protestants succeeded in setting up home in Carolina. Lutherans from Sweden found a refuge in Delaware. Rhode Island was settled as a free religious community by Baptists. New York began as a Dutch Reformed trading settlement with the name New Amsterdam. German Lutheran exiles helped swell New Amsterdam and Pennsylvania. New Plymouth (Congregational) and Jamestown, Virginia (English Protestant) have already been mentioned. When Dutch Reformed authorities in New Amsterdam refused permission for the first German Lutheran pastor to minister to his flock he was forced to return to Germany. Quakers were persecuted, at least in the early stages, almost as much as back in England, and the Jesuits were causing trouble and getting into trouble wherever they went with their anti-reformation exercises. Then it was the turn of Catholics to flee Europe as Protestants began to turn the tide on the Continent and French Catholics settled Quebec.

CHURCH AND STATE: A BID TO BREAK THE BONDS

In France Cardinal Jules Mazarin, who had shown greater tolerance towards the Huguenots than most of his colleagues and who was working towards complete separation of the church from the state, became Chief Minister in the government of Louis XIII in 1642 – the year of Cromwell's civil war in England. He continued to control the government under Louis XIV and relations between the Vatican and France reached an all-time low. In the Vatican's view Mazarin was leading his country "towards the dangerous goal of absolutism."²⁴ He insisted that God acts alone with absolute finality in the matter of salvation, he would not agree that either Mary or the church had any authority in the matter at all and he insisted that the state therefore had to accept absolute responsibility in all civil affairs. Their common cause in the issue led Mazarin and Cromwell to sign a pact of non-aggression between France and England. They combined to end Spain's domination of New World trade and they thus ended the farce of the papal line of territorial demarcation.

Part of Mazarin's concern was the power and influence of the Jesuits, and he was certainly not alone. Prominent among those working within the Catholic Church to clip the wings of the Jesuits was Blaise Pascal, the short-lived mathematician, scientist and philosopher already referred to, who was attracted to the harsh and morally rigorous sect of Jansenists. The group was really a part of the Counter-Reformation in the true sense, but it was declared heretical by successive popes, beginning with Innocent X in 1653, only seven years after Pascal had become associated with them. A great-great-grandson, through illegitimacy, of Pope Alexander VI, Innocent X presided over another of those periods of sheer degradation which had been the hallmark of the papacy for so long. It appears that his revolting sister-in-law (who eventually left his corpse to rot for some days before it was wretchedly buried) had been the chief intriguer of his reign and had a hand in the outlawing of the Jansenists. They counted among their

number the scholar Pasquier Quesnel who was naive enough to think he could get away with moralizing against the papacy in writing, and the forerunners of the anti-papal Old Catholic Church of Utrecht as well as Pascal.

PASCAL'S MIXED INFLUENCE

Unfortunately Pascal's influence was not uniformly uplifting. His piecemeal defence of the Christian faith which was published by the Jansenists in 1670, eight years after Pascal's death, included many passages with heavily anti-Semitic overtones along the well trodden Christian path and they were later taken as justification for intensified purges against Europe's Jews. He wrote that the Jewish people are of remarkable antiquity, extending continuously from (their) origin to the present day; that they still exist, despite the efforts of so many powerful kings who have tried a hundred times to wipe them out; that they have always been preserved and that their preservation was foretold; and that "extending from the earliest to the most recent times their history includes in its range that of all our histories." He also wrote that "The law by which this people is governed is at once the oldest law in the world, the most perfect, and the only one which has been continuously observed in any state... And it is easy to judge how perfect it is just by reading it, when it can be seen to have provided for everything with such wisdom, equity and judgement that the oldest Greeks and Roman lawgivers, having some inkling of it, borrowed from it their chief laws."²⁵

Beautiful stuff. But then he followed with a statement that "they" pass on "lovingly and faithfully" Moses' call to heaven and earth to "witness against them" for being ungrateful to God; that God "rejected all the other things" and that "the Jews will be punished like strangers by God if they offend him."²⁶ Did Pascal develop this theme from the Qur'anic Night Journey, or did he pick it up from other Christian writers? He can be assumed to have read the Night Journey in the course of his research to defend Christianity because he was as trenchantly antagonistic to the Muslim 'infidels' as he was to the Jews. He finds the law which these "separated and peculiar people" ... "boast of receiving from God" admirable and that they are "unshakable in their conduct."²⁷ He saw the Jews as heralds of the Messiah and suggested that if they had taken these spiritual promises to their hearts and remained free from corruption until the coming of the Messiah, their testimony would have had no validity, because they would have been on his side. Then later in the same passage, and in contradiction to his own reasoning, he wrote that "there was thus no reason for falling into error and only a people as carnal as the Jews could possibly go wrong."²⁸ Pascal's twisted reasoning and his prejudice reach their climax with one of his "proofs of Jesus Christ." He wrote:

It is amazing and peculiarly remarkable to see the Jewish people survive for so many years and see them always wretched, but it is necessary as a proof of Christ that they should survive to prove him and be wretched, since they crucified him. And although it is contradictory to be wretched and to survive, they still survive, despite their wretchedness.²⁹

The mob loved it. If it didn't exactly incite them to expand their blood bath against the Jews at least it gave them a justification for continuing what they were already doing, and three hundred years later his words would be used again with devastating effectiveness. The same sentiment, expressed in a way that showed much coincidence with Pascal's writing, was expressed quite graphically in a series of papal encyclicals and newspaper articles emanating from the Vatican during the 1930s when more heat than light was being generated in the debate on the Jewish Question as the world plunged towards the Second World War. It was, quite clearly, in direct contradiction of Pope Pius XI's efforts in the final year of his pontificate to lead the Catholic Church to a change of heart on the Jewish Question.

In the meantime refugees from the church's intolerance, greedy traders and ordinary immigrants were all helping to shape a new nation so powerful that it could swing the policies and practices of almost the whole world in any direction it wished, virtually single-handed and at will. Their situation was in sharp contrast to the plight of Europe's Jews which would become steadily more wretched. While Elizabeth I was signing her Thirty Nine Articles in England, Ivan IV (the Terrible) was signing his order that every Jew in Russia who refused baptism was to be thrown into the river, and in Italy several provinces from Naples to Genoa were executing their own special programs of expulsions or forced conversions. Perhaps they were trying to emulate the Knights of St. John who had set up Jewish slave camps on Malta, complete with Synagogues, some thirty or forty years earlier.³⁰ The senior partner in the triangle was being rejected, scorned and scourged on all sides.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE: TEMPORARY RELIEF

Well, not quite on all sides. The Muslim Turks were actively encouraging Europe's Jews to set up home in the Ottoman Empire. As the Spanish were driven out of North Africa, Jews moved in and set up vineyards, notably in Tunisia, and merchants and physicians settled across Asia Minor. At the same time Jewish immigration into the Ottoman Empire began as a trickle, stepped up in the 1600s when about 100,000 Jews settled in Rumania and Bulgaria, and continued so that by 1900, when the Empire had been pushed back to only one third of its area, 500,000 Jews still called it home. As a direct consequence of the church's attitude and conduct, and the policies of the Christian powers in the unholy amorphous Christian gel, those immigrants and their successors were providing a communal population pool which would become the target of a carefully orchestrated program of genocide which is, progressively, determining the course of the world. They were caught in the action of the trouble in the triangle and the communities of all three parallel streams of faith were involved in that action concurrently. They were to become pawns in the parody of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. They were to witness the fulfilment of the Night Journey. They were to die in the Holocaust.

FRANCE AND COLONIAL POWERS GAMES

But back to France in the years of the Counter Reformation. When Mazarin died in 1661 Louis XIV declined to appoint another prime minister. He declared: "I am the State"³¹, and began a campaign as "the most Christian king"³² to clip the papal wings. The pope, Alexander VII, tried to deflect the issue by banning any attack on the doctrine of immaculate conception and therefore any attack on Mary's authority – and that of the church – in the little matter of personal salvation. At the same time he condemned both Jansenism and the Jesuit's (im)moral theory of probabilism which had prompted an attack on the society by Pascal. That theory held, in essence, that if a personal action is not specifically declared wrong by canon law then it is acceptable. The judge's decision was to be final. The trouble was that The Judge had not made the decision. It was only the impostor and he hadn't had the last word. Louis annexed the papal state of Avignon and, with an attack on the Vatican itself by a French-inspired alliance a real probability, Alexander was forced to make more political concessions. But while the pope may have been down he was not out for the count. He and his successors were still capable of making and undermining alliances and by then the whole world was their plaything and not simply Europe.

In 1680, as part of the campaign to undermine Holland, which had gone vigorously Protestant in reaction to Philip of Spain's tyranny, (and in spite of a peace treaty having been signed between France and Holland two years before), the Jesuits in Thailand manipulated the king through his court to have all commercial connections between Thailand and Holland severed. They then arranged for French troops to "protect" the Thai king by garrisoning Bangkok and Mergui against the Dutch. The plans of both the Vatican and France, which happened to coincide, to dominate the whole of Indo-China were beginning to take effect. The situation was little different anywhere in the New World. The countries of Europe talk defensively, now, of their common heritage of race, religion and culture in an effort to justify economic and political pacts aimed at defying and denying the aspirations of Africa and Asia. But in the 1680s they were clutching at each other's throats on the same grounds as they competed to exploit the same regions.

The Dutch and the British were the players in Indonesia; the Dutch and Portuguese in Brazil; the Spanish and French joined them in North America; they were all in for the spoils in the Caribbean; and it was mainly the British, Dutch and Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. Later they would be joined by Italy, Germany, Russia and the United States of America but that was still some way off. Italy was fragmented and had not achieved a territorial identity separate from the Vatican. Germany was fragmented too and it was also landlocked by warring friends and enemies so that it had not developed a maritime identity. The future USA was still the object of European competition itself and it would be a while before it achieved a national identity and the capacity to compete with its parental powers. In any case its people would repeatedly protest that they had no territorial ambitions. They were intent on fulfilling theology, not on dominating the universe!

THE ENLIGHTENMENT IN FULL SWING

While the politicians of the great powers of Europe were playing games of competition and exploitation, their scientists and philosophers of the new era were still eager to develop an understanding of how the world functions and how to help it live in productive harmony. In 1687 Sir Isaac Newton published what has been described as one of the most important single works in the history of modern science: his *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, (the *Principia*). A key figure in the scientific revolution, Newton's wide ranging works were to the springboard to quite amazing developments during the industrial revolution. Beginning with his discovery of the composition of light he laid the foundations for the science of light and modern optical physics. His three laws of motion became the basic principles of modern physics and led to an understanding of universal gravitation. And in mathematics he discovered infinitesimal calculus. Newton dominated the scientific life of Britain. He was elected president of the Royal Society; received many significant honours from abroad as well; became patron to a whole generation of brilliant young 'disciples,' and was rewarded with appointment as Warden of the Royal Mint – a post he took just as seriously as every other task he ever tackled. But Newton was not merely a scientist. He read religion and philosophy widely and, being a fervent but unorthodox Protestant, he led a campaign against James II's proposal to Catholicize Cambridge University. He wrote a paper in an attempt to prove that passages in the Bible which are taken as justification for Trinitarian doctrine were later corruptions of the original texts, but when his friend John Locke, a Puritanical Anglican philosopher and physician, moved to publish it, Newton withdrew it in fear because his anti-Trinitarian views would become known. In his later years, as he withdrew from active scientific research, he devoted much time to Biblical study and two works were published after his death.

Four years after publication of Newton's *Principia*, John Locke published a work which was to have an enormous impact on the critical examination of philosophy and religion. It was his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* which was intended "to inquire into the original, certainty, and extent of human knowledge; together with the grounds and degrees of belief, opinion, and assent." He had studied Descartes extensively and found himself in disagreement with the thrust of significant parts of the Frenchman's work. While Descartes maintained that a person could have innate ideas, Locke believed that the human mind derives the materials of reason and knowledge from experience. Knowledge, he said is ideas derived from the observation of external objects and reflection on the evidence provided by one's senses, and moral values are derived from sensations of pleasure or pain. If an experience gives pleasure, the mind labels it as 'good.' There are no innate ideas, he said, and there is no innate depravity. That *Essay*, and his *Essay on Toleration* which had been published a year earlier, 1689, were concerned with education, toleration and morality and helped to restore some balance to religious debate and relations which had been shattered by the Edict of Nantes and the expulsion of more than 200,000 Huguenots from France four years earlier. Arguing strongly for religious toleration, Locke said that beliefs, like other human differences, were largely the product of environment and that moral improvement should be the responsibility of society. In

addition he maintained that since human irrationality was the consequence of false ideas, instilled by faulty schooling, education should be a prime concern of rulers. It was, therefore, too important to be left to the divided, irrational churches in deep conflict.

But that was not the limit of Locke's interests. He collaborated with another friend, Robert Boyle, who is regarded as one of the founders of modern chemistry, in writing on scientific medical matters, and he also wrote on the philosophy of monarchy and civil government. Because of his *Second Treatise on Civil Government*, 1690, Locke is regarded as the father of modern liberalism. He laid great stress on the need to limit the power of government, and he was among the first to argue for the separation of powers. He claimed that individuals possessed inalienable natural rights to life, liberty and property which could not be given up or taken away except under special circumstances, and thus provided a bulwark against despotic or absolutist governments. The first duty of Government, he said, was to protect these rights. The only situation in which they were forfeited was in the 'state of war', in which captives who did not die on the field of conquest were regarded to have given up their rights to their captors. Locke regarded this as a justification for slavery. These views were later soundly rejected when the series of Geneva conventions and treaties on the conduct of war were being developed.

Locke also saw the protection of individual's rights as an obligation which required political authority. He rejected contemporary arguments in favour of the divine right of kings, saying that the consent of those being governed was necessary to legitimize constitutional arrangements and taxation measures, since these involved the natural right to property. This required a system so that if a government overstepped its bounds in these matters the consent of those being governed could be withdrawn and the government replaced. This meant that because the electoral system was poorly developed at the time, Locke was, in effect, justifying rebellion and the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688, in which the Catholic James II was ousted in a palace coup and replaced by the Dutch Prince William of Orange. James, he said, had infringed the terms of the trust by which the constitution of England had been laid down, and that William's legitimacy had been shown by the lack of opposition to his rule. His argument was later used by the American colonies as justification for their rebellion.

Locke's theories had other consequences as well. Nature was 'God given' and therefore open to exploitation by everybody, equally, but inequality in wealth and opportunity to exploit was justified as an effect of legitimate circumstances of inheritance and unequal industriousness. In addition, although Locke proposed a system of subsistence for the poor, redistribution of wealth was firmly taken off the agenda because only property owners were entitled to vote. It was said that although labour-power was regarded as 'property', those with wealth were more likely to think and act responsibly and in accordance with the 'national interest' because they had a greater 'stake' in the country, and that since there was no secret ballot, their financial independence guaranteed that their vote could not be influenced by intimidation (bribery was another matter). To Locke, political equality was not desirable; what mattered was equality before the law.

THE RUSSIAN EXPERIENCE

While Western Europe's philosophers of the Enlightenment and Liberalism struggled to understand morality, and the Pilgrim Fathers sought to fulfill theology, Russia's Peter the Great was trying to bring a little order into theology without worrying about fulfilling it. The monarchy which he commandeered had no obvious political interest in, or economic need for, territorial expansion outside the European context. It was fully occupied with three territorial issues. First, it was trying to mould diverse people scattered over almost half of the entire Euro-Asian land mass – an area three quarters of the size of all Africa – into one nation. Second, it was intent on chipping away at Roman Catholic Europe to its west³³ and the Muslim Ottoman Empire to its south to regain direct access to the trade of the North Sea via the Baltic and the Mediterranean via the Black Sea. Third, it was determined to correct the imbalance between the land holdings of the church and the monarchy itself and, in so doing, to define more clearly the role of the church.

For most of their history the principalities of European Russia (west of the Urals) had been ruled by people related closely to the rulers of Scandinavia and Britain. Therefore, on the basis of current western political reasoning, they should have grown closer together due to their common heritage, but in fact they were being driven further apart. Barriers set up between the infant Russia and the rest of Europe by the politicking of the church had started the process just at the time that trade links between Scandinavia and Asia Minor were bringing cohesion and urban development to the region. The period of Mongol domination had made it more definite and the fantastic chain of events which focused on the fall of Constantinople made it permanent. Permanent, yes. But not irreversible if reason had prevailed. Unfortunately it didn't.

When the Reformation broke across Western Europe, its powers and the church became so preoccupied with their own struggles that they tended to disregard Russia. In any case Poland, which had itself been pushed and pulled by its neighbours like a blob of plasticine, had pushed west and annexed a large slab of Russia as the Mongols had withdrawn. This had brought three and a half million Orthodox Christians, (about half of Russia's population), under Catholic rule. It had also doubled both the area and population of Poland, and given Western Europe the false feeling that Russia was a long way away. The population balance had become a little uneven. Western Europe, excluding Poland and the Ottoman-ruled areas, had 57 million people of whom all except the Muslims of Granada and the widely scattered Jews were Catholic. The Catholic Poles ruled their enlarged and nominally Christian population of about seven million, among whom church allegiance split about equally between Catholic and Orthodox. The Ottomans ruled about six million people in Europe, mostly Orthodox Christians with an estimated one million Muslims, and Russia was down to about three million people.^{34 35 36} So, as Western Europe rampaged its way through its Reformation it ignored the fact that Russia was having one of its own peculiar variety at the same time.

The strange interdependence of the church and the princes during the period of Mongol domination had led to the church accumulating massive land holdings. Although the

Khans had officially adopted Islam they never sought to impose it on the Russians, they appear to have held more to their pre-invasion religions and they showed a marked sympathy towards the church, whether Catholic or Orthodox. This was based less on sympathy for its theology ³⁷ than on eagerness to take advantage of the papal plan for a joint Roman/Mongol adventure against the Muslim held territories. ³⁸ The church was exempted from taxes and other obligations imposed on the vassal rulers and ordinary land holders. At the same time the princes, once invested by the Khans, lavished gifts of land on the church to ensure its support for their policies and personal positions. The church rapidly became docile, subservient, brutal and repressive as it helped the princes secure their ends. ³⁹ This coupled with its conciliar structure to cause fragmentation and to further undermine its ability to resist pressure from the princes. In addition, the lack of education for any except the ruling elite, the continued use of "old Slav" as the language for church liturgy and the absence of any local language translations of the scriptures resulted in a concoction of magic, mysticism and superstition which passed as the Christian religion. The clergy have been described as unbelievably ignorant with a monk even begging for alms in the name of the fourth member of the Trinity, St. Nicholas ⁴⁰ On reflection, that is probably no worse than Christians of Muhammad's time talking of Mary as the third member of the Trinity.

The fantastic accumulation of wealth and its inability to resist princely pressure made the church an almost unbelievable prize waiting to be collected. Circumstances began to turn in favour of the princes with the fall of Constantinople. The same changes in trading relationships were a factor in Ivan III's seizure of Novgorod. The monarchy was under severe financial strain but Ivan had to finance an army if he was to be able to recover the regions annexed by Poland. When the first stirrings of reform began in Novgorod, prompted by conflict between the mainstream church and Judaizers and sects similar to the Albigenses, the prize was within his grasp. He moved swiftly to crush the conflict and to confiscate most of the church's property in the city so that it would not provoke further conflict. The issue had been simple. What should the church do with its property?

PROPERTY OR PRACTICE?

Ivan also encouraged the heretical Judaizers at his court but in doing so he was probably less influenced by their demands that Christians adhere to all of the Jewish laws and customs than by their opposition to the church and its clergy holding a lot of property. ⁴¹ However a monk of the mainstream church, Nil Sorskii, had come under the influence of Savonarola and he gradually gathered support for his call for the church to dispose of its property, to put the funds to use for charity and to rely on donations from supporters (alms) to maintain the clergy. Encouraged by steps that Ivan's son, Basil III, took to supervise the finances of the monasteries, Nil Sorskii made an impassioned appeal to a Synod in 1503 to renounce wealth, to resort to alms and to act as a conscience for the monarchy and the nation, free of conflicts of interest

over the use of property. The shocked Synod rejected his plea and confirmed that church property was inalienable and sacred. But the rift had opened wide and the Russian church split into 'pro-property' and 'anti-property' parties.

Thus, fourteen years before Martin Luther cried 'enough' in the West, the Russian church had already split. The trigger was different. It was that simple question of what to do with existing property. It was not as complex as the sale of indulgences to finance spectacular building programs with all the additional sophisticated theological debate which went with it. But the basic issue was the same: the church's view of itself, the role which it devised for itself and the actions which it took as a result were all under scrutiny. However the resolution of the Reformation in Russia was to prove much simpler than in the West, or so it seemed, because the monarch, as undisputed head of the church, simply had to reach a decision. Even so, Basil still had to tread carefully. He needed the church's money so he leaned towards the anti-property party. But to support a church which wanted to be his conscience would tend to undermine his personal authority and that would never do, so he swung the other way. Just to help him make up his mind (and not at all fearful of poverty or the loss of prestige, so they said) the pro-property party sprang to Basil's aid. They wouldn't be able to act as the nation's conscience if they were dependent on its financial support for survival, they said. Furthermore, they said, Orthodox canon law requires the ordinary clergy to marry but requires bishops to remain celibate. The church could not provide for the training of future bishops if there were no financially self-sufficient celibate monasteries.

The Tsar hesitated, then tightened the reins a bit on the whole church while he acted to suppress the anti-property party's propaganda. Leaders of the pro-property party who were already in the stronger political and financial position found some more ideas to support their case. Their leader withdrew his abbey from the patronage of his local prince and placed it under the personal protection of the Tsar. Then he introduced a concept of divine kingship more akin to the idea of Julius Caesar than any others which had been dragged up by European kings, popes or caliphs. In his physical being the Tsar was like other men but in his office or authority he was like God, he said.⁴² That did it. No one could stand in his way. Basil moved decisively to crush the anti-property party then issued edicts restricting monasteries from acquiring further land. He won both arguments and the church became more and more an instrument of the Tsar's will rather than God's.

From the social and economic points of view he acted none too soon. By 1550 when his successor tightened the monastery property regulations the church owned one third of the entire productive land in Russia. And in the oppressive effects of its economic policies the church in Russia was no different to the church in the West. It was among the first land owners to petition the monarchy for the bonding of its workers to the land they worked. Serfdom and salvation, it would appear, went together. By the time of the next split in the church in the 1660s (over whether the church should return to the liturgy of the Byzantine Church which it had received "perfect and complete" in 987), some 35,000 serfs were bonded to the patriarch's office alone

and the largest monastery, St. Sergius of the Trinity, had 100,000 bonded peasants in 15 provinces.⁴³

Some of the reforms which the patriarch, Nikon, tried to introduce at that stage were as puritanical as anything that was being hawked across the Atlantic from England to the New World. Strict rules for personal conduct included prohibition of card playing, drinking, cursing, sexual license and the requirement that everyone spend from four to five hours in church each day. For a time Nikon was so close to the Tsar that he acted for him when the Tsar was on military campaigns but it proved his undoing when he tried to ape the popes and move to control the monarchy on the basis that in matters affecting religion and life ("spiritual") the patriarch was higher than the Tsar. Hardly surprising in view of his shift from the concept of divine kingship which the pro-property group had so recently forced onto the church and the nation.⁴⁴

So after another thirty years of bickering between the church and the monarchy and sectarian infighting within the church we come to Peter the Great and his need for Baltic and Black Sea ports. The monarchy had the church almost in the palm of its hands but not quite. Those elusive fortunes still couldn't be tapped and because it employed 750,000 peasants out of a total population of around thirteen million it could nullify any military or manpower plans he made. To make matters worse, the church was still meddling in the monarchy by playing him off against his son Alexis. For ten years Peter, sharing rule with His brother, Ivan, had been struggling to get direct access to the Black Sea with a series of skirmishes with the Turks and the Tartars which were unsuccessful largely because he couldn't fund a decent army. Then in 1696, the first year of his sole rule, he was able to take advantage of the crushing defeat of the Turks at Vienna at the hands of the Hapsburgs. He annexed the Dnieper region from the Cossacks and took the port of Azov from the Khanate of the Crimea.⁴⁵ He had done it at last! Russia again had a direct passage to the Mediterranean and even though it was tenuous he could at least turn his attention west to the Baltic, pick up a lot of trade and begin modernizing Russia on the Western European model. To do that he had to break Swedish control of Latvia and Lithuania, but without a major army of his own he needed an alliance with the Danes and the Poles. He got it, and all three attacked together in 1700. But by August Sweden had knocked the Danes out of the war and by October its army was in Estonia facing Peter. His plan was coming unstuck and his position and his need for funds were desperate. Then his chance came. Patriarch Adrian died.

Peter left the office vacant, made a "spineless Ukrainian divine" his acting spiritual head and appointed a committee to administer church property and to assess and tax the clergy.⁴⁶ By November his army had been humiliated by the Swedes and with all Russia at risk no one opposed the new arrangement. But after the winter recess Sweden turned its fury on the Poles instead of turning east towards Moscow and Peter got a breathing space. He swooped on the church, requiring that the monasteries forward all their revenues to the Treasury in return for fixed salaries for everyone. For practical purposes the church had become a department of the state.

The changes had taken place so smoothly that there was hardly a whimper from anyone as the consequences of the pro-property party's attitudes, pressed so strongly three or four generations earlier, finally came home to roost. Well perhaps not quite finally, because they set up shock waves which were later to crash through a whole host of barriers and which are still being felt today. Under Russian patronage the Orthodox Church had showed a lingering tolerance towards other faiths under the influence of its relationships with Islam and Judaism in Asia Minor where it had enjoyed protection under Muslim rulers. However, under the new arrangements which Peter imposed, that tolerance rapidly disappeared. The church was obliged to actively promote the recovery of territory on the Baltic, the Black Sea and Poland, and it knew no more effective way than by playing on interfaith prejudices. It unleashed a torrent of doctrinaire attacks against the Muslims of the Ottoman provinces along the Black Sea; against the Protestant Swedes and Fins; and against both of Poland's religious communities. Poland's Catholics had good relations with their one and a quarter million or more Jewish compatriots who had come to make up the economic heart of their country because of the positive incentives for them to resettle which had been provided, quite deliberately, by earlier Polish monarchs dating from Boleslav the Pious in contrast to, and in response to, imperial persecution of Jews right across Europe.

During the next twenty years the military adventures of Russia and its neighbours in a series of changing alliances had an important bearing on the long term map of Europe, on the Reformation struggles of Western Europe and on the pattern of migration to the New World. They also consolidated Peter's new church/state structure so that when he finally abolished the post of patriarch and replaced it with a state committee of twelve in 1721, at the end of twenty years of the Great Northern Wars, no one whimpered and the life of the nation went on without a ripple. The head of the Most Holy All-Ruling Synod, which was no more nor no less than a ministry of state, was the Chief Procurator who, together with his Synod and all clergy, swore oaths of personal allegiance to the High Autocracy of His Majesty. The role of the clergy, set down in minute detail, included acting as criminal detectives through the confessional. Any rebellious or treasonable designs against the tsar or the state were to be absolved, remitted and then reported to the imperial police. Cooperation in apprehending the villain would follow, of course.⁴⁷

The wheel had turned full circle. It was a long time since a body of Christians at the seat of the once great Roman Empire had struggled, first to gain freedom from persecution, next to gain recognition, and then to become an instrument of state. They had reached a breathtaking pinnacle and opportunity lay like the foothills all around them. They had claimed to be the true church and the sole voice of God on earth. They had gained status and frightening power only to misuse them both, claiming to be what they were not. Eventually their successors sought to usurp absolute earthly power. Now they were in disarray and fragmented, and the fragments were tearing each other apart. But one of the fragments – the Russian one – was now back on a pinnacle. Its monarchs and politicians should have been very happy indeed. They were closer to

the aim of achieving political stability through religious conformity (or subservience) than even the Holy Roman Empire had ever been.

SERFDOM: THE NEW JEWISH FATE

In the same year, 1721, Peter legislated to allow merchants to purchase whole villages in order to attach or to bond the local labour force to their industrial and mining enterprises. Serfdom and salvation, it would appear, went together. They must have, because the church was among the first landowners to petition the monarch for the bonding of its workers. The church in Russia seemed hell-bent on proving beyond doubt that it could be at least as repressive of human aspirations and development as the church in Western Europe. It determined its social and economic policies in order to preserve its accumulated property holdings, to perpetuate its institutional structure and to maintain the clergy.

In that glorious environment Peter's successors found the presence of a Jewish minority in their population a distinct embarrassment and, through their new department of the church of course, they issued a series of edicts expelling them. Catherine (1727), Anne (1739) and Elizabeth (1742 and 1747) all had a go. The Russian Church's relations with Rome deteriorated further as a result because most of those Jews also resettled in Poland which had suffered greatly as the battle ground for much of the twenty-year Great Northern Wars and where the Vatican had had its hands full during a long period of conflict between Orthodox, Protestant and Catholic forces. Any understanding and tolerance of the Boleslav type had been crushed together with the church's moral influence and political authority. On June 14, 1751 Pope Benedict XIV issued the encyclical *A Quo Primum* which was to sear anti-Semitism more deeply into the Polish psyche than all of the country's previous experience. It was a demand for a return to the triumphal oppression of Jews and its significance can easily be under-stated.

Benedict opened *A Quo Primum* with a note that God in His goodness had allowed Catholicism to take root in Poland at the end of the tenth century but "various sects have attempted to establish themselves in Poland and to spread the seeds of their errors, heresies, and evil opinions" in spite of strong efforts to prevent them by pious and devout Poles in the continued faithful practice of their religion. He then noted the "many successful councils and synods which gloriously defeated the Lutherans" and to the great glory of God "prohibited the principle of freedom of conscience" which its adherents were trying to establish in Poland. But "another threat to Christians has been the influence of Jewish faithlessness (which was strong) because Christians and Jews were living in the same cities and towns." Concern at "the matter of the Jews ... causes Us to cry aloud: 'the best colour has been changed' (and according to) credible experts in Polish affairs ... the number of Jews in that country has greatly increased (so that) some cities and towns which had been predominantly Christian are now practically devoid of Christians."

He noted that so many Jews had replaced Christians that some parishes would lose their ministers because revenue had dwindled; that because Jews controlled liquor and wine

businesses, they were allowed to supervise the collection of public revenues; they gained control of inns, bankrupt estates, villages and public land, and they have “subjugated poor Christian farmers.” They are “cruel taskmasters, not only working the farmers harshly and forcing them to carry excessive loads, but also whipping them for punishment.” Even though a Christian official holds the power to punish “he must comply with the commands of the Jews and inflict the punishments they desire” or lose his post. But he then noted the most serious of other unreasonable matters was that “some households of the great have employed a Jew as ‘Superintendent-of-the-household’,” so that they exercise economic and domestic power and “flaunt authority over the Christians they are living with.” By their business methods they amassed fortunes, destroyed Christian wealth by exorbitant rates of interest, and even offered their synagogues as surety.

With a devious reference to “a famous monk, Radulph” who was so inflamed that he traversed Germany and France preaching against the Jews as “the enemies of our holy religion (and) incited Christians to destroy them” he incited Poland’s Christians to do likewise, but sought to deflect the criticism that he was doing so by saying that “the great St. Bernard” had opposed this “immoderate and maddened zeal.” The Jews were not to be persecuted, slaughtered or driven out because “alive ... they are eminent reminders for us of the Lord’s suffering (and) on this account they are scattered through all lands in order that they may be witnesses to Our redemption while they pay the just penalties for so great a crime.” Then there was another such reference to Peter, abbot of Cluny, who wrote to King Louis of France and “encouraged him to punish their excesses and to strip them of the property they had taken from Christians or had acquired by usury (and) ... to devote the value of this to the use and benefit of holy religion.”

So he went on. Aghast that it was even commonplace for Christians and Jews to intermingle anywhere, he reminded his bishops and clergy that Pope Innocent III had said “Let not the sons of the free woman be servants of the sons of the handmaid; but as servants rejected by their lord for whose death they evilly conspired, let them realize that the result of this deed is to make them servants of those whom Christ’s death made free.” He also reminded them that Innocent IV had approved King Louis’s plan “to drive the Jews beyond the boundaries of his kingdom,” saying: “Since We strive with all Our heart for the salvation of souls, We grant you full power by the authority of this letter to expel the Jews, particularly since We have learned that they do not obey the said statutes issued by this See against them.”

Benedict XIV finally came to his instructions to the bishops: to renew the sanctions, encouraging the clergy to set an example which would lead the laity to implement them also, so that “neither your property nor your privileges are hired to Jews (and) furthermore you do no business with them and you neither lend them money nor borrow from them.” His promise was: “We will cooperate energetically and effectively with those whose combined authority and power are appropriate to remove this stain of shame from Poland.” He had ensured that whatever invasions, annexations and boundary changes would be imposed on Poland in future its people would have to live with a level of bigotry, social tension and conflict, the

consequences of which neither he nor the church were capable of understanding because of their self-misunderstanding.⁴⁸

Some forty years after Benedict's pathetic outpouring of anti-Semitism, while John Wesley was stirring England to a moral revival and Catholics were regaining some of the civil liberties withheld since Elizabethan days, Peter III moved to end the parasitic independence of Russia's monasteries. He assigned all monastic properties from the church to the state. It was no mere nominal action, because the church had largely managed to manoeuvre its way around previous restrictions and to maintain the hereditary clergy as a class almost untouched. Of 954 abbeys, 569 were closed. Of the 385 left open, the clergy at only 161 were put on the crown payroll. Those at the other 224 abbeys were told to fend for themselves: to work to produce income or to justify alms! All other excess clergy were either drafted into the army or added to the tax paying list which meant they had to work to support themselves as private individuals and not as part of an abbey. Crown income jumped by several million rubels and the wages bill for the clergy remaining on the state list was only 400,000 rubels.

The big church rip-off was over and Russia would never be the same again. The power balance had lurched heavily in favour of the monarchy and the social balance had shifted sharply, too. A million church-bonded peasants became state serfs instead. Relieved of any concerns about commercial survival or profitability the church, as a department of the state, could, if it chose, change sides in the class struggle and work to improve the lot of the serfs. It chose not to because the remaining clergy felt less secure than ever. They opted to keep their noses clean by being good obedient servants of their (earthly) master and busied themselves in the colourful fantasy of the liturgy which was about the only thing that the level of education in the seminaries had fitted them for.

The church was living more and more in its own little vacuum. The nobility had long been prohibited from joining the hereditary clerical estate and Peter now banned the practice of landed families building their own churches and retaining their own priests. Privately retained clergy had previously been portrayed as running along like puppy dogs beside their masters. Any effective influence on the affairs and attitudes of the western-educated elite was therefore just not possible but, on the other hand, the church had cut itself off from the common people who had lost confidence in it completely.⁴⁹ The ordinary common people were crying out for help from somewhere, from anywhere, but the clergy could not hear them. On the other hand if the tsar or tsarina whispered in bed they all came running.

THE POLISH BUFFER

However the internal power balance wasn't the only one which had tilted. The massive amount of money and amazing manpower resources which suddenly became available enabled Peter to lay the foundation for the most powerful army in Eastern Europe. Those of Poland, Sweden and Turkey were no longer a problem. Almost any territorial ambition would be achievable. He had no need to be satisfied with merely a port on the Baltic and another on the Black Sea. The

territory absorbed by Poland so long ago was almost his for the asking and that issue had gradually been coming to a head. Poland's expansion into Russian territory in the immediate pre-Reformation period had tended to break down the barrier between the Roman and Orthodox Churches at the local level at first, even though Rome objected strongly to the religious freedom which the nobles allowed on their estates. Chances for Polish/Russian coexistence or even integration therefore looked good for a while.⁵⁰ But when anti-Trinitarian wings of the Anabaptists developed strong support in Poland it was too much for the Vatican.

The town of Rakow which had attracted free thinking radicals and refugees from all over Poland and Germany from about 1569 had developed into the centre of Unitarian thought. Aiming for a New Jerusalem the people encouraged freedom for serfs and set up communally-owned factories, a Unitarian printing press and a trade college. At that point, with the country on the brink of joining the Protestant camp the Jesuits were thrown into the fray with a vengeance. Their task was to destroy all traces of Protestantism among the loosely republican Polish nobility and haul the Orthodox church and its people into line. In 1596 a Uniate church, using Orthodox ritual but subject to Rome's control, was established by a segment of the Orthodox hierarchy and by 1638 the town and religious life of Rakow had been eliminated. Many of the Unitarians who survived moved to Holland.^{51 52} Religious bigotry was again unfettered.

With that situation on the Polish side of the border and the Orthodox Church chained to the now-powerful monarchy and actively preaching against Rome and the Jews on the Russian side of the border, the chances for further cooperation between the two countries were slim even though Russia had eventually secured access to the Baltic at Sweden's expense. Europe was bouncing from one round of chaotic conflict to another as the dynamic and ambitious Prussian, Frederick II, competed with Austria and France for piece meal dominance of the old German Empire. Anything was likely to happen as other countries changed their allegiances more often than they changed kings. Poland was unable to maintain its independence any longer and became little more than a satellite of Russia. Peter's predecessor, Elizabeth, had been at war with Frederick of Prussia across the Polish territory which separated them of course, but Peter, with his eyes on formal annexation of Poland, changed sides. He helped Frederick to the immediate Victory against Austria which he wanted but, in doing so, he raised the fears of each of Prussia, Austria and Turkey which formed an alliance against him and demanded a piece of the Polish cake. His reign was cut short. Very short. After less than a year as tsar, Peter III was deposed, murdered and replaced by his wife Catherine who promised to toe the bureaucratic line.⁵³

It is said that Peter was weak and a trifle mad but his firm action against the church hardly supports the idea. It is more likely that his action to revoke merchant ownership of villages provided the real motive for his removal; that his misjudgement of his three national neighbours and his policies which prompted their alliance against him provided the substantial justification; and that his action against the church provided a moralistic veneer. Such combinations have been sickeningly common right around the "free world" as governments have fallen in

dominoes-like succession since 1973. In any case Catherine did not touch her late husband's decrees concerning the church except to formally confirm them although she moved very quickly to tie the civil service to her by means of a series of laws granting automatic promotions and she offset some of the lost merchant support by grants of land and serfs. She felt very insecure indeed.

However Poland was the main loser. Three bites and it had disappeared at least for the time being. In 1772, 1793 and 1795 Prussia, Austria and Russia each took a piece by gentleman's agreement rather than go to war. Russia got the biggest share by far and should have been very happy but it had picked up a huge population of Jews in the process. Several generations of politically motivated attacks against them, using the very effective tool of religious bigotry, gave the Muscovite government a man-sized problem. Catherine apparently thought to solve it by giving away the Jews as serfs in preference to "ordinary people" as much as she could when she made her "grants" of land to her generals and personal supporters. But it took her a while to become accustomed to the game. In ten years between 1762 when she replaced Peter and 1772 she distributed a mere 66,000 serf "souls." During the next twenty years, between the first and second partitions of Poland, she "distributed" 202,000 serfs, most of whom came from the partitioned area. But then the sordid business reached its peak after the third partition when she handed out 100,000 "souls" in one day, August 18th 1795. Her generosity accounted for 800,000 "souls" during her full reign with over half of them coming from Poland.⁵⁴ However her problem wasn't solved quite as easily as that. She couldn't "give" the Jews to her buddies back in Russia proper from where they had been repeatedly expelled. She had to keep them in the new territories. From this arose the law of the Pale of Jewish settlements which was introduced in 1795 as her grants reached their peak. It was later confirmed and tightened by legislation in 1825, but we shall come to that soon enough.

Another matter which came to a head with the partition of Poland was the demise of the Jesuit order which had been under attack for so long in so many countries. Poland rose in revolt and, for the partition to have any reasonable chance of success, there had to be a degree of religious harmony in each of the three subject regions. The church was learning about tolerance very slowly and even then only as a matter of political expediency. The old idea that political stability could come only through religious conformity was a very good denominational prop and while a country had a great majority of the population, or absolute political power, in the hands of either the Catholic Church or Reformers, intolerance was the general rule. This applied in Spain (with absolute Reformed rule). But in countries such as France, Germany, England and Poland where there was something closer to numerical balance, even though the two wings fought bitterly and based their cases on theological reasoning, the movement towards religious tolerance was a little faster.⁵⁵

Poland was again a special case. Austria was essentially Catholic and in league with the popes, except for the odd war or two when Maria Theresa teamed up with the Bourbons against the Vatican. Prussia, with the Lutheran provinces of Germany on one side and Sweden on the other, was heavily Protestant, to the extent that the Vatican refused to recognize Frederick II

until his successes on the battlefield and the need to remake a few alliances forced Benedict XIV's hands.⁵⁶ So, in 1773, to facilitate the partition of Poland, Catherine agreed to issue a decree granting freedom of worship and the right for confessions other than the Orthodox Church to organize as religious bodies, on the understanding that her Orthodox Church would have reciprocal rights. Clearly that would not be the case if the Jesuits were still in Poland and unfettered.

CLIPPED WINGS

The enigmatic Maria Theresa, who still saw the church as the bulwark of her power but who would not relinquish her authority in areas like foreign relations and education to it,⁵⁷ took the matter up with Pope Clement XIV. Clement was already under strong pressure from the Bourbon monarchs of France and Spain who were intent on negotiating the best deals they could for the interests in New World territories which they had forfeited to Protestant Britain in the treaty of Paris ten years before. He could kill two birds with one stone, so Clement kindly obliged. He dissolved the Jesuits with his "notorious papal brief" which was greeted as "a masterpiece of guilty conscience", and incurred the ceaseless wrath of his critics as "a man of mediocre intellect, weak-willed, unreliable and suspicious ... conditioned by ambition and fear ... ready to listen to any rumour ... filled with low cunning ... (and having) ... special skill in the concealment of his true intentions."⁵⁸

The Jesuit missions had actually been expelled first from China, in 1722. That was only partly on the grounds of religious incompatibility and cultural arrogance. Other factors were commercial and political interference. They made the religious endeavour, or intrusion, unacceptable. But then followed Portugal (1759), France (1764) and Spain (1767), the country in which the society had originated. More than five thousand Jesuits were expelled from Spain and its empire in one fell swoop. The impact of the Jesuit controversy reverberated around North America from 1767 also, because the Spanish crown expelled its missions and expropriated its "Pious Fund" in Lower California, and applied the funds available to support other religious orders. All of those were countries in which there was, relatively speaking, ethnic or racial and cultural continuity. Their decisions were based on conflict in all three areas: religion, commerce and politics. As we have now noted, six years later, in 1773, the reigning pope, Clement XIV, found it advisable to order the general suspension of the society's activities because of the disruption which resulted wherever it went and to facilitate his ambitions in Poland. The reaction against the extreme bitterness with which it opposed and intrigued against Protestantism, all other faiths, and non-conforming communities within the Catholic Church as well had become a serious embarrassment to the Catholic Church in the countries in which it operated. However it was allowed to continue operating freely in Prussia and parts of Russia under some sort of state 'protection' which suggests that conformity was expected to provide stability in certain regions, and it was also permitted to continue teaching services in Germany and Austria. The suspension was lifted 41 years later, in 1814, by Pius VII in the wake of

Napoleon's sweep through Europe. The somewhat battered monarchies were looking for support and stability from whatever quarters it might flow, but the society was required to place its emphasis on support for existing mission functions of the church – and education. In the meantime, Frederick II was perfectly happy. He already accepted every religious group anyway. Naturally this bold new spirit of ecumenism which had been triggered in poor old Poland was only to apply to Trinitarian Christians. The campaigns against those whom the main stream Christians all agreed were heretics, such as the Unitarians, were to be continued and there was no thought of peace for the other two partners in the triangle especially the Jews.

NO PEACE FOR A JEW

The Jews. The church wouldn't leave them alone even when it was rocked by its violent internal strife. Nothing was to be a distraction from the cause of persecuting "those miserable people" until their extinction. Even Martin Luther had turned against them. In his early reforming days he preached tolerance on the basis that there was nothing to attract a Jew in the system which had persecuted them and he agreed that good Christians might even be attracted to Judaism as an outlet for their protests.⁵⁹ But in his later days he was disappointed that the Jews did not accept the purified Gospel and his pen poured out hatred. He promoted the ideas that Synagogues should be burned and, in a sermon shortly before his death, that Jews should be expelled from all of Christendom.⁶⁰ At that stage he was even more vitriolic in his attacks than his adversary, the pope, Paul III, who was exhorting the Inquisition to show a little mercy. But within a few years of his death another pope, Paul IV, had taken his advice, ordered the Jews to wear yellow hats and herded them back into the ghettos.⁶¹

Although various kings, popes and councils had tried to enforce segregation of Jews and Christians from time to time they had seemed more intent on persecution and elimination than on segregation. The concept of the ghetto, as opposed to the oppressed and semi-isolated community, had only gained general use coincidentally with the Reformation. In 1516, while Tetzl was gearing up for his sales campaign, the Catholic Republic of Venice ordered all Jews into the Ghetto Nuovo. It meant business. The practice caught on in most countries of Europe and the name was soon seared into world history and the mind of mankind. Locked gates; curfews; restrictions on professions and trades which inmates could follow; cramped conditions; raids to "rescue" converts; personal identification; enforced attendance at conversion sermons, and special taxes all became standard features of "the ghetto."⁶² The church and its brainwashed cohorts succeeded in denigrating and dehumanizing the Jewish population very effectively. The ghetto compounded the inhuman treatment of the previous twelve hundred years of the Diaspora in Europe and succeeded in producing within the Jewish community a proportion of physically degenerated people some of whom were timorous, neurotic, evasive, "sharp" in their practices and who carried a chip of exaggerated grievance on their shoulders.⁶³ The church took full advantage of this in "typing" the entire Jewish community and as a basis on which to continue to extend its anti-Jewish propaganda.

For a few generations it appeared that the church's campaign was succeeding. Jewish morale hit rock bottom. Hebrew scholarship hit the skids. Superstition began to be syncretized into religious practice just as it had with Christianity and Islam, (especially with Ottoman expansion into Christian Europe⁶⁴), and tradition began to take the place of faith and hope as the only straw that a Jew in a ghetto had to clutch at.⁶⁵ But as was always the case when the church ran off the rails and pursued power and self-interest through its self-misunderstanding, there were other effects. Just as it had finally broken the link between Judaism and Palestinian racial heritage when it triggered the destruction of the Khazar Khanate and sent a flood of non-Palestinian Judaists across Europe, the church was now hell-bent on promoting the racial connection between Judaism and its adherents in the most derogatory manner it could. But, even more self-damning, the church was helping to substantiate the link by making intercourse between Christians and Jews an offence, thus very effectively enforcing inbreeding and local type development.

In Germany after Luther an effort was even made to keep the Jewish population in check by restricting the number of houses in each ghetto and the number of people to each house. When that failed to restrain Jewish population growth, even when emigration was encouraged, a novel method of birth control was imposed. No marriages were permitted except by licence from the Christian authorities and these were restricted to the eldest son in each Jewish family.⁶⁶ And just in case some Christian communities had not already become affected by deep-seated and contagious racism through its long-established doctrines, their contact with the ghetto and almost continuous anti-Jewish propaganda ensured that they had to be almost superhuman to avoid becoming racist. Ghetto and propaganda combined to compound the existing problem. If adherence to Judaism defined a race then by implication Christianity defined a vastly superior race. On the other hand after the depressing shock of semi imprisonment or pseudo-exile in the ghetto had worn off it produced an effect very similar to that of the slaughter of the first crusade. It bound the Jewish communities together. Integration was no longer an option. The new cohesion resulted in a new self-awareness and a new determination to achieve personal and community dignity and recognition through education, effort and personal achievement.

THE RENEWED ENLIGHTENMENT

A new period of Jewish scholarship and enlightenment had been triggered. It bears a close relationship to the development of the golden age of Judaism under Islam in Spain after the trauma of the destruction of the Khazar Khanate. Within their ghettos Jewish communities established schools which they financed on a communal basis, side by side with their synagogues, and they provided universal free education years before mass education had been organized in Protestant Europe and in Austria under the enlightened, dynamic, but somewhat unsuccessful Joseph II. When he succeeded his mother, Maria Theresa, Joseph tried to haul the church into line, reform the universities and abolish censorship.⁶⁷

Law and discipline were very important and the authority of the warden and his council in a ghetto was firm and seldom challenged. Jewish tailors, traders⁶⁸ and money lenders developed much skill and a careful eye for competition. They had to because the conditions under which they worked were so restrictive. They also formed their own guilds. Pauperism became widespread in the ghettos as the Jewish communities outgrew the number of jobs which they were able to find in the community around them and the concentration of poverty in the ghettos was aggravated by the natural tendency of those who managed to acquire wealth to move to a less restrictive town or country. In fact there was a steady stream of Jewish families able to better themselves in the occasional communities where they were welcome, either on humanitarian grounds or because of their skills and money for employment-generating industries. But the pent-up jealousy towards successful Jews within the Christian community was unleashed with ever more bitter attacks on those in the ghettos.

It was during this period that the foundations were laid for some of the great Jewish family financial empires which were to be of quite staggering significance during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. And the small cores of elite Jewish diplomats, financial advisers and physicians which many of Europe's crowned heads surreptitiously built around themselves as their "Court Jews" didn't come as an unmixed blessing either. While they played a major role in sorting out some of Europe's conflicts and in developing new economic initiatives, their presence and influence also antagonized the fragmented church and prompted even harsher restrictions on the people of the ghettos. A rash of Jewish reform movements which had already sprung up (in much the same manner as during the Reformation within Christianity) gathered momentum. There had been two important trigger points for these reforms. The first was the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 and the second was the Cossack uprising in Poland in 1648.

Prior to the expulsion Spain had been the base of the Jewish Kabbalah philosophy, a branch of mysticism in which worshippers place heavy emphasis on the community's traditional rites, messianic yearning and inner experience of their religion rather than on a rational intellectual approach. The expulsion destroyed that kabbalist base, but by dispersing kabbalists throughout the entire Mediterranean region of North Africa, the Middle East and Southern Europe, it gave a boost to kabbalistic practices and messianic yearning, and led to their widespread acceptance among Jews in the entire region. A school was established at Safed in Palestine and the main Kabbalah reference, the *Sefer ha-Zohar* (Book of Splendour) was distributed throughout Europe.⁶⁹

The massacres during the Cossack uprising were a direct consequence of the Jewish community in Poland being sandwiched between the church and the nobles. Led by a minor chieftain, Bogdan Chmeilnicki, the revolt began as a bid to free the Ukraine of Polish domination but it soon changed character. The economic and social success of the Jews in Poland had led to them being engaged by the nobles to lease or to manage estates in the Ukraine when the nobles had their minds on other matters following the 'unification' of Poland and Lithuania in 1569. However the Orthodox Ukrainian peasants, then also subjects of Poland, saw

the Jews as representative of the oppressive Catholic Polish nobility. The hatred generated by the church in Russia against both the Jews and the Catholics soon knew no bounds. Bands of Cossacks moved through the Ukraine from east to west, ravaging Jewish villages as they went and reliable estimates put the massacre of Jews at over 100,000 people.⁷⁰ In addition, another round of forced conversions and deportations to serfdom in Russia began, with accusations of interference in the affairs of the Orthodox church and the ritual murder of adolescent Christians to provide blood for use in unleavened Passover bread.

The tragedy in the Ukraine led to the direction of Jewish migration being reversed, with many who could, moving back towards Germany, Holland, Bohemia and the Balkans, and an upsurge in interest in the Kabbalah and in the latent yearning for a messiah. In 1665, urged on by his chief supporter, Nathan Ashkenazi, who he met in Palestine, Shabbetai Zevi of Smyrna in Turkey proclaimed himself as such. The impact, especially among kabbalists, was considerable. Processions and acts of mortification were held and delegations travelled to see him. The messianic agitation so alarmed the Ottoman authorities that Zevi was summoned to appear before the Sultan and given the choice of death or adopting Islam. He chose Islam. Even so, some small communities which had remodeled their Judaism around him (as Shabbateanism) survived within the framework of the Doenmeh movement with semi-Trinitarian beliefs. There was another brief burst of Shabbateanism in central and eastern Europe when one of Zevi's disciples, Jacob Leibovicz (or Frank), claimed to be Zevi's reincarnation and declared war on both the Talmud and the Rabbinate in the mid eighteenth century, and one community continued in Greece until the 1920s.^{71 72}

In the meantime the tragedy of the Ukraine and the depressing impact which it had on the Polish economy had drawn attention to the benefits which had resulted for Poland from having a strong core of Jewish business people. The Elector of Brandenburg appears to have taken a leaf out of King Boleslav's diary of 1264,. In 1670, totally ignoring the church's policies and regarding the interests of the state as supreme, he invited several dozen wealthy Jews to settle in Berlin and a formal Jewish community was founded the following year. In return for the development which their capital would bring and their economic and administrative expertise they were assured of religious freedom, commercial liberties and protection from persecution. A new pattern of commercial entrepreneurs, "court Jews", diplomats and advisers in law and other fields began to emerge throughout Europe.⁷³

A CRY FOR RELIEF

Such were the extremes of the Jewish environment which generated intellectual unrest among Europe's young Jews. They found it just as hard to understand and to adjust to the changes around them as did the church which did all it could to minimize the changes. The young Jews were no longer content to accept that a state of human degradation was their proper and inevitable station in life simply because everyone from their own rabbis to the pope said they should. People like Moses Mendelssohn began to hack away at the barriers between Christians

and Jews and the bonds which tied down the Jewish people. Their only tools were their own intellectual brilliance, personal effort and whatever personal authority they could develop in positions to which they were appointed. They saw their tasks in many different lights but basically they were simply aiming to expand the overall Jewish intellect, eliminate complacency and remove the ghetto walls. They didn't realize that they were gearing up a whole people for the eventual twentieth century trouble in the triangle. That was still too far off. And they probably didn't expect such deep division within their community which even such simple aims would prompt.

Mendelssohn, born in 1729 in the Dessau ghetto just a few kilometers west of Luther's Wittenberg in Germany, a hunchback, was required to pay the special Jewish toll before he could enter Berlin to study in 1743. Having gained admission he became a prominent mathematician, philosopher and educator at a critical time. As Barnavi explains: "Mendelssohn had to fight on two fronts, with traditionalist rabbis who feared losing the purity of Judaism and the nation's cohesion, and with Germans who opposed Jewish emancipation."⁷⁴ He translated the Pentateuch into excellent German with a commentary in Hebrew, and thus encouraged Jews to use a language which gave them access to a whole new range of literature, scientific and philosophical writing. He carried the debate on interfaith relations right up to the Christians (both Catholic and Reformed), he set a new pattern of Biblical interpretation, and he provided a strong focus for the Reform Movement in Jerusalem, a statement of his philosophy of Judaism in relation to the modern secular state, which was published in 1783, three years before his death. Fortunately Mendelssohn lived to be able to see some of the fruits of his work. The Jewish Free School was opened in Berlin in 1781 on the basis of his educational principles and in Austria Joseph II issued his Toleranzpatent in 1781, prompted by Mendelssohn's work which was brought to his attention by Christian Wilhelm von Dohm. Mendelssohn earned his recognition as 'father of the Haskalah', the Jewish version of the German Enlightenment.

Of course although a number of other rulers followed Joseph II's example during the next few years a lot of other rulers were having difficulty accepting the new openness towards Jews and their role in society, notably the popes. In 1775 an edict imposed further restrictions on Jews in the Papal States which recalled most of the worst abuses of the Middle Ages. Then came a further reaction to the messianic movements within the Jewish community, known as Hassidism, which developed in Poland but which struck trouble in a head-on confrontation with mainstream Rabbinical Judaism at Vilna in 1777, just at the time of the first partition.^{75 76} Polish Judaism split into anti-Rabbinical and pro-Rabbinical parties. At that critical stage Elijah ben Solomon (the Gaon of Vilna) assumed leadership of the mainstream pro-Rabbinical party. Described as "the greatest intellectual and spiritual force in Rabbinical Judaism since Maimonides"⁷⁷, he drew the Hassidics back to full recognition of the Torah, even if not to the Rabbinate, at the same time that Mendelssohn was trying to sweep away the old ghetto mentality and the deeply-entrenched orthodoxy which he saw as perpetuating it.

The combined effects of such men and their movements led to a burning desire among young Jews for secular education in the arts and sciences, the establishment of free schools which went

beyond the basics of reading, writing and Talmudic law, and the beginning of an unprecedented flood of brilliant minds onto the artistic, scientific, commercial and political stages of the world. The bonds had not yet been broken but cries for a fresh start were ringing to the heavens from everywhere. They had a lot to do with the church but, as before, they were not orchestrated by the church. They were in spite of it or, more correctly, they were cries for relief from the church. They were ringing out from Russia where the monarchy had hauled the church into line and stripped it of its assets after a long period of resistance. During that period the church had been a force for repression, both as an instrument of state and because of its self-interested economic policies. And the resources made available by the enforced dismembering of the church had completely changed the balance of power in eastern Europe. The church, in a broad sense, had thus contributed towards the partition of Poland in several ways. It had set up the interfaith and interdenominational discord which were a major factor in the plot and it had accumulated the resources, through gross misconduct, which then made the partition possible.

Cries for a fresh start were ringing out from ghettos all over Europe. The church had promoted them and forced their Jewish residents into a degrading and racially isolated position which had encouraged a new self-awareness and a renewed struggle for recognition and basic human rights through education and personal achievement. The church just couldn't help itself. Its unprecedented abuse of human rights triggered a jack-in-a-box reaction by the Jewish community. And that reaction was, in due course, to result in a dynamic contribution from the Jewish community towards human self-understanding and both physical and cultural development – in short, towards salvation – quite out of proportion to the number of Jews compared with Christians. The Jewish community was also building on the foundations which Copernicus and Galileo had laid towards the next great challenge to the church's doctrines and its view of itself, but it did not realize that at the time. And the Lubavicher movement, established under the stimulus of Mendelssohn and his contemporaries, led to the establishment of schools and the training of religious reactivators to revive adherence to the Torah among Jews.

TIME FOR A NEW START

But the cries for a fresh start were ringing out right across Europe – not just from the ghettos – as Reformation, Counter-Reformation and Inquisition involved people in a struggle for tolerance and for an understanding of their relationship with each other and with God. And cries had begun to ring out on the other side of the Atlantic as well. Thirteen young North American colonies were waging an all-out war against England, the dominant colonial power on the continent, and they had just made a unilateral declaration of Independence. The church had the ball at its feet again. That continent, which is richer in natural resources than any other on earth, was being settled by a hotchpotch of people who were escaping from persecution, imbued to the point of fanaticism with the message of their particular brand of Christianity, with no long-established labour, land tenure or legal systems to inhibit them. They were shaking off the

English monarchy which was their last link with the old world. They could establish their ideal new nation from scratch. At least they were shaking off their second to last link with the old world. Every fragment of the Christian church was there and each colony was institutionally linked to one of them. The roar was going up from the crowd: "Let's make a new start!"

So it was that a dream began to take shape out in the New World. With a touch of goodwill and good luck the new wave of settlers north of the Gulf of Mexico would be able to take advantage of their personal experience of religious intolerance and persecution and turn into a reality their visions of a dynamic, peace loving, God fearing community fulfilling theology. The church still had the ball at its feet or, more correctly, the reform wing of the church did. When Canada was "united" by Wolfe's victory at Quebec in 1759 followed by France's generous "gesture" in ceding the whole of its Canadian territory to England in the Peace of Paris in 1763, the Church of England replaced the Roman Catholic Church as the official religious institution for the whole of Canada and the numerical and political balance in North America overall swung firmly in favour of the reformers.

The young country had everything going for it. Vast expanses of virtually unoccupied country were ready to be broken up for food production. There was only a small indigenous population with which to make peace. There was greater concentration of usable resources waiting to be put to good use than anywhere else in the world. Freedom from the inhibitions which go with long established systems of government and economic management, coupled with a steady flow of both free immigrants and refugees from every culture which Europe knew, to give free reign to personal and community initiative and inspiration. That steady flow of immigrants and refugees also brought together people of diverse racial streams from several continents and provided the basis for a multi-racial population with marked hybrid vigour through intermarriage.

The history of the USA in its formative period suggests that such a development did take place. Actually both Europe and Asia Minor had already enjoyed the same opportunity as waves of people had moved backwards and forwards. The people of Asia Minor had few inhibitions in this regard, as we have already noted, from the influence of Muhammad's teaching on the unity of mankind and the marriage policy of the Abbasid caliphs. On the other hand the church's doctrine-based racism, developed from the time of the Arian controversy and compounded by Augustine, had become a major stumbling block for Christians. It had not only isolated and segregated communities on the basis of faith, it had been largely responsible for the attitude of white skinned Anglo-Saxons towards people of any other skin colour, including swarthy southern Europeans (whether Non-Christian or Christian), and it had become a gigantic impediment to intermarriage. Of course neither Darwin nor Mendel had come along at that stage to talk about natural selection, evolution and hybrid vigour in a community, and any European who married a Non-European in America or anywhere else was immediately ostracized. Use them as a convenience, enslave them, even baptize them if you must, but marry them? No!

It was wishful thinking that the church could move from one environment to another, take only the Gospel with it and leave its self-portrait, its bigotry and its assorted collection of baggage behind completely. It was not capable of doing so when it moved from Old Europe to New Europe across the Atlantic, a continent which did not have a large population with a long established cultural environment. It simply eliminated the cultures of the small populations which were there and with which it otherwise had to relate. It could not possibly do so when it moved into other continents with dense and diverse populations and long established cultures and traditions. It could not simply eliminate the populations and rub out their cultures. It was supposed to be going there for the purpose of ensuring their salvation. But then that was supposed to have been its purpose in the Old World as well.

Fortunately the fall of Constantinople to the Muslim forces of the Ottoman Empire had not only triggered the unholy, competitive and exploitative push for colonial expansion. It had also released the full impact of the Renaissance. This had blossomed into the era of the Enlightenment so that the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation were not the only influences at play. The several influences were interwoven as Europe and its amorphous Christian gel rushed headlong into the big wide world beyond its understanding.

CHAPTER 13

PADDLE YOUR OWN CANOE

When in the course of Human Events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.¹

It is very doubtful whether Thomas Jefferson's four colleagues really grasped its full significance when they nodded their agreement to that preamble to the Declaration of American Independence. The group of five had been appointed by the First Continental Congress of thirteen colonies along the east coast of North America to draft a suitable declaration. While they must have had one eye cocked for the history book their main aim was to justify what they were intent on doing.²

The two million people of very diverse backgrounds in that cluster of colonies, each of which had come under direct British control by one means or another, were crying out for a new start. But they were not the only people who were doing so, and although all of the cries had common roots their immediate causes were quite varied. In the case of the North American colonists it was basically economic exploitation. It was not the religious oppression which was the continuing curse of Europe and which had prompted many of them to cross the Atlantic. Nor was it the racial labour exploitation of Africa in which they themselves were involved, the trade and political manipulation of Asia, or the fantastic combination of the whole lot in Latin America.

The American colonists were not upset because the traders and industrialists of Britain and their government wanted to take advantage of the natural resources and farm production of the New World. They were upset because the British wanted to suppress the aspirations of the colonists and tax them to finance Britain's wars as well. Their unilateral declaration of independence – which has echoed down the years to haunt them as they, in turn, have used sledge hammer tactics to suppress the aspirations of other countries – must therefore be viewed against the environment in which it was spawned.

To begin with, the uninterrupted flow of devious diplomacy, double-dealing and wretched wars between Europe's Christian kings, princes and prelates in the post-Reformation period makes a Miami Mafia vendetta look like a well organized Sunday School picnic. One big

difference is that after a Mafia vendetta everyone knows who is boss and sticks to a code of conduct. That was not the case in Europe from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Even though new systems of values and ethics were emerging slowly it was, on an international basis, every man for himself. Whatever we may think of its overall influence, the sense of unity which the Holy Roman Empire had implied had been destroyed.

THE ROLE OF A 'REGULAR' COLONY

However the church's view of itself, the Christian community's view of Europe and the racist views which were written into the creed of Athanasius, developed by Augustine and then progressively reinforced over the centuries which we have traced, became the planks with which European colonial policies were built. The Europeans were able to subdue other people with other cultures and pre-Messianic religious faiths very easily because of the greatly more effective fire power available to them in their mad scramble to compete for new food and resource supplies. This served to compound their racial and religious superiority complexes and, except in the case of China, prevented any counter pressure which could force them to modify their colonial policies and mercantilist empire-building doctrines. The availability of those weapons was also the factor which enabled them to demand and to commandeer the resources on land which other people had occupied first and was therefore the basis for the rapidly widening gap in the quantity of consumable goods available to the people of Christian Europe and the rest of the world. These matters are put in perspective by a 1726 statement by a member of the British Board of Trade.

Every act of a dependent provincial government ought therefore to terminate in the advantage of the mother state unto whom it owes its being and protection in all its valuable privileges. Hence it follows that all advantageous projects or commercial gains in any colony which are truly prejudicial to and inconsistent with the interests of the mother state must be understood to be illegal and the practice of them unwarrantable, because they contradict the end for which the colony had a being and are incompatible with the terms on which the people claim both privileges and protection... For such is the end of the colonies, and if this use cannot be made of them it will be much better for the state to be without them.³

It is therefore quite obvious from what we know of the mass migration and military patterns of the world up to that time that if gunpowder, the starting point for military and economic expansion, had been more ruthlessly exploited by those outside of Christian Europe who had it first – the Chinese in the sixth century and the Mongols who took it to Europe in the thirteenth or fourteenth century – rather than by the Europeans, the pattern of the colonial era could have been quite different.

At that stage Britain's empire included the thirteen North American colonies plus Hudson's Bay and Newfoundland (Canada), three bites of the Caribbean cherry, three North West African colonies, and three of the most important bases in India (Bombay, Madras and Calcutta). In

addition it had the untapped rights to Australia which Holland had conceded in return for a free hand in Guyana (South America).⁴

The philosophy behind colonial administration was the same in each case. British government decisions and actions only varied according to the resistance of the people in each colony, the resources being exploited, competition from other imperial powers and the personal whims of British investors. The fact that successive British governments chose not to utilize the gift of Australia until much later is quite consistent with that philosophy. The situation was quite comparable with that in North America until the terror of the Reformation forced people across there. The known terrain was unattractive, there were no people with urbanized civilizations with whom to trade, to conquer or to exploit as slaves and, although the Dutch, French, Spanish and Portuguese were all competing with them in the territories immediately to the north, there was not the incentive of competition for Australia.

The establishment of a colony in Australia was going to be sheer hard work for the people who were silly enough to set it up. No one had shown the slightest interest in a royal charter to form companies such as in India, Africa or Hudson's Bay. Then those silly colonists in North America began to rock the boat. They seemed to have forgotten the sacred relationship between a European power and its colonies.

Until then no one in Europe had questioned the concept that the rest of the world existed for the benefit of Christian Europe. The only debate had focused on whether the popes had the authority to carve up the spoils or whether the carve-up was to be left to open contest between the kings. That dispute had been resolved in favour of the kings by the passage of events and it was soon taken for granted that European powers and their royal chartered companies had the God-given right to "pacify" the native populations, to compel them to provide raw materials for processing and use "at home" and to "absorb" or provide highly profitable markets for the goods manufactured at home. It was also understood that the colonists were not to compete by manufacturing anything which could be manufactured at home, and legal and economic arrangements were to be made, of course, to maintain that relationship.⁵ And whether they recognized the popes or not, the "powers" would play their part by civilizing and Christianizing their charges.

AMERICA IS 'DIFFERENT'

The trouble was that North America wasn't like most other colonies. Like Australia, it didn't have a large "native" population. The colonists were starting from scratch. The vast majority of them were racially the same as the people of the mother country, they shared the same basic religion, culture and aspirations and they had a lot of pride, initiative and determination, otherwise they would not have been there anyway. They didn't share the mother country's view of the proper relationship between home and the colony. They were going to develop a strong, self-reliant community which would use its resources as it saw fit rather than as someone else

dictated and they were going to have good diplomatic and trading relations with every country. In short they were determined to be what Europe should have been.

On top of that they were not scared of the fire power and naval might of their mother country. They understood it and their mixed European heritage and the well tried jealousies between Europe's competing powers assured them of access to exactly the same sort of fire power. What is more they had an immense natural advantage in the days of naval power based on sails. They had a coastline of about 2,500 miles which was much harder to blockade than the small ocean frontages of Britain's other colonies. When the crunch came they took full advantage of their long coastline and their friendship with the other powers of Europe.

Considering the circumstances of the time and the assumptions on which colonial policy was based it was inevitable that friction would develop to the point of political confrontation between Britain and its American colonies before the point could possibly be reached between Britain and its other colonies. Every time the American colonists sought to compete with Britain in the European market place or to determine a major domestic policy for themselves Britain regulated to prevent it or instructed its governors to use their power of veto over colonial legislators. The stage was set with the Navigation and Trade Acts of 1651 and complementary legislation was passed as required after that to plug up gaps.

The act of 1663 required the colonies to import and export all "enumerated" goods through England irrespective of where they had been produced or where they were going except for other American colonies.⁶ England "bought cheap and sold dear." All goods had to be carried in English ships on the outward run and only English ships or those of the country of origin on the inwards run to Britain. Sugar, cotton, tobacco, ginger, indigo, dyewoods, molasses, rice, naval stores, hemp, masts, yards and bowsprits, copper ore, beaver and other furs, hides, whale fins, iron, raw silk, lumber, potash and pearl ash all found their way onto the enumerated list as the colonies began to produce them in significant quantities.⁷ Then the act of 1673 imposed taxes on exports at the port of clearance and that of 1696 aimed to cut out the illegal trade which had developed with Holland. Restrictions added in 1733 made it impossible for the northern group of colonies to maintain a favourable balance of trade by legal means so their ship's captains took matters into their own hands on the high seas.

Of course when the colonies retaliated by imposing import duties on British manufactured goods or others carried in English ships the Board of Trade instructed the colonial governors to veto such regulations. On several occasions the board was able to prevent new towns being established on the grounds that they would encourage competitive manufacturing industries and reduce the efficiency of tobacco production by drawing labour away from the fields. They were able to prevent the establishment of shoe, linen, wool and hat factories in the colonies from time to time and tried to enforce restrictions on the iron and steel industry by banning new furnaces and rolling mills. Even with the smell of revolution already in the air the board added iron to the enumerated list in 1764.⁸ In the same year the House of Commons passed the Currency Act to turn the screws even tighter on private money movement to, from and within the colonies. It also set up special courts and naval patrols to deal with smuggling to and from the colonies,

taxed an increased range of goods, and ended exemptions from transshipment in England for non-enumerated goods being exported to Europe.

The complex Seven Years War (1756–1763) had just dragged to a close with a Treaty signed in Paris. France had ceded to the English the balance of its interests in North America, including the Mississippi, Ohio and Tennessee Valleys which stretched to the west of the English colonies, – except for its sprawling and ill-defined colony of Louisiana which went to Spain. It was small comfort that it got back some of its Caribbean sugar producing islands in lieu, and France was in very bad shape indeed. England also gained Florida from Spain and strengthened its hold on a series of Caribbean and Central American territories at Spain's expense so it ought to have been very happy. However all three of the bickering maritime Sunday School teachers had spent heavily on their European and New World wars and all three were under severe financial strain. They were not the only powers involved in the war. They were, in a sense, secondary players whose territorial interests centred on New World and Asian colonies rather than on European territorial claims and trade routes. But they each had very volatile alliances and treaties with central European powers which had been entered into (certainly not 'forged') during the previous decade and on which they were dependent for the integrity of their own territorial positions.

The events of the 1740s were very much a prelude to the Seven Years War. Frederick II of Prussia triggered a round of wars by swooping on Silesia in 1741 to strengthen his position and in doing so he exposed the newly installed Empress Maria Theresa's inability to secure her Austrian empire. His fellow monarchs followed suite very quickly in anticipation that the Austrian Empire was in its death throes. France moved to relieve Austria of the Netherlands and Luxemburg to strengthen its position in relation to England and to fulfill its ambition to become pre-eminent in Europe. Bavaria wanted to expand eastward and to make a bid for the imperial crown. And Saxony, whose Elector was also king of Poland, wanted what was left, Hungary. A deal between France and Bavaria gave Bavaria's Charles Albert the title of Emperor, with or without the pope's consent, and Austria's glory was about to be consigned to the history books. But the Hungarian aristocracy didn't welcome the change. They rallied to Maria Theresa's aid, pushed the French out of Prague and the Bavarians out of Munich, and forced Charles Albert to renounce his claim to the imperial title and to cede his provinces to Maria Theresa in her capacity as queen of Hungary. England and Sardinia joined forces as allies of Austria and planned an invasion of France so that they could share in the spoils, and Prussia, having triggered the whole affair, made peace with Austria and withdrew from the war after securing two prizes: Silesia and Saxony.

A general peace may have been possible but Maria Theresa wanted retribution against France. Never mind the trauma and casualties for the masses. The powers must have their glory. Austria, Sardinia and England signed a treaty at Worms in 1743 for an English-subsidized grand alliance against France. But Frederick or Prussia intervened again, invaded Bohemia, seized Prague, distracted Austria and relieved the pressure on France. It was then time for France to plot in the hope of extending its realm north through Belgium along the Channel coast and of

re-establishing a Catholic monarchy in England. Early successes against English armies in the Austrian-controlled Netherlands appeared to put the goal within reach but the French had to contend with the vagaries of the Channel weather and the strength of attachment which the English aristocracy had developed for a Protestant monarchy. The great carve-up of Europe in the guise of a war to determine the Austrian Succession ground to a halt with only a bit of tinkering at the edges of territorial borders, but none of the powers were really satisfied.

Fresh alliances formed and re-formed around much the same issues that they had for several hundred years. But then the pattern began to change as governments and traders realized more clearly that the alliances they made could have a big bearing not only on their territorial survival but also on their chances to secure lucrative overseas colonies, or “possessions.” Maria Theresa took the initiative as Austria and France began to develop an accord as a buffer against Prussia and this evolved into a defensive and offensive treaty involving Russia also. This tended to re-focus France’s attention on Europe and its domestic problems and to distract it from its Trans-Atlantic interests. Frederick, previously loosely aligned with France against Austria, not trusting Austrian intentions, invaded Saxony in September 1756. He immediately had the armies of three nations aligned against him and encircling him, and Sweden soon joined the push. Prussia’s future looked bleak. Then England ignored its long-standing allegiance and threw its support behind Prussia instead of Austria. The pattern of the war changed.

King George II was opposed to any support for Frederick. H.A.L. Fisher quotes him as saying: “The King of Prussia is a mischievous rascal, a bad friend, a bad ally, a bad relation, and a bad neighbour, in fact, the most dangerous and ill-disposed prince in Europe.” But the English monarchy was no longer absolute. William Pitt was in charge. He wanted a greater slice of the colonial cake and he could see a way of gaining it through an alliance with Frederick. But how would he gain the support of both the aristocracy and the population at large for such a plan? A land grab and greed would do for the aristocracy who would gain the bulk of the benefits. But in the mood of the time it was not likely to raise the enthusiasm of the masses who would provide the gun fodder.

Pitt justified England’s support for Frederick on the basis of virtues which no one else was able to see. Frederick, he said, was the pillar of the Protestant faith and the champion of the liberties of Europe. His simplistic picture of the battlefield in Europe was Protestant Prussia and England taking on Catholic Austria and France but Pitt did not send an army into central Europe to fight alongside his new found ally. He subsidized the armies of Frederick’s vassals such as the Prince of Brunswick and by repeated raids on the French coast he prevented France from throwing its full force against Prussia.⁹ With religious freedom as the basis of his policy he therefore earned England a place at the peace talks and its share of the spoils from the Treaty of Paris. Or did he? His real motive was the displacement of France from the American colonies and Canada, and he described America as the “fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our strength, the nursery and basis of our naval power.”¹⁰ As the war progressed he showed little interest in his ally in Prussia and threw all of England’s capacity into a war against the French possessions in the Americas and Asia. As the Board of Trade tightened the screws on the American colonies,

working on the basis of a philosophy with which he was obviously in full agreement, Pitt must have been well satisfied with the outcome of his “religious war” (dare we call it a crusade?) and the Treaty of Paris of 1763

RELIGION: A PRETEXT FOR WAR ...

Britain had not yet savoured the full benefits of absolute control in Bengal and effective control over the whole of the Indian Peninsula (which had been fragmenting rapidly from the impact of never-ending outside interference), both of which it gained during the period of the Seven Years War. It needed money and it thought it needed greater control over its American colonies to get it but at the same time it had to avoid an uprising by the French Catholic settlers in the territory which it had just acquired from France. Since 1625, about six generations, Quebec had been ruled as a Jesuit theocracy and that Treaty of Paris suddenly thrust them into the unenviable position of being a minority community of 70,000 in a total colonial population of two million, a high proportion of whom were vigorously anti-papal.¹¹ The lobbying and the double-dealing which resulted very quickly complicated relations between Britain and its colonies and sent shock waves back across the Atlantic.

Britain should not have been surprised. Pitt had not only used the pretext of a religious war to justify Britain’s involvement in the first place, but he had used the threat of French and Catholic encirclement as a means of getting the support of the remote colonists for its war against France and to raise units for the war in Canada. He had also encouraged exploration and land speculation in those regions west of the Allegheny Mountains which the French controlled and where Quebec-based Jesuit missions had been established. A young man named George Washington who had represented an English landlord named Fairfax at the time that he surveyed land around the upper Potomac was among the colonists who expected the British authorities to approve of settlement west of the Appalachian crest and he bought up soldier-bounty claims. Like the others, he was rather unhappy when the British government directed that the settlers and traders abandon their settlements in the former French territory which it put under the control of imperial agents, instead of the colonial governors, as a temporary measure to pacify the people and establish orderly government at the end of the war.

Further restrictions and the introduction of direct taxes through the Stamp Act (1765), Townshend duties (1767) and the Tea Act (1773) made the colonists even more restless.¹² They enjoyed a little merriment in the port of Boston at the expense of both the crown and the merchants who had been given exclusive rights to East India Company tea and then fretted while the English navy blockaded their port. But then it appeared that the position would improve. With Britain in a stronger trading and political position because of the profitability of its empire the government responded to the appeals from the colonists and released the pressure a bit by easing controls on the issue and use of paper money within the colonies.¹³

However the basic philosophy behind colonial policy hadn’t changed and neither had the politics of the Canadian territories. The British Parliament passed the Quebec Act. Former

French areas were not to become an extension of the thirteen midcoast colonies for farming and urban industrial development. They were to be kept as fur hides and timber producing areas to serve British industries through merchants in Montreal and Quebec. Existing land occupancy was confirmed and further land tracts were retained for British army officers, merchants and gentry.¹⁴ Shades of Catherine of Russia. But whereas she had serfs to give away too, George III could only insist that the slave trade and transportation of felons fresh from the courthouses of the English countryside be continued in order to provide the necessary labour force, against the wishes of the existing colonists.

... AND A BASIS FOR A STATE

Unfortunately the parallel with Russia, Prussia, Austria and Poland goes even further. In the same way that official religious toleration in Eastern Europe had just come out of the first partition of Poland, which was still in the process of being enforced, it was expedient for the British Parliament to recognize the status of the Roman Catholic Church in its newly acquired colony of Quebec even though Catholics at home in Britain were still totally disenfranchised. As usual, the long term implications were not considered and it didn't seem to occur to the government that self-interest in colonial policy would eventually backfire.

In guaranteeing freedom of worship, property ownership and the vote to Quebec's Catholics just as the backbone of their settlement, the Jesuit order, was being disbanded the government did four things. It threw those people more directly into the clutches of the Vatican; it guaranteed a feudal and authoritarian system which would remain into the twentieth century and isolate Quebec from British Protestant settlers into the present era; it set the scene for renewed sectarian struggles at home; and it caused further conflict between itself and the American colonists.¹⁵

The colonists had had about enough. They were not only being exploited, they were now being shut in and their aspirations were being brushed aside to satisfy the greed of the English aristocracy and their need to do a deal with people who had been painted as the common enemy until that moment. When the Coercive and Restraining Acts which went hand in hand with the Quebec Act were passed, leading colonists convened the First Continental Congress. Delegates came from twelve of the thirteen midcoast colonies, set up the Continental Association and imposed an embargo on imports from England. It was so successful that by early 1775 imports had virtually disappeared. In April the British army moved in on government orders to arrest leaders of the congress. Might was right, of course, but not at all conclusive, and a series of skirmishes followed. Lacking wholehearted support from the people of England, George III threw in German mercenaries and, with the boot on the other foot, units from Quebec and Indian auxiliaries. The colonists, with Washington in overall command, marched on Quebec.

New attitudes and new antagonisms were being nurtured. In 1776, just twelve months after the first British march the Congress met again, declared the Trade and Navigation Acts null and void, ordered a stop to the colonial slave trade (but not the release of slaves then in service) and

appointed Jefferson and company to draft a declaration of independence. Lord Dartmouth wrote that the colonists could not be allowed to “check or discourage a traffic so beneficent to the nation” in a response which was typical of the great proprietary interests of the mother country.¹⁶

TIME FOR A NEW APPROACH

But relations between Britain and the Americas were not evolving in isolation. There was no longer any isolation. Europe was in a continuing state of turmoil and Americans were intensely conscious of the conflicts and disputes which were buffeting and reshaping, yet again, the political, religious and social patterns of Europe. They were especially aware of the works of two people which resulted from, and reflected, that turmoil. One was Jean-Jaques Rousseau and the other was Francois-Marie Arouet – Voltaire.

Geneva-born Rousseau fled humiliating domestic conflict in an austere environment of rigid Calvinism and adopted Catholicism in his adopted home, France, in circumstances which he came to regard as shameful, and became the centre of a clique of young writers, musicians and philosophers. However he went through an experience which jolted him into the realization, or belief, that modern progress had corrupted men instead of improving them. He wrote *A Discourse on the Sciences and the Arts* in 1750 in which he argued that the history of man’s life on earth was a history of decay. He believed that humanity and society were not inherently bad and that they had taken a wrong direction under the influence of the Enlightenment. He set about passionately criticizing its central premises and argued that society needed simplicity and austere virtue. He repudiated his Catholicism, returned to Geneva and worked on *Emile* a book basically about education.

Freedom, he wrote, was not a matter of being left alone by the government under the rule of law, but was to be found in governing oneself – in making laws for oneself – both in a moral and political sense. True liberty not only demanded self-mastery, it also demanded a democracy, and could only be achieved when all were politically equal. Simplicity and austerity were needed, he argued, because the fewer the wants of a society, the fewer laws it would need, and the easier it would be to recognize and submit oneself to the common good. This common good he called the ‘general will’, and he argued that the general will, expressed properly through the will of the majority, was always right, and always in the best interests of each individual. Since it always aimed at preserving and promoting the conditions of freedom and equality by aiming at the best interests of society as a whole, it always accorded with the best interests of all the members of society. If you disagreed with the general will you were wrong, and in submitting to it you were being ‘forced to be free’. When *Emile* was published in 1762 both Geneva and Paris were scandalized. He responded to criticism saying that what political society needed was patriotic republican citizens who loved their country more than themselves, who believed in a simple and natural religion, and who were immersed in the common life of their people. Only then could a republic be strong enough to defend itself, and only then could the common good

be put before selfish individual interests. His books were banned, he was arrested in Paris, escaped and lived a life on the run. But whether the elite liked them or not, Rousseau's ideas were providing an important intellectual and cultural wellspring for both the French Revolution and the broad European cultural movement of Romanticism. At the same time he was bringing the curtain down on the Enlightenment.

Voltaire's crusade was of a different kind. He was educated as a Jesuit but his bitter experience led him into a courageous crusade against tyranny, bigotry and cruelty. From 1709, when he was distressed by the horrors of religious persecution under Louis XIV, he set out to use his columns to shame the establishment, but when he mocked the Regent in an epigram in 1717 he was first banished, then imprisoned in the Bastille, beaten and sent into exile in England in 1726 where he was greatly influenced by Newton, Locke and the Quakers. In Geneva where he had then gone to live, he was at first admired by the Calvinist elite, but when he was accused of inspiring the writer for an encyclopedia to praise certain pastors for their doubts on Christ's divinity all hell was let loose. The publisher was forced to halt the encyclopedia and Voltaire was forced into exile again. But that did not curtail his writing. He returned again and again to his main themes: the establishment of religious tolerance, the growth of material prosperity, and respect for the rights of man by the abolition of torture and useless punishments. When the Protestant Jean Calas, a merchant of Toulouse accused of having murdered his son in order to prevent his conversion to the Roman Catholic Church, was broken on the wheel while protesting his innocence (March 10, 1762), Voltaire, livid with anger, took up the case and by his vigorous intervention obtained the vindication of the unfortunate Calas and the indemnification of the family. But he was less successful in a dramatic affair concerning the 19-year-old Chevalier de La Barre. La Barre was tried and beheaded for having insulted a religious procession and damaging a crucifix (July 1, 1766). Voltaire protested actively, suggesting that the Philosophes should leave France and settle in the town of Cleves, offered them by Frederick II. Although public opinion had been distressed by such barbarity, Voltaire was not even able to force a judicial review of the scandalous trial.¹⁷

SMITH: 'TRY MINE'

However, just as Jefferson was appointed to draft a declaration of independence another book was published which could, if they paid it close attention, strengthen the hands of the colonists considerably. Adam Smith, whose post as professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow University gave him responsibility for studies in the fields of natural theology, ethics, jurisprudence and political economy, published *An Inquiry into the nature and causes of the Wealth of Nations* in 1776. He provided the first comprehensive and systematic statement of political economy. It went beyond a simple study of economics and ranged over the much larger field of historical evolution. Rousseau was trying to reverse the trend of the Enlightenment, but in a very real sense Smith's work complemented the ground-breaking work of key figures of the Enlightenment. New ground had already been broken in the fields of mathematics, astronomy,

science and philosophy. With Smith's work in economics all of the basic areas of study and human endeavour had now been drawn into the age of Enlightenment.

The basic perspective for *Wealth of Nations* was the domestic structure of a nation's economy and its path to wealth through the division of labour, the availability of resources, the policies of government and competition between suppliers. Smith was less concerned with interaction between nations. He outlined four basic stages through which he said a society passed from its original 'rude' hunting state towards advanced commercial interdependence, and he saw the concept of 'private property' linked to the protection of privilege as central to economic development, requiring the buttress of law and order systems. The recognition of private property was justified, he said, by economic aims rather than natural law. "Civil government," he wrote, "so far as it is instituted for the security of private property, is in reality instituted for the defence of the rich against the poor, or of those who have some property against those who have none at all." His system of "perfect liberty" required the evolution of institutions, the determination of wages by markets rather than guilds, and a free enterprise economy in which the market was self-correcting rather than one restrained by government. He had drafted guidelines for laissez-faire capitalism. But he qualified the idea in a very important manner. His system, he said, was in the best interests of all, provided that government is not entrusted to, or heeds the demands of, "the mean rapacity, the monopolizing spirit of merchants and manufacturers, who neither are, nor ought to be, the rulers of mankind." That was certainly not the way the Calvinist elite wanted to interpret the doctrine of predestination and it is in sharp contrast to the situation at the opening of the twenty first century in which control of government policies is an imperative of capital interests and the Bretton Woods Institutions.

However some aspects of Smith's writing did impact on relations between nations, especially where the regulations of one directly influenced another, as in the case of an imperial power and its colonies or when questions of the supply of resources were involved. He said that progress could be blocked by deficiencies of resources, wars, or bad policies of government. Those were the very issues which were being debated on both sides of the Atlantic and which would soon bring conflict between the American colonies and Britain to a head and result in their push for independence. In that regard it is noteworthy that after his retirement from academia Smith was appointed commissioner of customs and salt duties for Scotland.

Like many of the other key figures of the Enlightenment, Smith had remarkably wide interests and he wrote extensively on moral theology and social philosophy. In *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* he examined the source of human ability to form moral judgements, including judgements on one's own behaviour, passions and self-interest. He proposed that within each person there is an "inner man" who plays the role of the "impartial spectator," approving or condemning our own or others' actions with a voice impossible to disregard. But he also saw humans as creatures driven by passions and at the same time self-regulated by their ability to reason and by their capacity for sympathy. Individuals were pitted against one another and provided with rational and moral faculties to develop institutions through which destructive struggles could be mitigated and even put to the common good. He said that without knowing it

or intending it, self-seeking men are often “led by an invisible hand ... to advance the interests of society.”¹⁸ In studying these aspects of human behaviour Smith was following the same course as both Descartes and Locke before him. Their reasoning and their conclusions overlapped or were similar in some respects but they differed, and even contradictory in others. None could be said to have found the conclusive ‘right answer.’ That is of no consequence. They were each responding to the ongoing public and theological debate about human nature and the doctrine of predestination in relation to Humanist ideas of free will. In order: the Synod of Dort made its pronouncements in 1619; Descartes wrote in 1644; Locke in 1689; and Smith in 1759. They each made remarkable contributions to the understanding of human nature and motivation and, ultimately, to a clearer understanding of the relationship between humanity and God. They were going through the process which the churches should have gone through but could not. The churches were anchored to doctrinal statements which were based on the prior doctrines and self-understanding which they had developed and insisted, on pain of death, had to be believed but which were not acceptable to a host of scholars. As with many other situations which we have considered, the debate could not have developed in this manner except in the context of the trouble in the triangle. It is interesting to ponder what statements the churches may have arrived at if the Synod of Dort had been held after those writers of the Enlightenment had made their contributions instead of before. Because the churches had dug their heels in so firmly in a bid to preserve their self-understanding, their status and their authority, they have shifted ground only very slowly indeed.

A FRENCH INTERVENTION

The tide of events was still running fast and in England’s favour until France, eager to redress her humiliation at England’s hands fourteen years earlier, entered the war either against England or for the colonists, or perhaps a bit of both, and persuaded the Spanish and Dutch to follow suit. For a while it was England’s turn to run but, possibly believing the American colonies a lost cause, the Royal Navy turned its attention full on the French in the Caribbean, gained a sharp victory and England went reasonably happily to Paris in 1763 to negotiate another treaty. The French scored one Caribbean island (Tabago) and an African slave trading post at St. Louis; the Spanish reclaimed Florida and the Mosquito Coast; the Dutch came out even; England held on to Canada; and the American colonists got their independence.

INDEPENDENCE ... FROM THE DIVINE RIGHT OF A KING

The colonists justified their defiant seizure of independence not on the basis of their mother country’s greed or their own material ambitions but by an attack on the person of the monarch and his actions. Their attack was certainly not against the monarchy as an institution and it was only against their “British brethren” with ties of “common kindred” to the extent that they had ignored warnings of “attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us.” Appealing to “the Supreme Judge of the world” with “a firm reliance on the Protection of

Divine Providence” they declared that their “United Colonies” are “Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown” as free and independent states. Saying that “the history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these states”, their declaration set out eighteen paragraphs of his sins and concluded that “a Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.”¹⁹

While the declaration contained a challenge to the principle of an hereditary monarchy through the personal attack on George III it would be a mistake to think that the colonists were all tarred with the same brush as either the democratic Puritans and Whigs who had previously tried to clip the monarch’s wings or the republican army under Cromwell, fear of which is said to have stopped him from accepting the crown of England.²⁰ There was in reality quite a strong streak of the imperial spirit running through the leaders of the embryonic United States.

George Washington, landed gentleman, military leader and first president, is said to have refused the crown, in the shadow of Cromwell, but to have maintained a rather formal “court.” John Adams tried to set the executive above the “petty factionalizing” as an independent agency representing “the dignity of government and the interests of all the people” and even Thomas Jefferson is said to have made a republican patriot king of himself in a self conscious and backhanded way. He personified the revolutionary colonists’ call for “a patriot king or none.”²¹ What is more, the central government was so feeble in its early years because of the independence of the thirteen states and their reluctance to cede powers to Congress, encouraged by Britain’s insistence on separate negotiation with each of them no doubt, that there was a real danger of the federation falling apart. The establishment of a monarchy was seen as a possible solution, secret talks took place on the idea and the president of Congress, Nathaniel Gorham of Massachusetts, arranged for an approach to be made to the brother of Frederick of Prussia, Prince Henry, before the Constitution was ratified in 1787.²² In fact the declaration carries a more direct challenge to the church through its statement of misdeeds and aspirations than it does to the monarchy.

But where, we may wonder, is the connection with the church? It was only a few generations earlier that the Church of England had anchored itself to the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings during its struggle to justify a break with papal Rome. The doctrine was simply an extension of the arguments used during the investiture controversy between the popes and kings of France and Germany. Similarly it was little different to the arguments used in Russia to tie the monarchy to the church and vice versa, and in Islam to perpetuate the Abbasid Caliphate. There were, however, a couple of refinements.

In the English version kings were accorded healing-by-touch’n’faith properties more often associated with bishops of Orthodox churches, and a rebellion against the king was a sin against God. The colonists were therefore very conscious of the enormous ethical and religious implications of what they were doing, especially because Maryland had been settled as a colony for English Catholics through the efforts of George Calvert, elevated to first Baron of

Baltimore, under the patronage of Charles I.²³ Its royal charter was issued in 1632 just two months after Calvert died. Ten years later the English civil war brought serious conflict between Maryland and Virginia and it reached such bitterness and trauma when Charles lost his head on January 30, 1649 that Maryland was forced to introduce an act of religious toleration two months later. Only five years later that act was repealed and, with Cromwell at the reins, Catholicism was outlawed. It was still outlawed at the time of the war of Independence. The execution of Charles had actually sent chills down royal spines right across Europe. Several countries applied sanctions against England, not because they refuted the right of ordinary people to rise against oppression, but because his own parliament had actually killed their king! The Cossacks had just risen in Poland and this English ‘incident’ could provoke anything in Austria, Prussia or Russia.

When George III came to the throne he had the enthusiastic support of the vast majority of colonists. They saw him from their position as better able to fulfill the responsibilities which went with his Divine Right than his grandfather whom he succeeded. It was only when “corruption and factional conflict continued unabated” and a decade of “almost continuous controversy” began with the Townshend Act of 1766 that the “bubble of euphoria” finally burst. Even the Stamp Act had not turned them against him. They had seen it as a plot hatched by “dirty sycophants” and “ministerial hacks” to turn the colonies against him.²⁴ Even the religious conflict which had driven many of them to America and the continuing friction which they were experiencing had only shaken, but not destroyed, such deeply ingrained doctrines.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ENSHRINED

But now that was all behind them and they could settle down to the serious business of developing their country, establishing a strong trading position and otherwise quietly watching the rest of the world’s powers bicker among themselves. Or could they? Twelve colonies adopted the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776. New York abstained and only after much domestic debate adopted it on July 15. The Church of England had been established by law in four of New York’s main counties and penal laws to suppress Catholicism existed there as well as in Maryland. When the colony had been ceded to England by Holland in 1674 religious freedom had been guaranteed, but it didn’t last long. Religious intrigue, never far below the surface, reared its ugly head when a Catholic, Thomas Dongan, was appointed governor in 1682. By 1689 the government had been overthrown, Dongan and the Catholic clergy were outlawed and the Church of England was soon established complete with those penal laws.

When the Declaration of Independence came along with its challenge to the role and attitudes of the church it naturally caused a great deal of soul searching. The settlers, or at least some of them, wanted to cling to the churches of their heritage and the churches wanted to cling to their positions of privilege and authority. Several of the states retained or promptly adopted as their state churches the denominations with which their founding settlers had been linked. It

seemed quite logical at first but then the struggle for the prestigious role of national church began. It seemed that sectarianism could bring the union down even if reluctance to cede powers didn't.

The solution was all too simple. There would be no direct links between the church and the state at all. The life, ethics and legislative procedures of the nation would be based on generally accepted Christian principles but there would be no single church with precedence over any other. The young nation had reached a point which had not been possible in Europe. The very first amendment to the constitution of the United States of America was adopted in 1791, just two years after the constitution had been ratified.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

The independent young nation out in the New World had made a momentous decision and in doing so it was providing a lead which was soon to be followed by many countries. Forced into the position of avoiding conflict within the nation by clipping the wings of the fragmented church, it had established a new relationship between the church and the state. Like it or not, the church in the USA was to be only the moral and religious teacher; the conscience of its adherents, the business community and the legislature; and the guiding light upon the hill which would determine the ethics of the nation and its dealings with every other nation. It was to have no direct role in government; no system of courts with enforceable jurisdiction in civil matters parallel with the civil judiciary; a strictly defined role in education and certainly no taxing powers. The church might still see itself as the sole route to Salvation and the ultimate interpreter of God's will on earth but the state didn't see it that way and the mechanism of Salvation was to be leadership and not liturgy.

However these rebellious young refugees from religious intolerance who were striking out on their own were not on their own in their eagerness to clip the church's wings. It was twenty years since Peter III had turned the church in Russia inside out and the pace of events had been hotting up right across Europe. Every major event or government decision and the effects of those decisions became ingredients in consequent events. Of course it had never been any different since one man first swung a punch at another – action and reaction – but as the stakes were getting higher so the reactions were becoming more rapid and more violent. And now the American War of Independence had provided countless ingredients for a revolution in France which was about to trigger such chain reactions that no country in Europe could avoid becoming involved.

Changes in the role of the church and in church/state relations which had not been achieved through reformation were about to come through revolution. Europe would soon be well aware of the death pangs of the Holy Roman Empire. However for the time being it was still cloistered or, perhaps more correctly, isolated by its church-built walls and moats, seemingly all-powerful and favoured by the Almighty, and it was still inhibited in its thinking by the church's self-

assessment which remained, shaken but not destroyed, in spite of the Reformation. It would therefore be less conscious that the long-standing relationship between its church and the other partners in the triangle had been torn to shreds. A new relationship was beginning to evolve and the thing which would shape it would be the conduct of the world's Christians: the very same factor which had spawned, shaped, battered and torn the triangle up to that stage.

The decision by France to conclude an alliance with the rebellious colonies a few months after their declaration of independence had only a little to do with sympathy for republicanism. In fact there was real sympathy for that philosophy only among the academics of the anarchist fringe. Certainly Louis XVI had come to the throne while George III of England was organizing a navy to close the harbour at Boston after its tea party, but the French people were more impressed by what Frederick was achieving in Prussia and they longed for an enlightened despot who, like a new Charlemagne, would reform the state. It was generally the case that Europe's kings and queens were becoming more progressive out of fear for popular uprisings while their Diets of dominant nobles were solidly conservative, clinging to the privileges they held because of exactly the same fear.

GRAND MONARCHY

In spite of some setbacks France was still the classic model of a grand monarchy and enjoyed an overall level of prosperity and culture which was the envy of Britain and most of Europe. Its foreign trade had increased even faster than England's, (being six times as great as only sixty years before), it had splendid internal transport, a flourishing textile industry, and vast agricultural resources worked by a population almost three times as large as all of Britain. But the lack of an equitable taxation system brought social inequality and enormous financial problems.

Neither the nobility nor the church and its clergy who were supported by compulsory tithes from the ordinary people paid any tax and posts in the judiciary, the church, the army and the navy were denied by conditions of privilege to even the educated middle class.²⁵ Among the cabinet ministers whom Louis inherited was a man named Turgot who wanted to free the corn trade and abolish the restrictive trade guilds. He is said to have been the most brilliant and to have been best able to introduce reforms to bridge the privilege gap, if he had received support. Quite clearly the reforms he proposed would have required a strong king to back him because they were their own guarantee of opposition from those who then controlled the life of France. Louis was not such a king and after a little more than a year he dismissed Turgot for lack of results and appointed a Protestant banker with republican leanings from Geneva. With a background like that the poor man, Necker by name, was marked for elimination from the start. However the young Louis had not been completely dumb. He knew that Bourbon kings ought to marry within the Holy Roman Empire. He had gone straight to the top and took the hand of Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa and sister of the reigning Austrian Emperor Joseph. It was the queen who didn't want a Protestant finance minister.

Just a year on and the American colonies took their bold step, declared their independence and prepared for a hard struggle. They needed trade treaties and support from Europe to be able to bypass England. There was a basis for trade treaties with both Holland and France but France was still smarting from the loss of Quebec and its other North American territories, so an alliance could kill two birds with one stone. The deal was done. The outcome was that from 1778 Necker had the task of raising funds to finance another war with England. The nobles and the church wouldn't budge, so rather than bleed the poorer social groups even further he borrowed heavily in anticipation of the fruits of victory and increased foreign trade.

That policy was fine until the rebel colonies had an important victory at Yorktown, Virginia, and the British government decided to forfeit the rebel colonies, turn its attention to the French and Dutch overseas territories, and cut its losses at the expense of those countries. In the meantime the Quebec Act of 1774 had brought increased pressure from the very small but real Catholic minority in England for land rights. When France entered the war on the side of the colonists there were two immediate reactions. In the colonies it reduced the prejudice against the Catholic minority ²⁶, and in England it highlighted the land rights question and added fuel to the fire of antiwar feeling. To defuse the religious tension the government granted to English Catholics the same land rights which French Catholics in Quebec, now supporting England against the rebels and France, already enjoyed.

In France, with the war losing its attraction and the national debt getting bigger, Necker tried to set up provincial assemblies to reduce the power of the church, the nobles and regional superintendents. He just had to follow Turgot into the wilderness. He did. Then with the Treaty of Paris out of the way in 1783 it was time for France to take stock. It had regained a bit of territory but the cost had been enormous. A series of ministers had failed to produce any acceptable financial policies and the country was becoming restless, although by no means explosive.

Dear Marie Antoinette, ever at the king's side, at least when a policy decision had to be taken, intervened to have Calonne appointed finance minister. Her idea of restoring the economic health of the nation was to lavish grants on the church to restore it to the glories of days long past and with even greater power over the private lives of ordinary people, to lavish favours on the nobility, encourage aristocratic elegance and extravagance and to remove those not of aristocratic birth from the army and the civil service.²⁷ She grossly misjudged the nerve of France. Or perhaps she realized that the French monarchy needed a supportive civil service and aristocracy for much the same reasons as Catherine in Russia. She left Calonne with no option but increased debt financing. The pampered aristocracy indignantly refused to pay a property tax. Loan piled on loan until the monarchy was declared bankrupt.

Calonne was frank enough to write that France was a kingdom in which the richest class was the most lightly taxed; where privilege had upset all equilibrium; a necessarily imperfect kingdom, very full of abuses in which it was impossible to have any constant rule or common will and which had become impossible to govern.²⁸ It was his turn to go. Louis recalled Necker

and summoned the unwieldy States General to meet in May 1789, just 175 years since it had been called together at the height of Europe's Reformation wars.

Just the fact that he called it to meet was enough to add a sense of national crisis to the urgent matters to be resolved and if there wasn't a crisis before it met there certainly was soon after. The nature of the three estates, (the clergy, nobility and 'commons' or professional and commercial groups), appeared to make solutions through consensus on economic reform impossible. However with nine months for politicking and intrigue before the States General met, the anticlerical groups which generally wanted a constitutional monarchy, the Jacobins and the republican fringe, had plenty of time to determine tactics. If they were going to try to finance the national debt by liquidating church property they had some excellent precedents to base their case on. There was Peter III in Russia 27 years earlier, in 1762; there was the appropriation of Jesuit funds and property in Spanish California a little more recently, in 1767; but much more to the point there was the program which Joseph II, Marie Antoinette's brother, had begun in Austria just eight years earlier, in 1781.

In an empire which needed peace rather than economic miracles Joseph had issued a remarkable Patent of Toleration in 1781. Like Catherine, he had a piece of Poland to absorb and religious toleration was essential, except for Jews of course. In the state which had become the chief protector of the papacy the Emperor declared Catholicism to be the state religion; the church assumed the role of a department of the state and was given exclusive authority to conduct public worship; but the clergy swore allegiance to the emperor who exercised the power of veto over papal bulls, and other churches were permitted to build places of worship and conduct services in private. Marriage was made a civil matter and dissoluble, and ceased to be an exclusive religious sacrament. The state took full responsibility for all education, including even that of the clergy who were to have a sound and comprehensive training, liberal in outlook and compatible with the latest developments in the sciences. Joseph even founded five general seminaries. But then came the crunch. He suppressed the diocesan seminaries as unsatisfactory and put the properties to other uses; contemplative monasteries and convents he closed, leaving open only those devoted to practical duties such as teaching or the care of the sick; he cut the number of monks from 65,000 to 27,000 and he liquidated seven hundred of the 2,163 monastic establishments.²⁹ The pope, Pius VI, even travelled to Vienna to intervene in 1782 just as France, Britain and the American colonies were winding down their war, but he was powerless to influence the emperor's policies.³⁰

Joseph's program of enlightened reform in Austria was in full swing when the States General finally met in France. It appears that an understanding developed between them that the clergy would team up with the commons to wring economic reforms out of the nobles which would reduce the tax burden on the ordinary people without requiring many concessions from the church.³¹ It could be settled by the simple process of a vote because the mechanism was in place. Perhaps. Three months before the States General was to meet the government had agreed that the Third Estate would have 621 deputies and outnumber the clergy (308) and the nobles (285) combined, but it did not resolve the "procedural question" of whether they would all meet

as a single body or as three separate debating chambers.³² The response to that little question showed that the nobles still held the reins of government firmly and real reform was unlikely.

With nothing to show for the first five weeks of farce the third estate declared itself to be a National Assembly on June 10th 1789. Ten days later, with Louis offering concessions but being restrained by his court clique, the Assembly swore not to dissolve until France had a new constitution. Detesting the very thought of concessions, let alone a new constitution and the loss of much of their power and privilege, the palace clique swung into action. It forced Louis to dismiss the reforming Protestant upstart, Necker, for the second time and to set up a coercive army camp near Versailles where the States General had met and where the National Assembly was now in control.

But in the streets the bread queues were getting longer, hunger-stricken mothers and children wept for bread while Marie Antoinette dined in luxury with her courtiers. The mood of Paris grew resentful and that conservative reaction brought a prompt response.³³ On June 23rd the clergy of the first estate split. Just one less than half of the 308 clergy, (149 pastors and four bishops), being most of those who had collaborated with the third estate and who were generally from the lower, non-aristocratic, posts of the church, joined the National Assembly. The government line toughened. So did that of the mainstream aristocratic church hierarchy. Leadership of the National Assembly lurched equally firmly the other way into the hands of confirmed anti-clerics and republicans and France could not avoid a head-on confrontation. It was the monarchy, the nobility and the hard-liners of the church hierarchy versus the rest.

Three weeks later the storming of the state prison, the Bastille, the murder of its governor, the slaughter of the garrison which had already surrendered on terms, and the total destruction of the old fortress triggered nationwide attacks on castles, churches and monasteries. It brought the king to his knees. Louis had to recall the army, dismiss his Ministers, recall Necker yet again and recognize the National Assembly.

AN ALTERNATIVE ROUTE TO PEACE ...

Such was the devastation that the nobility began to plead for peace and the initiative passed more firmly to the National Assembly. On August 4–5, just three weeks after the storming of the Bastille, the clergy present renounced all feudal rights, including any claim to peasant tithes,³⁴ vested their land in the name of the nation's peasants and renounced all distinctions of clerical rank and office. Serfdom, noble titles, privileges and tax exemptions were all abolished. The entire medieval feudal order of the Catholic Church in France began to collapse and because it was spontaneous the collapse was more rapid and more traumatic than in both Russia and Austria.

Another three weeks and the Declaration of the Rights of Man was proclaimed. At the stroke of a pen the revolutionaries achieved what the reformers had failed to achieve and lost sight of, if they had ever had a vision of it. Article ten of the Declaration granted freedom of religion and conscience to all Frenchmen. Even Jews were to enjoy liberty, equality and fraternity. Against

the bitter opposition of the Vatican-backed hierarchy the ghetto gates began to swing open. All memories of Maimonides had not been swept away but Deism could no longer be harshly put down by the church.

The declaration was eventually prefixed to a new constitution which Louis accepted in 1791, about the same time that the First Amendment to the constitution of the United States of America guaranteed freedom of religion and prevented the establishment of a national church in the young republic. In the meantime the National Assembly had ruled and France settled down to a period of reasonable peace with a king whose power was somewhat restricted, but the church hierarchy had dug its heels in hard. It was not ready to forfeit all its property, although in view of Emperor Joseph's program in Austria the pope was powerless to prevent a similar policy being enforced in France.³⁵ In February 1790 all non-charitable orders and monasteries were closed, in April a law providing for the confiscation and secularization of all church property was passed, and in July, almost one year to the day since the slaughter at the Bastille, the incorporation of the Catholic Church in France into the French State as a national church, completely separated from Rome, was foreshadowed in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy.³⁶

However the motivation behind that final step was not entirely revolutionary in the same sense that the church's properties were being confiscated to pay the nation's debts and to break the church's feudal hold over the people. Relations between France and the Vatican had been uneasy ever since the days of the Franks and Boniface and the anti-papal clergy were now happy to take advantage of the revolution to end the dominance of the Vatican which was against their deeply entrenched "Gallicanism." The Concordat of Bologna which Leo X and Francis I had signed in 1516, during the politicking in the run up to the Reformation, had given the king wide rights to nominate the church hierarchy and his nominations were only to be confirmed by the pope. The new constitution was to go further and give the French church much more the role of the Austrian or even the Russian church, for which there was substantial sympathy in France. It also took account of public petitions which had been prepared for the States General.

Archbishoprics were abolished, fifty seven bishoprics were eliminated, church diocesan and civil department boundaries were matched, and staff, councils and their patterns of authority within a diocese were thoroughly overhauled. Above all, the clergy were to swear allegiance to the church of the new constitution and not to the pope. However, whereas in Austria the bishops were nominated by the hierarchy and in Russia they were appointed by the state, in France they were to be elected by the civil electors of each department, after they had heard mass and taken an oath to consider only religious issues, of course.³⁷

As in Austria the clergy became civil servants, being paid salaries by the state, and carrying out some administrative duties otherwise carried out by civil servants. To this extent marriage was to become a civil and not a sacramental function. Certainly the administrative role of the clergy increased at the expense of their priestly and pastoral roles, but considering the self-

understanding and attitudes of the autocratic and aristocratic church hierarchy it is doubtful whether this was a significant stimulus to opposition.

With such dramatic changes involved, and with Marie Antoinette and the church hierarchy leaning on each other more and more, Louis, even in his precarious position, was not prepared to ratify the Civil Constitution of the Church without consulting the pope. But the pope did not reply officially. Instead the Vatican set about supporting, (or inciting to opposition), those clergy still faithful to it.³⁸ Chaos followed and Catholics battled Catholics instead of Huguenots as each side pressed its case on the monarchy. Papal sympathizers tried to prove that politicians and at least, Jews, Judaizers or Deists and even Protestants would be able to influence the civil elections for bishops, and Marie Antoinette began to intrigue with anyone outside France who might oppose the new constitution. Civil unrest was on the increase again and when a decision could not be delayed for want of a papal reply any longer the king proclaimed the Civil Constitution of the Church, disestablished the Roman Catholic Church and required the clergy to swear allegiance to the civil constitution in November 1790.

Reports vary on the proportion of clergy who signed (known as jurors), retained their posts and drew their salaries from the state church, but it is reasonable to work on estimates of one half, which corresponds with the numbers who threw in their lot with the Third Estate in the National Assembly.³⁹ The nonjurors were expelled from their posts and forfeited their salaries and all rights. Some quietly retired, but probably not many. Some fled from France, joined their colleagues in and out of the nobility in the fun of Marie Antoinette's intrigues and organized a fifth column in France with mercenaries and political supporters outside preparing for a counter-revolution.

Louis tired of being a constitutional monarch, or a sort of final adjudicator at the end of a new and orderly judicial system which had been set up, and of rubber-stamping one move after another to steadily liquidate the old church order and the properties of the aristocracy. He drew up a manifesto abrogating the constitutional changes he had been compelled to sign, threw in his lot with the nonjuring clergy, and tried to flee the country to his brother-in-law, the emperor, in Austria. All that he succeeded in doing was foment civil war. He was caught before he reached the border and returned, a prisoner, to Paris. After ten weeks suspended by the National Assembly he was reinstated when the new constitution was ready to be put into effect in September 1791.

Unfortunately in drawing on both the well established parliamentary system and constitutional monarchy of Westminster and the fledgling republican system of Washington the constitutional draftsmen in Paris were at once inspired and naive. In providing a constitutional monarchy with a non-elected cabinet and a Legislative Assembly from which all who had served in the National Assembly were excluded they had provided a system which was doomed to failure. Inexperienced radicals gained control, the king and queen set out to undermine the lot and France's friends and competitors formed some strange alliances against the new France. They were driven by a mixed bag of motives which included reinstating the monarchy to its

former position, hacking away at France's foreign trade and overseas possessions, and reverting to a Roman and papal church from the national church with a civil constitution.

Joseph had died just as France's revolutionaries were taking his Austrian State Church as one of the models for their own. Pope Pius VI promptly and eagerly joined Marie Antoinette in welcoming her next brother, Leopold, to the imperial throne with a few concessions and incentives to encourage him to reverse some of Joseph's reforms, to oppose the French Revolution and to press for the full reinstatement of the monarchy and the Roman Catholic Church in France. The complex maze of domestic and foreign interference threw France into absolute confusion with parish against parish and brother against brother. It was worse than a re-run of the Reformation years. Peace, love and harmony – the hallmarks of the Gospel – were nowhere to be seen, let alone relief from oppression or a glimpse of salvation.

... THROUGH ANOTHER WAR OR TWO

In August 1791 Leopold and the Prussian king declared the restoration of order and the monarchy, a matter of interest to all sovereigns, and encouraged an army of French emigrants, nobles, nonjuring clergy and royalist army officers to gather just along the border. Marie Antoinette pleaded with Leopold to summon a Congress of Europe, to mount an army and put down the revolution. Louis, taking advantage of the strangest set of bed-fellows the revolution could assemble, but driven by a hope that in a war the revolutionaries would be quickly trounced and his position restored, then paid a visit to the Assembly on April 20, 1792, and, to great applause, proposed war against Austria.

Voltaire could not have dreamed up a more mocking plot. As Louis and Marie Antoinette expected, the war began disastrously with an invasion of Belgium turning into a fiasco. That was the signal for Prussia to declare war on France in league with Austria. Leopold, loud in his threats but slow to throw his people into war for the sake of either his sister or the pope, died after only two years at the helm and his impetuous 24 year old son Frances II, taking the title Holy Roman Emperor, threw himself into the fray with a will. In August, with Prussia marching on Paris, Danton incited a mob attack on the palace at Tuileries, the arrest of Louis and Marie Antoinette, and the mass arrest of royalists. He argued that the monarch could hardly lead or even be free during the defence against an attack which the Duke of Brunswick insisted was to put him back in full authority.

The war continued to go badly for the revolution and mobs began to raid prisons to vent their spleen on the royalist prisoners. The September massacre was soon in full swing. Revolutionaries would take over a prison, put the prisoners through a "court" one by one, release them or thrust them out to the mob to be slashed, hacked, stabbed and beaten to death. Heads, hacked from bodies, were carried lustfully through the streets on pikes.

Suddenly the tide turned. The Prussian army was stopped, temporarily it seemed at first, by a small action at Valmy, 170 km from Paris. But they could fight no more. Dysentery, brought on by over indulgence in green champagne grapes had them on the run about ten days later.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, on September 21, immediately after the battle at Valmy, the National Convention, which had gained the support of only a flimsy six percent of the electorate, was able to proclaim a republic.

Then, as ragged, ill-trained but inspired armies of the republic pushed the Prussians and the royalist émigrés back towards the border the aims of the revolution became blurred. Expansion and reprisal replaced freedom as an aim. Envious of Austria's grip on Belgium and Holland and determined to cut into Britain's trade by re establishing Antwerp as a major port and entry point for European imports, the republican armies pushed north. Within a matter of weeks they tore up the unnatural Treaty of the Scheldt and boldly announced that Antwerp was open for trade. Britain reacted by increasing its subsidies and support for French Catholic clergy who were taking refuge in England. France responded by inciting rebellion in Ireland, and pressed on to relieve a large portion of Protestant Holland from Catholic Austrian domination.

Louis couldn't last, and on January 21, 1793 he lost his head for treason. Although his fate was not unexpected Britain put on a show of royal indignation, withdrew her ambassador from France in the same way that European powers had boycotted her when Charles had walked to the scaffold, and used it as an excuse to join battle with France again on all fronts.

Robespierre came to power a little later and liquidation of the monarchy took a nasty turn. The Revolutionary Tribunal assumed a political role similar to the religious role of the Inquisition. But in place of the crude brutality of the Inquisition it simply used the quick, terrifying guillotine – 1,220 times up to May 1794 then 1,376 times during June and July – until Robespierre ended up under the blade himself for his excesses on July 28 1794. But before he went he had reacted to the Church's view of itself, its role in the revolution and its doctrines in a manner much more extreme than any other reformer, anti-cleric or autocratic monarch.

CHURCH AND STATE DRIFT APART

Organized Christianity was abolished in France altogether by an edict in November 1793. There was to be no papal church, state church, Protestant church or any other sort of church. The cult of reason, with recognition of a Supreme Being and immortality of the soul, was to be a sufficient system of religious faith without the need for earthly institutional authority, doctrine and liturgy. His all-consuming passion to develop a new order of life and human relations had taken him so far, probably to the point of mental imbalance, that his achievements and his motives were easily forgotten. All that lingered after Robespierre was the memory of the often exaggerated reign of terror.⁴¹ After his execution the clergy tended to be drawn together again and the opportunity for a thorough and effective theological rethink which came with his frontal attack on the church was scuttled. The Roman Catholic Church was able to reassert itself, together with the state church of the civil constitution, although from February 1795 the constitution was changed again to separate the church and the state completely.

During his fantastic year Robespierre had brought order and scientific developments, including the semaphore telegraph, into the French army; a royalist counter revolution was put

down at Lyons; the Duke of York was beaten at Hondschoote and the British were expelled from Toulon; Belgium was reconquered; and the Austrians were defeated at Wattignies and Fleurus. Robespierre's successors in a Directory of five men, although also unequal to the task of shaping the destiny of the first republic which had grown out of a European grand monarchy, was given a chance to concentrate on rebuilding the economic and social fabric of France and of circumventing the blockade by Britain. Russia, Prussia and Austria kindly obliged by relieving the pressure from the east while they were preoccupied with the second and third stages of the partition of Poland, then Prussia and Spain withdrew from the French war games, temporarily, in 1795. Perhaps they had sensed the overthrow of the Revolution and a return to monarchy without further outside interference. It had certainly come close in October that year.

The government had been saved through brilliant intervention by a young Corsican artillery general, Napoleon Bonaparte, who had been recalled to duty in a crisis situation by the Directory after being dropped during an earlier round of intrigue. The romantic twenty-six-year-old who had been commissioned in the cavalry at the age of sixteen, had already shown rare military genius in action at the siege of Toulon in 1793. But he was a critical, egotistical, scientifically inclined rationalist and these things, coupled with his friendship with Robespierre, had cost him dearly. However, because of his success at Toulon and in view of the government's obvious debt to him, the young Napoleon, was appointed General of the Interior in the crisis of October 1795. A few months later, early in 1796, he was given command of the war against the pope, Pius VI, and Austria, in league, which was being fought in northern Italy. Pius, a prime manipulator in both the civil trauma in France and the alliances against it, soon realized that Napoleon had him cut off by land from Austria and unable to defend the papal states. He also knew that if he was to salvage anything for the Roman Catholic Church in France he had to reach an understanding with Napoleon. He therefore opened negotiations and signed the Peace of Bologna on June 23, 1796, leaving Napoleon free to concentrate on Austria.

However Pius VI found it hard to keep his fingers out of France's internal affairs and Napoleon turned his army against the papal states again. The peace of Tolentino, February 19, 1797, was much more onerous than the earlier one. The pope had to finally renounce his claim to Avignon and pay six million scudi in reparations, tribute, or whatever else the price for survival is called.⁴² By October a series of defeats also brought Austria to the negotiating table and Napoleon went home with a peace treaty loaded heavily in France's favour, a lot more French territory and immense prestige.

The ebb and flow of papal alliances, political manipulation, double-crossing and wars during the long period of the Holy Roman Empire which resulted from the Vatican's struggle to combine world political and religious domination in the papacy had left Italy fragmented. During the two generations since the question of Austrian Succession had been settled (by war and not by either a vote of the princes or the pope) some eleven states, principalities and republics had tried to live peaceably like sardines. Towns were being modernized, agriculture improved and the population was rising. But many of them were ruled by kings or princes who had been left to run a subject territory by rulers of major European powers after one or other of

the papal wars and they still hiccuped every time a European monarch glared at one of his neighbours. They just couldn't avoid being drawn into other peoples' jealousies, especially if the pope was trying to pull a few strings or organize a counter-reformation.

Such was the situation when the pope and Austria's emperor decided to dabble in the French Revolution and the ordinary people of Italy were the losers once more. But now, with the Corsican-born general knocking over trade barriers, discriminatory migration, and financial and religious controls as he merged some of the states, and the enclaves into which they were subdivided, the people became more conscious that Italy was a geographical expression and little more. Machiavelli, second chancellor to the republic during the papacies of Alexander VI and Julius II, had contributed to Reformation thinking with his cry that the papacy was the main obstacle to Italian political unity and that Italy needed a powerful political ruler not involved in the determination of moral standards. It had cost him his office, a spell in gaol and exile under the Medicis from 1513 until his death in 1527 when the fury of the Reformation was reaching its peak. But now his words rang true as Napoleon began to demonstrate that unity was possible and not just pie-in-the-sky.

Writers like the Piedmontese Count Vittorio Alfieri glorified the American republic and the unity of Britain under a constitutional monarchy, and Freemasonry, which had been spreading across Europe from England since the beginning of the century, began to lead an anti-papal push for Italian Unity.⁴³ So, as Napoleon returned to Paris in December 1797 he took with him a clear understanding of the mentality of the pope and the Vatican from their confrontations and negotiations. He left the pope seething from having his wings clipped; he knew that the yearning among Italians for the reunification of their country, the *Risorgimento*, was beginning to pick up steam; and he understood the aspirations of people living in a politically and socially fragmented soldiers' playground even more clearly than from his childhood on Corsica.

The Directory harboured a yearning to launch an attack on England and wanted Napoleon to command it, but its backdoor attempt through Ireland while he had been in Italy was a total failure. Therefore, because France's fleet of fifty seven battleships was "as little prepared for battle as it was four months ago" he advised against it and supported a previously mooted plan for the occupation of Egypt.⁴⁴ The British naval blockade of France and control of the Cape route to the east was so effective that French trade and the economy of the republic was at risk. Unless France could break Britain's naval supremacy its only hope was to reopen the Suez/Red Sea route to India and the east. It had been closed to Western Christian Europe ever since 616 when Heraclius lost Egypt to Chosroes, the Persian, just as the first groups of persecuted Muslim refugees were setting up an Islamic community in Ethiopia on the African coast of the Red Sea. Since then the only European Christian power bases along the Eastern Mediterranean had been those set up during the ghastly period of the crusades. The last of these, Acre, had fallen to the Mamelukes in 1291.

NAPOLÉON'S WEDGE, AND A FLIRT WITH ISLAM

Napoleon saw the Red Sea route as a means of driving a wedge between Britain and the east as well as a means of recovery for France. He wrote that “to destroy England completely we must seize Egypt” and on April 12 1798 the Directory instructed him to conquer Malta and Egypt, secure the Red Sea and improve the condition of the inhabitants of Egypt. In doing these things he was to maintain good relations with the Porte and thereby keep Turkey out of a war on the grounds that France was protecting Turkey’s interests by evicting the Mameluke usurpers.⁴⁵

The Egyptian expedition was no mere short term military expedient. France intended to stay. Napoleon arrived in July 1798 with nearly 400 ships, of which only 13 were battleships, 38,000 troops and more than 150 scientists, engineers and archeologists.⁴⁶ In spite of the British fleet under Nelson tracking and almost annihilating the French fleet at anchor near Alexandria, Napoleon pressed on with the occupation of Egypt, endeavouring to isolate the Mameluke overlords from their Arab Muslim and Coptic Christian subjects. He set up local advisory committees; established an Institute of Egypt for survey, exploration and archaeological programs; gave strict orders that every aspect of Muslim religious life was to be respected and that pillaging was taboo. He sent messages of respect to Mecca; had long discussions on theology with Muslim leaders in Cairo and held out to them the possibility of the entire French army of occupation being converted to Islam.⁴⁷

Territorial expansion by a Western European Christian power into the heartland of Islam, the junior partner in the triangle, was now fait accompli. The faith which had been denigrated, made the subject of malicious misrepresentation, and which had been made both the reason for and the object of political and military manoeuvres of the basest kind was now being wooed for political, military and trade benefit. The territorial grab had been made necessary by national need on the part of France and national greed on the part of Britain. It flowed from animosity between those two major Christian powers, heavily laced with religious bigotry and the concept that all the world was Christian Europe’s plaything. It had been made possible by technological developments which had been triggered largely by the very same factors even though such developments had been inhibited by doctrinal misconceptions and religious arrogance for a very long time. Contact had been established which provided for meaningful dialogue at a high level for the first time. It had been established with no initiative from the Vatican or any other church authority – in fact in spite of them. It made a mockery of those papal plans to mount one more mighty pincers movement crusade to eliminate Islam. It was an opportunity for the Christian world to take a fresh look at Islam and itself in circumstances which had not been possible previously and it is beyond question that Napoleon understood better than the church the significance of the contact he had established. Perhaps he assessed the chances of establishing meaningful dialogue at the level of theological re-assessment as hopeless. Ultimately, whatever the reason, the opportunity went begging.

It has been argued that Napoleon, a Christian thrust into the conqueror’s role by circumstances, was two-faced in his dealings with the Muslim community and that he was only

concerned with victory, politics and his personal future, but that does him a gross injustice. For the first time ever a Christian conqueror was showing genuine religious tolerance, understanding and personal responsibility towards a conquered Muslim people. His attitude and his actions were in sharp contrast to the Crusaders, the Spanish, the Russians and the European states bordering the Turkish Ottoman Empire. Quite apart from his intense belief in religious tolerance which was to show time and time again there is no doubt that he had genuine empathy and sympathy with Islam.

According to his will he died in the Catholic, Apostolic and Roman faith into which he had been born. But he told one confidant shortly before his death that he was glad he had no religion because he had no imaginary fears and no fears for the future, and he told another that Islam was a more effective religion than Christianity.⁴⁸ However, at the time that he was in close dialogue with Muslims in Cairo most of his career lay before him.

NAPOLÉON'S ABSOLUTE POWER

After an abortive attempt to capture Palestine and Syria, thwarted by collaboration between Britain and Turkey and disgraced by the out-of-character massacre of 3,000 Turkish prisoners at Jaffa which had served to recall the excesses of the Crusaders, Napoleon left a commander in charge of Egypt and sailed on August 24, 1799, for Paris where the re-elected Directory, somewhat to the left of French politics, was desperately trying to cope with a new alliance against France. The British had been joined by Turkey, Naples, Russia and Austria. By September 18, Napoleon was in effective control of the Republic as First Consul, having taken full advantage of an invitation to spearhead a Jacobin coup d'état against the Directory and the Council. Within a matter of weeks he had out-manoeuvred the councils and the other two consuls and was exercising absolute power through new structures of government well before a new constitution was approved, overwhelmingly, in February 1800.

Napoleon saw with exceptional clarity that France's internal bleeding from religious conflict had to be healed before it could gain the health and strength necessary to reach a position of pre-eminence in Europe and to bring peace to the whole continent through unification. But unlike Constantine, a great succession of emperors, popes and people like Calvin, he saw that peace and political stability would come not through imposed theological conformity but through religious tolerance. However it was not until after another somewhat shaky victory against Austria in December 1800, fought again in northern Italy, and a peace treaty that brought more territorial advantage to France that he was able to turn his attention to domestic economic and religious affairs.

While Napoleon was in Egypt the Vatican's allies in France had continued to intrigue against the Directory and the civil constitution of the church in spite of the two settlements which Pius VI had signed with Napoleon during his first sortie into Italy. Anti-Roman feeling was running so high that when a French envoy, General Duphot, was murdered in Rome the city was occupied by General Berthier. Five weeks later, on February 15 1798, the pope was declared

deposed and the papal states were proclaimed a republic. The pope was imprisoned a few days later and died on August 20 1799 in the south of France while Napoleon was on his way back from Cairo to Paris. With Rome in the hands of a republic there were many who expected that the papacy was at an end. But thirty five cardinals met in Venice, elected a pope-in-exile and began the struggle to recover Rome for the papacy before another schism developed and the civil church became entrenched in France. There can be no doubt that Napoleon had the military capacity to prevent the newly elected Pius VII from returning to Rome as pope. However he did not do so and it is quite consistent with his conciliatory policy that he reinstated Pius VII in Rome in June 1800 and immediately began negotiations to resolve the future of the church in France.

THE FRENCH CONCORDAT

A Concordat was signed in July 1801 and both Napoleon and the Vatican had reason to be happy with it. Napoleon disposed of the bloody conflict between the Civil and Roman wings of the church almost at the stroke of a pen. He also gained, at least for a short term, the gratitude and support of the Vatican. The entire hierarchies of both wings were dissolved on November 29 1801, sixty new bishops were nominated, the link between the church and the state was eliminated, the pope became the spiritual head of the church again and the Roman Curia was able to exert more control over the church in France than ever before.⁴⁹ For its part, Rome relinquished any claim to nationalized properties and accepted some civil duties for the clergy and the state salaries which went with them.⁵⁰ It also used the French Concordat as a basis on which to resolve some of its disputes in Germany.

For the British government, still at war with the French Republic, the Concordat was a real embarrassment. It raised still further the morale and demands of its one percent of Catholics and transformed the 190 emigre bishops and 5,000 emigre priests, whom it was still harbouring and subsidizing in the hope of using their influence against the revolution, from a political asset into a political liability. It provoked so much sympathy for them that William Pitt drew up a bill to grant them full emancipation at the same time that the Irish Parliament was abolished and Ireland and Britain were unified – by liberal use of bribery, corruption and the appointment of 32 life peers – but George III refused to sign it. It would have been contrary to his coronation oath. Or at least that is what he said.^{51 52} However the trigger had been tripped and within the lifetime of Catholic youth of the day their emancipation was complete – in law if not in practice.

For the moment the moves towards Catholic emancipation and continued financial support for the émigrés stifled their opposition to the British capture of Napoleon's Cairo Colony in June, just three months after Britain, France, Spain and Holland had signed a peace treaty at Amiens and while Napoleon and Pius VII were putting the finishing touches to their Concordat. Pitt was able to use the issue as a smoke screen for his resignation to make way for a new face in further territorial negotiations and to improve the chances for an urgently needed treaty to put

trade with the New World on a proper basis.⁵³ The Church of England was finding that religious purity, or self righteousness, could be sacrificed for trade and territory and it used its influence in parliament with studied hypocrisy, especially in the Lords. Britain's governments and its church seemed intent on illustrating another fact about the misuse of religion (quite apart from the imposition of religious conformity in a bid to achieve political stability) which governments have never understood: that the deliberate use of religion for national gain at the expense of another country or to destabilize another country inevitably backfires. The colonial era would provide many more examples before they all helped to bring the trouble in the triangle to its twentieth century peak.

England had taken full advantage of the French Revolution to play chess with Europe's colonial interests and to try to bring the young United States of America to heel through the expansion of its navy. Now it had agreed to hold only Ceylon and Trinidad, and to restore the Cape of Good Hope to Holland, Malta to the Catholic Order of St. John and Egypt to Turkey. If in doing so it had to recognize a continuing territorial role for the Catholic Church as an unfortunate temporary expediency, and if in extending its dealings with Turkey, (set in train by their collaboration to keep France out of Palestine), it had to recognize Islam that didn't matter much either. It was only following France and that matter could also be put right later.

If anyone doubted it at the time it ought to have soon become clear that the Peace of Amiens was a classic exercise in double-crossing with each party intent on gaining breathing space to press its territorial claims from a stronger position in its own good time. France was determined to recover Egypt. It bought Louisiana from Spain, declined to vacate Holland, (to which Britain was supposed to return the Cape), and invaded Switzerland to impose a new constitution. And Napoleon secured his own election as president of the Italian Republic which had been moulded out of the papal states. Britain on the other hand had no intention of returning Malta, or Egypt, or the Cape. It needed both Egypt and the Cape to secure its interests in India and the East against French, Russian or even German competition.

Soon Europe was tearing itself apart again. The basic issue was who would control the territories, trade routes and resources of the non-European world. There was no question that the rest of the world might want to control itself, that it didn't want to be absorbed by Europe and its alien cultures or that it might be happy to trade with everyone who happened by. The world was for Europe and the Christian church, of course. But as issues, alliances, borders and forms of government continued to change over the next two generations other things were changing too. The temporal authority of the Church, which had begun to weaken with the Reformation, was destroyed completely, with a few important exceptions. Russia, where it continued as an integral although subordinate part of the state machinery, was one. Ethiopia, where it retained a peculiar and mystical relationship with the monarchy as well as a shamefully high proportion of the country's productive land, equally shamefully managed, was another.

The church overall had gradually been transformed, very largely against its will, from the perpetual partner in a long-running series of autocratic, dogmatic and repressive partnerships in

government into the guardian of national and personal ethics and morals. It had become basically the purveyor of religion and the institutionalized but highly fragmented bulwark against attacks on national morale, traditions and stability. It ought to have been guiding mankind towards Salvation through an understanding of God but it had lost the will and the capacity. In any case it still could not do that effectively because it hadn't tackled those long-standing questions of its doctrine and its self-understanding.

EMANCIPATION FOR JEWS ...

While the church was being forced through its change of life the Jewish community was slowly and painfully gaining its emancipation in Europe, and Islam was being drawn slowly into the mainstream of European interests. The triangle was being reshaped and the safety valve of Judaism was being primed ready for the twentieth century. Napoleon was not simply the most ambitious of French nationalists. He was one of the chief engineers of change towards the new relationships, but he was by no means the initiator.

Napoleon trained at the French Military Academy at Brienne and he was described as a romantic, melancholy, self-willed "alien patriot" student.⁵⁴ While he was in training, Joseph II in Austria, acting under the indirect influence of Moses Mendelssohn, had decreed that Jewish legal disabilities were to be removed gradually and that they should be encouraged to mix in the life of the general population.⁵⁵ Then, six years later, while Napoleon was getting experience of poverty and ghetto life as a young artillery officer suppressing food riots in the Rhone Valley, Joseph ordered that all Jews were to adopt recognizable surnames instead of their Biblical patronymic as an aid towards integration which he hoped would end prejudice against them.⁵⁶

Other rulers began to follow Joseph's example but the rush only began with the Bill of Rights of the French Revolution. In Holland Jews were granted full citizenship under pressure from the French envoy in 1796 and only the next year Jews took their seats in a national legislature for the first time ever in Christendom. When Napoleon's army entered Venice on July 10 1797 the gates of the ghetto were removed and burned with great celebrations. In Rome the Jews had to wait until General Berthier occupied the city in February the next year while Napoleon was in Egypt. Wherever the French armies moved after that, or wherever Napoleon signed a treaty and imposed the Code Napoleon from 1804 onwards, the story was much the same, including Germany, Prussia and Austria (where Joseph's successors had reversed some of his reforms), but not in Spain.

While Napoleon was passing through Strassburg on his return from the Austerlitz campaign he was assailed with complaints against Jews by Christians and had one of his brilliant inspirations. He summoned a representative assembly of Jews to settle their status in European society once and for all and to revive "that civic morality lost during the long centuries of a degrading existence."⁵⁷ It met in Paris in July 1806 and, having satisfied Napoleon of Jewish sincerity, prepared for the establishment of a Sanhedrin in February 1807.

The Sanhedrin of 1807 was the first in almost 1,500 years. It was modeled on those of pre-Christian Palestine, and it was very short-lived. It was disbanded as soon as it completed its immediate task. Its purpose became clear to everyone as special services to commemorate the occasion were held in synagogues throughout Europe and America. Napoleon was the hero of the Jewish communities.⁵⁸ He had pulled off a coup of immense significance. He was the first European leader to manipulate Jewish community support either in his favour for domestic political ends or to deliberately undermine the government of another country. He was certainly not to be the last. Britain and the United States of America followed his example a few generations later.⁵⁹

However, the Sanhedrin grasped the opportunity Napoleon had offered. A Jew was a Jew by virtue of his religious faith, it declared. A Jew was not a member of a Jewish nation or race and regarded the country of his or her birth as the Fatherland to be defended as a duty. For the first time there was an authoritative statement to repudiate the dogma of the church and to expose the ghettos for what they were: an effort by the church, bigoted and unable to face the truth, to eliminate a contrary theological view by suppressing those who adhered to it. But, alas, the solution called for more than a simple declaration.

During the previous few generations the Jews within their ghettos had developed much more sophisticated systems of public discipline, courts, judges and taxation for community welfare services than Christians enjoyed outside. This combined with their church-enforced isolation to make the larger ghettos almost self-contained states within a state. The residents therefore were jealous of the security and liberty which this gave them inside the gate. The church was therefore quick to point to the numerous fifth columns dotted around the countryside, especially in countries other than France, after Napoleon's Sanhedrin had met. After all it could speak as an expert in such matters. It was very familiar indeed with the effectiveness of such a role from its own recent activities. So the Jewish community was still caught in the bind into which it had been thrown from the moment that Christianity took on political affiliations and began to harass it. Its members found very quickly that the Sanhedrin's grand statement about support for the Fatherland was not going to be easy to adhere to. They would repeatedly find conflict between personal interest and national interest. Basically their problem was little different to that of devout Christians living in the subordinate countries of the Holy Roman Empire, or more especially that of papists living anywhere as the empire declined and the popes engaged in war after war with the princes and powers of Europe. But of course it is always members of a minority and not of the majority who are characterized as having problems, idiosyncrasies or "hang-ups." On top of that the problem for Jews was made more acute by the systematic harassment organized by the church and Christian authorities. It would become very much more acute within a few generations.

... AND A CRISIS OF IDENTITY

In the circumstances it was natural that the Jewish community would divide over the issues of ghettos, freedom, emancipation and integration. Some feared a backlash from the Christian majority, some believed that integration would destroy their faith, some were reluctant to leave the security which they enjoyed inside the ghetto and others had accepted the separate race concept for so long that they simply could not accept the Sanhedrin's declaration. They had become convinced that it was their lot to suffer at the hands of Christians until the Messiah came. Now added to all those concerns was the knowledge that, although he offered freedom, Napoleon had forced them into the very position which they denied: a conflict of interest.

On the other hand there were the progressive and, generally, the more educated Jews who had a vision of freedom and equality, who were prepared to face a few more risks and who couldn't break down the gates quickly enough. In Holland a Jewish battalion had already been established to support Napoleon, in 1805, but in his abortive march on Moscow in 1812 large numbers of Russian Jews supported the monarchy against him. Some did so simply from that fear for their orthodox faith but others did so from their determination to show that the Sanhedrin was right after all and that Jews did support their Fatherland above personal interests. Similarly, in the provinces of old Poland the following year, while many Polish Jews rebelled and joined Napoleon, others supported the Prussian army even though he had dangled the carrot of renewed independence for Poland.^{60 61}

The old order had tumbled as Napoleon swept across Europe. He had shackled the church, unshackled the Jews, and introduced a breath of democracy. But it was too good to last. When the alliance against Napoleon was able to regroup and pursue him back to France he was eventually defeated at La Rothiere in February, 1814. However, with many supporters and a divided coalition against him he clung to office until March 31 when the coalition powers entered Paris and forced a provisional government of Talleyrand to remove him from office. Forced to abdicate on April 6, he was granted the island of Elba as a principality with a guard of honour of 800 troops. With Napoleon in exile the Peace of Paris was signed in May and then the other powers set about returning the map of Europe to its pre-Napoleonic form with Emperor Francis playing glorious host to monarchs and pretenders at the Congress of Vienna. They gleefully reversed many of Napoleon's reforms but there was tension between them as they bickered about territorial claims – until they learned he had jumped exile, returned to France, landed at Cannes in March, 1815, and was reassembling the core of the French Army around him. A touch of panic swept the congress and Louis XVIII fled when Napoleon entered Paris, but such an alliance was quickly mounted against him that the former emperor must have been a super-optimist to believe that he could re-establish his authority. After a preliminary victory in Belgium he had to face the combined British and Prussian armies and suffered a massive defeat at Waterloo in June, 1815. When the coalition powers entered Paris for the second time his supporters deserted him. He sought British protection but was arrested and deported to the island of St. Helena. His second exile permanent.

AFTER WATERLOO

Napoleon's ship was hardly out of sight before the Congress of Vienna joyfully resumed for a final session. France was allowed to retain the territories it held in 1792, but (at the second Peace of Paris, in November, 1815), it was required to pay a war indemnity of 700 million francs; 17 fortresses were occupied by foreign troops for a period of five years; and it was stripped of three territories: Saarbrücken went to Prussia, Landau to Bavaria, and Savoy to Sardinia. There were some benefits for Prussia, the Scandinavian countries and a new United Netherlands kingdom. Austria forfeited some territories in return for others and gained political primacy over a restored Italy. Russia was granted sovereignty over a self-constituted Congress Poland, making it potentially the most powerful country in Europe. Germany was reorganized into a confederation of states, and the neutrality of Switzerland was guaranteed. But Britain was the main territorial beneficiary of the settlement. Having facilitated Napoleon's defeat it received Malta, Ceylon, Cape Colony and the strategically important island of Heligoland, facing the estuary of the River Elbe, for its trouble. Or was it? The papal states were re-established. The ghetto gates began to reappear immediately.

In Russia Alexander I had caught the fever of Napoleon's liberalism when he assumed the throne in 1801. He opened the Pale of settlement, abolished torture, granted an amnesty to political prisoners, permitted the release of serfs, and even permitted Jews to attend schools and universities in Moscow and to choose their own occupation. But as his territorial interests shifted, Alexander swung from alliances with Napoleon to alliances against him and the conflict of interest which Napoleon had forced on the Jews in 1812 by his march on Moscow cost them dearly. Alexander turned more reactionary than most of his colleagues at the congress. He withdrew all civil privileges for Jews, herded them back into the Pale, made it smaller, dissolved their communal governments, impressed or kidnapped huge numbers of Jewish youths between 12 and 18 years of age into the army for a tyrannical 25 years, applied intense coercion for them to change to Christianity, and clamped a police-state straight jacket over the whole of Russia.

A RETURN TO CHURCH-STATE TIES ...

Right across Europe extremists within the churches raved and ranted that they had been right about Jewish disloyalty all the time and "reprisals" became more vicious. Many Jews began to wish they had never heard of Napoleon. But their trauma was only part of the evolution of the triangle. Before they were much older they would experience another round of revolutions as most of Europe, especially France, Italy, Germany and Greece, was swept into a new era. Emancipation, in law anyway, would follow like a wave rolling across Europe even before many of the children who had cheered Napoleon's victories prayed "next year in Jerusalem" for the last time.

The Vatican, which never took defeat easily because of its unshaken self-assessment, turned ever more reactionary when it got its papal states back and with them a small dose of the

temporal sovereignty which the papacy had longed for world wide. In Rome, Venice, Mainz and Frankfurt the Jewish communities were forced back into the same ghettos with an extra touch of the whip to remind them of their proper place in Christian society.⁶² But the Vatican also turned against the rationalist mainstream of European thought to which it had appeared to be responding during the previous two or three generations and Pius VII caused affront to even Europe's monarchs by reaffirming the Bull of excommunication against Freemasons.⁶³ It even turned sharply back towards mystery, miracles, dogma, repression of heretical opinion and rejection of the world. Within a few years it was striking miraculous medals and honoring apparitions.⁶⁴

Many of Europe's rulers, especially those in smaller states, became convinced that their power depended on the support of a powerful and militant church and Rome was ready to oblige. The Inquisition was reintroduced, the Jesuit Order was re-established, monasteries were reopened where possible and reconstruction and enlargement of the Vatican was stepped up.^{65 66} It was as if the church believed it could turn the clock back forty years but it was flying in the face of reality.

Peter and Catherine in Russia and Joseph in Austria had said quite clearly that if the church wanted to have a hand in running the state it had to put its resources at the disposal of the state and become an integral part of it. The divine right of kings and the assorted relationships between kings and the church which went with it had been shown to be so much hocus pocus by the Declaration of American Independence. The French Revolution had gone a stage further and said there is no place at all for a direct link between the state and the church. In fact, through Robespierre's cult of reason and the temporary abolition of institutional Christianity, the Revolution had issued another of those challenges to the church, its doctrines and its view of itself. Then Napoleon had neatly reshaped the triangle.

... WITHOUT A HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR

Although the purveyors and perversers of Christianity still clung to all the political and economic clout and their self-righteous view of themselves, Islam was recognized, Judaism had gained a new status and Jews were well on the way to emancipation. But, finally, the Holy Roman Empire, having shrunk progressively, was declared dead. Francis had been awarded the title emperor when he succeeded his father, Leopold. As the only person prepared to reverse some of the anti-papal reforms his uncle Joseph had introduced he was probably the only contender and he was well aware that the church had long ceased to be a unifying force. It was in fact the most divisive influence in the Old World, and considering that not even he recognized the pope as the administrative head of the Austrian church it must have been a severe embarrassment and a serious impediment in his ever changing relations with France, Britain, Prussia, Russia and Protestant Holland, (to which he still laid claim), to be regarded as the ultimate defender of the pope.

Francis had taken the title Emperor of Austria in 1804 but he continued to use the Roman title as well. However he didn't need it for long. After the debacle at Austerlitz and Napoleon's victories against Prussia, the Duchy of Warsaw was established as a French protectorate out of much of former Poland, and Napoleon took the title Protector of a Confederation of the Rhine which took in most of the German states of the Holy Roman Empire. The concept was now totally irrelevant. Francis abandoned the title and the Holy Roman Empire was dissolved.

It was official. The church was on its own. It had to chart a new course and paddle its own canoe. It was just like the fall of the Roman Empire all over again. The opportunities were unprecedented because greed was sweeping the people of Europe, and the church, right around the world, and there were plenty of beacons by which to chart a new course, if only the church could see them. They were the series of philosophical and scientific mini-challenges which were strung out along the course to make up the big penultimate challenge to its doctrines and its self-assessment which had begun with Copernicus and Galileo. It was right in the middle of them and they would run on for a couple of generations yet. It had just passed Thomas Jefferson and his Declaration, then Robespierre and his cult of reason, and then Napoleon and his Sanhedrin. But it hadn't recognized any of them. The Roman fragment was too busy plugging up leaks and trying to take advantage of the fact that Russia, drawn into the fringe of European affairs by the partition of Poland, was now ready to pluck. The Napoleonic Wars had drawn it right into the mainstream of European affairs. The barrier between Western Europe and Russia which the church had built a long time before had been trampled twice: by Napoleon's army on its march to Moscow in September 1812, and by the Russian army as it followed him home, relieving Prussia in March 1813 and joining the allied occupation of Paris just a year later.

The Vatican was poised once more to make a takeover bid for the Orthodox Church. For their part the Reformed fragments were intent on consolidating gains they had won the hard way and in shaping a few new irons in the fire. Their confidence had been badly shaken by the French Revolution but they were still smug in their belief that they had done all the reforming that was necessary. They were forming new alliances in their own way just as eagerly as Rome in an effort to prop up their particular environments. And cooperation was, with few exceptions, only a word.

Everyone was paddling his own canoe.

CHAPTER 14

LET'S TRY ANOTHER REVOLUTION!

When the other great powers placed Louis XVIII back on the throne of France in July 1814 it was as if a key era of forty tumultuous years had just been snuffed out. The pope and the crowned heads of Europe tried to turn the clock back by means of the Congress of Vienna in a bid to recover positions of power and privilege which they had consistently misused until Napoleon cut his swathe across Europe and back again. But they were flying in the face of reality and it soon became fashionable to say that the world would never be the same again after the French Revolution. Certainly chain reactions of great social, economic and political importance had been triggered, but to say that the world would never be the same again implies that it had been in a steady state before, and that simply was not the case

Mankind's social and communal evolution could not be stopped for the sake of the privileges of a few. The Congress of Vienna simply bottled up the growing tensions in Europe to have them break out a few years later and complicate the effects of reactions to Napoleon's reign in other parts of the world. Humanity, evolving at the will of the Creator, was moving relentlessly into the era of population expansion coupled with social, communal and cultural evolution as opposed to biological evolution. Humans had adapted to a wide range of environments and had gradually learned to master their vagaries and to use the obvious resources placed at their disposal. Steadily increasing population pressure made it necessary for them to master still more situations, techniques and resources. They had to do so in order that they would not go hungry and so that they could live a comfortable and satisfying life. Without freedom from hunger for the whole community they could not live happily and at peace with their fellows. Without peace, salvation is no more than a weapon in the psychological armoury of the church.

From the beginning of the agricultural revolution about 10,000 years earlier, the world population had probably multiplied from a base of between five and ten million by only, say, a factor of three or four up to the time when Abraham went for his memorable stroll around the fertile crescent.¹ It was probably between 100 and 200 million at the time of Christ and about 400 million when Isabella waved goodbye to Columbus.² Then the rate of growth began to accelerate. In the sixty years before Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo the world population had increased by 15 or 20 percent, (about 150 million), so that when Emperor Francis II welcomed his clutch of crowned heads to a banquet in Vienna there were between 900 million and 1,000 million other mouths to feed around the world. Of course he wasn't to know that within little more than a generation the world population would have risen by about another one third and

that most of the people whose kings he was entertaining would be living under new forms of government, travelling by new means of transport, communicating instantly through newfangled mechanical devices, and working in completely new industries.³ He wasn't to know that the peoples of the world were being drawn together into a global village.

The ascent of humanity towards whatever may be the Creator's purpose was accelerating as it entered that vibrant new phase. Mankind had been given, firstly, some guidelines for communal living (through Abraham and his successors, the Hindu Sages, Zoroaster, Confucius, Gautama the Buddha, the Greek philosophers and others) and, secondly, an insight into the nature of God to guide mankind during the ascent, through Moses, the Prophets, the Messiah and his message. Unfortunately that message had been misunderstood and hideously confused. Muhammad responded to the challenge to try to untangle the mess, with limited success, but because of its deeply entrenched self-misunderstanding and the doctrines and dogmas with which it had cluttered itself, the church believed that humanity had reached the ultimate stage of development, with the church itself at the pinnacle in all respects. However, whatever the church hierarchy and a few people in other high places might have thought and might have wished, humanity was on the ascent and the process could neither be stopped nor reversed. The trouble was that it faced a rugged mountain range strewn with doctrinal stumbling blocks instead of lights along the ridges.

The biggest of those stumbling blocks was the church's self-understanding and its wont to control and direct every aspect of human life: how and what one thought, how one conducted one's relations with other people, how one was governed and how one did business. So, with Napoleon out of the way for the second time and with the basic territorial questions settled to their satisfaction the church and the great powers – or some of them anyway – sat down to confer again. They talked through two concepts: the Holy Alliance and the Concert of Europe.

ANOTHER HOLY ALLIANCE

In September 1815, apparently prompted by a confidant or 'spiritual director' to Russian Tsar Alexander I, Baroness von Krudener,⁴ the rulers of three of the great powers linked to the three great [competing] Christian traditions met to formulate an 'alliance of throne and altar' which was supposed to provide the first supranational organization in history to preserve peace in modern history. The first ... if one discounts the Catholic Church which saw itself in the same light. The three were the emperors of Greek Orthodox Russia, Roman Catholic Austria and Protestant Prussia. They invited all other heads of states in Europe, except the Pope and the Sultan, to subscribe to the alliance and to bind themselves to govern at home in a Christian Patriarchal spirit 'in accordance with Holy Writ' and to practice solidarity in foreign affairs. They based their right of intervention against all liberal and national movements on their responsibility to God, governing by Divine Right.⁵ All of those invited signed the Holy Alliance, except the British king whose parliament refused to acknowledge any right of intervention, and Russia's Alexander signed for Poland because he had just annexed most of it

under the powers granted by his peers at the Congress of Vienna. Britain continued to intervene in other nations' affairs itself, just like all the others, but it rejected the right for the others to do the same. Nothing had changed. Certainly not the position of the pope.

The pope could not be invited to sign because many of the powers disputed his claims to temporal authority and although they wanted his blessing, and the domestic political support which that implied, they did not want him sitting around the same table making political decisions. In any case he would not accept an invitation because to do so would be to acknowledge the legitimacy and equality of the two other streams of the church – Orthodoxy and Protestantism – with which he would have to share the table. The sultan could not be invited, even though his authority extended throughout the Balkans, because an important aim of the Holy Alliance was to restrict his authority and to eliminate the faith which he represented. And he would not accept an invitation because to do so would be to acknowledge the doctrine of the Trinity which was the root cause of the establishment of Islam, and the divine right of the Christian kings whose theology and self-understanding he rejected.

The statement of alliance actually began with the words: "In the name of the Most Holy and Indivisible Trinity ..." It did not begin with the more usual form of words: "In the name of God ..." It bound each of the signatories to regard themselves in their dealings with their subjects and their armies as "fathers of families." "Consider each other as fellow-countrymen" they were to sustain each other, protect true religion, and urge their subjects to strengthen and exercise themselves in Christian duties, recognizing Christ as the real king of all Christian peoples and their monarchs as 'his mayors of the palace.'⁶

The Holy Alliance was 361 years behind the papal bull *Rominus Pontifex* but coming just when the European powers were about to embark on a second wave of colonial enterprise, when the world was just entering its phase of remarkable population growth, and when Europe was in desperate need of social enlightenment it reinforced the attitudes which had swept the world with such disastrous consequences in the first wave of colonial enterprise. It was a formula for perpetuating and aggravating international and communal division, not for resolving those divisions. The big difference between *Rominus Pontifex* and the Holy Alliance was that in the latter, all three streams of the church were involved, together, instead of only the Roman Catholic stream. However the alliance was really only a 'gentlemen's agreement' and not a binding document. That, the Concert of Europe, came a little later and it was a 'restricted membership power-sharing club.'

THE CONCERT OF EUROPE

The Concert of Europe, a brainchild of Prince Metternich, in effect Austria's foreign minister, took effect as a four-power club on November 20, 1815, when it was signed by Austria, Prussia, Russia and Britain, but it was modified progressively in 1818 and 1820. Its purpose was to make the decisions of the Congress of Vienna, its boundaries and power relationships, binding for all time. It was totally ill-conceived. In effect, those who already enjoyed power were to

retain it. Those who did not have it were never to achieve it, and liberal movements, power sharing and revolutionary social change were to be suppressed at any cost, with the four club members empowered to intervene anywhere in Europe where the status quo and the concept of divine-right-monarchy was threatened. France was to be excluded from the club because of its dangerous liaison with republicanism. The British government was uncomfortable with the idea of intervention, but its foreign minister carried the day. By 1818 the club of four had realized that if France was to be 'saved' for monarchy it had to be admitted as a member. It joined. There was a club of five. But when Spain had difficulty suppressing its republican revolt in the New World and Austria wanted to invoke the rules of the club and the spirit of the Holy Alliance to prop it up, Britain reneged. It withdrew from the Concert of Europe in 1820. The club was back to four. It invoked its authority in 1823 and authorized France to crush a republican insurrection in Spain while Austria followed suit in Naples, and sporadic oppressive interventions dotted the map of Europe for the next twenty five years until a right royal round of revolutions erupted.

In the meantime the ordinary people of Europe, having caught the first faint scent of representative government, were pressing against the cell doors, impatient for the relief of a full deep breath. However, although a whole series of political changes which had been initiated during those forty years were all dynamic, the most important change was the temporary ending of the church's formal temporal power, coupled with the reshaping of the relationships between the partners in the triangle. That change could have been accepted with good grace so that the relationship could have been moulded into a thing of beauty. Instead it was denied and resisted with such vigour and bitterness on the part of the church and its adherents that the senior partners, the Jews of Europe, would be crying out for release within two or three generations. The call "Let's find a new home" would echo from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The despised junior partners, the Muslims of Africa and Asia, had nowhere to go. They simply didn't have the capacity to prevent the European invasion and exploitation of their homelands and the church rode in on the gun carriages. At the same time the church continued to fragment for three or four generations and the struggle for reunification could only take on meaning as progressive radicals, rethinking the identity and purpose of the church, were able to remain and have some influence, on its fringes at first, instead of being rejected outright and facing dire personal consequences.

Although the Inquisition would eventually be laid to rest, each of the major fragments of the church, as well as the other two partners, would develop characteristic social and economic attitudes as a consequence of their particular theology and in response to changing political circumstances. In turn these would further influence political and racial alignments right around the world. Issues requiring personal, corporate and national decisions based on ethical and moral values would soon begin to crowd in and give each partner in the triangle and each fragment of the church the opportunity to demonstrate the superiority of its particular ethic, if that was what it wanted to do. In any case they would be a severe test for the credibility of each group and each partner would find itself under intense scrutiny. But that is jumping ahead, too.

As the British frigate *Northumberland* carried Napoleon into exile on St. Helena the clergy of the fragmented church on both sides of the English Channel were fearful of the future. They were finding it very difficult to adjust and to chart their new course as members of just one of many guides to moral and ethical conduct for the communities in which they existed. The thought of being a mere pointer towards salvation rather than the acknowledged purveyor of salvation or the sole route to salvation, was repugnant to the church-at-large which still claimed the right to shape the pattern and conduct of society.

WHAT ROLE FOR THE CHURCH?

Very few clergy had grasped the significance of what was happening around them. They failed to see that in breaking the formal links between a monolithic church and various countries each in competition but all under the umbrella of the Holy Roman Empire, and by dismantling the pope's temporal responsibility Napoleon had in fact freed the whole church to show what the Messianic message was really all about. In Italy the pope set about trying to consolidate what little temporal authority was left to him and acted like a greedy schoolboy grabbing at other boys' marbles. However in other countries it was the turn of the nobility and privileged merchant and industrial interests to woo the church. They didn't want to give it back any constitutional power but they needed its support as a bulwark against revolution. The clergy's shaken self-image, uncertainty and fear made them very ready to cooperate.

The agricultural revolution had reached the British Isles last after slowly filtering across Europe from Western Asia but the Industrial Revolution had started in England just as the American War of Independence was brewing and it had not yet had any impact in continental Europe.⁷ Because of the rapid industrialization and urbanization of Britain as it took full advantage of imports from its colonies it began to face social and communal tensions of a kind which Europe was not experiencing, even though there was a definite lift in the material well-being of the vast majority of the British people.

Insufficient thought was given to the problems of hygiene and the personal needs of people suddenly crammed into sardine-tin towns as factory fodder after living in an open and much less restricted environment, even if they were being "relieved" of a squalid and underpaid existence in rural areas. It followed that when the French Revolution had erupted Britain was at first jubilant at the thought of commercial and territorial advantage which might come as France began to tear itself apart. In particular Britain could expect to recover a lot of American trade which was going to France. There was also a smug sense of superiority at the thought that France was following where Protestant Britain had led the way in constitutional government and internal church reform.

But when the French National Assembly confiscated and secularized all of the church's property and closed all non-charitable orders and monasteries it sent cold shivers down the spines of the church and the establishment. They began to realize that Britain was also ripe for revolution, especially when the trickle of emigre Catholic bishops, priests and nobles rose to a

flood. The stimulus to the Puritan revival was immediate and there was the ludicrous picture of British Government manipulation of the French emigre clergy for political purposes, moves towards Catholic emancipation and, concurrently, a sharp anti-Catholic reaction within the English church which forced George III to oppose emancipation.

SUPPORT FOR THE ARISTOCRACY!

Sensing trouble ahead the British aristocracy and the growing merchant and industrialist class turned towards the Church of England for mutual support. Schools financed by the wealthy but conducted by the church began to spring up everywhere. Education, heavily laced with creeds, catechisms and Christian conduct, was seen as a way to avoid another revolution but of course it had to be under the control of staff faithful to conservatism in all matters. There could be no boat-rocking. The powers of the day promoted the story that the church, as the guardian of morality, was the proper body to provide for education and the church was delighted to go along with it. The aristocracy got what they wanted and the church consolidated its role in the community and got the credit. It logically followed that there was no room for secular or state-run schools which might not adhere to the Christian ethic and, of course, a test of Christian orthodoxy of the English variety was still applied for admission to universities.

In a strange way Britain reverted part way towards the pre Christian philosophy of a national religion. A belief pervaded the countryside that in some way God was smiling especially kindly on Britain, like a customs collector handing out "favoured nation" status. It may have been self-consciousness but it was certainly fostered by circumstances and the dominant conservative attitudes of the time. Rule Britannia! The Book of Common Prayer and its liturgy were cloaked in the aura of something like a cross between an act of parliament and the Bible. The established church was accorded the unwritten status of an arm of the crown and nonconformists, or dissenters, were definitely second class citizens, not much to be preferred to Catholics although infinitely preferable to Jews.

The idea that one was saved through one's personal conduct, which of course included a thoroughly good, conscientious and devoted day's work for one's employer, began to compete with the idea of justification through faith alone which had been the cornerstone of Protestantism from the days of the break with indulgences, penance and priestly absolution. Personal conversion, personal commitment and belief in the value of the individual person began to gather new meaning. That was indeed a real contribution to Christian attitudes and it ought to have led to a breaking down of elitist and racist attitudes. Unfortunately it tended to have the reverse effect and the accumulation of personal wealth as the end point of diligence took on a religious and ethical value. The age of the Protestant work ethic had arrived.

Unfortunately it had come not as a spontaneous response to Christ's teaching in a deeply committed Christian society but as a carefully orchestrated response to economic and political pressures. It bears a definite similarity to the development of the church's social and economic attitudes at the time of the great plagues, and to its anti-usury attitudes at the time of the

Crusades. While it cannot properly be described as the base on which capitalism was built, it has certainly been a prop for capitalism in later years. It became a hallmark of English-speaking Protestantism and affected other branches of European Protestantism to varying degrees. It helped to link the church-at-large to the abuses which have resulted from the unrestrained expansion of Western capitalist enterprises in the Third World. It held the church on its long-standing course of confrontation with economic and social reformers, giving anti communist campaigners plenty of grounds on which to implicate the whole church in their campaigns. And it had played into the hands of Fascist movements, first in Italy and more recently in Latin America.

THE IMPACT OF THE PROTESTANT WORK ETHIC

When the Protestant work ethic began to take hold in Britain Evangelicalism took some strange twists as business leaders and politicians threw their weight behind revivalist campaigns at home, the expansion of a series of foreign missionary societies which had been set up in the critical years between 1792 and the restoration of the old order in Europe, (1814), and the establishment of new ones. The rollicking hymn soon proved to be an effective morale booster, a distraction from the depressing circumstances of industrial life and a relief from the personal distress which often went with it.

“Go, labour on while it is day: The world’s dark night is hastening on; Speed, speed thy work; cast sloth away; It is not thus that souls are won,”⁸

Words like these and the more popular “work, for the night is coming”⁹ were music in the employer’s ear as well as to the crusaders. The concept of self-judgement through one’s conscience, or guilt complexes, which is implicit in the Protestant work ethic also proved very helpful, along with a little fear of the unknown, in the slave fields and later among indentured labourers in countries such as Australia. Attendance at church on Sunday, a matter of only gentle persuasion, coupled with the foreman’s injunction to remember that “the good Lord is watching you from up there”, was often sufficient to suppress dissent against the system, to keep law and order, and to ensure a long hard day’s slog at Queensland’s sugar cane by Kanaka “recruits” from South Sea Islands. Quite often the recruits had even been coerced from mission fields by agents masquerading as missionaries.¹⁰

As the century wore on the churches in Australia mounted a strong campaign against “Blackbirding” but by then lasting damage had been done. Most Australians were insensitive to the fact that in just one lifetime they had succeeded in exterminating almost an entire Aboriginal people whose capacities and cultures they were incapable of appreciating. They developed very deep-seated racist attitudes because of the loss of jobs to exploited labour. Many churches built during that period are furnished with pews and other items which carry stamps such as “Guaranteed build entirely by European labour. No coloured labour.” Pressure developed for a White Australia Policy with repatriation of the Kanakas as if it was all their fault and with notorious racially biased immigration controls. It became a basic facet of Australian political

and social life from federation in 1901 until after World War II when Australians found themselves embroiled in the crossfire of big power politics. There was a need to trade with Japan, South East Asia and Africa to offset falling trade opportunities with Britain and Europe. But that is jumping ahead a bit again.

Back in Britain and Europe a whole host of ethical issues were coming to a head under the impact of the French Revolution and Napoleon. Sugar and the other major New World crops, cotton and tobacco, were right in the thick of them. They were labour intensive crops around which the slave trade had developed and Britain, through its front run into the Industrial Revolution, had a strangle hold over their processing and marketing in Europe. In the run-up to the American War of Independence there had been strong pressure from the colonies for an end to the largely British-controlled slave trade. This had come largely from Protestant Puritan settlers on moral grounds but there had also been quite a bit of the Australian brand of economic self-interest fear of unemployment among unskilled settlers who would be displaced by the use of cheap labour. Maybe someone had taken lessons in a bit of early Roman history as well. But Britain insisted that the trade continue. Profits for its investors came before love for humanity.

However love and understanding between people of different racial and cultural backgrounds are vital to the question of peace and salvation. This is one of the issues which has bedeviled the people of Judaism throughout the Diaspora. It has rarely been an issue for Muslims who have understood how basic the relationship is from revelation through Muhammad and it ought not to have been an issue for Christians with both the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles to guide them. Unfortunately, as we have already seen, it has been at the centre of many issues for the Christian community ever since conflicts within the imperial church were institutionalized and wrapped up in creeds and doctrines at Nicaea. The second slave trade era brought it to a head, it had then become enmeshed in the power struggles of the Napoleonic Wars and it was about to shape the course of American history through the Civil War. In fact it did much more than that and the philosophy and motives which made it possible have still to be flushed out of our system. We pick up the threads again at the end of the American War of Independence.

SUGAR, SLAVES AND SALVATION

The import of slaves from Africa, often via the Caribbean and South America, had not been blocked and was actually on the increase. A few people still spoke out against it but the capacity of Britain's cotton industry had increased ten fold between 1760 and 1785. Then as most of Europe's armies were at war with Napoleon at some time or other the demand for uniforms and other cotton goods rose at the rate of about 8.5 per cent per year.¹¹ The only way the young United States could meet that sort of market was by increased use of slave labour. At least that is what the growers claimed. Eminent economists have disputed it, and it is painfully obvious that the profitability of the slave trade for European traders, (up to 60,000 pounds Sterling net from one expedition¹²), and the long-standing attitude that Africans should quite properly labour for Europeans both had a great deal to do with the policy.

At the same time, being freed of the restrictions of British colonial policy, the southern states planted sugar at a great rate. They began to compete seriously with British-owned plantations in the Caribbean which had been the basis of a series of fortunes which were well represented in the House of Commons as well as the Lords. A Lord Mayor of London, William Beckford, having grabbed 22,000 acres of Jamaica's sugar country alongside 26,000 acres held by relatives and members of his family, built the most splendid country seat in the west of England, entertained the nobility en masse in quite fabulous fashion during his term of office and left a fortune which his son William is said to have squandered on Fonthill Abbey, "one of the most foolish follies of all time."¹³ Such people didn't like market competition coming on top of their other troubles which had been building up for some time.

Slaves formed a high proportion of the population in all of the Caribbean islands, outnumbering the white planters, merchants, clergy and runaways by a big margin, but they had little except their honour with which to defend themselves. However there were always a few gun runners ready to provide them with weapons. The first of the big slave uprisings which had become inevitable left the entire white population of the Danish island of St. John slaughtered in 1753 except for one doctor who was selected to tend the Negro wounded. French troops from Martinique returned the compliment and slaughtered the rebels, leaving the island a nonproductive wilderness until tourism interests found it in the twentieth century.¹⁴ While France slipped and slithered towards its Revolution its Caribbean colonies, enhanced at the expense of Britain and Spain in the two Paris peace treaties, traded freely with both the USA and Europe and exported more and better quality sugar than the British colonies.

Every community of planters knew it was sitting on a powder keg with tension in the air and pistols in the bedroom, but Britain's Jamaica, with 211,000 slaves, was regarded as a more likely target for rebellion than France's Saint Domingue with 480,000 slaves. The French planters, supposedly Christian monogamists, had adopted the practice of taking African slave mistresses as well as French wives. The Mulattos, children from such unions, were given a special social status and were sent to France with their mothers for an education. That factor alone brought complications and tensions because while British Methodist and Church of England missionaries taught slaves the rudiments of religion – presumably creeds, catechisms and conduct – they were not permitted to teach them to read or write.¹⁵ Their eyes might have been opened and their aspirations aroused to increase the likelihood of rebellion and that would never do! But the French policy, using very intriguing means, was aimed at the same end. To avoid rebellion.

Few people seemed to notice two anomalies or conflicting ethical judgements which were highlighted by the situation. One concerned education and the other concerned marriage and race relations. Education was outlawed for African slaves because it might foment rebellion but it was soon to be actively encouraged for Englishmen in order to avoid rebellion. And French Christians were using slaves in the bedroom with that one basic motive in common with the Abbasid Muslim Caliphs, but there the similarity between the conduct and motives of the two groups ends. The conduct of the Abbasids had been proper and their policy had improved race

relations, stressed the equality of mankind and improved the status of slaves. The conduct of the French was exploitative and, in the end, violently destructive. But neither they nor the British planters were having things all their own way. A small band of dedicated reformers in Britain and the USA were beginning to rouse the public conscience. Prominent among them were Granville Sharp, the philosopher and political economist Adam Smith, a Quaker leader named Benezet, a slave-runner turned Church of England clergyman and well known hymn writer named John Newton, and the founder of Methodism, John Wesley. However for impact made possible by his wealth and independence William Wilberforce towered above them.

Two years after Wilberforce entered Parliament, in 1772, Granville Sharp brought the second of his civil court actions aimed at outlawing slavery in Britain and Lord Chief Justice Mansfield delivered his momentous judgement after some hesitation that “as soon as any slave sets foot in England he becomes free.” The pressure was on to outlaw not just slavery as such but the trade in slaves throughout the British Empire. It quickly became obvious that because of their patterns of interdependence and also because of competition for trade between colonial powers, slavery had to be abolished everywhere within the sphere of European influence, or not at all. The pro-abolition and anti abolition forces began to organize.

The Society for the Abolition of Slavery was established in England in 1787 and its less influential counterpart, Amis des Noirs, in France a little later. The establishment churches divided down the middle while the dissenters or nonconformists solidly back the abolition movement. The slaves in the New World took heart. Then France erupted. The revolutionaries with their Declaration of the Rights of Man were striking at the nobility and the church as controllers of wealth with one fist and at the ghetto gates with the other. They could hardly be expected to support the stand of the Caribbean slave-owning planters who had insisted on sending delegates to the Estates General as members of the Third Estate. They didn't. In 1791 the National Assembly rejected the planters' plea for greater independence but decreed that people of colour born of free parents or themselves freed should be entitled to vote and to enjoy all the privileges of French citizenship.

When the planters threatened to secede from France the mulattos and freed slaves revolted to demand the rights the National Assembly had granted them. Within months 2,000 whites and 10,000 slaves were dead, the sugar plantations had been destroyed and the northern half of the island of Saint Domingue was under the control of the slaves. In 1794, after three years of chaos and abortive efforts to stabilize the situation, France became the first European power to free all slaves under its control by an act of the Assembly. The shock waves sweeping across Europe and Britain intensified, especially when an English army sent to annex the island was defeated by slaves who had assumed semi-independence.

MALTHUS INTERVENES

Then in 1798, while people across Europe were having to think more deeply than they ever had before about their relationship with non-European peoples – and with black Africans in

particular – another of those people who were rapidly straining the boundaries of philosophical, scientific and economic investigation, Thomas Robert Malthus, published a study on *The Principle of Population as it affects the Future Improvement of Society*.¹⁶ The systematic study of science was still young. The study of demography was even younger. Having studied economics to gain his master of arts degree, Malthus was admitted a fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1793 and took holy orders as an Anglican minister in 1797. That made him an expert. Therefore when he wrote in his study that population growth will always tend to outrun the food supply and that betterment of the lot of mankind is impossible without stern limits on reproduction, the consternation was immediate. Malthus was saying that the infinite human hope for happiness must be in vain and that poverty was the inevitable fate for many. The expansion of food production, he said, would not keep pace with the population which would grow to the limit of subsistence and be kept there by famine, war and pestilence. He drew attention to the need to change laws so that they encouraged population mobility and discouraged high birth rates, and he proposed for consideration the establishment of workhouses for the excess population in which they would face the harshest of environments. In spite of criticism of his scientific, mathematical, and highly pessimistic approach to his study it was adopted for incorporation into the theoretical systems of economics then in use.

Malthus' theories had immediate implications for each of domestic and foreign policy, and religious understanding and human relations. One of his aims appears to have been to put a brake on expectations of an ultimate utopian society or an all-embracing messianic age. He contrasted the high natural population growth rate in North America with the lower rates in Europe and called for more attention to the 'moral restraint' of late marriage with adult celibacy until the partners were economically able to support their children. He contrasted that practice with the alternatives of birth control, abortion, adultery and homosexuality, each of which he considered immoral. Then he turned to the broad picture. Societies which ignored these moral constraints would suffer the deplorable "positive checks" of war, famine, and epidemic, he said, and it should be society's goal to avoid each of these – but not by charity or 'poor laws' which might cause those who benefited from them to "relax their moral restraint or increase their fertility ..." It was wonderful stuff for the Calvinists – except that on the domestic front it put a brake on economic optimism. It helped to justify a theory of wages that made the minimum cost of subsistence for a wage earner a standard by which to judge others, and discouraged traditional forms of charity. On the imperial and foreign affairs front it elevated the need to exploit overseas colonies and other sources of supplies for the home markets; it encouraged an attitude that war didn't really matter because it might help to retard the growth of world population; it discouraged the abolition of the slave trade because when people had the benefit of slaves to work properties they were less inclined to have large families in order to spread the work load; it reduced the incentive to 'lift' the non-European peoples to Europe's levels of social expectation; and it aggravated fears that a restrained and responsible white Christian Europe might be disadvantaged by the unrestrained expansion of non-European non-Christian

populations. They were not the messages or the influences which the world needed at a critical stage in the European colonial era.

TROUBLE IN SAINT DOMINGUE

Then, in 1802, Napoleon made another move as out of character with his general policy as the massacre at Acre. He revoked the emancipation law, reintroduced the status of slavery in French dominions and sent an army to recover control of Saint Domingue. It was exactly what the world did not need hot on the heels of Malthus. But when we turn a few more pages of history the rationale behind Napoleon's decision becomes apparent. Britain's attempt to annex Saint Domingue had come immediately after Louis lost his head and Britain had joined a loose European alliance to restore the French monarchy and to prevent Robespierre from fomenting rebellion beyond France's borders. By 1802 the boot was changing to the other foot. Napoleon had made big strides across Europe and was working towards a different European alliance – one which would break Britain and make up for its capture of Malta and the French Army and outpost in Egypt in 1800–1801. He had already inveigled Russia, Prussia, Sweden and Denmark into signing a pact of armed neutrality and trade embargoes against Britain but these were not naval powers and because Britain still had firm control of the seas Napoleon needed the support of every naval power he could muster. These were the same powers who shared the Caribbean and South American sugar colonies with France and Britain and they would hardly welcome an alliance with a country hell-bent on emancipating their slaves.

The sordid drama continued and eventually the new states of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, hacked out of Saint Domingue, were left with no chance of shaping an orderly life for several generations. The stage had been set for the Western world to make its never-ending stream of sick jokes about banana republic corruption. The great Christian powers of Europe had set it themselves very thoroughly indeed. In doing so they provided another illustration of contrasting attitudes between the people of Christendom and people of Islam. The rebellious sugar slaves of Basra had received treatment of a very different kind, even after the massacre of 1871.

Napoleon's embryonic alliance soon ran into trouble. Britain again declared war on France and promptly sent a fleet into the Baltic to break up the alliance. One afternoon was enough. The Danish flotilla was sheltering in Copenhagen harbour behind seven hundred guns and at first gave the British fleet such a pounding that the admiral ordered an end to the action. But the second in command, a certain Horatio Nelson, turned his famous blind eye to his telescope and signaled "engage more closely." A few hours later the Danes suffered the humiliation of seeing half their fleet towed to England as bounty, (and perhaps left dangling as a carrot to encourage Denmark to change sides), while 1,700 Danes and 943 British lay dead.¹⁷

THE DANISH CHALLENGE

Denmark was in big trouble. It had lost its Caribbean island of St. John just fifty years before and relied heavily on the good will of other powers for its sugar and other imports and exports. Now, after the debacle of Copenhagen harbour it was at the mercy of every power in Europe and Danish bonds fell heavily. The king had to borrow quickly, heavily and in confidence to re-equip the navy and secure the nation's integrity and markets or it would be only a matter of time before Denmark lost its independence and was absorbed by Prussia, Russia, France or Britain. The money came, in September 1803, through indirect channels from his brother-in-law Prince William of Hesse-Cassel, the wealthiest prince in Europe, who was leading a very complicated double life.

Prince William had been among the Rhine princes dispossessed as a result of the French/Austrian peace which foreshadowed the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine and the end of the Holy Roman Empire. By way of compensation he had accepted from Napoleon the title Elector and a big hunk of property at Mainz, confiscated from the church, and he was being wooed by Napoleon to join the proposed confederation and the alliance against Britain. But William had fortunes invested in Britain plus big loans made to the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York and the Duke of Clarence which, in view of Britain's well proven sea power, he would never clap hands on again if he went to war against them. On top of that he was making yet another fortune out of selling souls to a great list of Europe's warring monarchs. He would conscript an army and then hire it out to any oppressor who needed to put down a rebellion or grab another piece of territory. It was not his troops who were the mercenaries. It was William and he was following a well trodden family path. His troops simply stood to lose their lives.¹⁸

While he was being wooed by Napoleon and was busy propping up the King of Denmark he had to decide on an offer from the anti-French alliance of a special "subsidy" of 1,250,000 pounds Sterling above the going mercenary rate for every 100,000 men he could throw into the war against Napoleon. He could have raised 20,000 men, which amounted to a gift of 250,000 pounds Sterling, but to do so would have amounted to an open invitation for Napoleon to jump on him with both heels. He declined.¹⁹

At that point the King of Denmark decided the situation was getting rather unhealthy. He wasn't keen to be ground between Britain and France, especially in another struggle for control of the Caribbean which was like a whole string of tinder-box-dry St. Johns. He wanted out. He made a gesture of defiance against Napoleon's policies which he seems to have hoped would not be sufficient to prompt a French invasion but which would suffice to attract British sympathy and perhaps even the return of a few ships. He repudiated Napoleon's reintroduction of slavery and outlawed it in Denmark.²⁰ His kingdom, he said, stood squarely with the Mansfield judgement in Britain thirty years earlier, It didn't really matter that there had been practically no slavery in Denmark. He had thrown out a challenge and the question was whether

Britain would take it up. It did, relations quickly recovered and Denmark, way out on the fringe of European affairs, managed to stay clear of Napoleon for quite a while.

Two years later, when he apparently abandoned his cherished plan to invade Britain because of its continuing naval superiority, Napoleon launched a full-scale land-controlled trade blockade of Britain. When events proved that he could enforce it reasonably effectively and British exports of sugar, hardware and cotton goods to the continent had almost ceased, the British government judged that the time was right to accept the abolition of the slave trade. A bill was introduced in the House of Lords, passed, referred to the Commons, carried in committee by 175 votes to 17 and easily passed the final stages without a division in what must have been an anticlimax after forty years of struggle.

MORALITY OR POLITICS?

The flag waving began. It had been a resounding victory for British Christian morality – or so the churches and the papers told the public. Almost all the arguments used against the bill had been economic, dealing with the loss of profit for planters and traders, the retarding effect on naval recruitment, and the benefits for Africans living under British colonial rule. Then there were the arguments that Britain's colonists would feel let down and may become estranged from Britain and that if trading were outlawed the status of slavery would soon be outlawed also, with even more serious consequences. In contrast to earlier times little was said about the benefits of baptism and Christian teaching being better for a slave than life in ignorance in darkest Africa. Speakers for abolition concentrated on the immorality of the trade in human beings, on countering the economic arguments of the opposition and on the fact that Portugal was the only important slave trader left after Britain.²¹ The United States had acted to ban trading only a matter of weeks before, but little was said by either side in the debate about that.

And yet there was something hollow about the debate. Wilberforce knew, the government knew and most of parliament knew that the real position had not been debated. Although public attitudes had gradually firmed against the slave trade on moral grounds, when the chips were down it was economic expediency which had called the tune and if it had been in Britain's economic interests for the trade to continue the bill would probably not have passed the Commons and certainly would not have passed the Lords. Its introduction in the House of Lords and not the Commons therefore says much about the image of Britain which the passage of the bill was intended to establish. The closed trading patterns of early colonial days had passed and Britain had to rethink its relationships with its suppliers.

After the loss of the American colonies much of the financial benefit from the slave trade had slipped through Britain's fingers although the Jay Treaty of 1796 had provided a basis acceptable to both nations just for future trade and had eliminated a lot of the tension in relations between them.²² Britain's Caribbean plantations were becoming overworked, run down, more costly to operate and therefore poorly competitive with younger Caribbean and United States plantations and the large scale operations of South America. They also faced the

probability of rebellion. The only hope for them to survive in the sugar market in future, especially on the continent, was for the other producers to be forced to compete on a different basis or for Britain to pick up a hunk of their production action. The closing of the slave trade was one move in that direction. Without slave labour they would have to rely on more expensive methods of land development, the sugar price would have to rise and the older British colonies would have a chance to keep going.

NEW INTEREST IN AFRICA, SOUTH AMERICA

But Britain was also becoming more aware of the production potential of Africa itself and there was an influential body of industrial opinion which maintained that new colonies should be developed with new industries like palm oil worked by indigenous labour. The reasoning therefore ran that the labour, regarded under the expanding capitalist economic system as one of the units of input in the production schedule, should be left where it was and not exported. On top of all that, Britain was deeply embroiled in fomenting rebellion in Spain's American colonies. Trading and investment potential in South America was enormous so that redirection of lost exports to Europe and redeployment of investment interests from the old Caribbean colonies was very attractive, especially if Britain was geared to share in the independence action which was imminent. It therefore gradually becomes clear why very little was said by either side in the parliamentary debates about the fact that the United States had acted to ban trading in slaves only a matter of weeks before.

Then Napoleon kindly intervened again. Within a few months of the British anti-slave trade bill being passed he occupied Portugal and then in March 1808 he placed his brother Joseph on the Spanish throne in a bloodless coup. In theory he had become master of Latin America as well as two thirds of Europe. In practice it wasn't quite like that. He didn't have control of the seas. Britain did. The great naval battles of Biscay, led by Calder, and Trafalgar, the last to be led by Nelson, had left Napoleon virtually anchored on dry land and unable to enforce his new authority west of the Atlantic. Britain had already been applying a naval blockade of Spanish America sporadically since 1796 in its on-again-off-again wars with Spain. This, combined with British piracy on the high seas had had a crippling effect on the economics of some regions. The policy was politically justified on the grounds of encouraging independence for Spain's colonies but the real motive had simply been to grab a large share of Spain's South and Central American trade of which Britain's merchants and other power brokers had become extremely jealous.

Until the Declaration of Independence by Britain's North American colonies in 1776 the corrupt and repressive Spanish administration had insisted on trans-shipment of all goods in inter-colony trade through its customs at Porto Bello (Panama). In that respect it was no different from British colonial policy and when the balloon went up in North America the Spanish king, Charles III, quickly took the hint and relaxed controls over trade between Spain's colonies. Transshipment at Porto Bello was discontinued and Spanish shipping was allowed to

travel freely via Cape Horn to Chile and Peru. The effect was quite unexpected. In the ten years from 1778 to 1788 Spain's trade with the Americas grew about seven fold.²³ Britain just couldn't resist the temptation to offset its losses in the north at the expense of Spain in the south.

In an effort to counter British interference Spain established a Viceroyalty at Buenos Aires on the River Plate, (Argentina), as well as that at Lima, (Peru). The new administration was to strengthen and protect the southern mainland and in particular to secure the southern sea route to the Pacific against British raiders. Buenos Aires boomed. The price of its imports, freed of transshipment at Porto Bello, fell to about one third of previous levels. Its exports of hides, skins, tallow, horns and wool expanded in volume and it got full value for them. And in addition it had the prestige and government population growth which went with viceregal status.

Then came the British blockade of 1796 and the value of exports from Buenos Aires fell by well over 90 percent from about 5,500,000 pesos in 1796 to 335,000 pesos the next year.²⁴ Spain's authority was badly shaken through its inability to do anything about the blockade and ties with the Bourbon monarchy, already weakened through the reforms it had been forced to permit, were seriously undermined. Immediately Britain took possession of Trinidad in 1797 the British government began to actively incite rebellion. It ordered its governor to promote measures which would undermine the Spanish authorities, help the colonies to resist the "oppressive authority" of their government and lead to their liberation. He was to assure them of British resources all the way from arms and ammunition to forces. But he was also to assure them that Britain had no designs on their territory or sovereignty over them, nor any wish to interfere in the religious, political and civil privileges of the colonists, which included the long-standing right to trade in and to exploit slaves.²⁵ When Napoleon took control of Spain the colonists quickly seized their chances. They didn't want one overlord simply replaced by another – especially one who had just precipitated another disaster in Saint Domingue by reintroducing slavery. They would have their British-sponsored independence, thank you very much. Rebellions, each justified by quite separate situations, swept Spanish America, starting in Mexico, then Venezuela and engulfing every other region in turn.

Britain provided refuge for rebels and insurgents in its Caribbean Islands, plus naval "volunteers" and army mercenaries.²⁶ In fact it had been providing refuge for a key rebel right in the heart of London for some years. Francisco de Miranda, a well-to-do criollo²⁷ who was intent on liberating Spanish America, had friends in high places right across Europe and the USA. He was back in London at his home which had become a centre for anti-Spanish conspiracy after an unsuccessful attempt at a coup in Venezuela at the time that Wilberforce steered the bill outlawing the slave trade through parliament. He was not sitting idly waiting for another opportunity to fall into his lap. He was deeply involved in the British conspiracy against Spain and was implicated in unauthorized and abortive British expeditions to Buenos Aires in 1806 and 1807. They had first captured the city and shipped home over a million dollars in booty which was paraded triumphantly through London on eight wagons, greatly stimulating British trade and investment in Latin America.

But then the British forces were defeated in an anti-British mob reaction and interned in the interior. A further naval and military expedition with ten thousand men was mounted to release them, concurrent with the introduction of the slave trade prohibition bill in parliament. The commander, General Whitelock, carried instructions from the British Government that he was to reduce the province of Buenos Aires by force and exile those who had overthrown and interned the short-lived British administration, but he was only to occupy a portion of the territory and he was to minimize distress and annoyance for the people. At the same time he was to "attach the inhabitants to British rule" but he was forbidden to guarantee them protection against the vengeance of Old Spain after a peace settlement had been reached.²⁸ The expedition was an absolute disaster and Whitelock was forced to evacuate all British interests, both military and commercial, not only from Buenos Aires but from Montevideo also.

However in the Portuguese territory of Brazil events were about to take a different turn. British interests had designs on the immense markets and resources of the tropical territory which was bigger than the whole of the USA as it then was and some uprisings against the weak and bankrupt Portuguese colonial administration had already occurred. Brazil was ripe for a take over if only someone would trigger an inside rebellion. But Britain and Portugal were allies against France. When Napoleon's forces moved towards Lisbon in November 1807 the chance fell in Britain's lap. It tipped off the royal family and as a result the Prince Regent, Dom Joao, and a huge party of two thousand hangers-on from court, plus of course all the treasury's gold and jewels, were two days at sea heading for Brazil under British naval escort before the French army reached Lisbon. The Portuguese monarchy had been saved, Rio de Janeiro became the centre of gravity of the Portuguese empire and Brazil was saved the trauma of a war of independence because independence later came fairly smoothly through the gradual establishment of a separate monarchy. And Britain had gained the trade and investment advantage which the whole exercise had been designed to achieve for the bargain basement price of a naval escort for a royal exile. It not only offset the diplomatic and commercial debacle of the River Plate, it also got British speculators off the hook of unplanned overindulgence in the Latin American markets which they had swallowed under the pressure of Napoleon's European embargo.

A GREAT VICTORY FOR MANKIND

Events had moved so fast that they had overtaken and overshadowed the introduction of the anti-slave trade bill. The extent to which the bill was intended to undermine Napoleon on one hand or the Spaniards and Portuguese on the other, nor its expected value in getting Britain out of the mess it had sailed into in the River Plate, may never be quite clear. However all three factors were significant considerations and could account for the subdued atmosphere and the relative lack of fire in debate while the bill was before Parliament.

Yes, a great victory had been won for mankind, for human rights, and for love and understanding between peoples of different races and it gave the campaigners great heart for the

next campaign. After all, it was only trading in slaves in areas under British control which had been outlawed. Exploitation of those already in the system and trading in areas under many other flags could continue to Britain's disadvantage. Being pre occupied with Napoleon there seemed little she could do about it for the time being. The public debate had been mainly about Christian morality but the decision making had been based on self interest.^{29 30} Little had changed except appearance.

In spite of its naval power and the steps it had taken in the Caribbean and South America Britain's financial and trading position continued to worsen as Napoleon swept across Europe and tightened his trade embargo. By 1810 the Duke of Wellington was forced to tell the British Government that if it could not pay his army or keep it supplied in the field then it should be withdrawn³¹, leaving Napoleon without an effective challenge in Spain and Portugal. The likely effects of such a British withdrawal from Spain, (or even the effects of its army being partially immobilized), on both the future of the anti-Napoleonic alliances and the course of the war were absolutely frightening. The money just had to be found and got to Wellington's army in gold.

A NEW DYNASTY

About a year before that pathetic appeal from Wellington had reached London a 33 year old Frankfurt ghetto-born German Jew whose father had been a cotton and wine merchant and retailer, a coin and antique dealer and a money lender, had taken British nationality. He had been a merchant in England for eleven years and had established his own bank. With some very astute dealing and excellent knowledge and judgement of the international money market which Napoleon was manipulating to Britain's disadvantage, he obtained the necessary gold from the East India Company, sold it at a handsome profit to the British Treasury, and offered to arrange the ticklish business of getting it to Wellington through his own bank. In collaboration with his father and brothers in Europe he devised an audacious scheme to run the British gold across France using a loophole which Napoleon had left open in the French customs system for the purpose of draining Britain's gold reserves.

Nathan, third son of Mayer and Gutle Rothschild, had launched N. M. Rothschild and Sons into the international banking arena in a quite dramatic manner. It was the first new string to a family bow which, with M. A. Rothschild und Sohne as the backbone, would call the financial tune across Europe for three or four vital generations. The family finance empire became more than just a string of banks. It provided personal and political power for the leaders of the family which was quite incredible and ranks among the major factors in determining the course of European affairs during that period. It also became a very important influence in helping to reshape the triangle of messianic faiths.

The former ghetto family owed its rise to power directly to Napoleon's efforts to eliminate the anti-reform power base of the Elector William of Hesse-Cassel whose hired armies had been used to prop up the crowned heads of Europe. The founder of the dynasty, Mayer, had been simply a moderately comfortable, innovative merchant until, through gaining William's

confidence, he was invited to act as intermediary for the naval loan to the king of Denmark. The amount of money involved was big indeed but it wasn't the commission on that service which laid the foundations for Europe's greatest family fortune, it was the fact that through it Mayer Rothschild was already established as a reliable aid when William needed real help, about the same time that the family was smuggling gold to Wellington under Napoleon's nose.

But to pick up the threads we must go back again to 1795 when the French invasion of the lowlands had opened the Frankfurt ghetto and enabled Mayer to set up a warehouse for English imports in the main part of the town. Nathan moved from Frankfurt to Manchester, England, three years later to strengthen the family's trading business by bypassing French-controlled Antwerp with direct export-import capacity. Using loads of initiative plus the instinct for survival and determination to surmount obstacles which the Christian community seemed intent on force breeding in Jewish ghetto communities, he rapidly expanded the Manchester business to manufacturing as well as local and export distribution.

In 1804, in the wake of the Danish naval loan, Nathan moved to London to be at the hub of the money market and he had soon established himself on the stock exchange. This helped to stoke the whispering campaign against "the ghetto firm" which some of Germany's established bankers put around when Mayer gained ever increasing business on behalf of Elector William in competition with them. These whispers were prominent among those which came to Napoleon's attention in Frankfurt in 1805 and which prompted him to summon the Sanhedrin in 1806/1807. However the interdependence between Mayer and the Elector had by then become so great that force would have been necessary to prise them apart. From Napoleon's point of view it could have been counterproductive.

In October 1806 Napoleon gave William a simple ultimatum "join me, or go into exile, or join the prisoners of war." His fortunes propping up Napoleon's enemies left him no option. He fled to join his brother and brothers-in-law in Denmark. The bulk of his fortune which was not out on loan fell into the hands of Napoleon's officers and the bribery and other means by which he managed to retrieve most of it including his debtors' ledgers, makes fascinating reading.³² By the time Napoleon imposed his blockade of England and the Sanhedrin issued its pronouncements about a Jew and his fatherland Mayer Rothschild was debt collector and chief investor for the Elector-in-exile.

By a little touch of circumstantial good fortune Mayer Rothschild had William, his debtors and Napoleon all in the palm of his hand. Napoleon offered a little inducement for Mayer to hand over the Elector's debtors' ledger – he could remain debt collector and have 25 per cent commission on all interest he collected for the French Fatherland – but he couldn't force him, not even with a house search.³³ In any case to do so would have brought all of Europe's royal debt skeletons out of their cupboards and would have led to a renewed alliance against him. The Elector's debtors couldn't refuse to pay interest to Mayer for fear that they would end up exposed to Napoleon and, for much the same reason, the Elector himself could not question his debt collector. He could only ask him to invest it for him in fixed interest British securities and

when Nathan chose to gamble with it, highly profitably, there was nothing he could do except be grateful to receive his fixed interest.

At the same time the Rothschild import-export business was simply converted from one of the biggest legitimate businesses in Germany into the biggest, most highly organized, most tightly secured and fabulously profitable cross-channel smuggling operation. The interest on William's loans flowed across the channel for investment in England as a steady stream of gold, together with import-export transaction payments, until the hazards of blockade-running prompted the Rothschilds to set up the first ever system of bills of exchange. They also became the leaders in international intelligence and communications and brought a whole host of other innovations to merchant banking as they commuted between the royal and noble houses of the ever-fluid anti-Napoleonic alliances. From 1812 to the collapse of the French Republic they handled Britain's subsidies to its continental allies and then financed the return of Louis XVIII to the French monarchy.

The Napoleonic Wars had lifted the Rothschild family enterprises from a comfortable business, with Nathan able to take ten thousand pounds Sterling with him to England in 1798, to the wealthiest bank in Europe with family assets of fifty million pounds Sterling. But the scale of the fortunes which were to grow from them is almost incidental. There were a number of other large Jewish family fortunes, dotted around Europe outside the ghettos, mainly in Britain, but most of them sheltered behind a low profile and simply shared the capital markets with the Christian family-controlled fortunes. It is the manner in which the Rothschild fortunes were established and managed and the consequences of their management which are of continuing importance.

Debt collection for Elector William coupled with subsidy running for Britain provided the most direct introduction to Europe's crowned heads and aristocrats which anyone could wish for and a ready-made base for the establishment of banks in Vienna, Naples and Paris as well as Frankfurt and London. They were managed separately but coordinated to provide an immense resource for the whole family. And by discriminating against his daughters, by specifying in his will that an interest in his estate could only pass to male members of the family, Mayer ensured that it would stay that way for a long time. Their money control was so sophisticated that they could regulate foreign exchange rates almost at will in spite of other market forces and they used this well proven capacity, or the threat of it, to support or undermine governments and to coerce them into particular policy decisions which coincided with their wishes. In this respect they demonstrated to the world the techniques and effects of exchange control which have subsequently been used with devastating results and with gross irresponsibility by many financiers and transnational corporations during the twentieth century. Quite apart from the question of deliberate policy decisions based on the family's philosophical or political outlook, the natural consequence of the relationships built up during the Napoleonic wars was that the Rothschild banks would become a prop for the monarchies of Europe. This meant in practice that Rothschild wealth propped up the unholy Holy Alliance and the papacy and was a symbol of reaction and suppression of republican or even democratic aspirations.

Between 1817 and 1824 the Rothschild banks raised major loans for Prussia, Britain, Naples (twice), Russia, Portugal and Austria. When they were excluded from a consortium to raise a massive French war reparations loan they showed they were not to be trifled with by sharply depressing the French bond market. They were not excluded from a second loan raising. When other British investors rushed to cash in on the largely British-inspired Latin American wars of independence Nathan Rothschild stayed clear, jointly set up the Alliance Insurance Group with Moses Montefiore and he was ready to prop up the mighty Bank of England with a massive transfer of gold from France when the bubble burst and over three thousand British businesses went bankrupt in double-quick time.³⁴

INFLUENCE? YES. VOTES? NO!

With thousands of millions of pounds passing through their control it has been inevitable that conflict between governments and competing interest groups would arise from time to time because of the investment and lending policies of the brothers, from competition for their favours and from conditions which they attached to their loans. Until the patterns of international money supply changed from those of the early nineteenth century and taxation policies evolved so that governments gained greater control over their banking systems, governments sometimes had to wait for a nod from a Rothschild before suppressing internal rebellion or waging external war. Such extraordinary personal power was bound to generate antagonism and give their enemies plenty of material to examine under the public microscope. If at times there appeared to be contradiction in their decisions or the use of personal power for sectional benefit then, firstly, it simply shows them to be no different to anyone else and, secondly, it brings us to the central point of the Rothschild saga. The family has remained staunchly Jewish in its faith.

While many prominent Jews, including Benjamin Disraeli who later served as Prime Minister of Britain, succumbed to pressure from the church and civil authorities and accepted Christian baptism in order to maintain their positions or to become eligible for public office, the children of Mayer Rothschild did not. All ten surviving children, five boys and five girls (with a spread of ages of well over twenty years and a spirit of cooperation developed from having to share a single bedroom in their ghetto home) were deeply influenced by the religious devotion of their parents. There was no question of their marriage to Christians, let alone conversion. In fact Nathan strictly forbade his children from contemplating marriage to a Christian and after a French prince, Edmond de Clary had sought to court Hannah he added a clause to his will disinheriting any of his daughters who married without their mother's or their brothers' consent. Five years later, in 1830, after a period of trauma Hannah finally received her mother's consent to marry a second Christian suitor, Henry Fitzroy, a brother of the Earl of Southampton. But thereafter she was treated with contempt by many members of the dynasty.³⁵

The family's attitude that Hannah was betraying the faith of her forefathers must be seen against the circumstances of the time and the family's efforts, spurned by the Christian church

at large, to break down the barriers between Christians and Jews. She was seen as undermining the Jewish community's ability to argue for legal and social equality with Christians by playing into the hands of those Christians who opposed equality as unnecessary on the grounds that integration and intermarriage would eventually eliminate both the Jewish community and the need for equality. Such people claimed that the disappearance of Judaism through integration would confirm the claims of the church, militant, crusading and victorious, to be the sole representative of God on earth and therefore justify the use of the Inquisition to speed up the process. And on the Jewish side there were many who feared that integration would lead to elimination and betrayal of the purpose of Israel.

In both camps there were clear memories of the outcry when, sixteen years earlier, in 1823, Hannah's uncle Amschel Rothschild had used his influence to get an act adopted in Frankfurt permitting intermarriage not only between Christians of different denominations but also between Christians and Jews. Philosopher and statesman Johann Goethe reflected and also helped to perpetuate a widespread Christian attitude when he said that the scandalous law would undermine all sense of family morality and suggested that Germany could even end up with a Jewess as "principal Lady of the Bedchamber."³⁶ After all, the pope, Pius VII, had banned marriages between Catholics and Protestants only nine years earlier, in 1814, on the fall of Napoleon, as one of his steps backward to recover some of the Vatican's lost temporal power. If, as the bulk of the church did, one was to accept that there was a theological and not a political basis for that ban, then surely it was far more degrading to marry a Jew than a Protestant. These two streams of thought had brought sectarian bitterness to a new fever pitch and they coupled with the Jesuit-orchestrated growth of Catholic "revival" groups throughout Europe, plus the issue of preferential employment which was coming to the fore with worsening economic depression, to make Europe's social and communal waters very muddy indeed. When Hannah walked down the aisle with her Christian husband Europe was still wracked with violence following the arrest of the Catholic archbishop of Cologne for his refusal to sanction mixed marriages. A Catholic Professor, Johann Gorres, then inflamed the bitterness even further with his writings in which he drew heavily on the divisive theology of Athanasius to defend the Archbishop and the papal line.

In 1829, the year that Catholics had finally been given the right to sit in parliament and to hold military, judicial or public office in England, Nathan Rothschild had unsuccessfully petitioned the House of Commons for the same rights for Jews. As the head of a family conservatively estimated to hold personal fortunes of two hundred million pounds Sterling or more at that stage he was welcome to prop up the Bank of England, to finance Britain's military adventures or to manage the royal family's personal investments, but he was not worthy of a seat in parliament! He and others of his faith had to wait until 1858 for that right, another 22 years before they could enter university, and a further 20 years before the final restrictions were lifted.

Emancipation was a very slow process indeed, but England was about par for the course. The countries of Europe were each taking their own pace and while some had followed a more

enlightened path others were still dragging the chain. At least emancipation was becoming a reality now that the Holy Roman Empire was a thing of the past. As in England and Germany, the Rothschilds elsewhere used their influence to speed the process but in doing so they found themselves in some very anomalous situations. At one time they were propping up the Vatican and, in so doing, they were suppressing Italian national aspirations at the same time. At another time the brothers were invited to open a bank in Vienna in spite of the fact that no Jew was allowed to own property in Austria. They had to report regularly to the "Jewish Office", they still had to pay a special poll tax for the "right" to marry and foreign-born Jews could only obtain short-duration visitors' visas. The last condition was waived for Salomon who was to formally establish the bank, but not for the others.

However anti-Jewish feeling was running so high in Frankfurt in 1819, with real fear of another wave of pogroms, that Salomon was happy to go to Vienna where he set about working towards the reform of those injustices. Among the early tasks with which he was entrusted by the Austrian government was to finance the Emperor's daughter, Archduchess Marie Louise, the blatantly unfaithful second wife of Napoleon, into the dukedoms of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla in northern Italy and to arrange a suitable inheritance for her two illegitimate children. He did this by devious means which made the public treasury of Parma the ultimate source of the funds. The people of the region were not only stuck with a system they didn't want but they were unwittingly paying for it as well.

About the same time, 1821, revolution broke out against the Austrian-backed monarchy in Naples where the people were demanding a return to Napoleon's democratic constitution of 1812. The Rothschilds were called in again and the technique was much the same. A loan was raised in Naples, to be repaid from public revenue and to be used to finance an Austrian army of occupation to put down the revolt by the people who were to pay the army. The effect was dramatic and similar revolts which were brewing in Piedmont and Alessandria, near Parma, fell flat. The Austrian government was so grateful that in 1822 the five Rothschild brothers found themselves Austrian barons – without basic citizenship rights.

PAPAL STATES IN CRISIS

Then came one of the greatest paradoxes of the saga. In 1830 the papal states were suffering from the most backward and ruthless administration in all of Europe.³⁷ They were being propped up by Austrian forces. Christian Liberalism was gaining strong support among the ordinary Catholic clergy of Italy, but a man who was to lead a short-lived republican government in Rome 19 years later, Giuseppe Mazzini, was in prison for inciting rebellion against the pope. The movement had as its focal point the writings of a French priest, Felicité Robert de Lamennais, who was calling for the church to cut itself free from the reactionary powers and to form an alliance with all people who were striving for independence.

Lamennais had successfully predicted the French uprising of July 1830 which temporarily ended the monarchy again and with his cry that "Freedom must be fought for, it is never

surrendered voluntarily”, he became a hero of the people.³⁸ But Prince Metternich, the Austrian monarchy and the other powers didn't like the sound of it. They put pressure on the Vatican to introduce reforms in the papal states and to quieten the dissident French priest at the same time. At first the Vatican did nothing. A whole series of regional revolts broke in each of the Italian monarchies, principalities and the papal states in 1831 with the Carbonari secret society and the ghettos in the centre of the fray. But more forces arrived from Austria and France and the wind was soon out of the dissidents' sails. The Vatican tightened its control and proposed local government by clergy, which the rest of Europe had long since firmly rejected.³⁹ Even Austria and France objected and threatened to pull out and leave the pope to fend for himself. Pope Gregory XVI responded in August 1832 with an attack on the views of Lamennais in the ghastly encyclical *Mirari vos* which was intended to justify papal claims to temporal power and the new local measures, and at the same time regain the support of Austria and the other powers. Loyal submission to princes, he wrote, necessarily follows from the sacred precepts of the Christian religion.

The pope might have stopped with such a restatement of the Divine Right of Kings, but he didn't. He went on to condemn the detestable insolence and malice of those who, incited by their vaunting and unbounded ambition for licentious freedom, use all their power to agitate against and upset the rights of rulers. Warning to his subject Gregory went on to attack the 'absurd notion' that freedom of conscience was to be claimed and defended as a right for all men. Freedom of opinion, he said, was the ruin of both the church and the state. Together with the abominable and detestable freedom of publication which some were zealously demanding, these excesses and contempt for sacred matters had corrupted youth and brought down nations!⁴⁰ Pope Gregory had done his best to isolate the Catholic Church from the mainstream of modern thought. He was building a new ghetto for Catholics instead of Jews. It didn't need walls and gates. Ignorance was enough. He was also preparing the ground to repel the challenges which were building up from the scientists and philosophers.

Charles Darwin, an English Protestant who had just graduated from Cambridge, having changed from theology to science part way through his course, had just sailed on the "Beagle" for a five-year stint as naturalist with an admiralty expedition around the world. Karl Marx, born into a German Jewish family with a proud Rabbinical heritage and at that time a youth of fourteen, was keenly reading French Rationalism at high school midway between Napoleon's Waterloo and Mayer Rothschild's Frankfurt. He was smarting from the memory of the Christian baptism which he had to endure so that his father could keep his respectable law post. Both Marx and Darwin would have been keenly interested in Gregory's outburst. However they didn't matter – for the moment – but the Rothschilds did.

Carl Rothschild had stayed to open a bank in Naples after the 1821 rebellion had been put down and it was Rothschild money which was financing the Austrian army of occupation after the 1831 fiasco and which was also needed to prop up the papal states in other ways. He was invited to an audience with the pope and was given treatment normally reserved for Emperors. It was in ludicrous contrast with the standard treatment for Jews. The viciousness of the

persecution to which they had been subjected during the previous few years under Leo XII had been such that wealthier Jews who were able to do so had fled Rome and the financial stability of the papal states had been shaken. Leo had reintroduced discriminatory laws and restrictions which had been allowed to lapse. The system of papal informants flourished and the Inquisition was applied to Jews in Rome with unprecedented venom. Barbaric executions under a cruel papal legate were the order of the day and in Romagna alone some five hundred people were condemned in three months. So the meeting between Gregory and Carl was a case of olive branches, red carpets and a kiss of the papal ring.

Yes. The Austrian army would stay and the money for development projects to prop up the papal states would continue to flow. But there were to be special conditions. The Roman ghetto had to go and the Inquisition against Jews had to stop. The pope must give an assurance that he would work towards those ends.⁴¹ He did. So the Austrian army stayed until 1838. But the Roman ghetto stayed until 1848 when a democratic republic was proclaimed. It was the last of Europe's ghettos to fall. Of course Rome's touch of democracy was short-lived. French bayonets replaced the Austrian ones only a year later but at least the ghetto walls stayed breached.

Although the pope had shown that he could thumb his nose to an understanding with Carl, the Rothschild's ability to control Europe's exchange rates and to influence the stability of governments could not be disputed. When France was in the middle of another bout of revolutionary spirits the king gave them an almost absolute monopoly of state loan raising. Then, during the mid 1830s with the family's influence reaching a peak, Amschel Rothschild was secretary to the German Confederation of Frankfurt and was regarded as unofficial Treasurer to the Prussian government. Carl was said to be the unofficial overlord of the Italian peninsula and Salomon was the undisputed financial mainstay of the Hapsburg Austrian Empire. In fact the name Rothschild almost became synonymous with the title "Consul for Austria", with Nathan named as consul in London and James as consul-general in Paris.

However it was Nathan around whose entrepreneurial skill and political judgement the family had revolved for 24 years since Mayer's death. He was quick to recognize the opportunities resulting from the Industrial Revolution, in which Britain was still a clear generation ahead of the continental countries, and he moved swiftly to gain control of mineral resources whenever these were seen to be crucial to industrial growth. The Rio Tinto copper mines in Spain, Austrian silver, German ironworks, asphalt deposits in Yugoslavia and Le Nickel Penarroya all came under Rothschild control. Progressively a series of other major enterprises were sponsored or funded wholly or partly by the Rothschilds, including the Baku oil fields in Russia, uranium interests; Brinco of Newfoundland and possibly the most significant of all, the De Beers Consolidated Mines and Goldfields of South Africa Ltd which is intimately linked to the name Cecil Rhodes.⁴² With his capacity to determine almost at will where a major mining or industrial development would occur international competition for Nathan's favours was intense but sometimes the boot was on the other foot. Prince Metternich was outraged when he made a loan of six hundred thousand pounds Sterling to the Spanish Queen Regent as an inducement for her to grant him control of the Almaden mercury mines

and, with it, a monopoly over all of Europe's supplies of the mineral. It strengthened her position in relation to the pretender, Don Carlos, whom Austria was financing in his run for the throne presumably with money borrowed through Salomon.

When Nathan died in August 1836 the stock markets of Europe slumped in a short-lived but very significant reaction. It was something akin to the well-orchestrated stock market shudders which every western country has experienced in the 1970s whenever a "leftish" government has replaced a conservative one or a pro-Arab government has replaced a pro-Israel one. The difference is that it was a spontaneous reaction because the hands of the most influential financier the world had known had slipped from the capitalist steering wheel just as it was being tugged at from all directions in a series of concerted challenges.

By that time the Rothschild empire had already given the world some excellent lessons in the conflicts of interest which unrestricted transnational financial and industrial operations cannot possibly avoid. It had also demonstrated the capacity for international financiers to manipulate the governments and the interests of people in sovereign countries. Its principals had learned well in their apprenticeship under the Elector William. But the powers of the world didn't want to learn. They were hell bent on taking full advantage of the rapid growth of capital for their own ends and they believed that by gradually refining the theory and practice of economic management they could always stay in front of any challengers, They need not negotiate while they held the whip handle.

Diversification of their interests across national boundaries had backfired on the Rothschilds from time to time and their reaction to each backfire led to still further personal and international complications. In 1833 when, after the first seventeen years of concerted Royal Navy action to close the Atlantic slave trade, the British parliament finally passed an act to emancipate all slaves in British territories and reached agreements with France, Holland, Spain and Brazil, the government was obliged to compensate slave owners for the loss of their units of productivity. It turned to Lionel Rothschild, successor to Nathan, who loaned twenty million pounds Sterling to finance the compensation payments. However a highly profitable slave trade continued in the United States which had changed its attitude and refused to discuss an antislavery treaty.⁴³ Slave labour was providing the basis for continued expansion of agricultural production and for the early stages of industrialization in light industries such as textiles, shoes and clocks.^{44 45} Britain was caught in a multi-pronged cleft stick. Its home-based capitalists and industrial employers wanted to see United States agricultural production increase to provide cheap cotton for Lancashire's mills, cheap tobacco for Bristol and cheap sugar and grain for everyone. Free trade became their catchcry. It was silly, they said, to refuse someone's cheap supplies just because they were produced by slave labour. (An interesting contrast to the argument used against cheap indentured Kanaka labour in Australia.) The navy patrols should be left to sink or swim by the ordinary commercial pressures of profit and loss, supply and demand, they said. Heavy losses which the navy was suffering added weight to their arguments.

A COMPENSATION PACKAGE

Of course the very same people wanted pressure put on the United States to avoid or prevent it becoming industrialized and competing on rapidly expanding world markets for factory-produced goods. Agreement for the USA to continue using slave labour would, they reasoned, delay its industrialization. They were right.⁴⁶ Drawn up in opposition to them was another strange alliance of convenience. There were the human rights activists, not necessarily churched Christians, who were concerned with the horror and human degradation of a higher death rate among slaves in transit than ever before. Disease, intolerable conditions, despair and cruelty all took their toll but added to them were the waves and the sharks as slaves were flung overboard, alive, to destroy the incriminating evidence whenever a British cruiser came in sight. There were the capitalists whose interests were mainly colonial and who claimed their enterprises were in danger because, in spite of the navy, slaves were reaching the New World in greater numbers than ever. Then there were the people with their eyes on Africa, opening up the Gold Coast and the Niger route, concerned that the native population was becoming so depleted that profitable production would be impossible.⁴⁷

The alliance, or at least *realpolitik*, won, with due credit and prominence given to the moral arguments, of course. The navy stayed at sea and from the mid 1830s interest in industrial and railway development in the United States sailed high with it. But the country didn't have a big supply of capital or a highly developed capital market. Foreign investment capital and loan funds were needed.⁴⁸ Naturally Rothschild was one of the first names to come to mind. The family either controlled or had raised finance towards several of Europe's key railways and in 1839 Lionel raised one of the first massive loans for industrial and railway development in the United States.⁴⁹ When the Civil War became imminent those funds appeared to be in danger and, unable to pull political strings to start and stop wars in the USA in the way that he could in Europe, Lionel intervened with loans for the anti abolition Confederate army. When it was defeated he lost heavily on both counts, a fact of minor importance compared with the complex effects of such foreign intervention in the war. But at least slavery in the United States was officially dead.

Abraham Lincoln ultimately signed a reciprocal search treaty with Britain in 1862. The civil war had been brewing for about thirty years but it was actually Lincoln's election as President in 1860/61 on an abolitionist platform that finally triggered it. Then, with the war threatening to reduce the nation to chaos, he aped Napoleon and used a proclamation of emancipation for slaves in the rebellious states as a means of undermining the Confederate war effort while he allowed slavery to remain legal in the non-rebellious slave states. Two years later, in 1865, and only a couple of months before the surrender of the Confederate army and his tragic assassination, he managed to steer through Congress an amendment to the constitution and a compromise bill which provided for compensation for slave owners.

Only Cuba remained as a major market for human beings. However its reunified and powerful neighbour was becoming belligerently self-righteous. It was no longer providing ships

for the trade and it was jealous of a slave economy almost within hailing distance of its own ports. Added to that, the British navy was showing little respect for the Spanish flag, treaty or no treaty, and it was only a matter of time before the Spanish authorities also found it expedient to close the trade. Although the curtain did not finally come down on the recognized slave trade until 1929 when the last officially recorded slave caravan reached Mourzouk on the northern Sahara – within the memory of some readers – the Cuban trade ground to a halt with the Spanish legislation of 1869.

CHURCHES DIVIDED TO THE END

Even in the final act of the drama the church could not be uniformly proud of its role. Its fragments were being gloriously consistent with their inconsistency. Mainstream church leaders who actively campaigned against slavery were far outnumbered by those who either supported it or said nothing. The abolitionists usually came from the smaller denominations which were generally regarded as offbeat. From about 1761 the Society of Friends had excluded from its membership anyone who traded in slaves. Then, after the dynamic campaigning of the Wesleys, they were joined by the Methodists as the most consistent campaigners against the trade. In contrast, the Roman Catholic Church's official doctrine held that slavery as such was not necessarily evil and the majority of bishops opposed abolition in the Southern states quite forcibly at times during the Civil War. Several orders, chief among them the Jesuits, were large slave owners in Saint Domingue and Maryland. They might claim credit for being somewhat kinder task masters than most, but even pious references to Leviticus 25:44–46, widely quoted by Christians to justify slavery, cannot relieve them of condemnation.⁵⁰ The pro-abolition bishop of Nashville was forced to retire and the clergy of Baltimore Cathedral refused to read a prayer for the preservation of the Union.⁵¹

REFUGEES, GHETTOS AND RANSOMS

The flood of Irish Catholic refugees which reached the United States in the traumatic period of the five-year potato famine which began in 1845, largely with the aid of funds raised by the Rothschilds, compounded the crisis of the slave trade.⁵² The refugees came from oppressed rural working communities which had been pawns in Imperialist Britain's schemes of industrial and rural development. They enjoyed no voting rights or any other say in their own government. They had generally been denied any education except such forms of religious indoctrination which the authoritarian Catholic Church cared to offer in its attempts to keep them in religious subservience in much the same manner that the British government imposed political and social subservience.⁵³

That flood of Irish Catholic refugees merged with a flood of German Catholic refugees whose circumstances were similar except that they were escaping religious persecution as much as Europe's economic collapse. They arrived during a generation of hatred of foreign-born Catholics which had been fomented by Protestant elements. Convents and churches were

burned and, in spite of the first amendment to the constitution, some of them had to suffer anti-Catholic state laws. They arrived hot on the heels of heavy slave-economy unemployment and joined a Catholic community with few priests, few schools or colleges, dominated by European orders, with its first bishop having been appointed only six years earlier and with a ghetto mentality developing rapidly.

With no understanding of the consequences and probably feeling that there could be little, if anything, more dehumanizing than their own condition, the Catholic migrants clamoured for Negro slavery to be maintained so that there was a group just one rung lower on the social scale.⁵⁴ The Catholic North American version of the ghetto had arrived. It was a consequence of the complex interplay of religious and political rivalries since the Reformation. It was based on and freely oozed the church's self-understanding and arrogant expectation of a miraculous return to a position of pre eminence through isolationism. It was soon to slide to even lower levels because of educational, political and theological blunders of appalling magnitude. At the same time, by rejecting the Southern slave population and by concentrating on buffering its European migrant adherents from the evils of Protestantism, it dug a deep gulf with heavy overtones of racism between itself and the even more depressed Negro community which would haunt it into the present era.

But there was another effect of the famine-induced mass migration which had not been anticipated. It was a shift in the demographic pattern and the political balance within the United States of America. Irish immigration, estimated at 2.5 million between 1800 and 1850, represented at least 12 percent of the total white population or 15 per cent of the fifty year increase but, allowing for a share of the natural increase during that period, the 'Irish origin' figure is more likely to have been between 20 and 25 percent during the critical period of the 1850s.^{55 56} In addition, newly arrived immigrants were seldom among the rural settlers who moved west. They stayed and sought work in the eastern cities and therefore had a greater impact in the urban areas than their numbers indicate. This was the basis of the North American Catholic ghetto attitude noted above and it also gave rise to 'the Catholic Irish voter factor.' In turn it provided the basis of the political influence of the Catholic bishops. However in 1858 President Buchanan was clearly under its influence when he met a delegation of Jewish leaders and, in turn, his refusal to respond to their request influenced the development of the Jewish community's structures for political and legal intervention.

We might be forgiven for wondering whether anything had really changed. Quite apart from its role in the slave trade which we have already noted, the Vatican had a thick file of decisions on slavery with which to demonstrate to the world its misunderstanding of humanity and the Gospels. A brief review of the record is all we need to confirm that the early shipments of African slaves to Europe was not the start of a new trade. It was simply a new phase. There was a substitution of slaves of another race for those of the home countries as well as an increase in the total supply of slave labour.

When white Europeans were being sold to the Muslims in Spain during the tenth and to North Africa from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries Rome insisted that they should be either Jews or other non-Christians. But the profitability of the trade was high and as demand increased the merchants of Italy, Venice and Genoa took no notice and Christians were shipped in large numbers. Pope Clement V, reigning from Avignon between 1305 and 1314, excommunicated the Venetians en masse for ignoring him and selling Christians to the Infidels. Pope Martin V, 1417 to 1431, treated Genoese merchants at Caffa in much the same way with much the same response. Ten years later the laws of Genoese Gazaria expressly provided for the purchase and sale of both Christian and Muslim slaves. But long before that the Church had set up two orders for the purpose of ransoming Christians who had been bought by Muslims: the Trinitarians in 1198 and the Mercedarians in 1218. Does this suggest that there were two interpretations of baptism: one for Europeans and one for non-Europeans? The two orders claimed to have liberated over two million people – Europeans of course – in five hundred years. So why should the traders worry? They could not lose. Then, within a few years of the first voyage by Columbus, Isabella, acting with her full papal authority, consented to an order that only white slaves should be sent to the Americas so that, being Christians, they might convert and subdue their heathen Amerindian and Negro fellows already there. That order was soon allowed to lapse but a generation later licences were being granted for the sale of white women for use in brothels in the Caribbean. One such licence prohibited the sale of converted Muslims by specifying that the women must have been born in Castile and baptized as Christians before the age of ten. Such sales continued at least until 1692.⁵⁷

Possibly as a consequence of that trade, some Protestant missions and even the infant American government joined the two Catholic orders in the ransom business. Soon after independence the government signed treaties with both the Bey of Algiers and the King of Tripoli to formalize ransom arrangements. The Bey was to receive \$US700,000 as an annual tribute to ensure the safety of Americans, (bribery came before gunboats in a simple demonstration of the scale of the operations at that time), but the king got only \$50,000 and a hollow statement that “The Government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion.”

CRISIS IN EDUCATION

By the time conflict over schooling policy in the young United States reached the stage of public controversy the American Civil War had erupted and the Vatican had locked itself into a position in which it could not or would not even set up a review of its historical development as the first stage towards doctrinal changes. This made it absolutely essential that it be able to run its own schools to avoid loss of adherents to Protestant denominations, to ensure continuity of its doctrinal “purity,” and to maintain its political authority in a rapidly evolving world community. The crisis was not restricted to any one country.

Before the Revolution made education in France a state responsibility it had been a public service entrusted to the church. Even though one of Napoleon’s Concordat concessions allowed

clergy back into the schools to teach, the Vatican could see that its influence would continue to be eroded right across Europe and the USA through freedom of thought in the school room. When the pope's re-established Jesuit brainwashing teams were banned from France's schools in 1828 the issue was recognized as critical and it rapidly became exaggerated and emotive. The Catholic Church, defensive and divisive, campaigned vigorously for freedom of education. It found a ready supply of ammunition just across the channel where the establishment Protestant Church of England had thrown itself into its school building program with a vengeance, prompted by essentially the same motives: the political interests of its wealthy backers and the maintenance of its institutional influence.

The campaign was disastrously successful. Within a generation, in 1850 and under the influence of two years of rebellion across Europe, the Falloux Law was passed, allowing for the establishment of Catholic Secondary schools. Frédéric-Alfred-Pierre Falloux was President Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte's first minister of education and engineered the passage of the loi Falloux, under the guise of freedom of education in order to restore a great deal of the traditional influence of the Roman Catholic church. He later turned against Louis-Napoléon when he became emperor as Napoleon III but he continued to support monarchist and liberal Catholic causes.⁵⁸ In the first year over 250 new Catholic schools were opened. Within another generation there were more students in Catholic Secondary schools than in state schools and the church was campaigning to run its own universities again. A whirlwind of sectarian bitterness was unleashed which soon touched every aspect of European and colonial life. Then came the Syllabus of Errors and the pronouncement of papal infallibility which we shall come to shortly, and the Jesuits were expelled again, in 1880, under the new Republic. Two years later totally free elementary education was introduced and religious education in schools was banned, in order to reduce friction, but a midweek holiday was introduced so that parents could arrange, or accept, a day of extracurricular study under the auspices of the church of their choice. Much of the world followed suit.^{59 60}

During the early years of the schools controversy the concept of Christian Democracy was being developed in France just as in Italy. Its leaders, students of Lamennais such as Lacordaire, de Montalembert and Buchez, had a capacity to see how changes to the structures of government and social reform could be achieved within a framework of Gospel teaching by political action more clearly than the visionary genius who had been their inspiration.⁶¹ Their efforts suffered the same fate as that of the Catholic reformers in Italy and at the same time the Vatican tightened its hold on the French church. When Louis Napoleon was manoeuvring towards the Presidency in 1848 the Vatican openly supported him and in return secured his support for the reinstatement of the exiled pope and full authority to organize education as it saw fit. Being eager to gain the greatest political capital out of Napoleon's election, the Vatican turned more reactionary than ever.

Liberalism, freedom of thought and all ideas of democracy and republicanism were suppressed within the church and its schools became pools of religious and political reaction.⁶²

Miracles became the order of the day, faith and reason were said to be incompatible and Catholics were urged to wage war on all modern thought and philosophy.⁶³ It was as if the church was intent on forcing every thinking democrat to denounce it and to espouse the ideas of Karl Marx.

ENTER KARL MARX

Seven years earlier, in 1841, Marx had gained his doctorate in philosophy but because of his trenchant criticism of the religious institutions and attitudes holding sway in Germany, the churches made sure that he could not get a university teaching job. He turned to journalism and took to reading politics but his all embracing interest in economics was still some years away. His thinking was being conditioned by the rigid attitudes of the Prussian government which made political debate a dangerous pastime and by the close connection between religion and politics which combined to guarantee that any movement of religious criticism would quickly become secularized into one of political opposition.⁶⁴ He believed that religion was one of the main props of the oppressive Prussian state, that it had to be knocked away before any fundamental political change was possible and that it stood in the way of a cure for social evils.⁶⁵ But it was not until he moved to Paris in 1843 that he came under the influence of both the Socialist League of the Just and the French Christian Democrats.

Marx rejected fixed-form religion and in particular the revealed beliefs of both Jewish and Christian theism because of the practical consequences of their fixed doctrines and the attitudes which flowed from them. He does not seem to have taken much interest in the third partner in the Messianic triangle until his later years when Russia and Turkey were at war. It is interesting to ponder what his reaction might have been if he had been able to seriously study Muhammad in his student days. It is also interesting to ponder how his thinking might have varied if Charles Darwin had preceded him by a working generation instead of being his contemporary, older by nine years but later by eighteen years in publishing major works. He was in sympathy with the work of Darwin and identified a number of common threads in their thinking. He even sought the naturalist's approval to dedicate the second volume of *Capital* in his honour but Darwin refused. Apparently he feared a further backlash because of that common impression that it was unconcealed atheism.⁶⁶ But Marx had skated around the question of the Divine Creator. He generally avoided direct statements on this issue and he also generally avoided expressing the anti-Creator sentiments which the church consistently highlighted. He based his thinking in the overlapping streams of philosophy, science, politics and economics on the point at which man was an established being with a recognizable relationship to other things in the complex scheme of nature. He rejected as illusory attempts to begin any further back.

Marx wrote in 1845 that the first premise of all human history was the existence of living human individuals; that their physical constitution and consequent relation to the rest of nature was the first fact which had to be established; and that all consideration of history had to begin from a consideration of man and his natural conditions and surroundings and the way in which

they had been modified by man in the course of that history. Marx went on to discuss the interaction of limitless influences in that understanding of history, concluding that “circumstances make men just as much as men make circumstances.” Failure to understand this led to “the antithesis between Nature and history”, and hence the belief that human nature can be known and understood independently of human history.

Men, he wrote, can be defined by their consciousness, by religion and by many other characteristics, but they first began to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they began to produce their means of subsistence.⁶⁷ They are subsequently conditioned by the restricted development of their productive forces, and produce their political, legal, moral and religious ideas from the interaction of material and mental activity which is interwoven all around them. From this it follows that morality, metaphysics, religion and other social and political ideologies cannot retain their “appearance of autonomous existence.”⁶⁸ Rather, they reflect the partial and historically conditioned interests of particular groups, communities or classes. Each new class which aspires to a ruling position is compelled, in order to achieve its aims, to represent its interests as the interest of all members of society – or as ‘universal’, ‘timeless’ or ‘Natural’ truths. A new class therefore tends to appear at first not as a class but as a movement of the whole society because it is opposed to a particular existing class.⁶⁹ Failure to understand this led to a view of history in which only the political actions of princes and States had any influence; to all sorts of religious and theoretical struggles; and to the people of each historical epoch being forced to share (or act out) the illusion of that particular epoch that it is motivated by either “religious” or “political” considerations as if there are no others and as if there can be no variation in emphasis or understanding.⁷⁰

THE REAL CHALLENGE OF MARX' PHILOSOPHY

All in all Karl Marx philosophy was a major challenge to the belief in a fixed and final state of creation which churchmen and scientists had both clung to and which Darwin would not contradict until fourteen years later. It was also a major challenge to the supposedly fixed and final state of ‘timeless’ and ‘pure’ Church doctrine. It was no wonder the Church reacted with venom. But the barbs, or challenges, came thick and fast and Marx's ideas continued to develop in line with the philosophy of progress which he was trying to demonstrate. Within a few years of Darwin's *Origins* he wrote (concerning changing systems of production) that earlier systems of production are treated by the bourgeoisie, (professional, administrative and merchant middle classes), in much the same way that the Fathers of the Church treated pre-Christian religions.⁷¹ And in deriding the community's widespread reluctance to rethink long-standing ideas and systems he questioned whether members of society really knew any more about usury when their leaders said it contradicted eternal justice, equality, mutual interest and truth than the Fathers of the Church did when they said it was incompatible with eternal grace, faith and the will of God.⁷²

But though Marx's understanding may have led him to scorn religion and deride its role in society – with reasonable cause, if the bare facts of history should alone be taken as evidence – he was not the uncompromisingly Godless atheist conveniently portrayed by his critics. Professor R.C. Zaehner identifies the three main ingredients of religion – faith, a desire to 'belong', and a desire to 'escape' – and says that while Marxism may not be a religion, "all the ingredients of religion are there." He says, moreover, that "If by 'God' we understand not the God of Jewish, Christian, and Islamic revelation but the unchanging Being over and against all change, all mutability, must be seen, then the Marxist 'God' is the eternal law that governs matter, matter itself, seen as a whole, being the principle of unity and 'remaining eternally the same in all its transformations.'" Zaehner says that Engels was not much interested in what happens to the individual mind or soul at death and he found personal immortality 'tedious', but "the idea that the thinking mind, the highest evolute of matter, should forever be extinguished he found intolerable." He then quotes from Engels' *Dialectics of Nature*: "... Death is either the dissolution of the organic body, leaving nothing behind but the chemical constituents that formed its substance, or it leaves behind a vital principle, more or less the soul, that then survives all living organisms, not only human beings." And he adds: "... if matter is both indestructible and 'vital life-force' as Marx had already defined it, then this 'life-force' must survive as 'vital principle, more or less the soul ... "Marx and Engels' solution, Zaehner says, "is not to do away with religion but to do away with the social conditions which make it necessary." ⁷³

THE CHALLENGE OF JEWISH EMANCIPATION

Right across Europe the whole church, and not just the Vatican, was continuing to dabble in politics. The education question was only the tip of the iceberg. There was plenty of scope because new fronts were being opened up all the time. In the process, as it became more and more tangled in the affairs of the Middle East, Africa and Asia it also became more entangled in the affairs of its partners in the triangle. It didn't always find the circumstances to its liking. Unfortunately the emancipation of ghetto Jews, their new wealth and their considerable influence added a new dimension to Christian attitudes towards them. Jealousy. They were no longer just the fallen and rejected Jews of the church's misunderstanding who were condemned by God to perpetual punishment which, as exclusive agent for God, the church was perfectly happy to devise, provide in unrestricted measure and administer with that firmness of resolve which was supposed to characterize a Christian's faith. They were now highly successful competitors with a community of interest, a level of community cooperation, cultural cohesion, strength of faith and personal integrity which was the envy of the church at large. And now they seemed determined to antagonize the Protestant fragments by propping up the pre-Reformation fragment in spite of itself.

There were plenty of people to help the church impress on the world the "fact" that the whole world's ills were a consequence of the continued existence of Judaism and Jews. There were

those Christians who accepted without question the church's view of itself. There were those for whom the church was a prop without which they were unable to face the realities of the world. There were those for whom the church's rites of baptism, confession, penance and indulgences were sponges to soak up whatever acts of inhumanity they cared to indulge in. But then there were also those who had no regard for the church at all, whose sole connection with it was through civil functions which the law placed in its hands to administer but who were perfectly happy to vent their spleen against an unwelcome competitor from the shelter of its umbrella.

Every bit of political or industrial trouble and every natural disaster provided an opportunity too good to miss to provoke an anti-Jewish riot or other outrage. For the working classes every example of capitalist excess or wage injustice became a part of the Jewish plot because a Rothschild, Oppenheimer, Pereire, Montefiore, Cohen or some other Jewish financier could be shown to be involved. On the other hand, for the Christian captains of industry and finance, every ripple of worker discontent or factory riot was equally a part of the Jewish plot because it could be linked to writers and social organizers like Marx.

Of course the church had to be in the act too and, in spite of the Vatican being propped up by Jewish money, every second effort to curtail ecclesiastical power was also linked with a Jewish plot. For one thing there was the direct and disproportionate involvement of Jews in the Garibaldi/Mazzini push to topple the papal states and to establish a Roman democratic republic. For another thing a fresh wave of Jewish reformation was sweeping Europe in the wake of Napoleon's unlocking of the ghettos. It was certainly stimulated by state financial support which was made available without discrimination to all religions, even including Judaism, from about 1830 in countries such as France, Holland and Belgium.⁷⁴ The Vatican was most unhappy about this.

In England the church was in another bind over money too. The Church of England did not take kindly to the dismantling of the long-running system of compulsory church rates in 1834, but several factors had combined to make it a political embarrassment. Nonconformist groups had gained wide public acceptance and were exercising more influence in the affairs of the nation than the national church. Catholic emancipation was becoming a reality. The rights of non-Christians were being pressed hard by Jews, largely because there were no other non-Christians to do it, and the government was becoming increasingly dependent, both directly and indirectly, on Jewish financiers for the support of major programs and the underwriting of its bonds. It was unrealistic to demand a property or income rate from such groups to maintain a national church with which they were in conflict.

The maxim that political stability comes from religious conformity had finally been laid to rest, but the politicians were still searching for a new one. Some of them thought they found it in "political stability comes from religious freedom and tolerance", but the mainstream churches were finding it rather unpalatable. The Reformation in Judaism was certainly being stimulated and helped along by factors such as these but it was mainly a spontaneous response to the new circumstances in which the Jews found themselves. When it was experienced within

a Christian community this type of phenomenon was, according to the church, an influence of the Holy Spirit, but when it occurred within Judaism it was dastardly Jewish intrigue.

Picking up the work begun by Moses Mendelssohn just a couple of generations earlier, writers like Leopold Zunz set out to study Judaism as a science. Zunz had been irritated by Prussian government attempts to further isolate Jews and to show them to be a race apart by suppressing the use of local languages in Jewish services. New Jewish seminaries sprung up, beginning with one at Padua in 1829, and in Russia as well as in western Europe a new awareness of Jewish history inspired the people.

Napoleon had succeeded. Reformers, notably in Germany and England, discarded the long-held idea of a personal Messiah who would lead Jews into an era of Salvation. They preached a concept of the Mission of Israel which could only be accomplished through dispersion around the world. Samuel Holdheim preached that Judaism was completely divorced from race or nationality. Abraham Geiger developed that idea further and wrote of Judaism continuing to evolve, changing and renewing itself to match the circumstances of each succeeding generation. Jewish scholars and theologians had made a breakthrough of immense significance. It has been compared in importance with the work of Moses Maimonides six hundred years before. The new wave of scholars had realized – and they were prepared to admit – that their theology was neither absolute nor complete. Judaism, freed of the psychological bonds which had held it tightly, could now progress, continue to evolve, and play its part in leading mankind towards a clearer understanding of God. Towards salvation. It had taken a giant stride towards a new understanding of the Messianic message while the church was still tied down by those doctrinal chains of its own making. The Jewish community began to welcome and encourage converts again and in Germany some synagogues transferred the Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday.⁷⁵ The church didn't like it one little bit.

It was only to be expected that, as with previous reformations, whether in Judaism, Christianity or Islam, the effects would be mixed and that communities would divide over the issues, but there was a general modernizing of synagogue worship and liturgy coupled with a strong re-awakening of Jewish awareness. This was common throughout Europe and the Americas. It was also common in those Dutch settlements of Africa and Asia to which Jews had gone, via Amsterdam, after their expulsion from Spain and whose efforts had been an important factor in the development of the Dutch trading empire.⁷⁶

RUSSIAN SIEGE MENTALITY, AND EUROPE'S FALSE SENSE OF SECURITY

However the Western European fragments of the church were not alone in fearing this Jewish revival. In Russia in the second generation after both the partition of Poland and the incorporation of the Orthodox Church into the political machinery of the state the church suffered a dramatic drop in influence and support. It hadn't been much use to the people but now it wasn't much use to the Tsar either. Alexander I had already come under pressure from all sides. He suffered a backlash from the partition of Poland and he became fearful that the social,

industrial and political changes sweeping Western Europe would sweep on and topple the Russian monarchy. This provided further encouragement for the belligerent Vatican to stick its fingers into Russian affairs. Alexander's successor, Nicholas I, therefore set about to once more isolate Russia from Rome and Western Europe. Reciprocal concessions which had been agreed with Rome were progressively dismantled and a buffer was to be strictly observed along the western border. That made necessary a tightening of controls over the Jewish communities which were thick along both sides of the border as well as in the Pale of Settlement. While their communications remained open and free movement was allowed the new enlightenment was still likely to come sweeping over the border.

The siege mentality took hold. Some six hundred regulations aimed at restricting Jewish rights were brought down in just thirty years under Nicholas, mainly linked to the New Jewish Statute of 1835, equal to all others between 1649 and 1881. The Pale of Settlement was reduced in area, increasing the population density in the remaining area alarmingly, and Jews were specifically expelled and excluded from a strip about fifty kilometers wide along the frontier. Synagogues were banned near churches; censorship was imposed; military conscription was extended to all male Jews from the age of eight years; taxes were imposed on meat slaughtered by Jewish custom and on Jewish religious candles but not on Christian ones; and Jews were again excluded from the public service.⁷⁷

But the lull of reactionary peace and unity which had gradually settled over Europe as the church, crowned heads and puppet princes of a dozen nations celebrated the departure of Napoleon Bonaparte was about to be well and truly shattered. Having tasted the fruits of the French Revolution people all over Europe were crying: "It failed. It's time for another one." In 1824, while a handful of Catholic thinkers led by Lamennais were trying to interest the church in the concept of Christian Democracy led by an enlightened papacy, the new French king, Charles X, set out to restore absolute monarchy through collaboration with a powerful but suitably compliant state church on the old Gallican model. He reduced the independence of the universities and the press and had one thousand million francs voted to compensate the nobility and religious orders for the chateau burnings and confiscations of the Revolution.

Lamennais blasted the monarchy for treating Christianity as an administrative instrument and not as the basis for the life of the nation. He wrote that being without faith, but being convinced of the need for some religion to strengthen its authority and ensure obedience, the government wanted to bring about a law which was considered divine and binding on all subjects with a church which commands the people but which is itself commanded by the government.⁷⁸ It was the response from the French hierarchy, and later from Pope Gregory XVI, already noted, which drove Lamennais against the papacy, against the monarchy and firmly into the socialist camp.

Six years later Paris erupted and Charles was replaced by Louis Philippe who managed to cling to his crown for eighteen traumatic years. During that time steamships developed from a frightening novelty to the accepted means of crossing the Atlantic; the Rothschilds and their competitors were building railways and provoking riots (and, later, civil wars)⁷⁹ in France,

Austria, Italy, Prussia and progressively throughout Europe; and Europe began to overhaul the big technical and commercial lead which Britain had achieved in industrialization and mechanization. Great strides were being made in agriculture and medical science as well as in manufacturing technology. The new philosophy of education had already begun to release undreamed of human resources and mental capacity.

Again the church was in a bind. It was happy to claim the kudos for running schools, and the Vatican was again trying to wrest control of the university system back from the state in several countries, but all this scientific talk was causing uncertainty and undermining peoples' faith. It had to stop! Education was to enlighten the soul through literature, the arts, history and philosophy, provided of course that it didn't rock the boat. But the process couldn't be reversed. Those who were backing the church financially and politically had caught the thrill of the new approach to thinking and, besides, they could see a profit to be made from adapting scientific developments to their industries and commerce. If the church didn't like the new educational philosophy anymore then perhaps the state did have a role in education after all.

REBELLION IN THE AIR

The rumbles grew. At the same time population pressure continued to build up. Peasants crowded into towns looking for work and competing, (to the employers' advantage), for the jobs available in a host of new factories which were made possible by both new technology and new materials. Reshaping of the community into the classical two class system of employers and employees went on apace. In spite of general opposition from the churches, with notable exceptions such as the young Methodists, the industrial working class began to organize. At the same time the balance of economic and political power lurched heavily from the landed aristocracy to the new breed of industrial capitalists. Other groupings within the community tended to become blurred. Polarization increased and governments had to take the blame for everyone's troubles.

Those troubles included another round of disease epidemics as public hygiene broke down due to overcrowding and the inadequate capacity of sewerage systems.⁸⁰ Fortunately at least one dreaded virus disease, Smallpox, could be held in check due to those cursed scientific developments. In 1798 Edward Jenner had published his findings that inoculation of a human with cowpox gave protection against small pox. Now, as the Industrial Revolution was picking up pace, small pox vaccination, using refinements of Jenner's technique, was becoming an accepted fact of life. Accepted, that is, except for Roman Catholics. Countermanding a decision made under his predecessor, Pope Leo XII forbade smallpox vaccination. He couldn't understand it and it went against his theology of fatalistic acceptance of whatever, (within the inflexible confines of his understanding), God had made a part of man's environment. The resulting increase in misery and the death rate was of no consequence to him.⁸¹

Then it happened. Virtually every sizable city in Europe erupted in rebellion in quick succession in 1848. Not everyone was hell-bent on changing the system of government. All that

most people wanted was food, work and dignity. And in any case the Vatican and the church at large were ramming down their throats that there was no other system. But in the wake of hunger and inflation prompted by shortages from the failure of two successive potato crops and the 1847 wheat crop as well, they could have neither food, work nor dignity. Soup kitchens became the common man's club where survival, the right to work and the need for changes in the control of supplies and markets were the main topics of debate.⁸² There had been trouble in Italy during 1847 but the rebellion really broke in Sicily on January 12th 1848. Within a matter of weeks the revolutionary spirit spread from there to Naples and on to Paris. The French National Guard sided with the rebellion. Louis Philippe abdicated in favour of his grandson and fled on February 24. Louis Napoleon lurked in the wings for a while, fomented crisis and staked his claim. Then he disappeared while the monarchy was pushed offstage and a Second Republic was proclaimed with a President still to be elected.

THE GAUNTLET: MARX' MANIFESTO

It was then, while Louis Napoleon, the Vatican and the capitalists of Europe were gloating over their reactionary alliance and the successful suppression of every reasonable human aspiration which the early stages of Europe's round of rebellions represented, that they all found the biggest gauntlet of the modern age thrown at their feet. It was Marx' Manifesto, written jointly with Engels and published at the beginning of March in a great rush. The little-known Communist League had asked Marx to write a declaration of principle for it for its first committee meeting in London two months earlier but he had not finished it. On January 26, with the smell of revolution thick in the air, the committee had sent him an ultimatum to finish it by February 1 or not at all. He just made it. The Manifesto was then rushed to a German printer in London and although it was late for the first round of rebellion in Paris it made the book stalls of Germany before the rolling revolution reached there.⁸³ The philosophy which would provide the basis for the government of well over half the people of the world in a mere four generations had been systematically spelled out. After having been arrested and expelled from Brussels Marx promptly returned to Paris to take up the post of director of the small central committee of the Communist League. As yet there was no Communist Party to really push the new political philosophy. In fact the League disbanded almost immediately without setting up a party and its members all went their own way to join in separate struggles right across Europe.

But the Reformed churches had become preoccupied with the Protestant work ethic and their moralist revivals which would soon have people tied up in introverted knots, while the Vatican was more interested in a more immediate challenge closer to home. They didn't stop to think. They just threw in their lot together to suppress that extra challenge. Garibaldi returned from exile in South America in April, only weeks after the manifesto was published, and, with Mazzini, he posed a real threat to the regime in Rome. The pope fled the city in November, after issuing dire threats against any Catholic who took part in any democratic institution, so

Garibaldi and Mazzini moved in and set up a democratic government. Louis Napoleon became President of France in December. A few months later, with Pius still in exile, the writings of his former aide, Antonio Rosmini, were banned on the basis, it appears, that they could be read as a theological justification for democracy.⁸⁴ He may also have been too close to Mazzini's deeply religious but anti-Catholic nationalism. With a streak of Unitarian theology, Rosmini put the general welfare above race and religion and his writings soon provided inspiration for such diverse nationalists as the Welshman Lloyd George and Mahatma Gandhi of India who maintained that Orthodox Christianity was an "imperialist faith" which had "distorted the message of Jesus."^{85 86}

In fact, in the heat of the action in Europe both the Vatican and the Reformed churches found the social and economic writings of an Englishman, John Stuart Mill, much more palatable than those of either Marx or Rosmini, even though he also challenged some of the long-held assumptions about the right of privilege. Mill's formative years had been dominated by the austere and highly disciplined conduct and attitudes of his philosopher-economist father. Poets were regarded as enemies of truth; private affections were subordinated to public interest; and one's life style was to be built around the maxim "few acquaintances, fewer friends, no familiarities." However Mill gradually abandoned these ideas and adopted a more worldly view of human happiness. He focused on freedom of discussion, a hatred of sectarianism and an intense belief in justice. He exposed lapses in principle in parliament and the courts at every opportunity, and in his book on logic and the political economy published in 1843 he sought to show how all of the human sciences, including history, psychology, and sociology, were linked by causes in a way that they could all be explained. But then, shortly after Marx's Communist Manifesto was published, Mill's major work, *Principles of Political Economy*, was also published. He advocated peasant proprietorship as a remedy for the distresses and disorder in Ireland and then proceeded to a more thorough study of Socialist writers. He was convinced that the social question was as important as the political question. He refused to accept that property, devised originally to secure peace in a primitive society, was necessarily sacred as society moved into quite different stages of development. He separated questions of production and distribution and was not satisfied with a system of distribution which condemned the labouring classes to a cramped and wretched existence, in many cases to starvation. Although he did not come to a Socialist solution, he forced society and those who shaped it to take a fresh look at its foundations.⁸⁷

NO TIME TO PAUSE

From our point in time it is now quite clear that if the powers of the day, (being the church, the states and private capital), had been prepared to pause, to reassess what was happening and to adapt to the needs and aspirations of the community overall, the young revolutionary Communist movement would have faded away. Its purpose would have been achieved, not aborted, and Europe would have been living according to the basic tenets of the Gospel.

Unfortunately such was not to be. None of the three powers was about to concede any of its privileges or to review its relationships and preconceived ideas. In view of the treatment that had been meted out to both Lamennais and a British/American industrialist, Robert Owen, there was only a slim hope that, jointly, they would respond favourably to this new and total challenge.

Owen, the instigator of the 1819 Factories Act which first applied restraints on exploitation of factory labourers, had been rubbished as anti-Christian. The motive behind the attacks on him had been opposition to his active promotion of worker involvement in factory management and ownership which he applied in his own factories, but the reason given had been his criticism of the institutional church.⁸⁸ And as if the political and economic bonds between the three power groups were not enough to guarantee their joint attack on the Manifesto, Marx had continued his trenchant criticism of organized religion. He appears, quite naturally, to have been greatly influenced by his family's servile acquiescence in "conversion" from Judaism to Christianity and he contradicted the writings of earlier philosophers whom he had studied as he developed his own philosophy

In a critique of Hegel's philosophy he wrote that man makes religion and religion does not make man. It is his "self-consciousness and self-awareness" as long as he has not found his feet in the universe. Religion, he wrote, is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world and the soul of soulless conditions. Man, his state and his society, produce religion which is an inverted world consciousness because they are an inverted world. It is the opium of the people and its abolition is a demand for real happiness.⁸⁹

With growing support among revolutionaries for Marx' views the three power groups tightened their alliances. Quite clearly, they reasoned, if one went under they all went under. They wasted no time picking allies. It is probable that the prestigious name 'Napoleon' would have been enough to win Louis the post of President without outside help. However he left nothing to chance and with his reconciliation with the pope to support him he was swept into office in the plebiscite of December 1848.

In the meantime the revolutionary spirit had swept on across Europe. The northern regions of Italy and Hungary had joined battles with Austria which, although abortive at the time, brought Italy a step closer to unification. Vienna had risen, forcing Prince Metternich, the prime minister, into exile and gaining constitutional government for Austria. German unity had been achieved under a Frankfurt parliament only to be shattered almost immediately as the Poles, Prussia and Denmark each did their bit of boat rocking until Prussia eventually came out on top. The pope had even granted a constitution to the papal states in March 1848, under extreme pressure, but within a few months he had reneged on it. Thus he had gone into exile in November, prepared to ride out the storm until his newfound friend, Louis Napoleon, would be in a position to bring his French bayonets and put him back on his throne. Turmoil was the order of the day. Conflicting streams of nationalism, isolationism and socialism ebbed and

flowed across Europe waiting to be dampened down by a supply of potatoes, jobs and a touch of dignity.

One of the revolutionaries who did his best to bring the rebellion to a head in Germany was among the foremost opera composers of all time, Richard Wagner. Fourteen years later he would have the young king Louis II of Bavaria, whose throne was among those he had sought to dismantle, as his patron and benefactor. But in 1848–49 Wagner wrote and distributed inflammatory leaflets, took an active part in the Dresden uprising, and was forced to flee when a warrant for his arrest was issued. Among his leaflets was the stridently anti-Semitic *Judaism in Music*, which he is said to have written under the influence of the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer and in reaction to his early work being smothered by Jewish musicians and entrepreneurs who dominated music in Europe at the time. Many of Wagner's works carry themes or sub-themes of anti-Semitism, the best known being *The Flying Dutchman* and *Siegfried*, woven into a complex of German nationalism, international socialism, mysticism and a decidedly romanticized version of the Christian concept of redemption through love. It has been said that Wagner's anti-Semitism simply reflected the prevailing community attitudes in Germany at the time, but in his later years his works helped to rouse great animosity towards the Jews, especially after Bismarck signed a concordat with the Vatican and turned harshly against the Jewish community. The churches might not have liked Wagner's politics, but they were perfectly happy with his over-riding philosophy. Subsequently both Wagner's writings and music and Schopenhauer's anti-Semitic philosophy were also much admired by Hitler. They are regarded as among the source material for his own warped thinking. But that is looking ahead.

BUILDING GHETTOS IN THE NEW WORLD

Such was the situation in Europe and the issues swirling around the Vatican as the Catholic Church in the United States struggled to cope with its flood of Irish famine refugees. A poorly trained hierarchy busied itself with administration, real estate and construction of churches and schools rather than the people for whose benefit it was all supposed to be. Intellectual incompetence and rampant superstition enmeshed with its religious beliefs were the hallmarks of a church identified with socially and economically disadvantaged communities but holding the most reactionary and repressive political position.

As a community sub group Catholic workers had more need than most for organizations through which they could negotiate with employers and governments and they sympathized with radical labour movements. But the hierarchy feared that even non-socialist unions might wean workers away from the church and that recognition of them might alienate the church's financial and political backers. Liberty and licentiousness were said to go together. Workers were urged to acquire property and social standing through "economic virtue", or by any other means for that matter, and labour movements were condemned as "miserable associations."⁹⁰ The isolationist policies of the church, (with ecumenical activities, inter-communion and intermarriage all banned); its prohibition on Catholics taking part in democratic processes or

industrial movements; the heavy burden of education costs which its adherents were expected to bear, and the pitifully inadequate standard of the education which was provided, all combined to make it difficult for Catholics to break the bonds of poverty or to compete as equals with the balance of the community.

The atmosphere of an un-walled ghetto became more marked as Catholics congregated around their schools, and interdenominational relations soon took on the character of Reformation Europe when The KnowNothing Party was set up. The party pushed for anti-Catholic legislation and provided a cover for hit-and-run harassment of Catholics so that anti-popey riots became commonplace in a number of centres.

THE SOUTH AMERICAN VERSION

But the situation in the United States must have seemed like a dream compared with life for the masses in South America which was rapidly becoming one immense Catholic ghetto. The process actually began as soon as Columbus began to lay out Hispaniola, but it really picked up steam when the Jesuits arrived in 1588. There can be no doubt that they sincerely believed that in totally reorganizing the lives of the Guarani Indians of the immense region of Paraguay, Uruguay, southern Brazil and northern Argentina they were improving their lot, reducing exploitation by the Spanish Conquistadores and steering them towards Salvation. However they knew little about what they were attempting. They were locking an entire population into exploitation and disaster and, above all, they were acting out the church's arrogant misunderstanding of itself and its role. So much so that they soon lost sight of their lofty purposes and assumed a role combining the characteristics of a kindergarten teacher, foreman-gaoler, priestly intercessor and profiteer.

Teams of Jesuits set up about thirty 'reductions' or mission towns. There were typically three or four thousand Guaranies in each, housed in three enormous barrack blocks which formed a square with the inevitable church. The population density and the availability of food and building materials before the Spanish and Portuguese arrived had not required a highly ordered life style but the Jesuits soon changed that. Regimentation replaced relaxation. The Guarani culture and life style was completely destroyed. Jesuit ritual and paraphernalia was substituted for the Indians' religious customs but their beliefs wouldn't disappear so quickly, so the Jesuits obliged with another round of syncretism.⁹¹ Enforced communal living replaced intimate family life. Long established systems of authority were simply crushed. The will of the Jesuits was paramount.

The Indians were herded in procession to the fields to the sound of music with a saintly effigy up front. Shrines, hymns and prayers interrupted the march at stated intervals. It wasn't considered important that no one understood what it was all about and that they continued to offer prayers to their recognized gods. They had been baptized en masse. Of course there was no need to teach them anything except a profitable craft and religious responses because, according to the Jesuits, they were childlike inferior beings who would never be capable of

taking their place in a civilized European society. And besides that, education might make them subversive. But they provided a ready source of labour for "allocation" to the Spanish landowners and the reductions provided the first line of defence for the settlers against marauders.⁹²

They also provided an almost inexhaustible supply of slaves for Portuguese slave raiders who swooped down from Brazil either to supplement their own Indian and Negro slaves or to supply the lucrative North American market. No one seemed to mind if a few head disappear from time to time.⁹³ The Jesuit order grew immensely wealthy from the reductions. But it also became the object of intense jealousy among the settlers who were glad to add their complaints to the politicking in Europe and to see the order disbanded in 1767.

Unfortunately for the Indians, that was a case of out of the frying pan and into the fire. Many of them ended up in slavery, and many others as forced labour for settlers when the reduction system failed because of the incompetence of those appointed by the church to succeed the Jesuits. Some tried to return to their pre-Spanish community life style but they found it impossible to readjust after several generations and tragedy was often the result. In any case they were stuck in a situation of servile dejection which they were taught to regard and to accept as their only proper situation in life. The only thing they had to look forward to was life after death according to the fantastic formula of fear, penance, purgatory, retribution and (if the clergy saw fit), intercession which the church had strewn along the pathway to salvation.

The basic situation was little different anywhere in South America. The historical detail differed, together with the ratio of European adventurers to American Indians and African slaves and the attitude of the Europeans to intermarriage. This helped to determine, on a regional basis, whether or not harmony might be possible through assimilation.⁹⁴ But without exception it was the European minority in a reactionary inter-dependence with the Roman Catholic Church which rigidly controlled the land, productive capacity, the law, its administration and enforcement, and the exploitation of labour.

When independence came, fostered by British self-interest in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars, the people had not been prepared for representative government and authoritarian government by a few wealthy and powerful families in a position to grab power was inevitable. The Catholic Church, being the largest landowner throughout the entire Latin American region, was perfectly happy. Government by caudillos in an intimate community of interest with the church would certainly suit its local interests, but, glory be, it just happened to correspond with the theological line which the Vatican was peddling as well.⁹⁵ Then began the largest human migration in all history. The white population of Europe was increasing at a much faster rate than the population of the rest of the world. From about 22 percent of the total human population in 1800 it increased to about 35 percent in 1930, when the pattern changed dramatically. Between the time of the Irish famine of 1846 and the Great Depression over 50 million whites, almost all Christians, were scattered by the force of population pressure coupled with religious, political and economic conflict. And that mass movement had been made

possible by technical developments which were also, in large measure, a response to those same factors.

CAUDILLOS AND THE CHURCH

The rate of migration during the first few decades has been assessed at about 377,000 per year and probably a quarter of that number set up home in South America.⁹⁶ Of those, the majority came from Italy and Spain. Some also came from England, Scotland and France and they were very often technically qualified bearers of capital funds to set up extractive or agricultural operations to supply the markets of Britain and France.⁹⁷ The caudillos and the Catholic Church must have been delighted. For the great majority of the people the immediate benefits of European-style employment were soon to be snuffed out by grinding misery. They became expendable units of labour in a system geared to profit a small local elite and its foreign capitalist cronies, to fill the bellies of Europe and to provide markets for the factories staffed by those bellies. That tight, closed circle led to the development of a series of export dependent, single-product economic regions and states which were subject to hiccups whenever a European capitalist or politician changed his friends or his enemies.^{98 99} But there was a second tight, closed circle as well.

The Catholic Church propped up the caudillos and the landowners propped up both the other two in return. At the same time they became increasingly dependent on foreign capitalists and heavy-handed military machines. Yes, it just had to happen. Those two tight, closed circles spawned a third. Exploitation of labour and corruption in government administration (which involved deals with foreign companies and the milking of government funds) went hand in hand with inadequate housing, health care, sanitation and education for the great majority of the people. These combined with high birth rates to produce misery, a mixture of discontent, fatalistic resignation and drug-like dependence on religious ritual. The whole lot led to further exploitation of labour and the continuation of the vicious circle. And the church was in it right up to the flicker of a candle. The scene was being set for a series of border and territorial wars over resources which were the direct consequence of the policy of making Latin America both export and import dependent on Europe. No serious effort was made to develop an integrated and self-sufficient Latin American economy. The strange alliances which propped up the caudillos just wouldn't allow it. It would have been contrary to their interests.

International borders took shape wherever the balance of greed and power between the caudillos dictated, with no concern for community of interest or pre-European ethnic considerations. In any case that had long since been swamped. Nitrate, tin, copper and oil each provided the motivation for territorial wars and the church's most productive intervention appears to have been aimed at avoiding the loss of its intimate relationship with each of the contending parties and at building religious fortifications on the mobile borders.

It does not seem to have occurred to the church in Latin America that its support for a nationally degrading system which would force its people to remain the exploited poor relations

of the Western World would lead relentlessly towards mass alienation, reversion to pre-European religious systems, the embracing of alternative ideologies and bitter class struggles. Very few of its ill-trained clergy would have even heard of the name Marx. Nor does it seem to have occurred to the theologians and politicians of the Vatican as they continued their denigration and one-upmanship against their partners, the Jews and the Muslims, that they and the political and economic system which they were promoting would eventually force the people of Latin America into political and economic alliances with both the people of Islam and alternative ideologies. They certainly failed to see that under the impact of such alliances the whole Christian ship of state could founder. They were blinded by the same arrogant overconfidence in their presumed authority which had determined the course of Christian history since even before Constantine made his fateful bid for power with the aid of a celestial cross.

Thus, while Europe was wracked by rebellions, across the Atlantic, Americans of the USA were just gearing up for that special civil war of their own. They had already begun to flex their moralizing muscles when they warned Britain and Europe not to intervene west of the Atlantic any more by means of their Monroe Doctrine. It was not understood by the world at that stage that what the doctrine really meant was that the USA, a bustling young successor to the European heritage, wanted Latin America as its possession in much the same way that Europe once thought it had possessed America as well as Asia and Africa. Perhaps it wasn't understood by a lot of Americans either. The inspiration of their faith and the lustre of their independence had not yet been dulled by the accumulation of wealth and power.

In retrospect, those thirty years from Napoleon to Marx and the potato famine had turned out to be a very hectic period in mankind's struggle for communal and social evolution. The end of the second slave era was in sight even if it was in spite of the church rather than as a result of its efforts.

The Protestant work ethic had arrived to give new purpose and value to the life and work of the individual and to keep him in check, but papal efforts to cling to temporal power had deepened division and mistrust between Catholics and Protestants.

Latin America was achieving its independence but through its 'collaboration' in the process Britain had provided an amateurish guide to political interference in its affairs which the United States would follow in a much more sophisticated manner in the twentieth century. But Latin America was also set on course as the exploited poor relation of the Christian Western World and it was destined to eventually look beyond its Christian colleagues for survival and development alliances.

Absolute opposition to Napoleon's reforms among Europe's crowned heads had made possible the immense power of the Rothschild family which, in turn, had provided a springboard to Jewish emancipation. But it also firmly linked the Jewish community with power and privilege through its influence in the structures of Christian capitalism and through the propping up of the Vatican and the Papal states. And to add further dimensions it stimulated,

firstly, a revival and reformation within Judaism and, secondly, repression of Jews on an ominous scale in a Russia which had been forced to revert to isolationism.

On the bright side, mass education had become a fact of European life, but not so much because it would be uplifting for humanity, but rather to prop up sectional political interests on both sides of the Reformation dividing line. And, in contradiction to the new approach to education, Catholic Christian Democracy was being harshly suppressed and the Vatican was hell-bent on imposing a ghetto mentality within its flock. We may well wonder what had happened to the Messianic message for mankind.

As the first half of the nineteenth century of the Christian Era gave way to the second half, the situation had a direct parallel in the situation when Constantine came to power and foisted Christianity onto the Roman Empire. In both cases the subject peoples had sighted the version of Christianity which they were expected to swallow. They had not spontaneously adopted it in place of their existing religious systems. They were simply going to be swamped with it by hook or by crook. There was also a parallel with the situation when the Roman Empire collapsed and again when Constantinople fell and Europe began to feel the squeeze. In each case the church had been given yet another chance to gain its political freedom, coupled with an unexpected opportunity to fulfill its responsibility by taking the Good News of the Gospel right around the world.

The years between the final collapse of the Holy Roman Empire and the beginning of massive European emigration had served to strengthen the position which Napoleon's sweep across Europe had forged. The nineteen hundred year old challenge had been reinforced. But at the same time the church had come abeam of the first of the two immense beacons which marked the climax of the long drawn out philosophical and scientific challenge to its doctrines and its self-understanding which had begun with Copernicus. The church had come face to face with the philosophy of Karl Marx. It was supremely confident. It had already repulsed many challenges. After all it was God's exclusive representative and it was endowed with absolute knowledge! Why should this challenge be any different to the others?

It was just as well that Judaism had begun a rethink and was on the way to a revival. The world had an urgent need for a safety valve. And while we have already taken a brief look at that revival in this chapter it was to become such an important factor in the trouble in the triangle that we must pause and look a little more closely at the early stages of revival and the reform movement within Judaism. In fact it bears remarkable similarities to the Reformation within Christianity and it was fraught with just as much dissent, and much internal bitterness, but there was no violence such as the burning of heretics and other dissenters.

JUDAISM: RENEWAL AND REFORM

There is a very definite sense in which Napoleon Bonaparte made possible both renewal and reform within Judaism when he threw open the ghetto gates and then threw away the keys, exposing the Jewish community to the outside world and enabling contact and interaction

between Christians and Jews in a manner which had not been possible for many hundreds of years, but the early stirrings had already begun. Within four or five generations of Napoleon's Great Sanhedrin there would be three well established streams within Judaism superimposed over the long-established regional divisions of Sephardim and Ashkenazim. These earlier divisions had resulted from the response of Judaism to the Muslim environment in Spain in the case of the Sephardim, and to the repressive influence of Christianity in the Franco-German regions and, later, Poland and Eastern Europe in the case of the Ashkenazim. The new streams would be identified as Reform, Orthodox and Conservative Judaism but, they were all tinged with reforming zeal in their efforts to make the beliefs, liturgy and religious practices of their faith more relevant to contemporary society. They became rivals in their bids for influence within the Jewish community, especially in the United States and Germany, and they each developed their own religious and organizational identity although they were each responding to the same basic external pressures. The Orthodox stream has developed a reputation for vigorous support of Zionism and the consolidation of Jewish authority in Israel. The Reform stream adopted religious and social positions differing most radically from the traditional Judaism of Nineteenth Century Europe and is generally better known to Christians because of its greater openness and readiness to relate to and to work in cooperation with the Christian churches.

Unlike the Christian reformers who rebelled basically against the abuses of theology by the mainstream church, the Jewish reformers were concerned at the relationship between revelation, faith and the Jewish law, the practice of which had long dominated Jewish religious life. If the process of reform within Judaism can be traced to a single factor it may be the definitive codification of the Jewish law during the sixteenth century. Joseph Caro began work on a commentary of previous codes and their sources in 1522, five years after Luther posted his ninety five theses at Wittenberg, in an effort to simplify and standardize the interpretation of the Jewish law and it was published in 1542. Coincidentally Luther realized that his efforts to attract the Jewish community to Reformed Christianity had failed and he turned his wrath against it the following year. Two years later he wrote in anger to the Elector of Brandenburg when he re-admitted Jews who had previously been expelled. But while Caro's code may have had some influence in strengthening Jewish resolve against conversion it was soon attacked by Talmudic scholars such as the Rabbi of Friedberg, Hayyim ben Bezalel, who believed that the codification undermined the study of the Talmud and ignored differences between customs from one area to another.^{100 101}

During the next century or so the church-at-large continued to tear itself into more and more shreds as it struggled with issues of modernity, relevance and renewal, but the Jewish community was not expected to change with the tides of time. In the eyes of the same church-at-large its only relevance was to demonstrate by stagnation and declining numbers that it was no longer relevant. In its early history the church had adapted heathen practices (syncretism) as a mechanism to help it absorb whole new communities under its banner, but it conveniently forgot or denied that, even though Georg Calixtus and others were developing modified liturgies

in the early years of the seventeenth century, drawing practices from each of the Catholic, Calvinist and Lutheran churches, in an effort to overcome some of the antagonism between them or even to re-unite them. The church had commandeered and simply used many heathen temples for Christian worship as it stormed through Europe under the imperial banners, and Synagogues in Spain had shown Muslim architectural influence for several centuries in the same way that many of those in central and eastern Europe were built after the style of Christian churches. However every move by the Jewish community to adapt Christian practices or to syncretise, whether in a bid to promote harmony with the church or simply to modernize its worship was met with opposition and derision and the church increased its anti-Semitic campaigns.

The use of organ music as an aid to worship, the Eternal Flame, and the lighting of candles in memorial services are all thought to have been adapted from Catholic practice for use in Synagogues during the seventeenth century. And just as the Christian reformers turned away from Latin to the vernacular for public prayer and for printing new prayer books, so Jewish reformers in Germany turned increasingly to Yiddish (Judeo-German) in place of Hebrew and then introduced high German. Long before that, Jews in Spain and in most Muslim countries had adopted the practice of washing their face, hands and feet before prayer in the manner of Muslims and Maimonides' son, Abraham, justified the practice on the basis that the Biblical instruction that 'You shall not follow their (non-biblical) customs' did not apply to Muslims. In fact Maimonides had personally ruled that Jews in Muslim regions should not use silent prayers of petition because the congregation's lack of attention when these were repeated aloud by the leader of the service gave Muslims the impression that Jews were not taking prayer seriously. Similarly, the prohibition of polygamy within the Eastern European Jewish communities is thought to have been adopted from Christian practice, because Jews in Muslim countries did not recognize it.¹⁰²

Such seventeenth century adaptations probably encouraged the return of Marranos to the Synagogue but in any case their return encouraged further adaptation and greater reliance on the Bible (because they had become accustomed to its use on its own) rather than the Talmud, and in either situation the church was not at all happy. The church still could not see that everything it did in order to strengthen its own position in relation to the Jewish community actually encouraged the strengthening of the ultimate cohesion of the Jewish community and helped to prepare the ground for Zionism and the trouble in the triangle. It did not matter whether it tried to suppress change to Jewish practices or encourage it; to encourage integration or prevent it; to utilize the personal or financial resources of the Jewish community or suppress their use; or to restrain or disperse that community. The end result was the same.

There were times when the church had legitimate reason for concern at trends within the Jewish community and their possible consequences, such as the upheaval which occurred when Shabbetai Zevi proclaimed himself messiah in 1665 and Shabbateanism grew around him. However it was not the church which resolved that crisis, it was the Muslim Sultan in Constantinople who gave Zevi two options: death or conversion to Islam. He converted to

Islam. In any case that crisis was of greater concern to the Jewish community than to either Christians or Muslims and the divisions which it caused had a marked effect in stimulating other movements and the process of reform in Judaism. It coincided with a weakening of the Law as the primary bond uniting Jews and also with a widening gulf between Jews at opposite ends of the social scale. At one end of the scale the appointment of Jews as special advisers to national and regional rulers of Christian countries – the Court Jews – increased rapidly after the Thirty Years War. These people, leaders of their own religious communities, and their families were caught between the social freedom which was one of the benefits of their new-found influence, and the pomp and circumstance of their Baroque court culture on one hand, and their religious and leadership responsibilities to the tight-knit communities into which the church had forced them on the other hand. At the other end of the scale a breakdown in the traditional Jewish system of charitable support led to more people living in poverty, an increase in the number of Jewish beggars and a tendency for them to associate with non-Jews (and that meant Christians) in a life of crime and to neglect Jewish laws concerning diet, dress and culture.

THE RISE OF HASIDISM

In that environment the revivalist movement known as Hasidism was founded by Israel ben Eliezer (known as Baal Shem Tov or Besht) at Podolia in Poland about 1730. The movement adopted the mode of Middle Ages Hasidim – pious, elitist, saintly and sometimes spiritualist – with groups relating to any one of a number of charismatic leaders known as Zaddik (tzaddik). However it gradually coalesced, with a dominant group gathered around Besht, and the Zaddik or leader of each Hasidic community adopted the unofficial title 'Rebbe' which tended to identify him with the office of Rabbi while formally distinguishing between the two roles. Some were disciples of Besht. Others modelled their methods and conduct on his, and most of the communities soon adopted a dynastic court system with the role and authority of the Zaddik passing to sons or near relatives. When a Zaddik sent disciples to service neighbouring communities they often set up their own courts and large numbers of ordinary Jews were attracted to them by their apparent mystical authority. Their worship was centred on prayer rather than formal study of the Torah, and joy, humility, emotional responses and awe rather than fear of God. This posed a threat to the sober teaching of the Rabbis and undermined the authority of both the Rabbis personally and mainstream Rabbinical Judaism. But competition for authority and influence was really only a minor aspect of the opposition. There was seen to be a touch of messianism in the Hasidic response to a Zaddik, with the danger of heresy in its pantheistic understanding that 'all is in God', blurring the distinction between the holy and the profane, in contrast to the orthodox view that 'the whole earth is full of His glory.' Hasidism was said to be Shabbateanism in disguise. In particular, opponents of Hasidism rejected the concept of the Zaddik as an intermediary between God and man – the role claimed by much of the Christian church for its clergy – and the veneration of the Zaddik which, they claimed, bordered on idolatrous worship in some communities. As a result opposition to the movement grew. However, in spite of opposition it has been estimated that by about 1800 Hasidism,

holding firmly to belief in saints as well as the all-pervading Divine Presence, and opposing Western mores and the learning of foreign languages, had “won over to its ranks almost half the [Jewish] communities of Eastern Europe.” Since then it has produced a very extensive literature which is studied together with the Bible, the Talmud and the Zohar. Its Rebbes are consulted on matters of business as well as family affairs and marriages, and its adherents eat from dishes tasted and blessed by them in the belief that they will receive material and spiritual blessings.¹⁰³ To outsiders, Hasidim are often recognized by their vigorous shoulder-clasping dances of joy, long locks and fur-trimmed hats.

MENDELSSOHN'S ALTERNATIVE APPROACH

The rise and eventual fall of Shabbateanism and the establishment of the more permanent movement of Hasidism were not the only developments which show the way in which the current of events in Europe was dragging Jews away from their faith, away from higher Jewish education, and into an environment in which they became more conscious of the burden of being Jewish. When Moses Mendelssohn published *Jerusalem* in 1783 (six years after discrimination against Jews was outlawed in New York and in the same year that the draft constitution for the United States of America prohibited all religious tests for public office) he was very conscious of these pressures. His call was not for reform of Jewish religious belief but for reform in the life of Jews and their relationship with the state. He believed that the human mind should not be constrained by ecclesiastical coercion and he urged the abolition of the power of excommunication in all religious communities. Concerning his own faith, Mendelssohn said that while religious offences had been punished in Israel the Torah was no longer a binding political document and Jews should only be forced to obey the laws of the states in which they lived.¹⁰⁴

During the previous twenty years, having received first prize for a paper on metaphysics from the Berlin Academy in 1763, Mendelssohn had attracted the admiration of a group of intellectuals who were establishing a movement known as ‘The Enlightenment’, or the *Haskalah*, with the aim of total emancipation or equal rights and education for Jews, and his writing soon provided the basis of the group’s philosophy and program. In 1769 a Swiss clergyman, Johann Caspar Lavater, sought to undermine Mendelssohn’s reputation by challenging him to prove the superiority of Judaism over Christianity, but in doing so he actually prompted Mendelssohn to devote his major effort to the Jewish Enlightenment and greatly stimulated the *Haskalah* movement.¹⁰⁵ Naftali Herz Wessely wrote what amounted to a manifesto for the movement; Mendelssohn published a German translation of the Pentateuch with a commentary by some of his colleagues; and devotees of the movement, known as *Maskilim*, opened the first school for Jews in Germany in 1778. Maimonides was the great hero of the *Maskilim* because of the nature of his expectation of the Messianic Age, and at first the majority of Rabbis supported the movement which spread rapidly to Galacia and Russia. However many swung against it when its influence led to secularism, desertion to Christianity,

and support for Zionism after the 1880–81 pogroms in Russia as a means of solving the problems of Jews in a hostile environment.¹⁰⁶ The Prussian rescript of religious observance which was announced in 1792 was actually quite consistent with Mendelssohn's philosophy. However it weakened the authority of the rabbis and the Jewish religious laws which they administered, and the head of each family became responsible for whatever religious rituals the family would observe. It therefore had a major consequence which Mendelssohn had not anticipated. The Jewish community began to fragment because of that reduced rabbinical authority and there was deep disenchantment with continuing cooperation with governments.

Strong antagonism developed between the Haskalah and Hasidism movements and together with Elijah, the Gaon of Vilna, many Maskilim were among the strongest opponents of Hasidism. [The Gaon was an influential independent orthodox thinker who was opposed to philosophy being merged with theology and although he was claimed to be a supporter of Haskalah he refused to commit himself to that movement.] But there were contradictory ideas running through each of the movements and, according to Louis Jacobs, while religious motivation was rarely absent from the thinking of the Maskilim who were in reality "remote from secularism ... it is going too far to see the Haskalah as a religious movement."¹⁰⁷ Similarly: "After the Haskalah, there was no longer any need to argue that a Jew could be loyal to his religion without ignoring the values of Western Society. Zionism can be said to be a more Jewish version of the Haskalah and, of course, the State of Israel is a modern state in which the liberal values of the West are accepted without reservation."¹⁰⁸ However since the establishment of the State of Israel the ultra-Orthodox community has tended to revert to the attitudes of the pre-Haskalah days, supporting Hasidism, discouraging students from secular studies except for the purpose of earning a living, and encouraging only the study of the Torah 'for its own sake.'¹⁰⁹

In the same year that the Prussian rescript of religious observance was announced an unconventional rationalist who has been described as the first theoretician of Jewish religious reform, Saul Ascher, published *Leviathan* in which he disagreed with much of Mendelssohn's writing. Judaism, he said, is a religion of high principles, misunderstood by Christians, and not a theocratic polity or, as Mendelssohn put it, 'revealed legislation.' Ascher called for a reformation which would retain the dogmas which 'alone reflect its spirit and purpose' and bring contemporary adherents of Judaism 'spiritual satisfaction by binding them to belief in God without restricting their autonomy of will.' He appealed to Jews on the fringe of the community who were inclined to take the easy path out of repression by bowing to the state and the church and adopting Christianity to stay, to help reform 'the constitution of the religion', and to remain 'a people worthy of the Divine in all places and among all people.' However Ascher's appeal fell largely on deaf ears and the rabbinate remained loyal to the old constitution even though, under the rescript, they were gradually less able to enforce it. And even though governments wanted to weaken and limit Jewish religious authority they did not want to support or sponsor such a reformation because it may have invalidated some of their best arguments against removing restrictions on Jews.¹¹⁰ In fact a host of further restrictions were already in the

wind and only a year after the Prussian rescript the second partition of Poland took place, the Russian Pale of Settlement was imposed and the third partition of Poland soon followed in 1795.

THE PARTITION OF POLAND

The progressive partition of Poland had begun as an exercise by Austria and Prussia in using other people's land as bargaining chips in a bid to buy off the perceived threat from Russia which was doing embarrassingly well in its expansionist land grab from Turkey, although, as we have seen, the Vatican had been stirring the pot in its bid to extend its influence as well. It continued when Poland rejected Russia's kind offer of protectorate status and omitted to make an alternative arrangement with either Austria or Prussia before doing so. It was completed when the Poles revolted in an effort to regain some of their lost territory.¹¹¹ But none of the parties quite understood the difficulties they would have in merging the complex social, religious and political structures of their slices of Poland into their existing structures. Poland was still special.

For two hundred years Poland's Jewish minority had been partly self governing under a series of legally recognized and chartered community councils which had substantial autonomy in social, economic and cultural matters under an oligarchy of wealthy and educated community leaders. These councils were subordinate to, but integrated into, the 'normal' Polish structures and the relationships were essentially cordial, with a degree of interdependence which reflected the flow of economic services, including credit and capital, from the Jewish communities to the ruling aristocracy. By the mid eighteenth century these community councils had been consolidated into two quite large units, the 'Council of the Four Lands' and the 'Council of the Land of Lithuania' and their responsibilities had grown to include collection of taxes, censorship, social and economic legislation and adjudication in disputes. But it was recognized that modernization of the system was necessary and that it should not be isolated from the regional and national structures in the way that it was. A program of reform began in 1739, continued with the appointment of Treasury Inspectors in 1753 and, in theory, was completed with the abolition of the councils in 1764. However such changes required time – as did the settlement of debts which the Council of the Four Lands had accumulated over a long period – and less formal structures were still in place at the time of the first partition grabs by Poland's three greedy neighbours. They each soon found that it was going to be harder to integrate their pieces of Poland and their additional Jewish communities into their existing structures than they had expected and they each adopted their own methods of accelerating the integration process. In spite of the long running prohibition against Jews entering Russia, Catherine II issued a declaration affirming the rights of Jews in the annexed territories. Maria-Theresa, in league with the pope, set about abolishing Jewish self-government in Austria and to ensure subordination to the central administration she introduced a government-appointed chief rabbi. Subsequently state schools for Jewish children and compulsory military service were also introduced. At the

same time the government of what remained of Poland made further efforts at reform and modernization but it need not have wasted its effort. It was only a few years before the nation disappeared altogether in the circumstances noted above. Differences between the Jewish cultures in the three regions were slow to develop but they gradually became more pronounced, especially with the impact of the reforms in Judaism which were taking place in Prussia contrasting with the tight, oppressive control over the Russian sector which had become the Pale of Settlement.¹¹² At each stage of the partition the number of Jews who had to be integrated – or digested – together with the majority non-Jewish populations increased. The total number of Jews is estimated to have been about 800,000 by 1795 in a total population of between three and four million,^{113 114} most of whom were in the Eastern sector which was gained by Russia.

The remaining years before Napoleon assumed power in France saw a host of authors including Solomon Maimon and Lazarus Bendavid publish books and papers on the state of Judaism, the plight of the Jews, education for Jewish youth, and the need for either reform or retention of the status quo in both Europe and America, but a lot less practical action. As with the church, so with Judaism, Europe's religious divisions were perpetuated in the New World. Until 1795, (coincidentally the year of the final partition of Poland), every synagogue in the Americas had served all Jews, irrespective of whether their background was Sephardic or Ashkenazic, but that year a group of Ashkenazim set up a breakaway synagogue in Philadelphia and established a trend which soon became the norm. However the most noteworthy development was the establishment of the first Reform Synagogue, in Amsterdam, home to the largest single community of Jews in the world at that time. The establishment of that synagogue was a daring but short-lived attempt to adapt Jewish tradition to contemporary life. It was made possible by the full emancipation of the Jewish community in Batavia (Holland) which followed the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the emancipation of Jews in France and it was forced to close in 1808 after the restoration of the House of Orange.

RESPONSES TO THE GREAT SANHEDRIN

Napoleon's Great Sanhedrin in February-March 1807 stands as one of the great beacons along the rough passage to interfaith understanding, regardless of the spate of additional problems which it generated. The church remained determined to cling to its erroneous understanding of the relationship between Christianity and Judaism but the political environment had changed significantly and Jews everywhere were able to hold their heads high as equals with their neighbours when they debated the future course of their faith and their institutions. There was little discussion of religious reform at the Great Sanhedrin because the French officials who organized it, and Napoleon, were interested only in conformity and stability, not the finer points of religion. A year after the Sanhedrin a decree was issued establishing a Central Jewish Consistory for France with both rabbinical and lay members, along the lines of that under which the Protestant Church in France was administered, to supervise and modernize the affairs of the

Jewish community. That body proved to be rather conservative and the modernization in France was therefore basically organizational. However another Consistory was set up in the same year for the Jews living in the French-controlled Kingdom of Westphalia when Jerome Bonaparte took control of it, and there the debate on religious reform soon became more vigorous and led, in due course, to the formal organization of the three divisions – Reform, Orthodox and Conservative – already noted.¹¹⁵

A Court Jew who was able to accumulate both wealth and influence in the service of the Duke of Brunswick, Israel Jacobson, was appointed head of the consistory and soon assumed the role of leader of an informal Reform Movement as well. A layman without formal rabbinical training, he was accorded the status of a rabbi and gathered notable thinkers around him as he sought to continue the work which Mendelssohn had begun and to dismantle the remaining constraints under which Jews had to live and work. He proposed the establishment of a Supreme Council for Jewry, based in France, but this was not agreed to, and, although all citizens were equal before the law under Westphalia's new constitution, the Jewish consistory remained subject to the Christian consistory. In 1809 it issued orders for the conduct of rabbis and services of worship and with these began a program of reform which continued for several years. Naturally these evoked some controversy, especially when they affected arrangements for the Passover, and as a result Rabbi Menahem Mendel Steinhardt, a member of the consistory, published a brief work, *Words of a Letter*, in 1812 which is regarded as the first attempt to provide a substantial legal and general justification for a program of modern reforms to Judaism. Responding to the question of why authorities in earlier generations had not attempted such reforms Steinhardt wrote that "our ancestors left us an opportunity to show our own abilities, ... (and they) were fearful that their rivals would mock them, ... but we, members of the consistory, because of the cry of the poor and of the Jewish soldiers, are not concerned on account of the scoffers and gossip mongers among our people."¹¹⁶

A journal, *Sulamith*, edited by two teachers of Judaism in Dessau, David Frankel and Joseph Wolf, became the literary voice of the Westphalia Consistory and carried what Meyer describes as "a popular and relatively coherent ideology of religious reform." They maintained the perspective that "being religious in a universal sense was what mattered most, not the divisions imposed by a particularizing history and conflicting traditions" and they often discussed religion in general without reference to either Judaism or Christianity. They published a view somewhat along the lines of the German philosopher Professor Immanuel Kant who has been described as the German philosopher who had by far the most widespread and lasting influence on modern Jewish thinkers,¹¹⁷ that the role of religious education was to enable children to realize on their own that "there is only one true religion as there is only one humanity and one God, and that all religions are but forms of it."¹¹⁸

Kant was born into and educated within a pietistic Lutheran environment in Prussia, studied both science and philosophy, and capped his teaching career with his appointment in 1770 as professor of logic and metaphysics at Konigsberg, the university at which he had gained his masters degree. His beliefs and teachings did not correspond fully with either Christianity or

Judaism, proving to be both an embarrassment and a source of ammunition for both faiths. He rejected Christian dogma and in particular the innate corruption of man, and undermined the church's teaching on the need for faith in things unprovable, teaching that all knowledge required a component derived from nature and is the result of synthesis between an intellectual act and what is presented to the mind from without. Put another way, he insisted that religious faith begins with action rather than atonement. Cause and effect relationships are not learned from our own experience but provide a basis on which we can make sense of our experience and of the world, he said, and some of the properties which we observe in other things are due to our own nature rather than the objects which we are observing. Applying this line of reasoning to our understanding of God, Kant said that traditional proofs of God were invalid. The human conscience assures a person of truths which reason is not able to establish, he said. A sense of responsibility or duty assures us of freedom, and belief in freedom can lead to belief in immortality and a Divine Being. Religion is the recognition of our responsibilities as divine commands. He discounted mystical experience as irrelevant, said that there is no need for a personal redeemer or a Saviour, or the historical tradition of Christianity, and that all that was required to be religious was to be moral. But put against that, he described Judaism as basically "a collection of mere statutory laws upon which was established a political organization."¹¹⁹ At the political level Kant advocated a world system based on free states.

Kant stayed essentially within the framework of theism and it is probably for that reason that his prolific writings did not raise the same level of antagonism from the church and the ruling elite as those of Karl Marx a couple of generations later. Kant (1724–1804) developed a philosophical approach and a world view significantly different to those which had prevailed for a long time, especially in the field of alternatives to the triangle of messianic religions. In doing so he provided a base for the thinking of Jewish reformers who placed divine commandment above salvation resulting from faith and other philosophers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, including Hegel (1770–1831), whose work in turn had a big influence on Marx (1818–1883). He therefore actually represents a challenge to the church of a similar magnitude to those of Marx and Darwin and it is no wonder that he was in trouble with the Prussian authorities in 1792, the year of the rescript of religious observance.^{120 121 122 123}

THE CONSISTORY

But our interest at the moment is in Jacobson and the consistory. In 1801 he had shown that he was far ahead of prevailing thinking when he opened an agricultural school in Seesen for poor Jewish boys and then, in a gesture of goodwill and cooperation, admitted Christian students as well two years later. In 1809 he introduced confirmation classes for Jewish youth patterned on the established Christian system with both religious and educational aims. Such classes had been introduced elsewhere six years earlier, but the consistory made them a responsibility of rabbis, requiring dialogue between the rabbi and his students on the basis of questions and answers and requiring a confirmand to recite Maimonides' Thirteen Articles of faith. This raised

objections from many traditionalists because it touched on the questions of how the new confirmation ceremony related to a young Jew's Bar Mitzvah and what defines a Jew. Unlike a Christian, a Jew did not become a Jew by learning religious doctrines.

A school was opened in Cassel the same year, with the German language being used for some purposes, and a seminary for the training of rabbis and a temple were opened in Seesen the following year. The term 'temple' was chosen to reflect continuity with the tradition of King Solomon's Temple and the universality of worship, it incorporated some aspects of Christian church design, and organ and choral music, prayers in German and regular sermons were planned to make a definite social statement that Jews worship as do Christians. As a result the Brunswick authorities required the scale of the building to be reduced and the planned dome and bell tower to be deleted so that a mere Jewish synagogue would not be seen as more impressive than a Christian church. On the other hand the Reform Movement received a boost when an edict was issued in 1812 granting all Jews outside the Prussian capital equal rights with Christians except in appointment to state offices. However the Westphalian adventure in modernization of Judaism and interfaith cooperation came to an abrupt end in 1813 with the collapse of the kingdom following Napoleon's demise. The authority of the consistory and state funds were withdrawn, the leading rabbis were scattered to other parts of the country, and the seminary was closed. More German-speaking Jews took the easy path to retain their new social status by converting to Christianity and demonstrating their national allegiance by joining the German War of Liberation from France – the country which, under Napoleon, had brought about their emancipation. And efforts to reform Judaism as a national entity came to an end. The Reformers also had to change their emphasis to encourage change at the level of individual communities.¹²⁴

In the meantime the situation had become massively confused for the Jews further east because in 1807, when Russia made an error of judgement, attacked Napoleon's Grand Coalition Army and suffered defeat, the victor reversed the partitions of Poland and re-established the nation as a French protectorate, the Duchy of Warsaw, governed by the Elector of Saxony as its Grand Duke. But alas, semi-independence was to be short lived. It was Napoleon's turn to make an error of judgement and to pursue the Russians to his crushing defeat and exile, and in a case of winner take (almost) all, the Poles again lost their independence and the country was absorbed by Russia in 1813. The Vatican's aims had been thwarted again and the papacy would have to wait for quite some time before it could add another jewel to its crown.

ANOTHER ROUND OF REFORMS

In Berlin one of the city's most influential Jews, David Friedlander, had pressed for some years for more far-reaching reforms than either Mendelssohn had proposed or Jacobson had been able to implement. He gained some community support for a program of radically reformed services but there was strong opposition from the traditionalists and the matter became deeply divisive

during the Franco-German War. Being unhappy with some of the compromises which were necessary to accommodate the divergent views and knowing that his controversial position made it impossible for him to exercise community leadership, he therefore withdrew from Jewish affairs for a time and no change occurred. However when hostilities ended in 1814 some of the reformers, styling themselves the Society of Friends and prompted by the arrival in the city of Israel Jacobson, sought approval for the conduct of a service with men and women sitting together for worship, a sermon and some psalms sung in German. As they may have expected, the rabbis and wardens refused permission for the use of the synagogue and the group planned to conduct its services in its own meeting place outside the authority of the formal Jewish community. Jacobson's home was used for some time until the number attending reached 400, when Jacob Herz Beer made modifications to his larger home to accommodate the crowds.

Although the traditionalists condemned the unorthodox services they did not try to stop them, but the matter soon came to the attention of the Prussian king, Frederick William III, who ordered them closed out of fear that they may attract Christians away from the church and cause further disruption. This forced the reformers and the traditionalists to negotiate over the use of the common synagogue for modified and greatly enlarged services, and when it was found that substantial renovations would be required the king approved the continued use of the Beer home until the work was completed. The matter was not resolved. The community split into two separate congregations and services were held in the Beer home for six years. Major changes were made in the structure of worship, with innovations in the use of language and the introduction of a new prayer book. References to a messiah or a personal Redeemer were replaced by impersonal references to "redemption", while the prayer of petition for the ingathering of Israel from the four corners of the earth and the re-establishment of the kingdom in its land was omitted. These changes naturally lead to increased pressure on the group and in 1818 it published a series of commissioned responsa to justify its actions and its modernized liturgy.

The following year, a group of young university graduates who had been supported in their studies by Beer, Friedlander, Jacobson and other wealthy Jews, and who were mostly involved with the new congregation, decided to put the study of Jewish culture onto a more structured, academic basis and to give expression to Jewish religious consciousness in the light of Hegel's philosophical principles which they had studied. They established a Society for Culture and the Scientific Study of the Jews, they looked for a more principled and consistent program of liturgical reform, they showed intolerance towards the compromises which had been made and towards hypocrisy and a lack of true religiosity, but they continued to collaborate with their benefactors for some time.

While the parent congregation had tolerated the break-away congregation and the Society, when plans were made to conduct similar services in centres beyond Berlin, starting with Breslau in January 1821, the traditionalists decided it was time to intervene and a government courier arrived from Berlin with an order prohibiting the service at the last minute. Later that

year Frederick William III issued a further order prohibiting Christian clergy and public officials from attending Jewish ceremonies in case their participation “detracted from the status of Christianity and lead to an undesired rapprochement with Judaism.” A year later he sanctioned the establishment of the Berlin Society for the Propagation of Christianity among the Jews which the Minister for the Interior praised for providing “the only true religious improvement of the Jews” in the face of reforms which threatened to make them “even more dangerous to civil society than they were before.” The Beer home temple was then closed by government order in September 1823. However in the meantime reformers had become active in the Free City of Hamburg, drawing up a statute for The New Israelite Temple Association in Hamburg in December 1817 and opening a temple with ‘preachers’ and not rabbis in October 1818, and this soon became the new centre of gravity for the Reform Movement.¹²⁵

The Hamburg Temple also became the centre of controversy as the prospect of real emancipation in Europe raised questions about the traditional understanding of messianism and the return to Zion. Professor Michael A. Meyer says that: “Without question the omission and alteration of certain liturgical passages dealing with the messianic return to Zion was the most audacious innovation of the Hamburg reformers. It cast doubt on a central principle of Jewish faith firmly grounded in all layers of Jewish tradition. To deny hope of Israel’s reconstitution as a nation on its own soil and the rebuilding of the temple, it was felt, amounted to a denial of Judaism itself.”¹²⁶

Messianism was at the heart of both the relationship between Christianity and Judaism, and claims of conflict of interest and disloyalty to the countries in which Jews lived. It constantly raised the issue of exclusivism and the expectation that God would eventually exalt Israel above all the other nations. When emancipation in Europe, or the anticipation of it, made unnecessary or undermined the desire to return to Palestine it required the Jews to either reject messianism or to reach a new understanding of their fundamental religious belief. Judaism was thus in exactly the same bind over the question of messianism as was the church because of its self-understanding based on its different interpretation of messianism. No Jewish theologian could reject the concept completely or Judaism would be no more than a system of laws and morality based on historical experience and mystical intuition. But Kant’s view that belief in a personal messiah was not necessary to the acceptance of a divine plan was attractive, so the trend towards a belief in corporate messianism gathered momentum while some traditionalists sought to show that there was no conflict between an eventual return to Zion and love and loyalty towards the countries in which they lived or their rulers.

On the other hand Lowenstamm was one who stressed the universal nature of the Jewish vision. The messiah, he said, would bring peace to all the nations and his coming would be a blessing to all humanity. He turned to Christian and Muslim belief in a messiah to support his interpretation, simply noting that they were wrong in their belief that the messiah had already come, and he said the Jewish reformers lost all human credibility by substituting acceptance of European emancipation for messianic hope. However the messiah and redemption could come only by God’s will and at a time determined by God, he said, and Jews were not permitted to try

to initiate the redemption or the return to Zion. On that basis Jewish messianic hope required political patience and no disloyalty or efforts to overthrow established institutions or systems of government. The debate between traditionalists and reformers became intense but there was no turning back. The reformers had developed a strong base in Hamburg and a competitive institution. The process of reform in Judaism bears a remarkable similarity to the pattern of dispute around Christian reform but there was one thing lacking. The violence. The Jewish traditionalists did not try to send their dissenters to the stake.¹²⁷

But now, still in the first generation of the nineteenth century, while its reformers were even seen as a threat to the church which again required state intervention, Judaism had to cope with a different challenge from within its own household. The writings of the seventeenth century Dutch Jewish philosopher Baruch Spinoza, who had been excommunicated from his community for his views, had been a primary source for Kant's thinking. As a result they had gained a new burst of popularity from which the church was eager to gain maximum advantage, especially as some of them had also gained a degree of acceptance among Jewish thinkers. Spinoza's assessment of traditional Judaism was so brutal as to portray it as almost irrelevant. Like the church, he saw Jesus' role in revelation as far more important than the Hebrew prophets. Christ was not so much a prophet as the mouthpiece of God with whom he communed mind-to-mind. Judaism was exclusivist, concerned mainly with material needs, and may have emasculated the minds of its adherents, while Christianity alone was universalistic and spiritual. A task for both mainstream Jewish writers and the reformers was therefore to counter the influence of Spinoza, Kant, Lessing and others who saw Judaism as simply a stage in religious development which would give way ultimately to one universal, rational and moral faith. Among those who rose to the challenge were Steinheim, Formstecher and Hirsch.¹²⁸

Steinheim, a strong believer in supernatural revelation, said that revelation does not simply reinforce what is already latent in the human spirit or gained from external experience and reason, but demands a complete transformation of the inner person or a spiritual rebirth. He showed some sympathy for ritual reform but he disputed the theology of other reformers and maintained that Judaism not only preceded Christianity but would also succeed it and win the struggle with paganism because it preserved original revelation in pure, unadulterated and pristine form.¹²⁹

In contrast to that, Formstecher saw the development of Judaism in terms of progressive revelation beginning with the Biblical prophets who were enabled by God to bring the unconscious content of their spirit forward to the level of practical awareness. He saw Christianity and Islam as agents of Judaism which it had sent into the pagan world as missionary faiths to provide continuing influence on universal human spiritual development. It logically followed, in his thinking, that paganism was a declining threat, that separation of the Jews was no longer appropriate intellectually, that it would cease to be appropriate politically once full emancipation had been achieved, and that beyond Judaism would be a completely universal faith rising above historical Judaism.¹³⁰

Hirsch, the third of the trio, saw Mendelssohn as standing at the beginning of a period in which German Jews were determined to acquire the culture of their age, and he was determined to show that Judaism, uninhibited by other associations, was the hub of religious philosophy. He rejected the idea that the God of Judaism, unlike the God of Christianity, is not directly involved in human history, and he maintained that in human relations with God, Judaism required neither the mediation of a priestly institution as in Catholicism, nor of scripture, as in Protestantism. Jesus, he said, stands within Judaism like Abraham and represents an ideal for humanity. Miracles and prophecy together demonstrate divine sovereignty and Sinai represented the ultimate revelation since it brought together miracle and prophecy. However revelation continued providentially until Israel, learning to imitate God as the model of freedom, had become fully aware of its destiny. That destiny, Hirsch said, involved untold suffering either as “divine chastisement” on account of Jews who failed in their responsibility to show the world that no one need sin, or to demonstrate that virtuous conduct, even under duress, was possible without supernatural grace. But Hirsch did not share Formstecher’s optimism for the future. Hatred of the Jews lay dormant, he said, and he was concerned that they had not remained loyal to their calling as a spiritual nationality rather than a denomination and resisted the temptation to assimilate. When the distant messianic age arrived Israel and all nations would be united in a single religion of human freedom and while sin would remain a possibility no one would chose it. Israel would, Hirsch believed, be brought to Jerusalem by the nations of the world, not to establish a state but to put into effect the Jewish national ritual as a symbol of its vocation. Judaism would be united with humanity in word and deed but it would remain particular in its mode of religious practice.¹³¹

Debate raged on. The reformers gained confidence So much so that in 1832 Rabbi Abraham Geiger, who had become the leader of the Reform Movement, even expressed the view that the dogmatic structures of the church would collapse and that a new faith more in accord with modern philosophy would rise from the ruins. Three years later the churches’ sense of insecurity because of internal discord became even more apparent when David Strauss published an attack on the validity of the Gospels. He described them as myths concocted to make Old Testament prophesies apply to Jesus in order to demonstrate historical continuity with Judaism which was thus succeeded by Christianity. Reform Rabbinical Conferences were organized, the first being held at Wiesbaden in 1837, and with the younger more highly trained Reform rabbis able to provide a new kind of spiritual leadership, more synagogues came under their influence progressively across central Europe. Both the church and the state authorities were concerned at the overall growing influence of the emancipated Jewish community and their inability to contain it, even if it was divided, and in 1842 Frederick William IV planned to reimpose separate corporate status on the Jewish community in Prussia. This would have meant re-establishing the ghettos complete with rabbinical courts with their power of excommunication in a bid to regain conformity and stability.

THE CRISES OF ACCULTURATION

However, concurrent with the growth of the Reform Movement, acculturation had become an increasing problem for the Jewish community. Historically the drift across the boundary of faith from Judaism to Christianity had been the result of coercion and repression orchestrated by the church. But in the age of emancipation when logic might suggest that the drift would stop, it continued. Jews on the fringe of the religious community and with little commitment to Talmudic teaching or discipline, especially those with higher education who were in social and professional contact with the privileged Christian classes, had become so Germanized or Europeanized that they became ambivalent towards their Jewish origins and ancestral loyalty. They found it easy and convenient to slip across the boundary into either nominal or practicing Christianity. Because the reformers had deliberately modernized their services of worship and encouraged fraternal goodwill and contact, their camp was affected more by the drift from acculturation than that of the traditionalists.

But in addition to those who crossed over there were others who, caught in the cross currents of growing anti-religious feeling or continuing anti-Jewish sentiment, rebelled against the constraints of their Jewishness and their career opportunities which remained restricted because of continuing discrimination. Small but significant numbers of men in these situations gathered to exert pressure for more and faster reforms and in Frankfurt an association calling itself Friends of Reform was set up. It drew little support from the established Reform Movement – in fact we are told that most Reform leaders attacked it severely – and it was short lived, but it left its mark by trying to substitute an alternative ritual for the practice of circumcision and by circulating a brief statement of principles which caused dissent in other areas as well. The statement had three clauses. The first recognized in 'Mosaism' (the term Judaism was not used) the possibility of an unlimited further development. The second noted that 'the collection called the Talmud', rabbinic writings and Judaic statutes 'possess no binding force for us either in dogma or in practice.' The third touched the very sensitive issues of Messianism and Zionism. "We neither expect nor desire a messiah who is to lead the Israelites back to the land of Palestine; we recognize no fatherland other than that to which we belong by birth or civil status."¹³²

These developments coincided with and, in all probability, helped to provoke the moves to reimpose ghetto status, but they also stimulated efforts by academics such as Sigismund Stern to explore ways in which reformed Judaism could be recognized as a living limb of the organized state with world historical existence alongside Christianity. In March 1845 a small group, which soon grew to over 300 people and assumed national aspirations with the title The Association for Reform in Judaism, signed 'an Appeal to our German Coreligionists' for support for a synod which would give form and substance to 'a new Judaism.' They said: "We want faith; we want positive religion; we want Judaism." For several years the association's influence spread and related groups adopted reform services in several centres, but it was distracted and, in a sense, swamped by the revolutionary events of 1848. The Prussian

authorities tolerated it but refused to grant it independent status. Its rabbinical leadership changed, Rabbi Samuel Holdheim opposed the idea of a national synod and in 1850 the association became simply The Jewish Reform Congregation of Berlin.¹³³

Outside of Prussia the speed of Jewish emancipation and the influence of the Reform Movement varied greatly. In Austria, where the monarchy, in league with the church, was intent on assimilation and fearful of the modernization of Jewish services, there had been strong determined to keep Jewish numbers to the minimum while exploiting Jewish wealth and management skills to the maximum. The first stages of emancipation therefore did not come until shortly after the revolution of 1848. A reform-minded Jewish preacher, Isaac Mannheimer, was elected to the Constituent Assembly and pressed strongly for various social reforms, including the elimination of the death penalty except in cases of treason and mutiny, and succeeded in having the special Jews' Tax discontinued. His personal influence became so great that other congregations began to adopt his modernized Viennese Rite.¹³⁴

Denmark had already felt Mannheimer's influence when he studied and taught there and with the appointment of a somewhat like-minded rabbi a reform style synagogue had been built in 1828.¹³⁵

France, the seat of political emancipation, was an enigma. Its heritage of anti-clericalism, resulting from its history of church-state conflict, left Judaism somewhat debilitated and neglected, and when after 1831, it enjoyed state subsidies together with the church the strength of the consistorial system meant that it could ignore or stifle the more radical moves for reform which had succeeded in Hamburg and Berlin. It became so adapted to the dominant Catholic religious environment in which the mass was still conducted in Latin that moves to introduced Jewish prayers in the vernacular did not succeed for a long time. However the strength of the consistorial system which discouraged radical reform also meant that when moderate reform was introduced the process was smooth, a matter of consensus, and without controversy.¹³⁶

In Hungary the revolution of '48 brought a series of contradictions. Its Jews looked for the emancipation which had been denied under Austrian influence but instead, because of the zeal of some of their young reformers, they suffered vicious pogroms and exclusion from the Hungarian Army until July 1849, just before the rebellion was put down by the Austrians and the Russians. Only two or three years earlier a small group of young reformers had organized Vienna-style services, in Ofen, causing some dissent within their community. Then, when they established the Central Association of Hungarian Israelites in July 1848 and the Magyar revolutionary authorities required certain guarantees about the nature of their services, they refused to give the guarantees as the price for emancipation. They said, in effect, that they wanted the same total religious freedom as Christians or none at all. In 1852, in an atmosphere of re-imposed conservatism after Austria had regained control of its empire, the authorities closed the association's temple and made it perfectly clear that Jews were expected to return to their own traditions.¹³⁷

Italy's peculiar historical circumstances made it most unlikely that there would be any strong move for the reform of Judaism in that country following the round of revolutions in '48. It was the seat of Catholicism, the point or origin for organized programs of harassment against Jews, its church provided the theological basis for rejection of Judaism and opposition to emancipation, and it was a focal point for complicated financial, political and social relationships between the Vatican and various strata of Jewish society. Meyer is therefore able to report that Judaism remained 'classical' in its impermeability to change, esteemed and venerated by most Jews, but practiced fully by very few.¹³⁸

Across the Channel in England circumstances were quite different to those in Europe. There had been no ghettos, a much lower level of oppression, a greater degree of tolerance and more social contact between Christians and Jews. If the words and actions of Isaac D'Israeli are any indication there was also a lower level of commitment to Judaism among its adherents. D'Israeli, a Sephardic emigrant from Venice and a prominent academic, remained a somewhat indifferent Jew throughout a life of contradictions. In 1813, at the age of 47, he declined an invitation from the board to become a warden of the Bevis Marks Synagogue in London then, three years later, while remaining Jewish himself but clearly wanting to maximize his son's opportunities for advancement, he had his son Benjamin, aged 13, baptized into the Church of England. Benjamin adopted the name Disraeli, worked in a legal office, turned to writing, then in 1837 entered parliament at the fifth attempt. In due course he served as prime minister twice and is regarded as the founder of the modern British Conservative Party. In the meantime the requirement for Jews to swear a Christian oath to gain citizenship had been cancelled in 1826 and there only remained the withholding of rights to political office (until 1858) and restricted access to key universities.

Orthodoxy was basically unchallenged within the British Jewish community and there was no general ground swell for modernization of worship. However, in line with Evangelical fundamentalist veneration of the scriptures as the absolute word of God, the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews attacked the role and influence of rabbis on much the same basis as the early reformers in England attacked the papacy, and this lead some Jewish Biblical scholars to press for more reliance on the observance of the Laws of God alone in order to offset the Christian campaign. This lead in turn to criticism of 'overly timid political leadership in British Jewry and to pressure for minor reforms in the conduct of synagogue worship. In 1833, during the years of his son's campaign for office, D'Israeli senior trenchantly criticized some of the basic tenets of the faith. He wrote that all the laws of Judaism, both biblical and rabbinic, were human in origin and therefore open to repeal or amendment as the times demanded. He called for English Jews "to educate their youth as the youth of Europe, and not of Palestine; let their Talmud be removed to an elevated shelf, to be consulted as a curiosity of antiquity, and not as a manual of education. ... Let [Christians and Jews] only separate to hasten to the Church and to the Synagogue." He said that only the genius of Judaism's philosophical foundation was unchangeable.¹³⁹ However the greatly influential Moses Montefiore and the Board of Deputies (recognized by act of parliament in 1836) refused to

recognize the West London Synagogue for some years after its minister, David Woolf Marks, the leader of the Reform Movement in England, introduced the first significant reforms there in 1840.^{140 141 142}

ALEXANDER'S PROGRAM FOR CONVERSION

The generally oppressive situation in Russia has already been noted, but there were several other important developments as well. In a bid to encourage conversion to Orthodox Christianity (rather than the reform of Judaism) Alexander I granted Jews access to public schools under his 1804 Constitution of the Jews which was otherwise restrictive, curtailing both land rights and opportunities for business ventures and access to the professions. Then his national development programs and his 'Jewish problem' were both complicated immeasurably by the devastation of his Napoleonic War and the 'opportunity' to absorb most of the area of Poland which had not been annexed during the three partitions, lost to Napoleon and then recovered. Twenty one years later, in 1835, that whole area was all formally declared to be within the Pale of Settlement. In the same year the government began funding Russian speaking rabbis, appointed under a Crown Rabbinate program, who were to be the only ones recognized by the government. They were expected to lift Jewish ritual and worship out of the archives and into the nineteenth century. However they had to face congregational elections each three years as well as fulfilling the government's program and the demands of the two requirements were barely compatible. The generally older informally chosen rabbis retained community support because of their knowledge of rabbinical law, their piety and their understanding of community traditions and the Crown Rabbis therefore found it extremely difficult to introduce change. The opening of two rabbinical seminaries in 1847, at Vilna and Zhitomir, aggravated the situation by generating mistrust instead of goodwill. In the meantime, in 1840, under the guise of promoting modernization and secular education, the government of Nicholas I undertook a large scale school development program within the expanded Pale of Settlement and commissioned a German rabbi, Max Lilienthal, to promote it. However he soon realized that the government's main aim was still conversion and not enlightenment and in 1844 he fled to the United States.

Coinciding with that program, in 1840 Nicholas I also founded a 'Committee for establishing means to reform the Jews of Russia.' This appears to have been an admission that his other programs, including the setting up of a Crown Rabbinate in 1835, had failed or that they had not produced the results he was looking for. He could certainly say that he had tried, but the modernization of Judaism in Russia would have to wait. It had come about in the West under the influence of developments in philosophy and science and in an environment conditioned by vigorous Protestantism in Germany and resurgent Catholicism in France. In Russia the dominant influences were stagnant Orthodoxy and political hostility towards all religion and philosophy under a resurgent monarchy which was hell-bent on preventing any further incursions from the west. The Jewish community therefore found greater comfort in the traditions of Orthodox Judaism which they understood, and in the prospect of either emigration,

socialism or Jewish nationalism, rather than in any other 'ism' which their government might foist on them.

But as the second half of the nineteenth century dawned there was no one who was at all worried about the plight of the Jews except the Jews. In the wake of the round of revolutions the churches and their allies seemed confident that, together, they had stifled the challenges from both Napoleon and Marx and they no longer seemed very worried about the resurgence of Jewish faith. It would be a short-lived phenomenon and modernization and assimilation would surely take care of that. They were certainly not conscious of the fact that the pressures which they had set up had changed the population dynamics of the Jewish community yet again, that further dramatic changes were about to take place, and that in just one hundred years those changes would usher in changes in the relationships between the world's great religions – permanent changes. There was simply no room in their self-understanding for such a concept.

Volume I

Part 3

EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION: THE NEED FOR A SAFETY VALVE

CHAPTER 15

LET'S FIND A NEW HOME

Most people tended to forget about the Jewish question during the upheavals of 1848/49. The ordinary people had too many pressing personal problems to worry about, like survival, and the three interdependent domestic powers, (church, state and capital), were too busy pursuing a policy of divide and rule in order to cling to their positions of power and privilege. They successfully isolated the rebellious urban industrial population from both the rural peasantry and the urban non-industrial population in order to put down rebellion in many centres. By forcing these groups to identify sectional interests and then to become identified with those particular interests they unwittingly set up a pattern of urban/rural tension and conflict in community affairs and industrial negotiations which has ebbed and flowed but has never completely disappeared in westernized cultures ever since. In addition there was a distinct feeling across Europe that 'religious liberalism' had encouraged a sinful revolt against the proper and lawful authorities, so both 'the state' and 'the church' were eager to cooperate and to reinforce the concept that the state was Christian. Thus, in spite of justifiable criticism of its affairs, the church soon reasserted itself as the main ideological prop for conformity in matters social, political and economic, and the resurgence of autocratic government followed as a matter of course.

So most people forgot about the Jewish question for a while. But not all. Lionel Rothschild and his brothers had been elevated to the British peerage, with the lowest rank, Baron, by Queen Victoria in 1838, two years after she came to the throne at about the same time that Nathan Rothschild died. Their elevation was out of gratitude for their father's support in channeling loans from the Elector of Hesse to Victoria's relatives and, no doubt, also to ensure their continued support. ¹ Lionel's friend Benjamin Disraeli, who had been baptized at the age of 13, saw real prospects for effective Jewish emancipation in Britain if someone of the baron's prestige and calibre could be elected to parliament. To start with it would provide a direct challenge to the Christian oath of office required of all M.P.s as a means of preventing Jews from taking their seats in the house. The banker baron agreed to stand as a Liberal candidate for the City of London seat in 1847, just when he was busy supervising the Irish famine relief funds.

HUMANITY DIVIDED BY BELIEF ...

He won. But although the House of Commons passed a bill to allow him to take his seat he could not do so. The bill was thrown out by the House of Lords after drawn-out debate which ran well into 1848 and which brought out once more all the religious bigotry and sanctimonious humbug which underpinned the church's doctrinaire view of itself. The bill was an insult to the honour and glory of God, according to the Earl of Winchelsea. As long as the British Government was to remain Christian the Duke of Cambridge would not, he said, consent to admit a Jew. To sit in parliament was not a right but a trust according to the Bishop of Oxford. He warned the House that Jews, being people of an alien race secretly conniving with other nations, would betray that trust. Later in the debate, after Louis Philippe had abdicated, with the Prussian king fleeing from Berlin and with the pope under threat in Rome, Lord Ellenborough plumbed new depths. He referred to nations convulsed by Providential warnings of famine and distress. He said that Britain could only escape such calamity by Heavenly aid. And then came his punch line. Their Lordships should not offend the Heavenly Father by abandoning the exclusively Christian character of the British parliament.²

A person of lesser mettle may have thrown in the towel and quietly attended to his own business. But Lionel Rothschild was made of stern stuff and he was acutely aware of the importance of the decision. It was not until he had been elected seven times, with all the cost and emotional strain involved, and not until after ten attempts had been made to get a bill passed that the House of Lords relented and agreed to a compromise arrangement which allowed him to take his seat in parliament in July 1858.

... UNTIL THERE IS A £ SIGN

An independent observer might wonder at the reason for the eventual change of heart after the trauma of the Lords' debate over that issue and compare it with their change of mind on the slavery issue when the future of British investment in Latin America had been at stake. Perhaps there was another factor. The Crimean War.

As the potatoes had begun to grow again after the crisis years, the power brokers of Europe had returned to their pre-revolution complacency, the pope had returned to Rome and the three chief players – Church, state and capital – had each quite happily tried to convince themselves that the “spectre of Communism ... haunting Europe”³ would quietly fade away. Continuing emigration at about 400,000 people per year from Europe to the big wide world which lay under its heels helped to relieve the population pressure, to ease or camouflage the deep-seated tensions and to encourage the complacency. Some of the German states which had granted Jews full equality with Christians during the crisis period soon lost sight of the purpose of their liberalism, re-imposed restrictions and, in doing so, encouraged further Jewish emigration to the United States. Few people seemed to notice that there was therefore a disproportionate percentage of Jews among the migrants leaving Europe. If they did, they probably did not care. They might have even thought that it was an advantage to be diluting Jewish influence in

Europe. It is very doubtful whether they realized that there was a subtle shift in the balance of Jewish population and that if the drift continued there could soon be a significant concentration of Jews in the United States and that the centre of gravity of Jewish influence could even move from Europe to America. So what? At the same time the departure of many of the Jewish reformers reduced the rate of reform in Europe.

And also at the same time the colonial powers steadily tightened their grip on their overseas territories, stepped up resource extraction from them and sought to control the trade routes to them. Britain was in firm control in India; France was becoming dominant in South East Asia; and Austria and Russia were enjoying a strange but cordial alliance under the umbrella of the Christian Concert of Europe which was bearing down heavily on the Muslim Ottoman Empire. These things combined to make the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea a region of strategic importance again and therefore of latent conflict.

But none of those powers was eager to admit an expansionist interest in the region even though they each wanted a diplomatic foothold which could be turned to advantage very quickly. The church's interest in Palestine as the Holy Land gave them the opportunity they all needed. The roles were reversed for once. Instead of the church riding in on the backs of governments and commerce, the governments rode in on the backs of their national fragments of the church. Every encouragement was given to the establishment or expansion of Christian missions and in some cases the mission head was also the government's diplomatic or consular representative.

The British had actually pushed straight on to Jerusalem after they had intervened to help Turkey defeat Napoleon's army at Acre, (using French guns captured at the Battle of the Nile). Then it was only a short time before they replaced the French presence in Egypt to establish a military base as well. France had to be content with Syria and the North Coast of Africa. Austria had its access to the Adriatic and Russia had its Black Sea ports. But because of Turkish control of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles Russia could not be confident of access to the Mediterranean.

That uncertainty didn't matter so much while most of Russia's trade with the west was via the Baltic and while it was adopting a restrictive and somewhat isolationist political stance. But when the famine struck in 1846 Britain repealed its discriminatory Corn Laws to attract imports from Europe. In doing so it unleashed tensions it probably didn't fully understand although they ought to have been anticipated. Russia suddenly found it had access to a large export market which could be supplied from its black earth belt in the south and it dramatically increased production. This involved re-deployment of serf labour on a large scale as landlords rationalized their estates on the English and German models and introduced crop rotations with a much more scientific approach to agriculture.⁴ The impact within Russia was rapid and enormous and with heavy dependence on the Black Sea to reach its new export markets, and to sustain that remarkable burst of development, it had to have secure trade routes.

... OR THE NEED FOR 'TOLERANCE'

Russia, with Tsar Nicholas I at the helm, turned its eyes once more towards Constantinople which stood astride the Bosphorus. But it was quite out of the question to try a frontal attack on the capital of the Ottoman Empire. He would work his way round the western coastline of the Black Sea. Searching for some justification for an expedition which would be more acceptable to the world than "national security", which really means political and economic expansion, he picked on religion. He declared that he was relieving the Christian communities in the Danubian Provinces from the maladministration of the Muslim Sultan whom he had dubbed "the sick man of Europe."⁵ To provide a bit of latitude for bargaining with both the Sultan and the western European powers he insisted on being recognized as the legal protector of all Greek Christians in the Ottoman Empire and on control of the Christian Holy Places of Palestine.

An operation via the shorter western coast of the Black Sea rather than right into the heartland of the Ottoman Empire via the more isolated and mountainous eastern approach was clearly easier from a military point of view. However there were also other very practical and pressing political reasons for Nicholas to move via the Danube basin. While he may not have expected enthusiastic support for his move he was probably reasonably confident of a free hand against the Sultan. In the circumstances, being no better informed on all the politicking than their western European counterparts, the Russian people were understandably surprised at the scorn and venom with which their Christian coreligionists reacted.

The British Government suddenly found untapped reserves of religious tolerance and reaffirmed its friendship with the Sultan and his worthy Muslim subjects. It was a simple case of "they protesteth too much." Britain's government was being even more hypocritical than the czar. At least he was recognized by the bulk of the Danubian Christians as the titular head of their faith. Britain was happy to buy Russia's wheat but it didn't want a Russian presence on the Mediterranean north coast. It might creep around the coast to Palestine, Egypt and the Red Sea route to India! France couldn't let Britain steal a march on it in the delicate balance of interference in the Ottoman Empire and joined Britain in support of the Sultan. Then both the Vatican and the Rothschilds decided they wanted a piece of the action too. The witch's brew was being stirred for bigger things in a couple more generations. But to piece it all together we have to retrace events and follow them forward again.

It was in the Balkans that Mariology had developed, had become firmly entrenched as an aberration in Christian teaching and intimately enmeshed in superstition until it became a major factor in the development of doctrine and a cause of division within the church. Athanasius had frequently used the expression "Theotokos" to describe Mary and the expression had been a major irritation to Emperor Julian. Then it was in Constantinople that the Nestorian controversy broke in 428, leading directly to the Council of Ephesus and the formal adoption of the title in 431. The next few generations saw the rapid growth of shrines; of other titles such as "Mother of Mercy"; and the introduction of feasts such as that celebrating "the return of the veil", the "visitation", the "purification" and the "conception." Then just as the Jewish Khazar Khanate was blocking the

Muslim Arabs from pushing past the Caucasus Mountains into Southern Russia between 724 and 737, the ghastly ideas that Mary had maternal power over God, that God obeys Mary in all things and that “her name is more necessary for our protection than our breath is to our life” were all gaining currency in the Balkans.⁶

Eastern confusion over the Trinitarian misconceptions which Muhammad had criticized, and which had formed the basis for his most bitter attacks on Christianity just four generations earlier, had sunk to great depths but there was even deeper water ahead. After the split between Rome and Constantinople the Balkans had become the melting pot for every sect, heretical group being hounded by Rome, and the remnants of the original Arian (Unitarian) Christians as well as the major Catholic and Orthodox fragments of the church. The ordinary people cannot be blamed for the absolute religious confusion which resulted. The blame lies squarely with the clergy and the hierarchy of the competing Christian factions. Then came Islam with the fall of Constantinople. The liturgy and practices of both religions tended to merge, to coexist with and to be influenced by the varying forms of Judaism which came in from the Khazar Khanate, Spain and Central Europe after the Crusades. Judaism was enjoying tolerance under Islam in a European country for the second time.

After all of that merging and syncretism the Orthodox wing had frozen its doctrine and beliefs at what it understood to be the “perfect” position which had been reached at the time of the split, when its leadership shifted to Moscow. However change or evolution of the theology of the western wing had continued, both before and after the Reformation. With some aspects of Mariology this occurred largely in the Balkans, as might be expected, and tension between Catholic and Orthodox clergy in the region was a simple fact of life. But as in the case of the fantastic extension of ideas on Mary’s conception, such changes were usually imposed on the whole of the Catholic wing as doctrine, irrespective of where they evolved. The concept of the Immaculate Conception was popularized in England during the twelfth century, along with the idea that Mary was the equal or the “spouse” of Christ as well as being his mother. The University of Paris had been obliged to support it in 1449. The feast in honour of the concept was added to the Catholic calendar as an optional extra in 1476, and in 1708, (in the middle of Protestant Sweden’s occupation of Poland and just before the decisive battle of Poltava), it was confirmed as part of the Roman Rite calendar but not of the Orthodox calendar. Such was the position at the time of the incorporation of the Russian Church into the state structure, the partition of Poland and the beginning of the Napoleonic Wars.

In the meantime the churches of the Balkans had one by one gained autonomy within the Ottoman Empire. Their patriarchs owed puppet-like allegiance to the Sultan, resulting from a peculiar system of manipulated elections, but they recognized the Tzar as titular head of their churches. As a result, when Russia captured the Crimea and Azov, on the River Don, from Turkey and swooped across the Caucasus to raid the former Khazar territory of Azerbaijan there was jubilation among Balkans Christians.

... OR THE HINT OF A DROP OF OIL

In fact that swoop across the Caucasus by Peter the Great in 1723 marked the opening of a new chapter in history. Peter sent a master of refining to take possession of the oil supplies of the Khanate of Baku, to arrange for its transportation up the Volga to Moscow and to grant concessions in Baku for private individuals to produce oil from hand-dug wells. The first petroleum war had been fought and won. Russia had entered the petroleum age at the expense of the independent Muslim Uzbeks, a people of Turkish origin. Western Europe and the United States of America, although further along the road to industrialization and mechanization, were still dependent on whale and animal oil for lighting and heating, and on coal for their newfangled steam generation. But Russia's advantage was short-lived. Within a few years Persia was in control of Baku and the whole Azerbaijan region.

Then came the French Revolution, Napoleon, and Britain's foothold in Egypt and Palestine. Russia occupied the Danubian Provinces in 1806 but then had to relinquish much of them only six years later. At the same time there was a scramble to establish Protestant missions in Syria, Palestine and Egypt. Russia, (through the Orthodox Church), and the Vatican, (through its links with the Maronites as well as through orders such as the Lazarists who succeeded the suppressed Jesuits), were not to be left in their preferred positions in a part of the Ottoman Empire of such vital strategic importance.

Prominent businessmen in Britain, including William Wilberforce, sprung to the aid of the newly formed Church Missionary Society, (C.M.S., established in 1799), the British and Foreign Society (1804), and the London Missionary Society (L.M.S. 1795). Others such as the Baptist Missionary Society (1792) do not seem to have attracted the attention of establishment businessmen in the same manner but basically the interests of Britain's aristocracy took it in the same direction as the fervour of the evangelicals. There was a clear-cut marriage of convenience. The societies openly joined in British and European expansion abroad as a cultural aspect of that expansion, in the wake of territorial, political and commercial expansion, and as a symbol or as evidence of the ascendancy or superiority of Britain and Europe.⁷ Before long an offshoot of the L.M.S. was established to work among the tiny enclaves of fanatically religious Jews which had again congregated around Jerusalem and elsewhere in Palestine and Syria.⁸ It became known as the London Jews Society, (L.J.S.).

Even before the first L.J.S. team had arrived to set up a mission, an American mission, organized by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission, had arrived, been refused permission to operate in Jerusalem, and settled in Smyrna under the protection of the British Consul.

UNREST IN THE NEAR EAST

It didn't take long before political intrigue, falsified reporting of activities, subterfuge in property development in contravention of Turkish directives, commercial and consular manipulation, poaching and competition for converts, and warped school programs were well

under way on all fronts.⁹ Feuding between the sects was common and bloodshed in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was apparently not uncommon.

When the L.J.S. rented a former Jesuit property at Antoura in Lebanon to set up a school a storm broke around it. The Maronites insisted that the Turkish authorities close it and some years later the Lazarists reopened it. About the same time a Protestant translation of the Bible was introduced. A papal bull was immediately issued forbidding its use by Catholics. That was followed by circulars from the Propaganda Fide and an anathema by the Maronite patriarch. When they were followed by an order from the Ottoman authorities banning the import of Bibles and Psalters from Europe because they caused apprehension, disturbances and disputes, it provided more ammunition for rabble-rousing fund raising anti-Muslim outbursts back in Europe. It is hardly surprising that converts from among the Jews and the Muslims were few, that interfaith relations were strained to the limit and that both of the other members of the triangle, confronted on their home ground, took strong action to support their adherents and to discourage conversion.¹⁰ Still more ammunition for rabble-rousing fundraising anti-Muslim outbursts back in Europe.

While that was the complex situation in Palestine and Syria, the C.M.S. also had missions working both with the Copts in Egypt, (part of the Ottoman Empire), and in Ethiopia as well. It seems that their most lasting achievement was to strain relations between the Vatican and the churches of those countries. This contributed towards Italy's later Ethiopian adventures by ensuring Vatican support for them on the basis of achieving religious unification. Meanwhile, in Europe, several quite separate communities were struggling to gain national independence. Those of direct concern for our plot are the Greeks, the Hungarians and the Poles. The same great powers were doing their bit of self-interest stirring including, of course, the Vatican.

In 1821, just as the Protestant Bible controversy was being generated in Syria and Palestine, the Christians of the Morea peninsula region of Greece rose in revolt, demanded independence from Turkey and, in the act, slaughtered between 10,000 and 15,000 Muslims. The well-established and bloody feud between the two religious communities had plumbed new depths. The Sultan, conceding the loss of Morea, retaliated by executing the patriarch of Constantinople. Three days later the body was dragged by a mob through the streets and thrown into the sea.¹¹ The Christians of Europe, fed laundered versions of the events no doubt, were incensed. How dare the Muslim infidels treat a Christian clergyman like that even if he was Orthodox! It was enough to justify a crusade. Britain, France and Russia combined at Britain's initiative¹² and the Turkish and Egyptian navies were defeated in the Battle of Navarino six years later. Two years later, in 1829, a Greek monarchy was established, of course. Christian Greece had gained its independence from the Muslims. It was just like the good old days! There wasn't much of the Muslim Ottoman Empire left in Europe after that. Perhaps one more good push might do the trick.

But what sort of Christians were the Greeks to be? The several churches valued their semi-independence under the Sultan with traditional links with both the Russian Orthodox Church

and the tsar. Naturally the tsar wanted the church unified under him. He wanted his foothold in the Mediterranean and his navy had, after all, helped the Greeks gain their independence. On the other hand the Vatican had also been active and it was again finding Balkans theology very attractive. However the Greek hierarchy and politicians didn't find the Vatican's modern Ultramontanism any more attractive than its earlier versions of unification.

The wheeling and dealing began in earnest. The Vatican needed a bargaining point. Unrest and nationalism was on the increase in the partitioned Polish territories which had been absorbed by Prussia, Austria and Russia during the generation before the Napoleonic Wars. The French Protectorate of the Duchy of Warsaw which Napoleon had established, (mainly at the expense of Prussia and Austria), had been carved up again in favour of those three neighbourly powers at the Congress of Vienna. Russia had won hands down and the tsar had found himself with an extra three and half million subjects. The majority of them were also subject to the Roman Catholic Church but there was a sizable minority of Jews. They were unruly and restless. In common with the Slavs of Eastern Europe and the Northern Balkans they were inspired by Greek independence and they were being incited to rebellion by all those Jewish malcontents in the Pale of Settlement who were eager to join them in a reunified Poland. They couldn't expect much support in their independence struggle from their coreligionists in Austria (almost entirely Catholic) or Prussia (somewhat less than fifty percent Catholic) because those countries had again been party to the carving-up process, but in 1830 they did rebel. The result was the loss of their semi-self-government that had been granted by Alexander I under the most liberal constitution in Europe while he was in a mood to see decentralized authority as fashionable and advantageous.¹³ It had been more like a carrot in advance of good behaviour than a reward for it and recognized the independence and liberation of the peasantry which Napoleon had imposed.

The final trigger for rebellion had been Tsar Nicholas' demand for a Polish army with which to invade France and Belgium. It took Russia nine months to suppress the rebellion and six thousand of its leaders, largely Jewish, were forced into exile in the countries they had refused to invade. Every Polish appeal for help from those and other countries was ignored. A gaggle of semi-secret societies implicated in the rebellion, including Freemasonry, were forced underground and the Catholic and Uniate groups appealed to Rome. The pope and the tsar sat down for tea together.

NO CHEER FOR THE POPE

Whatever hope they may have had for support from the Vatican soon evaporated. Their struggle would be long and grim. Their two successive long-reigning popes, Gregory XVI and Pius IX, were too interested in using noninterference in the Polish independence question as a bargaining point to gain union of the Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches to worry about a bit of misery.¹⁴ The papal proposition to the tsar, put simply, amounted to “you can keep Poland if you hand your authority over the church to me.” The re-establishment of the Greek monarchy and the reorganization of the church in Greece provided a good starting point.

But the pope missed out. A program to forcibly convert the Roman and Uniate churches to Russian Orthodoxy was initiated immediately. It took eight years to complete. In 1833, only four years after the establishment of the Greek monarchy and only a couple of years after the Polish rebellion had been put down, the Greek parliament declared that the Greek church would be independent with a Holy Synod based on the Russian model. Some 400 monasteries with less than six priests were closed and a crash program to upgrade the education and status of the clergy was announced.¹⁵ The Oecumenical Patriarch in Constantinople retained control of the churches in Serbia, Bulgaria and the Danubian Provinces of Rumania with his peculiar two-way links with the sultan and the tsar. At the same time Russia and Turkey signed the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi under which Russia guaranteed Turkish independence and the defence and security of Constantinople in return for another piece of the Caucasus, control of the Black Sea and the straits, and the right to provide continuing protection for the Orthodox Christian Churches throughout the Ottoman Empire.¹⁶

Dismayed, but not about to surrender, the pope tucked the Polish card back up his sleeve to play some other time. He didn't have to wait long because the intervention by Britain, France and Russia to excise Greece from the Turkish Ottoman empire had further weakened the imperial base and upset the power balance within the empire.

The sultan had held to the basically non-belligerent philosophy of “whatever will be, will be.” It was a natural consequence of the Muslim belief that God is in ultimate control of events but Europe's constantly sparring, bitterly competitive and population-pressure sensitive Christian powers took it to be a sign of weakness. They had made every post a winning post by means of the gradually evolving Protestant work ethic and their rapidly expanded schemes of mass education. This meant that economically, militarily and politically the great powers of Europe had pushed ahead and widened the material and political capacity gap which had already developed because of the pattern of historical circumstances.

The ‘right’ to protect Orthodox Christians throughout the Ottoman Empire which Russia had scored was not a simple or a minor issue. It indicated the extent to which its Christian neighbours in Europe had grown to overshadow the Ottoman Empire. It was a question of domination rather than decline. The ‘right’ implied freedom of access wherever Orthodox communities were settled, commercial and taxation privileges and even the jurisdiction of Russian consular courts over Orthodox Christians. Such privileges in defined areas had been

granted to several countries while the Ottoman Empire was at its peak, largely to encourage preferential trade. France had been given them in relation to Latin-speaking Christians and Britain's rights were extended after it had intervened to help stop Napoleon at Acre.

But Britain and France saw Russia's demand in a different light. The Orthodox churches were strong in Jerusalem and Russian influence and competition increased. To offset it Britain obtained the sultan's permission to appoint a resident consul in Jerusalem. It was the first of the three interested governments to do so. He arrived in 1838. Only a few months later he received instructions from the Foreign Office to provide diplomatic protection for Jews generally, in spite of the fact that many of them had come from Russia and were therefore Russian subjects.¹⁷) The prompting for this instruction, which must have been known to be provocative rather than conciliar, seems to have come from both the L.J.S. and influential Jewish friends of the British government who had much more legitimate reasons for their approach than the society.

The sincerity and effectiveness of the instruction was put to its first real test the next year, 1840, and it did not stand up under scrutiny very well at all. On February 5th the superior of the Franciscan convent in Damascus, Father Thomas, and a servant disappeared mysteriously. A confession was extorted from a Jewish barber by means of gentle Christian torture that a ritual murder had been under consideration. That provided the pretext for several arrests and a bit of good old fashioned inquisitorial torture. A general massacre seemed imminent but not the intervention of the British consul. When news reached Europe and America protest meetings were held and even Christians were stirred to attend. Sir Moses Montefiore, knighted by Queen Victoria for his services as Sheriff of the City of London, left promptly with a French Lawyer and an authority on the East to intervene. Mehemet Ali met them in Alexandria and issued an order for the release of survivors. Then in Constantinople the sultan received them and issued an edict confirming the inviolability of Jewish persons and their property throughout the Ottoman Empire.¹⁸ Jewish self-help through direct diplomacy without reliance on the responsible sovereign powers such as Britain was an established fact. Montefiore became the hero and feted idol of the entire Jewish community and a symbol of Jewish dignity. For the rest of his life he was in great demand to intervene wherever persecution threatened world wide. So much for protection from the British consul. Like it or not, the Christian powers were, by their action and inaction, continuing to reinforce the Jewish sense of community and the Christian attitude that Jews were "different."

DIPLOMATS IN CLERICAL GARB

The politicking was hotting up and generally the missionaries worked hand in glove with the consul although there were times when they were a serious embarrassment to both him and the British government. In one instance the consul was instructed not to promote or assist in schemes of interference with the Jewish subjects of the Porte which the bishop might engage in. The appointment of the bishop was in fact the offspring of a political marriage of convenience.

He was an appointee of the Church of England but also acted for the Prussian Protestant Church under an arrangement sponsored by the Prussian king and the British government.¹⁹

It was at this time that English churchmen such as the Earl of Shaftsbury, social reformer and President of the British and Foreign (Bible) Society, began to spread the notion that the time was ripe for the Jews to return to Palestine. It was presented as an aspect of Christian mission but it was argued in terms of politics, finance and commerce.²⁰

It was also at this time that the English missions caught onto the idea of building hospitals in Jerusalem for the second time around. The singular failure of their efforts at converting Muslims, Jews, Orthodox Christians or denominations linked with Rome led them to look for other means of attack. Hospitals were promoted with the blatantly false claim that they were a peculiarly Christian service, together with the equally false notion that nursing and medicine administered by a Christian is different from and mystically superior to that administered by non-Christians. Muslims and Jews were enticed into using the service and the twelve-bed "much superior" Christian hospital. They were then subjected to evangelical propaganda. The mission made no secret that the main purpose of the service was to bring those using it under missionary influence and instruction. The rabbis boycotted it, threatened the equivalent of Catholic excommunication against any Jew who used it and refused Jewish burial to a woman who died there. Instead of being a valuable humanitarian service the hospital became a focal point for conflict. Unable to attract patients, the mission threw open the clinic and dispensary, free, to people of all communities on one "public day" each week. The embarrassment which this caused for Muslims soon led the sultan to open the military garrison clinic twice a week for free personal attention by the garrison doctor for every person regardless of religious affiliation. Public hospitals had thus been born out of trouble in the triangle.²¹ Unfortunately even more trouble was brewing. Self-indoctrination for propaganda purposes led Christians to believe the story being used in Jerusalem and it became the basis for the recruitment of medical missionaries in every African and Asian country.²²

But there was another approach taken to evangelism and conversion as well. The belief was fostered by the clergy that converts to Christianity automatically gained British protection. To become a member of the Church of England was to be made English! The first person to be ordained an Anglican clergyman after conversion from Judaism applied to the Consul in Beirut for a British passport on that basis. His application was refused and he was left to carry a Turkish passport. The bishop retorted sharply that English law required a clergyman of the church to be an English subject irrespective of where he was born.²³ The church and the state just had to march together.

A CHANGE OF ALLEGIANCE IN EGYPT

By that stage Muhammad Ali, a Balkans-born Albanian Muslim who had caught the infectious, ruthless and ambitious spirit of Napoleon and the Italian and Balkans independence struggles,

was taking a very close interest in events in Jerusalem. He had risen from the post of local tax collector in Albania to run a tobacco merchant business and served successfully as a junior military commander in the Ottoman Balkans army. Having caught the attention of his seniors it seems he was sent to Egypt as a sort of military overseer to chase out the French in collaboration with the sultan's civilian governors. But when the English chased out the French instead Muhammad Ali confronted both them and the governors until they all backed out, leaving him as Pasha of Egypt, Victor of the Sudan and a competitor of the sultan who had sent him to Egypt in the first place.

It is probable that with Muhammad Ali's Egyptian-based forces coupled with his Turkish home-based forces the sultan would have put down the Russian-backed Greek uprisings without British and French intervention. Certainly Ali expected control of Crete, Palestine and Syria as a reward. When events were not working out that way he took the matter into his own hands, made war on the sultan, pushed his armies all the way back through Syria which he had unofficially occupied on his way to the Greek wars, and was stopped short of capturing Constantinople by Turkey's Russian protectors.

In 1839, just before he died, the Sultan tried to push Ali out of Syria and Palestine which he had held onto anyway, but he was heading for another hiding until Britain, France and Russia intervened, this time in competition. At the same time, moving via the Indian Ocean, Britain occupied Aden to drive a wedge between Ali's Arabian and African territories and to control the approach to the Red Sea and the existing overland trade routes across Egypt. Out of the Treaty of London, agreed a few months later in 1840, Britain emerged as the clear winner. It had turned the tables on Russia which it replaced as "protector" of Turkey and controller of the straits to the Black Sea but it had also outsmarted France in the Egyptian stakes. Ali was confirmed as hereditary Pasha of Egypt but he was expected to vacate Syria where France would become the dominant power, and Palestine, where Britain enjoyed that position. He was to get the coastal enclave of Acre as a consolation prize.

But Ali didn't feel inclined to withdraw. France backed him.²⁴ Officially it was showing its gratitude for the sympathetic attitude and policies which he had adopted towards Christians and Jews. In fact France had some very special plans for the area. It wanted to strengthen its foothold in Syria and it wanted to be certain of Muhammad Ali's favours in the near future.

One of Napoleon Bonaparte's first decisions when he reached Egypt had been to examine the feasibility of reconstructing or replacing the long-lost canal from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. The original canal had been started about the time of Abraham. It was probably completed by the Ptolemeys, extended by the Romans, neglected by the Byzantines, reopened in the early Islamic era by the Arabs, and finally filled in by the first Abbasid Caliph as a defensive military measure about 775 C.E.²⁵ Napoleon's 1799 survey showed that although there was a thirty three foot fall from the Red Sea to the Mediterranean a canal could be built but, being preoccupied with Europe and pushed out of Egypt by Britain, he was not in a position to act. The next serious studies were made in 1834 and enthusiasm among officials in France was running high

in 1840 when the two competitors were deciding Muhammad Ali's fate. War between Britain and France over the issue was averted because Britain's bluff was stronger than France's resolve and Britain forced Muhammad Ali back to Egypt where it said he belonged.²⁶

SHORT TERM ACCORDS IN FAVOR

Four years later, in 1844, the tsar visited England and apparently thought he worked out an understanding with the British government about their common interest in the region. His view of that understanding was that Turkey had to eventually vacate its European territory, west of the Bosphorus, and that it had to be content with its Asian territory east of the straits. There are as many interpretations of that visit as there are historians, but it is reasonable to assume that he did have such an understanding. However Britain adroitly avoided disclosing its attitude to a Russian presence on the rim of the Mediterranean and the tsar went home happy. Possibly the British interpretation was that there was no great urgency in the situation anyway.

However the potato famine changed that only two years later. More eager than ever for quick access to the East, France stepped up its canal studies. Britain repealed its corn laws, triggering the accelerated development of Southern Russia, and the political upheavals of 1848 were just around the corner. Part of that action had been an heroic uprising in Hungary aimed at national independence from Austria, and the Viennese uprising, led by the intelligentsia, which brought the downfall of the Metternich regime. That was followed by the establishment of popular parliamentary government, the granting of a constitution for all of the Austrian Empire except Hungary, the abolition of peasant servitude and the thrill of an imminent and thorough transformation of the Austrian autocracy.

Unfortunately the thrill was short lived. The revolutionaries had not bargained for the resilience of the autocracy, the deviousness of the tsar or the attitude of the Vatican. The Hungarian Diet wanted to introduce Magyar, the language of the ethnic majority, for its debates in place of Latin. That would never do! Next they would want it for the mass and then they would demand a Greek-style independent church! Ethnic conflict between the Magyars and the minority Croats, Serbs, Roumans, Ruthenes and Slovaks was soon stirred up to put an end to that idea.²⁷ There was so much heresy, Balkans-style theological confusion and the subversive influence of both Islam and Judaism that the use of the vernacular would aggravate the problem – or so the reasoning ran.

Coupled with that was the love-hate interdependence which the Austrian monarchy and the Vatican had been unwilling to break. In Italy everyone except the pope was working towards his own particular version of national unity and Vatican diplomacy was becoming even more rigidly reactionary. The pope clung to his belief that he had to have temporal authority to validate his claims for spiritual authority around the world and he therefore clung desperately to control of the papal states. He still had some units of the Rothschild-negotiated Austrian army in Rome, until they were called home to stem the crisis in Vienna, and he had to support the monarchy against such rebellions in case he had to call for further military aid. The siege of

Rome was imminent and his hands were tied completely. He couldn't openly support the Northern Italian states in their independence wars against Austria or he would lose his shield, although he did try to persuade Austria to give up its territorial claims voluntarily after his cabinet had defied him and joined the war in support of the north.²⁸ Obviously if he didn't appear to give them some support he further alienated the Italian people and invited an attack on the papal states. Similarly he couldn't support the Hungarian uprisings or he would most certainly lose his shield, but if he didn't support them he forced them to turn to the Russian Orthodox Church. However the Polish question did seem to have some potential again because another round of democratic rebellion had broken out in 1846. The pope would again turn a blind eye to the suppression of that Free Poland movement if Russia didn't stir up trouble for the Vatican in Hungary.

But how the plot thickened. The tsar intervened instead to help his Austrian friends put down the Hungarian revolt. This helped to very quickly recentralize power in Austria and to restore its predominant role in the German Confederation at Prussia's expense, but not for long. About the same time the pope fled into exile. It looked as if every Catholic Church would get its independence and its own identity by default through the collapse of the papacy and the demise of the papal states. It also looked as if, as a bargaining point, the Polish question had evaporated. Adam Mickiewicz built up a Polish legion in Italy and published a moderate socialist paper, "La Tribune des Peuples", in Paris. Then Marx and Engels, (writing in "The Newspaper of the Rhineland" which was financed by wealthy landed interests in the Prussian-controlled Poznan region), declared the national liberation of Poland to be the most important task of the workers' movements in Europe.

However the pope's alliances held and before long he was reinstated in Rome by the armies of Napoleon III and the Russian backed Austrians who had also done their extra bit of Polish annexation, claiming Cracow in the interests of national security (naturally without opposition from the pope) as soon as the rebellion had begun. The Polish question was back on the agenda.

BRITAIN HAS A CHANGE OF HEART

The international situation seemed to stabilize a little but not for long. It was time for Tsar Nicholas to turn his attention to the Bosphorus/Dardanelles trade route to the Mediterranean. He proposed a deal with Britain which seems to have been in line with his understanding of 1844. He would occupy Constantinople while Britain sought "compensation" from Turkey in Crete and Egypt. Britain, scared of his growing influence, refused. The government again found those loads of religious tolerance which had been so well concealed by C.M.S. and L.J.S. propaganda and reports coming out of Jerusalem. The Turks were no longer sons of the Arabian impostor and false prophet who had exercised his tyrannical sway to snuff out the truth of Christian enlightenment. Muslims were no longer prone to treachery, fraud, and cruelty, and the Ottoman Empire was no longer the stronghold of Satan, dominant, vile and deluding myriads of the European race. All of a sudden the Anglo-Ottoman alliance was a thing of beauty and not a part

of a process to soften up the Muslims for more friendly intercourse beyond the bounds of commerce.²⁹ The first C.M.S. missionary to the Eastern Mediterranean region, William Jowett, was based on Malta and commissioned to diffuse Christian truth among Jews, Muslims and pagans of the region. He was instructed that Providence had placed Malta in Protestant Britain's hands not only to extend Britain's political greatness but so that it could inherit the missionary position of the Roman Church and extend the influence of Christianity and the nation through a zealous and learned English dignitary.³⁰

Confused by Britain's attitude, the tsar decided to act alone. He renounced his scheme of cooperation with the other powers, issued his ultimatum to Turkey and occupied the Danubian Provinces, only to be told by Austria to leave. The emperor's fear of Russia as a neighbour in control of his access to the Black Sea via the Danube, his probable knowledge of the resources about to be tapped in the region, and his commitment to the pope weighed more heavily than any gratitude he may have felt for Alexander's support in propping up his throne and empire. The sultan refused a compromise solution "offered" by Britain and France, declared war on Russia in October 1853, and neatly locked his "protectors" into what could have been a defensive war against Russia via Rumania. But Britain and France decided on an offensive war via the Crimea and laid siege to Sebastopol in September 1854. At the same time Napoleon III of France agreed with the Northern Italian states that as a move towards Italian unification he would withdraw French troops from the papal states within two years. In return, and to strengthen their future negotiating position, Piedmont and Sardinia threw their armies into the Crimea in support of the French and British offensive.³¹ The Vatican was in deep trouble.

However Napoleon III's attention was firmly focused on Egypt. France had certainly been outsmarted by Britain a decade or so earlier when it grabbed Aden, but circumstances had changed. For much the same reasons that the Abbasids had filled in the old canal, Muhammad Ali had not wanted a canal across the isthmus. He had wanted internal canals and roads to boost agricultural exports and he had wanted modernization and industrialization. He had also wanted strong armed forces for his expanding sub-empire but he had not wanted Europe's powers to be able to move their armies and navies freely through his territory. When he died in 1848 and his reactionary anti-European and strongly anti-canal grandson Abbas I became pasha, Britain offered to put a railway across Egypt and the first stage, Alexandria to Cairo, was opened in 1852. But Abbas was murdered and succeeded by a younger son of Ali, Said Pasha, in 1854. Pro-French and weak-willed, he immediately came under the charm and pressure of France's engineer-diplomat, Ferdinand de Lesseps. Within a matter of weeks, while Britain, France and the Piedmontese, supported by a contingent of 20,000 Egyptians sent by Abbas I, were laying siege to Sebastopol, Said signed a concession permitting France to cut a canal from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea. Britain, its turn to be upstaged, opposed it. Presumably the sultan was not consulted.

The Siege of Sebastopol continued. After all it was the integrity of the Sultan's Muslim Empire which the Christian powers were supposed to be fighting over. It had nothing to do with control of trade routes or keeping Russia out of the Mediterranean, or so the world was told. But

the choice of the Crimea for the offensive, largely a British decision, has several interesting aspects. That approach drove a wedge into Southern Russia between the Caucasus and the Balkans. It blocked Russia's export trade routes most effectively and it provided a shorter route towards Moscow. But it was in an incredibly difficult environment. In the circumstances a drive towards Moscow was hardly a serious option and the choice of an easier war zone could have brought the sparring parties back to the negotiating table with less casualties and more quickly. However there was strong support for Russia in Rumania from the Orthodox Christian communities still struggling for independence from Turkey. Any powers defending Turkey against Russia in the Balkans would have been seen as the oppressors. The Vatican, of course, wanted to see a Christian power replace Turkey in Rumania but not Russia. It wanted the Rumanian Church's links transferred from Moscow to Rome, but there wasn't much scope for negotiation over Poland or any other issue, especially as Napoleon had served notice of his intended desertion. Or perhaps there was.

In 1840, while the Hungarian trouble was at its height and before he fled from Rome, Pius IX had started proceedings towards a formal definition of the concept of Mary's immaculate conception. His move had gained strong support in Italy and the Balkans, of course, although there had been opposition from bishops in England, Germany and France, including the archbishop of that hotbed of Gallican opposition to papal authority, Paris. Pius thereupon proceeded to an immediate proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, in December 1854. It was strongly attacked by the Russian Orthodox Church and Protestants generally but it was greeted with enthusiasm in the Balkans and that was where it mattered. Russia's claim to the allegiance of the people through its church was weakened.

Russia finally abandoned Sebastopol in September 1855, a year after the siege, and with growing discontent within Russia to the conduct of the war the new tsar, Alexander II, sued for Peace. With Britain wanting to keep French, Russian and Egyptian interests and interference in the area to a minimum the Turkish Empire was given another lease of life. It was not required to vacate its European territory. The sultan promised some reforms in the Balkans and the powers all agreed to guarantee the privileges of the Danubian principalities. That gesture was probably aimed at Austria as much as at Russia and Turkey. The Black Sea was to be a zone of peace with Russia agreeing not to build any naval bases in the Crimea, and with warships of all nations barred from the straits in time of war.

But then there was Said's concession to France for a canal. In a separate deal not directly linked to the Peace of Paris he granted a second act for the Suez Canal Company to operate the canal, construction of which had already been agreed, for ninety-nine years from the date of its completion. The company was to be an Egyptian company based in Paris but participation in the project was to be invited from other countries as well. Britain snubbed the project and discouraged anyone else from being involved, especially the Russians who, being deprived of a major Black Sea port, wouldn't have much use for it anyway. The outcome was that French interests took up 52 percent, investors from twelve other countries took up four percent between

them and Said Pasha was left to take up 44 percent. Work began three years later, in 1859. When the canal opened to shipping in November 1869, Britain's attitude changed dramatically.

STILL MORE RELIGIOUS DOUBLE TALK

The religious double talk continued, naturally. The British government held to its new line that Islam was respectable and that Muslims were fine, God-fearing people, while the English Christian missions continued their denigration of Islam and their efforts to undermine the Turkish authorities. The independence struggles by the Christian majority in the Balkans also continued and the Danubian Provinces were united as Rumania only three years later, although they remained loosely within the Turkish Empire for another twenty years. Their new independent church was organized Greek-style and it retained its links with Constantinople and with Moscow. It didn't swing across to Rome. The kind, benevolent and ever-tolerant Christian powers of Europe guaranteed Turkey's security against all comers. Their message was clear even if their double talk was muted and concealed from the uninitiated by a few well-chosen words. There was to be no resurgence of Muslim power through the annexation of Turkey into a new Islamic power block centred on Egypt, or anywhere else for that matter such as Persia or Arabia.

Yes, from the point of view of gaining control of the Orthodox Church, the Vatican's initiatives had failed again, but it had helped to foment more trouble in Russia. Confidence in the institution of the church within Russia had, as already noted, fallen markedly during the three generations since its formal incorporation into the state structure and antagonism towards the clergy had increased steadily. But, in contrast to the general position in Western Europe, the vast majority of Russian peasants and serfs had seen the church merely as a vehicle for their religion-based superstition and not as essential to their beliefs. The institution could disappear and as long as they observed its sacraments, fasts and rituals, such as repetitious crossing, the peasants would be saved to pass into the nether world – or so it appeared from popular attitudes. Both Biblical history and the message of the Gospel were lost on the people completely. The influence of Orthodoxy had gradually weakened to be purely superficial and as brittle as the monarchy's capacity to protect the peasantry from the attacks of people of competitive faiths. In popular belief, the institution of serfdom existed in much the same relationship to the monarchy as did the church. It was widely seen as incompatible with Russia's claim to be a civilized power but it was tolerated in the belief that it provided internal stability and external power. It was also tolerated by the serfs in the belief that they were supporting the tsar in his efforts to turn over all the land to them and that he was being frustrated by the landlords.³² On top of that the church had continued to favour serfdom even after the seizure of its land when it was apparently no longer dependent on the system itself.

Russia's humiliating defeat in the Crimean War by countries which did not hold to either of two institutions put the skids under both of them. The war had been fought, supposedly, so that imperial Orthodox Russia could take care of fellow Orthodox Christians of the Greek

persuasion struggling under a Muslim regime. But it had been defeated by an alliance of Muslims, Christians of a different hue, and Jews.

Southern Russia and the Crimea still carried clear signs of the Jewish and Muslim cultures which had both been firmly established there under previous regimes, and the crisis of confidence in the Russian church had been most pronounced there. Then the institution of serfdom had been extended and reinforced in the south as grain production was boosted and serfs from other areas had suffered a great deal of hardship in those few years leading up to the war. The Pale of Settlement had even been adjusted to include the Crimea in 1835 so that development would be encouraged. It also helped to absorb Jews who were being "re located" out of the fifty kilometer Polish buffer zone which was proclaimed at the same time. Of course the key city of the peninsula, Sebastopol, could not be contaminated. Jews were excluded from it even though it was within the proclaimed pale.³³

A PROTEST AGAINST DISCRIMINATION

But the humiliation of Russia's defeat was all the more bitter for its aristocracy to swallow because the British and French invasion had been financed, quite openly, by the Rothschilds as a protest against Russia's discrimination against Jews. Britain's war loan of sixteen million pounds Sterling had been jointly underwritten by Baron Lionel Rothschild and Amschel Rothschild. Yes. It was the same baron who was a confidant of the royal family and prime ministers, who had been elected several times to represent London's central business district in the House of Commons and who had still not been permitted to take his seat. The Lords – or at least the majority of them – were finally convinced that he had earned the right to sit and that, in due course, the right might even be extended (in a sense of Christian charity, of course) to other Jews as well.

Amschel Rothschild was head of the Frankfurt branch of the family, a friend of Bismarck, Prussia's Consul-General and Solicitor in the cause of Jewish emancipation. France's war loan of seven hundred and fifty million francs had been largely raised by Baron James Rothschild who was banker-in-chief to the restoration of Louis XVIII and Austria's Consul-General to France. He had agreed to raise the war loan in spite of his widely known conflict with Napoleon III who had just dismissed the National Assembly and assumed the role of dictator, and in spite of his having plotted the collapse of France's cooperative bank, the Credit Mobilier, which had been hailed as a remarkable development for ordinary people.

Bismarck, Prussian representative to the Diet of Frankfurt at that stage, reported to the Prussian Government that the House of Rothschild was profoundly affected by a government's attitude towards the Jewish problem. There were occasions, he reported, when its policy was determined by matters other than business considerations.³⁴ The friendship between the Prussian king and the Russian tsar was very close and it therefore appears very likely that the policy of the Rothschild family did have a big bearing on the Prussian Government's decision not to enter the Crimean War as an ally of Russia. Certainly Bismarck had not needed to search

far for situations to illustrate his report to his government. Two such situations had occurred in the opening months of the conflict between Russia and Turkey and before Britain and France entered the war against Russia.

In the first, the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Sinope and the Russian blockade of Turkey's Asian territories soon resulted in food supplies running short in Syria and Palestine and, forced by the dominant communities to bear the brunt of the shortages, the Jewish community at Jerusalem was reduced to semi-starvation. When it appealed to Baron James Rothschild for help, Albert Cohen, tutor to the baron's son Edmond, was sent to assess the situation. On Cohen's recommendation, Baron James decided against the distribution of food or cash. This would have perpetuated the relationship between the British Christian missions and the Jewish community and it would have also played into the hands of the British representatives and the racketeers who controlled the food supply. He decided instead to build an institution which would get the Jewish community out of the clutches of the Christian missions. He financed the James Mayer de Rothschild Hospital. The first link between the House of Rothschild and Palestine had been forged as a direct consequence of the actions of the Christian missions and political powers.³⁵

... THEN STILL MORE DISCRIMINATION

But a far more important illustration occurred in Austria at about the same time. Popular pressure for new restrictions on Jews reached another peak. There was widespread reaction to the role of Jews in the Italian wars of independence against Austria, fueled by the clergy and coupled with jealousy at growing Jewish economic strength since the dismantling of the ghettos. The government responded by suddenly passing a law to again bar Jews from acquiring property. However it exempted Baron Salomon Rothschild, by a special statute, because of its remarkable financial and diplomatic dependence on both him and Baron James who was its Consul-General in Paris. Of course in doing so it highlighted the situation, gave credibility to the claims of the bigots, deepened interfaith division and certainly failed to placate the Rothschild family. The family formed a syndicate and drove down the value of Austrian bonds on all the European stock exchanges. The government got the message very quickly and repealed the new law.³⁶ More fuel for the fire. It didn't take very long for bitter enemies of the Rothschilds, like Austria's ambassador to Paris, Count Hubner, to point out that the country's own Consul-General, with whom he had to work closely, was the ring leader of the syndicate which had set out to undermine the national economy. The point was not lost on the tsar, Napoleon III, the British government or the pope anymore than it was on Bismarck. Neither was the fact that the family had consistently declined invitations to open a bank in Berlin.

The fact that Jews who were sometimes conscripted, sometimes impressed in British naval style but very often kidnapped by military agents or "choppers",³⁷ had served with just as much distinction in the Russian army in the Crimea as any other Russians, could have eased the tensions. However anti-Jewish bigots had a ready-made scapegoat for their country's defeat.

Out came the well-trying conflict of interest arguments and accusations of a fifth column which had worked to undermine the internal war effort, to keep the country's friends out of the war and even to finance the war against it.

Tsar Alexander II who had succeeded his brother Nicholas I in the middle of the war knew that he faced the task of large scale social reconstruction as well as that of rebuilding Russia's relations with the rest of the powers. With serfdom discredited he set out to dismantle it. He took the first step immediately peace was signed by restricting hereditary benefits to only the top four ranks of the civil service instead of seven. Four years later the legal system was overhauled and rural courts were introduced. Then came the big step. On February 19 1861 the status of serfdom was abolished. At the stroke of a pen 38 percent of the Russian population, or 22.5 million out of a total of 60 million people, were released from the absolute authority of their landlords. They could vote at local elections, they gained the right to take legal action against others and they gained the right to own land. But they still paid a soul tax which other classes didn't and they remained attached to the land which they worked, having to obtain the permission of their commune before they could travel widely or shift. Where the commune system was not already known it was introduced. About the same number of people were bonded to the land as State peasants but in other respects they were free and not serfs in the sense of being subject to the absolute authority of their landlords. The emancipation proclamation therefore had little effect on them except that the serfs were elevated to about their level. Only one in five of the population, (12,000,000), were free to move and to buy and sell as they wished. They were the hereditary dvorians, clergy, burghers, independent farmers, the Cossacks and some other groups.³⁸

Unfortunately control of most of the land remained in the hands of the privileged few and the provisions for former serfs to buy their land were complicated and burdensome. This meant that although the intention behind emancipation of the serfs was farsighted the application of the policy fell far short of its target. After the flash of initial delight the former serfs found themselves trapped in a spiral of economic decline. Delight gave way to despair and, after just one generation, national crisis.³⁹

ALEXANDER AND LINCOLN SHARE COMMON AIMS

Alexander II had read the religious connections very clearly before he succeeded Nicholas and promptly acted on his assessment of that also. He ended the forced military conscription of Jewish youth, he curtailed the brainwashing and harassment of Jews in the army by the state church, and he opened the state schools to them. Those steps alone were of great importance but he took two other decisions of even greater political and social importance. He allowed Jews to settle beyond the pale, and he enlisted them in rebuilding Russia's banking system and in a crash program of industrial and railway development because of their connections with Western European banking houses. Jews moved strongly into the professions and new business opportunities although probably 95 percent remained in the pale.⁴⁰ It was all too good to last.

At the same time that Alexander II was achieving legal emancipation for Russia's serfs Abraham Lincoln was setting out to do the same for the slaves of the United States of America. While the history, politics and effects of tied labour exploitation in the two countries were quite different the basic problem was the same and there is no doubt that each of the leaders took heart from the progress of his counterpart in spite of their very different heritage. And in spite of protestations to the contrary the dominant power brokers of the young American republic were just as hell-bent on economic and territorial expansion as were their counterparts in the old world. The American equivalent of the Crimea was its Mexican adventures and the circumstances, participants and motives which became mixed in them were only a little less complicated.

Mexico, having thrown off its European masters, had become an anti-slavery republic of sorts with little means of preventing colonial encroachment from its northern neighbour. At the same time Britain's trade and slave actions against the United States had helped to build up tensions between groups for and against a slave-based economy in the republic and the role of some of the fragments of the church, notably the Vatican, has already been mentioned. Although most of the industrial development and immigrant settlement was taking place in the predominantly abolitionist northern states, the effective power balance tended to swing in favour of the anti-abolition states when Missouri joined the union in 1821. This prompted a more organized abolition campaign and the establishment of an American anti slavery society in 1833. The next generation saw tensions build to explosion point.

Arkansas, slave-holding territory, joined the union in 1836 and the American colonists encroaching into Mexican Texas, also slave-holding, claimed their independence the same year. They then agitated for annexation which they were "granted", together with membership of the union, in 1845 and the US thus gained a pretext for the annexation of New Mexico as well "in retaliation" for Mexico's attempt to recover Texas by force during 1846–1848.

Few people would have expected Europe's famine-induced rebellions which were in progress at the same time to couple with Ireland's famine and send a flood of immigrants and refugees across the Atlantic in search of a home, food and work. When it did, the rapid opening up of the farming regions of Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Oregon led to their admission into the union as non-slave states and the political balance lurched back in favour of abolition. But to expect such a basic issue to be resolved by means of the ballot box was to expect too much. Every refugee, every worker, every capitalist, every economic theorist and every politician held strong views that his future and the future of the USA depended either on the continuation of Negro slavery or on its abolition. Then there were those people who insisted that it was either an issue of human rights or religious belief, or both. As we have seen they were not all on the same side either, but they succeeded in bringing out the personal and community guilt complexes and in keeping emotions running high even if, numerically, they had limited impact. The region of Kansas, not then a state, split down the middle, became engulfed in its own mini civil war and provided a prelude for what lay ahead.

Tension continued to rise over the next few years so that by 1860, while Alexander II was carefully canvassing his serf emancipation proposals to avoid a frontal clash with Russia's landowning nobility, Abraham Lincoln was campaigning for the office of President of the USA on an abolition platform. His election in November that year, albeit on a minority vote, strengthened Alexander's position when he announced his decisions two months later and there was no violent backlash. But Lincoln wasn't so lucky. By the time of his inauguration on March 4th 1861 South Carolina had led a group of seven states out of the union to form the Confederate States of America and "the Confederates" had seized federal property, funds and equipment within their borders. When Lincoln called for the establishment of a federal army to defend the union another four states withdrew, joined the confederates and, in doing so, guaranteed that the war would be long, bloody and divisive.

It has been suggested that it took Lincoln four years, 600,000 dead Americans and his own assassination only a few days after peace had been signed to achieve in principle what Alexander appeared to have achieved at the stroke of a pen.⁴¹ Of course that doesn't tell the whole story. Russia's turn was still to come. After all Alexander had an autocratic, long established monarchy propped up by a despised, sacramental church and a nation which had been buffeted and demoralized by armies stung into action by means of crusading religious zeal. Against that Lincoln had a dynamic young democracy inspired by reformed Christian thinkers intent on fulfilling theology.

The healing process in the United States has been long and slow. However that fact tends to be camouflaged by the dynamic growth which followed the Civil War. In a mere four generations the USA grew materially to dominate the world. It has had within its grasp the means to lead the world forward and to achieve the dream of the founding fathers of fulfilling theology. Unfortunately it has fumbled the pass. The growth, prosperity, influence and authority which it experienced during that one hundred years fueled the popular belief that the people and policies of the United States of America were morally superior to the mere mortals of the rest of the world and that through some God-given power they would maintain their dominant position. Presidents and prelates have been happy to prop each other up in sickeningly repetitious play on their own and the nation's Christian principles.

There was a stage when it looked as if the United States was tearing itself apart European-style and that two or more smaller nations would replace it to compete between themselves and to reduce the effective economic and political competition with Europe. At that stage France, Britain and Spain joined forces to take advantage of America's troubles. They joined the Mexican adventure, helped themselves to a few spoils and tried to help along the process of American self-destruction at the same time.

But France aimed to set up a puppet empire in Mexico with an Austrian archduke, Maximilian, on the subordinate throne and Britain and Spain got cold feet, backed out and left France to stew in its own juice. When the Civil War ended the USA was in no mood for tomfoolery. It suddenly found it loved the Mexicans in the same way that Britain loved the

Turks. It invoked the Monroe Doctrine and told France to go. It did, but Maximilian didn't. He clung to his Divine right until his unwilling subjects gave him the bullet. The whole abortive exercise helped to generate more friction in Europe. It contributed to war between Prussia and Austria, and then the one between France and Prussia which toppled Napoleon III from his throne, ushering in the Third Republic. Finally it helped to unify Italy and, temporarily, end the temporal rule of the papacy. The Piedmontese army was able to invade and capture Rome immediately after the somewhat delayed French withdrawal in September 1870 (to defend Paris) which had been promised to draw Piedmont into the Crimean War 16 years earlier.

COMPETITION IN ASIA: CHURCHES PROVE USEFUL

In the meantime Britain let its guard drop and its real motives behind the anti-slave-trade naval actions were exposed for what they were: economic and political gain. Britain's establishment joined forces with the Confederate slave-holding states and helped to finance, organize and recruit for three "privateers" which blockaded the ports of the northern union states.⁴² The government, which was supposedly blockading the Confederate States to end the slave trade, turned a blind eye. Trade with the East was booming because of the blockade of American goods, especially cotton goods for Europe, and the possibilities in Japan were immense.

Of course the British government needed some pretext or cover to justify an increased interest in Japanese affairs. So did France in China and Indo China. There was none better than the church! To put these two approaches in perspective we have to go back to Europe's hunt for resources and the church-universal attitudes, coupled with the Reformation, which followed the capture of Constantinople by the Turkish Muslims.

In 1542, the same year that Francis Xavier arrived in Goa, the Portuguese had established Europe's first direct trade links with Japan. Seven years later Xavier rode in with them to set up a Christian base at Kagoshima on the island of Kyushu. Other bases were soon established and except for the fact that the Japanese were said to be of very good manners, poor but not shameful, more honest in not thieving, desirous of knowledge and not as submissive as the people of Goa, the approach to settlement and conversion was very much the same.⁴³

CIVILIZATIONS IN CONFLICT

Twenty two years later the base at Nagasaki was taken over by the Jesuits. They soon grew fat through acting as bullion brokers between Japan and China, exchanging large amounts of Japanese silver for Chinese gold. They also grew numerically strong through anti-Buddhist political intrigue in collaboration with Oda Nobunaga who traded patronage and protection for Jesuit support. By 1582 they could boast 75 priests and 150,000 "converts." And yet after only another five years the dissension which was so well known in Europe and Latin America had found its way to Japan through the influence of the official Jesuit 'Visitor', Alessandri Valignano. Perhaps inquisitor may have been a better title. That was at the same time that Akbar

was trying to reconcile the four faiths of India. It had taken only a few years for the faction fighting between the competing Roman Catholic missions, including the Dominicans and the Franciscans, and Protestants who had arrived by then, to become so disruptive that an edict was issued expelling all foreign Christian missions from Japan.

That was 1587. But not everyone went, and a Catholic seminary was opened in 1593. Four years later six missionaries and twenty converts lost their heads and the generation barrier had hardly been broken when, in 1614, an edict was issued to confirm the earlier one. A touch of systematic persecution and execution was added to see that this one was obeyed. Being fairly expert at it from very long experience, the Catholic missions reversed the process and began to persecute Buddhists who were silly enough to stay around converted communities, and Protestants. Just another generation on and in 1638, following a rebellion which cost 37,000 lives, not only the missionaries but all Europeans except a few Dutch traders were expelled and Japan totally sealed its borders against travel between Japan and Europe. By that stage the Christian population, estimated at 300,000 at the turn of the century, was thought to be effectively eliminated, or at least frightened into reconversion.^{44 45}

Two civilizations which had a lot to offer each other became almost totally isolated and antagonistic because of the church's misunderstanding of itself and other faiths. Under a succession of ruling groups Japan rigidly applied a policy of Chinese and Dutch traders only, and even they were allowed only in Nagasaki Harbour in strictly controlled numbers. Japan reverted to a feudal system of government and land ownership and became locked into it. From the time of the Napoleonic Wars when the European powers, Russia and America were all jockeying for trade and naval supremacy it repulsed repeated approaches out of fear of a repeat performance of the Christian affair.

Then in the 1830s Britain's naval activities, officially aimed at stopping the Atlantic slave trade, began to cause the USA more and more difficulties. At the same time the push west towards the Pacific coast was picking up steam. The USA already had some whalers operating in the Pacific and the idea of expansion beyond the ocean had a magical appeal. Europe had done it. Why shouldn't America? It would offset Britain's naval tactics and secure at least a diplomatic advantage by way of retaliation. It was worth a try. The US Government sent four diplomatic missions to Asia between 1835 and 1849 but they were all firmly rejected. The government looked on helplessly at first while Britain and France imposed their trade treaties and territorial claims on China and Indo China, and then it finally decided to force an entry into Japan before either of them did.

COMMODORE PERRY'S INTERPRETER

Commodore Perry arrived in Edo (Tokyo) Bay in July 1853 complete with seventeen castaway Japanese as a bargaining point, and a missionary as an interpreter, of course. He left without an answer but he was back again eight months later with a quarter of the US navy and a landing party of 500 troops. That time, March 1854, he left with a trade treaty. Japan could no longer

resist. In quick succession it signed trade treaties with Britain, (October 1854), Russia, (February 1855) and Holland. As a result the USA had lost some of the advantage gained from its initiative in gunboat diplomacy, but not all, and Britain and France played into its hands by declaring war on China in 1856 as soon as they were free of their commitment in the Crimea. The church obliged with the justification. A French priest had been murdered and China would pay dearly for such an outrage!

America's consul took full advantage of the British/French action and in July 1858 he extracted a comprehensive, preferential trade treaty from Japan. It provided for the exchange of diplomats of ministerial rank, extraterritorial privileges for Americans resident in Japan, and a defence pact to protect Japan from British action such as that against China. Again Japan couldn't resist and within a matter of weeks it had accepted similar trade arrangements with Holland, Russia, Britain and France. However it stood firm on one condition. No Christian missionaries.

In spite of that condition which their trading partners had acknowledged, it comes as no surprise that the Japanese very soon found themselves reluctant hosts to all sorts of foreigners admitted under the new treaties and that missionaries were among them. A "new era" began in 1859 with four American Protestant and one Roman Catholic mission in action and an Orthodox priest, attached to the Russian diplomatic mission, soon followed. After more than two hundred years of isolation it was natural that friction built up rapidly. The political stability of Japan was undermined and the old order began to crumble. Power shifted rapidly and centralized in a few powerful hands. The Shogun came under pressure to expel all "foreign barbarians" and even though he knew that it would be impractical to enforce, he set June 25, 1863, as the final expulsion date. When the domain of Choshu tried to close its straits to foreign shipping by artillery bombardment it was enough to make Britain, France, Holland and the USA to bury their differences, momentarily, anyway. They sent a combined fleet to destroy the forts and demand a \$US3,000,000 indemnity which was later postponed in favour of even more favourable trade treaties.⁴⁶

In the meantime, the American Civil War had moved into top gear, the US Government was preoccupied with its troubles at home and Britain had a fairly free hand in the Japanese sphere. Making the most of an incident involving the death of a British traveler, and capitalizing on the persecution of a Christian community which had been found to have links with the early Kagoshima missions, the navy pounded much of that city flat and sunk the Japanese ships in port. It didn't matter that Britain had no connection with the Kagoshima mission, that no British nationals were involved and that it was a question of relations between two cultural groups within the Japanese community. They were Christians and that made it Britain's business. Or at least it was an excuse to intervene. So impressed were the Japanese authorities with the display of naval power that they turned to Britain for naval aid and the ships which became the training ground for Japan's modern navy.

JAPAN'S DRIVE FOR RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

But Japan was on its knees and totally humiliated. Civil War was unavoidable. In 1868 the Shogunate fell, the emperor assumed many of the functions of the dictators, a new constitution was adopted, and a crash program of modernization and industrialization as well as military and naval expansion was begun immediately. It was the only way to achieve the capacity to resist such crushing western domination. The Japanese swallowed their pride, dropped their opposition to western influence and the church was allowed back in business. That part was very simple. The British Government simply imposed a condition that no country could have a British diplomatic or commercial mission unless it had a Christian mission as well. After all, Britain may need another convenient excuse for either diplomatic or military intervention and, besides that, it was good domestic politics. Passports for Christian Arab clergy or not, there could no longer be any denial that Protestant Christianity was just as much an appendage of Western culture as pre-Reformation Christianity was of the Holy Roman Empire.

But more humiliation was to come for Japan before it adopted a new religious position of its own. In view of the apparent influence of the Christian church the chief order of Buddhist monks, the Sangha, which had been closely associated with the old social and political order, became a scapegoat for the nation's troubles. A reign of persecution started and Ryobu or Double-aspect Shinto, the syncretic amalgam of Buddhism and Shinto which had dominated the faith of the nation for about a thousand years, was abolished.⁴⁷ Shinto in its simplified form, based on the mythology of the creation of Japan, was declared the state religion and enjoyed a great revival. Japan was simply following the victor's example. Britain had confirmed again, with great determination and with gunships at the ready, that there was a normal, formal and strong link between state and church. In its case it was Christianity. No Christian missions, then no trade or diplomatic missions either. That linkage could not possibly have been stated any more definitely. Britain could therefore hardly complain if Japan's reaction was to formally establish its own state religion. Not Christianity. Shinto. Acknowledgment of, and reverence for the emperor in the revised emperor-centred Shinto became the trigger for heroism and fanaticism in the Japanese way of life and service.⁴⁸ When he came out of seclusion at Kyoto in 1869 and took Tokyo as his imperial capital Emperor Meiji's new role was enhanced, or perhaps sanctified, by the British regimental band accompanying him in procession past the foreign settlement to the tune 'British Grenadiers.'⁴⁹

To Europeans, accustomed to a history of horrendous religious persecution and violence, it should be somewhat surprising that within only four or five years all religious persecution had stopped and in 1875 freedom of religion became official. However the emperor's role was further enhanced by the success of the westernization program which took effect with great speed under the new constitution which he had introduced. The ban on travel beyond Japan was lifted and as many students as possible were sent abroad to study all professions, sciences and trades. However a program of intense indoctrination of the masses in State Shinto and the

mythology of the divine origins of the country and its rulers was used to encourage devotion to the land and its imperial institutions.⁵⁰

Twenty years after the big shake-up, in 1889, Japan strengthened the link between religion and state further by writing Shinto into the new Meiji Constitution which was modelled on Bismark's constitution for the Second German Reich which had been introduced in 1871. Article III of the Meiji constitution read: "The Emperor is sacred and inviolable." The Japanese had simply lifted it straight out of the German Christian doctrine on the Divine Right of Kings which held sway on both sides of the Reformation divide, except that it had been weakened somewhat in Anglicanism by the confrontation between James II and the Church of England. According to that doctrine a monarch in the hereditary line of succession has a divine and indefeasible right to his kingship and authority, and for a subject to rebel against him is the worst of political crimes and even a sin against God.⁵¹ The Japanese must have felt they were in very good company, and the words of the constitution did not say that the emperor was divine or a personification of God. However in a commentary which was published later to help people understand the new constitution the concept of the central role of the emperor as a descendant of the chief goddess, Amaterasu, was given heavy emphasis. Part of that Meiji commentary has been translated to read: "The Emperor is Heaven-descended, divine and sacred; He is pre-eminent above all his subjects. He must be revered and is inviolable ... Not only shall there be no irreverence for the Emperor's person, but also shall he not be made a topic of derogatory comment nor one of discussion."⁵² (Emphasis added.) The church had long claimed divine authority for its Popes by virtue of their being successors to Peter the Apostle and therefore Christ's personal deputy on earth, and by the laying on of (very human) hands. That claimed authority was in turn a substantial basis of the Vatican's policy of Ultramontanism, or the control of the church in every country under the Roman figurehead, and the authority to invest, and to exercise authority over, imperial and subordinate monarchs.

Observers not committed to one faith or another may well find it difficult to distinguish between the practical theology involved in the Meiji Commentary, or the Tibetan Buddhist concept (recognized by one stream of the faithful) that the Dalai Lama is the reincarnation of the Being of Compassion, or that Christian belief in the transmission of authority through the laying on of hands in the ceremony of priestly ordination. In any case, the person of the Japanese emperor became the subject of adoration.

But by using the expression 'Heaven-descended, divine and sacred' the Meiji commentator had actually jumped ahead of the Vatican – by just a few years. It was not until 1929 when Pius XI was addressing the clergy of Rome on the occasion of the signing of the Lateran Treaty that he caught up with Japan by describing the person holding the office of Pope as "holding the Divine Commission and being the Divine Representative, (who) cannot be subject to any earthly sovereign."

By the end of the century eighteen nations had concluded treaties with Japan but, as was China, the nation was indignant because of its inferior status in treaty relations. For the next

fifty years it was the prime objective in Japan's foreign policy to revise the old treaties or to negotiate new ones on the basis of equality and reciprocity. It objected to the heavy heel of the European powers and it knew from first hand experience exactly how all of the European colonies in Asia felt.⁵³

After World War I ultra-nationalists published an Outline for the Reconstruction of Japan and during the years after the Great Depression their philosophy, cloaked in State Shinto, became anti-West, anti-liberal, anti-socialist, anticommunist, anti-democratic, anti-parliamentary, anti-League of Nations and anti-disarmament but strongly imperialist, authoritarian and committed to totalitarianism at home and the use of force on the Asian continent.⁵⁴

PASSPORTS FOR FRENCH 'MISSIONARIES'

The position over on the Asian mainland, in China and Indochina, had been much the same as in Japan during the second half of the 19th century. One of the clauses of a treaty which France had extracted from China provided for French missionaries to rent and purchase land and to put up buildings on it in all the provinces of the country. To take full advantage of that treaty Napoleon III issued an order in 1860 that all Roman Catholic missionaries were to carry passports written in both French and Chinese. The French text carried the facts. The Chinese text stated that the bearer was French irrespective of his actual nationality. And it was apparently remarkably easy to get a French missionary's passport delivered personally to the intended bearer by the Consular Agents for France. So much for a commitment to Christianity. If the British could do it, the French could go one step further.

The cynical misuse of treaty powers, including intervention in civil and criminal legal proceedings under "protection" clauses as well as the property clauses, encouraged converts with a wide range of motives. The credibility of the church and Christianity was undermined in the eyes of both people of other faiths and the authorities who were powerless to stop such abuses for a long time. But numerically the Christian population mushroomed together with the number of missionaries. The procedure set up by Napoleon III continued until 1888.⁵⁵

Napoleon III had learned well from his more famous uncle as well as from the British. When he approved the concordat with the pope, Napoleon Bonaparte had declared that Christian missions should be re-established in Asia, Africa and America and that the sanctity of their dress would conceal their political and commercial investigations. In 1805 he ordered that the three French Catholic Missionary orders be reconstituted and revitalized, with state money of course.

But France's fortunes in South East Asia had already been linked with the influence of the church for some time. During the early 1680s, while Dutch interests were forcing the British out of Java, French Jesuit influence at the court of the King of Thailand had led to him severing nasty Dutch Protestant commercial connections. Direct representations by the church resulted in "protective" French troops being garrisoned at Bangkok and Mergui and France's plans for domination of the state took a big leap forward. But the situation changed suddenly. In 1688 the

Francophile Minister for Trade was executed, the king died and violent anti-European reaction swept the French out of the country.

During the previous couple of generations the Jesuits had also set up missions in North Vietnam and so they consolidated there. Their history and relations with the authorities in Vietnam had been just as checkered as in Thailand, but one positive contribution which they had made to the life of the country had been the reduction of the Vietnamese language to writing in the Latin alphabet. This had established a tradition of French interest in the region with Christian and French literature readily available in the local language. Even thirty years before the French expulsion from Thailand the church claimed 300,000 adherents in Vietnam but, being based on its usual assessment methods, the figure must be taken with a pinch of salt.⁵⁶ However when the Tayson uprisings occurred in 1771 the church seemed to have backed a loser in the royal houses of Nguyen and Trinh. The ruling dynasty fell in 1777 in a mini prototype of the impending French Revolution. The Tayson brothers divided the country into three semi-autonomous regions with themselves at the top and Saigon, Hue and Hanoi as their capitals. They didn't want the church. It was not linked into the new system and its influence fell, so a refugee priest of the French Society, Pigneau de Behaine, teamed up with the exiled heir of the Nguyen family, Anh, and began plotting his return.

In 1787 Pigneau took Anh's son to Versailles and got Louis XVI to support an adventure to put Anh on a throne. The prize was to be a treaty between Cochin China and France, and an open gate to Eastern trade. Louis needed anything which would bolster the monarchy's ailing coffers. During the next few years, while French anti-monarchists were tearing France apart and dismantling the church, Pigneau's French "volunteers" were helping Anh tear Vietnam apart to establish his monarchy and to assert the authority of the church. In 1802 Anh proclaimed himself Emperor GiaLong of a "unified" Vietnam. French troops continued to build his forts and ports, Pigneau continued to run his foreign affairs, the Catholic Church gloated over its new status and Vietnam became a closed book as far as Protestant representation of any kind was concerned.⁵⁷

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THAILAND: THE PROTESTANT OPTION

Then came that American interest in the Asian Pacific region in the 1830s and Thailand was swamped by American Protestant groups wanting to take advantage of the French vacuum. Congregationalists arrived first, (1831), then Baptists (1833) and Presbyterians in 1840. Polite and friendly the Thai people certainly were, but they were also resistant to evangelism. They were perfectly happy with Buddhism. Either the sales pitch for the new religion with its complicated definitions and beliefs had to be a lot better, or the sledge hammer had to be a lot heavier before they would buy. Of course the continuing fiercely anti-foreign attitudes of the king and the Buddhist priests didn't make their tasks any easier and the Congregationalists withdrew in 1849, after eighteen years, without one Thai baptized. It was another ten years before the Presbyterians baptized their first Thai convert.

America had achieved a commercial treaty in 1833 but it had little to show for it other than the incitement of further French and British competition. The French continued to be rebuffed but when two British hatchet men cum diplomats, (Bowring and Parkes), arrived in 1855 to soften up Thailand (after the seizure of Lower Burma) before going on to start another war with China, the king got the message and signed a very unequal treaty. It was a signal for a repeat of the Japanese situation. One in, all in. Treaties with the other powers followed in quick succession.⁵⁹ Naturally the one with France, signed in 1856, provided for the return of the French Catholic missions. Their methods achieved the usual high rate of conversions compared with the Protestants and it wasn't long before all the fun of the games was on again.

Each of the foreign powers knew that there were bigger fish in the region but Britain was in a stronger position to dominate a partnership approach to both China and Japan, so France was prepared to accept second prize and concentrate its efforts in South East Asia. Taking advantage of the strong Jesuit base in Vietnam Napoleon III set his sights on Indo China. But the native Christian rebels who the missionaries had said would come swarming out of the jungles did not appear when two thousand French troops, supported by one thousand Spaniards from Manila, swooped on Tourane (DaNang) in September 1858. The pretext for the invasion was that Tu-Duc, succeeding to the throne set up by Pigneau's 'volunteers' and holding to his Confucianism, had tried to break up the Christian missions and communities. An alternative interpretation is that the Jesuits had prompted his reaction when they set out to undermine him because he wouldn't play the game to their rules.

However dysentery, cholera, scurvy and typhus all took their toll in the jungle, heat and tropical monsoon conditions which the French and Spanish troops were not accustomed to. Unable to advance a mere fifty miles to capture the capital, Hue, they moved south and seized Saigon in February 1859. But it was not until after the joint Anglo-French subjugation of Peking in 1860 when the French were able to throw in more forces and to take advantage of internal rebellion in Tongking Province that Tu-Duc was forced to sign the Treaty of Saigon. France was ceded the three eastern provinces of Cochin China and secured promises of more trade. It also got a vague protectorate over Vietnam's foreign relations and, naturally, guarantees of 'religious freedom.' Spain, for whatever reason, got a financial indemnity.⁶⁰

For its part Vietnam got proof that it had a well developed fifth column in its midst, even if the local content hadn't been as effective as the missionaries had imagined. Back in Europe the church had been very vocal about Jewish fifth columns and equally vocal in denying its own behind the scenes involvement in undermining governments in countries such as Britain and France when it was in conflict with them. Then Napoleon Bonaparte had shown, through his Sanhedrin, that Jews had less reason than Christians to organize fifth columns and now his nephew had obliged, with his Jesuit missionaries' help, to demonstrate openly that the Christian Church quite happily organized fifth columns.

We cannot trace the ghastly net of intrigue, the shift in rebellion from Tu-Duc to the French, continuing religious manipulation and savage colonial repression which went to fashion

twentieth century French Indo China, but the die had been cast. In any case we have caught up again to Napoleon III's passport directive and the affairs of Mexico, Prussia and the half-dug Suez Canal which were diverting his attention from Asia. He had to apply his Christian principles in other areas.

THE STRUTS OF CHRISTIAN BELIEF

Meanwhile, in 1859, just as the "new era" was opening for Christian missions in Japan, two developments occurred which, on the surface anyway, had nothing to do with the church. Charles Darwin published *The Origin of Species* in England and an oil well was drilled at Titusville in Pennsylvania, USA. In fact if the church had stuck to its task of spreading the Good News of the Gospel instead of setting itself up as the be-all-and-end-all then both developments would have seemed quite natural. After all they were quite natural. They would have simply contributed towards humanity's communal evolution and towards its material progress without a ripple of dissent. But the church knew everything. The oil well can wait a while but this is the point at which to examine the impact of Darwin's work and we must again retrace our steps to pick up a few threads.

The pre-Reformation church had put heavy emphasis on outward displays of religion through complex rites and sacraments. The Bible was not available to ordinary people. It could only be interpreted for them by the exclusively inspired clergy and in any case the church said it was its sacraments, or its 'works', and not an understanding of the Gospel which got a believer through the mystical barrier and into heaven. As we have already noted these attitudes, coupled with Rome's resistance to reform, encouraged many reformers to put an equally heavy emphasis on the need for a personal knowledge of the Bible, on its historical accuracy or "inerrancy" and on the coexistence of the church with the Gospel from the beginning of time, irrespective of the history of the people of Judaism and the errors of the pre-Reformation church in the intervening period.^{61 62} It followed that the Reformed churches put the emphasis in the ordination of their clergy on the ministry of the word before the ministry of the sacraments which they reduced from seven, the number recognized by the Council of Trent, (or possibly up to thirty depending on the interpretation applied), to a basic two, namely baptism and communion.

In fact there is no uniformity in belief within or between churches about what defines or constitutes a sacrament or its status in the divine design. Some of the schisms during the pre-Reformation period occurred because of disputes over sacraments, and many theologians went to the stake holding firm in their efforts to rewrite sacramental theology as we have already seen. Substantial progress has been made in two directions since the rise of the ecumenical movement and, more so, since the Second Vatican Council. The first is in encouraging tolerance or the acceptance of diversity in theology. The second is in the adoption of common liturgies (the orders of service and the forms in which ideas will be expressed). But the major questions have not yet been tackled effectively and denominations and movements still form, dispute and divide over such issues.

Is a sacrament an action taken or a rite invoked simply in response to Christ's teaching? Is it a matter of reverence and remembrance or recognition of Christ's personal or divine sacrifice? Is it symbolic of certain relationships between mankind and God? Does it carry mystical or magical effects unique to either the church's capacity to intervene in human affairs or bestowed by God through the Holy Spirit? If so, is it repeatable? Or is it a gateway to heaven or salvation available exclusively to adherents of the Christian church? If any one of these concepts can be affirmed for a particular sacrament does that mean that the other concepts are excluded, especially in the case of baptism or the Eucharist? If there is only one correct answer, how do we tell which branch of the church is correct, and what does the answer mean for the others? Can there be more than one 'correct' or 'proper' answer or response? If the Christian church does have an exclusive gateway to heaven and salvation what does it say about God's relationship with all of non-Christian humanity? Or, perhaps more to the point, what does it say about the church's pathetic handling of such a position of privilege? But if the church does not have an exclusive gateway to heaven and salvation what does that say about its self-understanding, the development of its doctrine and dogma, and the development of its sacramental theology and liturgies? In particular what does it say about the relationship between the church, Christ and God?

These questions, and a host of others which can be added, all lead back inevitably to the church's self-understanding and the doctrine of the Trinity. Unravel the contradictions in the possible combination of answers to those questions and you may just unravel the church. The church would then have to start all over again. But that is a proposition which neither the Reformers nor the continuing Roman Catholic Church were any more prepared to consider when they took sides and took up arms against each other over the issue of the sacraments or the Word than they had been at any time since the Council of Nicaea. It is a proposition which the church must now tackle. When it gets the fundamental answers right the supplementary matters such as forms of worship and liturgies will be easy to resolve. The trouble in the triangle will simply get worse and the pressure greater until it does. We shall, of course, come back to this issue in due course but we are now at the point of Darwin's challenge.

Some of the Reformed churches had elevated 'The Book' to a level of importance similar to that which Muhammad had given it, (Torah and Gospel together), just one thousand years earlier, but they adopted a somewhat different emphasis. Taking an extreme view, the Second (Baptist) Confession of 1677 described Holy Scripture as "the only sufficient, certain and infallible rule of all saving knowledge, faith and obedience." Nothing was to be added at any time to its total revelation either by supposed new revelations or by the traditions of men.⁶³ If that were taken seriously by an isolated community it would inhibit its religious understanding in a manner much the same as happened when the Orthodox Church moved to Moscow and froze its theology. In a sense the Church of Scotland had gone even further with its side swipe at Rome in the opening chapter of the Westminster Confession of 1643/47. It declared that God's former ways of revealing His will, creation and revelation, had ceased and that this "maketh the holy scripture to be most necessary." It declared the Old Testament to rank equally in

authenticity with the New Testament, that they were, together, the final point of appeal and that any interpretation of scripture could only be made by cross-reference to other parts of it. Then came the punch line. "The supreme Judge by which all controversies of religion are to be determined, and all decrees of councils, opinions of ancient writers, doctrines of men, and private spirits, are to be examined, and in whose sentence we are to rest, can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the scripture."⁶⁴

The greatest tragedy behind those sections of both the Westminster and the Baptist Confessions is that for the majority of people who accepted them, God's authority, power and action were effectively anchored in the past. If revelation had stopped then it followed that, subject to a touch of guidance if the Holy Spirit could make itself heard, the church had been left with absolute authority.

ABSOLUTE FACT?

Quite naturally such statements had not resolved the question of Biblical inerrancy for the church-at-large. If anything they had fueled debate, especially over the status of the Old Testament. The church got itself deeper into that long-standing bind. It had already defined itself into a corner from which it could not move without starting the whole process over again and it had also canonized the Bible in contradictory ways. Either the whole Bible was inerrant or the church was not what it claimed to be. So the Bible was inerrant. That shifted the debate a trifle to the issue of whether, as a document, the Bible was historically absolutely accurate or whether it was partly record and partly revelation which was open to interpretation. In self justification the bulk of the church came down on the side of absolute accuracy. That is hardly surprising in view of the doctrinal bind it was in and the ordination vows taken by the clergy.

Even today there are plenty of scholars and writers who will admit that a person can be a Christian without accepting Biblical inerrancy and then proceed to claim that denial of inerrancy is dangerous. Evangelical fervour will fail in future generations if we forego inerrancy as a belief now, they say.⁶⁵ Rather brittle bricks with which to build a universal church. If that is the case today after several generations of dynamic developments in science and philosophy we cannot be surprised that the church clung to such views in the first half of the nineteenth century.

A literal approach to the Book of Genesis naturally leads a reader to wonder when the world was created and to accept that every living creature was created complete and in its currently known form. However for Jewish believers this had seldom been a problem. For them the Torah, both its written and oral portions, were timeless even though they were received at particular points in historical time. It was a guide which included the fundamental law by which Israel had to live or take the consequences.⁶⁶ It was a living thing and although there had been several Talmudic controversies it had not been canonized in the Christian church's sense. Israel and Judaism were defined in the sense that their roles were understood through the Torah but the institution and authority of Judaism were not anchored to it in the way that the church had

anchored itself to definitions, Biblical canons and doctrines. Israel's mission was seen as a matter of eternity. It was no more related to a particular point in time or to a particular action than was the Torah. The Torah was therefore utterly incompatible with frivolous things like trying to date future events or past history. And as well as that the Jews were very conscious of the fallibility of human nature. Successive generations had tried to pass on both the oral and the written traditions with as much accuracy as they could achieve, but they knew that errors of fact could creep in. The essence of faithfulness to the Torah was therefore prayerful interpretation and understanding of, and adherence to, the law rather than unquestioning acceptance of historical "facts" handed down from an era in mankind's evolution when he was not in a position to fully understand their import. But once the Reformed churches put the Torah into every person's hands as the canonized Bible they had to face up to that problem, and debate over things such as the date and mechanism of creation and the basis and authority for sacraments was to be expected.

A DATE FOR CREATION

About a hundred years after the Reformation broke over Europe a vice-chancellor of Cambridge University tried to calculate the date and time of creation precisely from Biblical sources. Few people seemed to think it strange and a lot of people, clergy included, took seriously his answer of nine o'clock in the morning on October 23rd 4004 BCE (He would have based his calculations on Greenwich Mean Time, of course!) At the time of the mad rush for education which was triggered by the Napoleonic Wars the standard approach to the issue in England was that creation could probably be dated a few thousand years BCE and that all species were created complete. The standard references for school and university study were William Paley's *Natural Theology* (or evidences of the existence and attributes of the Deity) which had been published in 1802, and the *Bridgewater Treatises*. These had been financed from a bequest of Stg 8,000 pounds by the Earl of Bridgewater for the purpose of demonstrating the power, wisdom and goodness of God as manifested in the creation by using all reasonable arguments.⁶⁷ The church and its aristocratic and industrialist backers were rushing to churn out a good supply of capitalistic monarchists imbued with the Protestant Work Ethic and antagonistic towards any revolutionary tendencies. The most likely motive behind that bequest to the Royal Society therefore appears to be much like that behind a lot of commercially sponsored 'research and promotion' today: "Here's the money to produce some results or other evidence to show that what I want to sell is good."

That line was being peddled in spite of works by earlier scholars and writers which tended to point to alternative interpretations. Studies in archaeology and palaeontology had already shown that some species of animals had existed previously and were then extinct and Malthus had published his *Essay on Population* in 1798. He had written that the growth of population will always tend to outrun food supply unless it is checked by either voluntary restraints or external forces such as war, disease or famine. He was later misrepresented by those who wanted to

show that humanity could be improved by the elimination of those who were unfit or undesirable and who used up part of the world's food supply, but the idea of evolution had been triggered and would soon be discussed and denigrated in high places.

THE DARWIN-WALLACE CHALLENGE

Then Charles Darwin and Alfred Wallace contributed to the debate with papers prepared for a meeting of the Linnean Society in 1858. They had both reached the conclusion, by different paths, that all species of animals, including humanity, had evolved by natural selection and had not been created in finished form. The reaction was immediate and bitter but the two men had worked long and hard at the issue. They knew quite well what the implications were, they were confident that they were correct and they would not retract because of ridicule by the church and their fellows. Darwin pushed ahead to complete *The Origin of Species* and it was published the next year. The first printing sold out in a day. Reactions varied greatly.

Some scientists were concerned about the need to review a whole host of existing scientific theories and attitudes and the implication that they had been wrong in their own research and teaching until then. Because of that the older members of his profession attacked Darwin bitterly for faulty scientific method and speculation. But younger members took up his theories and began to build on them.

Many of Britain's aristocratic New World estate owners and its racial bigots were concerned to exploit the implication which they read into Darwin's work that selection may have produced people of inferior stock in Africa and Asia. Through it they hoped to revive the slave trade which they could see would close altogether if the Union States defeated the Confederate States in the Civil War which was just getting up steam in the USA. Others took the view that the new race morality developing in Britain was spurious and that programs to assist black Africa or to enforce racial justice and equality were therefore a misdirection of effort and resources.

But the church was concerned to protect its position and the Church of England was in the most delicate position of all. Its hierarchy reacted sharply with vigorous efforts to discredit Darwin. Bishop Wilberforce, (son of the C.M.S. cofounder, Bible Society president, M.P. and antislavery crusader), who had founded Cuddesdon Theological College only six years earlier, took up the issue in a public debate with the biologist T.H. Huxley at the British Association in 1860. His sarcastic and derogatory attitude provoked Huxley to remark that he would rather have an ape for a grandfather than a man who misused his gifts to obscure important scientific discussion by rhetoric and religious prejudice.⁶⁸

The basic problem or crisis for the church was the very clear challenge to its credibility and its authority. It saw it as 'Darwin or the church.' If Darwin was correct then the church had been peddling lies about creation. If it had been peddling lies about creation then how authentic was the Bible on which it pinned its existence and its claims for authority? It could see its doctrines all thrown out the window and its formal constitution under threat. Furthermore, if creation was either spontaneous or circumstantial and not the result of some grand design, then even the

existence of a creative deity would be questioned. It was. The church could adopt the Jewish attitude to the Bible and toss away the Biblical inerrancy which it had spent so much time and effort enshrining but what would that achieve? Its policy towards Judaism and Jews would be shot to ribbons, it would be admitting that a very basic doctrinal error had been proven, and where would it all end? The church was already having difficulty raising funds for its Jerusalem missions, Sir Moses Montefiore was the darling of the mob and the Lords had even allowed that man Rothschild to take his seat in the Commons on July 26th 1858, less than four weeks after Darwin and Wallace had addressed the Linnean Society and if the Jews were proven right on such a basic issue then what about the Muslims?

Then there was the "establishment" issue. The Church of England had survived the upheavals between church and state on the continent during the post-reformation period largely through isolation but also partly through walking a theological tightrope.⁶⁹ It had juggled the theology of Rome, Luther and Calvin to get a hotchpotch which was seen to put it in a balanced or middle-of-the-road position which avoided the institutional crises of Europe. It also produced the High Church-Low Church orientation of the English community. However an effect little recognized at the time was that the Church of England was assuming the role and posture of the Orthodox church in Russia. It was the highly nationalistic church of England and it was intent on propping up the English system without any outside interference, Roman or otherwise.⁷⁰ Strangely enough it then managed to avoid its own revolution during the industrial revolution and the French Revolution due to two factors. Firstly, the impact of Wesley and Methodism while they remained within the Church of England. Secondly the fact that Methodism, by then effectively separated, and Evangelicalism gave comfort, support and courage to those whom God appeared to have abandoned through the Church of England's absolute identification with an establishment which was hostile to the poor, unclean, moral aliens of the working classes.⁷¹

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However events were catching up with it and it was under intense scrutiny. The repeal of the Test Act in 1828, and the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act the next year marked a loosening of the state/church strings. The government's hesitant acceptance of the re-establishment of a Roman Catholic hierarchy in 1851, based on an Archbishopric of Westminster which was vigorously opposed by Lord Russell, confirmed the drift towards religious impartiality and threatened "autonomy" or, more crudely, the requirement for financial self-support in competition with other religious bodies. The church had been fighting the trend quite strongly, notably through the Russell-led anti-Catholic campaign and the anti-Jewish debate in the Lords, but having lost that battle it was determined to hold onto its formal links with the crown, diplomatic privilege and a preferred position with the government in relation to its competitors and the community, not only in Britain but in the colonies as well. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill of 1851, (repealed in 1871), threatening penalties for competition between hierarchies and aimed directly at Rome, was one such effort.⁷³ ⁷⁴ Some related issues were actually before the Commons when Bishop Wilberforce took up debate with Huxley. Darwinism was a most unfortunate jolt to the system which, by undermining public faith and

support for any religion at all, added a new factor in the overall debate about an “established” church.

Darwinism aggravated the feeling of a lack of continuity and purpose in man’s affairs which the philosophy of Scotsman David Hume had generated. It also destroyed the intimacy between man and other creatures in nature over which he had been created a little superior, according to the church and its Bible. But it also gave even greater credence to the writings of Marx and Engels. The hierarchy heaved a sigh of relief. Saved! The establishment still needed the church. It didn’t matter much how many pews were vacant now.

BRITAIN’S ‘UNIFORMITY’ AND THE POPE’S ‘ERRORS’

Parliament passed an Act of Uniformity in 1862 setting out essential systems of church discipline and requiring the Book of Common Prayer, complete with Athanasius and prayers for the queen, to be used in all churches for morning and evening prayers on Sundays. Three years later, in 1865, it passed the Clerical Subscriptions Act which, although it weakened the role of the sovereign in the church, confirmed the status of the Church of England as the established church.^{75 76}

By that time Pope Pius IX, having real difficulty clinging to his temporal powers in the papal states and with his political philosophy under attack from almost every quarter, had lashed out at the critics of his church/state links in the pathetic Syllabus of Errors in December 1864. His frustrations had got the better of him when, three months earlier and just ten years after his previous promise to do so, Napoleon III had again promised to take his troops out of Rome. However Napoleon’s promise proved almost as hollow as the first time. Although he needed his troops for some of his own wars rather than to prop up the papacy he could not withdraw them for long because the pope could still pull too many strings in France.

Pius concluded his outrageous attack on almost everything progressive in political, cultural and academic endeavour with condemnation of the ‘error’ that “The Roman Pontiff may and ought to reconcile himself to, and to agree with, progress, liberalism, and modern civilization.” Very revealing. He confirmed his personal ignorance, his bigotry, his failure to understand that humanity was evolving progressively as a community of rational beings and he confirmed his personal misinterpretation of the identity and role of the church. If he had been in any other post at all his outburst could have been glossed over. But he was, to the world’s Roman Catholics, personal successor to the Apostle Peter and absolute head of the body appointed as sole representative on earth of the Messiah. He had to be taken seriously. Among the things which took a blast were freedom of conscience and worship; freedom of speech and press; the authority of civil law; civil marriage; divorce; public education; freedom of association even to form Bible Societies; state acquisition of church property; the right to refuse to conform in matters of religion; associating with non-Catholics; Socialism and, of course, Communism. Among the authorities the pope insisted were his and the Catholic Church’s were the levying of church taxes and advice on personal financial responsibility; intervention; religious

examination; temporal punishment; the use of force; control of education; and the rejection of any public worship other than Roman Catholicism in a Catholic country. As if that was not enough, Pius insisted that it was proper for him to govern the papal states; that the church's authority took precedence over all civil authorities; that there could be no national churches outside his jurisdiction; that all clergy were responsible to Rome; that public opinion was not a proper basis for decision making; that there could be no true happiness other than through practice of the Roman faith. And of course Rome was not responsible for any division within the church!⁷⁷

The world staggered from the shock. If it had acted in accordance with the syllabus it would have gone way back into the era of the Holy Roman Empire. The British parliament had a strong incentive to pass its Clerical Subscriptions Act a few months later. The Church of England had a friend in Rome after all, but more and more people in Italy realized that they didn't. Anti-clerical legislation and the resolve to topple papal administration in Rome and the adjoining papal states increased.

ITALY'S RISORGIMENTO: ROME OR JERUSALEM?

The struggle for the reunification of Italy was reaching its grand finale and with the ebb and flow of Europe's wars, Garibaldi made a push for Rome. He was blocked by Napoleon's troops but the papal 'states' were reduced to the city and a small strip of territory around it. Pius was pressed repeatedly to relinquish his political rule and to be content to lead the church, but he and the Curia held to their view that it had to govern some piece of territory to maintain continuity of temporal rule and to demonstrate to the world that papal authority took precedence over civil authority. They saw this as vital to Ultramontanism, or central control of the church worldwide, which was in turn, they claimed, vital to the church's (self)defined role. It followed that if the papal state was eliminated the authority of the papacy would fall and that heretical Protestantism would tend to replace Catholic influence around the world. The overseas branches of the church would not hold together without that strong central authority, the papacy would decline, the branches would each go their own way as schismatic national churches and Catholicism, the "true" Christian Church would fade away. At least the Vatican was being consistent. Its line of reasoning had not changed since the politics of the early Christian era had made Rome the focal point of the church and the seat of its leadership, and the church had proceeded to define itself into perpetuity.

Without realizing it, the leaders of the Risorgimento had joined the philosophical challenge to the whole church to rethink its role and to redefine itself and its beliefs. Essentially they had set out to reunify Italy and to lift the material condition of its people to the level of the bulk of Europe. But now, through their confrontation with the pope over how and by whom Rome should be governed, they had called into question the church's view of itself and its doctrinal basis for that view. It has been said that Rome is to the Christian faith what Mecca is to Islam or Jerusalem is to Judaism. In fact that is not correct.

Jerusalem is the focal point of Judaism because it will be the scene of the Messianic victory, not because it was and is again the political capital of a nation.⁷⁸ It should be and ought always have been the focal point of Christianity for the same reason. Muhammad also taught that Jerusalem would be the scene of the Messiah's victory but, for reasons just as valid as any which led the church to Rome, he nominated Mecca as the focal point of faith until that time. Quite apart from any reason of geography, his objections to the theological aberrations of the Christian church which forced him to organize the believers around him into the body of Islam are the very reasons why he could certainly not nominate Rome or Constantinople. Islam does not operate through an organized institution in the same sense as the Christian Church and its adherents have seen no need for such a centre or for such an organization as the Vatican. Probably the only centre in Islam which bore any resemblance to Rome in its role was Baghdad under the Caliphate.

Why, then, was the government of Rome so vital to the Catholic Church? Could it have simply maintained its offices in the Vatican buildings with the members of its hierarchy being simply residents of the capital of Italy? All Italy and much of the world wanted answers to those questions. They didn't get satisfactory answers because the church could not justify its view and understanding of itself. The world was left to conclude that nothing had changed, that the pope's motive was still political aggrandisement and that the church's ultimate aim was still world domination along the lines of Augustine's "City of God." Quite reasonable conclusions to draw, indeed.

Pius IX seems to have believed that if all the branches of the Catholic Church in countries around the world supported the concept of centralized control and that if they made representations to their governments, those governments would, in turn, back him in his territorial claims. In the meantime Napoleon III could be relied upon to maintain the "integrity" of what was left. The first essential was to secure the support of the whole church and that was not guaranteed. Nationalism was rampant in the church as well as throughout the world community. An appeal for centralized power for its own sake would meet strong resistance. It had to have either a theological or an historical basis and it had to relate to the papacy's claimed scriptural authority.

PAPAL INFALLIBILITY ... AND THE IMPACT

The war-torn and regionally-divisive history of the church made it difficult to justify an appeal purely on historical grounds, but the time could be right. The Apostle Peter is said to have been martyred in Rome sometime between 54 C.E. and 68 C.E. The year of uprisings, 64 C.E., is often thought to be the most likely date.⁷⁹ Celebrations to mark the 1800th anniversary of his martyrdom while Garibaldi was trying to batter down the door could be helpful in establishing continuity of the pontificate in Rome from that time. It was worth a try. It would provide a platform to promote the concept of papal infallibility which, once established, would provide

the linchpin of centralized authority and in consequence of that, justification for the papal territorial claims.

The pope is reported to have first raised the proposition of a council to formalize the doctrine of papal infallibility with colleagues immediately before the release of the Syllabus of Errors.⁸⁰ He apparently set up a small working group of cardinals to examine the issue a few months later but no announcement was made until 1867 when five hundred bishops were assembled for the anniversary celebrations and even then no date was proposed.⁸¹ When word of the infallibility proposal leaked out the reaction from the press, governments and churches in both Catholic and Protestant countries was hostile.⁸² Garibaldi had announced that elections for democratic government would be held in areas of the papal states which had been relieved, and on February 29, 1868 the pope retaliated with a decree forbidding Italians to recognize or to take part in such elections. The people were shocked. Then in June came the announcement of a date for the First Vatican Council. It would open on December 8, 1869.

Reports differ on the atmosphere and progress at the council. The first major issue to be debated was a dogmatic statement on the role and "constitution" of the church. There had been many previous statements issued by the church's competing fragments on their understanding and definition of the church and Rome had repeatedly relied on the writings of one or more of the church's "doctors and fathers", turning handsprings to rationalize conflicting aspects of such writings. But now "the church" was about to set down a formal definition as dogma which everyone was required to believe and from which everything else would flow. It was a necessary precursor to the infallibility statement and to a concerted effort to gain "established church" status and priority over all other churches worldwide. The Curia hadn't got rid of that universal church complex. It still saw St. Peters as a temple to end all temples. But neither the basic statement nor the infallibility statement could be finalized in isolation because they had to be linked together. The pope submitted a draft of the infallibility dogma on March 6 1870 and the Council was then able to proclaim a dogmatic statement on the church on April 24 before taking up the major issue of papal infallibility.⁸³

The whole world, Christian and non-Christian alike, was expected to believe that the Roman Catholic Church was the sole interpreter of faith and law and the sole divine judge over the reason and will of man.⁸⁴ Its doctrinal authority and infallibility extended to "certain truths of natural science...(such as)...the existence of substance...(and)...mere human history..."^{85 86} Rome had come down on the side of the Church of England against Darwinism and dogmatized the "fixed creation" of the Book of Genesis.⁸⁷ And the whole world was expected to spring to the aid of Rome because "...the gates of hell, with a hatred that grows greater every day, are rising up everywhere against the church's divinely established foundation with the intention of overthrowing (it)..."⁸⁸ It was no wonder. At least the Council's statement was consistent with the pope's 1868 invitation to Protestant churches to rejoin Rome and attend the Council. They were, he had written in his invitation, "Dissident religious societies...divided among themselves...separated from the Catholic Church...which our Lord founded...(and they could not) be assured of their own salvation." The Catholic Church would, he wrote, "... give again a

striking proof of her unity and her invincible life-force...in which alone is kept and transmitted in its entirety the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and where alone are dispensed the mysteries of heavenly grace..."⁸⁹

Then the gloves came off for the major debate. The first vote on June 13 went 451 in favour of "infallibility", 88 against and 62 wanting changes made. A second vote on June 17 went 535 in favour and two against. The other 88 bishops had left Rome to avoid a scandal. The dogma was proclaimed to the world next day, June 18. The pope was infallible. His fellow human beings said so. The church had built a basis on which to press its Ultramontanism and its territorial claims. The bishops and diplomats would soon be able to leave for home to begin their politicking and with a touch of luck Garibaldi would never hold his detested elections. The bishops knew that in setting up that situation they were flying in the face of world opinion and digging deeper gulfs between their Roman Catholic Church and the rest of the Christian community, but what did that matter? They outnumbered the rest by two or more to one and now they would strengthen their political position greatly.

But they hadn't allowed for all the cause-and-effect pressures building up around them. The very next day, July 19, the Franco Prussian War was declared. Napoleon III could spare those troops no longer and they were recalled to Paris. The writing was on the wall. Three days later Pius attempted to mediate between Napoleon III and William I in a desperate last ditch bid to save the papal state but events were moving swiftly against him and Napoleon had no room for negotiation. He couldn't even respond to blackmail. No other monarch responded to the pope's appeals. Not even Austria's. Pius suspended the Vatican Council and released the bishops to return home on September 1st. Napoleon III was taken prisoner by Prussia on September 2nd, a new republic was proclaimed on September 4th and Garibaldi entered Rome in triumph on September 20th after brief resistance by the papal army.^{90 91}

It was all over, bar the shouting. Pius anathematized Garibaldi and declared himself to be a prisoner in the Vatican, while Garibaldi declared the pope's secular authority abolished and the papacy to be independent of the nation. And in that "detestable" democratic referendum one month later the people of the former papal states declared themselves part of Italy with only 1,507 votes cast against reunification out of 167,548 people entitled to vote. By the time many of the non-European bishops arrived home even the shouting was over and few people in the church were prepared to push for military intervention to restore the papal plot against the wishes of the people.⁹²

The world's Roman Catholic people had an infallible pope without secular authority to provide the focal point for their universal faith so they had reason enough to be happy, in spite of unceasing papal complaints about being hard done by. But gradually issues and tensions began to build up. They, and their clergy even more so, had committed themselves to the personal will and unquestioned political involvement and power of their leader in a foreign country. During the following years they were to find that they had walked right into the conflict of interest problem which the church had always accused Jews of having even though

the Jews had not sworn personal allegiance to a foreign power. They didn't have one to swear allegiance to. Their only conflict of interest had come from the persecution and abuse of the human rights of their coreligionists.⁹³

GERMANY'S KULTURKAMPF

The most devastating backlash to the Vatican Council's decisions came in Germany, the seat of the Reformation, where scientific research was being pushed ahead at a great rate and where scientists and educators had been shocked by the Syllabus of Errors only six years before. Catholic theologians, a large number of whom were soon excommunicated, joined with scientists at universities across Germany to organize public protest meetings. Bismarck had become chancellor of the unified North German Confederation after the successful war against Austria and the venom of the attacks on the Vatican strengthened his resolve not to negotiate with Napoleon III whose army had been propping up the papacy. But the Franco-Prussian War provided the basis for further rounds of competition of a different nature. It enabled the establishment of the Second German Reich, with William I as emperor and Bismarck as powerful and ambitious Chancellor, and at the same time, although it proved disastrous for France domestically and in Europe, it heralded the beginning of the new Empire Francoi. France was determined to offset its weakened position in Europe with a stronger international position through a vigorous extension of its overseas empire.

Within weeks of the infallibility decision, even before Napoleon had fallen, committees were being set up in Germany to form a breakaway "Old Catholic Church" which did not recognize the decisions of the Vatican Council.⁹⁴ The new breed of reformers approached Bismarck for support and, riding the crest of the wave, he took up their cause with a vengeance. The Kulturkampf was soon in full swing.

The "Old Catholics" met in congress for the first time in September 1871, just a year after the infallibility decision, and three months later Bismarck closed the Catholic Department of the Ministry for Public Worship. For five years Imperial restrictions on the Roman Catholic Church were progressively introduced and tightened, while the breakaway "Old Catholics" introduced a series of reforms. However it was not all a reaction to the Vatican Council. Tensions had been building up during the generation since the Cologne mixed marriages affair of 1837, with the Jesuits reappearing in 1847, and the establishment of a Catholic political party in 1852 which became known, after 1858, as the Center Party.⁹⁵ Regulations for school and pulpit supervision were among the first to be introduced, in March 1872, and it was Germany's turn to expel the Jesuits in July. Then in May 1873 laws designed to eliminate Vatican control over the Catholic Church in Germany were introduced. These had the practical effect of establishing a national Catholic Church by regulating the training and hiring of clergy and by recognition of bishops in the "Old Catholic" Church.

At that point the Center Party pulled out all the stops and with vigorous, divisive campaigning achieved ninety one seats in the Reichstag. But the regulations kept coming. Civil

marriage procedures were made obligatory in March 1874 and this led to changes to marriage procedures in the “Old Catholic” wing which also changed its confessional system and discontinued many of the church’s feast days. April ‘75 saw the ending of state funds to all Roman Catholic enterprises throughout the empire except those involving nursing, and in May all Roman Catholic monasteries in Prussia were closed and their orders dissolved. The rash of regulations was completed in July that year when the Roman Catholic Church was obliged to open all its buildings for joint use with the “Old Catholics” whose reforms continued with the ending of celibacy as a priestly obligation in 1878. There the situation remained, with the world experiencing another wave of German religious emigration, but this time it was Catholic, until the new pope, Leo XIII, negotiated a new German Concordat and the dismantling of the Kulturkampf regulations began in 1880.⁹⁶

FRENCH AND SPANISH REACTIONS

Actually the degree of turmoil in Germany was little different to that across much of Europe. In France the Paris Commune uprising took place from March to May 1871, even before a peace treaty had been signed with Germany, and it was suppressed with such ruthlessness that there were 30,000 deaths in one ‘bloody week.’ Efforts to restore the monarchy failed, the Third Republic was proclaimed in 1875, but conflict between monarchists and republicans continued. The Prime Minister was goaded by constant pressure and manipulation into observing that since the dissolution of the papal states Catholicism had become the “Black International” and a menace no less dangerous than the “Red International” of socialism,⁹⁷ and a program of anti-clerical reform began. The growth of Catholic universities in competition with the independent universities angered parliament and in 1880, 74 Jesuit schools and 261 “religious houses” were closed. Clerics and members of religious orders were then banned from teaching religion in public schools and the teaching of religion in public schools was banned altogether a few years later. Similar decisions were being taken in a number of countries and denominational conflict in public education was general throughout the Christian world, but the further removed a country was from the scene of the Vatican events of 1870 the less traumatic the conflict seemed to be.⁹⁸

Spain maintained its record for unending foreign and Vatican interference. Formal links with Rome were severed by the revolution of 1868 and then, for two years from 1873 to 1875, the country was governed as a republic. But a Spanish Republic with an independence in religious affairs posed a threat to all of Europe’s monarchies as well as the Vatican. After constant jockeying by the great powers and a confrontation between France and Prussia over who should provide a new monarch⁹⁹ the monarchy was restored, Roman Catholicism was proclaimed the sole church and the public performance of all other religions was banned. Some sort of repressive stability held for a generation but the explosion came in 1909. Some 68 churches and monasteries were burned and 138 Catholic clergy were murdered. Diplomatic relations between Spain and the Vatican were broken off again between 1910 and 1912, but that is getting ahead a

bit.¹⁰⁰ No one could escape the consequences of the church's view of itself and the Vatican's Ultramontanism. Christians around the world were so preoccupied with their own troubles that most of them couldn't care less about what happened to people of other religions. They didn't count anyway because there was no salvation outside the church. The church said so. So why worry about them? Let's just take advantage of their cheap labour. And as for the Jews, the Orthodox and the Muslims ... they were squabbling among themselves and it was time they were brought to heel, except to the extent that they could be useful in a pinch. The Orthodox and Muslims first.

CRISIS LOOMS FOR THE BALKANS

Within Europe the Orthodox and Muslim communities were restricted to the geographically small area of the Balkans, but as a land bridge to Asia this was a region of vital strategic importance to any power which had an interest in the Middle East or Asia, or in access from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. That made it vital to each of the European colonial powers and Russia. However it was an integral part of the Ottoman Empire and that made it a region of intrigue for the Catholic-dominated Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy which had been reconstituted in 1867. The Austrian concordat of 1855 was terminated in 1868 (the same year as in Spain), state-sponsored elementary schools were established throughout the empire, and both the Polish and Czech regions gained greater influence, official recognition of their two languages and the establishment of a Czech university. But the new imperial government was dominated (perhaps entrapped) by the conservative Catholic party which rejected the monarchy's policy of non-interference in Balkan affairs and maintained a massive military presence around the rim of the Ottoman Empire from the Adriatic to the Carpathian Mountains.

Although the Vatican had not been invited to sign – and had stood aloof from – the Russian Orthodox-inspired Holy Alliance, drawn up in September 1815 to confirm the validity of the decisions of the Congress of Vienna, the Austro-Hungarian military policy was consistent with the undertakings of the Holy Alliance powers. Those undertakings were to govern at home in a Christian patriarchal spirit in accordance with Holy Writ and to practice solidarity in foreign affairs. That meant to protect peace, justice and religion – in the style of the Greek and Russian Orthodox Churches, the Catholic Church (of Austria) and the Protestant Church of Prussia – basing their right of intervention against all liberal and national movements on their responsibility to God as enshrined in the divine right of kings. How could anyone dispute that? Each of the Holy Alliance powers were eager to take advantage of it to nibble away at the Ottoman Empire which was already being weakened by its own internal squabbles, the realignment of principalities and power bases in Rumania and Bulgaria, and a dispute with Greece over Macedonia combined with the decline of the Sultan's authority due to policies of his own.

Russia moved first. It took advantage of the Franco-Prussian war to gain Bismarck's support to repudiate conditions which had been imposed on Russia's right of passage through the

Dardanelles by the 1856 Peace of Paris. Turkey objected to the formalization of that decision by the Pontus Conference in London in 1871 without proper consultation about transit through its territory, and its responses led to uprisings by Turkish vassals and, in turn, the Serbo-Turkish War of 1875–77. When the Porte refused to carry out internal reforms demanded by his Christian minority, Russia did what Britain, France, the United States and other colonial powers had done before. It used the need to free the Christians of the Balkans from oppression as the justification for the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78 and swept through the Ottoman states of Moldavia, Rumania and Bulgaria to threaten the Ottoman empire at its Turkish power base, Constantinople, as well as via the Caucasus. A settlement between the warring parties saw a substantial increase in Russian influence in the region, its uninhibited freedom of passage through the Dardanelles, and the enlargement of the Ottoman vassal state of Bulgaria at the expense of Turkey-in-Europe.

THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN: ARMENIANS IN CRISIS

But while Britain and Austria welcomed the weakening of the Muslim position they objected to the strengthening of the Russian position and that led to the Congress of Berlin in June–July 1878. In territorial terms the net results were that Austria was given ‘administrative rights’ over protectorates of Bosnia and Herzegovina; Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro each became independent within the Ottoman Empire; Bulgaria lost both its recently gained benefits and its regions of Macedonia and Roumelia to Turkey, and, as an autonomous principality, it remained tributary to Turkey; Britain ‘received’ Cyprus as a protectorate; and Russia gained Bessarabia and the major part of Armenia. But other results – which the great Christian powers of Europe and their churches either failed to comprehend or did not care about – were closer relations between Austria-Hungary and Germany; estrangement between Germany and Russia; a deepening of the Austro-Russian conflict in the Balkans; and the aggravation of ethno-nationality friction in the Balkans and Caucasus regions. The consequences of the religious and population centre of the Armenian Christian community, Etchmiadzin, being excised from the Ottoman Empire and grafted onto Orthodox-dominated Tzarist Russia would progressively become apparent from the early 1890s over some four generations.

The Armenian Church is traditionally understood to have been established by two very early apostles during the first century CE while Armenia was a suzerain kingdom on the eastern fringe of the Roman Empire. Its form of Christianity was proclaimed to be the state religion in 301 CE by the Armenian King, Trdat III, and, presumably because of its isolation, it managed to remain aloof from the worst of the controversies of three successive church councils, Nicea (325 CE), Chalcedon (451 CE) and Ephesus (431 CE). Although it is often thought to be aligned with Monophysite theology¹⁰¹ the contemporary Armenian Apostolic Church, a full member of the World Council of Churches, recognizes the status of all three of those councils but bases its Christology on the second, Ephesus, and denies any association with Monophysitism.¹⁰² However, while it avoided the excesses of religious controversy, it was

caught in the military dogfights and in 390 CE its strategically important territory was split between Byzantium and Persia, and forty years later the kingdom disappeared. Subsequently its people and its church, both staunchly bonded by Armenian heritage, enjoyed cohesion and relative tolerance, with restricted rights, even though they were scattered over territory jealously contested by Turks, Russians, Arabs and Persians, and swept by waves of military action, migration and countless 'adventures' by European powers.

However, as a result of the Balkans wars and the Congress of Berlin, the tolerance became a thing of the past. During the Russo-Turkish war, in retaliation for the support given by the Christian churches for the Russian-pan-Slavic invasion, the Sultan revoked a parliamentary constitution which he had granted only two years earlier, which had placed all religious creeds and nationalities on an equal footing (as opposed to being tolerated), and this triggered unrest in Armenia. The unrest deepened when, in its weakened position, the Ottoman Empire became increasingly dependent on Europe for investment and infrastructure funds, and deeply in debt to it, and could not resist further territorial losses. Thessaly was ceded to Greece, and France imposed a protectorate over Tunisia in 1881. The Sultan was obliged to place his treasury under the control of the European powers, and Britain occupied Egypt the following year. The Armenians, now divided by the Turko-Russian border as well as facing the loss of their constitutional rights, rebelled. From 1894 to 1896, after some years of terrorism and counter terrorism, the Sultan, ruling through reactionary Muslim clerics and with the European powers still effectively controlling the empire's finances, used irregular Kurdish forces to subdue the Armenian nationalists. Britain, tying its Christian flag to the mast yet again, proposed partitioning Turkey but it was Germany's turn to show its sympathy for the Muslim Turks. In return for opposing the British partition plan it received concessions for the construction of the Anatolia and Baghdad Railway. The Armenian crisis gradually gathered momentum.

LET'S SAVE THE JEWS

Now: the Jews. After the ghettos had tumbled by direction of people like Napoleon and Garibaldi, the church, and especially the Vatican, had to either admit that it had been wrong in forcing the Jewish community into them in the first place or justify what it had done all those years. It is clear from the church's doctrinal view of itself that it was hardly likely to admit being wrong. It didn't. And compared with finding a theological justification for wholesale murder and torture by the Inquisition it was a simple matter to justify locking up a few Jews at night. Everyone knew they had murdered God, or the Son of God, or one part in three of God, whichever way they chose to think of Christ, the Messiah, so that was sufficient justification. It therefore followed that the church was acting quite within its authority as Christ's sole representative on earth in constantly reminding Jews of their corporate crime, in keeping them separate from the "saved" Christian community and in dispensing constant justice. And, to take that line of reasoning to its logical conclusion, there was no reason why that process ought stop whether the Jews were inside a ghetto or whether misguided, politically motivated civil

authorities had overruled the church (which, according to the Vatican Council, they had no right to do) and had let the Jews run loose. It didn't. Another "responsibility" the church clung to was the "rescue" of former Jews who had gained the benefits of baptism by some means or another. This was part of the justification for the intervention, force and coercion clauses of the Vatican statements and it was also quite consistent with the defunct and discredited Holy Alliance.

The shouts of anger from the Jewish community in Rome had hardly died down from one such incident when Pius began lobbying for his infallibility. The incident bears something of the mentality of bishops sprinkling boatloads of slaves in Angola and Manoel sprinkling resistant mobs in Portugal to stop the inquisitors from wringing their necks, but the reasoning took a slightly different twist. Edgardo Mortara, a six or seven year old Jewish lad, was kidnapped in Bologna on the pretext that at the age of one he had "submitted" to some sort of baptismal process administered by a servant girl. [If one were to pursue this on the basis of consistent reasoning, taking account of both the Vatican's attitude to the ordination of women and the level of corruption involved in the sale of church offices during earlier periods, this could be interpreted to mean that the pope had been ordaining teenage girls in secret. But the absence of consistent reasoning was seldom an impediment in such matters and in any case the pope was only 12 years away from his infallibility.] Edgardo's father, Ludovico Mortara, was a leader of the struggle for Italian reunification. After the fall of the papal states he brought order into Italian civil law procedures, became president of the Italian Supreme Court and later Minister of Justice, a concept which he had not experienced while living in a papal state. The inevitable conclusion is therefore that the boy's kidnapping in 1858 was a punitive action against his father. Sir Moses Montefiore personally intervened, but this was not to be one of his diplomatic successes. The pope insisted that the boy be brought up as a Christian and he later gained prominence in the church. Very convenient.^{103 104}

However the pope's rejection of Montefiore's approach was not the end of the matter. In yet another classic case of the church's self-understanding and bigotry obscuring the possible consequences of its actions, the incident focussed Jewish attention world wide on the urgent need for one or more representative organizations which could act in the community's interests in matters of justice, law, defamation and political lobbying. Two were set up in quick succession. Firstly, several American Jewish leaders approached President James Buchanan with a request that he intervene with the Vatican on behalf of Edgardo Mortara. He refused to do so on the grounds that intervention might alienate Irish Catholics who were loyal Supporters of the Democrats. As a direct result of his refusal, when representatives of 25 Jewish congregations from 14 cities met early the following year they resolved to establish the Board of Delegates of American Israelites. One of the board's responsibilities was to represent American Jews in future discussions with governments. The first step to counterbalance the disproportionate influence of the church on public opinion and government policies had been taken. Secondly, only twelve months later the Alliance Israelite Universelle was set up, with its headquarters in Paris, to defend the civil rights and religious freedom of Jews all over the world by working through diplomatic channels and to promote harmony through education.

Subsequently, as a result of the divisive Franco-Prussian War, complementary bodies were set up in England (the Anglo-Jewish Association) and Germany (the Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden).^{105 106 107}

The more enlightened churchmen didn't peddle the concept of 'rescuing' baptized Jews but it appears that the vast majority did. The church's official attitudes and human nature therefore combined to prevent the dismantling of the ghettos from having the intended effect. As Jewish commercial and professional capacity and competition for jobs in the community gathered momentum, and as the prestige, influence and wealth of its leaders increased, so also did antagonism and efforts to inhibit their success. Fortunately the influence of humanitarian philosophies spreading by means of books and the press, and also through the state school systems, (all of which the church had made every effort to curb), tended to offset religious bigotry and 'programmed' persecution. As a result physical violence did not reach the intensity which might otherwise have been the case and when it occurred it prompted further efforts at community education.

However, deeply entrenched religious bigotry could not be eliminated in the continuing presence of the overpowering body which had been promoting it for so long, especially when it had refused to admit that it had been wrong even when it was surrounded by Piedmontese muzzle loaders. The Vatican had shown the same sort of determination as the Jewish community when it had been under pressure on many occasions. Direct physical confrontation waned because it could no longer be imposed from a position of power but the basic bigotry simply appeared in revised forms. Psychological intimidation and smear campaigns based on the premise that to be a Jew meant to be a member of a race with decidedly sinister characteristics, backed Europe's Jews into another round of race-based anti-Semitism in a particularly virulent form.

It hadn't taken very long to resurrect the racial misconceptions which Napoleon Bonaparte had slaughtered and buried. Jewish theologians and writers were confused. Mendelssohn, the Enlightenment and the progressive legal emancipation after the collapse of the ghetto system had led to a generation or so of renewed pride in Jewish history, tradition and culture. Writers had eagerly tried to harmonize unaccustomed Jewish freedom under Christian powers with the traditional yearning for release in the Messianic Age. They could hardly believe they had reached the Messianic Age. They were not back in Jerusalem and the Israel of Maimonides' understanding, but their situation had changed radically.¹⁰⁸

ANTI-SEMITISM TAKES ON NEW FORMS

After the revolutionary round of 1848–50 the reality of the new emerging anti-Semitism caused another shift in Jewish thinking. Maybe there was something unhealthy about the heavy emphasis on Jewish tradition in ghetto life after all. Maybe Jewish resistance to intermarriage and withdrawal from active evangelism to encourage converts had been a mistake, even though few people would readily change their basic faith for the doubtful privilege of living in a ghetto.

However such courageous but introverted examination of their own situation and faith by Jewish writers played into the grasping hands of racial bigots. "They even admit it, they are an inferior race" was the sort of comment used to back up many attacks by Christian rabble-rousers from the battered but belligerent and resurgent church.

When economic depression swept Europe after the Vatican Council and the fall of the papal states, (but as a result of the financial speculation which went with the Franco-Prussian War), many people were in a mood to believe anything bad about a Jew and to act on it. The brief honeymoon was at an end.

In Germany Bismarck was in a position of absolute power, his position subject only to the emperor and, under the constitutional arrangements of the day, not even subject to the discipline of parliament. He knew who controlled the purse strings, the relationships which influenced their decisions and the methods by which they manipulated the money market. He was very bitter about Baron Alphonse Rothschild's role in the Franco Prussian peace settlement. Together with King William, Bismarck had occupied the Rothschild chateau, Ferrieres, (at which he had previously been a house guest), to use as Prussia's military headquarters during the siege of Paris. As part of the peace settlement then being negotiated he had demanded six billion francs indemnity to complement the ceding of Alsace-Lorraine, but the representatives of the fledgling French Republic insisted they would have to consult the Baron before they committed the nation to such a payment. Considering that it was the Prussian Elector William's money which had set the Rothschild fortune rolling during an earlier war with Republican France, Bismarck was not at all amused. When Baron Alphonse insisted that the most France could meet would be five billion francs and that all the great merchant bankers of Europe would have to stand guarantors (and therefore back the French economy) Bismarck and King William just had to accept it. However they did so with rather bad grace and insisted that German troops would garrison France until it was paid off over the agreed six years. Later, when the money flowed in France so freely that the debt was paid off in 1875, after only four years, the Chancellor clearly felt the German people had been cheated by the grandson of one of their own court Jews and that preferential treatment for France had added to Germany's economic woes.¹⁰⁹

Bismarck would have been very conscious of his own advice to the government of the day when the Crimean War was breaking, but he seems to have believed that the new German Empire was in such a powerful position that it need not fear a Rothschild backlash if it rocked the Jewish boat. For some time he allowed the gutter press to revile and agitate against the Jewish minority but in 1878 he encouraged the Protestant Court Preacher, Adolf Stocker, in the formation of the Christian Socialist Workingmen's Union (C.S.W.U.) which was bourgeois and reactionary rather than working class and Christian. It took up a program to restrict Jewish influence in business, society and politics and it ran hand in hand with, or possibly as a distraction from, the Kulturkampf which had become a national political embarrassment. Anti-Semitic books soon flooded the market and deputies seemed to compete in making inflammatory speeches in the Diet.¹¹⁰

About the time that the C.S.W.U. was being formed a new pope, Leo XIII, took office and immediately began an intensive campaign towards reconciliation with the powers of Europe. Bismarck was his first and surprisingly willing target. A concordat was signed almost immediately; the dismantling of the Kulturkampf regulations began in 1880 and Bismarck appointed an ambassador to the Vatican in 1882. Only the next year he accepted a knighthood in the Supreme Order of Christ, the Vatican's highest civil honour and one which has been restricted to Christian heads of state since 1966.^{111 112 113} Bismarck had achieved a very honourable volte-face but few people were surprised. The "Old Catholics" had not succeeded in breaking the grip of the Vatican over most of the Catholic population and the Centre Party had become a major political force. State and church-in-conflict were back working hand in glove again. The anti-Semitic program could again be pressed without distraction. It was.

There were 255,000 signatures on a petition demanding the disenfranchisement of Jews which Bismarck received on April 25th 1881 from the newly organized anti-Semitic league. The matter was debated several times and, although it was not formally acted on, Jews found it all but impossible to gain an army commission, senior state offices or chairs at universities without first accepting baptism. It was just like the good old days and relations between Jews and their Christian neighbours fell to the same level of bitterness.¹¹⁴

IT'S RUSSIA'S TURN ... AGAIN

Then world attention swung to Russia where the elite tended to look to Germany for a lead in social, cultural and business affairs. The new anti-Semitism was being readily accepted because of a similar rise in competition in Russia and it was seen as justification for the earlier policy of "containing" Jewish influence within the Pale of Settlement. Alexander II had begun to regret his decision to open the Pale and the degree of economic dependence on Jewish financiers which had resulted from his turning to them for development help after the Crimean debacle.

But Alexander also had other reasons for concern. He knew that the Russian economy was still badly balanced because his emancipation act had been only partly successful. The former serfs were facing poverty. Unrest was increasing and in the same way that the intelligentsia looked to Germany for inspiration, so did the peasantry. That baptized Jewish philosopher/political economist Karl Marx, who had developed such strong views on the influence of organized religion, had said that the Polish question was the most important issue facing Europe's workers. Tolstoy, one of his own intelligentsia, believed that revolution in Russia would be directed not against the tsar and despotism but against the ownership of land.¹¹⁵ But as this was an essential ingredient in the Polish question with well over half the population there being former serfs and with close to four million Jews in the Pale, which basically meant Poland, the problems were all intimately linked. He would have to disentangle them and tackle the land question as a matter of urgency. He was sympathetic, but he had left his run too late.

On March 13, 1881 Alexander was assassinated. When it was learned that the conspirators had met in the flat of a young Jewess it didn't take much of a pretext to start an anti-Semitic riot of incredible barbarity at Elisavetgrad. Officials and troops either joined the massacre or simply didn't intervene. That was April 27th. Kiev and Odessa followed suit, but spread their events over a fortnight in May, and within a few months pogroms had swept one hundred and sixty centres.¹¹⁶ The situation for Jews in Russia and Eastern Europe had reached another critical point. However Jewish self-understanding, the nature of European society generally and the nature of Russian society in particular, had changed significantly since Napoleon. At the same time communications and transport had improved and this crisis triggered reactions other than just mass refugee movements.

One important reaction was that just as in the thirteenth century when King Boleslav welcomed and encouraged Jewish migration into Poland, there were people on the other side of the world who were prepared to extend a welcoming hand. On August 6, 1881, the government of Argentina appointed a special agent to attract Jewish immigration from Russia. No doubt, as in Boleslav's case, humanitarian concern coincided with the economic needs of the country, but it was genuine.

Two other important reactions were the concurrent renewal of interest in Hebrew culture in contrast to the Yiddish culture which had come to dominate Jewish ghetto and community life in Eastern Europe over a long period, and the rebirth of national identity, or the sense of a Jewish society, among the small stream of refugees who made the journey to Palestine. Those settlers did not see themselves as simply 'going up' to the Land of Israel to live and die there but to become part of Jewish society. They set up simple cooperative organizations and established movements which provided the basis of political organizations in due course. Among those settlers in 1881 was Eliezer Ben-Yehuda who became known as the 'father' of modern Hebrew for his efforts to have Hebrew accepted as the language of Jews living in Palestine. His aim was to integrate the religious and secular traditions of Jews who had been scattered in different parts of the diaspora and to provide a bridge between the diaspora and the homeland of Palestine. Through a common language the folklore, festivals and ceremonies of the renewed society could be gathered, redeveloped or constituted anew so that the new Hebrew society could encompass facets of both the original civilization which had been uprooted long ago and those from which settlers were coming to form the new society. It was to be a long hard struggle involving tensions between Orthodoxy and contemporary religious and Zionist understandings, and it had to be based on the teaching and use of Hebrew in schools and in published literature. As a starting point the Hebrew Language Committee was established in 1890 and in a move which showed great confidence in the future the National Library in Jerusalem was founded in 1892. Over the next few years a Hebrew language publishing house, literary magazine, kindergarten, high school, technical college and newspapers were founded and Eliezer Ben-Yehuda produced a Hebrew dictionary.¹¹⁷

POVERTY, REPRESSION, BIGOTRY AND REFUGEE STATUS

Back in Russia there were contradictory decisions by the new government under Alexander III which chose to solve its inter-linked problems not with further concessions but by a determined policy of repression against the victims of poverty and religious bigotry. The causes could stay. It took full advantage of a misinterpretation of both Malthus and Darwin. On August 14, 1881, only a few days after the Argentinian action, Alexander III promulgated a law “for the protection of the (established) system of government” which codified what the state had been doing and provided for “certain of the Empire’s localities” to be placed under either “reinforced safeguard” or “extraordinary safeguard.” The only difference was the degree of repression by the Ministry of the Interior using the martial law facilities at its disposal. The political police became the omnipotent prop for the monarchy without which it had to collapse. Official surveillance, forced labour and exile were a regular part of their armory in protecting “the Sacred Person, the Dignity, and the Supreme Authority” of the tsar.¹¹⁸ Then in January 1882 the Minister for the Interior, Count Ignatyev, announced that Jews, who he blamed for the riots because of their control over commerce and industry, were allowed to leave Russia. A huge wave of emigration to the west began immediately. However only four months later, responding to public pressure, Alexander dismissed the count and confirmed the August laws with severe economic restrictions on the Jewish community. Perhaps Argentina was too remote or people simply did not have time to consider it seriously, but there was not an immediate flood of Jewish migration under that country’s special scheme and large scale immigration and agricultural settlement there only began in 1889. It was further stimulated two years later when Baron de Hirsch established agricultural settlements.¹¹⁹

In the meantime the subversion-prone Jews were subjected to special treatment and counter-reforms and in the oppressive “May Laws” of 1882 indignity was heaped on injustice. The Russian version of the ghetto was about to be born. All Jews were excluded from rural areas, villages and towns of up to 10,000 people, even in the Pale. They could head for the slums of big cities in the Pale, (except Kiev, Nikolaev, Sebastopol and Yalta), they could set up hamlets or shtetls, or they could leave Russia. About 20,000 were expelled from Moscow and 2,000 from St. Petersburg; 700,000 were driven from the rest of Russia into the Pale; 500,000 from rural areas within the Pale were herded into shtetls, and 250,000 along Russia’s western frontier went the same way. A major refugee movement was ‘justified’ to preserve the privileges and power of the Christian monarchy and its parasites, but the consequences were going to be beyond anyone’s expectations.

To begin with, the centre of gravity of the world Jewish population which had already begun to drift towards the United States, lurched heavily in that direction. Very soon the United States would become home to the largest number and the largest concentrations of Jews in the world, outnumbering progressively those remaining in North Africa and the Middle East, then Germany and finally those in Russia and its territories by a big margin. The importance of this would become apparent in about two or three generations as their influence in matters social,

economic and political within the United States naturally increased and its highly educated Jewish community assumed – or was forced by circumstances to adopt – a position of leadership in world Jewish affairs. No one and no country could avoid being affected either directly or indirectly.

However in the early stages of the drift the effects were felt in much more mundane ways. Wherever in the world European Christians had settled – and the refugees now followed – ordinary people found that refugees were not just items in a newspaper. They were competitors for jobs, for homes, for places in schools and for food and they received sympathetic treatment from both government authorities and employers because they represented long term economic growth and they were willing to work for their security. This meant that they were a damned nuisance to the ordinary man in the street and they soon became a political embarrassment as well. About two million of them poured out of the Pale through Hungary into Britain, other parts of Europe, the USA and Palestine as well as Latin America. ^{120 121}

DREYFUS IN THE LAND OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Some of the Russian Jewish refugees sought refuge in France where they soon found that the religious tolerance of only a few generations before which had produced the Declaration of Human Rights, triggered the movement for Jewish emancipation, and led to Jews in Algeria being granted French citizenship in 1870, had evaporated. Frenchmen of the 1890s were little different to people anywhere in Europe and they were quite happy to use a Jew as a scapegoat. Jewish recognition of that fact was about to have long term repercussions throughout the world. A French-born Hungarian Catholic army officer, Major F.W. Esterhazy, who had served first in the papal army against Garibaldi and then for Napoleon III against Bismarck, married a wealthy aristocrat, squandered her money and looked for other sources of funds. He turned first to joint ownership of a brothel and then to selling military secrets to the Germans. This could have got him into immediate serious trouble but there was just one Jewish officer in the entire French General Staff and a hand writing examination of intercepted documents just happened to very conveniently lead to him, Captain Alfred Dreyfus. Captain Dreyfus was undistinguished but with an immense capacity for work. He was reserved to the point of snobbishness and morally correct to the point of being a bore. He was arrested in 1894 on the charge of espionage.

Other General Staff officers gleefully began to celebrate the demise of their despised Jewboy, but their glee turned to dismay when the truth was discovered sometime before the trial. Blast! Stuck with him still! But a cover-up was worth a try on the basis that a French aristocratic General Staff officer could never be allowed to face trial for espionage. Dreyfus was court-martialed, publicly and dishonourably discharged, and sentenced to life imprisonment on Devil's Island. French honour was restored, the General Staff was rid of its Jewboy, the public was jubilant because it had been saved from a traitor and the Jewish community was suitably humiliated.

However, a little while later a devoutly Catholic Colonel, Georges Picquart, was appointed Chief of Intelligence. He stumbled onto the conspiracy file. When he demanded that the case be reopened he was demoted and sent to the Tunisian front line for his trouble, but the conspiracy was out in the open. The general staff, state bureaucracy, church and press combined to condemn both Picquart and Dreyfus. France split down the middle with mob street fights and hysterical anti-Semitic violence. Eventually Esterhazy was tried and acquitted, naturally, and Picquart faced trial for false accusation. He was soon joined by Emile Zola, a journalist who accused the government of involvement in the conspiracy, but Zola managed to escape to England. An officer who had helped to fabricate evidence against Dreyfus committed suicide and Esterhazy finally confessed.

The Dreyfus affair had been running for four years when he was ordered to stand retrial. In spite of the facts he was again found guilty, this time of high treason, but the court reduced his sentence from life to ten years because of "extenuating circumstances." Not only Frenchmen but the world was shocked and the cause kept running. Finally in 1906, twelve years after his false arrest, Dreyfus was exonerated by the Supreme Court, promoted to major and awarded the Legion of Honour.¹²² By that time other figures were being groomed for the European stage on which anti-Semitism played full time, but in the meantime the long-running Dreyfus affair had helped to change the course of history.

The proven complicity of the enlightened republican French government in a scheme by its executive defence arm to subvert justice and to use a screen of public anti-Semitism in a cover-up had come in relatively quick succession after Bismarck's and Alexander's blatant efforts to intimidate Jews into subjection. It lifted Anti-Semitism from the level of a political reaction under pressure from religious bigots and gave it the status of a respectable government policy. The new forms of Anti-Semitism were more soul-destroying and had the potential to lead to repression and physical violence on a scale more terrifying than that to which their forebears had been subjected. The ghetto had never been like this. The speed and intensity of the change had been made possible by the newfangled technology. Instant communications by telegraph and telephone; mass indoctrination by newspapers produced at speed because of the linotype; transport to shift civilians or armies long distances quickly, and advanced new weaponry put immense power into the hands of the authorities.

If the Christian church continued on its course, (there was little indication of a change), and if the governments of Europe continued on their courses, (there was every reason to believe they would), then the future for the Jewish community was grim indeed. The dreadful truth settled depressingly on religious and community leaders to whom millions of Jews were turning for assurance. The situation was becoming so critical that it shook the faith of many people whose dedication and commitment to the traditions and self-understanding of Judaism had stood many severe tests.

HERZL'S TRAUMA

Among the people who attended open sessions of the Dreyfus trial in 1895, culminating in his public degradation as an officer, was a Jewish newspaper correspondent named Theodore Herzl. He was neither a religious leader nor a community leader. Born in Budapest in 1860 to semi-assimilated parents whose culture was more German than Jewish, he lived in relative luxury during his pampered youth, studied law in Vienna, dropped it to write instead, and entertained Viennese society with his somewhat cynical morning newspaper columns. He was conscious of his Jewish heritage and suffered or witnessed sufficient anti-Semitism to make him toy with the idea of being baptized.¹²³ His early reaction had been no different to that of Karl Marx father, Benjamin Disraeli's father, and a host of other eminently worthy citizens in every country of Europe.

Herzl, in common with so many of his coreligionists, had been confused by the church's brainwashing into seeing his Jewishness as a strange combined racial and religious characteristic and, as a result, had not succumbed to the pressure tactics. He was deeply shaken by the trauma of the Dreyfus trial and especially by hearing French mobs on the rampage shouting "Death to the Jews!" This experience reinforced his Jewish consciousness and he determined to find an answer to "the Jewish question." The basic problem was to either dismantle, counter or circumvent both the day-by-day harassment of Jews and the growing efforts by the Christian block of religious, civil and political groups to eliminate the Jewish community en masse. Whether Herzl rationalized the problem in quite that manner does not matter. That was the basic problem. But what was the Jewishness or the Jewish heritage which he was trying to rationalize? There had been a great many influences at work on both sides of the Atlantic since the Magyars closed the Viennese-style Reformed services of the Central Association of Hungarian Israelites at Ofen in 1852 to show that Jews were expected to stick with their traditions, so before we look at Herzl's considered response to the situation in Europe we must retrace our steps again, looking first at the United States.

AMERICA'S RELIGIOUS FREE MARKET

Unlike Europe, where Jews at worship, in business or at play constantly had to cope with oppressive government intervention and the pervasive influence of the churches, in America the religious environment was much more relaxed and relatively free of prejudice. Meyer describes it as "a free market of religions" in which a multitude of denominations and sects competed for adherents.¹²⁴ The Jewish population had just trickled in, mainly as refugees from European oppression, and until 1840 there was no ordained rabbi 'to lend the weight of his authority to traditional practice.' All roles and positions of authority in a congregation, whether cantor, teacher or ritual slaughterer, were filled by laymen, most of whom had little training for their responsibilities. There were no formally recognized communities, observance of the Sabbath, religious ritual and dietary laws was a matter of personal decision. Jews enjoyed normal social and business contact with the rest of the community, dressed like those around them, voted in

elections, held public office, and appeared to have no qualms about mixed marriages which were not infrequent. Thus traditional Judaism was ripe for reform as the Jewish community grew.

Jews who had experienced or been involved in the Reform Movement in Europe found 'a more hospitable intellectual climate' when they reached America's shores than they had left behind. They could not help but be influenced by the environment in which Christians, although often living in states or communities with a denominational foundation, were eager to cast off the friction and conflicts of their European heritage and saw themselves as 'living revelation' in their 'New Israel' – a country with a profound sense of mission and a divine destiny to lead the world. There were, of course, some exceptions to the general level of religious tolerance and in spite of the Virginia Statute of 1785, Article VI of the Constitution of 1787 and the subsequent First Amendment to the Constitution in 1791, at least two states, Maryland, (the state founded on Catholicism), and North Carolina retained regulations limiting the rights of Jews. A fierce thirty-year battle for Jewish equality resulted in the Maryland General Assembly passing "The Jew Bill" in 1818 to eliminate a religious test for civil office, but the North Carolina restrictions remained until 1868.¹²⁵ However even Jewish leaders, including the pre-eminent American Reformer Isaac Mayer Wise, accustomed to thinking in terms of a divinely ordained role for Israel in the Messianic Era, could relate to the general American Christian perception. Wise accepted that George Washington and his colleagues were 'chosen instruments of Providence' helping to work out a new destiny for humanity in a unique environment of liberty. He believed that Judaism and its people, chosen anew, would play a role in working out that destiny and that progressive, universal and non-authoritarian Reform Judaism would eventually become the common faith of America.¹²⁶

THE CHARLESTON BID TO REFORM JUDAISM

The first organized bid to introduce reforms in Judaism in the United States appears to have been made in 1824, when there was still only an estimated Jewish population of between 5,000 and 6,000 in the total population of the US of about 12 or 13 million,¹²⁷ with congregations and traditional synagogues in five cities all worshipping on the basis of the Sephardi rite. A petition signed by 47 of the 600 adherents of the influential Beth Elohim congregation in Charleston referred to the gradual drift away from the worship of the true God, noted reforms which were being introduced 'even amidst the intolerance of Europe' and requested some similar reforms. Specifically it requested that some of the Hebrew prayers be repeated in English, that there be a weekly discourse in English on the principles of Judaism, that services be shorter, and that contributions not be recognized during the service with 'unseemly tendering of honours.' When their concerns were not given serious consideration some of the petitioners established the Reformed Society of Israelites. They introduced the changes to the liturgy which they had sought but they also adopted a ten-point creed which broke new ground in changing the emphasis of, or in departing from Maimonides Thirteen Articles of Faith. Within two years they

had drawn some members from Beth Elohim and attracted new members so that attendance at the society's services reached two thirds of that of the parent congregation.

The Charleston Constitution noted in terms that can only be interpreted as strong criticism of traditional rabbinical Judaism that "the great cause of many of the calamities with which mankind have been so often visited resulted from a blind observance of the ceremonial law, to the neglect of the essential spirit of revealed religion contained in the Law and the Prophets."¹²⁸ The Charleston Creed, linked to the Constitution, then includes these substitutions in matters of faith. (1) Belief that "the soul of man is breathed into him by God, and is therefore immortal" replaces Maimonides' belief that "there will be a resurrection of the dead at the time when it shall please the Creator." (2) Belief that "the laws of God, as delivered by Moses in the Ten Commandments, are the only true foundations of piety towards the Almighty and of morality among men" replaces three articles which refer to the Torah and the totality of the mitzvot as given to (or revealed to) Moses being unchangeable or not subject to further revelation or interpretation, and to adherence to the total Torah being required for divine reward. (3) It omitted belief in "the coming of the Messiah, and (the undertaking to) wait daily for his coming", and substituted clauses which absolutely reject the concept of a person sharing or having any subordinate role in either creation or divine authority. (4) It omitted any direct reference to prayer, placing stronger emphasis on the love of God as the first duty of His creatures and on exclusive adoration and worship of the Creator, while excluding, absolutely, the concept of intercessory prayer and the worship of any "other being." (5) It put a new emphasis on morality as "essentially connected with religion" and "good faith towards all mankind (being) among the most acceptable offerings to Deity."¹²⁹

The Charleston Constitution and Creed, together, were remarkable documents, combining a stronger direct rejection of the Christian concept of the Trinity with acceptance of the Gospel concept of human responsibility before God, as preached by Jesus of Nazareth, complementing the requirement to adhere to the most basic Mosaic Law. They were also remarkable because they reflected a very thoughtful response to the influences at work on both Judaism and Christianity in two environments – Europe and the New World – and because they bore a remarkable similarity to Qur'anic understanding with few, if any, of their authors having come under the influence of Muslim scholarship. The Charleston Reformers had drawn on, and built on, the efforts of the German reformers, but they had added their own touch of reasoning and a new phase had opened in the reform of Judaism world wide. However the path for the reformers was not a bed of rose petals and for the next three generations we must therefore leapfrog backwards and forwards across the Atlantic as Jewish scholars unwittingly prepared for the shift in the centre of gravity of their confessional community from Europe to the United States.

The Charleston reformers were not able to sustain their ambitious drive and within a few years of the publication of the Charleston Creed they had disbanded. Some members of the Society drifted while others returned to Beth Elohim where a new Prussian-Polish born *hazan*, Gustavus Poznanski, thought to be strictly orthodox, was appointed in 1836 and granted life tenure in 1838. Poznanski soon showed by changes which he introduced that he was not

orthodox in the conventional sense. In 1841 he introduced a revision of Maimonides' Thirteen Articles of Faith (as opposed to a completely new creed) which was almost as radical in its impact as the Charleston Creed. He simply changed two articles. Article 12, concerning messianism, he changed to read: "We believe that the Messiah announced by the Prophets is not come, the Prophecies in relation to his coming not being fulfilled." Article 13 he changed to substitute belief in immortality of the soul for resurrection of the body.¹³⁰ The traditionalists formed a new congregation, Shearith Israel, the reformers thus gained control of Beth Elohim and the most influential Jewish community in the United States was again, and permanently, split into Orthodox and Reform congregations. When Isaac Leeser, the influential traditionalist leader of Philadelphia's congregation, then proposed a convention to establish a union of all American Hebrew congregations, Beth Elohim refused to participate, fearing being swamped by ecclesiastical authority "alien to the spirit and genius of the age in which we live, ... wholly inconsistent with the principle of American liberty" and which would be "hostile to the march of improvement or the progress of enlightened and rational reform."¹³¹

NUMBERS BEGIN TO SWELL

Soon after this the rate of Jewish immigration from Europe began to increase because of the round of revolutions and the reactionary oppression of the churches, and many of the new arrivals had been influenced by the Reform Movement in Germany. As a result, by 1855 there were four additional congregations showing some degree of alignment with the reformers and Beth Elohim was no longer isolated. That year the 37-year old Bohemia-born Isaac Mayer Wise who had become rabbi of one of Cincinnati's four synagogues, and who aspired to the leadership of the Reform Movement, proposed a conference to unite all of America's Jewry. He succeeded in gaining the support of enough rabbis of both reform and orthodox persuasion to convene a conference and representatives of congregations in eight cities met in Cleveland, Ohio, in October that year. As the first step towards some form of union, a regular synod, a common liturgy and a plan for Jewish education, they considered and, after much debate, agreed upon a statement which was to provide the basis for future discussions. It had three simple clauses: the Bible is of immediate divine origin and the standard of the Jewish religion; the Talmud contains the traditional legal and logical exposition of the biblical laws which must be expounded and practiced according to the comments of the Talmud; and the resolutions of a Synod made in accordance with these principles are legally valid. However even that brief statement was a compromise and many leading reformers would not agree to take another step on the basis of an obligation to recognize the authority of the Talmud in all matters. The traditionalists and the reformers each went their own way and it would be many years before there was another attempt to bring everyone together.

The reformers grew in strength and numbers as more and more refugees fled from Europe. Each time the church and its reactionary state collaborators tried to suppress reform and modernization in Judaism in Europe in an effort to make it appear to be an anachronism they

actually helped to stimulate those processes in the United States and foster the growth of a very influential community. Furthermore, within a few years Americans would begin to return the compliment as, having developed from a base of the German Reform Movement, they became the world leaders in the process and the American approach to reform was adopted in Europe.¹³²

THE NEXT STEP: PHILADELPHIA

In November 1869 two of the radical German-born reformers, Rabbi Samuel Adler and Rabbi David Einhorn, convened a conference in Philadelphia on the basis of the German rabbinical conferences of the 1840s, but only “their theologically educated colleagues, who favor decided religious progress” were invited with the aim of reaching agreement on a Reform platform which would clearly set the Reform Movement apart from the Orthodox traditionalists. On that basis the conference adopted a set of seven principles which, in plain language, can be read as follows. *The Messianic aim of Israel is not the restoration of the old Jewish state under a descendant of David, but the union of all men as children of God in the confession of the unity of God, to realize their call to moral purity. *The second Jewish Commonwealth was not destroyed as punishment for Israel’s sins but in accord with the divine purpose of dispersing the Jews so that their mission to lead the nations of the world to the true knowledge and worship of God can be achieved. *Since the destruction of the second temple the only sacrifices acceptable to God are sincere devotion and moral purity and the sacrificial practices of earlier periods are now only to be referred to in prayers for educational purposes. *It follows from this that any distinctions made between Aaronide and non-Aaronide practices are no longer valid. *The world-embracing mission of Israel and the love of God for all His children is to be given emphasis together with the selection of Israel as the nation to bear the highest idea of humanity and religion. *There is no religious foundation for belief in bodily resurrection and the doctrine of immortality refers only to the soul. *The language of people at worship is to be preferred as the language for their worship and prayer which will therefore be more meaningful, while Hebrew is retained to fulfill the sacred requirements of historical research and study. The conference also formulated a number of laws concerning marriage and divorce, and ruled that circumcision was not to be a test of whether the male child of a Jewish mother was or was not Jewish.

Whether they were conscious of it or not, the American reformers of Judaism were reflecting and building on the influence of Spinoza and Kant, adjusting the relationship between reason and faith, and confirming that the total body of Yahwism was continuing to evolve. The total body of Yahwism was in fact involved in the processes of progressive revelation as well as evolution in theological understanding, regardless of whether opponents of the concept such as Isaac Mayer Wise or equally prominent theological figures in each of the other streams accepted it or not.¹³³ The evolution in understanding could not be and was not restricted to any one stream – Christianity, Islam or Judaism – and interaction between them and within any one stream must inevitably provide a stimulus for thinking within each of the other messianic faiths

which were at the same time partners and competitors in a dynamic triangle. However, because by its nature no process of evolution can ever reach a fixed and final position, the reformers could no more reach agreement on everything than did the reformers of Christianity. Similarly, while people holding long-established views, calling themselves Orthodox, Traditionalists or Conservatives, or adopting any other label, may find it easier to reach consensus on the issues which separate them from their reforming colleagues, there will always be some degree of dissent among them. In order that their current teaching or understanding may be sustained as the dominant corporate position they may accept compromise and avoid debate on contentious issues by simply deferring debate or by 'sweeping them under the carpet', until they assume a position of greater perceived importance and debate can no longer be avoided. So it was in this case and dissent continued on both sides of the Jewish theological divide.

Further rabbinical conferences were held in New York and Cincinnati in 1870 and 1871 but because of the nature of dissent each was convened on a different basis and with different attendance from the one before it. However they were followed by a convention of congregations in Cincinnati in July 1873 and on that occasion a national body, representative of 34 congregations of both Reform and Traditionalist persuasion in thirteen states, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC), was finally established. In 1875 it established, in somewhat straitened circumstances, the first rabbinical seminary in the United States, the Hebrew Union College, which later attained a position of influence and prestige. Then in 1878 the UAHC and the Board of Delegates (set up in 1859 in response to the Mortara affair) merged and the Board became a standing committee of the Union. By about that time the Union was able to report that it represented more than half of the Jewish congregations in the United States, but the strains of embracing groups of highly diverse theological outlook had already begun to show and in 1883 a split occurred in its membership. The Conservatives withdrew and established their own structures in due course and the Reform group was left in firm control of the Union.¹³⁴

No longer constrained within an organization which sought to cater for a very wide range of views, a number of reformers then embraced some much more radical ideas which Meyer says "tested the outer limits of Jewish identity" and required them to explain in what way they differed from Unitarian Christianity or the Ethical Culture Movement. Social justice became a major concern of the Reform Movement with education directed increasingly to Jewish ethics rather than customs and ceremonies and its 1885 Pittsburgh Platform became a defining (or dividing) gulf between Reform on one side and Conservatism and Orthodoxy on the other. Nine years earlier Felix Adler, the son of a New York rabbi and former student of both the liberal seminary in Berlin and Rabbi Abraham Geiger, had established the New York Society for Ethical Culture, saying that he could not accept gradual religious evolution or the 'half-way house' proposals of the Reform Movement. He rejected the idea that Israel was chosen by a theistic God to remain separated from the rest of the world for the purposes of a priestly mission, and he queried whether, if the aim of religion was a universal moral world, it may be better to draw from the tenets of many religious traditions. His ideas were so radical and the

public attention which his society attracted was so great that it was decided to convene a conference in Pittsburgh to clearly define the beliefs of the Reform Movement¹³⁵

THE PITTSBURGH PLATFORM

Written in a different form to previous statements, the eight-point Pittsburgh Platform is the most precise statement of beliefs which had been prepared up to that time and its quiet tone of confidence reflects the growth and the maturing of the Reform Movement in the United States which had built on the work of the Jewish reformers in Germany. Firmly non-Zionist or even anti-Zionist, it set the tone for American Jewish responses to the Zionist ground swell which was becoming evident in Europe as a consequence of the growing mood of anti-Semitism being generated by the churches and it therefore set the scene for a confrontation with the Zionist Movement only twelve years later. As we shall see, the Reform Movement retained its attitude to that major and divisive issue until the mid-1930s when Nazi pressure and the abject failure of the churches to recognize the parody of *Mein Kampf* led to a weakening of resolve, acceptance of Zionism and, ultimately, support for the establishment of the State of Israel. But that was very much a matter for the future when a group of fifteen rabbis set about drafting “the pivotal document for American reform Judaism”¹³⁶. The Pittsburgh Platform not only clearly defined the position of Reform Judaism in relation to Zionism, it also broke completely new ground in defining the relationship between Yahwism and other world religions in a manner which no responsible authority for any of the partners in the triangle had previously been prepared to consider.

Writing “as representatives of Reform Judaism in America” the authors said, in the opening clause, “We recognize in every religion an attempt to grasp the Infinite One, and in every mode, source or book of revelation held sacred in any religious system the consciousness of the indwelling of God in man.” Then, maintaining their belief in the pre-eminence of Judaism, they said, “... Judaism presents the highest conception of the God-idea as taught in our holy Scriptures and developed and spiritualized by the Jewish teachers in accordance with the moral and philosophical progress of their respective ages.” Judaism, they said, also preserved and defended “this God-idea” as the central religious truth for the human race amid continual struggles and trials and under enforced isolation. They could have added “and systematic oppression.”¹³⁷

Concerning the Bible and science, they said “We recognize in the Bible the record of the consecration of the Jewish people to its mission as priest of the One God, and value it as the most potent instrument of religious and moral instruction. We hold that the modern discoveries of scientific researches in the domains of nature and history are not antagonistic to the doctrines of Judaism, the Bible reflecting the primitive ideas of its own age and at times clothing its conceptions of divine providence and justice dealing with man in miraculous narratives.” Such clear, realistic statements were in sharp contrast with the convoluted and dogmatic defences which the churches had to mount to justify the Second (Baptist) Confession, the Westminster

Confession, the inerrancy of the Bible in the light of Darwin's theories of evolution which had been the centre of controversy for the past generation, and the Vatican's pathetic 'justification' of its doctrine of papal infallibility only fifteen years before. The whole of the Mosaic law, they said, was "a system for training the Jewish people for its mission during its (earlier) national life in Palestine", but they accepted as binding the moral laws and ceremonies which elevate or sanctify people, while those which are not adapted to modern civilization were rejected. In particular the Mosaic and rabbinical laws regulating diet, priestly conduct and dress were rejected as "altogether foreign to our present mental and spiritual state" and as obstructing rather than assisting modern spiritual elevation.

THE HAND OF FELLOWSHIP IN MISSION

The clauses concerning messianism, relations within the triangle, and other faiths reflected the social and political environment in which the American reformers were working, almost free of organized anti-Semitism, victimization and oppression. "We recognize in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect the approach of the realization of Israel's great Messianic hope for the establishment of the kingdom of truth, justice and peace among men. We consider ourselves no longer a nation but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the administration of the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state." These words carry the clear implication that those who currently occupied the land were entitled to it and that therefore any act to return to it and to establish a state of Israel would be an act of transgression against those people. Then, the authors said, Judaism is "a progressive religion, ever striving to be in accord with ... reason" and it is of the utmost necessity that its historical identity with its great past should be preserved. "Christianity and Islam being daughter religions of Judaism, we appreciate their mission to aid in the spreading of monotheistic and moral truth, ... we acknowledge that the spirit of broad humanity of our age is our ally in the fulfillment of our mission, and ... we extend the hand of fellowship to all who cooperate with us in the establishment of the reign of truth and righteousness among men."

The clause dealing with immortality of the soul in the Philadelphia statement was reinforced, 'reasserting' the doctrine that the human spirit is divine and finds bliss in righteousness and misery in wickedness, and that the soul of man is immortal. But the concepts of bodily resurrection and heaven and hell are rejected as non-Judaic. Then, finally, the statement on the Mosaic law is qualified with social justice raised to the level of an article of faith. Mosaic law strives to regulate the relation between rich and poor, and Jews must work at "the great task of modern times, to solve on the basis of justice and righteousness the problems presented by the contrasts and evils of the present organization of society."

The adoption of the Pittsburgh Platform proved very divisive. The radical reformers and many of moderate persuasion welcomed it, a Southern Rabbinical Conference and many individual synagogues endorsed it, but Conservatives, of whom many had been supporters of

the UAHC and the Hebrew Union College, denounced it. The result was that some members withdrew from both bodies, the Conservatives proceeded to formally develop their own organizations, and the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York was opened only two years later. The Jewish community had finally lost the struggle to remain more or less united and had suffered the fate of the Christians as a result of their Reformation: denominationalism. But a very significant body of people within world Jewry had accepted – with enthusiasm and with a reasonable knowledge of what that acceptance meant – a statement that they did not expect, nor look for, a return to Palestine. They had set themselves to resist the Zionist ground swell which was already apparent in both Europe and America.¹³⁸

THE BAHÁ'Í MOVEMENT: A SHARED IDEAL

The Pittsburgh Platform, although it led to division among the reformers, is a quite remarkable document and places Reform Judaism ahead of any group except the Baha'is in the recognition of other faiths. The Baha'i Movement was only founded in 1860. It was based on the teaching of the Bab, (Sayyid 'Ali Muhammad Shirazi), a religious, social and economic reformer from the Shi'ite Muslim stream who taught for only six years and was executed by the Iranian rulers in 1850 for challenging the status of Muhammad as the final seal of the prophets, and his nominated successor, Baha'u'llah, (Mirza Husayn Ali Nuri), who spent much of his life in prison-exile in Palestine which was then a part of the Ottoman Empire. Baha'u'llah died in 1892, so in 1885, at the time of the Pittsburgh Conference, the Baha'i movement was still embryonic, little known outside the Middle East, and no serious attempt at expansion or proselytizing was made until after 1908 when Baha'u'llah's son was released from prison and visited Europe and the United States. It is therefore highly unlikely that a knowledge of the principles of the Baha'i faith could have influenced the group of rabbis in Pittsburgh, and the development of their thinking and that of the Baha'is must be seen as quite independent of each other. Baha'i expansion in other regions of the world began only after World War II. Its basic principles include: that God the Creator is one, an entity that cannot be known in Himself, but only through various manifestations including the persons and revelations of Abraham, Moses, Zoroaster, the Buddha, Jesus Christ, Muhammad, the Bab and Baha'u'llah; the unification of mankind is inevitable through the unity of all religions and the harmony of all people, and the purpose of human life is to know and to worship God; religious truth is to be sought through reason and faith, and there is an essential harmony between scientific discoveries and faith which are not incompatible; and religious truth is also to be sought through the study of the sacred writings of each religion.¹³⁹

In the meantime the first conference of a group led by Leon Pinsker, Hovevei Zion, (Lovers of Zion), had been held in Kattowitz, Germany, just a year before Pittsburgh, in 1884, with 22 delegates from Russia and 10 from other countries. They had agreed to raise funds to set up agricultural settlements in Palestine and published an appeal for people to join the scheme., playing down the concept of national renaissance and eventual political independence in order

to avoid antagonizing potential financial supporters in Western Europe. When the next conference was held in 1887 an unsuccessful bid was made to convert it into a religious movement but a board was elected which would ensure that its programs were carried out in traditional Jewish spirit.¹⁴⁰

A few years later, in 1889, a Central Conference of American Rabbis, (CCAR), was established, with Rabbi Wise as president, basically as a reform oriented body which would meet annually in order to maintain the momentum of reform initiatives.^{141 142} However it proved impossible to maintain the momentum for reasons well beyond the reformers' control and the peak of reform influence appeared to have passed. The flood of refugees from Russia after the government tightened its anti-Jewish legislation and encouraged a stream of pogroms, swamped the relatively small numbers coming from Germany, the seat of reform, and the needs, customs and demands of the newcomers assumed top priority. By the turn of the century the Jewish population in the United States had ballooned to more than one million, but only about ten percent of the 1,700 synagogues built to serve their needs were affiliated with the UAHC. Zionism had become a formidable barrier separating the Americanized German Reform Jews from many of those from Eastern Europe and Russia. In Meyer's words: "To Reform Jews, Zionism was a counsel of defeat, a surrender to the forces of anti-Semitism rather than the valiant fight to defeat them. It was retreat substituted for advance, a fantastic nightmare for the beautiful American dream."¹⁴³

HERZL BEGINS TO PLAN

It was therefore clear to Theodore Herzl as he pondered alternative solutions to the crisis of anti-Semitism in Europe in 1895 that there would be enormous opposition within the world wide Jewish community to large scale re-settlement proposals but to dismantle the policies of the Christian block required goodwill and understanding from the churches of such substance that it was not an achievable option. Similarly, to counter the policies of the Christian block by the use of force would involve reliance on a powerful ally of one sort or another, (a political, economic or military alliance), which was neither achievable nor an aspect of Jewish philosophy, (regardless of the claims of those who later concocted and distributed the Protocols of Zion). This left only one option: to circumvent the policies of the Christian block somehow. The next question was "how?"

Jewish leaders everywhere were casting around for answers to that, and the twin concepts of Jewish religion and Jewish race kept getting in the way of each other. One could not be tackled without raising conflicts because of the other. Anti-Semitism involved both and therefore the solution had to take account of both. Of all the options available, several had been, or were being, seriously canvassed quite openly by writers and among community leadership groups.

One was to cling to traditional Judaism and await the intervention of the Messiah in a personal sense. But this would mean total subjection to the Christian block, complete withdrawal from business, professional, political and employment competition and abject

acceptance of permanent, depressing second-class citizen status. It would satisfy the Christian ego kick but it would aggravate and perpetuate the myth about racial inferiority. In an era of frenzied misinterpretation of Malthus and Darwin that was simply asking to be eliminated. In addition it would be a total rejection of the concept of equality in human rights and if Europe's superior Christians could get away with that, then no minority group anywhere would be safe.

Another, but clearly unattractive alternative, was to drop Judaism altogether. Impossible! The Christian church triumphant had canonized not only Jewish law but Jewish history as well in its Old Testament which it insisted was inerrant. Judaism just couldn't be buried, quite apart from the indelible commitment to it by Jews both in Europe and beyond. And if it could? Rome would press on without inhibition towards its City of God because Jerusalem would be no more than an historic city out in a desert of nomads.

In that case why not retain Judaism and Jewish identity and return to some new form of ghetto? A semi-autonomous state within a state, for example? No point. It would not eliminate either of the religious or racial components in the crisis. Neither would the Jewish community regain the degree of security it had previously enjoyed from its semi-isolation because the whole environment had changed so much. But even more important was the fear that accusations of a conflict of interest would become louder, and with some justification, if the minority Jewish community set up a series of enclaves with efficient, integrated community services within majority Christian populations. They would probably become mini-states within states and would certainly have links across foreign borders. Conflict of interest would thus be proven like that of a multi-national corporation and all hell would let loose. Then, quite apart from considerations of security and happiness for the Jewish people, there was their deeply held belief in personal responsibility to the whole community which was written into the Torah and which was not a peculiarly Christian thing.

The implications of this ran deep. Jews were, in the 1890s, involved in leadership and service roles in every community of which they were part. The Christian community would be the poorer without the contributions of its Mortaras, Disraelis, Montefiores, Rothschilds and Marxes. [Nothing would prove this more eloquently than the bequest of the Swedish chemist Alfred Nobel who was distressed at the consequences when one of his inventions, dynamite, became a plaything in the hands of Europe's powers. Of 313 Nobel Prizes awarded from 1901 to 1959 some forty, or twelve percent, were awarded to Jews.] A return to the ghetto was neither practical nor acceptable.

Well, there was always Marrano-style baptism to satisfy a certain class of sacramental fanatics. It would also circumvent legal restrictions on people of Jewish faith while helping to retain Jewish identity and culture. No. That would not work either. It would only compound the race question with overtones of moral cowardice and the fate of the Marranos was well known. There were a few people who, like Disraeli, made the move successfully but the personal tensions were always high. The majority of Jews still held to the belief that baptism was only tolerable if a life were endangered by refusal to submit. But papal pronouncements since the

Vatican Council had given further cause for concern for the safety of Jews. There was Leo XII's directions that the teachings of Thomas Aquinas should be the basis of the theology of the Catholic Church. He had issued that in 1879 during negotiations with Bismarck, Stocker and their colleagues for a new concordat. Then came his proclamation of Aquinas as the patron saint of Catholic education the very next year, just as Bismarck obligingly began to dismantle Germany's Kulturkampf and as the French Government, in contrast, disbanded its seventy four Jesuit schools. It was some of Aquinas' commissioned works which had provided the basis for the Inquisition in response to the embarrassing genius of Maimonides.

CONSTANT RESETTLEMENT, OR A NATIONAL HOME?

The situation was grim and a solution had to be found. Perhaps it would be possible to shift people from threatened communities to a different country. Mass refugee emigration or "resettlement" had been forced on a total of probably three million Jews in just a few years since Alexander's assassination. If movement on that scale could be achieved, largely on foot and under the whip, then very large numbers could also be moved systematically and with less trauma if safe homes could be found for them. For the first time the Jewish community had the motivation, the capacity and possibly the resources within its grasp to carry out such a venture. It would require the firm support of Europe's wealthy Jewish families, and in particular that of the Rothschilds, but they could be expected to listen to reason in spite of the opposition from the Reform Movement.

The concept of a national home for Jews had been evolving since the 1848 rebellions and it was given a gradual boost by the Crimean War, the emancipation of Russia's serfs, the anti-Semitic programs in Germany under the strange alliance between Bismarck and Pope Leo, and then Alexander III's crushing reactionary program after his father's assassination. But the Dreyfus Affair had brought it into prominence. Early leaders of the movement had included Zevi Kalischer and Judah Alkalai who proposed that a company be set up to settle Erez Israel. Kalischer had approached Mayer Amschel Rothschild as early as 1836 to propose an approach to Muhammad Ali for the outright purchase of Israel or at least Jerusalem or the Temple area.¹⁴⁴ He later approached Sir Moses Montefiore also, and it was he who financed an organized Jewish settlement outside the walls of Old Jerusalem in 1860.

At that time the fiery socialist Moses Hess was writing *Rome and Jerusalem* with strong emphasis on the need for a spiritual centre for Judaism which would be a focal point for Jews in the Diaspora. A number of 'philanthropic ventures' followed in quick succession with Baron Hirsch and others financing Jewish settlements in Argentina. They received scathing criticism from radical Jewish thinkers for their trouble.¹⁴⁵ Then the organization, Lovers of Zion, was established in Russia by Rabbi Samuel Mohilever. Judah Pinsker, a leader of the group and a former officer in the medical corps, had reacted strongly to what he had seen at the massacre at Odessa. He published *Auto-emancipation*, attacked assimilation, called for a program of self-help and triggered a flood of refugee emigration, largely towards Palestine,¹⁴⁶ just at the time

that the procurator of the Holy Synod of the Orthodox Church, Pobiedonoshev, was drawing up the program of repression for his tsar. Then there was another shock in store for Jews which further stimulated interest in nationalism. In spite of his election being vetoed three times by Emperor Franz Joseph, Karl Lueger was elected Mayor of Vienna on an anti-Semitic platform.

At that point Nathan Birnbaum helped to focus attention on the new movement towards organized refugee resettlement in a secure homeland by offering a formal definition for it. Zionism, he wrote, was the establishment of an organization of the national political Zionist party in juxtaposition to the practically oriented party that existed until then.^{147 148}

Such was the situation in Europe when Theodore Herzl was jolted into his attempt to find a solution to "the Jewish question." At first his thin grounding in Judaism prompted him to float the idea of Marrano style mass baptism but although he soon dropped it he could not bring himself to support Zionism. Even as recently as October 1894, the month that Dreyfus was arrested, he attacked the concept in his newspaper column.¹⁴⁹ But then when he watched the public degradation of Captain Dreyfus on January 5th 1895 in Paris the "truth" hit him. There was no possibility of escaping the ghetto atmosphere under Christianity in Europe.

DER JUDENSTAAT

Herzl's conversion to Zionism was complete. Five months later he put a plan of political action to Baron Hirsch and then set about working out the details. His solution was a Jewish State and on February 14th, 1896, the German edition of his plan, *Der Judenstaat*, was published. He wrote that the Jewish people had gained a national identity through suffering and had tried hard to submerge themselves in the surrounding community to preserve the faith of their fathers. Security could only come in a sovereign state which was guaranteed the right to continued immigration, through negotiation with the civilized powers, because philanthropic colonization had proved not to be the answer. Herzl wrote that a joint stock company would be required to manage the venture with capital of 50 million pounds Sterling. It had to have the authority to sell property which was vacated by Jews to Christians and to purchase property in the new homeland from existing owners. A society would be needed to negotiate such arrangements with the powers. The new state would be governed as an aristocratic republic. It would certainly not be a theocracy and "We shall keep (the spiritual authorities) in their synagogues, just as we shall keep our professional army within the confines of their barracks", he wrote. Either an area of Palestine or an area of Argentina would be appropriate for the new state, he said.¹⁵⁰

Herzl believed that: "If his Majesty the Sultan were to give us Palestine, we could in return undertake to regulate the entire finances of Turkey. For Europe we would form a portion of the rampart against Asia there; an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism. As a neutral state we would remain in contact with all Europe which would guarantee our existence. The sanctuaries of Christendom would be safeguarded by assigning to them an extraterritorial status such as is well known to the Law of Nations."¹⁵¹

THE FIRST ZIONIST CONFERENCE

Herzl began immediate negotiations to set up a Society of Jews. He called on Baron Edmond de Rothschild in Paris and then began actively organizing the Zionist Movement. The First Zionist Congress at Basle formally constituted the Zionist Organization in August 1897. But there was stiff opposition to overcome. The issue was so divisive and feeling in America was so intense that the Reform Movement placed its opposition to Zionism on record at its annual CCAR Convention, only weeks before the Zionist Congress, with unanimous support for the resolution that: "We totally disapprove of any attempt for the establishment of a Jewish state. Such attempts show a misunderstanding of Israel's mission."¹⁵² However Herzl and the Zionists were determined. A second Congress was held in Basle the next year, the Jewish Colonial Trust was registered in London, the Federation of American Zionists was founded, and the UAHC responded by passing a resolution that: "We are unalterably opposed to political Zionism. The Jews are not a nation, but a religious community."

The die had been cast. The Jewish community had its twin organizations which formed, in effect, the arms of a government in exile for a nation without a country. Those who opposed the decision expressed concern about the impact which the decision would have on the people in the area where the national home would be established, and the community was deeply divided over the issue on both sides of the Atlantic. But the vital first step had been taken towards establishing a Jewish State or a Jewish National Home. With few people being conscious of it, the Jewish community had taken the first step towards transgressing in terms of Muhammad's vision of The Night Journey. There was no intention to transgress. Far from it. The planners were not thinking in such terms. It was, as the reformers in the United States had said, basically a mechanism of escape from intolerable and totally unwarranted oppression, "a counsel of defeat, a surrender to the forces of anti-Semitism rather than the valiant fight to defeat them, (and a) retreat substituted for advance." In fact the prophecy of The Night Journey makes no mention of intention: only the action of communal transgression. Neither was the Jewish community generally thinking in terms of being pre-destined to take that step if circumstances made it necessary. The Christian church and its henchmen had forced them into it, but the decision was theirs. It was still reversible, but circumstances were combining to make a reversal most unlikely and very difficult. The die had been cast in no uncertain manner. Just one more step to the final selection of the area for the national home to enable the plan to be implemented.

Europe had changed a great deal since the '48 round of rebellions and it was in the middle of a second round of colonial expansion, but one thing had not changed. Few people except Jews cared much about the fate of a few million Jews. They had their emancipation. What else did they want? The Church-triumphant had spread in one form or another, as its self-definitions said it should, to the ends of the earth. It was in full-blooded competition with every other faith and ideology with which it came in contact, not just its partners in the triangle. Relationships between church and its host states had been very confused but in various ways each was using

the other to get its fangs into new countries and to dominate new situations. They were transgressors in a very real sense. But why should they worry? They believed – because the church hierarchy kept telling them so – that they were chosen and blessed with a spark of divine authority. If they did transgress, just a little bit, all would be forgiven as long as they followed the church's rituals and participated in the church's sacraments.

The shock and the lessons of Napoleon Bonaparte had passed but a different political situation had developed as a segment of the philosophical challenge to the church's self-understanding: the Italian Risorgimento. Rome had tried to beat it off and to cling to temporal power by means of military alliances. When these were in doubt it turned to extravagant historical and scriptural manoeuvres to back its claim to exclusive world wide religious authority and continued control of the papal states on the basis of papal and corporate infallibility. It had confirmed not only its rejection of progress and compromise but its completely reactionary stand. It had also confirmed its continued readiness to adapt its theology to the political opportunities of the day, such as in the Balkans, but it had achieved less from it than on some earlier occasions.

Having had the capacity for direct confrontation with its partners in the triangle progressively wrested from it, the church used every means available to it, including the pulpit, the printing press and politics, to keep the pressure up from a position of political strength through its sweetheart deals with the great powers. Anti-Semitism danced a few new steps while the church pulled the strings. Anti-Muslim propaganda included falsification of reports as well as good old-fashioned misrepresentation of Muhammad's teaching. Even disciplinary action taken by the Turkish authorities to end conflict over competing versions of Christian literature had been turned to propaganda use.

Then when it suited their purposes the governments of Britain and France crossed their religious fences and formed one of those strange alliances of convenience. Joining with the Vatican and its strange bedfellows, the House of Rothschild, with all four parties working from a base of conflicting motives, they set out to prop up the Muslim Ottoman Empire which they had been very eager to eliminate until then in order to clip the wings of the Orthodox Christian Russian monarchy. In doing so they added fuel to Russia's interfaith and class struggles. But they also reinforced the arguments of Karl Marx who was challenging Europe's crossbreed religious/political/economic system and began to prepare the ground for both a counter challenge four generations later and the twentieth century trouble in the triangle.

The United States of America had survived its Civil War and as an economic system slavery had all but been buried. The nation had come out of the operation battered and scarred but determined to maintain the image of purity and Christian principles for which its founding fathers had been famous and which had been enshrined in its Declaration of Independence. However it had demonstrated in Japan and Thailand that the image was all that mattered and that when it came to practice it was no different to the corrupt powers of the Old World.

Attitudes and relationships which had been encouraged by, and then designed and built on the church's doctrines, its view of itself and its jaundiced view of the world had enabled Europe and the USA to dominate and exploit the rest of the world unchecked by a soul-searching conscience or the pressure of public opinion saying "you can't do that." A brake or a safety valve was needed, or both perhaps, to stop the process from causing absolute human misery and degradation for the majority of the world's people to whom the church was supposed to be introducing a glimpse of Salvation.

THE BRAKE AND THE SAFETY VALVE

The designers didn't realize it but the State of Israel was about to become both brake and safety valve. They had been persecuted to the point where they had lost sight of Israel's mission and were thinking primarily of their own security. It was only in circumstances of extreme provocation that it would be either necessary or possible to complete the casting and bring the brake into operation but the Western World seemed intent on providing them. The arrogance and greed of the Christian powers was so great that it seemed they were determined to prove Israel's corporate predestination and to force it to confirm the prophecies of people from all three partners in the triangle, including, of course, their hitherto unrecognized Messiah. There was certainly still quite a long way to go before the Jewish community took that final irrevocable step, but the die had been cast. Yes: the process was still reversible at that stage. It was possible that the attitudes and policies of the West would change and that Europe's Jews would scrap the plan, but the church and its powers had a lot of rethinking to do before the process could be reversed and a reversal was becoming more and more unlikely.

Perhaps unwittingly, perhaps consciously, the people involved in both establishing the World Zionist Organization and in the Hebraization of the Jewish community in Palestine with its radically different national self-understanding were moving progressively to a position in which the world at large would again accept the concept of Jews as a people of a nationality – or of a race – and not simply as a people of religious faith. By and large they were being aided or abetted in that movement by a compliant church which saw no reason to discourage it because of its own self-understanding and fear of the consequences of discussing the matter.

The church had been too busy accusing the Jewish community of fifth columns and conflicts of interest to notice that the French action in Vietnam had confirmed the church's capacity to provide fifth columns and that the dogma of papal infallibility had placed an intolerable conflict of interest on Christians worldwide. Proud Christian governments which held out against admitting Jews until circumstances, not Biblical reasoning, forced them to a change of heart were happy to recognize Islam and give treaty support to the Muslim Ottoman Empire when their national interests were affected but they continued to encircle and undermine it as quickly as they could. And of course the church's conduct in Palestine under the rule of the sultan exposed the contrast between their ideals and their actions.

Then there was Darwin. He brought to a climax the scientific and philosophical challenge which the church had been trying to beat off for three hundred and fifty years. It was not his fault that his theory undermined the credibility of the church and the Bible. It was the church's fault because it had backed itself into its comfortable but false doctrinal cubby house from which it could not budge without dismantling the lot. But it was able to avoid the issue at the time through a combination of political circumstances including its sweetheart deal with the aristocracy of the day. It follows that it was also largely the church's fault, and not Darwin's, that people of the Christian community lost the reality of their relationship with other creatures and things in creation, that they lost their sense of responsibility towards their environment and subordinate creatures, and that they adopted more exploitative attitudes than people of other faiths and cultures. If the Biblical creation story was false then maybe there was no Creator. In that case man is absolute master of the environment and resources around him and he can do what he likes. In that case we may as well take Darwin to (our own) logical conclusion and it is then a matter of every man for himself in a community in which the fittest shall survive. Then if that applies within a community it must also apply between communities and between races so let's not worry about the Jews or anyone else for that matter. Let's make every post a winning post and go in boots and all.

That's exactly what the Christian West was doing as the nineteenth century struggled to a close. People all around the world were crying out for relief from Western interference but they would have to cry louder before anyone would take any notice. Of course the Jewish community of Europe was feeling the boot too. If the Messiah would not come they would have to shape their own Messianic Age. As Herzl and his colleagues struggled against enormous odds to consolidate the young Zionist Movement the cry from the common people of their community was not "take your heel off!" It was: "let's find a new home!"

But the bulk of the two and a half million Jews who would do so during the next 25 years, until unrestricted immigration into the United States was stopped, would find their way to the USA where tens of thousands had already found their new home during the previous fifty years. But their contribution to the life and development of that country would be enormous. They would be greatly influenced by a small elite band of Jews from central and eastern Europe who, between the First and Second World Wars, would do more to shape the self- image of the people of the United States than possibly any other group. That band was a dozen or so young men, each of whom had been born in Europe or in the US to immigrant families in the traumatic period from 1861 (the abolition of serfdom in Russia) to 1894 (the year of the Dreyfus trials). Between them they would dominate the motion picture industry during the 1920s, 30s and 40s. Of the 85 persons involved in production in 1936, 53 were Jews but this band of 'Moguls' was preeminent. They had each overcome the trauma of oppression, poverty and family failures as they progressed to control the vast bulk of that industry. They included Adolph Zukor (Hungary 1863), Carl Laemmle (Germany 1867), William Fox (Hungary circa 1880), Danny Selznick (Ukraine circa 1880), Louis B. Mayer (Russia 1885) Samuel Rothapfel (Germany 1881), Marcus Loew (Vienna/Germany 1870), the Warner Brothers Jack, Harry and Sam (Poland

1881–1894) and Harry Cohn (Germany/Russia 1891), with whom must also be listed Rabbi Edgar Magnin (Holland 1890).¹⁵³ We will come to consider their influence and the anti-Semitism they had to contend with in due course. Sufficient to note now that they and their parents had been in the vanguard of those crying “let’s find a new home!” At the turn of the century they were each ambitious young men struggling to find their footholds in the world of business, with the odds stacked heavily against them in the land of opportunity because of their religion – but they were free and they had found their new home in the land of their dreams.

CHAPTER 16

NEXT YEAR IN JERUSALEM

Fifteen minutes of tumultuous applause greeted Theodore Herzl when he strode to the podium at the opening of the First Zionist Congress at Basle in 1897. A delegate had called “Long Live the King!” It was an allusion to Maimonides’ expectation that a Messianic King would arise to renew the dynasty of King David, gather the dispersed of Israel and rebuild the Temple. But it was also an indication of the relief and expectation of millions of Jews at the prospect of being freed from the fear of violence as Europe’s anti-Semitism grew more and more intense.¹

But not all of Europe, and certainly not all of its Jewish community, shared the enthusiasm of those two hundred and one delegates for the plan for a Jewish state. Herzl knew there would be opposition from some Jews, and especially those of Ultra-orthodox persuasion who were deeply committed to the traditional belief that the Jewish people had to put up with whatever might be their lot in life until the coming of the Messiah. To take the matter into their own hands to escape persecution was, they believed, a betrayal of their faith, their fathers, their responsibility and, above all, their God. It would be inviting the most severe judgement, in their view. Then there were others opposed to the plan for personal, political or practical and financial reasons; others because they simply did not believe it would solve the problem, and others who thought the time was not yet ready. Herzl had his answers ready for all of them.

In a sense the evolution of the Zionist idea did represent a weakening of Jewish faith, but that is hardly surprising in the face of militant Christianity which was arrogant, overbearing and apparently triumphant throughout the world. Perhaps the Christians had been right after all, even if they were not living according to their faith. How could a Messiah come along, rescue them from such immense military might as the Christian powers had at their command and set up a new kingdom of Israel? It was wishful thinking. Many Jewish scholars had feared a weakening of faith as a byproduct of emancipation and assimilation and events now appeared to be proving them correct. But it was difficult to isolate the reasons or the factors which brought it about because there were so many complex streams running through European society as it evolved after the fall of the Holy Roman Empire and especially after the fall of Napoleon I. Basically the ‘loss of faith’ involved a change in attitude towards the Messianic era which Maimonides had spoken about. It would not come about through the efforts of one man, so the reasoning went, but through the collective efforts of the community as a whole. In other words,

the emphasis shifted in the thinking of many Jews towards the messianic expectation of Amos, Ezekiel and Obadiah, and away from that of Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah and Zachariah.²

It is a rather fruitless exercise to try to establish which line of reasoning is more supportable by looking for an order of precedence among the prophets or by identifying a pattern of development from one messianic understanding to another. The prophets lived in different periods in different circumstances and they addressed different crises and patterns of conduct. In addition those who can be described as anticipating an individual messiah and those who can be described as anticipating collective messiahship were not only interspersed with each other chronologically, but also with other prophets who did not anticipate messianic intervention at all and who proclaimed that God alone determined divine redemption. Thus the rising tide of Zionism raised fundamental questions for Jewish theologians to ponder on both sides of their Reform barrier. But if it raised questions for them, so it did for Christian theologians. The church's messianic understanding was linked, tenaciously, to the expectations of the second group – Isaiah, Micah, Jeremiah and Zachariah – who were thus given precedence over all the others. Regardless of the steps being taken within the fledgling ecumenical movement towards cooperation in Christian theological education and research there was no way that such an issue could be examined. It led inevitably back to the fundamental questions of the doctrine of the Trinity and the church's self-understanding. It was quite out of bounds. But the Jews were welcome to debate the issue among themselves because, in the church's view, they had no future until and unless they accepted the Christian Trinitarian position.

THE EVOLUTION OF AN IDEA

The man who had given the biggest boost to belief in corporate or communal messiahship in the modern era was a Balkans rabbi, Judah Alkalai, who published a stream of papers and pamphlets between 1841 and his death in 1878.³ One of his contemporaries, Judah Pinsker (variously referred to in literature as Leon or Leo) extended that line of reasoning when he took up Rabbi Hillel's call from the days of Roman rule in Jerusalem: "If I am not for myself, who is?"⁴ In his pamphlet *Autoemancipation*, smuggled into Germany for publication, he turned it into a call for Jews to stand up and fight to organize their own emancipation instead of sinking to their knees to pray. Pinsker was born in Odessa about 1820. A graduate in medicine from Moscow University, he served with some distinction in the Crimean War and concentrated his efforts for many years into encouraging assimilation. However his experience of the Odessa riots in 1871 and then the crisis of 1882 following the assassination of the tsar in 1881 resulted in a complete change of heart. He rejected assimilation on the grounds that Jews would always be regarded as 'the dead among the living', alien vagrants, beggars in the eyes of the wealthy, exploiters in the eyes of the poor, stateless in the eyes of patriots and a hated rival in the eyes of all and sundry. He maintained that such deep-seated antagonism could not be overcome by legislation even with the best of will by governments and he espoused mass migration to a country where they could form the majority and determine the laws. He urged the existing

Jewish societies to call a national congress and to raise funds for the purchase of a territory which would enable the re-settlement of several million people. But he was essentially a territorialist and not, at that stage, a Zionist, leaving the question of selection of a site entirely open. He adopted Zionism and supported the group Lovers of Zion (Hovevei Zion) for only a few years before he died in 1898.⁵

Apparently the only Orthodox group which supported the Zionist Organization from the point of its establishment was one which owed its origins to the Lovers of Zion, Merkaz Ruhani, known as Mizrahi. Orthodox religious members of Lovers of Zion sought to distinguish themselves from non-religious members of the group and other Zionists and established a separate office, the Spiritual Centre, in 1893. That was the same year that the nucleus of the German Zionist Federation, Hibbat Zion, was established in Cologne and the year before Europe's Jewish community was jolted into action by the trumped-up Dreyfus case in Paris. Rabbi Samuel Mohilever, the early leader of Mizrahi, told the first Zionist Congress in 1897 that the Torah, the source of the Jewish community's life, must be the foundation of its regeneration in the land of its fathers. That philosophy motivated Mizrahi as it worked to realize not only political Zionism's goal of a Jewish society in Palestine but also a religious majority in the Yishuv to ensure that it would be Jewish in both a religious and sociological sense. In 1902 it became the first group within the Zionist Organization to establish itself as a formal political party and, like other groups, it set up branches in Palestine and a number of other countries.⁶

In due course, in 1922 when the British mandate was formalized, while Mizrahi operated within both the domestic framework of Knesset Israel and the international framework of the Zionist Organization, it established a labour organization, Hapoel Hamizrahi, which operated in the welfare and political arenas. Both groups retained a commitment to the establishment of a Jewish national home governed by Orthodox Jewish law, and they were thus quite different to the majority of Zionist organizations. In their view political Zionism was not a movement of secular nationalism. It was the instrument chosen by God for the fulfillment of the Divine Plan for the Jewish people and for the whole world. It was therefore the first stage in the fulfillment of Biblical prophesy and the redemption of the Jewish people, and the rebirth of Israel was not to be seen as a routine or man-made political event. Rabbi Meir Bar-Ilan who became world leader of the Mizrahi Movement in 1926 (just as Hitler was putting the finishing touches to *Mein Kampf* and Britain was granting more authority to each of the religious communities in Palestine) described the State of Israel as "something celestial, it is the divine world, our eternal destiny." In view of such radical differences in outlook some friction was to be expected but at that stage the Mizrahi 'camp' continued to cooperate freely with non-religious groups within the Zionist Organization. However seven years after the State of Israel was established Mizrahi and Hapoel Hamizrahi merged to form the powerful National Religious Party, Mafdal, and, as we shall see in due course, the situation changed.⁷

Perhaps the drift in faith and confidence in the traditional Messianic expectation of Judaism is shown most clearly in the life and religious development of Moses Hess who was born in Bonn in 1812. Before he wrote *Rome and Jerusalem* Hess had rejected orthodox Jewish

tradition, married a Christian prostitute, linked with Marx and his humanistic movement, taken part in the '48 revolution in Germany, been sentenced to death and escaped to Paris. Then he broke with the Communist movement and returned to the Jewish fold to put his very strong personal imprint on Judaism and to make his contribution towards the evolution of Zionism. He died in Paris in 1875⁸

While each of these writers (and a host of others) lived and worked in isolation from each other they were all influenced by the same basic issues. And although the distinction becomes very blurred, they were all working to change the philosophical direction of their community rather than the religious direction, and they were very conscious of deep divisions within the community. Herzl was therefore prepared for resistance within the Jewish community but he was not prepared for a violent reaction from the Christian community. He had misjudged it. "It seems to me", he wrote, "that Governments will certainly pay attention to this scheme, either voluntarily or under pressure from the anti-Semites; and they may perhaps actually receive it here and there with a degree of sympathy which they will also be prepared to show to the Society of Jews."⁹ He went on to discuss the benefits to the Christian community of Europe from job substitution, professional opportunities and trade as Jewish emigration took place and the new export opportunities when an import-dependent state was established. Then in a spirit of optimism he refuted the suggestion of a Christian backlash during the years it would take to put the plan into effect. "No; if we were merely to begin to carry out the Plan, anti-Semitism would come to a standstill at once and everywhere. For it is the conclusion of peace. The news of the formation of our Jewish company will be carried in a single day to the remotest ends of the earth by the lightning speed of our telegraph wires. And immediate relief will ensue."¹⁰

BITTER RESPONSE FROM ROME

He was to be bitterly disappointed by the venom of the Christian reaction. He had overlooked the church's view of itself. The ambitious, self-confident pope was still a self-styled 'prisoner in the Vatican' without his empire.¹¹ Anti-papal and revolutionary threats had reached such a level in 1881 that he had contemplated leaving Rome for refuge in Austria. The problem which weighed heavily on his mind was that if he fled from Rome the papacy would never return to its home base and all visions of a world theocracy would be destroyed totally. He had stuck it out, encouraged by the fact that his new Bismarck-brand bolster was just as good as Napoleon III's ever was. However his position in Italy was very weak indeed.

In 1886, seven years after his deal with Bismarck, the pope had met the Italian government to demand full restoration of his sovereignty. The government had responded with further anti-papal measures which clearly reflected public feeling. It commissioned a massive monument of Giordano Bruno, the Catholic philosopher who had been burned at the stake by the Inquisition in 1600. Bruno's twin crimes were that he supported Copernicus and then refused to renounce his calls for doctrinal reforms during the peak of the Reformation and the Counter-reformation. The unveiling of the monument was coupled with enormous Masonic demonstrations and such

antipapal violence that the pope appealed to the European powers for help. But piece by piece he had to renounce the papacy's claims to absolute supremacy and accept the sovereign rights of democratic governments. He didn't have any option. However he coupled that policy with calls for independent governments to publish codes of state ethics, he continued to denounce the idea of state omnipotence and he pressed ahead with the establishment of Catholic political parties and social movements. Public pronouncements could be one thing. Papal intentions could be another. There was always the hope that if modernism could be held in check the political process could be reversed.

When Herzl came along with his Jewish State plan the idea was anathema. How dare the Jews think they could have a state when even the papacy was being denied one! The financial and professional capacity of the Jewish community and the influence of its few politicians were so great that a Jewish State could become a focal point for world affairs. The world might even begin to swallow the story that the Jewish Messianic Age had arrived. If they did, where would that place the church's teaching? The very thought was ghastly. Or perhaps a challenge. The implications for the church were enormous. It must not be allowed to happen.

Among the first formal responses from the Catholic Church to Herzl's proposal was a statement published in the Jesuit journal *Civiltà Cattolica* a few months before the first Zionist Congress.

1827 years have passed since the prediction of Jesus of Nazareth was fulfilled, namely that is, that Jerusalem would be destroyed ... that the Jews would be led away to be slaves among all the nations, and that they would remain in the dispersion till the end of the world. ... According to the Sacred Scriptures, the Jewish people must always live dispersed and wandering among the other nations, so that they may render witness to Christ not only by the Scriptures ... but by their very existence. As for a rebuilt Jerusalem, which could become the centre of a reconstituted state of Israel, we must add that this is contrary to the prediction of Christ Himself.¹²

WORLD DOMINATION, OR A SPOT TO CALL HOME?

Accusations that the Jews were looking for world domination began to fly. If they got it the powers of Europe would fall. And so would the church. Then in 1905 The Protocols of Zion began to circulate in Russia just as repeated peasant uprisings were threatening the decadent Romanov monarchy, surrounded by its cocoon of religious mysticism and Anti-Semitism, and just before the manifesto of civil liberties and representative institutions was handed down by the embattled tsar.¹³ The protocols were claimed to be either a plan for world domination prepared by Herzl or proceedings of the First Zionist Congress. The timing was perfect.

There had been a series of Zionist Congresses in quick succession and planning and negotiations were going at a faster pace and with greater success than most people had dared to hope. Herzl had been received in audience by the German Kaiser at Constantinople (October 18 1898) and at Jerusalem two weeks later. He was received again in Constantinople on May 8

1901, this time by the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid II, and he was awarded the Grand Order of the Medjilil, First Class. Then came London. Herzl appeared before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration on July 7, 1902. He had conversations with Lord Rothschild and he established official relations between the Zionist Organization and the British Government. Three months later he was back in London for talks with the Foreign Minister, Lord Landsdowne, and the Minister for the Colonies, Joseph Chamberlain, about settlement in Egyptian territory at El Arish, west of the Sinai Peninsula. Britain wanted a friendly power alongside the Suez Canal over which it had by then gained control.¹⁴

Then came the first real setback. The Egyptian Government rejected the El Arish proposal in May 1903. As an alternative Chamberlain proposed the Jewish colonization of the region of East Africa known as Uganda. The British Colonial Office confirmed the offer in writing in August while Herzl was at Vilna in Lithuanian Russia being greeted with wildly enthusiastic receptions by Jewish crowds.¹⁵ Demands for land and local government reform which had been brewing in Russia for years with student riots in 1899 and peasant riots in 1902 were approaching their bloody climax. A week later Herzl was back in Basle for the Sixth Zionist Congress. He took on himself the unpleasant task of promoting the Uganda colonization scheme in place of a Palestinian homeland for which immense enthusiasm had built up. The prayer “next year in Jerusalem” was beginning to appear a real possibility because Herzl had not disclosed the sultan’s rejection of the Palestine plan and Congress didn’t take the alternative proposal very kindly at all. All the history and theology of Judaism and its people came out in a torrent of systematic confusion. Herzl was personally humiliated. But time appeared to be running out. The persecution scene had shifted to Rumania and the Kishinev pogrom of only a few months earlier was fresh in everyone’s minds. With an extraordinary personal effort Herzl managed to carry the vote in favour of the Uganda proposal by 295 to 178 with 98 abstentions. However he then had to tackle the task of keeping the Zionist Organization together in the face of a threatened walkout by the anti-Uganda group.

TOTAL REJECTION

Herzl’s next major discussions were in Rome with both Pope Pius X, who had taken office a few months earlier, and the Italian King, Victor Emmanuel III, in January 1904. It is reasonable to assume that in a relationship of confidence and the circumstances of the time Herzl bared his heart to Pius with his innermost personal aspirations for the much-despised Jewish community as well as prospects and problems for both Palestine and Uganda. Five months later, on July 3, 1904, he was dead. The clinical cause of death was a heart attack but the world, and especially those who had been close to him, knew it was the immense strain of the task he had undertaken to rescue millions of people from worsening oppression. No one was in a better position to counter the fabricated protocols when they began to circulate than the new pope. But perhaps he couldn’t, or perhaps he simply did not wish to.

Firstly, according to Herzl's diary notes, the pope's responses in discussion included the following:

On Jews returning to Jerusalem:

We cannot encourage this movement. We cannot prevent the Jews from going to Jerusalem – but we could never sanction it. The ground of Jerusalem, even if it were not always sacred, has been sanctified by the life of Jesus Christ. As the head of the Church I cannot tell you otherwise. The Jews have not recognized our Lord, therefore we cannot recognize the Jewish people.

And on a Jewish community possibly having responsibility for the Christian Holy Places:

I know, it is not pleasant to see the Turks in possession of our Holy Places. We simply have to put up with that. But to support the Jews in the acquisition of the Holy Places, that we cannot do. ... There are two possibilities. Either the Jews will retain their ancient faith ... in that case they are denying the divinity of Jesus and we cannot help them. Or else they will go there without any religion, and then we can be even less favourable to them. The Jewish religion was the foundation of our own, but it was superseded by the teachings of Christ, and we cannot concede it any further validity. The Jews who ought to have been the first to acknowledge Jesus Christ have not done so to this day.¹⁶

THE FRENCH CONCORDAT ABROGATED

Secondly, the French Syllabus Catholics had organized a nationwide anti-Semitic campaign of the most infamous kind taking full advantage of the Dreyfus case and this had helped to open up all the old church/state frictions and arguments. Diplomatic relations between the Vatican and France were broken off in July 1904 and the law of separation of church and state which provided for local religious associations to supervise the church, its bishops and its property was actually passed by the Chamber on the day Herzl died. The papal concordat was abrogated, all financial assistance was withdrawn and the Catholic Church in France was reduced to the status of a private association. A year later, when the pope condemned the law of separation, the church lost all its property as well.¹⁷

At a time when the Catholic Church was being brought to heel so harshly by one of its supposed subordinate temporal powers it was absolute anathema for those same powers to be considering giving Jews temporal authority in the country in which, as the pope had claimed, Christianity sprang from and superseded Judaism. The suggestion that the establishment of the State of Israel would be linked in some way with, or would usher in, the Messianic Age was even worse. It clearly implied a belief that the establishment of the State of Israel would be the result of divine intervention or, at least, a response to a divine plan or divine inspiration. It therefore also raised the issue of the status of political Zionism which had already generated vigorous debate among both Christians and Jews. If the act of establishing an institution is brought about by divine intervention, or if it is divinely inspired, does that mean that those who are involved in the act and the organization through which they work are also instruments of

divine intervention? And what does the answer to that question indicate about the concepts of divine election, predestination and freewill, and about the range of motives which might draw a person into such an organization?

Just at that critical time Rabbi Avraham Yitzhak Hacohen Kook brought these issues to the fore and confronted both the Orthodox Jewish community and the Christian church directly by insisting that political Zionism was the instrument by which God was fulfilling the divine promise of redemption for the Jewish people and confirming the Messianic Age. When Kook migrated to Palestine in 1904 while France was bringing the church to heel, Mizrahi was making a strong effort to counter the irreligious attitudes of many Zionist leaders and to encourage Orthodox Jews to remain in the movement. He refuted the prevailing Orthodox view that Jewish nationalism was a heresy which gave politics precedence over religious practice and that Zionism sought to usurp God's authority in returning the Jews to Palestine. He believed that the breakup of traditional Jewish communities in Eastern Europe was evidence of a new era in Jewish history, that it had entered the first stage of the Final Redemption, that Zionism was an instrument for the ingathering of exiles and that the Jewish community in Palestine would be reunited with the Divine law and ultimately turn to religious law for governance. He became head rabbi of Jaffa then Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Palestine, and today, more than ninety years later, his thinking continues to have a big influence within the Mizrahi Movement and the National Religious Party in Israel.¹⁸

BLOODY SUNDAY AND THE PROTOCOLS

Then Russia experienced its Bloody Sunday on January 22 1905. The tsarist authorities had been looking for an excuse for an action violent enough to startle the world into supporting the monarchy against revolution and, hopefully, to shock the revolutionaries into submission. They chose to conspire with an Orthodox priest named Gapon to organize and lead a column of workers to the Winter Palace to present a petition. Naturally a large crowd gathered as well as the official deputation. At a given signal a royal regiment opened fire with small arms supported by a cannon and a Cossack cavalry charge. When told that 150 people had been killed and 200 wounded the tsar, Nicholas II, asked his officers whether they were sure they had killed enough people.¹⁹ History would show they hadn't, in terms of the aims of the conspiracy, but it was an excellent occasion for another round of anti-Semitic propaganda.²⁰ It was then that the Protocols of Zion began to appear. The timing was perfect. They generated a degree of support for the Russian monarchy but when they spread right across Europe they played on the fears of both the church, for the security of its self-image, and the public of the Great Powers, for the security of their economic interests. Rumours about their source and authenticity were rife but it was not until sixteen years later that they were shown to be an adaptation of a satire aimed at Napoleon III in 1864 and it has since been claimed that Nicholas II had commissioned a monk, Sergei Nilus, in 1903 to produce some evidence to damn the Jews.^{21 22}

The Zionist Organization met again in congress in Basle in July/August of that year, 1905. It had to resolve the Uganda issue in the light of detailed studies which showed that it was not

suitable for large scale European immigration of any sort, let alone Jewish. Civil war between the tribes of Uganda had erupted in 1890 as a result of conflict between promoters of Anglican Christianity, Roman Catholic Christianity, Islam and ancient African animist religions. The British Government's solution after four years of strife had been to divide the region into spheres of influence for Anglican missions and Roman Catholic missions.²³ Naturally it expected they would be able to counter any continuing Muslim influence and they were there to "save" the Animists anyway. It was like a repeat performance of Palestine and to introduce Jewish immigration into an atmosphere already loaded with racial and religious conflict as well as anti-Semitism would have been ludicrous. In fact protests from white Christian settlers against the idea of an influx of Jews being forced on them had already prompted the government to have second thoughts about the proposal.²⁴ It had actually been so unimpressed with the region that it had proposed to abandon it in 1892 and had only stayed and established a protectorate in 1894 under pressure from the Anglican missionaries and commercial interests. Apart from that, sleeping sickness, for which there was no control, had broken out in epidemic proportions in 1901 and it was raging at the time of Chamberlain's kind offer to Herzl. By 1909 when it subsided the disease had claimed 250,000 lives. It can therefore hardly be said that the British Government was doing the Jewish community a great favor by proposing that area in the first place.²⁵

During the months prior to his death, and largely because of bitter personal attacks against him and the Uganda alternative by Zionist leaders in Russia, Herzl had already ceased active promotion of that plan, saying that the whole Jewish community must be involved in the decision on a site,²⁶ but in any case the 1905 Congress firmly resolved to reject it. At the same time, picking up the thrust of the Russian Zionists' concerns, the congress also rejected the notion of organized settlement anywhere other than Erez Israel and the immediate vicinity, and resolved that practical settlement would begin immediately without waiting for public rights to be finalized with the Ottoman Empire or the Great Powers.²⁷ There was to be no more small scale philanthropic colonization lacking a plan and a system, but the Zionist movement would work to strengthen the Jewish position in Palestine in agriculture and industry in as democratic a spirit as possible.²⁸

The Russians had already been buying individual plots of land in Palestine to provide a base for future community development and at their last meeting they had asked Herzl for a written undertaking that he would not seek the support of Congress for any territorial projects other than those concerned with Palestine and Syria.²⁹ Their arm of the Zionist Organization was certainly able to exercise a strong influence on the thinking of the organization overall as the nineteenth century gave way to the twentieth, because of their greater numbers. Obviously the Jewish communities of each region of Europe shared a common heritage of trauma, with the central and western regions suffering most under the church of the Holy Roman Empire and having developed an impressive range of community welfare and educational organizations since the fall of the ghetto. But those within the Russian sphere of influence had suffered on a very much greater scale during the most recent generations and they had already taken the

initiative to establish some twenty settlements in Palestine up to that time without a great flamboyant display. Thus the delegates from each region could demonstrate excellent credentials in the struggle for human rights and against oppression. However those within the Russian sphere of influence in Lithuania, White Russia, Poland, Galicia and Rumania – more than five million- greatly outnumbered the rest. Warsaw had the biggest Jewish community in Europe (about 220,000 or between 16 and 18 percent of its population) followed by Odessa (140,000). The business community, professional people and long term army veterans and their families were permitted to live in the major cities and accounted for about 200,000. The rest were required to live in rural towns and villages within the Pale of Settlement, except that they were generally banned from Kiev, Sabastopol and Yalta, and in some areas they accounted for more than one quarter of the population.³⁰ In contrast the Jewish population in the balance of Europe can be estimated at 3.6 million comprised of: Germany, 500,000; Eastern Europe, 1.8 million; other countries including Britain, 1.3 million. An estimated 1 million in the United States and 1 million in Africa, the Middle East and elsewhere makes a world total of 10.6 million.

THE CRUCIAL DECISION: SETTLEMENT

In the circumstances of the time the decision in 1905 by the seventh Congress to proceed with settlement in Palestine may not have appeared to be anything out of the ordinary but in retrospect it can now be seen as a crucial piece in the jigsaw puzzle of the trouble in the triangle. Eight years after the First Zionist Congress had formally constituted the Zionist Organization the Seventh Congress had confirmed that as a community of faith it would proceed with the establishment of a National Home for Jews in Palestine regardless of the vigorous debate over its long-held self understanding, its belief in a special relationship with God, and its Messianic expectation. In taking that decision, in recording for posterity the fact that it would not wait for the agreement of either the local population or the legal powers of the day, and in mustering all of the political influence at its disposal it unwittingly took the vital final step to transgress in terms of the Qur'anic prophecy of the Night Journey.

The decision had not been taken lightly. It had been taken under extreme pressure and after considerable thorough investigations and debate, but the primary motive was self interest. Protection and community preservation. Other favourable factors cited to justify the decision were secondary. Almost window dressing. Even if they hoped that peaceful coexistence would be possible in the manner that Herzl outlined in *The Jewish State* the Zionists knew that their aims could be achieved only at the expense of the people of Palestine. They knew that they were transgressing but they hoped they would be able to offset the consequences. Their decision was not a one-person leadership decision of the Henry VIII type. The leader was dead. There had been a widespread fear that with his death the organization would fail and it had been commonly accepted that without him there would be no hope of achieving a national home in Palestine while the Ottoman Empire remained. In spite of those considerations, in spite of the

extent of opposition from fellow Jews who foresaw some of the consequences, and in spite of the fact that it divided the Zionist Organization, the decision was still taken and it was taken as a broadly based community decision. In a sense it was akin to a Martin Luther-type decision: it was taken in response to the Christian church's constant stream of abuse of human rights and its failure to understand and to act on its assumed role.

The announcement of the Congress decision prompted much the same response as publication of Herzl's original proposal. It helped boost the standing of the protocols quite a bit and anti-Semitism was boosted to new heights right across Europe. It also picked up steam in the USA and the European-culture colonies as well. The fact that the task would be long and hard and that the end of Anti-Semitism and persecution was not yet in sight became even more apparent to the Jewish community. This in turn brought a predictable response like every similar spiral of events. The waverers and even many of the outright opponents of the plan progressively reviewed their positions and swelled the ranks of the Zionist Movement, greatly increasing both its political clout and its economic strength. This encouraged the church to dig its heels in even harder, made it unlikely that the British government would be willing to consider an alternative in view of such an affront, and placed the German and Russian governments in even more difficult positions because they were neither willing nor able to support them directly in a bid for Palestine. But other developments which would all come together to bring the trouble in the triangle to its climax were taking place around the world and we must go back to that other event of 1859 and move forward again.

WORLD GROWTH AND COMPETITION BETWEEN COLONIAL POWERS

As world population growth, urbanization and industrialization each gathered momentum, the need for portable energy supplies, being influenced by all three factors, increased at a proportionately greater rate. Factories, mining operations, railways and the new breed of ships in world trade and naval operations, (offensive more often than defensive), were all dependent on steam boilers. Coal and wood, bulky and heavy to handle, were the only fuel supplies or sources of energy readily available. Petroleum was well known to have real advantages and there were fortunes to be made for those who could find it and use it as a substitute for coal and wood, but there was so little of it available. What there was of it was refined into paraffin for lighting, heating and cooking and fetched much higher prices on the domestic and commercial markets than industry could generally afford. Similarly, the production of animal fats and vegetable oils was not keeping pace with the demand for soap and candles as man unwittingly but inevitably obeyed the urge and the command to "be fruitful, multiply, fill the earth and conquer it" and as his communal evolution reached a more advanced stage.³¹ This situation had led in turn to a big upsurge in whaling. By 1857 whaling fleets operating out of the United States of America had outgrown those of Europe. Out of a total of 700 US whalers 429 were operating from New Bedford alone, prompted in part by the multi-purpose British naval blockade.

Competition and exploitation were the key words. Not cooperation and conservation. Most Americans were looking for a strong independent economy geared to expansion by investment of profits from exports and not by importing either equity or loan capital. They wanted domestic self-sufficiency, a strong export thrust and nil dependence on imports – especially of strategic commodities on which either territorial expansion or industrial expansion relied.³² This was a matter of philosophical attitude which developed because of the Americans' understanding of the complex circumstances of European colonization of the New World rather than a matter of firm government policy. Neither political nor economic organization or science had reached the sophisticated stage where production, exports and imports could be controlled by methods other than naval embargoes. Neither was it readily achievable in the three or four generations after independence because of the country's heavy dependence on imports of manufactured goods which it could not avoid because of the flow-on effects of colonial era policies.³³ As a philosophy, the US approach was a distinct departure from that of the European colonial powers. They aimed for domestic profit and expansion based on cheap imports which were guaranteed by guns and made legitimate by one-sided trade treaties extracted at the muzzle of a cannon or a rifle, as in the cases of Japan and Vietnam. Such a philosophy was made much easier to act on because, as a nation, the US was importing a lot of capital with, (and in the hands of), its adult settlers at the same time that it was swallowing up "new" productive land in a great westward expansion. The mercantile economy had not reached Europe in that way.³⁴ It had been developed with its population or labour force already there and gradually overcrowding the land and towns. Capital, part of its labour force and part of its market potential were all exported as emigration took place either in response to persecution or as a deliberate policy of population thinning by means such as convict transportation.³⁵

In the years leading up to the Civil War the restless energy of the American people put enormous pressure on available fuel resources and that was the primary cause of the growth of their whaling fleet. Farm production didn't demand much energy directly, other than man and horse or oxen power. But the population explosion from Europe's refugees and emigrants did. So did factory development to enable the US to compete in markets for manufactured goods, to offset manufactured imports and to bring more land into food production. So also did the dramatic development of railways and the conversion of its mercantile fleet from sail to steam to compete with Britain which had stolen a big lead.³⁶ Substitution of other materials to release supplies of solid fuels and animal fat-based products wherever possible was important.

Petroleum had been discovered in Rumania shortly before the Crimean War at a time when Russian access to the existing pits at Baku in the Caucasus was somewhat tenuous. Just how important that discovery was in the tsar's decision to push towards the Bosphorus via Rumania or in the decisions of Britain and France to support the Sultan is difficult to assess, but we can be certain that it was a factor. Work was pushed ahead to exploit the discovery as soon as the Balkans power game had been played out and in 1857 about 2,000 barrels of oil was produced – for the markets of Western Europe, of course. The volume was small compared with that from

the Baku fields and production was difficult, but the potential was unknown and Britain and France were smug at having prevented Russia from gaining control of the fields.

In the USA, just running into its civil war and facing a dual challenge from Britain on the high seas, the news of oil in Europe was greeted with anything but glee.³⁷ The exploitation of America's massive Connellsville coking coal deposits was still at the early speculative and planning stage and extra fuel supplies could only push Europe further ahead in technical and commercial development and competition. Americans joined Europeans everywhere in a determined hunt for petroleum. Envious eyes turned south when petroleum deposits were discovered in Trinidad, (additional to naval pitch deposits which were already in use), just about the time that production started in Rumania.³⁸ But within a matter of weeks they turned north when a well drilled for water in Ontario, Canada, flowed oil.³⁹ Seepages had already been located in Pennsylvania and the efforts to find commercial flows took on a feverish urgency, especially when discoveries were made at Kleczany in Poland in 1858 and in Italy a little later.

OIL CHANGES RELATIONSHIPS

Then it happened. E. L. Drake set up a drilling rig at Titusville, Pennsylvania, and in August 1859 struck free-flowing oil at the meagre depth of 21 metres. Celebrations turned to frenzied activity. Caution, organization and (almost) any sense of responsibility was thrown to the winds as people rushed to cash in on the black gold. Recorded production for the balance of 1859 was 2,000 barrels but actual production is anyone's guess. Within months fifty three refinery plants were operating, and 201 out of 240 wells drilled in 1860 produced oil. The largest of them produced at an annual rate of 650,000 US gallons (about 15,500 barrels) of refined fuel oil. United States production for that year has been put at 500,000 barrels while in three years Rumanian production had only increased from 2,000 to 8,000 barrels.⁴⁰

The boot was suddenly on the other foot. The ability of the United States to resist the British and French naval operations was lifted beyond measure, together with its capacity for development and trade. Exports began in November 1861, just six months after the civil war had burst, with a shipment, to Britain, of 5,000 barrels, equal to more than one third of Rumania's production for the year. It is problematical whether that shipment was in response to a cutback in naval harassment by Britain or whether Britain's cutback was in response to the oil supplies, but the event was certainly the centre of much political manoeuvring.

However while the trading and political capacity of the United States had been boosted so also had its capacity to tear itself apart as it slid into the civil war. In fact the availability of unlimited oil supplies in Union hands hardened the war stance of both sides. It is reasonable to believe that if the federal government had been able to effectively control the distribution of oil and to restrict it to the Union states, the Civil War would have been shorter and less traumatic. But it could not. Profiteering oil producers kept it flowing to the Confederate forces as well. The war dragged on and the world failed to properly consider the implications. During the first year of the Civil War, (1861), US oil production had reached 2.1 million barrels. It leaped to 3.1

million barrels in 1862, fell to 2.6 million in 1863, to 2.1 million in 1864, and then recovered to 2.5 million barrels in 1865, the year the war ended. In that year other producers were Canada, 110,000 barrels; Russia, 67,000; Rumania, 39,000; and Italy, 2,000.⁴¹ Within two years of Drake's little spot of luck the young United States was producing well over 90 per cent of world petroleum oil supplies. All other producers between them accounted for a mere five to eight percent. The US took full advantage of that flow to boost national development and to tear itself apart at the same time.

In the complex period of Reconstruction which followed the civil war a number of conflicting streams of reason and philosophy surged through the exuberant American society as it retouched its tarnished national self-image, recovered its confidence and forged ahead to build a unified and powerful nation. Just like the basic causes of the civil war, many of those streams had European roots. The controversy over Darwinism had broken in England just as the US was sliding into its civil war, Drake was presiding over the newly-founded Oil Men's Association and wagons and railways rolled towards the west coast which was being opened up as fast as the arrival of settlers would permit. The waves of new settlers who had been pushed out of Europe and the veterans of the civil war who had fought against each other were equally determined to make a new start. As they did so, their particular understanding or misunderstanding of Darwin showed in their attitudes and actions. There was large scale irresponsibility in the destruction of the existing environment, exploitation of wild life and resources, and harassment and slaughter of American Indians. It could not even be camouflaged by the immense scale of the resources being discovered, the productivity of the land or the low numbers of Indians who the newcomers encountered and with whom they ought to have been able to live in harmony.

THE CHURCH AND INDIANS SHACKLED BY BELIEF

Of course the churches, being generally in confrontation with Darwin, were not in a position to influence peoples' attitudes in such matters. In fact the particular expressions of Christian triumphalism and piety which many American Protestant churchmen peddled only served to make the problem greater. Their young republic had dismantled the Divine Right of Kings. It had escaped most of the papal politicking of Europe and it had maintained a high level of church activity and piety, even if, in retrospect, its application of the Gospel fell far short of the target in the major issues of slavery and reconciliation within the community. Then in the wake of the civil war they took note of the unprecedented raw material resources and food production potential opening up before their astonished, almost incredulous, eyes as if from a vision. They linked this with the ending of slavery which many of them had opposed anyway and adopted Augustine's version of Christian predestination to their own situation. Or was it Calvins? Pulpits, politicians and the press then peddled the common theme that America was God's own country, that they were the new chosen people into whose hands the resources had been placed so that they would be the pattern for a new world. Of course they had some excellent precedents

to fall back on. Even Jefferson had said in his second inaugural address in 1805 that “God led our forefathers, as Israel of old”, extending the theme he had used four years before, that the United States was “the world’s best hope.”⁴²

Like the Battle Hymn of the Republic which had stirred anti slavery fervour during the Civil War, the new line was morale boosting stuff. It filled pews and encouraged family and community reconciliation but it also had other effects. It compounded the exploitative reaction to Darwinism and people could do almost anything to take advantage of resources – as long as they were at church on Sunday. If there was a non-Christian Indian standing in the way it just added to the challenge to bring the resources under God-fearing American control and the whitewash brush was splashed across some of the nation’s worst excesses. As if to highlight this, the degradation of the Navaho people was current news, although it could not compete in horror with earlier race-based attacks on North American Indians. The Navaho people were pushed from their ancestral lands in 1863 while the Civil War was at its bloodiest. Riots were occurring in New York against conscription for the Union army and in favour of peace with a continuation of slavery, and the bill for emancipation of Negro slaves was being debated.

The Navaho tribe was one of the last to be able to cling to its land against the combined pressure of governments, settlers and churchmen. The high-sounding sentiments of the 1787 US Northwest Territory Ordinance which provided that Indian lands and property would never be taken from them without their consent, and that their property rights and liberty would never be disturbed unless in connection with just and lawful wars authorized by Congress, had in reality been only words on a scrap of paper. A policy of confining Indians to defined reservations was officially followed by successive federal governments and even as late as 1814 the Territory of Indiana had offered an Indian scalp bounty as an encouragement to the enterprise and bravery of its white European citizens.

Then in 1825 the reservations policy was tightened. From that time all reservations were to be west of the Mississippi in the dry and treeless land which whites were unsuited to, so that all fertile farming land would be available to white settlers. Wars, massacres and even deeper racial hatred were only to be expected. They happened on an appalling scale such as in the slaughter of all but 150 of about 1,000 Sauk Indians in 1832.

But perhaps the fate of the 17,000–strong Cherokee community demonstrates most clearly that in their cynical double-talk the Christian legislators of the United States were little different to either their European forebears and Protestant contemporaries or the Spanish and Portuguese Catholics of Latin America. The Cherokees had responded to both the efforts of missionaries and to the policies of the US federal government. They had settled and farmed their Georgian land and maintained schools. They had adopted a written constitution for their local government with legislative, executive and judicial arms corresponding to those of federal and state models. They had developed a written alphabet for their language, established a newspaper, the Cherokee Phoenix, and they had even translated parts of the Bible into Cherokee. Even so they still had to go. The white man’s congress authorized the War Department to shift them with

\$50,000 budgeted for their transport, a blanket each, rifles, kettles, fifty dollars in cash, a year's food supplies and five pounds of tobacco. Naturally the Indian's wouldn't budge. Georgia declared their laws void, denied them legal rights against whites and denied them the right to prospect for gold on their own land. Three white missionaries who backed the Cherokees felt the full force of their Christian white brothers' anger, serving four years hard labour for their trouble, and Federal law was changed to provide for the removal of Indian tribes by force without regard to existing treaties. When Federal Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall found in favour of the Cherokees in a case brought by them against Georgia the president, Andrew Jackson, refused to accept the decision. Seven thousand troops plus civilian "volunteers" were used to transport 14,000 Cherokees by force to Arkansas and Oklahoma, to confiscate their farm implements, livestock and household goods and to totally destroy their homes and settlements. Four thousand failed to reach their new "home." They got their chance for premature salvation instead.

Alabama and Mississippi followed Georgia's fine example and the "ceding" of tribal lands and the removal of eastern tribes to their new reserves was complete by 1846. Three years later administration of Indian affairs was transferred from the War Department to the Interior Department. The dissolving of Indian tribal societies and organizations was stepped up, a similar programme was enforced in the west coast states as in the eastern states and the foulest of racist attacks were used in parliament to justify a tribal shift whenever minerals or an area of farming potential was coveted by whites, especially after Darwin.⁴³

Then it was the Navahos' turn. They were pushed into their stony desolate reserves which the white man didn't want, to suffer malnutrition, unemployment, destitution and white man's diseases like all the rest. They couldn't resist. The nation was happy and of course the benevolent government cared for their interests through a treaty entitling them to royalties for minerals just in case any should be discovered. There they would have languished, seemingly forever. But there was coal and uranium beneath the stones and four generations later, when his greed and arrogance had got him into his twentieth century trouble in the triangle, the white man was to come back to take that too.

The Civil War and the new churchy morality hadn't changed things very much at all, except that the links between Protestant Christianity and Capitalism of the dynamic but exploitative new American model had been pulled tight. They had been pulled just as tight as the links between either pre-Reformation Catholicism or Orthodoxy of the Russian kind and power and privilege in Europe. The long-awaited 'social Reconstruction' of the American nation had begun very promptly after the close of the Civil War but by the nature of the problems to be tackled it had to go hand in hand with economic Reconstruction. Too little thought was given to the interaction between the two.

If, as the popular sentiment ran, America was God's own country being built by the new chosen people then government control over the individual's actions was hardly necessary. Christian liberty was, by that reasoning, to be equated to freedom of action and contract.

Unequal private accumulation of wealth was therefore a natural and proper aspect of community life subject only to the judgement of the market place. The government's role was to assist new ventures and economic growth and to open up opportunities for the exploitation of resources. It was not the government's place to interfere with private innovation.

Free or very easy settlement and exploitation of timber, stone, coal, minerals and oil had already started in the north and west under the Homestead Act and with the end of the war it took off in the South as well. High tariff barriers were put up and speculation was encouraged by an inequitable policy of indirect or consumer taxation without income or inheritance taxes. There were big gains to be made by successful risk takers while the burden of national development was carried by farmers and labourers. The country was thrown open to immigration and persecuted Jews and Christians alike from Poland, Lithuania, Hungary and other countries of Europe arrived in droves. Their hope was to set up small business or to settle on the land, (unwittingly in place of Indians), but more often than not they had little option but to live in overcrowded, unsanitary slums prone to crime while they provided factory fodder for the new breed of industrial capitalists who were gradually replacing the mercantile capitalists and landed gentry as the real controllers of the United States.⁴⁴

It was serious that the tensions the migrants already faced were complicated by the ethnic mixing bowl and periodic recessions into which they were thrown. Interfaith and ethnic conflict and ghettoism tended to develop. But on top of that the southern plantation system had begun to collapse as a way of life with the end of the civil war and two other very contentious issues had to be faced as well. One was how to manage and develop the economy of the southern states under a new order. The other was the relationship between the black African former slaves and the white European property owners and businessmen. Unfortunately the attitude of prominent Protestant churchmen towards these issues and their role in the Reconstruction period helped to roll all of the issues into one big untidy ball. They became camouflaged behind a facade of economic development so rapid that the United States and the philosophy and domestic policies which it pursued became sought after as a pattern by envious countries around the world. Within a few generations the United States was being promoted in spite of all its pimples as the ultimate in a Christian community. Politicians, businessmen and the church competed for space on the band wagon.

WAYLAND'S CHRISTIAN ECONOMY ...

During the critical period when the study and practice of economics was evolving into a separate recognized discipline, or science, Protestant churchmen were prominent among America's economic theorists. It seemed natural for those trained in theology to look at the "laws" by which social and community arrangements were affected from the standpoint that there was a providential intelligence at work. They were picking up the threads worked by the Church of England and the establishment to prop each other up with the Protestant Work Ethic in the wake of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. The Rev. Francis Wayland who

later became professor of moral philosophy and president of Broun University had already given an indication of what was to come with *The Elements of Political Economy*, first published in 1837, some years before the Civil War. After the war it was taken as a pattern by a series of other ministers holding similar academic posts.

According to Wayland those who laboured were fulfilling an established law of man's being, and property was founded on the will of God, as made known by natural science, by general consequences, and by revelation. He wrote that God assigned rich and abundant rewards for the industrious but that the results which the Creator attached to idleness were all to be considered as punishments.

The Rev. Francis Bowen, professor of natural religion, moral philosophy and civil polity at Harvard College took those lines of reasoning even further during the Reconstruction period. He wrote that the real author and governor of society was divine; that men cannot interfere with His complex and delicate machine without marring it; that attempts by legislators to direct the industry of society away from its natural and self-chosen channels or to increase or decrease market supplies or prices would almost invariably cause harm; and that God regulates them by his general laws.

Protestant clergymen, writers and politicians, unable to distinguish man's manipulation of migration policies, taxation laws and resources policies from the positive hand of God, added their own touch to such views in pulpits, periodicals and presidential elections. The world was told that Protestant sobriety, thrift and devotion to one's labour set apart God's elect, paved the way to Salvation and enabled man to overcome Original Sin and achieve a Christian life. Grace, according to Henry Ward Beecher, was achievable through personal effort and service. Good stuff. Or at least it was just what the capitalists wanted to hear. A part of the accumulated untaxed profit from uninhibited and quite often ill-gotten gain began to flow into good works like community welfare programmes, family and child care societies, schools for Negroes, chapels for the poor and, of course, foreign missions in countries where there were markets or resources to be won. Wealth, according to the preachers, was a sign of Divine approval just as poverty and unemployment were signs that people had failed in their struggle with Original Sin. Or as Bishop William Lawrence saw it, material prosperity was favourable to morality.⁴⁵

... AND CHURCH GROWTH

The Protestant churches grew from financial strength to financial strength. Naturally. It was quite consistent with their new doctrine and proved that they were having a good influence on the United States. Similarly, very few people voiced any disapproval when clergymen took public relations jobs with resource-exploitative corporations such as John D. Rockefeller's notorious Standard Oil. As time passed, thinking people did begin to question the links between the church and such companies with their unethical activities although it was at least a generation before cracks began to show in the alliance, somewhat longer before the "tainted

money” incident caught the national headlines, and even longer before the “Social Gospel” became an accepted part of American Protestantism.

But during those soul-searching Reconstruction years few pulpit-polishing Protestants noted the further drift in interpretation of the Biblical concept of justification by faith through God’s grace. They were more inclined to be impressed by the fact that it was a distinct, apparently successful and therefore correct departure from papal attempts to get people back onto the sacramental track via the kind invitation to Vatican I. It probably didn’t occur to them, either, that there were interesting similarities between their Salvation through money-into-church-good works approach and the papal money-into-indulgences approach. But they did know that their theologians and their economists were chanting the same chorus: the more the world advanced, the faster it could advance. The world would reach its ultimate state according to the acceleration which is part of the nature of things if man and governments stood aside and didn’t interfere.

So during those critical Reconstruction years everyone stood aside and let the successful new northern industrial capitalists have free rein and determine the thrust of national policies. Whistling the Battle Hymn of the Republic with a cleft tongue all the way to Capitol Hill and the bank, they tried to impose Negro emancipation and voting rights on the south, under armed military supervision, by withholding both development capital and a range of white electoral rights until full equality had been established. It must have been obvious to the concerned thinking public – even if not to the churches which were propping up the system – that such sanctions were to the economic advantage of the north, that reconciliation between the Union and Confederate states would be undermined and not enhanced and that the south would be shaken by continued discord. It all happened. Race hatred swept the south which responded to the federal policies with an equally cleft tongue. Many important reforms were introduced but no real effort was made to redistribute land so, with capital funds withheld, development which could have provided jobs was slow, Negro unemployment was high, corruption in government was widespread and social distress was a fact of life.

Slavery had not provided a base for either assimilation or self-supporting community development within the Negro population and inadequate services, provided by unwilling state governments at the point of a barrel, did little to help. The Ku Klux Klan sprang up, apparently as an organization of worthy, responsible white gentlemen with the aim of preserving and recovering white rights rather than of suppressing Negroes, but it is said to have come under the control of rowdies and drunkards and to have changed course completely. Efforts by the founders to disband the Klan failed and it was soon spreading terror and hatred by whipping, tarring and feathering, and lynching. The sadism and torture which were soon a part of the southern scene rivalled the worst excesses of the Inquisition.

MISSIONS OR MISERY?

On one hand the Reconstruction period had spawned a rash of Christian foreign missions intimately linked with the new American Protestant Ethic and the successful new version of American Capitalism which was catching the world's attention. But on the other hand it had spawned racial bigotry without precedent.

Before and during the Civil War pro-slavery propagandists had been happy to portray the Negro in a condition for which God had fashioned him, childlike in his helplessness, willing to be led and even loyal and devoted to slave owners who were virtuous, humane and motivated by the highest sentiments. To abolitionists he had been the pathetic victim of a cruel system, but not necessarily the equal of the white man into whose society he had been thrust. However under enforced social Reconstruction the Negro's characteristics suddenly changed. H.R. Helper, US Consul to Buenos Aires after the war, was opposed to slavery as the basis of an economic system, but he described the Negro as incapable of adapting to citizenship, with vile and vomit-promoting stench, and only worthy of being recolonized abroad (together with Chinese) or even of being exterminated if Providence willed. He poured contempt on the "Negro kissers" who promoted Negro equality in Congress.⁴⁶

Unfortunately Helper was not an isolated example of a government official who held such views. They were common. President Lincoln had gone into the Civil War deeply committed to the view that the United States was for whites only and that emancipation of the Negro slaves had to be coupled with their total recolonization elsewhere. He had publicly affirmed his belief in white superiority and his view that physical differences would forever forbid social or political equality and intermarriage. But he was opposed to the use of Liberia which was popularly mooted as a site for recolonization because the climate was unhealthy and, more to the point, because the cost of transporting a large population between five and six thousand miles was too high. He considered both Panama and Colombia but when his investigations became known several Central American governments protested vigorously. Facing such opposition and recognizing the enormity of the task, (transporting a few tribes of Indians half way across the US paled into insignificance alongside it), Lincoln changed his approach. Half way through the war he began moving towards the granting of political rights to Negroes as well as emancipation.⁴⁷

It took nine years after the war for Congress to pass the last of the Reconstruction measures and it was another three years (1877) before federal enforcement troops were withdrawn from the south. It was then from ten to fifteen years before several of the southern states began dismantling the Reconstruction and disenfranchising Negroes by indirect, devious means. And it was not until the shock of World War I, a generation later, that federal courts declared the discriminatory state legislation invalid and the Reconstruction process rolled forward again.⁴⁸

One aspect of the race question had been laid to rest but certainly it was not the end of the question, either for Negroes or for people of other races. Other aspects had arisen to complicate the issue and to produce in the United States a multi-racial population with some massive hang-

ups. Among the most important were Chinese migration into California with the 1849 gold rush and the Jewish refugee influx from Eastern Europe. And of course as the pressure of World War I helped to dismantle one issue, others, including the German and Jewish questions, intruded to complicate the picture.

It was only during the 1920s that a better understanding of race and a greater degree of racial tolerance began to develop as anthropology became accepted as more than a curiosity and as biologists and educationists gained more confidence and published their research assessments. One of the triggers for that development was the intervention of the band of Jewish Film producers who had all migrated with their parents or been born to migrant families during the traumatic period from 1861 to 1894 which coincided with the Reconstruction Period. Eager for full assimilation but refused financial assistance or support by WASP banks and film trusts in New York ⁴⁹ they naturally turned to Jewish financiers and, refused membership of university and social clubs in California ⁵⁰ they turned increasingly to tight knit communities of Jews in Hollywood and Los Angeles, even though there was antagonism between those two communities for a long time. ⁵¹

JEWISH PATRIOTISM ... AND ROSE TINTED SPECTACLES

During World War One all the Jewish-controlled motion picture companies readily supported the government's recruiting campaign as a patriotic gesture. One company, controlled by Zukor, produced what were in reality little more than propaganda films. Another, Warner Brothers, produced a film on venereal diseases for the army. ⁵² They followed that, at the end of the war, with a film which "appealed primarily to the American post war jingoism and blood lust" ⁵³ It followed that as a consequence of a lack of formal constraints on the media industries, the companies aimed to use their facilities to promote their personal moral values through their productions. ⁵⁴ Regardless of their good intentions this brought further anti-Semitic attacks such as in Henry Ford's I in 1921.

The movies are "Jew-controlled, not in spots only, not 50 per cent merely, but entirely; with the natural consequence that now the world is in arms against the trivializing and demoralising influences of that form of entertainment as presently managed.... As soon as the Jews gained control of the "movies," we had a movie problem, the consequences of which are not yet visible. It is the genius of that race to create problems of a moral character in whatever business they achieve a majority." ⁵⁵

This meant that as much as they might choose to avoid it the Jewish-controlled companies produced films in reaction to the social isolation imposed on them, and these illustrated what they expected in the land of their dreams. While the WASP controlled companies produced films which portrayed the natural superiority and success of the WASP communities, to which migrants, including Jews, and even blacks were welcome if they recognized their subordinate roles and played according to WASP rules, the Jewish studios produced films which exemplified the need for racial tolerance and integration, the right of the oppressed, and which

championed the success of the underdog. Harry Warner has been described as “the self-appointed conscience of the family” and tirelessly and “often tiresomely” Messianic about racial and religious prejudices.⁵⁶ Many of those films projected the starry-eyed view of what life could be in America: the good life, escape from torment and oppression, freedom as a matter of course, and unrestricted human rights. They did not portray America as it was. They swamped reality with the dream of what it might be like and the Great American Dream gradually became the basis of American self-understanding.⁵⁷ That self-understanding masked reality, including the concept of the Protestant Work Ethic and, helped along by politicians and controllers of commerce who all found it a wonderful platform for voter and consumer support, it perpetuated the myth of the New Israel – or the new “chosen people.”

There were certainly differences between the film companies. The Warner Brothers were opposed to assimilation. While others sought to appease the WASP establishment, Warner Brothers set themselves against the establishment and challenged its legitimacy.⁵⁸ But as a group, the Jewish industry leaders became increasingly conscious of the bonds between America’s Jewish communities and those in Europe.

So although America and the Western World were gradually moving towards a position in which they should have understood Peter’s vision of the unclean food, the church’s doctrines and its self-understanding had become almost unshakably entrenched and had obscured that vision. Racial bigotry which had been carried to the New World with the first ship had been compounded by the policies and actions of both the church and the European colonial powers in their unholy collaboration. The young American nation had an opportunity to make a fresh start and to reject the racist attitudes with which it had been infected at birth and it also had a strong incentive to do so as it struggled to establish its identity and its role in the world. It had come close to grasping the opportunity at the time of independence but unfortunately it had let it slip.

Although subsequent generations of ordinary American settlers would have shown a remarkable degree of enlightenment if they had acted any differently, it is reasonable to expect that, in view of the divinely inspired role which it claimed for itself, the church and its leaders should have known better. In this respect there are a number of other events and actions by the United States, Europe’s colonial powers and their ally, the church, which were helping to set the world stage for the unfolding trouble in the triangle and they must be considered together with the struggle for national reconstruction in which the people of America were still bitterly embroiled.

TIME FOR INDIA’S RECONSTRUCTION

India also, was embroiled in a form of national reconstruction under British crown rule imposed after the Sepoy revolt (or the Indian Mutiny) of 1857 which, to Indians, has always been a war of independence.⁵⁹ The huge subcontinent had progressed quietly for over a thousand years before the fall of Constantinople spurred European Christian powers, with Portugal in the papal vanguard, into colonizing India via the sea route around Africa. It had attracted a series of

invasions but had shown no tendency to foreign expansion itself. The brilliance and strength of its princely Hindu civilization, best known to the rest of the world for the segregation or disunity of its caste structure, had ebbed and flowed over almost 3,000 years. It had reached its lowest point in the tenth century when moral decadence was common among the upper classes and feudalism crept into the self-supporting villages. Strong centralized empires broke down and this encouraged the harsh Turkish Muslim invasions which followed. But, stimulated by a new awareness of the love of a Supreme and Divine Being through the writings of Ramanuja, Hindu thought and culture survived, adapted to and accommodated the Muslim invasions and reached new heights in a great revival in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries while the power and influence of the Muslim Mughal dynasty was also at its height.

Unfortunately that revival coincided with the beginning of European encroachment and it wasn't long before political, commercial and military competition between the intruders, each pursuing its own brand of colonial exploitation, began to undermine the political and community structures, productivity and stability of the great nation. India had enjoyed far greater stability and harmony than Europe had been able to maintain since Pompey stormed Jerusalem and religious conflict had become a standard factor in Europe's affairs.

At the time of the fall of Constantinople the population of the Indian subcontinent was greater than that of the European subcontinent but it was being rapidly overhauled.⁶⁰ Naturally both subcontinents were affected by occasional droughts and famines, by uneven population growth and by the pressures which result from regional differences in productivity and capacity to support a growing population. However the responses to such things by the people of the two regions were very different, largely because of the differences between the philosophies which were dominant in them, intertwined with both government policies and religious observance. When famine occurred in Europe there was a prompt surge in emigration which put all sections of the community and government under pressure to find solutions to avoid conflict, such as colonization and wars for food or resource producing land. But when famine occurred in areas of high population density in India the prevailing attitudes towards life and death and the caste system worked against both migration and government intervention. The result was human distress on an appalling scale and even mass suicide.⁶¹ The ammunition was ready made for those who wanted to take advantage of Malthus and Darwin.

Apart from Mughal imperial efforts to achieve common ground between each of the religions which were then present in India, including Akbar's 'Divine Faith' of 1582, several independent efforts were made by teachers and philosophers to bring together the principal beliefs of Islam and Hinduism. Their work was much more systematic and reasoned than the process of political syncretism in which the Christian church had surreptitiously engaged throughout its history. The work of Nanak (1469–1538) pre-dated Akbar and was outstanding in both perception and impact, and provided the basis for the Sikh religion.

Of course the papacy was also very busy during Nanak's life time. It was trying to eliminate the pre-Messianic Aztec religion from Mexico and to eliminate both of its Messianic partners,

Judaism and Islam, from Portugal. At the same time it was trying to beat off Erasmus, Luther and their colleagues in Europe to avoid a reassessment of its own doctrines and its self-understanding. Its efforts were in sharp contrast to those of Nanak who was working at the very same time to relate the rigid monotheism of Messianic Islam to the philosophical truths of his pre-Messianic Hinduism. His ideas were put into scriptural form a few years later by Arju but, unfortunately, persecution by the Mughals, who were still trying to achieve religious accord by their own methods, led the Sikhs to develop a military and tribal base for their community. This became a factor in later struggles and led eventually to the establishment of a separate Sikh state.^{62 63 64}

India already had immense trading capacity before the fall of Constantinople and it was happy to trade with anyone who came its way by land or sea. But although it had some 3,500 miles of coastline forming two sides of a triangle jutting towards the Equator midway between the Horn of Africa and South East Asia, and although it was isolated from the main land mass of Asia by massive mountain ranges with very few passes, it had never developed its maritime potential. This, coupled with stories of wealth and splendour which were carried overland with spices, pearls, precious stones, laces and fine fabrics via the trade routes which Europe could not control, encouraged Europe's powers to want a piece of the Indian action – quite apart from the pope's eagerness for eastern alliances to support a twin pronged assault on the seat of Islam.

The demand for goods when Europe's traders arrived by sea naturally stimulated production in all fields, especially hand loom fabrics, hand crafts, jewelry and precious metals, spices and crops for fibre and sugar. Even the conflicts generated by the traders, troops and theologians couldn't stop the progress during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. But when trading posts turned into land grabs and then into European colonies, with India's hereditary rulers relegated to the role of vassals, the picture began to change. The British East India Company was established under Royal Charter in 1599 and it was based in India from 1633. At that stage India held a position of proud supremacy in trade and industry as the pre-capitalist workshop of the world but the East India Company soon put an end to that. The company's conduct and administration became so questionable that in 1773 the British parliament split its absolute authority under Royal Charter and sent a governor-general, Chief Justice and three English judges to share responsibility with it in territories which were then under its control. However attempts to apply English law in a completely different cultural setting and with the same heavy-handed mentality which kept the convict ships sailing for Australia proved catastrophic. The administration rode slip shod over Hindu ethics, customs and religious beliefs. The first governor-general, Warren Hastings, used oppressive force to reduce Indian hereditary rulers into abject submission to the company but some justice was done when, on returning to England, he was impeached by the House of Lords.

THE BRITISH EXPAND, DIVIDE AND RULE

Lord Cornwallis, the next formal appointee as governor-general, tried to stop the rot with some reforms to the company's administration, its mercantile policies and the army but his complete rejection of, and isolation from, both Hindu and Muslim leadership groups counteracted his efforts. Christian arrogance and assumptions of superiority showed through every action under his regime. All higher posts in administration were reserved for Europeans while Hindus and Muslims were eligible only for menial clerical positions. A new caste of alien, white, Christian rulers had been established. However his most devastating action was his reform of the land tenure systems. At the stroke of a pen, for convenience in collecting English-style land taxes, he destroyed the traditional system of hereditary land occupancy and replaced it with absolute tenure with confiscation on default of tax payment. When successive governors-general set about a series of wars of expansion which brought some four fifths of India under British control within two generations they imposed the same land tenure system. The result was that about twenty million small land holders were dispossessed and turned into serf-like subjects of a new landed aristocracy. The basis of India's rural community had been destroyed and its agriculture was in chaos.

The country was rapidly being reduced to such a state that even Britain could see its interests at risk from the unrest. At that stage British fear of Russian intervention in India via the Afghanistan route was growing to the point of imbalance and obsession and a hostile anti-British movement was seen as a possible encouragement for such a Russian adventure.⁶⁵ A similar fear of French intervention in collaboration with Persia had been laid to rest with the final fall of Napoleon. After the Napoleonic Wars, when Britain was able to strengthen its grip on India at everyone else's expense, the British East India Company assumed an even more dominant role.

Of course, according to most British officials and politicians, the state of the country was not Britain's fault, it was all a matter of Indian incompetence. But there were a few people, like Sir Thomas Munro, who called for a policy of British non interference in Indian affairs. The Indians could, he believed, run their affairs very well if Britain was prepared to simply protect them and the country would recover very quickly. Englishmen should, he told them, drop their fanatical idea that no country could be saved without English institutions.⁶⁶ Branded a romantic, Munro was ignored and in the 1830s an accelerated programme of educational and cultural Anglicization was undertaken as a means of pacification. But the pacification process was very slow. Military defence in depth was seen as the answer. This could perhaps have been achieved by treaties with friendly border provinces but the long established colonial mentality which Britain was ruthlessly pursuing was hardly consistent with treaties which implied equality with remnant Hindu, Sikh and Muslim rulers. In addition the growing antagonism towards the white Christian overlords as a consequence of British policy hardly augured well for such treaties. Annexation seemed to be Britain's solution. But then it decided to have "a bob each way." Showing an appalling lack of understanding of the situation and of the relationships which it

was continuing to undermine, but with its eyes wide open, Britain galloped headlong into one of history's monumental blunders.

In attempts to set up a series of friendly rulers (puppets would be more accurate) and to manipulate the border between India and Afghanistan to ensure control of the Khyber Pass, Britain triggered a series of wars with the Afghans and the Sikhs of the Punjab. Anti-Muslim sentiment, and the return of a set of sandalwood gates thought to be those stolen from the sacred temple of Somnath by Sultan Mahmud about nine hundred years earlier, was used to whip up Hindu support for the British cause. (Shades of Heraclius and the "true cross", Chapter 7, p. 16). In the middle of it all the Muslim region of Kashmir was annexed and sold to the Hindu dynasty of Gulab Singh. The Kashmir question remained, latent, ready to surface together with the Sikh question in the Punjab, until Britain would finally be forced out of India and the relationship between Hindu and Muslim communities could be resolved.

Then came the Crimean War and British fears about Russia's interests in India increased. Pacification had to be speeded up. Among the measures introduced was a two-for-one subsidy for any voluntary organization which cared to operate schools at which English was taught. The well established church-state establishment alliance came to the fore again. The churches in England were both eager and geared to take advantage of the opportunity and schools appeared everywhere, teaching English of course, but also teaching denominational Christianity and the attitudes towards Islam and Hinduism which went with it.

TIME TO BITE THE BULLET ... IN FAITH

The smell of revolt filled the air. The princes whose states had already been annexed and those who felt threatened had had enough. The small landholders who had been dispossessed had had enough and so had big ones holding land under dubious titles. Religious leaders could see undisguised attacks on every aspect of Indian culture and the structures of society in every British regulation and in every new school. The focal point of rebellion when it came in 1857 was the introduction of the new Enfield rifle and the need to bite each cartridge in loading it. They were greased and the probability was that the animal fats used included cow and pig fat. The cow being sacred to Hindus and the pig being unclean to Muslims, this was believed by many religious leaders to be another deliberate effort to denigrate their religions, although it may have been simply an administrative indiscretion. However it was a very effective focal point around which to draw together all those opposed to continued British rule and within weeks of the first shot being fired rebellion was sweeping much of northern India.

Delhi fell to the revolt in May and the Sepoys proclaimed the old king, Bahadur Shah, Emperor of India. In town after town old scores were settled and Europeans were massacred in large numbers. Then the tide began to turn and Delhi was retaken in September. English vengeance knew no bounds. The total slaughter of everyone found within the city walls recalled the fate of Jerusalem at the hands of the Crusaders. India was to be taught a lesson. Britain was in India to stay. And so was the church. When the British parliament revoked the authority of

the East India Company and assumed direct imperial rule in 1858 Queen Victoria, later proclaimed Empress of India as well as Defender of the Faith, declared that "...firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity ... we disclaim alike the right and desire to impose our convictions ..." and also that "... we desire no extension of our territorial possessions ..." Both sentiments were somewhat hollow and both were jettisoned at the first opportunity.

There was somewhat more sincerity in her declaration that Britain wanted to restore internal tranquillity, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all residents. "In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security" she said. Quite right. But there were still plenty of hollow words in her declaration, especially that Britain wanted to stimulate peaceful industry and that India's gratitude would be Britain's best reward.⁶⁷ A second European Christian version of India's reconstruction was about to begin. There was a long way to go. In just three generations the entire community and social structure of a great nation had disintegrated or been shattered under the impact of the policies and actions of the country which now proposed a second reconstruction. India had been reduced from its position of preeminence as a trading nation to a semidestitute plantation for raw materials for Europe's factories and a dumping ground for cheap manufactures from the new mass production factories of the industrialized capitalist west. It had reverted to a feudal society kept in subjection by the rifle and bitter antagonism was being generated between Hindus and Muslims by both the denigration of their customs and social structures and a policy of divide and rule.⁶⁸

NO COMPETITION ALLOWED

The hypocrisy and ruthlessness in the actions of Britain's traders and troops made a mockery of Victoria's declaration that the colonial authorities would stimulate peaceful industry. The fate of Dacca's fine weaving industry illustrates this. One of the attractions of trade with India which encouraged intense European colonial competition for access and control of the country was its finely woven fabrics, especially silk. A key centre for the cottage industry was Dacca, in East Bengal, (now Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh), where the skills of hand loom weaving had been passed from generation to generation for many centuries. The country became part of Britain's India with Robert Clive's victory in the battle of Palassy in 1757, just as the Seven Years War moved into its second year. The demand for quality fabrics was rising sharply, control of a major supply in Bengal was exactly in line with colonial policy, and Britain's traders were very happy indeed with their Bengali servants. But then Britain's cotton milling capacity began its tenfold sky-rocket rise in 25 years under the stimulus of both the Seven Years War and the dramatic increase in cotton production in the American colonies which had been made possible by the slave trade. Bengal's situation changed. Its weavers were no longer skilled, respected suppliers of fine fabrics. They were dastardly fiends in competition with the cotton mills of Manchester both on the British market and in their home country. They were no longer playing the proper role of good subordinate colonial servants. Weaving had to stop.

Britain now wanted only raw material plus an export market for its manufactured goods in India, a colony which had been a major supplier. But of course its importers did not want to sacrifice their trade so the millers and the colonial authorities took another tack. It is extremely difficult to operate a hand loom without a thumb so people found weaving were 'discouraged' from continuing their trade by having a thumb chopped off. Bengal's cottage weaving industry slumped and Manchester got more raw material as well as exports of manufactured goods back to India.

The possible motives behind that action require some thought, especially as it is not clear whether the mutilation was carried out at the direction of magistrates or indiscriminately at the whim of British commercial interests. The population of East Bengal was, and still is, more than eighty per cent Muslim. Hand and foot mutilation is authorized under Islamic religious law, Sharia, for certain offences and this has long been a matter of revulsion and an excuse to denigrate Islam among Christians. They have selective memories when it comes to the torture chambers of the Inquisition, the destruction of civilizations and the use of the stake. This is different. This is Islam. If the British acted as they did in Bengal backed up by trade regulations, on the basis that it was an appropriate penalty understood by the people of the dominant religion of the region, then it was a back-handed compliment to the junior partner in the triangle and an admission that 'we British Christians cannot enforce our regulations without using your teaching.' If on the other hand it was a purely punitive commercial action which the authorities chose to ignore, then it is a damning indictment of both the authorities and those who did it and exposes colonial practice yet again as inhumane exploitation based on greed. In either case the action further undermined India, poisoned relations between the colonizer and the colonized, inflamed passions and contributed to the build up of the trouble in the triangle.

CHINA'S TURN

But India's neighbours were in trouble too. A European Christian version of China's reconstruction was also being pressed hard in 1858 and European minds, great and small alike, would soon be applied to the reconstruction of Africa as well. It was that year that British and French gun barrels, pointed at the Chinese emperor in Tientsin, had extracted a declaration of religious tolerance; Napoleon III's infamous agreement for Catholic missions' property rights; and an agreement for Western diplomatic missions to reside permanently in Peking with ministerial status.⁶⁹

The proud Chinese of the Ch'ing dynasty had not liked what they saw as they were forced into more and more direct contact with Europe's bickering powers after the fall of Constantinople and Vasco da Gama's 1498 trip to India. They had an older and more highly developed civilization, a system of ethics which had stood the test of time and good justification for regarding Europeans as outrageous barbarians. After all, the Portuguese kidnappers, plunderers and blackmailers who arrived to set up a fortress trading post near Canton in 1517, just after Gianfrancesco Pico had made his scathing attack on papal morality at the Fifth

Lateran Council, were the official channel for papal-sponsored investment from all of Europe. If they were a fair sample of it, the Chinese could be excused for regarding Christianity as a somewhat inferior system.

For a couple of centuries China succeeded in restricting European traders to the single port of Canton. It also succeeded in maintaining an arm's length relationship with their governments which were required to pay tribute to the emperor for the privilege of trading with China. But gradually the position changed. After the Napoleonic Wars Britain emerged as the dominant Canton trader with the United States a long way back in second place and France, Holland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Denmark and the papacy also present. They all wanted to break the system and widen their trading prospects, but especially Britain. The opportunity came with a pretty little poppy.

YOUR OPIUM AND A TREATY, OR WAR!

Opium had been used as a painkilling drug in Chinese medicine long before seaborne Europeans began to intrude but, because it was known to be a very destructive drug of addiction, it was never smoked and its use was strictly controlled. Then came Spanish American traders bringing tobacco from Mexico.⁷⁰ Tobacco smoking was soon an accepted social habit in southern China and it was a very short jump by the line of "if one, why not the other" reasoning from tobacco to opium. An illegal trade in distress and terror developed rapidly. Chinese efforts to control or suppress it failed. Confident that China was too far away for the trade to pose a problem at home, and ignoring all pleas for support to stamp it out on moral grounds, the self-styled superior Christian government of Britain saw it as an opportunity to extract other trade and political benefits as well as quick cash flow. In 1839 it demanded a piece of the opium action at gun point.

The opium war dragged on for almost four years and out of it came the Treaty of Nanking. Britain gained Hong Kong, trade and residency rights at five ports instead of one,⁷¹ and twenty one million Mexican dollars in indemnities to cover the cost of the war and lost trade.⁷² Out of it also came a highly organized criminal drug running racket which could no longer be stamped out either with or without Britain's cooperation. Its legacy is crime, distress and the threat of community disintegration in many countries without regard to their level of technical advancement but, chiefly in the affluent West. Humiliated, China had to sign similar treaties with the United States and France in 1844. Anti-foreign and anti-Christian sentiment increased. So did the Western appetite for Chinese concessions, and it was only fourteen years before those British and French "negotiators" arrived for more talks.

Actually the Chinese refused to ratify the 1858 agreement covering equality of status for diplomatic missions so the British and French returned two years later with 41 British and 60 French warships, 10,500 British troops, 143 troop transports and a coolie corps of 2,500 Cantonese.⁷³ Having had a successful scrap with a Chinese imperial army, a few scuffles over a captured negotiator and lots of excitement in looting and destroying the emperor's summer

palace, the negotiators left. They were well satisfied with ratification of the 1858 treaties, increased indemnities for loss of Roman Catholic church properties, almost uninhibited trade access to the whole Chinese empire and a hunk of the Kowloon Peninsula, adjacent to Hong Kong, for Britain.⁷⁴

Of course there were hawks in the Western countries who believed that China should be totally subjugated and colonized just like any other part of the world. Why, they asked, should it be treated any differently to other countries which existed to supply resources for Europe and its Christian offspring? Basically the reason that Britain opposed that line and insisted on treaty arrangements with China was simply the impracticability of subjugating an empire as advanced and as powerful as China. The West should simply use its technical and military superiority to extract what it wanted. Britain and France would have first bite of the Chinese cherry and then the USA, Russia and other European powers were welcome to scramble for the crumbs under the table.

In fact Russia's General Ignatiev outsmarted Britain's Lord Elgin and France's Baron Gros in that round of negotiations and, by superior knowledge of China and adroit diplomacy achieved the position of mediator. He stayed on after they left for home with their spoils, residing in the Russian Orthodox ecclesiastical mission of course, and secured the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Peking. In addition to confirming previous treaties which had been in dispute, this ceded to Russia the Maritime Province between Manchuria and the Pacific coast. It meant that Russian territory then stretched right to the base of the Korean Peninsula. But more important to Russia than the territory it had gained was the fact that within a few years of the Crimean War it had confirmed its right to the port of Vladivostok. It could hardly be called a warm water port in the Mediterranean sense but at least there was the prospect of keeping it open to trade for most of the year.⁷⁵

CHRISTIAN SACRAMENTS IN PLACE OF A CONFUCIAN CREED

The Western European powers were still clinging to the doctrinal statements of their respective churches, even if they paid only lip-service to the Gospel in framing their laws. They were therefore very happy to act on their agreed task to carry Christianity around the world while they could benefit from doing so and they continued to denigrate any culture which was neither European or of their particular brand of Christianity. On that basis they were hell bent on Europeanizing China and expected the emperor to dismantle two thousand years of development in culture and ethics.⁷⁶ It meant nothing to them that Rome had botched up its opportunities to carry the Messianic message across the Orient through its contacts with the Great Khans and they may not have even known of its attempts to develop an alliance with the Mongols with the aim of eliminating Islam. Their own religious bigotry was so deep-seated that if they had known about it they probably would have seen nothing inconsistent in their nineteenth century posture.

Certainly there were things to criticize in Eastern cultures. There was barbarism in the Chinese imperial practice of maintaining court eunuchs, for example, just as there was barbarism in the Hindu practice of widow burning. But, as in the case of the much more barbarous religious rites of the Aztecs, there was no justification for the church and its props using pre-Messianic barbarism, or worse, to eliminate pre-Messianic philosophies and religions which had well founded systems of person-to-person relations. However, as if to support its claim that there was some justification, the church was still actively tearing itself and the nation apart with the methods of the Inquisition in the bulwark of New World Christendom, Spain.⁷⁷ (The Inquisition had been re-established after Napoleon's demise but was officially discontinued in 1834, barely 20 years later.) And of course twenty years later that 'justification' would be officially confirmed when the pope proclaimed the writings of Thomas Aquinas to be the authorized basis of Catholic theology.

By imperial decree the Sacred Edict of sixteen points based on teachings of Confucius and covering social conduct, livelihood, education and peace and order had to be read and expounded like a sermon to every community in China twice each month. In practice that wasn't much different to the approach in England where religious "truths" were to be instilled into the community on a cyclical basis by act of parliament. In concept the Edict was like a Chinese Ten Commandments but without any reference to God's absolute authority or to the honour due to God. It was, in influence, certainly a politically and socially conservative document. But it was no more so than the liturgy of the Church of England, (especially when the effort by the church and the establishment to develop the Protestant Work Ethic is considered), and it didn't even demand prayers for the person of the imperial majesty.^{78 79}

But it was not Christian, so vigorous efforts were made to denigrate it and to flood China with missions and missionaries. The intruders had technical and military superiority on their side, as in all of the countries which were suddenly being engulfed by a wave of Western influence and interference. It was therefore quite natural that superiority in those fields should imply, as it had so often in the past, some Divine benevolence in their favour or some superiority of religious belief. Westerners generally and the missionaries in particular lost no opportunities to press that implication.

A DECLARATION OF TOLERANCE

When the Chinese emperor issued his declaration of religious tolerance the population of his empire was between one quarter and one third of the entire world population. Trade opportunities from China's enforced contact with the west were, of course, a two-way affair but the benefits were weighted heavily in favour of the west both in resources to be gained and in potential markets to be supplied.⁸⁰ And while the church was eager to have a go at the immense target population and to make up for previous ruined opportunities, its colleagues in trade and government in Europe had another motive for wanting it in China with them as well as their doctrinal pretensions. It was the old issue of political stability through religious conformity. This had clearly been a factor in Britain's policy of

divide-and-rule in its dealings with faiths already established in India while it encouraged Anglicization by every available means.

Western Europeans generally, and Vatican strategists in particular, were very conscious that several waves of “heathen invaders” had swept into Europe from Asia. It was quite clear that although they were holding the upper hand in the nineteenth century the military position could again be reversed. They knew that after their devastating early invasions the Mongols thrusting north of the Black Sea had reached an understanding and coexisted quite well with the Russians and their Orthodox Christianity. But they also knew that the other Mongol thrust, south of the Black Sea, had eventually lost contact with Rome.

They had adopted Islam and mingled, by conquest, with the Turks who had carried the main determined wave of Islam through Afghanistan and into India, strengthening the Arab Muslim position in the East Indies as well. Now that China had again come face to face with the world around her it was vital that her religious affiliations should be with Western Europe. There wasn’t a Prester John reigning somewhere in the Orient for the church to link up with but there was a very strong Muslim presence in both the northwest and southwest. If China were to become linked to the religions of either of those earlier Mongol movements, and if the political or military balance were to shift in their favour, then the West could be in trouble. Yes. The politicians and traders were happy to have the church along for the ride, as long as it didn’t rock the boat again.

AFRICA: OPEN COMPETITION

So the reconstruction of China got underway and Europe’s Christian powers could turn their attention to the immense and little-known continent of Africa. It had been a wonderful source of slaves but the market for human beings had dried up almost completely as a result of all the international intrigue and bickering. Until Napoleon began his big shakeup Europeans had hardly penetrated beyond a fifty mile coastal strip around Africa.^{81 82}

Slave and general trading posts and Christian missions, usually associated, were confined to the coast with a few exceptions such as along the Senegal, Niger and Congo basins, in Angola and, in particular, along the Zambezi River. It was there that Portuguese and Christianized Goan adventurers had settled at the gold-rich Monomotapa court and negotiated, with little success, for missionaries and merchants to be taken to the legendary mines of Zimbabwe. The Nile Valley through Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia was historically well known, as were the portions of Morocco and Algeria north of the Atlas Mountains. But it was only in the strategically important and temperate, southernmost wedge of the continent, around which ships had to pass and where they preferred to reprovision on the route to and from the east, that serious attempts at inland settlement had been made. Even the Cape had not been intended as a base for conquest or colonization when the first settlement was established by Holland in 1652. It was administered by the powerful East India Company from Batavia simply as a resupply station,⁸³ but expansion was inevitable.

With the Dutch East India Company administering the Cape, in much the same way as its British counterpart had run much of India, Boers were soon brought from Holland as free settlers. With them came Negro slaves from the Gold Coast and Malay slaves from Batavia. The African Bushmen and Hottentots who were running cattle at the Cape proved no match for the Boers with their European weapons, and although it always involved a fight the land grab for expansion was relatively easy.

The Boers had no difficulty at all in reconciling their land grab from people they regarded as pitiful and inferior. As rigid Calvinists they had known persecution from Catholics in Holland and many of them clung to a very narrow doctrine, somewhat Augustinian, of Salvation for a very few “elect.” Naturally the “elect” included the Boers but as the Bushmen and Hottentots had proven resistant to the new Christian presence they were lost and their fate was of no consequence. In view of that it is noteworthy that the Malay slaves were allowed to continue to practice their Islamic faith on the basis that an inferior people were welcome to an inferior religion. At the same time the Boers saw nothing contradictory or shameful in their men, (who outnumbered their women by a big margin), using women from the free Bushmen and Hottentots for sex. A large population of mixed bloods known as Bastards, Griquas, or Coloureds was being bred and it would test the future goodwill of all concerned.

Just a generation after “free settlement” had been introduced the Boers were joined by several thousand Huguenots when Louis XIV responded to a bit of papal support for his Dutch and Indochina adventures by revoking the Edict of Nantes. Another round of terror was unleashed against France’s Protestant minority. Their common background of religious persecution, extremism and determination made the two groups natural allies and, against East India Company opposition, they teamed up to push settlement at the expense of the company’s interests. Every step the company took, including recruiting German Protestant migrants, strengthened the growth of new nationalism and weakened Holland’s grip on the Cape. By 1700 the settlement extended as far as fifty five miles from Capetown.

While that European enclave was becoming firmly established several tribes from the Central African Bantu region were moving southward through the Monomotapa region. More efficient farmers and fighters than either the Hottentots or the Bushmen, they settled the region and established thriving communities. By 1700 the Sotho had reached the River Vaal and the Ngoni had crossed the Drakensberg Mountains and colonized the coastal region as far south as the River Kei. In a sense, and on a very much smaller scale, the Bantu were to Central and Southern Africa what the Mongols were to Central Asia and Eastern Europe.

BANTUS, BOERS AND BUSHMEN

During the next three generations Bantu and Boer pressed on relentlessly towards each other, little aware of the others’ presence or activities, but each squeezing the Bushmen and Hottentots out of their homelands and into the Kalahari Desert and South West Africa. The confrontation between civilizations and the test of technology and goodwill came in 1775 when Bantu and

Boer met at the Fish River. Goodwill soon gave way to conflict which was not as one-sided in its results as the availability of advanced European technology might suggest. Half-hearted support for the Boer cause from the Dutch East India Company encouraged a series of local declarations of independence as Boer communities sought to resolve the conflict by their own methods.

It was then that Britain took full advantage of an invitation, by courtesy of the French Revolution, to join the action in Southern Africa. With Holland in conflict with France the Dutch East India Company asked Britain to administer the Cape, temporarily of course. Ignorance of the situation and unbalanced reliance on well intentioned but over dramatized and sometimes fabricated reports from a missionary of the London Missionary Society led the British colonial office to make some provocative decisions. The L.M.S. had set itself the target of liberating the Hottentots from the Boers who, although hardly changed in their attitude towards them, were dependent on them for labour. Recruitment of Hottentots into the police corps to enforce Colonial Office cum L.M.S. policy outraged the Boers.⁸⁴

Control of the Cape changed a couple of times during the war and peace deals of the Napoleonic era but Britain was back again in 1806 and its possession was confirmed by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The Boers became British. So did the Hottentots. To keep in step with both the antislavery pressure which it was applying to the United States and with the policy which it had found it necessary to adopt in South America, Britain had to adopt a policy of racial equality in the Cape. This was clearly out of step with India and Australia, but they were different. Or at least they were further away and not linked in to the trade politics of the Africa/America sphere.

As admirable as the basic policy was, the need to pursue it as a matter of expediency and not as a matter of humanitarian principle led to the Colonial Office making a further series of blunders which made the policy unworkable. These showed in land tenure decisions; agricultural and labour policies; and in responses to provocative L.M.S. tactics. They included the governor's policy of Anglicizing the Dutch Reformed Boers by recruiting Scottish Presbyterian ministers for the established church which had, as a matter of course, become part of the Church of England system. This may have been a deliberate effort to counterbalance the influence of the L.M.S. because, like the L.M.S. people, they spoke an alien language, English, and not Dutch. But their theology in matters of baptism and predestination, which directly related to race relations, was very definite and quite different to that espoused by the Boers. The differences of language and theology combined to encourage antagonism rather than reconciliation.⁸⁵ Then, as land became scarce, wars broke out between Bantu peoples and added to Britain's troubles. Although the L.M.S. helped to resolve some of the issues it came into more and more conflict with the Boers.

In 1815 a minor charge of maltreating a Hottentot servant was laid against a Boer settler. Mishandling of the court action and his attempted arrest led to his death. When a neighbour attempted to form an alliance with the Bantu chief to set up an independent republic his letter

was intercepted. Charges of sedition were laid, there were further bloody battles with the police, and eventually there was a confused mass hanging which provided the basis for legends which continue to rouse race hatred.

Then in 1818 a new administrator, the Rev. Dr. John Philip, took charge of the great string of mission stations which the L.M.S. had set up. A strong advocate of race equality, he took the view that Hottentots and Griquas could develop a civilization, under missionary supervision, given extensive land grants and a ban on alcohol. Presumably he meant a European-type community and life style when he used the term "civilization." They had previously had one. It had simply been destroyed.

IMPOSED EQUALITY BACKFIRES

During the next decade, as a younger contemporary of Wilberforce, Philips' reports and recommendations had a big bearing on the attitudes and policies of the L.M.S., the British Parliament and the Colonial Office. Reforms to civil rights laws in 1828 which he had pressed for, put Hottentots and Griquas on an equal footing with white Europeans. Unfortunately the government had failed to understand the impact which the reforms would have on the Boer population. It did not introduce complementary economic and planning measures and, with some justification, the Boers complained that their economic position was undermined by the withdrawal of labour.

However another policy which Philips proposed was not immediately put into effect. When it was eventually acted on in somewhat changed circumstances it set up shock waves which continue to rattle Africa today. It was similar in concept to the Negro re-colonization proposal which Lincoln had been unable to implement and it was the forerunner of South Africa's Apartheid policies. He proposed the complete separation of Africa's races into distinct districts and he envisaged this being done somehow without removing European settlers from land they already held.⁸⁶ This suggests that he envisaged an embargo on further European settlement and the resettlement of Hottentots and Griquas in regions not then settled by Europeans. Only in that way could they be separated, own and work their own land, and trade freely with each other. If that is what he envisaged it is no wonder it was never implemented. Neither the Boer settlers nor Europe's governments were in a mood to embargo further settlement in Africa. The big hunt for resources was well under way in every other part of the world and Africa was to be no exception.

In 1834, just six years after the Philips reforms, the British Parliament abolished slavery and a place in South African society had to be found for 39,000 former slaves as well as the Hottentots and Griquas. When mass apprenticeship plans broke down and border clashes between the Xhosa (Bantu) and Boers increased the governor sought to solve a series of problems in one go by annexing parts of Xhosaland and making the Xhosa chief directly responsible to him. The Boers complained it was an Anglo-Bantu alliance against them. The missionaries complained it was a scheme to control the Bantu. The plan was doomed. Three

Boer frontiersmen set out to look for land further north, beyond Britain's control. The race for the Transvaal and Rhodesia and the epic Boer Treks had begun.

For almost a generation Britain and the Boer Trekkers tried to outsmart each other. Britain wrestled with the problem of whether it should stay in the region to protect Bantu interests or get out. The Boers wrestled with both Britain and the Bantus in a determined bid to set up a series of republics which seemed almost as keen on wrestling with each other as with Britain and the Bantus. The Bantus were in a similar situation.

Then Britain became preoccupied with the Irish famine, with avoiding Europe's round of revolutions, with gold rushes to California and Australia, and with the looming crisis of the Crimea. It had to concentrate on pacifying India and it wanted an end to the distractions in Africa. The Colonial Office decided that humanitarian intervention and actual occupation of the interior were expensive, somewhat impractical and generally unpopular at home. The best course would be cooperation with the Boers and development of a common policy towards the Bantu. Britain immediately recognized four Transvaal Republics and two years later, in 1854, granted partial self-government to the Cape Colony which had remained loyal, and extended recognition to the independent Orange Free State.⁸⁷ But of course such simple political acts did not end the tension between Boer and Bantu. The situation gradually worsened and the Xosa were devastated by starvation when a religious upheaval which their chief had planned in an attempt to spark a war with the Boers backfired badly in 1857.

The future for Southern Africa looked grim. Although a range of crops was being grown there didn't seem to be a fortune to be made from any of them and no great mineral finds had been made. The economy was depressed and the governments couldn't balance their budgets. Even the L.M.S. was talking of scaling down its operations because its social reforms seemed to be gaining acceptance; the problems which Natal was bringing on itself through the indentured Indian labour system seemed to take the gloss off the short-term benefits of alternative cheap labour, and the Boers were becoming fragmented on gaining their independence. And now the impending opening of the Suez Canal seemed to spell doom for the Cape which would be bypassed and would lose its strategic and commercial importance.

MISSIONS, MEDICINES AND MINES

Such was the depressing situation when Dr. David Livingstone made his appeal for the establishment of Christian missions in Central Africa in a speech at Cambridge University. But the Scottish-born medico and theologian, just two years in front of Darwin, provoked an eager response with his vivid reports of scientific and commercial possibilities in Africa, coupled with the opportunity for Christian missionary success. He had gone to Africa first in 1841, under L.M.S. sponsorship, and by 1856 had penetrated parts of the Zambezi basin, Angola and Mozambique which were previously unknown to Europeans. In 1858, having persuaded supporters and philanthropists to establish the (Anglican) Universities' Mission to Central Africa, he returned to Africa to set up a mission, to continue exploration and to represent British

interests as Consul to Quelimane (Portuguese Mozambique). On his earlier visit he had clashed repeatedly with the Boers and his sympathetic support for the Bantu showed in his best selling travel reports. After the conflict of the previous generation Livingstone's writings helped to strengthen the British government's resolve to stay in Southern Africa. However too much importance can easily be put on his influence because, although it certainly recognized its humanitarian responsibility, the government was still working within the framework of the generally held European colonial philosophy. Crudely put, it was "if it's no use, we don't want it." The government was more concerned about two things: what it might lose if economic developments eventually occurred, and its sense of political prestige and history.

Of course while governments and astute observers might recognize such interests the general population did not. Opening up Africa simply represented one integrated activity. It was increasingly described as either a Christian responsibility or a European responsibility. It didn't seem to matter which because they had come to mean much the same thing to the European mind, and of course one didn't talk about benefits when an activity was a Christian responsibility, especially if there was a bit of glamour attached. In any case, as the Americans were intent on telling the world, rewards and profits would flow automatically by Divine Will when one carried out one's Christian responsibility and, by implication, if a person was growing wealthy it indicated that his or her Christian good works were being rewarded. People of such mindset – and that included most of the church – did not seem to bother much about what it meant for their theology if a non-Christian was also growing wealthy. Presumably such wealth was ill-gotten gain.

Then the various streams of thought, often in conflict, became rapidly entangled as Darwin followed hot on Livingstone's heels. In the confused thinking about competitive evolution, survival of the fittest or the devil take the hindmost the word "responsibility" lost much of its meaning when it was applied to a person's conduct towards other people, beasts, plants or soil. The debate on that issue was still raging when Livingstone was back in the headlines again. He had established a mission at Lake Nyasa and had learned that Muslim Arab traders were still bringing slaves from as far as the Congo basin in defiance of the Hammerton Treaty of 1847. Britain was indignant. Christians everywhere were incensed. This traffic had to stop and, (irrespective of what one thought about the church's credibility in the light of Darwin's work), Christianity was Europe, it was still the superior religion and it had to be pushed into Africa to supplant Islam.

On top of that, Western Europe had other reasons for concern. There had always been internal competition for resources but Russia had come to pose a serious threat which Britain, in particular, was so sensitive about. In addition, with its Civil War behind it, the United States had developed a dynamism and a unity (superficially anyway) which, coupled with the enormous resources which it seemed to stumble over at every stride, was a potential threat to the economic dominance and therefore the political position of the European powers. If Africa could be tapped for similar resources it could offset those threats and Britain could retain the industrial lead and security of which it was so proud and which it had grown to take for granted.

Quite clearly, Africa was up for grabs. Its people didn't have the capacity of the Chinese to prevent or to restrict foreign intrusion. One motive was as good as the next for being there. The church, Europe's governments and an assortment of investors made strange bedfellows once again as explorers and missionaries flocked to darkest Africa.

Britain didn't have to wait long after Livingstone's appeal for the economic justification for its decision to stay in Southern Africa but it didn't come through systematic exploration. It was a case of sheer luck and it put Britain's humanitarian goodwill to a very severe test. In 1867 a Griqualand farmer's child was found casually playing with a diamond. Within two years some quite large ones had been found and prosperity for Southern Africa, in the broad sense anyway, was assured. The question was who would benefit because Britain had made an undertaking as part of the 1854 agreement with the Boers not to make treaties covering Griqua or Bantu territory north of the Orange River but the discoveries were also just outside the agreed Orange Free State borders. A firm stand by Britain would have secured the future for the Griquas beyond question. But Britain didn't act, except to prevent anarchy, and a bitter power struggle began in keeping with the wealth which was expected to flow from the rash of diggings which pockmarked the Kimberley landscape. By 1870 the flood of British prospectors had declared a Diggers' Republic which threatened to drag the British High Commission and the Boers into violent confrontation. The Griquas were left to watch from the sidelines.

Among the British who flocked to the fields in 1871 was an eighteen year old youth, Cecil John Rhodes, who was supposedly looking for a weak heart rest cure while he helped run a miners' supplies business. But with maniacal impatience to achieve an economic empire, with entrepreneurial genius, a fanatical social Darwinist belief in the superiority and destiny of the Anglo-Saxon (for whom all other peoples were mere pawns and labourers), and with ruthless determination to bow to neither laws nor High Commissioners, he set about amalgamating as many diamond diggings as possible.⁸⁸ With capacity equalled by few men and with the absolute loyalty of his subordinates, Rhodes was able to visit England each year to read part-time for a BA at Oxford. He attracted the financial support of the English Rothschild brothers who, with well established expertise in railways and resource ventures, were quick to recognize the potential in his grandiose schemes. By 1880, at the age of 27, he had control of almost the entire Kimberley diggings, he had opened a railway from Capetown to Kimberley and he had joined in partnership with another speculator, Alfred Beit, in the De Beers Company.

We should not be surprised that he also had a seat in the Cape Colony parliament and that Britain had obsequiously transferred Griqualand West from Crown control to the self governing colony. Any hope of Philip-style self-government for the Griqua people who were the despised product of Boer lust and warped theology in the early days of settlement, had been thrown down the diamond mines to be buried with their self-respect. Barbed wire security fences; body checks; the death penalty for smuggling "a girl's best friend" out of a mine; regulation by passes and perpetual misery on low wages were the rewards for the "sinfully idle" (unemployed) Bantu who were brought from the reserves onto which they had been pushed. They would learn the moral value of hard work, Protestant ethic style, or so the reasoning ran. Ten years later he

became prime minister of Cape Colony. That year, while he was still in close collaboration with the Rothschild brothers, Rhodes reconstructed his private empire. He acquired his partner's interest in De Beers, bought out his main competitor and established the brutally monopolistic De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. in which the Rothschild brothers took a large block of shares.

1884: A CARVE-UP BY CONFERENCE

In the meantime the European mad scramble for Africa had been thrown into top gear by the diamond strike. In East Africa conflict had developed between British, German, French and Portuguese interests and their governments, complicated by strife between Christian missions and Muslims, and Bismarck was being pressed to annex South West Africa. He called a conference to resolve the conflict short of war between the powers by seeing that each one got a piece of the cake, except Russia, of course, which had to be content with the Turkish Caucasus to which Britain and France had restricted it in settlement of the Russian/Turkish war of 1877. Fourteen powers met in Berlin in November 1884. Even the United States was there. In view of its growing power and its "hands-off" attitude towards Latin America, (but officially because it was sponsoring the state of Liberia for freed slaves), it had to be known to be happy with what the European powers did.⁸⁹ Britain could afford to make one or two accommodating gestures. It already controlled the lion's share of the continent; it didn't want any alliances to develop against it; and it needed to support France's claims if it was to keep alive its own effort to bottle up Russia in the East with the aid of a continuing French Alliance.

Britain had caused quite a few ripples across the channel in 1875 when, in an historic volte-face, it bought the Khedive of Egypt's shares in the Suez Canal to prevent France from dominating Egypt and the Red Sea trade route.⁹⁰ But that problem had been more or less resolved two years later when Britain supported France's occupation of Tunis as its entitlement in a settlement of the Russian/Turkish war. Britain took Cyprus. Its 'support' for Turkey against Russia in the Balkans was simply an excuse to take a couple more bites out of the Muslim Ottoman Empire while they contained Russia.⁹¹

Britain's main concession at the conference was to allow unrestricted navigation on the Niger Delta, thus giving France the inland access it needed, in return for control of Nigeria. The conference ratified all the important grabs which had already been made including Spain's occupation of the Sahara (which no one else seemed to want anyway); France's claims to Algeria (1847), Tunisia, and Equatorial Africa; Britain's occupation of Egypt (1882); the various Portuguese claims; King Leopold's trusteeship over the free trade Congo region, subject to international access to the waterway as in the case of the Niger; and Germany's annexation of the Cameroon, Tanganyika and South West Africa.

There wasn't much left for anyone else to grab but the conference agreed to recognize future claims to title provided that the claimant power exercised effective management as well as occupation. It was agreed that effective management included support for any and every

recognized Christian mission. No distinction was to be made between Protestant and Catholic. But of course there was no room for Muslims. It was 430 years since Pope Nicholas V had assumed the divine authority to allocate Africa to his European Christian collaborators, starting with Portugal, in his bull *Rominus Pontifex*, and 390 years since Pope Alexander VI had extended that 'principle' to the piecemeal division of the New World in a series of bulls which culminated in the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. The competing European powers had very quickly dealt the papacy out of that game as they scrambled for the spoils available, but as the European Colonial Era reached its climax the Great Powers still thought they could exercise the same divine right and refine the map of Africa to (more or less) everyone's satisfaction. The Treaty of Tordesillas would hardly have passed its 400th birthday before the fledgling World Zionist Organization would seek to be dealt into the game with its claim to a suitable piece of real estate. Herzl and his colleagues were in very good company indeed.

The conference had hardly gone its way in February 1885 when more German expansionist rumblings were heard in South West Africa. Some of Bismarck's men wanted to get as close to the diamond action as possible. It was no wonder really, because Cecil Rhode's personal income for 1885/86 was greater than the entire revenue of the four Boer republics which had joined to form the South African Republic in 1860.⁹² Rhode's British South Africa Company immediately laid claim to all land west and north of the Boer republic and pressed Britain to annex it. It became the Protectorate of Bechuanaland, (Botswana), most of which was Kalahari Desert.

Negotiations dragged on for five years. But it wasn't because of the diamonds. It was because of gold. Discoveries were made early in 1886 in the Witwatersrand hills and it soon became clear that the deposits were large. The scramble bore all the hallmarks of the diamond scramble except that the government of the republic kept firm control.⁹³ Bantu interests hardly got a hearing. They didn't own enough guns. Another Rhodes company, Consolidated Goldfields, (which had been prevented by the republic from gaining monopoly control), and other lesser operators all adopted much the same policies as those that De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd. pursued in the Kimberleys. They were well supported by most of the splinter churches which had grown around language and race issues in the republic. The big issues were who would control future resource development, access railways and trade; relations between the Cape Colony, the Republic of South Africa, Natal and the Orange Free State; and who would ultimately control the whole region. The Bantu could provide labour for the winners.

Rhodes wanted a federation which he clearly would have dominated. The Boers wanted independence with Dutch connections and laid claims to lead the whole of a white South Africa. Britain wanted to control a strategic strip from the Cape to Cairo but was happy to collaborate with Rhodes in his ambitious push northward. He had sent what was, in effect, a private army north of the Boer republic to surround it with a sea of federation supporters, to claim the anticipated mineral resources and to eliminate the established Bantu kingdoms. By perverse means his British South Africa Company gained control of an immense area from the Limpopo River to Lake Tanganyika but Britain insisted that it be administered as three areas each under

Resident Commissioners Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Northeastern Rhodesia and Northwestern Rhodesia (Zambia).

In little more than three generations Southern Africa had become tangled in a web of complex conflicts such that they could only be resolved short of war with the greatest goodwill. It was lacking. As the only party involved which might have been able to find solutions, Britain was caught in its own round of domestic and international conflicts of interest and could not untangle the web. The region drifted in dismay towards the Boer War. It could not resolve the basic issues but it did provide a veneer of political stability and respectability for those who held the reins. The veneer held for a couple of generations while the world was preoccupied with other issues. For that time it looked as if the European Christian version of Africa's reconstruction might hold but the same factor which had prompted it would prove its downfall. The Western World was hungry for everyone else's resources.

DIVINE DESIGN, OR A PATENTED \$ SIGN?

While Christian Europe was going about the reconstruction of each of India, China and Africa all at once it, and the United States seemed hell-bent on proving that what the Congregationalist Henry Ward Beecher had said about technical development was correct. The more the world advanced, he had said, the more rapidly it could advance. Accelerated development was in the nature of things. From that it followed that perpetual acceleration, science fiction style, was a divine design.

It also followed that it was a Christian responsibility to get stuck into scientific research and the technical development which came from it. Or at least it was a Protestant responsibility because, being consistent with papal attitudes ever since Copernicus, Pope Leo XIII had turned his guns on science and Catholic universities were expected to concentrate on arts and law. But under the pressure of the profit motive, which America's Protestants had now made more respectable than ever, most of the western world could afford to ignore the pope. They could also ignore ethical implications which they didn't like because there were plenty of acceptable arguments from Wayland, Beecher or Darwin with which to counter them. So, in the interests of stimulating scientific achievement through profitable commercial exploitation, Europe and the United States got together in 1883 to devise a uniform international system of patents, (to which the matter of trade marks is inevitably linked), and which the nonwestern countries could ignore at their peril. Need (and war) had previously been the mother of invention. Now the parentage changed at bit. It was greed and war.

The new system helped to swing the balance and benefits of technical development further in favour of those countries and enterprises which were already in front. It was they who had the technology on which further technological developments could be based and who tightly controlled the publication and transfer of that technology. It was they who could utilize and control both the resources and the markets to which additional new technology could be applied. And it was they who could commit development funds with confidence of a high profit,

protected by the barrier of the convention plus their own governments' competitive policies which included taxation and other incentives. People did not think in terms of a gulf between rich countries and poor countries or 'the haves of the north' and the 'have-nots of the south.' Why should they? The concept could only be understood and developed under the pressures of the twentieth century when it would become another factor in the trouble in the triangle. The people of the north were perfectly comfortable in their belief that the resources of the world existed for the benefit of their Christian 'north', and the people of the south were in no position to do anything about it even if they had been aware of the consequences of the convention.

The 1883 conference had been prompted largely by the invention of the internal combustion engine. Engineers had struggled with the problem of how to build lighter, more efficient steam engines, or some alternative to them, for just over two hundred years and although Watt, Stephenson and others had introduced improvements, the world seemed to be stuck with it. In 1860 a Frenchman, Etienne Lenoir, built a gas driven engine but the world didn't seem to be very impressed. However it sat up and took notice when a Boston (USA) engineer achieved a breakthrough with an engine powered completely differently.

The United States Congressional Record for 1875 reported that under certain conditions the new engine may be used to supplement steam engines. Society, it said, had never in history been confronted with a power "so full of potential danger and at the same time so full of promise for the future of man and for the peace of the world." The discovery "begins a new era in the history of civilization (which) may some day prove more revolutionary ... than the invention of the wheel, the use of metals, or the steam engine." The menace of vehicles "hurtling through our streets" at "14 or even 20 miles per hour ... and poisoning the atmosphere would call for prompt legislative action even if the military and economic implications were not so overwhelming."

The Congressional Record went on to note that the destructive capacity of gasoline powered vehicles made it "imperative" that the defence forces should have first call on petroleum supplies and that agriculture could be wrecked by the displacement of the horse. But the gem of the report was that the cost of producing gasoline from petroleum "is far beyond the financial capacity of private industry, yet the safety of the nation demands that an adequate supply should be produced."⁹⁴

Within a year a practical four stroke petrol engine had been developed and three years later, (1879), George Selden applied for a US patent for an automobile driven by an internal combustion engine. But it was a German, Karl Benz, who gained the credit for building and running the first successful petrol driven motor car in 1885. The race was on and there had to be some rules to run it by so the world, (or part of it anyway), had its conference on patents. In 1890 Herbert Stuart in England applied for a patent for a major refinement of the internal combustion principle: the compression ignition engine. But it was Rudolph Diesel in Germany who pressed ahead with its development.

The congressional theorists had been right and although they had to wait a few years for their tanks, (by courtesy of Winston Churchill who made the British decision to push ahead with them), and for their aeroplanes (by courtesy of their own Wright brothers in 1903), the world was being transformed. Industrialization took on a new dimension. So did the demand for capital; the demand for resources to be processed; the demand for petroleum supplies for mineral extraction, transport and for running the factories; and, gradually, the demand for petroleum for processing as a raw material for a multitude of synthetic products.

Very quickly and very definitely, but without the world being conscious of it, the technically advanced countries were becoming petroleum dependent. That meant the Christian Western countries. The dependence was not absolute for some time. It was only partial and it could have been kept that way. However the faster those countries trod their treadmill of greed, chasing ever accelerating technical advancement for the sake of advancement, and determined to achieve the highest "standard of living", the greater their dependence became.

The effect became like that of a narcotic. The greater the use, the greater the need. And the heavier the degree of dependence, the more severe the withdrawal symptoms. In economic management terms that means that as the use of petroleum in industry and in consumer products becomes greater, it becomes more difficult to find substitute materials which may be needed for reasons of either price or supply. As a consequence, the problems of employment, economic management and social pressures also become more acute.

There is no other resource currently in use which can cause that cyclic effect. There are others which may be used either as an energy source or as an industrial raw material such as wood, coal, gas or even uranium but their supply and use as raw materials are not directly linked to their use as an energy source. It is the fact that the supply of petroleum derivatives available for use as raw materials is directly linked to the rate of use of petroleum products as an energy source which gives petroleum its unique importance and influence.⁹⁵

Refining processes can be varied to increase or decrease the production of a particular fraction, but as one goes up others must go down. Basically the proportion of liquid fuel produced from a plant remains steady and the balance of production is juggled between a range of non-fuel solvents and chemical intermediates. It follows that when supplies of petroleum are short for any reason the production of all fractions for both energy and non-energy uses will fall by about the same proportion. But if a producer or a government decides that one particular fraction must have priority then one or more other fractions must be cut back further to allow for it. The economic and political juggling which becomes necessary is very important. Someone has to make a decision about which products will be cut out and, in effect, whose plant or factory will lie idle, who will lose their jobs and what, if any, provision will be made for them.

PETROLEUM: A NEW ERA DAWNS

But in the period of our reconstructions the use of petroleum oil had not reached such a critical role in western countries. Industrial practice was still relatively simple and economic management had not yet become a sophisticated national or international pastime for politicians and captains of commerce. Petroleum was seen basically as the liquid energy on which industrial development would depend and, therefore, on which the prosperity of nations would be built. It was only gradually, as the world argued its way towards World War I, that petroleum became vital to national defence, but the hunt for black gold had already become an important consideration in world affairs.

By the year of the first motor car, (1885), world oil production had reached 37 million barrels. The USA produced 60 percent, or 22 million barrels. Russia, with 38 percent or 14 million barrels, was the only other significant producer and those two countries competed for the European market.⁹⁶ Europe's needs are shown by the breakdown of United States exports for that year. Out of gross exports valued at \$US49.7m, kerosene for lighting and heating accounted for \$39.5m; lubricating oils \$2.7m; fuel oils \$1.2m; waxes, solvents and other refined products \$0.3m; and crude oil for local refining \$6.0 m.

The importance of the hunt for oil can be gauged from the fact that just at that time the English Rothschild brothers were developing a concession in the Baku fields of Russia's newly acquired Caucasus provinces. In 1883 they had made a loan to the tsar through the French branch of the family in return for the concession.⁹⁷ In view of relations between the tsar's regime and Jews at that time it cannot be passed off lightly as an ordinary investment agreement. It was just two years since the assassination of Alexander II, the May Laws and the Odessa massacre. Mass expulsions and emigrations were in full swing and in Germany Bismarck had turned his wrath on the Jews in line with his new accord with the pope. It is therefore reasonable to assume that, in keeping with their long established policy of using their financial strength to relieve the plight of oppressed Jews, (especially in raising finance for the British and French Crimean War effort), there were some strings attached or an understanding that tsarist repression would be eased. It is unlikely that they would have agreed to prop up the tsar's regime in that manner otherwise.⁹⁸

In the United States there was great elation with the scale of the oil fields which had been discovered and with the ease of production. It helped to offset the effects of the loss of cheap labour through the abolition of slavery and it helped push development westward at a great rate as well as providing substantial export income. It was good to have the Old World eating out of the New World's hands. It fitted the economic theology which was sweeping the country and it fitted America's image of itself. But all was not well in the oil industry and there was pressure for government intervention in spite of the Wayland philosophy.

The industry had sprung from nothing into world prominence overnight without a system of regulation being laid down beforehand. It was, after all, a completely new industry and no one knew what to expect. It was every man for himself with no restrictions, no organization and

very little sense of responsibility. In such a situation an astute operator could take advantage of his competitors with ease and the man who did it, America's counterpart to Cecil Rhodes, was John D. Rockefeller.

In it almost from the first drill hole, Rockefeller realized that to gain control of the oil industry he didn't have to own every well. There were several strategic points in the black gold system, (production, refining, transport and distribution), and control of any one could mean effective control of the whole system. He recognized refining as the critical point and set out to stake his claim. By 1870 he, his family, or his associates controlled twenty five percent of the country's refining capacity. It was time to put some system into the mushrooming empire's operations and the Standard Oil Company of Ohio was established.

Within a few years Standard had gained control of about 95 percent of America's refining capacity and John D. Rockefeller had the stranglehold on the oil industry which he wanted. He was supplying probably 80 percent to 90 percent of Europe's petroleum products with demand increasing at an exciting rate, especially for fuel oil and industrial lubricants, and at that stage his only competitor was Robert Nobel at Baku.

But Europe's industrialists and governments, notably the British, were joining the race for oil fields and as they were having little success at home they were naturally looking in their overseas possessions. Their twin motives were profit and independence from the blackmailing dominance of the American Standard Oil machine, not necessarily in that order, and therein lie two other possible reasons for the English Rothschilds' readiness to invest in tsarist Russia.⁹⁹

Britain's standing and influence in Persia had improved somewhat due to good relations between an Anglican missionary and the Shah's regime and a mission was established in 1871. This helped to smooth the way for Baron Julius de Reuter who obtained a sweeping mineral and oil concession in Persia the next year. It was so all-embracing that it amounted to the surrender of national sovereignty over the oil and mineral resources of Persia and the world was rather shocked.¹⁰⁰ However the old rivalry between Britain and Russia got in the way and helped to rescue the Shah from his folly. They were still each trying to counter the other's influence in Afghanistan in the wake of the Crimean and Indian border wars. Russia therefore bluntly warned Persia that such a British 'presence' on its southern border and within a stones throw of its own vital Baku oil fields, (which it had once taken from Persia anyway), was not acceptable. The message was clear. The Baron's concessions would inevitably lead to the occupation of Persia by either Britain or Russia if work went ahead. In 1873 his concession was cancelled and his deposit was confiscated.¹⁰¹

Meanwhile the US Federal and State governments were under growing pressure to break the Rockefeller stranglehold and he was under pressure to put the Standard house in order. In 1879 some cosmetic manipulation was tried in a bid to stall government intervention. A trust agreement was agreed to which was said to protect the independence of each company under the legal umbrella of the trust. In fact it simply enabled Rockefeller to tighten his grip still further.

When the senate of the state of New York began an enquiry into the effects of trust operations in 1888 it looked as if action to break up Standard might result but the state of New Jersey kindly came to its rescue. It legislated to permit trusts and picked up some rapid cash flow and the prospects of new development as Standard moved its base to its new home. The Federal Government then passed its Sherman Anti Trust Act but it didn't have the will to do anything with it. However, undeterred by such federal vacillation in the face of Rockefeller's immense influence, some of his detractors pressed actions in the state of Ohio. Its Supreme court ordered Standard Oil of Ohio to withdraw from the Trust in 1892. Action to dissolve the trust was begun but was neither completed nor effective. The existing management, with John D. Rockefeller holding 256,785 shares out of a total of 972,500 (26.4 percent), retained control. Five years later the Trust was back before the court on a contempt charge, which was dropped, and facing an antitrust suit which was dismissed. It seemed to be rolling all opposition before it.

Other countries were having only limited success in their hunt for oil and by 1903 the United States was still producing more than half of the world's supplies, or 100 million barrels of the total of 195 million barrels. Production had begun in Indonesia and Venezuela (limited), Mexico (75,000 barrels) and Peru (278,000 barrels) with discoveries also recorded in the Philippines, Burma and India, but Russia remained the only serious competitor for the US in the world market of 76 million barrels.

Concern was mounting among all of Europe's powers but Britain, which had begun to convert some of its long distance navy to fuel oil, had most to fear from being dependent on either its intense rival, Russia, or its increasingly arrogant, resource-rich former colony, the United States. While the United States had successfully challenged Spain for control of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines in its war of 1898,¹⁰² Britain had struggled through its divisive Boer War and the Boxer Rebellion in China at the same time.

GANDHI'S BOER WAR MEMORIES

Certainly the Boer Republic had reverted to British Crown Colony status but the cost had been enormous. Some 250,000 Boers would remember for a long time that they had lived in concentration camp conditions. Britain had promised grants and loans for yet another reconstruction and they would be tiresome to meet on top of the repatriation of 35,000 Boer prisoners of war and 200,000 British troops. (It had taken 450,000 troops from all over the empire to put down 87,000 Boers.)¹⁰³ But the Bantu and Griqua people had something to remember, too. They would remember that Britain had promised, as part of the settlement with the Boers, not to grant any new voting rights to nonwhites until the colonies had acquired self-government.

There was also a young English-educated Hindu Indian solicitor who would remember that too. Mahatma Gandhi had gone to work in South Africa in 1893, soon after graduating, and he had experienced the full force of racial discrimination both personally and as a spokesman for the Indian community. On the outbreak of war his personal sympathies were with the Boers but

he accepted his responsibility, as a British subject, to support the British cause. He had also been moved by a belief that “India could achieve her complete emancipation only within and through the British Empire.” He had collected together as many of his comrades as possible, organized them as an ambulance corps and “with very great difficulty got their services accepted.”¹⁰⁴

The Boer War was certainly one that Britain could have done without. It was a war which different policies two generations earlier would have avoided. It was a war which finally exposed the British Government’s long-running policies of racial equality and emancipation for what they were: high sounding, prestige inflating principles which were quite acceptable if they coincided with or promoted the home country’s economic and political interests but which were expendable in times of conflict of interest. And on top of all that, it destroyed Britain’s chance of a naval treaty with Germany, it prompted Germany to begin construction of a high seas navy of its own and it nearly led to an alliance against Britain of France, Germany and Russia.¹⁰⁵

CHINA’S HUMILIATION: THE BOXER AFFAIR

From some points of view the Boxer affair had been little better. The ailing Ch’ing dynasty had been out of touch with the problems and aspirations of its own people. It was having little success in tackling famine, industrialization and the European Christian form of democracy which the church and the powers, together, seemed to see as their God-given responsibility to impose on China in return for the “right” to exploit its resources and markets. Threats of regional rebellions and the break up of China had been increasing steadily for some years, with unrest directed against both the local governments and Christian institutions and converts. They were being fuelled by abuses of commercial and religious privileges under the numerous treaties extracted at gun point and by open attacks by foreign Christian missions on Chinese culture and family traditions.

Rebellion finally became inevitable with conspiracy between Catholic converts and foreign powers providing a dimension of civil conflict as well as another example of an Asian Christian fifth column. The Empress Dowager, after accepting reforms in an unsuccessful attempt to modernize Chinese government including the inclusion of Christian clergy in the formal Chinese civil hierarchy, finally decided to support the fanatical religious Boxer sect in a bid to stop the erosion of China’s political and military authority. She thus deflected the anti-dynasty aspect of the movement which unleashed its full fury against foreign and Christian interference in China.¹⁰⁶

Of course the affair was put down. It even brought together about a dozen governments – including Russia, Germany, France, the United States and Japan – in a remarkable display of military cooperation. And of course the foreign powers were all suitably compensated for the loss of life, damage to property including churches, loss of trade, and the cost of putting down the rebellion.¹⁰⁷ But China had again been deeply humiliated; the Ch’ing dynasty had been badly undermined and was not likely to survive; relations between China and the west had been

dragged in the gutter; and both religious and race relations had been given another shot of poison. The next ten years were to see a strong rise of both Christian and Japanese influence in China while the declining dynasty, reduced to a Western vassal, struggled to reform and to stave off the republican rebellion which finally pulled it down in 1911/1912.¹⁰⁸ It would seem just so natural that the West would take hardly any notice when it happened, but it was still a few years away.

THE MIDDLE EAST: THE ENTENTE CORDIALE

So in 1903, with so many international commitments to attend to, Britain was in no mood to be messed around over strategic resources. There was thought to be oil in the Middle East region extending South from Russia's Baku fields and Britain wanted it if it was there. To get it, it needed peace in the Mediterranean. To be sure of peace it needed a strong alliance. Chamberlain's efforts to build one with Germany had broken down over the Boer War but France had much the same interests and an alliance with her might just provide the answer, at least in Europe and Africa even if not, perhaps, east of Suez.

While Theodor Herzl was reflecting on the refusal of the British-controlled Egyptian government to allow a Jewish state on the Sinai Peninsula and also on Chamberlain's offer of the Bantu territory of Uganda, which Britain didn't really want, Chamberlain was finalizing his Entente Cordiale with France. The British government recognized France's claims to Morocco, subject to an understanding with Spain on certain issues, and the French government recognized Britain's "special position" in Egypt. They also came to terms over Newfoundland, Siam, Madagascar and the New Hebrides to ensure that friction in Europe would not occur through such minor colonial matters coming between them.¹⁰⁹

What was not spelled out in the Entente Cordiale was just how the two countries would cooperate, if need be, in the Middle East. That could be left for time to determine and Britain was confident. It had been quietly working to strengthen its position in the Arab countries while at the same time it had pressed hard for Persia to reverse its decision on the de Reuter oil concession. The Sheikdom of Bahrain had been declared a British protectorate in 1880, (three years before Britain had walked into Egypt), and in 1886 the joint Anglo-Prussian Protestant bishopric had been discontinued, leaving the Anglican church struggling but uninhibited in its attempts to strengthen both its own position and that of Britain in Palestine. However its relations with the authorities continued to provoke diplomatic problems for Britain in that region and it even had to admit that it was losing converts to Islam.¹¹⁰

In 1889 the British government succeeded in squeezing a new, less embracing, concession out of the Shah of Persia for Baron de Reuter. It was to be for sixty years with sixteen percent of net profits to be paid to Persia. A bank and a mining corporation were established and exploration began in 1891 but, with no success by 1893, operations were curtailed. Dissatisfaction with the company's efforts and its attitude to the Persian government resulted in that concession also being cancelled six years later, in 1899.

For a time Britain's overall strength continued to increase in the Middle East and the Sheikdom of Kuwait was declared a protectorate the same year. However her preoccupation with recolonizing the republic of South Africa, (in the face of general opposition from almost everyone outside her empire), coupled with Turkey's progressive decline, encouraged other powers to test the waters for a move into the region also. The United States threatened to support Venezuela in an action against British interests and then used the Armenian massacres of several years before as the excuse for a show of force to establish its interest in Middle Eastern affairs. It sent the USS. 'Kentucky' to Constantinople to back up demands by its resident minister for compensation for American missionary property destroyed during the massacres. It was becoming almost as expert as the European powers at using protection of the church and related compensation claims to its political advantage.¹¹¹

Not to be deterred by a few unfriendly gestures, there being a new Shah on the throne, and knowing that recent geological surveys had indicated rich oil fields in western Persia, the British government pressed ahead to win yet another concession for one of its subjects, this time William Knox D'Arcy. Negotiating in strict secrecy to avoid any whisper reaching his Russian counterpart, the British Minister to Teheran, Sir Arthur Hardinge, offered shares in the proposed operation to the Grand Vizier (Prime Minister) and other senior ministers. The result was another concession of quite staggering generosity. It covered all of Persia except the five northern provinces which were reserved to allow for negotiations with a hostile Russia. It was to run for sixty years from May 1901 and it was to cover all petroleum products but not minerals.¹¹²

TURKEY: CAUGHT IN THE CROSSFIRE

D'Arcy wasted no time organizing drilling. Work began at Chiah Surkh, near the frontier with Iraq which was then still a province of Turkey. Then complications began to appear because Germany was also keen to get its hands on oil fields and, like Britain, it had helped to support Turkey's claims to keep some of its European provinces intact at the Berlin Congress some years before. But unlike Britain it had been somewhat more open in admitting self-interest as its main motive and it did not make a territorial grab under the pretext of providing a defensive umbrella for Turkey, as Britain had with Cyprus. In addition, Germany had maintained reasonably stable relations with Turkey in the years following the conference. In 1903, two years after the D'Arcy concession had been granted, Germany obtained commercial concessions from Turkey and gained control of the railway to Baghdad, just across the border from D'Arcy's drillings. Britain began to fear the worst. Out came the Entente Cordiale! Then a few months later out came an agreement between the Anatolian Railway Company, (acting for the Deutsche Bank), and the sultan for surveys of the Baghdad and Mosul regions. German competition was going to be strong but above board. However at about the same time Standard Oil began producing from a Rumanian concession, so the US had stolen a march in Europe, right in the middle of the Great Powers' playground!

Then D'Arcy's first two wells both produced oil, but not at quantities which would have been commercial in view of the distance and the terrain between the field and the Persian Gulf. A nearby railhead may have been a different matter! In 1905 it was decided to shift operations to a field closer to the Gulf, at Mamatain, but in the meantime D'Arcy's funds had run low and he had begun negotiations with foreign capitalists for the sale of his concession. Also in the meantime the British navy had begun its conversion to oil and defence security made a British controlled oil supply of the highest importance. The British government (which had put a strong and protracted effort into negotiating the concession in order to obtain a national asset and not simply as a commercial service to one of its citizens) therefore asked D'Arcy to break off his foreign negotiations and to enter a joint venture with Lord Strathcona's Burmah Oil Company which provided services for the navy. Drilling went ahead at Mamatain on that basis but D'Arcy's and Britain's troubles were not that easily solved. Two more unsuccessful attempts and he was on the move to another field again.

As might be expected Russia had not been at all pleased when it learned of the concession which Britain had inveigled from the Shah. However being rather fully occupied with the debacle in Manchuria and the war with Japan, and then with rounding up his Jews and other undesirables to throw into their shtetls, prisons or rivers, the tsar had not been able to give the Persian question much attention until Bloody Sunday, (January 1905) was well behind him.¹¹³ At that point, with a brutally firm grip on home affairs, he was keen to get a bit of the Persian cake and, with Germany making rumbling noises both in Europe and Turkey, Britain was happy to oblige. In fact it was rather keen to bolster the Entente Cordiale with an extra alliance at the same time that it removed a few points of friction. In 1907, without consulting the Shah or his government, Britain and Russia agreed on three zones for oil exploration in Persia. The northern zone went to Russia, the southern one was Britain's and the central one was "neutral", or perhaps negotiable. At the same time they buried their differences over Afghanistan and Tibet, at least for the time being. In view of Russia's exclusion from the Berlin Conference carve-up of Africa 23 years earlier, this side play between only Britain and Russia (but based on the same theme that the world's resources were Christian Europe's to carve up as it saw fit) exposes the cynical admission that one only calls a conference if there is uncertainty about who will win a game of 'might is right.'

At that stage D'Arcy had still not struck payable oil. With two holes drilled at his third site, with funds running out for the second time and with orders drafted to abandon the whole enterprise, the situation was grim indeed. Then his fairy tale came true. On May 26, 1908 the drill broke through cap rock which had hidden one of the world's great fields. Not only were D'Arcy's financial troubles at an end but security of fuel supplies for Britain's navy seemed to be just around the corner. It could continue the conversion from coal to oil. The Anglo-Persian Oil Company was floated to operate the field, to extend drilling, and to construct both a pipeline to the Gulf and a refinery. At the same time, disregarding both the spirit of the concession and the granting of constitutional government by the Shah in 1906, the British Government

recognized Sheik Khazal as the ruler of the region (Mohammareh) and guaranteed the rights of his successors.

The new field became fully operational in 1913, twelve years after D'Arcy had been granted a concession. In the meantime Mr. (later Sir) Winston Churchill, who had been appointed first Lord of the Admiralty in 1911, (while the pipeline was being constructed), issued orders that all vessels in Britain's naval expansion due for completion from 1913 onwards were to be either oil powered or capable of conversion from coal to oil. With war clouds hanging over Europe he then put a case to parliament for the government to buy a controlling interest in Anglo-Persian. The foreign relations of neither Britain nor Persia would be affected, he said, and the arrangement would tend to make the Persian government strong and the tribesmen tame. He also said that Britain's defence and general interests would be free from reliance on world markets dominated by Standard Oil and Royal Dutch Shell. In spite of vigorous opposition from Shell, whose founding-family director, Samuel Samuel, complained of Jew-baiting tactics in the government's attack on monopolies, the House agreed by 254 votes to 18.¹¹⁴ The British Parliament was well aware that thirty years of effort to break the Standard Oil grip on the US oil market had finally reached its climax in 1911 with a unanimous decision by the federal Supreme Court to order the dissolution of the Standard Oil group. But it was also well aware that the Rockefeller family had once again been able to keep a dominant position in the industry because stockholders in Standard Oil of New Jersey received stock in each of thirty two successor companies in proportion to their equity in the holding company. The company had a total of 6,006 stockholders with 983,383 shares issued. John D. Rockefeller's holding had been 244,385 shares, (24.9%), valued at \$160,000,000 at that date and William Rockefeller held a further 6,000 shares, (0.6%).

However the spectacular success of the D'Arcy venture in the Persian Gulf region had triggered intense competition for concessions in Turkey's province of Iraq and the British government was making vigorous efforts to keep United States interests out of the region. This makes Mr. Churchill's public statement about no untoward effects on Britain's foreign relations sound a little hollow. Within a few years the foreign relations effects had come home to roost.

Even before the first commercial field had been located on Iranian territory and before the Anglo-Russian accord, the British government had turned the diplomatic screws on Turkey. The German railway agreement had been cancelled and negotiations had been opened on behalf of D'Arcy. With encouragement from Germany, and sensing a touch of corruption within the government over the deal, a group of Turkish officers forced the sultan to transfer oil concessions from the 'Civil List' of matters subject to confidential government negotiation, to the Ministry of Finance which was under more public scrutiny. The matter had still not been finalized when the 'Young Turks' forced Sultan Abdul Hamid to reintroduce constitutional rule and to convene parliament in 1908 and then deposed him, putting Sultan Muhammad V in his place, in 1909.

With the European powers squabbling to get a place in the Turkish sun the United States decided it wanted a place, too. The man who had commanded the USS. 'Kentucky' in the show of force ten years earlier, Rear Admiral Colby Chester, went back for another visit. He negotiated a concession to build a port and three railway lines, including the key Kirkuk/Mosul stretch, with mineral and oil concessions over the entire area for twenty kilometres on both sides of each line. An agreement to ratify the deal was put to the Turkish parliament in 1911 but shortly afterwards Albania revolted against Turkey and, taking advantage of the situation, Italy triggered war with Turkey by its annexation of Libya. The Colby Chester deal was not ratified.

Such confusion gave Germany a chance to test the sincerity of the Entente Cordiale without challenging both parties at once. It challenged France's protectorate over Morocco. Britain didn't intervene. But in return for a slice of the French Congo to complement its Cameroon territory, Germany decided French rule could go ahead in Morocco after all!

Then it was all eyes back to Turkey as four interests, each backed by the full diplomatic weight of their governments, pressed for those vital Mosul concessions in Iraq. There was the German Anatolia/Deutsche Bank group; D'Arcy for the British Anglo-Persian Oil Company; a Royal Dutch Shell subsidiary, (Anglo-Saxon Oil Company) assisted by a Turkish national; and there was the American Chester group. Fearful that Turkey may decide to split the concession, thus letting the United States into what they regarded as a European sphere of influence or, even worse, that the whole concession might go to America, the three European groups joined forces to establish the Turkish Petroleum Company.

There was undoubtedly an awareness in British government circles that a joint resources venture with Germany on the scale anticipated would, as it required close cooperation, tend to curb Germany's expansionist tendency, reduce tensions in Europe and offset the slide towards war. How this ranked in importance with the common (and unifying) desire to keep the United States out of the Middle East and thereby secure European oil independence is difficult to assess. There is certainly reason to believe that it had encouraged confidence within the British government that war was less likely.

A KURDISH SUM: OIL + BORDERS = TROUBLE

Still Turkey hesitated over the vital concession, right through 1913 while the remainder of its Balkans provinces were dragged away piecemeal and none of the contenders for her resources were prepared to intervene to support her. The possibility that Turkey didn't want to issue a concession at all does not seem to have occurred to any of the contenders. The assumption that the world's resources – wherever they occurred – existed for the benefit of the Christian powers was so deeply ingrained among the contenders that, even in view of the history of their relationship with Turkey, they could not countenance the thought that she had a right to develop her resources at her own pace and in collaboration with whom she chose. Former great empire or not, Turkey had to accept whatever crumbs the West might throw to her in her declining years – especially seeing she insisted on clinging to Islam. However, when a dispute broke out

on the border between Turkey and Iran in December 1913, Britain and Russia were very quick to agree that the disputed area should go to Turkey. Let's not allow a minor issue like independence for the Kurdish people to stand in the way of oil for Europe!

But the new alliance didn't succeed in keeping the United States out of Turkish territory. A few months later, while still delaying an announcement on the major concession, Turkey allocated a total of fourteen exploration licences in Palestine. Eleven went to Standard Oil of New York and three to Turkish nationals who later transferred them to Standard as well. It was almost as if those licenses had been a consolation prize – or perhaps the sugar coating for a bitter pill – because two months later, on June 28 1914, the Grand Vizier announced the government's intention to grant major concessions to the Turkish Petroleum Company. However Britain and Germany were at war only six weeks later, and action to establish the company lapsed.

Much has been said about the need to curb Germany's expansionism or empire building as if it was something new, peculiar to Germany and most undesirable. Only on the last point can there be any agreement. Germany was the only major power in Europe which had not sailed off during earlier phases of the European colonial push to do its land and resources grab. It was in the process of reconstruction itself. During the traumatic colonial and reformation era which followed the fall of Constantinople the German empire, providing the basis for the disintegrating Holy Roman Empire, had been in no position to compete with its neighbours. It was only after the Napoleonic era that the reconstruction of such an empire was possible. By the time it was ready to compete all of the world except portions of Africa had gone under the hammer and any German imperial expansion had to be at the expense of some other European power as well as at the expense of the subject people themselves.

GERMANY'S PLACE IN THE SUN

Germany had just managed to get its foot into New Guinea by annexing the North eastern sector in 1884. That was all that was left after the British colony of Queensland had annexed the South eastern portion in 1883 ¹¹⁵. Then it also staked its claims to what was left of Africa immediately before Bismarck convened his Conferences on African and colonial questions in 1884. It grabbed a hunk of China (Kiaochow) in 1897 (not to be outdone by Britain, France, Russia and Portugal which had already taken their bites) and then it had forced France to cede part of the Congo in 1911.

But Germany was technically and industrially highly advanced and its interests were geared to minerals and heavy industry rather than fibres and fabrics. Its industrial position had been greatly strengthened when it forced France to cede Alsace Lorraine after the Franco-Prussian war which had brought down Napoleon III (and the papal state). It is therefore hardly surprising that when immense oil belts were either known or thought to straddle the Near East from the Caucasus, down the Tigris Valley and along the Persian Gulf that Germany's industrial and political leaders wanted a share of that neocolonial prize as well. ¹¹⁶

The catch cry went up from imperial Berlin that the German Empire would span from Berlin to Baghdad. Britain didn't like it one little bit. Britain was being represented, at least by the London lobby, as the friend of Turkey and any other presence in the Turkish empire was an intrusion and a threat to world stability in spite of the fact that by treaty arrangement Germany was already training and equipping Turkey's army and navy! Obviously, from a purely objective point of view, a belt of common interest overlapping Europe and Asia could have a strong unifying influence. A railway from Berlin, in the heart of Europe, through Turkey and its provinces of Syria and Iraq, via Baghdad to Basra on the Persian Gulf, would have provided a second trade and communications route as an alternative to the Suez Canal/Red Sea route. The stimulus to cooperation, trade and face-to-face contact between Europeans, Arabs, Asians and East Africans would have been far greater than from an isolated sea lane, with real prospects for improved relations overall.

THE PATH TO WAR

Such was not to be. Even though the proposal for a Turkish Petroleum Company had provided an excellent starting point the "great" powers could only think in terms of exclusive control of resources owned and exploited according to current western concepts of private enterprise. It had been conceived by greed and competition and it died from the same causes. War would not be long in coming. In December 1916, with that war at its height, Professor Ernest Jackh said that the war had come from the east, would be waged for the east and would be decided in the east.¹¹⁷ But of course he was only talking German propaganda, so nobody (outside Germany) bothered to take any notice. Why not? As Europe's war gathered even greater momentum the three partners in the triangle of faiths each tried to go their own way, but they were each being manipulated by the Great Powers for their particular interests so that they could not. We must retrace our path again for a while to see what each of the three partners were doing while Europe dragged the whole world into war. In order of seniority, we start with the Jews.

POGROMS SPUR A PUSH FOR PALESTINE

Under the pressure of pogroms in eastern Europe a series of settlements had already been established in Palestine by Jewish communities before the World Zionist Organization (W.Z.O.) came into being.¹¹⁸ However settlement policy and administration were put on an organized basis after the eighth Congress at The Hague in 1907. As already noted, the deliberate decision was taken in 1905 to begin "small scale" settlement without waiting for either formal approval from the Sultan or a charter from the European powers. Although this course was hotly contested and, as a result, no action was taken until the next congress in the Hague in August 1907 it was regarded by many as an acceptable alternative in view of Turkey's condition of virtual vassalage. As a consequence, the decision of 1905 was confirmed in 1907, a Palestine Office of the W.Z.O. was opened in Jaffa in 1908 to direct the work of Jewish agricultural settlement, and the Palestine Land Development Co. was established by German sociologist

Arthur Ruppin, the ‘father of Zionist settlement.’ Ruppin negotiated the acquisition of large tracts of land in the Jezreel Valley and was instrumental in purchasing land in Haifa, in the Rehavia quarter of Jerusalem and in the area of Mount Scopus where the Hebrew University was subsequently established.¹¹⁹

So it was that while Britain was firmly anchoring itself to the Middle East by its resources policy, prompted by America’s resources policy, relying on the treaty support of its arch rival, Russia, at Persia’s expense, and taking full advantage of Turkey’s ‘virtual vassalage’ the Zionist community was also anchoring itself to the Middle East under pressure from the European powers and their church but without formal agreement from anyone and also taking full advantage of that virtual vassalage. The basis had been laid on which the trouble in the triangle would reach its critical level in a mere two or three generations. The Church and the West could not say they hadn’t been warned. It was the firm policy of the W.Z.O. to hold its congresses with maximum publicity and to make all of its decisions open to public scrutiny and as widely known as possible.¹²⁰ It wanted a strong base of world support but it desperately wanted all of its actions out in the open so that no accusations of secret plans for world domination could be justified against it.

But not even the constant cruelty of pogroms under tsarist Russia or legalized oppression in Austria-Hungary¹²¹ was enough to break the traditional religious spirit and Messianic beliefs of the majority of Europe’s Jews and the World Zionist Organization did not gain the spontaneous support of Europe’s Jewry, let alone those beyond Europe. In 1905, after the decision had been taken to reject Britain’s offer of Uganda and to press for Palestine at all costs, the organization split in two. The Jewish Territorial Association formed from those who believed for either religious or practical reasons that Jews should not attempt to resettle Erez Israel. The pattern of Jewish emigration illustrates their dilemma. During the critical years of persecution from 1882 to 1914 the Jewish population of Palestine probably increased by only about 61,000, from 24,000 to 85,000.¹²² During the same period an estimated two million Russian Jews and 125,000 Rumanian Jews went to the United States of America.¹²³ They were the main waves of probably two and a half million Jews who emigrated from continental Europe to all other countries¹²⁴ and they chose to go to the new promised land of America rather than the old Promised Land to which the Zionists urged them to go. It is very significant that they made up 10 percent of total European migrants (about 25 million during that period) although Jews made up only about three percent of Europe’s total population. That migration rate of more than three times the average for all religious groups gives a clear indication of the overall effect of persecution on the Jewish people.

SOME CHURCHES BEGIN TO WORK TOGETHER ...

While their senior partners in the triangle were being driven out of Europe at that rate and while they were struggling with the issues of reform and the growth of Zionism within Judaism, there was growing recognition among Christians that division within the church was undermining its

work and influence. In the Roman wing this resulted in approaches to the Orthodox churches during the 1880s aimed at reconciliation but these had been rebuffed, largely as a consequence of the Vatican Council's decision on papal infallibility and the centralizing of authority in Rome. In the Protestant wing, a series of events early in the century illustrate that there was growing recognition of the state of the church and a yearning for reunion or reconciliation. One was the publication by Revd. James Stewart of the Church of England in 1821 of *Hints for a General Union of Christians for prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit*.¹²⁵ Another was publication of *Principles of Church Reform* by Thomas Arnold in 1833. He proposed a constitutional change by act of Parliament to enable the Church of England to reorganize and to incorporate all of the Protestant Churches with a completely new form of governance including elected councils of clergy and laity. A year earlier he had written: "The Church as she now stands, no human power can save."¹²⁶

The first substantial move came even before the '48 round of revolutions, with the establishment of the Evangelical Alliance in 1845/46. But it was not an alliance or a council of churches. It was an association of individual Christians who could adhere to a set of rigid Trinitarian and Protestant beliefs which quite deliberately excluded Catholics and Christians of non-Trinitarian persuasion. Consultations between American and British clergy over several years led to a preliminary conference being held in Liverpool, England, in 1845. In pressing for such a meeting Dr. Patton, a Presbyterian minister, had reflected feelings which were widely held in America when he proposed a convention of delegates from all Evangelical Churches of the Continent, Britain and America to "lift up a standard against papal and prelatical arrogance and assumption, and to embody the great essential doctrines which are held in common by all Protestants." Similarly, Congregationalists in England had proposed that a union be formed amongst churches "holding to the voluntary system" (Nonconformists) with the object of combating Infidelity, Popery, Puseyism,¹²⁷ and Plymouth Brethrenism.¹²⁸

Following that conference the Evangelical Alliance was formally established at a conference in London in August 1846 at which 800 churchmen, including about 80 from America and 50 from the Continent, represented 52 different branches of the Christian Church.¹²⁹ The Alliance developed considerable influence throughout the church, even though it had no formal links with any denomination and even though for many years it relied entirely on honorary office bearers. It organized international conferences every few years and a strong program of Christian education, it provided support for missionary programs and it promoted annual weeks of prayer for Christian Unity. Its existence also concentrated attention on the need for the churches to be organized internationally and for some formal means of cooperation between them, but it refused to become involved in plans for a confederation of churches. At the same time the Alliance undermined its own potential influence by refusing membership to non-Trinitarian believers and continuing in an outspokenly anti-Roman Catholic mode while seeking to promote Christian unity in other senses.¹³⁰

... BUT COMPETITION AND CONTROVERSY CONTINUE

But the environment in which the churches were working and in which they were a major factor was the European Colonial Era, still in a highly competitive phase, with repeated changes in relationships between colonies and their rulers, and between the European powers and both their national and independent churches, aggravated by the social and political turmoil of the mid-century round of revolutions. The Protestant churches were stirred by what they saw as the need to compete with the Vatican's centralized and highly organized and disciplined international network. But at the same time there was a varying level of antagonism between each of them as they competed to gain acceptance of their own particular theology and liturgy, to save the souls of the black and coloured races around the world, and to pacify them for the benefit of their colonial powers, their landlords and investors. In many cases antagonism on the mission fields turned to open confrontation. This complicated the lives of the colonial administrators so that in some countries access was closed to all churches except the national church of the colonizing power. In other countries those denominations which were approved were each allocated an area of influence or operation for their missions. In some cases when a denomination was refused an allocation, such as the Roman Catholic Church in Papua, it simply ignored the colonial authority and set up in competition with the others anyway. The result was a worldwide patchwork of confusion. In many instances denominational antagonism and intrigue were added to ethnic differences and have remained to haunt the world as they became a factor in regional and tribal conflicts around the globe.

In the circumstances some farsighted churchman pressed on with their efforts to bring the churches together or to form associations of churches which might offset the effects of continuing fragmentation, the proliferation of sects and the weakening of the gospel message. Whether they were aware of the efforts at reformation and reinvigoration within the Jewish community, and whether they appreciated the significance of the Cleveland Rabbinical Conference in 1855 is not clear and it is doubtful whether the church at large paid it much attention. However such efforts within the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches led to the establishment of the short-lived Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom. The association received the blessing of the pope when it was formed in 1857 and within seven years it had recruited five thousand Anglican, one thousand Roman Catholic and three hundred Greek Orthodox members. Then in 1864 the pope hardened his attitude, condemned the principle on which the association was based, and forced all Catholics to withdraw. He said in effect that united prayer between Roman Catholics and other Christians was impossible.¹³¹

Agitation for the establishment of denominational fellowships or alliances continued and a rash of these were formed before the first council of churches could be organized. In most cases these were prompted by the need to coordinate and support mission activities and to establish competitive international structures, but in some cases they were prompted by the need to ensure uniformity of teaching and doctrinal purity throughout affiliated branches of the

denomination. This was actually the motive behind the first venture in inter-country coordination by a Reformed church – that of the Church of England.

The first Anglican Lambeth Conference was convened by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1867 in response to an approach by the Canadian branch of the church concerning a doctrinal dispute involving the Bishop of Natal. It was set up as a non-binding conference of bishops of the independent Anglican churches, disclaiming any authority as a synod of the church, but it gradually saw the ecumenical possibilities before it and in 1888 it accepted a modified Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral as the basis for conversations with other churches, and set up a series of structured committees to consider relations with the Scandinavian Lutherans, the Reformed Churches, the Old Catholics, the Eastern Churches, and the Free Churchman in England. The Quadrilateral, like the articles of the Evangelical Alliance, was a rigidly Trinitarian statement. It required recognition of: the Old and New Testaments as ‘containing all things necessary to salvation’ and the rule and ultimate standard of faith; The Apostles’ Creed as the Baptismal Symbol and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith; and the two sacraments “ordained by Christ Himself” – Baptism and the Supper of the Lord.¹³² While it clearly shut the door on discussions with any of the non-Trinitarian churches and it fell far short of anything that the Roman Catholic Church would have been prepared to accept, it was seen by the conference “as essential to the restoration of Unity among the divided branches of Christendom.”

Next came the Alliance of Reformed Churches throughout the World Holding the Presbyterian System, sponsored by two Americans and one Scot, which was convened in 1875. That was the same year that the Hebrew Union College was established by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and while Bismarck’s Kulturkampf was still raging in Germany. That Alliance prepared the ground for the first general conference of the World Presbyterian Alliance which was held in Edinburgh two years later. Its role was to promote support and cooperation between its member churches rather than organic unions.¹³³

In the meantime, in 1876, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States made approaches to the Wesleyan churches in Britain which resulted in the first meeting of the Methodist Ecumenical Conference in London in 1881. The sponsors of the conference in both the United States and Britain were eager to play down the issue of doctrinal controversies, to ensure fraternity, liberty and variety in worship rather than uniformity, and especially to ensure greater economy, efficiency and moral power in the missionary enterprises of the church. However the issues of opposition to certain aspects of Roman Catholicism and competition in the field were also noted in their agreed statement: “A Methodist Ecumenical Conference might properly consider ... the duty of Methodism in respect of popery, paganism, scepticism, intemperance and kindred vices ...”¹³⁴

SIGNS OF HOPE: COOPERATION AND REFORM IN PARALLEL

Thus the strengthening of organization and missionary resolve within the mainstream reformed churches continued. But so did efforts to achieve reform within Judaism, and before the next of the Christian alliances was established the Pittsburgh Platform – the key statement of American Reform Judaism, with an attempt to define the relationship between Judaism and other world faiths – had been adopted.

The next of the Christian alliances was The Union of Utrecht, 1889, which progressively brought together the Old Catholic Churches of the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia, and the Polish National Catholic Church in the United States and in Poland. The Declaration of Utrecht, adopted by the Union at that time, gave its Conference of Bishops the authority to determine the relationship of the Old Catholic Churches to each of the other Christian communions.¹³⁵

After fifteen or more years of discussion between the Congregational churches it was another Canadian initiative which led to the convening of the First International Congregational Council in 1891.¹³⁶

The last of the series of church alliances of the ‘great missionary era’ was not established until 1905 when the first Baptist World Congress was held in London and provided the foundation for the Baptist World Alliance.

The Lutheran World Federation, although it grew out of the General Evangelical Lutheran Conference which drew together the Lutheran Churches of Germany and Scandinavia late in the Nineteenth Century, did not convene as a world body until 1923 and is generally regarded as of a later era. It then drew together all churches which acknowledged the unaltered Augsburg Confession and Luther’s Shorter Catechism on the doctrinal basis of Holy Scripture.¹³⁷

During the intervening years, while Christian anti-Semitism was reaching new intensity across Europe, peaking with the Dreyfus Affair and the publication of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, and when “the shame of division had begun to penetrate the consciousness of the church”¹³⁸ there were a number of other initiatives which focused the church’s attention on the ecumenical idea.

In one of the most important, from 1891 to 1896 a young Methodist minister cum doctor, journalist and missionary, Henry Lunn, published a periodical, *Review of the Churches*, in Britain in which he brought together in symposium format the views of leaders from many churches on the contentious issues which separated them. These included the nature of the church, episcopacy, Apostolic succession, clerical celibacy, Biblical criticism and many more. But he believed church leaders should be prepared to debate these issues face to face as well as in print and he organized six conferences at Grindelwald, Switzerland, and published the proceedings in the *Review of the Churches* as well. He brought together Anglicans, Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Quakers, Old Catholics and people from the French and Swiss Reformed Churches, and the impact was immediate and strong.

The Grindelwald Conferences have been criticised for ignoring almost entirely the great possibilities for church reunions and also the significance of the missionary enterprise of the church.¹³⁹ However they appear to have raised new interest in reunion in many countries and in many churches and they were probably an influence in the eventual establishment of the Federal Council of Churches in the United States.

The concept of churches working in cooperation in a council of churches was the preferred option for those church leaders who, like Elias Sanford, a United States Congregationalist, could not support organic reunion. Sanford said that the union of Roman, Greek and Reformed Churches into one great Catholic body was a goal that was neither possible or desirable. He said that while there was indeed one flock, there was "room in the pastures of Divine love and service for many folds." He gained such support for his ideas among the Protestant churches of the US that in 1905 an Inter-Church Conference on Federation was held in New York. It was the first time that representatives of a number of churches, as opposed to concerned individuals, had met with the approval of their ruling bodies to consider formal cooperation. The conference drew up a constitution for a Federal Council of Churches and, following its adoption by each of the churches, the Council was established in 1908. Like each of the denominational alliances, the council was a union of equals which could only make recommendations to its members on matters of common interest. It had no authority to require action or to impose uniform creeds or forms of government or worship.¹⁴⁰

NO END TO FRAGMENTATION

Each of these developments during the second half of the nineteenth century were very important in improving the capacity of the major Protestant denominations to carry the gospel message around the world. They also established structures and contacts which made it easier for the churches to think ecumenically as the pressures which would require them to do so built up. But the establishment of denominational alliances had also been expected to offset the effect of the fragmentation of the Christian community and to discourage the establishment of new denominations and sects, and to this extent they must be regarded as a failure. Continued fragmentation occurred and some of the vigorous young fragments developed very strong influence. This led to increased tension, antagonism and competition within local communities and to increased attention being placed on the things which divided the churches and other religious groups rather than on their common messages. Controversy raged over whether a Christian of one denomination could take communion with a Christian from another, and bitter criticism was launched against Anglican clergy who took part in joint communion services at conferences of the Evangelical Alliance, the YMCA and at Grindelwald. Thus for the time being each denomination still went its own way. They each established their own theological colleges to train their own ministers in theologies with their own emphases, preaching different routes to salvation, glorying in their distinctive liturgies, organizing their own schools, hospitals and mission agencies and competing for government and private support to do so.

Among the most influential of the new fragments in the United States was the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Founded in 1830 on revelations which mainstream churches have never accepted, by a prophet whose credentials they have rejected, and with their acceptance of the practice of polygamy (which also brought them into conflict with federal laws which had been based on mainstream Christian ethics), the new fragment represented yet another aspect of the continuing challenge to the church. Its adherents, known as Mormons, are regarded as either heretics or neo-Christians by most churches but they see the revelations to Joseph Smith as completely in harmony with the Bible and as restoring both the primitive church and the universality of the Gospel message. Vigorously evangelical right from the start, the church grew rapidly, drawing converts from the Protestant churches as well as attracting people of no previous religious commitment. That was, of course, an embarrassment to the mainstream churches but, worse still, it was anti-Trinitarian in the sense of the Nicene Creed. It taught that God the Eternal Father, Jesus Christ His Son, and the Holy Ghost are separate and distinct. It had to go. Relentless persecution of the type usually reserved for Jews forced its adherents out of New York, Ohio, Missouri and then Illinois. Finally, in 1847, after a long distance trek they set up their 'Rome' at Salt Lake City, Utah, from which its world wide missionary programme is administered.¹⁴¹

The Salvation Army, a vigorously evangelical, uniformed and highly disciplined movement founded by William Booth in 1865 is probably the best known of the new British fragments. Through its highly organized and extensive community welfare programmes, in which heavy emphasis is put on help for socially disadvantaged groups, the Salvation Army attracts wide public support and exerts an influence quite out of proportion to its numerical strength. Even so, it is still regarded with a touch of suspicion by many mainstream Christians who see its rejection of all sacraments as something akin to heresy rather than as a challenge to the introversion of "normal" sacramental Christianity.

Later, coinciding with the Vatican Council controversy and spurred on by it, a number of anti-Trinitarian movements developed. Noteworthy among them were theosophy which provided the principles for the establishment of the Theosophical Society by Madame Blavatsky and Colonel Olcott in 1875; the Christian Science movement, established by Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy in 1879; and the Jehovah's Witnesses, formally established by Charles Taze Russell in the early 1880s. Each of these were directed at people prepared to explore their religious beliefs and they therefore tended to attract people academically inclined and university students.

The Christian Science movement placed heavy emphasis on the concept of salvation from all evil, including sickness and disease. On the basis that sin, sickness, death and matter only seem real in human understanding, it encouraged people to apply principles of divine harmony to every aspect of life to retain and restore good health.¹⁴² The movement gained significant recognition and credibility through the publication of its highly regarded international newspaper, The Christian Science Monitor.

The Jehovah's Witnesses, known at the time as the 'Millennial Dawnists' or 'International Bible Students', set out to 'shock, rattle and unfrock' the traditional church. Highly pacifist, and using a distinctly different translation of the Bible to mainstream churches, they preach the rejection of any civil laws, steadfastly refuse to enter military service, reject procedures which they see as contravening the laws of God, including blood transfusions, and they anticipate the imminent second coming of Christ.¹⁴³ C.T. Russell, raised as a youth in the traditions of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, was perturbed by such teachings as predestination and eternal torment in hellfire and in 1870, at the age of 18, he started a weekly Bible study group for young men. Seven years later he sold his share of the Russell family business and began full time preaching. The group around him grew steadily but began to fragment due to a dispute over the interpretation of the doctrine of atonement.

In the wake of that dispute Russell began publishing a magazine, the forerunner of The Watchtower, and in 1881 he was instrumental in the establishment of a non-profit Bible Society, the Zion's Watch Tower Tract Society. The Society became anathema to the mainstream churches through its denial of the teachings of a mysterious 'Most Holy Trinity' and they set out to denigrate it on the basis that its teachings were ill-conceived as a result of its rejection of the need for a separate seminary-trained clergy class. It was embroiled in controversy over Russell's teaching that the Great War was in some way related to the imminent second coming of Christ. In some countries Witnesses were gaoled and suffered very badly because of their conscientious objection to war service, but in due course the laws were changed or their sentences were revoked. When Russell died in 1916 he was succeeded as leader of the society by Joseph F. Rutherford.¹⁴⁴

Unlike the other two, the Theosophical Society encouraged the study of comparative religion, and especially the religions of India and the East, in order to further the cause of world harmony and to investigate the spiritual element in human beings and the world.¹⁴⁵ The similarity between the fundamental aims of the Theosophical Society and Bahaism, and the manner of their establishment within a decade of each other, one within a Christian environment and one within a Muslim environment, is noteworthy. A Russian-born American spiritualist and mystique who was derided as a charlatan in many quarters, Blavatsky moved from the United States to India only two years after establishing her movement. It has been suggested that she drew heavily on Hindu and Buddhist writings as the basis of her philosophy,¹⁴⁶ which has also been described as an amalgam of Neoplatonic and Eastern ideas.¹⁴⁷ As one of the first people to present Eastern philosophy in a popular form she, and her successors, had considerable impact on Western awareness of the East, especially in America, Britain and Germany, and on the revival of interest in Hinduism and Buddhism.

GOOD WORKS WITH STRINGS ATTACHED CAUSE TENSION

While all of these developments were taking place – and stimulated by them – there was another group of Christian organizations which were flexing their muscles to become an

important part of the ecumenical movement without being formally linked to any of the churches. They were youth movements: the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), a corresponding association for young women (YWCA), and the Student Christian Movement (SCM). They were each organized non-denominationally but most of their support came from mainstream Protestants.

The YMCA was established in England in 1844 and the YWCA ten years later. The four founders, an Episcopalian, a Methodist, a Baptist and a Congregationalist, were determined to bring young people together in a social, educational and working environment free of denominational inhibitions, and committed to evangelical and missionary pursuits world wide. The YMCA spread rapidly and the World Alliance of YMCAs was founded in Paris in 1855 to link related societies which were already established in a number of countries. Henri Dunant of Geneva reflected widely held feeling when he wrote that their aim must be "to spread abroad that ecumenical spirit which transcends nationalities, languages, denominations, ecclesiastical problems, ranks and occupations: to realize in a word, and as far as possible, that article in the creed which we all adhere to: 'I believe in the Communion of Saints and in the Holy Catholic Church.'"¹⁴⁸

However there was one effect of its activities in countries in which it worked alongside 'fringe' Christian groups who were antagonistic to the Nicene formula, and non-Christians, which is clear from the statement of purpose adopted by the alliance. It reads:

The Young Men's Christian Associations seek to unite those young men who, regarding Jesus Christ as their God and Saviour according to the Holy Scriptures, desire to be His disciples in their faith and in their life, and to associate their efforts for the extension of His Kingdom among young men.

Persons who could not subscribe to that statement were unable to use the facilities of the association and this put another barrier between the mainstream churches and the rest of the community, whether liberal-fringe Christians, Jews, Muslims, people of non-Messianic faiths, Agnostics or simply those of no view at all.¹⁴⁹

In parallel with the YMCA, Student Christian Movements were started independently in many universities and colleges. In 1886, when a student Christian conference was held at Mount Hermon, some one hundred students offered for service in overseas missions and the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions took root as the missionary wing of the SCM. Nine years later the World's Student Christian Federation was established at a conference in Sweden and over the next two or three generations the two linked youth movements provided many of the people who were to lead their churches in missionary work as cooperation gradually replaced competition in Africa, India, China and elsewhere. Similarly, many of the leaders of the international ecumenical movement had their first experience of interdenominational cooperation within the S.C.M.s.

A prime mover in the formation of the World Student Christian Federation in 1895 was Dr. John R. Mott, then thirty years of age, who had also been closely involved in the YMCA. Dr.

Mott was a firm believer in both the continuity of the task of missionary work and the need for it to be tackled on a basis of cooperation. His influence shows through the conduct of two interdenominational conferences in 1900, one in London for students, and the other in New York for missionary organizers, promoters and functionaries. The New York conference was immense for the period (with 1,700 representatives from 115 societies in 48 countries plus 600 working missionaries) and its sheer scale suggests a new sense of cooperation. However it seems to have been characterized by the triumphalism and arrogance of Christians whose belief that their religion had “it” – God Incarnate – and this led them to act as if “it” gave the church the right to ride slipshod over lesser faiths.

‘PARLIAMENT’ A BOLD STEP IN INTERFAITH RELATIONS

The organization of the World’s Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893 may not have been planned to offset this aspect of the church’s attitude but it certainly helped to stimulate cooperation between churches rather than competition and it provided a stimulus towards the establishment of councils of churches. Professor Philip Schaff, theologian and church historian at the Union Theological Seminary, New York, who had previously predicted an eventual merging of Protestantism and Catholicism into an Evangelical Catholicism, urged the churches to form a federal or confederate union. Such a union, he said, would be a “voluntary association of different churches in their official capacity, each retaining its freedom and independence in the management of its internal affairs, but all recognizing one another as sisters with equal rights, and cooperating in general enterprises, such as the spread of the gospel at home and abroad, the defence of the faith against infidelity, the elevation of the poor and neglected classes of society, works of philanthropy and charity, and moral reform.”¹⁵⁰

STOP THE DRIFT!

Not everyone in the church agreed with John R. Mott. In his ninety third and final year in 1903, Pope Leo XVII, in a clear reaction to the disquiet which Zionism had generated within the church, had set up a Pontifical Biblical Commission consisting of several cardinals and consultants to strictly supervise interpretation and criticism of the Bible and Biblical history.¹⁵¹ The boat rocking which had built up under the modernists was getting worse with the stimulus of Zionists crawling out of the woodwork. It just had to stop! Four years later, in 1907, Pius X had taken the war against theological subversion a step further. He issued a decree and an encyclical letter exposing a wide range of modernist doctrines and theories. But, like the Zionists, the Modernists wouldn’t keep quiet. They couldn’t be sent down by the Inquisition. It had been disbanded. There had to be some method of suppressing them. An oath might do the trick. While John R. Mott and the progressive group of Protestants in Edinburgh were planning how to stir up some fresh thinking, Pius was putting the finishing touches to a lengthy Oath Against the Errors of Modernism which was obligatory for all Roman Catholic clergy in teaching or pastoral positions, world wide, from 1910 to 1967. Even then it was simply replaced with a shortened text. The full oath begins:

I firmly embrace and accept each and everything that is defined, proposed and declared by the infallible teaching authority of the church, and in particular those principal truths which are opposed to the errors of this time.

There follow eleven clauses dealing with the Creator; revelation, miracles and prophecy; the Roman Catholic Church's authority "directly instituted by the true historical Christ Himself" and built upon Peter; the church Fathers and dogma; faith; submission to the twin documents of 1907; history; interpretation through education (rejected, of course); interpretation through science (likewise); and the divinity of Tradition. Finally come the death-defying promises to hold the lot as absolute and immutable, to keep it inviolate and to teach it without deviation. 152

Having set itself so rigidly against scientific development and historical interpretation the papacy very largely lost the capacity to keep abreast of such matters and having, in effect, rejected both the capacity and the opportunity to be involved in them it also effectively forfeited the right to pronounce on them. Of course that has never stopped it from doing so. It simply undermined both its own authority and the ability of other fragments of the church to have their voices heard. An apologist for the papal line of reasoning might declare that being infallible it doesn't need the facts to make a judgement.

Naturally the church's immutable traditions and doctrines included its library full of Mariology. In fact it was very fresh in people's minds. It had been reinforced with two encyclicals by Leo XIII in 1891 and 1896 and yet another, by Pius X, in 1904 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. That was within months of the setting up of the Pontifical Biblical Commission. The church just had to believe that "... nothing of the vast treasure of all grace ... is, according to God's will, given to us without Mary." ¹⁵³ She had become, according to Pius X, "... the primary minister in the distribution of the divine graces."¹⁵⁴ The net effect, with the introduction of special October Masses, heavy emphasis on family rosaries and the requirement for children to be given mass from a very young age, was to cloak Christianity in even more mysticism and to make it extremely difficult for believers to grasp the meaning of the Messiah's life and the Gospel message. The barriers between man and God were being reinforced with blind determination.

In the meantime, in November 1905, an Inter-Church Conference on Federation was held in New York. A constitution for a Federal Council of Churches was drawn up. This was just three months after the World Zionist Organization had rejected the option of a Jewish homeland in Uganda and a minority of its delegates had withdrawn to form the Jewish Territorial Association, and while France was legislating to separate the church and state. However it was three years before the council was finally convened, in 1908. Of the five aims set out in its constitution it is the fourth aim which reflects the circumstances and the social pressures of the time most clearly: "To secure a larger combined influence for the Churches of Christ in all matters affecting the moral and social condition of the people, so as to promote the application of the law of Christ in every relation of human life." The other aims referred to expressing the

fellowship and catholic unity of the Christian Church; bringing the Christian bodies of America into united service for Christ and the world; encouraging devotional fellowship and mutual counsel on spiritual life and religious activity; organizing local branches of the Federal Council.¹⁵⁵

A NEW APPROACH TO ACHIEVE A CHRISTIAN WORLD

Then came the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference in 1910, with Dr. Mott at the helm, and the first tentative steps were taken which led, two world wars and thirty eight years later, to the establishment of the World Council of Churches. The Christian church had reached a turning point. Fragmentation seemed to have run its course. The process of reconciliation and cooperation had been triggered and thereafter the church would talk reunion and not division. But Edinburgh was just the beginning and at that point not many attitudes had really changed.

The church was still European in outlook. It simply involved some extraterritorial Europeans. The Secretary of State for the Imperial German Colonial Office sent a message of goodwill. It probably reflected the remark attributed to Bismarck that "Germany as a Christian State must seek to realize Christian teaching in its collective life." An observer might wonder whether he said that before, during or after his Kulturkampf. Perhaps it was to help justify his Anti-Semitic collaboration with the pope. Former US President Theodore Roosevelt sent a message, together with his apologies for not attending in his capacity as an appointed representative of the Dutch Reformed Church of America. And the British King, George V, also sent a message. He was gratified with the fraternal cooperation of so many churches and societies from Europe, the United States and the British Empire in spreading knowledge and principles of Christianity throughout the world in the cause of peace. He also hoped divine wisdom might guide the conference towards Christian unity and "the beneficent ends which the Conference has in view."¹⁵⁶

Those "beneficent ends" were to plan for the evangelization of all the non-Christian World; to counteract the influence of the contemporary scientific and technological revolution of the West on China, Japan and other areas; to repel the rapid advance of Islam in Africa as well as in China, Turkey and other areas; to eliminate Animism in countries such as China and Japan and both Animism and Fetishism in Africa; to improve the moral and social conditions of the peoples of the non-Christian lands; and to generate a spirit of cooperation among missionary societies so that the main tasks could be completed.

The conference was very concerned at the rapid advance of Islam in Africa and one of its sections recorded fear that Africa could even become a Muslim continent. Most of the missionaries present were also suspicious of Indian Nationalism. Many accepted the view that non-Christian religions were perfect specimens of absolute error and masterly pieces of hell's inventions which Christianity was called upon to oppose, uproot and destroy. They tended to adopt the stance of commandos determined to dislodge the enemy. But there were some,

converts from other religions, who challenged the general missionary claims to race and cultural superiority and even demanded autonomy for the churches in their countries.¹⁵⁷

The conference was also concerned with the new Zionism, but it does not seem to have recognized the fundamental challenge to the church, its doctrines and its view of itself which it represented. It clung to the assumption that the Christian revelation was absolute and final. A Scottish delegate who said that evangelism should be extended to even scattered Jewish villages probably spoke for a large number of those present when he said the church required the Jew for the accomplishment of her task. Echoes of *Civiltà Cattolica* in 1897 and the pope's conversations with Herzl. But perhaps he meant that the church needed the Jews in the sense of helping to bring the Messianic Age to fulfillment rather than in the long-established sense of the Jewish people having been rejected and degraded. Perhaps. However the conference set a note of tolerance and optimism when it adopted the statement of another section which noted that Jews gained a truer perspective of Christianity than that which they have previously known, (or experienced perhaps), when they could be reached through Gospel preaching.¹⁵⁸

To its credit the conference, and the church tagging along behind, hoisted a very bright beacon indeed when it noted the hostility towards Christianity which students from Asia and Africa took home with them after visits to the West. It recognized that they received unchristian treatment; that they saw differences between the creeds and the conduct of Western Christians; and that there were too few people in the churches.¹⁵⁹ Then, in his closing address, Dr. Mott hit the nail on the head. He suggested that the delegates should have been increasingly humbled as they discovered that the greatest hindrance to the expansion of Christianity lay within themselves. The church had not yet seriously attempted to bring the living Christ to all living men, he said.¹⁶⁰ He was awake to the need for rejuvenation of the church through continued reform and reconciliation.

THE VATICAN TOUGHENS ITS APPROACH

As if the anti-modernism oath was not sufficient to manacle the church and restrict human understanding the pope supported the establishment and operation of a secret service, the *Sodalitium Pianum*, by Catholic Integrist under Monsignor Umberto Benigni in 1911. Its purpose was to ensure that every cultural, social and political activity within the church or undertaken by the clergy was in accord with the oath. It used dubious detective methods to uncover those clerics who, after taking the oath, continued to pursue modernist activities and ideas. Such people were either exposed publicly for the disgrace of a broken oath to provide their punishment, or subjected to personal attacks for indiscretions in no way connected with their modernist views, or reported to Vatican authorities for formal disciplinary action. Although the pope apparently did not initiate the secret service he confirmed his support for it, in writing, in 1913.^{161 162}

The church, having thus anchored itself in the past, and with its infallible head serving a self-imposed prison sentence in the capital city of a nation whose unification it had tried to prevent,

then prepared to support its gaoler in an imperial land grab. The Italian Government, struggling to ease a serious recession with widespread unemployment and idle capital and, like Germany, being envious of the Empires of its neighbours, decided the time was ripe for its own bit of empire building. Just a few months after the antimodernism oath had been put into effect Italy invaded Turkey's main Libyan provinces of Tripolitania and Cirenaica which had been left in Turkey's hands by Bismarck's 1884 conference. It succeeded in capturing the coastal towns from Turkish forces but could not penetrate the cordon of tenacious Bedouin nomads to occupy the interior.

Europe's Roman Catholics were about to experience the conflicts of interest and tensions which they had long accused Jews of having, which come from attachment to an institutional church based in another country. For a wide range of self-interest reasons the rest of the world didn't like what it was watching in Libya and other governments put pressure on Italy to drop its Libyan adventure. Not the least important reason was the disruptive effect it was having on negotiations with Turkey for the oil concessions in Iraq, but the public posturing was over the very modern concept of self-determination. However the Italian government couldn't back out. The Bank of Rome, identified with aristocratic "clerical" families, with established commercial and financial operations in Libya and other regions of the Levant, and as owner-operators of a steamship line of five vessels, actively stirred up Catholic support for the war. Bishop Bonomelli at Cremona pushed the line that a Libyan colony would provide a lot of employment for emigrants and of course no one had to remind the government that the expansion of the army, coupled with the industrial war effort, should soak up unemployment at a great rate.¹⁶³

STOP THE ROT WITH A HOLY WAR

Then there was another factor. The Bedouin resistance was being led by Sheikh Sayyid Ahmad, the head of the Sanusi Brotherhood, a Muslim religious organization. As the war continued his small group rapidly gained the support of other groups and communities and became the focal point for a major nationalist armed resistance movement. His efforts were supported by Muslims throughout North Africa and the Middle East, and gifts of money and arms flowed into Libya from unofficial committees in Turkey, Syria, Egypt and the Hejaz (Arabia).^{164 165} To the Catholic hierarchy this represented a golden opportunity to reconcile the Italian State and the Church and its adherents. There was even just a chance that the papacy might regain its lost temporal authority with the re-establishment of a papal state.

From Cardinals of the Curia, such as the former Apostolic Delegate to Constantinople, Cardinal Vannutelli, from poets and from parish priests across the country the message went out that the Libyan enterprise was actually a holy war against Islam. It was therefore not only an act of patriotism to support the war but also a religious responsibility. However the Vatican was equally alert to the complications if there was an open confrontation between itself and the Ottoman Empire, and it was at pains to present a face of neutrality and even to deplore the

crusading attitude of the Catholic Trust Press, the clerical staff of which would have been holding to their brand new teaching oath, of course.¹⁶⁶

Italy's recession continued to worsen. For a couple of years church and state had drawn gradually closer together than they had been since before the reunification of the peninsula. But by 1913 the nation had slid into a constitutional crisis with the Catholic community deeply divided within itself. Right and left wing factions sponsored competing political parties and newspapers, and as the whole of Europe slid towards war the Vatican hierarchy, with its claims to sovereignty over Rome still not satisfied, leaned heavily towards the right wing.¹⁶⁷ It alienated the progressive academic elite who linked with the anticlerical "syndicalists" who became determined to replace Christianity with the reign of a proletarian elite. It also alienated the underemployed working class. It seemed determined to force the majority of Italians either into socialist or fascist camps.

IN RUSSIA: MORE ANTI-SEMITISM AND RASPUTIN'S SPELL

Over in Russia the Orthodox Church seemed equally determined to push the majority of Russians into the revolutionary camp. As an official instrument of state it was openly chauvinistic. It was also steeped in anti-Semitic xenophobia, it accepted some extraordinary interpretations of the Incarnation and Christ's divinity, and it widely expected that, as the third and final Rome, Russia would be the scene of an impending ultimate clash between Christian and non-Christian forces.¹⁶⁸ Religious mysticism went from bad to worse with a band of miracle workers, monks and prophets being the main advisers at court. When an epileptic cripple, Mitya Koliabin, whose fitful ravings were regarded by the court monks as inspired prophecies, got involved in foretelling the birth of an heir to the throne in 1905 one of the spin-offs was that a deceased hermit named Seraphim was canonized. That simply contributed another dimension to the national social environment which was charged with moral disintegration, feverish sexual depravity and absolute imperial decadence within which the tsar tried to conduct a war against Japan; to make a bid for control of the Bosphorus; to put down a revolution with his Bloody Sunday; to make a treaty with Britain over Persia's oil resources; and to force all of Russia's Jews either into exile or the grave, more or less all at once.¹⁶⁹

In such circumstances the tsar (and tsarina) also met and fell under the spell of a licentious, hypnotic, superstitious wandering lay Elder named Grigory Rasputin. In 1916 he was assassinated in legendary circumstances by a group of aristocrats in a desperate bid to save the monarchy when World War I was running hard against Russia. But for nine critical years Rasputin was arguably the most influential person in Russia. It is said that no significant decision was taken by the tsar, whether about peasant reforms, Jewish persecution, the sacking of ministers and generals, or the waging of foreign wars, until either he or the tsarina had consulted him. Historians differ in their assessment of Rasputin's importance but they seem to agree on one thing: his overall influence was destructive and helped to drag Russia relentlessly into its revolution.

Rasputin has been widely described as a monk but he had no formal positions in the church hierarchy and the modern church is quick to point out that he was a lay Elder, that he did not represent Russian clericalism, and that the infatuated tsarina took him to be a spokesman for the peasantry. In that context the church is happy to admit that he was a man possessed by lust and dark passions and that his fall dragged down those who had received him as an inspired prophet.¹⁷⁰ However it cannot wash its hands of him. He was introduced at court by members of the tsar's clerical gang; the church hierarchy bathed in his glory and it was happy to use him as a channel for communications with the tsar. He was also a personal confidant of Bishop Hermogen, the moving spirit behind the anti-Semitic Union of True Russians, who was described by Grigory Rasputin's daughter Maria as the most popular man in Russia.¹⁷¹

DAR AL-ISLAM: THE BEGINNINGS OF DYNAMIC REAPPRAISAL

Now: the third partner. While Rome and St. Petersburg were intent on pushing Italy and Russia to the point of social and political revolution through negative and restrictive policies, the various wings of Islam were undergoing a dynamic reappraisal and reformation which was also aimed, in part, at breaking the grip of oppressive systems. It affected Muslim communities in North and East Africa, the Middle East and Indonesia but it showed most forcefully in the formation of the Muslim League in India in 1906. The so-called Islamic revival of the 1980s has its roots in two much earlier streams of thought, or influences.

The first was a puritanical spiritual revival at the same time as, and having much in common with, the Wesleyan revival in the Reformed Christian church. In India it developed from the work of a Sufi philosopher, Shah Wali Allah, who was searching for a social and economic system based on Islamic principles just as the Mughal dynasty was beginning to break up.¹⁷² In Arabia about the same time Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (died 1787) began a campaign against moral laxity, and practices such as saint worship, Sufi mysticism and superstition, and intercession through the prophet Muhammad which had rubbed off on Muslims from their contact with such Christian practices. The movement which grew around him, bitterly opposed by those whose moral laxity he challenged, rejected all traditions which had cluttered up medieval Islam and relied entirely on the Qur'an and the Sunna.¹⁷³ But although it stimulated a strong revival of puritanical militancy among Muslims, the Wahhabism also proved divisive because it represented the greatest fundamentalist challenge to Shi'ism since the original divide. The excesses of a minority, greatly feared even by other Sunnis, included the ravaging of Shiite shrines such that it aroused lasting passions and led to the Shiites becoming more diligent in guarding their separate identity.¹⁷⁴ The divide between Sunni and Shii Islam was just as deep as the divides within Christianity between the Catholic, Orthodox and Reformed streams.

However, among Muslim theologians who began to build on the Wahhabi movement and to relate Islamic principles to the results of scientific investigations which were flowing out of Europe was Sayyid Ahmed Khan who wrote *Essays on the life of Muhammad* as a response to Sir William Muir's critical assessment of medieval Islam in his *Life of Muhammad*. When he

returned to India from Cambridge Sayyid Ahmed Khan founded the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College. Another reformer of a similar mould was Jamalal Din al Afghani who actively pressed the idea of a cohesive movement in contrast to the fragmented community left in the wake of the medieval decline. Such a movement for reconciliation and reunion was needed just as much within the Muslim community as in the Christian church because fragmentation was continuing in much the same manner as it was within Christianity, and that movement is directly comparable to the Ecumenical Movement within Christianity. Widely known splinter movements which developed from Islam in Persia about that time are Babism, Baha'ism and the Ahmadiya movement.

The influence of the Wahhabi movement was also carried to Indonesia by pilgrims returning from Mecca. This was especially so after 1852 when the Dutch authorities abolished a discriminatory passport fee of 110 florins for Haj pilgrims which had successfully poisoned relations between converts to Christianity and Muslims.¹⁷⁵

ANTI-COLONIAL REACTION

The second revivalist stream developed as a reaction to European colonial policies, and the imposition of Christianity coupled with deliberate denigration of Islam. Europeans, by then accustomed to the separation of church and state, failed to grasp the way in which religious and civic life had remained integrated under a single authority in Muslim communities. Their assumption seems to have been that if the local political ruler had been subjugated then Christianity could simply be substituted for Islam in much the same way that the Church of England had simply replaced the Dutch Reformed Church as the state church in Cape Colony. However some adapted to the facts of life more readily than others, or perhaps they just gave up the struggle more quickly. Thus, in North Africa the French had adapted their system of administration to fit in with existing authority structures¹⁷⁶ while in India the British pressed ahead relentlessly to impose their "superior" system.

During the 1860s and 1870s a number of Turks, educated in the ways of Europe and influenced by the concurrent reunification of Germany under Bismarck and Italy under Garibaldi, began to spread the idea of a re-united Pan Islamic community throughout the Ottoman Empire which was then in the process of being cut up piecemeal. Al-Azhar University in Cairo became (and remained even under British occupation) the focal point for the movement and linked with Muslim communities and movements of a like mind in Africa and Asia as well as the Middle East.¹⁷⁷

Muslim communities in Central and East Africa began to seethe with resentment at their community structures being demolished, at their ambition being stifled and at domination by minority Christian communities which were being treated preferentially in accordance with the great powers' continuing commitment to the principles of the Holy Alliance and the pursuit of patriarchal Christian solidarity in their foreign policies. [See above, chapter 14, p. 1] In India Muslim communities, unwilling to use the new-style English language and government-

subsidized Christian schools at which their faith was denigrated, began to lose the race for the available civil and commercial positions to Hindus. Friction increased and, being given preferment by their English overlords, some extremist Hindus developed arrogance and aggressiveness not normally associated with their faith. So friction compounded friction and began to open up the old sores from the days of the first Muslim invasions.

When a Muslim was elected president of the Indian National Congress in 1887, two years after it was founded, Sayyid Ahmad Khan saw dangers in what others saw as a desirable situation. He feared that the keen edge of the new puritanical Pan Islamic movement would be blurred and that all hope of an Islamic Society would be lost as Muslims and Hindus sought to find compromise solutions to their problems under British rule. His fear was quite reasonable because that was clearly one motive behind British support for the Congress. Within a couple of years he publicly proposed political separation as the only way to preserve essential Islamic faith and interests within a Muslim community.¹⁷⁸ The formation of the Muslim League was a result of widespread support for his views.

And in Turkey, where the Pan-Islamic Movement had been initiated, the humiliation of virtual vassalage to the squabbling powers of Christian Europe, with autocratic rule imposed to ensure the privileges of foreigners, led to the development of related movements among students and army officers with heavily political orientation. A Freedom and Progress Committee of army officers was organized in 1891 and a secret society was established in Damascus by Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk) in 1905. With concern growing about the probability of the empire being partitioned, the fate of the 1876 constitution, and troubles in Albania and Arabia, these groups formed the party of Young Turks and in July, 1908, they led an uprising in Macedonia, forced the reintroduction of constitutional government, and sought reconciliation both within Islam and between Islam and Christianity. They also sought to reverse some of the bitterly anti-Christian domestic policies of the sultan and his government, and to introduce equal rights and suffrage for all citizens.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE UNDER STRAIN

But Crete and Greece immediately gave the Greater Greece Movement new momentum by declaring a formal union; Austria-Hungary and Russia had talks in September about how to carve up the Balkans but Ferdinand I got in first and proclaimed himself tsar of an independent Bulgaria; and in October Catholic Austria annexed Turkey's two European provinces, Bosnia and Herzegovina, over which it had gained a form of protectorate at the Congress of Berlin thirty years earlier. Serbia, which had designs on those provinces as a part of Greater Serbia, objected and mobilized its forces. Relations between Britain, Austria and Russia deteriorated. Britain opposed Russian plans to force open the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles until Russia backed Serbia against Austria, then Britain changed, giving its support to Russia, and called for another international conference to resolve the future of Bosnia. Germany supported Austria, and Italy signed a secret treaty to support the Russian position

With each of Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, Germany, France, Britain and the Vatican pursuing their commercial, military or religious interests in the region the Balkans countries were not left to work out their own fate. They staggered from crisis to crisis and Europe gradually slid towards its war with its emperors and tsars making and breaking unworkable (or irreconcilable) treaties on cruise weekends¹⁷⁹, haggling over who would exploit which pieces of Asia, Africa and the once great Muslim Ottoman Empire, and dragging the rest of the world with it. With the European powers treating Turkey with such arrogant disdain, the Young Turks deposed Sultan Abdul Hamid, replacing him in 1909 with Muhammad V under whom they assumed the real power of government, adopted increasingly nationalistic policies and moved to suppress the Greek and Armenian Christian minorities.

In 1910 Serbia saw its ambitions undercut further when Nikita I proclaimed himself king of Montenegro, and in 1911, with Italy at war with Turkey over its annexation of Tripoli, and with unrest in Albania, Colonel Dimitrijevic-Apis established the secret Greater Serbian Association, better known as the Union of Death or the Black Hand. Then in March 1912, in anticipation that the great powers were about to partition Turkey, Serbia and Bulgaria joined forces to prevent Austria's expansion. They were soon joined by Greece and Montenegro and in October the four, in alliance as the Balkan League, declared war on Turkey.

When the Balkan League achieved a swift, decisive victory it suited no one. The thieves of Europe began to fall out very quickly. The can of worms twisted and turned! Serbia demanded access to the Adriatic. It was supported by Russia but opposed by Italy which wanted to annex Albania and the Dodecanese, and sought to invoke the Triple Alliance. Austria opposed both Italy and Serbia but supported Bulgaria which claimed more territory. Germany and Britain convened a conference in May, 1913, and in the so-called Peace of London Turkey was forced to cede more territory in a bid to satisfy everyone else. But Bulgaria, dissatisfied with its share, invaded Serbia in June, leading to intervention by Rumania, Greece, Montenegro and Turkey on the side of Serbia. Austria threatened to intervene to save Bulgaria (and expand its own empire in the act) but Italy and Germany prevented it. Another round of peace talks in Bucharest, in August, saw Bulgaria lose Macedonia and Dobruja, Crete join Greece, and Albania become autonomous. Serbia, its ambitions thwarted, was the most upset.

A 'FORTUITOUS COINCIDENCE'

An uneasy peace prevailed until the Greater Serbia Association engineered the assassination of Austria's Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his duchess on June 28, 1914, during a state visit to Sarajevo. It was the very day that the Grand Vizier announced the government's intention to grant major concessions to the Turkish Petroleum Company and, in doing so, unintentionally raised the stakes in the European competition for resources by two or three notches. Only two weeks before the assassination the British House of Commons had voted overwhelmingly to buy a controlling interest in Anglo-Persian Oil, a partner with German interests in the proposed Turkish Petroleum Co. Clearly, even though the Serbian government was not implicated in the

assassination, there was going to be another round of territorial ‘adjustments’ and the great powers each saw the opportunity to further their own ambitions. The coincidence of events was most unfortunate. Some might say ‘fortuitous.’

Britain was a bit hesitant at first but it soon saw an opportunity to strengthen its position in the land bridge to Persia, the Ottoman oil territories which abutted it, and Asia, and to prevent anyone else from blocking its path. It wanted Turkey’s oil – preferably without sharing it with Germany – and it certainly didn’t want Germany in control of the Bosphorus with a railway to Baghdad or Basra separating its Persian and Egyptian interests, including the Suez Canal. Even Russian control of the Bosphorus was preferable to that package.

France saw an alliance with Russia as a means of applying pressure on Germany for concessions. It didn’t mind much who controlled the Bosphorus but it was keen to keep the United States out of the Middle East and its main interest was to recover Alsace-Lorraine from Germany.

On the other hand Germany, regardless of the boat-board treaty between the Kaiser and the Tsar, didn’t want a Pan Slavic Union sitting across its Berlin to Baghdad railway scheme. It didn’t want Russian control of the Bosphorus and it didn’t want to share Turkey’s oil in Iraq with either Britain or the United States, and it saw its alliance with Austria-Hungary as a means of quick subjugation of France.

Austria-Hungary was eager to press on towards its own greater empire which had to include a slice of the Adriatic coast.

Russia’s main interest was to keep the Caucasus and gain Galacia from Poland, Armenia,¹⁸⁰ with the prospect of alternative access from there to the Mediterranean through Cilicia to Mersin; to gain Constantinople and a Pan Slavic Union with all of the Balkans which would give it effective protective custody of Rumania and its oil fields; and secure its other Balkans trade and access through the Straits in order to avoid being trapped in isolation with the threat of a revolution at home.

Italy’s adventure in Libya had been a distraction for Turkey and had therefore assisted the newly independent Balkans provinces to relieve her of the balance of her European territory, and Italy wanted the Trentino plus Austria’s existing Adriatic coastline.

Serbia, like most other landlocked countries, still wanted a length of coastline and a decent port and this meant either a piece of Albania or Macedonia., so Serbia was getting in the way of both Austria and Italy, and they were all in each other’s way.

But Turkey wanted to keep its remaining European territory. It wanted to avoid further incursions into its Asian territory and it wanted the return of the Caucasus complete with its oil, which Russia had grabbed, and bickering over the spoils between the new states had backfired and let Turkey back in to bid for some of her former provinces.

The Vatican’s interest was to see that it was one or more of its concordat holders which came out on top so that it could impose its influence over some of the Orthodox or Muslim

populations. It could see some wonderful opportunities. To start with there were the Orthodox Churches in the Balkans with their focal point in Constantinople. If Austria, the strongest remaining Catholic monarchy, were to gain control of the Balkans the re-absorption of those Orthodox churches would be almost a matter of course and Russia would be the odd man out. If Russia, clearly in a weakened state, were to lose a war with Austria and Germany the possibility of a clean sweep was very real. Then somewhere along the line Austria might be persuaded to cede Trentino to Italy and, in recognition for the Vatican's support, Italy might even agree to return Rome to the church.

WHO WILL MOVE FIRST?

What a lovely can of worms! Someone had to miss out but the Kaiser, seeing his opportunity, determined it would not be Germany. Austria-Hungary helped by striking the first blow. On July 23, 1914, as the French president and prime minister departed from St. Petersburg after giving Russia an assurance that France would support Russia and Serbia if hostilities broke out, it issued what amounted to a territorial ultimatum to Serbia. Then, ignoring a conciliatory response from Serbia, it declared war against her on July 28. Next day Russia ordered partial mobilization of its army ready to support Serbia and the concept of a Pan Slavic union or, more to the point, because it could see Constantinople and the Bosphorus slipping through its hands – and it was being egged on by Britain and France in their attempts to encircle Germany. Russia promptly upgraded to general mobilization 24 hours later. That day, July 30, Kaiser Wilhelm was handed a diplomatic telegram from St. Petersburg which, presumably, referred to the Anglo-Russian policy which Britain intended to pursue. Infuriated, he demanded that England have “the mask of the Christian peace-lover publicly torn from her face.” He penned a note that:

our Consuls in Turkey and India, our political agents, etc. must inflame the whole Moslem world to a savage uprising against this hateful, devious, unscrupulous nation of shopkeepers; for if we are to bleed to death, then England shall at least lose India.”¹⁸¹

Next day, July 31, urged on by Germany which advised against mediation because it could let Britain in, Austria-Hungary ordered general mobilization. On August 1, Germany also mobilized and declared war on Russia. It was coming to the defence of Austria, naturally, and its decision had nothing to do with control of the Bosphorus on route to Turkey's oil or with keeping Russia out of Rumania. Anyway, both the German and British governments were happy for the world to believe that. If Germany admitted its greedy motives Britain would have to do likewise and that would be no basis on which to get the dominions to send their sons as cannon fodder in a war they wouldn't want to support. It mobilized the Royal Navy the same day.

Then France's greed for the industry of Alsace-Lorraine, (known to have been greatly increased since it was forced to cede the region to Germany forty years earlier), helped everyone conceal their motives. France did not declare war against anyone but announced that it would act to protect its own interests. As it had a treaty with Russia this was taken to mean, naturally, that it would go to her aid because Germany had declared war and it would pick off

Alsace-Lorraine on the way past. Germany clearly had to act first to prevent the powerful French army from intervening in the east and to protect Alsace-Lorraine. Because the French defensive and offensive forces faced Germany in a semicircle Germany had to bypass them to the north, thus driving a coastal wedge between France and Britain at the same time, just in case Britain should ignore her pleas and join the scrap on the side of France, using the Entente Cordiale as an excuse.

Germany announced on August 2 that her troops would march through Belgium on route to Paris and appealed for Belgium to let them pass and for Britain to remain neutral. Being somewhat over optimistic that Britain would remain neutral and that a clash could be avoided, Germany declared war on France next day, after entering into a secret treaty with Turkey to protect it from Russia, and Turkey declared its neutrality. With the big powers now playing for keeps, Rumania thought it best to stay right out of the game. It also declared its neutrality on August 3. Britain needed a rationale which would be acceptable to its people, and its empire, if it wanted their support to join the fray in order to secure its interests. It therefore 'responded' to Germany's moves with an ultimatum on August 4 that Germany should respect Belgium neutrality. It then took advantage of an opportunity to intervene under the banner of a moral war and not a resources or territorial war two days later when trigger happy young German soldiers, seeing action for the first time, turned a bit of local Belgian opposition into a village massacre. Germany's plan to expand to the west and to secure its resources route to the east without competition from Britain was coming badly unstuck to the disadvantage of the whole world and not just herself.

The battle with the bullets and the much more damaging battle for the minds began immediately. Britain sent troops across to France while Germany transferred a couple of battle cruisers to Turkey so that she could close the Bosphorus and have a go for the Caucasus. The Vatican supported Austria and said nothing about atrocities in Belgium¹⁸², which Britain was giving maximum recruiting publicity, while Italy sat on the fence and told the pope to keep quiet.

JAPAN SAYS: EUROPE OUT!

If the great powers thought they could restrict the impact of their squalid greedy squabbles to their European games area, or simply strip each other of their overseas colonies without any other repercussions, they were quickly proven wrong. Japan saw an excellent opportunity to start pushing the European powers out of Asia. It declared war on Germany on August 23 and immediately moved to occupy the German territories in China and to extend its influence further south in doing so. [Germany had used the same technique as the other Holy Alliance signatories to establish its position in China. It had occupied Tsingtao in 1897 in 'retaliation' for the murder of two Christian missionaries, and immediately secured a concession to build the Shantung railway. A 99-year lease of Kiaochow Province followed, the next year, at the same

time that Britain negotiated its additional Hong Kong related leases, through the Peking Conventions.]

What had started as a bit of power play in the Balkans land bridge was rapidly getting out of hand and developing into a major war of empires. At a conference in London in September, 1914, the Triple Entente powers (Britain, France and Russia) agreed not to conclude separate peace deals with either of the Central Powers (Germany and Austria-Hungary) in the hope that their resolve would crack under the pressure of a united front. At the same time, German diplomat Max von Oppenheim was preparing his recommendations to satisfy the Kaiser's demands: a Pan-Islamic propaganda campaign and a Holy War to incite Muslims everywhere to rise against their foreign masters – except Germany! ¹⁸³

People all the way along the route from Berlin to Baghdad and well beyond were going to have to pay for the bitter power struggle between four of the great Christian nations as they plumbed the depths of religious manipulation: especially the Armenians who were trapped in the strategic region through which every one of them wanted to pass and over which they were determined to have control. A program of religious subversion which grew to huge proportions was developed. The main targets were England and Russia but the program, with Constantinople as its focus, was aimed at the non-Russian peoples of the Tsarist empire from the gulf of Finland to the Black Sea as well as the Muslims across North Africa and through the Asia Minor to India.

CRUDE RELIGIOUS MANIPULATION

However, mass manipulation or 'scatter gun' programs inevitably trigger responses which might not have been intended, and when people of one faith are goaded into antagonism towards 'oppressors' of another faith, some of the antagonism is bound to be directed against people of that faith within the same community or country – especially if there is evidence that they are being used as a fifth column or being incited to rebellion or to demand independence. So while Germany sought to undermine Russia by offering the mainly Christian population of Georgians independence from the Tsar, and made the Turks do the same, the Armenians naturally expected the same offer of independence, and Britain also targeted the Christian minorities along its chosen routes, including Armenia, as well as trying to prise the Muslim Arabs away from the Turkish Arabs.

On September 24, Lord Kitchener wrote to Ronald Storrs at the British Agency in Egypt, instructing that inquiries be made of Amir Abdullah, son of the Sharif of Mecca, about the attitude of the Arabs to a war between Britain and Turkey.¹⁸⁴ That was in spite of the fact that Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, had written to Enver Pasha on August 14 (not knowing that Turkey had already signed a treaty with Germany) quoting the Foreign Secretary as saying that "if Turkey remains loyal to her neutrality, a solemn agreement to respect the integrity of the Turkish Empire must be a condition of any terms of peace that affect the Near East."¹⁸⁵ Britain was striving to undermine Turkey with one hand at the same time that it sought

to keep it 'in camp' with the other, while both Britain and Germany sought to incite selected groups within Turkey's empire to rebellion for their own ends.

In October, the resolve of the German government, its program of religious manipulation and its popular support each received a boost when 93 of the nation's renowned intellectuals signed a declaration endorsing the government's war aims and declaring their solidarity with the military leadership. The 93 included so many university theologians from both sides of the Reformation divide that Karl Barth was later moved to write that he was horrified to discover that the declaration carried the names of almost all of his German teachers. "An entire world of theological exegesis, ethics, dogmatics and preaching which I had until then in principle held to be credible was shaken to the foundations with the manifesto and the other writings of German theologians."¹⁸⁶

Barth's concerns were not shared by most of his contemporaries, but as neither he nor most of those who signed the declaration could have known about the massive program of religious manipulation which was just being put in place, his stand was all the more creditable. Neither would they have known that the German ambassador had provided three hundred thousand pounds in bribes to Turkish naval officers to ensure that their ship sunk a Russian mine layer at Sevastopol, in Russian home waters, on October 27, thus involving their country in the war without the approval of the Grand Vizier, and that reports for the press said the sinking occurred near the Bosphorus.¹⁸⁷

GERMANY: A 'LIVING REVELATION'

The declaration of the 93 actually reflected very well the German Protestant belief that German history was a unique and most significant part of revelation. German self-understanding owed much to Luther and the Reformation and it had been further moulded by the works of Charles Darwin and Leopold von Ranke who is regarded as the founder of the discipline of modern history. According to the prevailing reasoning, the world consisted of cultural and political entities which confronted each other in a struggle for survival and domination which was said to be a key element in God's plan for the universe. A superior culture would triumph until it was challenged by one from a newer, upwardly striving nation of burgeoning moral energy.

That theology of history developed into a theology of imperialism which permeated academic life in greater Germany progressively through the nineteenth century.¹⁸⁸ Its development and acceptance accelerated with the movement for German federation after the round of revolutions in 1848. It became dominant and intimately associated with anti-Semitism during the period of the *Kulturkampf* as a result of the influence of the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer (died 1860), the writings and music of Richard Wagner (died 1883), other writers and Chancellor Bismarck. Wagner, who had to flee from Dresden in 1849 because of his role in the abortive revolution there, was greatly influenced by the 'iron will' philosophy of Schopenhauer when he wrote in his anti-Semitic booklet *Judaism in Music* that human redemption had to be led by a unified Germany. In turn Ludwig II of Bavaria came under

Wagner's influence and became his patron in 1864, supporting him during the period that he was completing some of his most anti-Semitic works, including the Master Singers of Nuremberg.

Then, as Europe slid towards 'the Great War' the belief that the mission of Imperial Germany was to exercise world domination as an expression of divine will was taught by a number of influential theologians including Professor Adolf von Harnack.¹⁸⁹ A leading historian of church doctrine, Harnack was still a student when Schopenhauer died but he was already a professor of theology at the time of Wagner's greatest triumph, the first performance of the Ring Cycle at Bayreuth. Harnack later founded the Evangelical Social Congress, was first director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Gessellschaft, and was raised to the nobility in 1914 by the Kaiser.¹⁹⁰ Perhaps that honour was in recognition of his influence in helping to ensure the support of his fellow academics and theologians for the declaration of endorsement. In any case, in prevailing Lutheran thinking Wilhelm's empire was the hammer of God and the sheet anchor of popular Christian faith.¹⁹¹ This meant that Germany and Britain could each continue on their propaganda and recruiting campaigns, and their troops could face each other in their trenches with the same slogan: "For God, King and Country!"

THE DIRTY PROPAGANDA WAR

All of a sudden people began to change. Germans were no longer those Christian colleagues who had come to Edinburgh so recently to share the noble task of "the evangelization of the world in our generation",¹⁹² with graduates from some of the most highly regarded theological colleges in the world. They were nasty vicious HUNS without a decent nerve in their bodies. Neither were Austrians the mainstay of Europe's Roman Catholicism. They were nasty vicious HUNS who were preventing the final re-unification of Italy by hogging the Trentino. And of course the Turks were no longer Britain's dear Muslim brothers. They were back to being bloodthirsty Infidels.

In the forefront of the ghastly new propaganda plan was Father Agostino Gemelli, a Franciscan chaplain and medical psychologist, whose behavioural research had shown that courage of men in combat was largely inspired by illusions which could be produced and exploited scientifically and systematically.¹⁹³ The church had succeeded in adding further dimensions to its larder of racialism.¹⁹⁴ No one seemed concerned that the propaganda process might be more easily set rolling than stopped, reversed or even controlled after the war. No one seemed prepared to just admit that Christians were simply fighting Christians for selfish ends (again) and to recruit on the basis of appeals to national self interest. People might not respond and then those "vital interests" might be lost. Anti-German feelings took on frightening dimensions in all the allied countries and their dominions, with internment and property confiscation widely used against citizens of German heritage.

Actually the German propaganda campaign against the allies carried the same hallmark but that hardly justifies the policy of the Allies. It simply shows that leadership on both sides was

equally amoral. The Kaiser had apparently determined on a policy of generating subversion and Muslim Holy Wars against England from the outbreak of the war. He demanded that England should be stripped of its mask of the Christian peacemaker. Germany's consuls in Turkey, Persia and India were to inflame the whole Muslim world to savage uprisings against "this hateful, devious, unscrupulous nation of shopkeepers."¹⁹⁵ Attempts were made to generate a Turkish-based Pan Islamic movement and a Holy War against Britain but neither Arab unity or Anti-British feeling had reached the stage where they could succeed.^{196 197}

In the first week of November, a few days after Turkish naval officers had been bribed into sinking a Russia mine layer, Britain, France and Russia each declared war on Turkey, and Lord Kitchener penned his second letter to the Sharif of Mecca in a calculated bid to offset the German inspired Holy War call. He wrote:

*Till now we have defended and befriended Islam in the person of the Turks. Henceforward it shall be that of the noble Arab. It may be that an Arab of true race will assume the Khalifate of Mecca or Medina, and so good may come by the help of God out of all the evil that is now occurring. It would be well if your Highness could convey to your followers and devotees who are found throughout the world in every country the good tidings of the freedom of the Arabs and the rising of the sun over Arabia.*¹⁹⁸

Germany muddled the waters by offering the Christian Georgians independence in return for rising against the Tsar, and coerced Turkey into supporting the move.¹⁹⁹ Naturally the Armenian Christians pressed their case for the same privilege. They knew that during the Crimean War Russia had demanded a Protectorate over all of the Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire and that this had been resisted by Turkey with Britain's support. Tension therefore increased and when the subsequent Turkish campaign to relieve Russia of some of its positions in the Caucasus failed, the Armenians were accused of being a subversive fifth column and suffered retribution.

ASIAN SPIN-OFF ...

Later that month, China objected to the way Japan had marched into the German territories on Chinese soil and demanded that they be returned to China. Japan's response was to issue a list of 21 demands, to enter into a treaty with Russia under which they each agreed to "protect" China, and to extend its influence throughout northern China. Thus assured of a stable eastern front, Russia then joined its Entente partners, Britain and France, in a declaration of war against Turkey to make it much more difficult for Turkey to reclaim the Armenian portion of the Caucasus. Britain obliged by bombarding Turkey's Red Sea station of Aqaba and, in December, it annexed Cyprus and Egypt which it said it had only been "occupying" in collaboration with Turkey before. The Suez Canal was closed to "unfriendly" shipping.

... AN 'INSPIRED' REVOLUTION

As 1914 gave way to 1915 German strategists, having dabbled with the idea of a Georgian uprising, developed a plan for victory through exploiting a Bolshevik revolution against the Tsar. It involved propaganda, direct support for subversive activities and training for revolutionaries. On March 11, the treasury set aside 2 million gold marks for propaganda, but that was a mere start. From then until January 1918 it allocated a total of 382 million marks for subversive propaganda spread over the Tsarist empire, Persia, Italy, Spain and America.²⁰⁰

... AND A PAPAL EXCLUSION

At the same time the Entente continued in earnest with its territorial deals to gain alliances. Italy, sitting very strategically astride the Mediterranean with some of its forces in Libya, was being wooed by Austria and Germany on one side and Britain and France on the other. But the two Central Powers made political blunders. Austria refused to cede Trentino while Germany's press played up the idea of a renewed papal state after the war and although it may have won their cause a bit of Catholic sympathy at grass roots level it lost them friends in Italy's government.²⁰¹ Britain and France on the other hand promised Trentino, at Austria's expense, a series of other territorial gains, cash loans and other compensations. They also promised not to include the pope in any peace negotiations except with the express agreement of the Italian government.²⁰² It was almost a case of "no contest." A deal was struck in the secret Treaty of London on April 26 and a month later, on May 23, Italy entered the war with the Allies on a restricted basis by declaring war on Austria-Hungary. Its declarations of war against Turkey was made three months later, on August 25.

By then Germany's revolution and subversion enterprise was well established. An 'Institute for the Study of the Social Consequences of War' was set up in Copenhagen as a front for the recruitment and training of revolutionaries. The first of its staff were recruited in Switzerland, but most of its trainees were expatriate Russians. And a trading arm was established as a front for the placement and support of the 'graduate' revolutionaries in Russia.²⁰³ For their part, Britain and France secured Russia's continuing involvement in the war by assuring it of possession of Constantinople and the Straits. Bulgaria found it wise to conclude a treaty with Germany on September 6 with the understanding that it could claim Serbian Macedonia upon entering the war, which it did on October 14. It also laid claim to Macedonia and Dobruja in the event of Greece and Rumania joining the war on the side of the Entente.

The treaty map of Europe looked like a jigsaw puzzle, but it was fraying at the edges and the Middle East had to be drawn in, too. Only ten days after Bulgaria's entry on the side of Germany and Turkey, Britain raised its bid to secure Arab support against Turkey in a letter addressed to the Sharif of Mecca by the British High Commissioner in Cairo, Sir Henry McMahon, and dated October 24, 1915. Building on Lord Kitchener's overtures, this last offer was a virtual guarantee of independence for Arabs in the region from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, which the Arabs interpreted as including Palestine and the

Holy Places.²⁰⁴ Being satisfied with that letter, Arab forces, led by the Sharif's son and assisted by British liaison officers, prepared to join battle in rebellion against Turkey. By the end of 1915 Turkey was therefore in deep internal trouble with each of the major European powers exploiting religious division to the full and, with Germany taking advantage of the Pan-Islamic Movement in its Holy War propaganda, the Christians of Armenia were caught in the cross fire. Repression and deportation gave way to terror campaigns and episodes of village slaughter.

Early in the new year, 1916, Russia gained the upper hand in the Caucasus and between January and April it made advances south west well into Armenia, and south east into Persia. Then in June, Arab forces coordinated by Amir Abdullah, rose in rebellion against Turkey. However when the uprising began the Arabs did not know that while they were negotiating with Britain on that basis, Britain had also been negotiating with France and Russia for the partition of Turkey and the Ottoman Empire on quite a different basis. They did not know that Sykes and Picot had visited St Petersburg in March and reached an understanding with the Russians that Turkish Armenia, which they were already occupying anyway, was to be in their "sphere of influence." And they certainly did not know that in an exchange of letters dated May 15 and 16, several weeks before the agreed Arab rebellion began, British and French ministers had formally adopted the Sykes-Picot Agreement which provided for British and French protectorates over most of the region. It even included provision for Italy, the most recent partner in the war against Turkey, to lay claims as well. The Russians, as beneficiaries under the scheme, and the Japanese, as allies, were both advised of the arrangements.²⁰⁵

However the Turks regrouped and by August they had recovered their traditional region of Armenia. The repression, deportation and haphazard village slaughters gave way in turn to organized genocide as the Russians were pushed back. The Turks wanted all Armenians out – or dead. Those who didn't flee or who refused deportation were simply killed. Estimates vary widely, but it is reasonable to accept that between 1915 and 1918 the number deported or who fled reached 1.5 million, and the number killed or who died from hunger or exhaustion was between 600,000 and 800,000. The great powers kept very quiet about it, except to exploit the Armenian massacres in their propaganda. If they talked about how and why it happened the world might start to ask questions. Then they might even suggest that the great powers had to share responsibility with Turkey.

BUYING PARTNERS, TALKING TREATIES

In need of more support, the original Entente partners were eager to have others join them, so Rumania, having been promised three significant territories, (Banat, Transylvania and Bukovina), realigned itself, signed a treaty with the Entente powers, broke its neutrality and declared war against Austria-Hungary on August 27. It had waited for Italy to expand its involvement by declaring war on Germany the day before. Soon Greece was also under pressure from the Entente to break its neutrality too, not with offers of territory but by way of a

naval blockade, and the people suffered as the king held firm. The year was closing with Europe in chaos. However on December 12, after it had achieved victory over Rumania, Germany addressed a proposal for a peace settlement to the Allies via the United States. It was rejected. But President Woodrow Wilson took up the matter and asked each of the belligerents to make their conditions for peace public. Germany said it would participate in a peace conference, but the Entente powers made such heavy demands that nothing happened.

On January 22, 1917, Wilson took the initiative and proposed 'Peace without Victory.' Germany responded with its proposals, but the Entente did not. Instead, France entered into a secret agreement with Russia out of fear that it might otherwise break the Entente undertaking and make a separate peace with Germany. The war dragged on. Then in June, unable to retain his neutrality, the Greek king abdicated and a new government entered the war on the side of the Entente, and, with great encouragement to do so, Japan endorsed the Treaty of London. Ever more damaging propaganda was pumped out to ensure that recruits lined up in Britain, the dominions and the colonies to be marched into trenches to face deadly barrages of artillery and gas.

Japan's endorsement of the Treaty of London was necessary for two reasons. Britain's response to Wilson's peace initiative had left the question of Germany's colonies rather vague and caused consternation in both South Africa and Australia which had occupied the German colony of New Guinea. To clarify the situation the Colonial Secretary made a statement on January 31 that the German colonies would never be returned. While that placated Australia it caused equal consternation in China which had sought the return to it of the German territory which Japan had occupied soon after the outbreak of war as the first step in its bid to push the European colonial powers out of Asia. Britain had another balancing act to do. Faced with unrestricted submarine warfare it urgently needed Japan's naval cooperation in the East and an assurance that Japan would not challenge British authority in Asian and Pacific colonies, including former German colonies south of the equator, while it was preoccupied with Germany in Europe. The price for that cooperation was an agreement to support Japan's claims to the Chinese province of Shantung and the German islands north of the equator. To avoid further complications an additional agreement was signed in secret.

THE JEWISH QUESTION

The interlocking crises were so deep that for a short time most people in Europe and the US even lost interest in the Jews again. They could look after themselves. The Zionist Organization was actually in exactly the same bind as the church. There were strong Jewish communities in every country involved in the conflict and they were fighting just as valiantly as any of the Christians with whom they stood shoulder to shoulder – against each other. Interest in the Zionist program floundered. It may have to be put on hold or even scrapped, or so it appeared to many leaders of the Zionist movement. So we must retrace our steps.

Britain's vital interests had been exposed for all to see, if they had their eyes open, when, within a few weeks of declaring war on humanitarian grounds, it occupied the Persian Gulf town of Basra and drove north along the Tigris Valley towards Baghdad and Mosul. In fact few people actually made the connection. Neither did they notice that the occupying troops were from the Indian Army's Sixth Division. They were largely Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs fighting a Christian cause on Muslim territory exactly as the Kaiser had expected.²⁰⁶ They were not there to defend the existing Anglo-Persian oil fields which were already being protected by another unit of the Indian Army. They were there to occupy Turkey's oil provinces before Christian Germany could do so and to establish, by that occupation, a firm claim to a mandate, or possibly even to annexation, whenever the war should end

Those vital interests showed even more clearly in other steps Britain took to gain control of the Turkish provinces. The western front had quickly assumed over-riding importance from the point of view of short term survival and a holding action against Turkey ought to have been adequate. To begin with, from early 1915 Britain took desperate measures to capture Constantinople in order to open the Bosphorus – or to close it to German cross traffic. The world was told that it was vital to get supplies flowing to Russia and to relieve the Turkish pressure against Russia in the Caucasus. The abortive Gallipoli campaign was promoted and fought on that basis and Britain was even prepared to guarantee her arch rival, Russia, future control of Constantinople and the Bosphorus in return for helping to take it – supposedly for her own benefit.^{207 208}

THE SYKES-PICOT AGREEMENT

Then came the Sykes-Picot Agreement between Britain and France in which the two governments agreed to a post-war division of the Arab regions of the Middle East. It provided for everything from water supply and railways to customs and defence arrangements. But the key clauses concerned agreement that no third power should have any territorial rights in the region except for an Arab state which would be established on condition that the Arabs revolted against Turkey and "obtained" the towns of Homs, Hama, Damascus and Aleppo.

As already noted, Britain had been secretly negotiating with the Sharif of Mecca, Husain Ibn Ali, for collaboration against Turkey from the beginning of the war, and it has been suggested that the Sharif had even made the first approaches to Britain, before the war. He is said to have aimed at re-establishing the Caliphate at Mecca as a consequence of the centralist policies being followed by a newly appointed Turkish governor.²⁰⁹ That may well be the case and it is not worth disputing. But neither can it be offered as a justification for Britain's subsequent actions. It simply demonstrates that neither Churchill nor Lord Kitchener, nor the British cabinet as a body, understood the puritanical reformation which was spreading outwards from Mecca or the significance of the Pan Islamic revival which was taking place any better than the church.

Britain had always been very conscious of the strategic importance of Palestine and in 1914, with the struggle for Turkey's oil provinces at fever pitch, the government was more eager than

ever to consolidate its position. Sharif Husain's family and the Arab community were divided over Britain's proposal for an uprising against Turkey but the promise of a kingdom over the region bounded by borders with Turkey and Persia, the coasts of the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, plus an adequate level of bribery, swung their decision. Then, sensing that all was not well, fearing a move against its territory by Russia and acknowledging a period of good relations with Germany, Turkey signed its treaty with Germany and announced its 'armed neutrality.' That immediately implied a threat to both Britain's oil interests in Iraq and its control of the Suez Canal.

Because of its "special interests" in Iraq – the word "oil" was discreetly played down throughout the delicate negotiations between Britain and the Arabs. Britain proposed "special administrative arrangements", implying an Anglo-Arab partnership in the provinces of both Basra and Baghdad which included Mosul. Husain would agree to this only if Britain paid a subsidy to the Arab state and provided that its postwar occupation was strictly temporary.²¹⁰ Apart from that qualification Britain recognized and supported "the independence of the Arabs in all the regions within the limits demanded by the Sharif of Mecca." It undertook, "when the situation admits" to give the Arabs "her advice and (to) assist them to establish what may appear to be the most suitable forms of government in those various territories."²¹¹

BRITAIN'S HIDDEN HAND: THE MCMAHON LETTER

But the manipulated German-Turkish bombardment of Russian coastal towns in October, 1915, accelerated the process. Britain was allowed to play two-handed games, but minor players were not expected to see through the plot and do likewise. The agreement between Britain and the Arab community was set out in the form of a letter, noted above, addressed to Sharif Husain by the new High Commissioner in Cairo, Sir Henry McMahon, on October 24, 1915. The McMahon letter predates the Sykes-Picot agreement, of which the Arabs were not advised, by seven months. This means that when the Arab revolt began, under the leadership of a son of Husain named Faisal, Britain had authorized two conflicting agreements for the future of the region and it clearly intended to act on the second one. The revolt was delayed by Britain's preoccupation with Gallipoli and when it was finally launched it was steeped in Turkish /Arab hatred because the Turkish authorities had discovered incriminating documents and began a purge with a round of executions. In fact at that stage the war was going rather badly for the Entente and it began to look as if Britain might have no need for any administrative system in Iraq after the war at all.

But in the meantime, less than two weeks after the presentation of the McMahon letter, between November 2 and 5, Britain, France and Russia each declared war on Turkey. They were doing it to gain independence for the oppressed Arabs, of course. In announcing Britain's decision Prime Minister Asquith implied as much. He reproached the Turks for their 'treachery' and said that having lost their European empire "they would now forfeit their Asiatic possessions."²¹²

While most people in Britain probably took that as just an appropriate “We’ll teach them a lesson” response indicating that their empire was still great and expanding, there were some people who saw it in a different light. Among them were the oil companies in the United States which could see themselves being edged out of the action in the Ottoman Empire. Agitation for US intervention increased, but although there was a general atmosphere of support for the Allies and their cause in the US, because of the nation’s diverse ethnic mix, it was by no means politically overwhelming and President Wilson required a lot more justification before he could take his country into war.

WEIZMANN SEIZES A CHANCE

Dr. Chaim Weizmann, an industrial chemist and a vice president of the Zionist Federation of Britain, also saw it differently. Weizmann realized that Palestine, the Jewish Land of Promise, was strategically important, lying between the Suez Canal and Iraq, and he wanted the Jewish community to be well represented at the peace conference which was bound to follow the war. He told a colleague on the Zionist Executive: “I have no doubt that Palestine will fall within the influence of England. Palestine is the natural continuation of Egypt and the barrier separating the Suez Canal from Constantinople, the Black Sea, and any eventuality that may come from that direction.”²¹³ He formulated his plan: to bring Britain and Zionism together, so that the Jews might develop Palestine as a bulwark protecting the Suez Canal from the north.²¹⁴

Britain was about to gain a new ally – the Zionist Federation – but there was yet a lot of talking to do. As the debates of the previous fifteen years had shown, not all Jews and not all Zionists were in favor of claiming Palestine for a Jewish National Home. And among those who were in favor, many did not wish to align themselves or the movement as a whole with the political or imperial interests of one party to a global conflict. The personal crisis of conflicting support for their own country of birth and for a Jewish National Home was uppermost in their minds, coupled with the real crisis of armed conflict with their coreligionists across national boundaries. Weizmann consulted a number of influential Jewish community and business leaders and sought the help of C.P. Scott of the Manchester Guardian to arrange an appointment with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lloyd George, to present his plan.

To his surprise, Weizmann found that a cabinet colleague, Sir Herbert Samuel, chairman of the Board of Local Government, had already briefed Lloyd George and the Foreign Secretary, Edward Grey, on the basics of Zionism and on his own proposal for the division of ‘Greater Syria.’ Samuel’s proposal was that France, Britain’s “ally across the channel”, could have the north in what he considered to be a “fair trade” and Palestine would develop as a Jewish State under British aegis. In this way, he said, everyone would benefit and in England “the foul word ‘annexation’ need never be uttered.”²¹⁵ Discussions continued, but not at a great pace because there were too many complications, and so did the war.

A VERY DIRTY WAR

Russia had got the better of the campaign in the Caucasus, but Kut and the Sixth Indian Division were in Turkish hands. And after early successes in Poland and Prussia, the Russians had been turned back and their morale was shattered. Germany had got the better of the Western front although the French were challenging her superiority at Verdun. Italy had entered its self-interest war with Austria for Trentino but was not yet at war with Turkey or Germany. On the other hand Ireland was wracked by rebellion as southern Roman Catholic groups, reacting against Britain's deferral of Home Government for Ireland, began to collaborate with Germany. Within weeks of the shock of that domestic rebellion the British Government found it necessary to introduce conscription for military service for all men from 18 to 41 years of age. The vicious recruiting campaign had been insufficient. And to add to its worries, access to and from Rumania had been cut off completely by the fall of Serbia which enabled Germany to link up directly with Constantinople via Bulgaria.

Rumania, which had been officially neutral until then, joined the Allied cause in August 1916 but by November it had also fallen to Germany. Not only was access to its oil fields via the Balkans cut off, but they were in German hands, Standard Oil's fields included. The United States, and that meant Standard Oil, had a tighter stranglehold than ever over Allied oil supplies which were becoming an increasingly critical factor in its war effort. And the United States was still neutral. It was just like the good old days of the American Civil War. The oilmen were out to wring every cent out of the war they could. From February 1915 Germany had applied a naval blockade against British ships and British ports and Britain, in turn, had succeeded in clearing German merchant shipping from the Atlantic, but neither navy attacked merchant shipping under neutral flags and Germany's Baltic ports had remained open.

However in July 1916, after the loss of the Balkans, and with German raiders paying more attention to her Persian Gulf tanker fleet, Britain denounced the open seas policy of the 1908 Declaration of London and proceeded to blockade all merchant supplies, including oil to German ports. The price of oil shot up. During the three year period beginning from the fall of the Balkans the oil export earnings of the United States rose by 158 percent. During the same period its oil exports increased in volume by only about 33 percent. Most of that increased volume was required for the allied war effort during 1916 to 1918 and it accounted for the greater part of the increase of 27 percent in total US production. Britain became more determined than ever to get exclusive control of Turkey's oil provinces.

Everything was pointing to a long drawn out war, the role of oil as a motivating factor in the war gradually came under public scrutiny, but only gradually, and the Allies appealed repeatedly for the United States to join them. But facing a population divided over the issue, President Wilson still stayed out. Whatever decision he took would antagonize one or more of America's major ethnic groups. The Irish Catholic groups, spurred on by the church, were vocal in their attacks on Britain over the brutal suppression of the home rule rebellion. The German groups, equally large but fragmented because there were refugees from both Catholic and

Protestant oppression, tended to say little but they were suffering from the vicious anti-German propaganda with which the allied recruiting effort was being fuelled. Those of French and English descent, although divided over the roles their kinsmen had played in the independence and civil wars, were united against Germany. Then there were the Russians, Poles and Rumanians of Jewish faith. They wanted an end to the war because it was ravaging their homelands and their coreligionists, but the anti-Semitic policies of Russia and Germany were so similar there was probably little to choose between them. However the sympathy of all but one of America's Yiddish newspapers was with Germany, reflecting its anti-tsarist position and the development of socialism there.²¹⁶

AMERICA'S DIVERSE INTERESTS

Such an ethnic mix should have provided a strong incentive for the United States to bring the belligerents together in peace negotiations and in fact President Wilson had advised Britain via his confidential agent, Colonel House, in February 1916, that he was prepared to convene a peace conference. Furthermore, if Germany refused to accept reasonable terms the US would probably enter the war on the side of the Allies. It is very probable, on the basis of public opinion at the time, that if he had made peace initiatives backed by force an issue in the 1916 US Presidential elections he would have won a strong mandate. But if public opinion were to be tampered with through the mass media there was no certainty at all.²¹⁷ That appears to have been the basis of his decision to fight the election on domestic issues. It would have been expecting too much of a "sacrifice" by those who were gaining most and who stood to gain even more from that sacrosanct free enterprise system as the war raged on for them to keep their fingers out of the campaign.²¹⁸

Industrialists supplying the Allied war effort, the merchant banking houses and the oil men were all doing very nicely. The United States must not intervene in other people's wars. But even more important was the territorial question, even though it was consistently played down in diplomatic discussions.²¹⁹ President Wilson's suggested terms for a settlement involved the restoration of Belgium and Serbia; the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France; Constantinople for Russia; independence for Poland; the Trentino for Italy and compensation for Germany outside of Europe.²²⁰ That was the punch line and the implications were enormous.

Firstly it perpetuated, both in the Old World of Europe and the New World of Monroe Doctrine America, the colonial and racist attitudes that non-European people and their territory and resources belonged to white European Christians to have, to hold, to fight over or to give away as they wished. Secondly there was no direct mention of Turkey. But the Allies and the USA were all agreed it could be cut up.²²¹ Britain said a lot about the restoration of Belgium and this was to be taken to mean that she valued sovereignty for Belgium but, in reality, it meant she didn't want German control of ports immediately across the Channel. However even that was probably a negotiating posture and Britain would have been prepared to "sacrifice" Belgium to keep Germany out of Turkey.

A proposal was floated that the United States should accept a mandate over Turkey and supervise the Bosphorus on the assumption that Britain and France got Iraq and Syria, but that was not the area which US commercial interests wanted and the president was not keen to become a policeman in Europe. In fact none of the powers were being completely open and honest with their allies. When Colonel House suggested Russia be given Constantinople the four British cabinet ministers present debated it just as if it were simply another strategic question. House was not told that Britain and France had already promised it to Russia almost a year earlier on condition that Russia stayed in the war. Neither was he told of the Sykes-Picot agreement. But France had not told Britain of its frontier deal with Russia and Britain had not told France of its deal with the Sharif of Mecca. Each was as bad as the next. Honesty and openness was no more a trait of government then than it had been before, or since. Britain had reservations about the frankness of the US approach and President Wilson's offer of mediation. So did Germany.²²² It must have been obvious to each of the parties that Standard Oil's chances of getting its hands on Iraq's oil region were better either if the United States was chairing a peace conference or if Germany and Turkey finished the war in a stronger position than Britain and France.

By then the situation had become grave. Russia's war effort had disintegrated. Munitions and food had been in short supply. Poor leadership had dragged morale down further and further so that front line troops were close to mutiny, and in September 1916 the tsar had closed the Duma and had taken personal control of the war. He had left Rasputin with almost undisputed power in the capital and in between blessing icons and raping petitioners who came to see the tsarina he had sent the tsar military operational orders based on his drunken dreams and intrigues.²²³

Rasputin's icy end came on November 29, 1916, and for a few weeks there was a calm before the storm. But that was the end of that phase of President Wilson's peace initiative. When Lloyd George took office as British Prime Minister in December 1916 his aim was to annex Palestine but within two months he realized that was not achievable. In fact all parties to the war were suffering so badly that they all wanted to cut their losses and achieve the most favourable settlement they could. Lloyd George opted for a British trusteeship and the complex web of negotiations and intrigue proceeded on that basis. On January 3, 1917, Wilson reactivated his peace initiative, offering a channel for secret negotiations, but there were mixed reactions and the German ambassador in Washington finally received instructions that Wilson's mediation at a peace conference was "thoroughly undesirable."²²⁴

PEACE ... OR THE OTHER OPTIONS?

However, being in need of a more effective strategy or more allies, Germany decided on three important steps. On January 9 it decided on unrestricted submarine warfare to cut Britain's naval supply system (especially for oil and munitions from the US), coupled with efforts to keep the US neutral, with a fall-back position of inducing Mexico to enter the war. On January 16, British intelligence intercepted a telegram from the German government to its minister in

Mexico advising him of the strategy. If the US failed to remain neutral, at the moment it joined the war Mexico was to be offered an alliance on the basis of joint conduct of the war, joint conclusion of peace, ample financial support and “an agreement on our part that Mexico shall gain back by conquest the territory lost by her at a prior period in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona,” plus an invitation to mediate a settlement between Germany and Japan.²²⁵

Britain relayed the telegram to Washington and Wilson received it on January 24. It was Wilson’s turn to be infuriated. Only two days before he had delivered an “epoch-making address” to Congress in which he put the emphasis on the benefits of peace rather than the divisions between the countries of Europe or criticism of their governments, and offered broad guidelines for a peace settlement. It earned him praise from most observers including the pope and the Russian foreign minister.²²⁶ Wilson was inclined to publish the telegram immediately, but was advised to delay doing so. Germany’s ambassador in Washington tried to persuade his government to reverse the submarine warfare decision, but it was too late. Not realizing that it had already been exposed, the German government confirmed the submarine warfare strategy and the US was advised on February 1.

Coming straight after his peace address and advice of Germany’s proposed Mexican adventure it was a major rebuff. It proved to be the trigger that Wilson required to overcome ethnic divisions and to pull public opinion into line to support a decision to enter the war. Wilson broke off diplomatic relations with Germany on February 3, but decided to wait and see whether Germany would carry out its decision.

From the point of view of shortening the war Wilson’s announcement was a promising move but the British Government still wanted the US in the war and, not wanting to be dependent on the outcome of the war on the Continent, it was eager to break the deadlock with a push against Turkey from the desert. Jewish cooperation in such a plan was important, with or without a Jewish desert army which some Zionist leaders hoped to raise.

Sir Mark Sykes, the government’s principal adviser on the Middle East and joint author of the Sykes-Picot Agreement, agreed to meet and brief a group of top ranking Zionist leaders at the home of Chief Rabbi Moses Gaster on February 7. Those present were Sir Herbert Samuel, Nahum Sokolow, Joseph Cowen, Norman Bentwich, Harry Sacher, Lord Rothschild, Baron James de Rothschild and Chaim Weizmann. In return for a Jewish nation to be established in Palestine under exclusive British suzerainty the government was assured of maximum Zionist cooperation.²²⁷ Weizmann was confident that a British pronouncement to that effect could achieve a double purpose for his adopted country. It could bring American-Jewish influence to bear on Washington for a declaration of war against Turkey, and it could keep a crumbling Russia, where the Jews were a factor both in the Kerensky party and the newly formed Soviets of the Bolsheviks, within the Entente.²²⁸ But Sykes told the group that British protection would apply only to a Zionist chartered company operating within limits which would exclude Galilee, the Hauran region, and the Jerusalem enclave connected to Jaffa by a corridor. That devastating news set the Zionist leadership working to achieve a better outcome, but it also displeased the

French who aimed for a French Protectorate within which they were prepared to allow Belgian supervision of the Holy Places.

BRIBERY AND COERCION WIDEN THE WAR ...

Lloyd George continued to manoeuvre very carefully to entice the US into the war. He told the US ambassador on February 10 that Britain wanted Wilson to come into the war “not so much for help in the war as for help in the peace.” He said he would be grateful for American military and economic pressure on Germany, but he had “a loftier reason (and) American participation is necessary for the complete expression of the moral judgement of the world on the most important subject ever presented to the civilized nations.” He then very carefully exploited flattery, America’s self-understanding and Wilson’s reputation at home as the epitome of Christian leadership, saying: “The President’s presence at the peace conference is necessary for the proper organization of the world which must follow peace. I mean that he himself must be there in person. If he sits in the conference that makes peace he will exert the greatest influence that any man has ever exerted in expressing the moral value of free government.” ²²⁹

During February, while Germany was trying to torpedo Britain to a halt, Petrograd ground to a halt from shortages, a general strike, the mutiny of the Guards Regiments and the recognized start of the Russian Revolution on February 23, and a Provisional Committee set up by the Duma arrested the tsar’s ministers in a desperate bid to forestall a revolution. Then international relations became even more tense a week later when Wilson released the German telegram with its Mexico alliance plan for publication on March 1, and the tsar’s abdication on March 2, enabled the Provisional Committee of the Duma to form a government. One of its first acts was to declare an amnesty for all political prisoners as it struggled to bring stability both at home and on the front line. The amnesty was, however, the signal for Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov Lenin and other Bolsheviks in exile to return to Russia.

The Allies then got their best chance to make a favourable peace settlement when Austria’s Emperor Karl made overtures to France, by secret letter, for an armistice with the allies at the end of March. A secret meeting was arranged between the British and French Prime Ministers and an Italian diplomat for April 17, two days before both governments were to determine their demands, and peace should have been in sight, but the chance was dropped. Events overtook them because the British and French kept the Emperor’s letter so secret they didn’t even tell the Italian diplomat, let alone the Russians, who they were trying desperately to keep in the war, or the Americans who they were desperately trying to drag into the war.²³⁰

On April 2, just eight weeks after Sykes met with the Zionist group, in spite of the fact that American Zionists were not wholeheartedly in favor of the scheme of British-Zionist cooperation,²³¹ President Wilson sent a message to Congress saying that ‘present German warfare against commerce is warfare against mankind’ and that America could no longer confine itself to a policy of armed neutrality. He asked for an immediate declaration that the recent course of the Imperial German Government was “nothing less than war against the

government and the people of the United States” and that Congress “formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon us.” The Senate adopted the resolution on April 4 and the House of Representatives on April 6. The US was at war with Germany, but not with Austria-Hungary, and it was not a member of the Alliance, it was simply fighting in association with the Allies.²³²

Humanitarian considerations highlighted by his country’s ethnic mix hadn’t been strong enough to prompt Wilson’s intervention. National indignation over the sinking of the *Lusitania*, with the loss of over one thousand civilian lives in May, 1915, hadn’t been strong enough either. But the stimulus of the loss of trade and the sinking of merchant shipping, coupled with the fall of the Russian monarchy coming on top of the possibility that negotiations over Turkey’s oil could go against it was quite strong enough.²³³ The first US destroyer flotilla reached British waters within weeks. The US was happy to contribute fire power to secure its own interests, but no US troops were despatched. That was a different matter.

While Congress was debating its declaration of war Lenin, who had been vigorously attacking Socialists who supported “the Imperialist War” from exile in Switzerland, arrived in Russia on April 3 and announced proposals for immediate peace and the transfer of power to the soviets. He was promptly forced to go into hiding. Then both the British and French governments finally determined their preferred positions on Palestine, independently but on the same day, April 19, and facing intense diplomatic competition, Britain “began to press its demand for British rule over Palestine, frequently exploiting Zionist ambitions to advance its own aims.” When Lloyd George appointed General Allenby to command the forces in Egypt he told him he could have anything he wanted, and new aeroplane squadrons were despatched to Palestine, but in return Lloyd George said he wanted Jerusalem “as a Christmas present for the British people.”²³⁴

... AND THE VATICAN CAN PLAY, TOO

On May 1, Pope Benedict XV, being determined that the Vatican would play a major role in deciding the future of Palestine, announced the formation of The Congregation for the Eastern Churches, with himself as head. Three days later, May 4, when he received Nahum Sokolow in audience he adopted an approach considerably different to that which his predecessor, Pius X, had taken towards Zionism when he met Theodor Herzl in January 1904. Pius had told Herzl that while the Jewish religion was the foundation of Christianity it had been superseded by the teachings of Christ “and we cannot concede it any further validity.” He also said that although the church had to put up with the Turks being in charge of its holy places it could not support the Jews acquiring them.

In sharp contrast, after commenting on the change in circumstances since Rome destroyed Palestine nineteen hundred years earlier, Benedict told Sokolow that it was Providential and in accordance with Divine Will that the Jews should return to the country from which they had been expelled. Concerning Zionism, Benedict said that the Zionist idea had “great

significance”, that the rebuilding of Judea by the Jewish people would be an “historical turnabout” which is also “... providential. God has willed it.” He even believed that satisfactory agreement could be reached on the question of the Holy Places and that the church and the Jews would be good neighbours.²³⁵ He appeared to support Britain’s claim to Palestine and the concept of a Jewish National Home under British protection, describing Britain as “the greatest and most experienced colonizing power in the world” which would provide a “good school for settlement.” But he did say that the problem of the holy places is “of utmost importance (and) the sacred rights must be preserved.” He concluded the 45-minute audience saying repeatedly: “Yes, yes, I think we shall be good neighbours.”

Sokolow took the pope’s welcoming and sympathetic attitude to indicate a substantial change of heart and a new stage in Vatican-Jewish relations but he and the Zionist Movement were soon to be bitterly disappointed. It appears that the pope was aware of the British Government’s position as expressed in Syke’s February briefings and his reference to being ‘good neighbours’ carried an assumption that the Vatican or one of its allies would control central Palestine, including Jerusalem, while the Jews were restricted to the adjoining or ‘neighbouring’ territories. It also appears that he was laying the groundwork to gain Zionist support for the Vatican in several matters: its bid to participate in the Peace Conference; its effort to undermine the Orthodox Church in Eastern Europe and to secure Poland’s ‘independence’; and its demonstration of goodwill towards Britain.

Also on May 4, Leon Trotsky, a Jew, arrived home in Russia from the United States, just a month after it had joined the war. A republican coalition government, formed immediately, included both Bolsheviks and the aristocracy. It attempted, with initial success, to take the offensive against Germany, and the Allies breathed a sigh of relief which was soon stifled when Germany broke through again and Petrograd came under direct threat. Within a matter of weeks it was obvious that Russia would sue for a separate peace and Germany’s full might would be thrown against the Western front unless Russia could somehow be kept in the war until a general armistice could be negotiated. Desperate politicking continued.

Weizmann’s aim was to take advantage of Britain’s position of weakness as he worked tirelessly through some two thousand interviews with politicians, religious leaders and public opinion makers, pressing his view that Zionist aims corresponded to British political and strategic interests.²³⁶ But not everyone either agreed with him or wanted to rush into a commitment. On August 17 General Clayton telegraphed Sykes from Cairo to advise that any announcement should be delayed. He said: “I am not sure that it is not as well to refrain from any public announcement just at present. It will not help matters if the Arabs ... are given yet another bone of contention in the shape of Zionism in Palestine as against the interests of the Moslems resident there.”²³⁷ And before the British War Cabinet met on October 4 to consider the Zionist question and had before it a formula similar to that which was eventually adopted, the Secretary for India, Edwin Montagu, also voiced concerns while Lord Curzon continued to oppose the concept. Although he was a committed British Imperialist Montagu said he found it impossible to agree with the Zionists and “their plans threatened to undermine the position of

the British Jews.”²³⁸ Three days later Weizmann argued that cabinet had “attached too much importance to the opinion of British Jewry.”²³⁹ And his influence was quite apparent when the pope took another step to demonstrate the Vatican’s interest in the Near East and its churches in announcing the formation of the Eastern Papal Institute on October 15.

As time dragged on the need for cabinet to make a decision became more urgent because the Russian people had scented freedom with the monarchy gone and they had no will to continue a war which they had never wanted and from which they could expect no tangible benefits. If the coalition government wouldn’t make peace they didn’t want a coalition government. On October 20 (October 7 by the calendar then in use in Russia) the Bolsheviks withdrew from the Council of the Republic and prepared for revolution under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky. Britain and France faced a desperate situation.

The Italian army was being rolled backwards around the Adriatic like a carpet and if the rout continued Italy could be out of the war very quickly.^{240 241} It was deeply divided across both religious and economic or social lines and, after the Treaty of London which put it at such a severe disadvantage, the papacy was barely disguising its friendship with Germany and its antagonism towards the allies.²⁴² If Italy were knocked out of the war and the papacy got its state back as a gift from Germany, the allies could expect Roman Catholics around the world to be treated to some very definite advice on where to put their war effort. Such a situation would be catastrophic. Certainly the United States had entered the war and had sent destroyers, mine layers, mine sweepers, submarines and submarine chasers to help with the protection of supply convoys but, at that stage, it had not sent either capital ships or troops.

Britain and France knew that if the coalition government fell Russia would be out of the war immediately. They would not only face the whole German army in the West, they would also have to contend with Europe’s first Socialist government led by very determined Marxists. Perhaps there was just one last chance to divide the revolutionary camp and thereby keep the Provisional Government in power long enough to conclude a peace treaty. They could issue a statement of intent to facilitate a national home for Jews in Palestine. Perhaps in doing that they might even kill two birds with one stone. They might also encourage greater support from the United States even though, in September, the president still considered the times to be “inauspicious for a public announcement from the White House”, and Justice Brandeis, who had a hand in the editing of a draft statement, was uncertain.²⁴³ Weizmann had told them so and he was held in very high regard. The Allies’ one strong card was Palestine. It was the only front with much to boast about. The Arab rebellion was underway and had provided vital support and distraction which had enabled the British to break out of the Sinai at last. Beersheba was captured on October 31. Gaza would be next, then Jaffa and then Jerusalem lay ahead.

On the day that Beersheba was captured the British cabinet met again to review the situation and to consider a revised draft statement. They knew that after some hesitation Wilson had agreed to it on the basis that it had merit as a propaganda move directed at the Russian and American Jews,²⁴⁴ and they had before them a persuasive memorandum from the head of the

Foreign Office Eastern Department, Sir Ronald Graham, dated October 24. Graham argued that almost every Jew in Russia was a Zionist and pro-German, and if they could be convinced that the fulfilment of their ambitions depended on Allied support, an important section of the Russian people would swing behind the Allies.²⁴⁵ Subversive inter-faith manipulation at its worst. But no worse than other belligerents had been involved in for so long, so what did it matter? Cabinet made its decision. The Balfour Declaration was approved.

BRITAIN'S TRUMP CARD: THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

On November 2 1917, a letter from Mr. Balfour, the Foreign Secretary, was delivered to Lord Rothschild. It declared the government's sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations and advised that as the government viewed with favour the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people it would use its best endeavours to facilitate it. Naturally it had to be understood that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." Lord Rothschild was asked to bring the government's intention to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.²⁴⁶

So maybe the theologians were right after all. Maybe the Jews could serve some useful purpose other than as an example of the rejection and degradation which awaited those outside the church. Maybe they did have a role to play in Salvation after all at least in saving the diverse Christian mob of Britain, France, Italy and Russia from the equally diverse Christian mob of Germany and Austria. No one was in a better position to know than the man who had signed the letter, Arthur James Balfour.

Balfour was held up as a classic example of a fine Christian Conservative M.P. He was elevated to an earldom in 1922. He had an extensive background in interfaith relations. He had been accused of ruthlessly suppressing Catholic nationalism during his term as Secretary for Ireland; he was First Lord of the Treasury and Leader of the Commons during both the Boer War and the Boxer Rebellion; and he was Prime Minister while Britain and France reached their accord on the division of Muslim North Africa. On top of that he had written three books on religion and philosophy²⁴⁷ and he was still leader of the Conservative Party in Opposition when, just seven years earlier, he chaired the commission which dealt with relations between Christian Missions and foreign governments at the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference.²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ It is reported that the British War Cabinet was deeply divided over the issue of support for the Zionist cause and that Mr. Balfour was personally against the proposal which was to carry his name. So also was Edwin Montagu, (Secretary of State for India and the only Jewish member of the cabinet), and even the Prime Minister, Lloyd George, who had been a legal adviser to the Zionist Organization before the war. Mr. Winston Churchill is also said to have had some misgivings.²⁵⁰

But the allies knew that they had to gain the generous support of influential Jews in their own and neutral territories and also shake the loyalty of those in the opposing camp. Extensive

discussions took place on both sides of the Atlantic with politicians, with the Vatican and with both Zionist and non Zionist Jewish leaders, and Mr. Balfour made a special visit to the United States for the purpose. The wording of the statement to be issued was checked and rechecked. The Zionist Organization of America was consulted and Rabbi Stephen Wise, Supreme Court Judge Louis Brandeis and lawyer (later Judge) Felix Frankfurter were credited with influencing both the formulation of the text and the acceptance of the declaration by US leaders.²⁵¹ President Wilson is said to have shown ‘hesitating benevolence’ towards the plan in the early stages, September 1917, after being urged by his most important aide, Colonel Edward House, to show restraint.²⁵² But, according to some sources, by October, with competing interests swirling around him, he was giving it his “unequivocal support” when the allies knew that time was running out,²⁵³ while another contends that he “acquiesced with the proviso that American backing not be made public” when a specific proposed document was referred to him and he bypassed the State Department in reaching his decision.²⁵⁴ The British knew that Germany had wanted to exploit the anti-tsarist feelings of neutral Jews with a similar statement but that the sultan had so far held to his decision that a formal Jewish occupation of Palestine was not acceptable. The Zionist Organization had kept up steady diplomatic pressure on both Britain²⁵⁵ and the US president, while Protestant missionary and educational leaders had sought to protect their involvement in the Middle East by promoting Arab Nationalism.²⁵⁶

NOT A MATTER OF IGNORANCE

In view of all these circumstances it can hardly be claimed that the British Government issued the Balfour Declaration either in ignorance of the long term implications, or solely out of its much publicized gratitude for the enlistment of nonresident Jews in its armed forces and the development of synthetic cordite by Dr. Chaim Weizmann.²⁵⁷ The government highlighted the financial appeal aspect of its declaration by addressing it to Lord Rothschild rather than to Dr. Weizmann who had become the chief spokesman and negotiator for the Zionist Organization in Britain. Chaim Weizmann was born in a Russian ghetto in 1874. He was attracted to the Zionist Organization by Herzl’s writing; became active in it while still a student; gained a Ph.D. degree in Switzerland in 1897 with a thesis on chemical dyestuffs; moved to England in 1904; married, and first met Mr. Balfour for Zionist discussions two years later, and took a research and teaching post at Manchester. When the First World War broke, knowing Britain’s interests in the Middle East, he set himself the personal goals of gaining a place at the inevitable peace conference table for “a Jewish voice” and a firm commitment to a National Home for the Jewish people in Palestine after the war. He joined the Admiralty in 1915 and this gained him ready access to several cabinet ministers. His development of a process to obtain acetone by maize fermentation, from which explosives could be produced locally, helped to avoid an import crisis when Germany imposed its naval blockade. He gained a seat on policy making bodies of the Zionist Organization and soon dominated the movement in England. Dr. Weizmann actually waited outside the Cabinet room for the final draft to be approved on October 31.²⁵⁸

A few years before the war (1909), the prime minister, Lloyd George (then Chancellor of the Exchequer) had clashed bitterly over the financing of social reforms with Lord Rothschild who had led an attack in the House of Lords with the result that the budget was rejected. Lloyd George then launched a public attack on Lord Rothschild's domination of government policy with such venom that many observers believed it had influenced his attitude towards financing Britain's war effort.²⁵⁹ They believed he had to be placated. Rightly or wrongly the British government and its advisers had reacted to the power of Rothschild wealth in much the same way as Bismarck and the German government two generations earlier.

However the declaration could well have been addressed to Lord Rothschild in an attempt to conceal the leaking of it to Jews in Russia and intervention in the Bolshevik camp. According to Joseph Stalin the Central Committee first set October 15 (October 28 by the British calendar) for the uprising but then delayed it until October 25 (November 7). Leon Trotsky later went to great pains to show that the delay was for purely organizational reasons. However during those critical days there was a hardening of attitude against revolution among Jews who had been admitted to the army's key Junker schools by the Provisional Government after the February Revolution. As it would have been quite consistent with the known actions of the British government at the time, the probability of intervention must be recognized.²⁶⁰

The British government was well aware that the highest level of support for Zionism was in Russia and eastern Europe as a result of the more intense anti-Semitism there at the time. It certainly would have known that between one quarter and one third of the people at organizer level in the revolutionary movements were Jews.²⁶¹ Similarly it knew that even if those revolutionary organizers supported the Zionist movement, many Zionist leaders, including Dr. Weizmann did not reciprocate by supporting their revolutionary aims or Communist objectives.^{262 263} However, if either the British Government or Zionist leaders in Britain thought that the Russian Revolutionaries could be persuaded or manoeuvred to go on fighting to maintain essentially the system which had driven them to desperation, simply by the promise of a possible means of escape for a few of them through the establishment of a Jewish national homeland, then it badly misjudged them.^{264 265} It ought to have understood that people prefer to stay where their family ties are; that they do not willingly become refugees in another land; and that one of the main planks of the Bolshevik platform was equality for all, even Jews, with the dismantling of all social and religious barriers. It must certainly have known that proposals were circulating among the Bolsheviks for the establishment of regions of Jewish semi-autonomy within Russia and that, with revolution so close at hand, those proposals would be a lot more attractive than a new home in a foreign land.²⁶⁶

Jewish Bolsheviks were, in the main, the same as any other Bolsheviks. They wanted peace and they wanted it under a revolutionary government. They got their revolution just two days before most of them learned of the Balfour Declaration. The general uprising had finally been set in motion at 2.00 a.m. on October 25 (November 7). Twenty four hours later the Provisional Government was behind bars and by 5.00 a.m. on October 27 (November 9) a new government had been installed and had been instructed by the All Russian Soviet Congress to negotiate for

peace immediately.²⁶⁷ The chief negotiators were to be Premier Lenin and the Jewish-born Foreign Minister Trotsky. It was then that the Balfour Declaration was made public, eleven days after it had been approved and seven days after it had been delivered to Lord Rothschild in letter form. If the British government had already steered it into selected Bolshevik quarters then it was having a second bite of the Russian toffee in an effort to stall the peace negotiations. In any case the negotiations went ahead as planned when the declaration had failed to keep Russia in the war, and the Allies were rather upset when, on December 3, the Soviet Commissariat of the Nationalities described the Great Powers as “rapacious European plunderers,” singled out British rule in India as the ideal target for revolution, and appealed to the peoples of Asia to overthrow “these robbers and enslavers.”²⁶⁸

However the declaration did have important effects in other countries and it is generally thought that the British government was looking for benefits from those countries to offset the loss of Russia’s war effort, rather than seriously expecting to prevent the Bolshevik revolution and Russia’s separate peace settlement.

THE VATICAN: ANOTHER CHANGE OF HEART

Then, quite dramatically, after the occupation of Jerusalem on December 9, the Vatican reverted to the stand taken by Pius X. On December 12 the Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal Gasparri, discussed Britain’s likely intentions for Palestine with Belgium’s envoy and began working towards a plan for an international condominium for the holy places with a Belgian as governor. And about the same time the Vatican had made its feelings on future control of Palestine and on its relations with its colleagues and its competitors in the troubled triangle perfectly clear. All the church bells of Rome were rung over and over to celebrate the Christian conquest of Jerusalem – except for St Peter’s which remained silent. Two reasons have been suggested for the silence at St. Peter’s. Kock said the pope regarded bell ringing as “inappropriate to Vatican neutrality” – a sentiment which is hardly creditable in the circumstances. Loiseau’s reporting of a conversation with Cardinal Gasparri appears far more creditable: it was an indication of concern that while the Muslim Turks had treated the holy places with utmost respect, Christian Britain was about to hand them over to the Zionists.

In much the same vein the semi-official Vatican newspaper *Osservatore Romano* also did a volte-face. On December 15 it referred to the capture of Jerusalem as “a victory for Christian civilization”, but followed it a week later with a report with a different emphasis. It noted that in 1854 a coalition of Englishmen, Frenchmen and Italians had rescued Christian civilization from the threat of the Russian Orthodox, then said that now, in 1917, it had been God’s wish that the same coalition capture the Holy City, remove it from the hands of infidels, and perhaps eliminate that same danger once and for all.

Within a month Gasparri had varied his plan for the administration of Palestine in a bid to weaken Britain’s grip and to strengthen the Vatican’s position in discussions prior to the peace conference. He proposed that northern Palestine and Syria be linked to France; that southern

Palestine be linked to Britain “to create a defensive disposition for Egypt”; and that the major populated area in the centre, from Lake Tiberias to Hebron and including all of the Holy Places of Jerusalem, Acre, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Jericho and Bethsaida, “would be delivered to a governor.” He said that “all the great Christian powers should participate” (thus diluting Britain’s pro-Zionist influence and ensuring a majority of Roman Catholic representatives) and that the important post of governor should not be rotated but should go to a Belgian. He said: “Politically, Belgium is unable to overshadow anybody. Its Christian vitality is expressed religiously in a thousand flourishing institutions.”

While the Vatican went about repositioning itself, Britain and France did likewise, having other practical matters to consider following the rejection of their friendly gesture. They replaced Germany as the financier of revolutions, determining a policy for the allocation of funds to the anti-Bolsheviks. The British cabinet decided on December 14 that: “Any sum of money required for the purpose of maintaining alive in South East Russia the resistance to the Central Powers, considered necessary by the War Office in consultation with the Foreign Office, should be furnished, the money to be paid in installments so long as the recipients continue the struggle.”²⁶⁹ The anticipated benefits must have been substantial for the government to authorize ‘blank cheques’ in a manner which would never be acceptable for domestic purposes. Then on December 23, the French agreed to a British plan for the division of military labour in support of the anti-Bolsheviks. The French area of responsibility was to be the territory north of the Black Sea, Bessarabia, the Ukraine and the Crimea. Britain was responsible for the Caucasus, Armenia, Georgia, Kurdistan and the Cossack territories.²⁷⁰

AMERICA’S NEW ENTHUSIASM FOR WAR

In the United States Zionism suddenly became acceptable and even attractive to many Jews who had regarded it as an aberration of Judaism.²⁷¹ Pressure on the government to play a full role in the war and to dispatch troops increased. Jews flocked to the recruiting desks. The first US troops sailed in March 1918 and by the end of September there were forty two divisions with 1,567,000 men in Europe.²⁷² Of that number approximately 250,000, or sixteen percent, were Jewish, although Jews made up less than four percent of the US population and no more than eight percent of immigration during the preceding generation. Under the impact of that force, which Germany had not anticipated a year before, the war lurched in favour of the Allies and victory was soon in sight. But it is interesting to reflect that if Britain and France had not bungled Austria’s earlier peace overture such force might not have been necessary, the war may have been over many months before and Lord Balfour may never have written his letter.

In Germany the effects were intended to be somewhat different. As part of a major allied propaganda offensive to generate resistance, subversion and even mutiny^{273 274} the British government prepared leaflets explaining the Balfour Declaration and they were dropped from the air on German and Austrian towns and distributed widely from Poland to the Black Sea.²⁷⁵ It locked the Jewish community, especially in Germany, into the role of a fifth column whether or

not it acted the role. The British government had plumbed new depths in the business of manipulating religious communities.

In the Turkish provinces, where Sharif Husain had assumed the title King of the Hejas, the reaction was one of shock and dismay but the Arabs were prepared to accept Britain's assurances of good faith, to accept that the agreement with them stood, and to accept that a Jewish state would not be forced on them. Husain was even prepared to accept and welcome Jews as settlers in Arab lands.²⁷⁶ A little later, when the Sykes-Picot agreement was published by the Bolsheviks, Turkey was able to further discredit Britain. She offered an olive branch to her provinces, but by then events had carried them too far and it was too late for a counter-rebellion against Britain. The Arabs just had to wait until the war ended to start to sort out the jigsaw puzzle. But for Britain there could be no dallying. With all the tricks in its hand exposed, and with Turkey firmly against a Jewish state, it had to throw every possible effort both military and diplomatic into the Palestine and Iraq campaigns to make sure it had occupied the vital ground before the war ended. The government knew that under the circumstances Turkey would press very hard to keep Britain out of Iraq when it came to the inevitable peace conference. Thus the post armistice push for Mosul.

The so-called "Great War" ground slowly to its destructive, divisive end. It had been trumpeted around the world by the eventual "victors" as a war for humanitarian justice in response to Hunnish atrocities, greed and ambition. It was actually a simple extension of the long-running saga of territorial and resources grabs by the Christian Western powers. It just happened to be the last of its kind because the saga had run its course. There were no other such uncolonized regions left to grab. It would also prove to have been the most important of the whole series because of the strategic importance of both the region and the resources to be exploited.

THE FINAL PHASE OF CHRISTIAN RECONSTRUCTION ...

The great powers could now press on with the saga of Christian reconstruction for this region too. They had long cherished the idea and had made several attempts at it with a sense of the imperative which was not present in India, China or Africa. However this one was different. As with the resources saga it was the last of a series of events and it also had the greatest strategic importance because it was the region where the whole saga had started and which was believed to be the seat of the Messianic Age.

There was another difference between this and all the previous Christian reconstructions, too. The politics of it had taken on quite a new look. The church had ridden in on political bandwagons before, certainly, but this time the relationships had several new twists.

Firstly, the politics hinged around competition between Old World powers and the New World's United States of America in an "old" area.²⁷⁷ Previously competition between them in this sense had been restricted to the "new" areas of East Asia and Latin America. This marked the effective end of the much vaunted US policy of nonintervention which was epitomized by

the Monroe Doctrine but which had already taken a severe mauling when the US annexed the Philippines during its Cuban war with Spain. The Monroe flag would still be waved with patriotic fervour for political purposes from time to time but it was a dead issue. The US had twice served notice to the world that it was just as colonial in its attitudes and intentions as the Old World powers from which it had sprung.

Secondly, the competition was for a resource which was only then becoming generally recognized as vital for the industrial and military capacity of countries which chose the course of rapid mechanical and industrial expansion. Petroleum. The United States already had overwhelming control over known reserves and supplies but, not satisfied with that, it wanted to tighten its grip. Its nonmilitary confrontation with Britain and Germany for the oil reserves of the Middle East had been one of the vital, but seldom discussed, causes of the First World War. It had then sat back, happy to watch Europe tearing itself apart, to exploit its position to the full.

Thirdly, Christian political powers, with the very prestigious Great Britain leading by a long neck in the Middle East oil stakes at that stage, were going in with positive help from political powers of both of the other partners in the triangle of faiths. Both of its collaborators, the Zionist Organization and the Sharif of Mecca, had usurped authority from the recognized authorities of their respective faiths, Judaism and Islam. Both had been set up as a consequence of complex coercion and intimidation by Christian powers. Both had resorted to using a carrot in one hand and a big stick in the other as they bargained with Britain, from positions of unaccustomed strength, to achieve both religious and political goals. It is quite arguable that the victorious Christian powers were able to go in only because of their two unlikely collaborators.

... OR A DYNAMIC CHALLENGE TO THE CHURCH?

The situation is fascinating from another point of view also. The British government had made conflicting deals of convenience on behalf of "The Defender of the Faith",²⁷⁸ to whom it was responsible, with powers of the very faiths which the defender certainly was not supposed to be defending. At the same time the official propagator of "the faith"²⁷⁹ was pressing on with its efforts to denigrate and counter those other faiths. About the only common thread running through the three conflicting agreements which Britain had entered into was that the Holy Places of all three faiths would be held inviolable and guaranteed against all external aggression. The church was therefore going to be in the Holy Land only as one of three partners in the salvation business and it could no longer go around building churches on top of mosques and synagogues.

With the Balfour Declaration the ultimate challenge to the church, to its view of itself, its conduct and the doctrines with which it strung the lot together, had been initiated. It was not worded to read "we the downtrodden, abused, exploited people of the world, suffering mental and physical distress because of the policies and self-assessment which you, the church, have held to for a very long time, challenge you either to justify all you have been saying and doing in the name of the Messiah or to mend your ways." That sort of challenge shouldn't have been

necessary. But it was necessary and something of the kind was eventually thrown down in 1973, about two generations later.

In the meantime, in spite of Mr. Balfour's intimate involvement in the ecumenical movement, the British government did not seem to be fully aware of the challenge it had issued to the church, and the level of understanding of the challenge within the church varied widely. To most churchmen it was little more than "be kind to a Jew year", although some realized that Christian attitudes towards Jews would have to change if, as now appeared very likely, Judaism gained more tangible institutional permanence which the church could not dispute: respectability and direct political power through a Jewish national homeland. However Pope Benedict XV was one who did – temporarily – see it in a different light.

In January 1904 (as already noted), Benedict's predecessor, Pius X, had told Herzl that the church could not prevent the Jews from going to Jerusalem but neither could it sanction it. The soil of Jerusalem, he said, had been sanctified by the life of Jesus Christ even if it had not always been sacred. Because the Jews had not recognized the Lord, the church could not recognize the Jewish people. Then he dropped Judaism to the bottom of the triangle with a thud. It was not pleasant to see the Turks in possession of the Holy Places, he said. The church just had to put up with it, but it could not support the Jews in acquiring them and if they went to Palestine to settle, the church and its priests would be ready to baptize them all.²⁸⁰ He thus confirmed the line the Vatican had pushed steadily since 1870, and Jesuit sponsored anti-Semitism continued, rising and falling in intensity from time to time, as Jewish settlement in Palestine also continued.

Then in May 1917, just thirteen years later, when Nahum Sokolow called to brief Benedict XV on the progress of Zionist negotiations with the Allies and, in all probability, that Britain was about to announce a new Palestine policy which could lead to a change in the fortunes of war he received a very different welcome, as already noted. But then, when his political fortunes changed and the Allies wouldn't let him play at their peace table, the pope's attitude changed. He reverted to the position which Pius X had taken, or became even more antagonistic. There was no place for a Jewish State.

Muslim leaders saw the Balfour Declaration on two levels. Firstly it was a definite challenge to "be kind to a Jew." Their colleagues in Palestine were having to make sacrifices to relieve the pressure on the Jews which the Christian world had been applying, not the Muslim world. Secondly they were conscious that Zionists wanted to claim and to administer Jerusalem as their capital and to represent that as the culmination of their self help Messianic Age. However they, the Muslims, were not conscious of any overpowering Messianic urge to turn back from Mecca to Jerusalem in the sense which Muhammad had led them to expect. They believed, with fervour, that until that time came, Jerusalem should be open without restraints to the people of all faiths and that if they did not have the custody of it, it should be in joint custody.

But back to the immediate causes of the challenge. During three generations or so, pressure had been applied to the Jewish community on such a scale that it weakened the long established

basis of its faith to the extent that it was prepared to work for and to fight for a national home on an ethnic basis. At the same time, the second phase of European colonialism, the Christian reconstruction phase, had reached its greatest extent. Those two developments had run concurrently with the evolution of new relationships, firstly between the church (or its many fragments) and the western political powers and, secondly, between the church and western economic and scientific developments.

All three major wings of the church, (Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Reformed), were steadfastly trying to prop up the exploitative capitalist system in their own ways. But while the first wing was trying to deny and to prevent scientific developments the third wing was trying to stimulate it and take advantage of it. (In this sense the second wing was in limbo, floundering around in medieval mysticism.) Both positions involved a reaction against, and a misunderstanding of, the concept of biological, human, material and communal evolution. This was a direct consequence of the church's confused doctrinal stance. There was a mental-block belief in the fixed and final state of man in many quarters because of rigid insistence on either Biblical inerrancy or papal infallibility. But in others there had taken hold an equally rigid insistence on ever-accelerating perpetual development.

The consequence of this confusion was that every competing Western colonial "presence" became an amorphous gel of militant capitalism, materialism, evangelical Christianity, racism and exploitation. This resulted in the destruction of existing civilizations and systems of ethics and reconstruction towards a shabby form of European "culture." There were plenty of churches but Salvation and the Messianic Age were seldom to be found. In countries which were being totally subjugated and occupied rather than simply colonized, notably the United States, Southern Africa and Australia, the church's doctrines were coupled with a misrepresentation of Darwin's theories to justify forcing remnants of the indigenous populations onto arid nonproductive reserves which the European Christian newcomers didn't want. That was supposed to dispose of the problem of inferior, half-evolved neohuman beings who could remain as living museums for the white man as long as they didn't get in his way again. But in a remarkably high proportion of those cases the arid soil and harsh environment concealed resources which the white man would later discover and would want to come back to collect in the twentieth century: aluminium, copper, coal and uranium for example.

THE NEED FOR VISION

Fortunately there were a few people with different kinds of visions. Herzl, Weizmann and company were pressing ahead to bring relief for their own people. Quite clearly that relief was deserved, but it was, unfortunately, preferential. Mott, Boegner and company were trying to bring cohesion, cooperation and understanding into the church's approach to the world at large. Muhammad Abduh and Sayyid Ahmad Khan were inspiring a reforming and organizing zeal in the Pan Islamic community. And Mahatma Gandhi was working on an idea to draw them all together as brothers. Gandhi had a very long way to go because several generations of such

confusion had done a lot of damage but he was well prepared. He had the benefit of personal experience of Britain's divide-and-rule policies in India; of the use of warped theology to justify exploitation and denigration of nonwhites in Africa; of the way Britain had buried its racial equality policies down the gold and diamond mines in order to regain control of Southern Africa; and of lip-service Christianity in Britain and Europe or, as he put it, the message of Jesus, an Asiatic, which had become the distorted imperialist faith of Orthodox Christianity when it gained the backing of a Roman emperor.²⁸¹

Western economic growth was already becoming linked to labour and resource exploitation in nonwestern countries. Through the American version of the Protestant Ethic, (uninhibited exploitation of everything a capitalist could get his hands on), Western countries were becoming accustomed to exponential growth in corporate profits. The system thrived with mass immigration and the never-ending push west across the prairies to the Rockies, to the Pacific, to Asia, to People's senses were being dulled to corruption which was easily camouflaged by the pace of activity and the rule of operations such as Standard Oil.

The rapid expansion of secular schools and universities had boosted people's expectations of life, their receptiveness to new ideas and their capacity to contribute to the community around them. This ought to have improved the church's ability to spread the Gospel. In fact its inability or reluctance to carry out a review of its doctrines, coupled with astounding clerical attitudes towards science and philosophy, made people more cynical rather than more receptive. In contrast the manipulators of commerce and politics were quick to recognize and to seize the opportunities offered. The use and abuse of the new weaponry of psychology increased rapidly and the manipulators – whether in government or in commerce – managed to stay a step or two ahead of the public educators. If the church recognized the problem it still did nothing not even when religious and racial bigotry were trotted out to stimulate wartime recruiting campaigns. Perhaps the church was too busy looking after its own lines to worry much about what others were saying.

Hypocritical contrasts in attitudes to world events highlighted the absurdity of the church's view of itself and Western attitudes towards the nonwestern world which were tightly intertwined. For example, when Britain incited the Arabs to rebellion against their Turkish overlords it was a normal wartime diplomatic contact. But when Irish Nationalists rebelled against their British overlords in collaboration with Germany it was treason.

When Chinese peasants, provoked by missionaries and Western merchants, rebelled against the Ch'ing Dynasty it was a normal and proper response to the modernizing influence of Christianity in an antiquated social system. But when Russian peasants dared to listen to Lenin and Trotsky and to bring down the oppressive and tyrannical Romanovs, the fall of a Christian monarchy was a catastrophe.

Few people seem to have noticed anything contradictory when Britain used Indian troops in an abortive invasion of Afghanistan to keep Russia at bay and then, somewhat later, happily made a treaty with her to divide up Persia's oil fields in order to prevent a German "intrusion"

and a change in the balance of power. Neither did they think it inappropriate to use Muslim Indian troops again to keep Christian Germany at bay in Muslim living space.

And of course it was still quite acceptable for Christians to apply repressive measures against the clergy and religious leaders of other faiths, and to requisition or destroy their property. Admittedly a few objections were raised when the church supported Italy's designs on Libya as a Holy War, but they were motivated by economic concerns and not religious tolerance. On the other hand if a nasty non-Christian Japanese, Chinese or Vietnamese citizen dared to strike down a priest it was a wonderful excuse for a protecting power such as Britain, France or the United States to step in, demand retribution on behalf of the church and wage a war for a treaty or a land and resources grab based on a trumped-up sense of injustice and offended dignity.

Yes, the powers were finding that the church had some very definite uses in the national interest. Most of them still had some sort of formal links with it and it was therefore politically wise to prop it up financially but, being so fragmented, they didn't have to take much notice of it anymore, except when there was a danger of it rocking the boat because the pope's interests were affected. Even the Jewish community had developed into a usable asset – some would say more useful than the church – and it therefore had to be fostered and protected.

Strangely enough, by pushing for and accepting Britain's reluctant support for its claims to Palestine the Zionist Organization had linked Judaism and the Jewish community firmly to the amorphous gel of the Western Christian presence. Through the investment and political policies which a few key Jewish families had adopted in managing their immense fortunes they were already heavily implicated in the errors and the brawls of the Christian West. Their financing of the Crimean War efforts of Britain and France; of Confederate interests during the American Civil War; and the financing of Cecil Rhodes' repressive diamond and gold empires in Southern Africa are sufficient to establish that. However their policies were nonexclusive, as shown by their response to Herzl's proposal for financial collaboration with the Ottoman Sultan.

Now the chips were down and loans and investment capital began to flow more freely into those countries which were favourable to the establishment of a state of Israel. Mr. Balfour had not idly addressed his letter to Lord Rothschild. The consequences were far-reaching but they took some time to become apparent and for the moment the overriding feeling was of jubilation and gratitude.

The Church, clinging to its spurious self-assessment, had not grasped the changing relationships at all. As the First World War broke around it, it had a finger in the affairs of practically every country in the world through the powers linked with it. It was either present as the established religion; as the basis on which the country was founded (in the case of the USA); through missions in European dominions; or through missions in countries which had treaties imposed on them by military force. There was virtually no other sort of country.²⁸² The world, its people and its resources belonged to the Western Christian powers and that was the way the bulk of the church believed it should be. It looked back with pride at "The Great Century" of achievement during which Christianity had penetrated even the darkest corners of

the world.²⁸³ All that remained was to convert and baptize those people who hadn't yet been 'done' and the task of saving mankind would have been more or less completed. After that it would only be necessary to keep the water flowing on each new generation. That shouldn't be very difficult at all.

Obviously that was not the real situation but it was yet another spin-off of the church's doctrines and its self understanding that it was blind to reality and the effects of the policies which it and the Western powers were jointly pushing. A lot of people would be crushed in the rush unless there was a safety valve to relieve the pressure. The West didn't know it, but it was providing for a safety valve in its Christian reconstruction of the Middle East. It was to be called the State of Israel.

The church didn't know it either. When General Allenby walked through the Jaffa Gate to take formal possession of the Old City of Jerusalem on behalf of Christian Britain on December 11, 1917, (two days after it had been occupied), it had reason to believe that in the overall region of the Middle East it was involved in the last of the great regional Christian reconstruction programmes. At that stage of 1917 there were plenty of Christians prepared to celebrate the culmination of the Messianic Age. There was very little else for them to celebrate. The setting up of a Christian administration in the somewhat derelict town of 55,000 people was surely the event everyone had been waiting for. It was to be the symbolic light set upon the hill to guide humanity. Jerusalem had at last been relieved from the Infidel whose empire was finally disintegrating.

But there was something hollow about it. The atmosphere at the time was certainly not euphoric. It could hardly even be called tranquil and the circumstances in which the Holy City had passed into Christian hands were highly suspect. Instead of plans for a Christian temple on the site where the legendary Oriental despot, King Solomon, had used forced labour to build his grand temple there were plans to let the Jews have it. And by the terms of the agreement with the Muslims a Christian church couldn't be built on the sacred Temple Mount anyway. The symbolic light upon the hill would have to be set in the valley instead. Well it probably didn't matter anyway. It wasn't vital to the Salvation process. That was complete through Christian baptism. And it wasn't vital to the Messianic Age either. That had been ushered in just about 1900 years before and it was being managed quite satisfactorily by the Messiah's agents, thank you very much.

Few people stopped to think that possibly General Allenby's arrival looked a bit like that of his predecessor, Pompey. It had been Pompey's lot to capture Jerusalem in the push which carried the Roman Empire to its greatest extent at a time when it and the world were in desperate need of the Messiah's message. Now Allenby had captured it in the push which carried the British Empire to its greatest extent at a time when the world had even greater need for the Messiah's message than when Pompey arrived. Britain's was the most prestigious and influential empire the world had ever known. It was the greatest in extent and it was arguably the most pretentious in its Christianity. It had played its part in carrying the story of the Messiah

all over the world. It had sent its missionaries everywhere it went hunting for resources, for markets, for slaves and for somewhere to dump its reject Christians. And when those missionaries were murdered because they represented the imposition and abuses of alien power, or for what ever reason, it had seized the opportunity to send in a few more gun boats to annex some more territory: to protect the church and to spread the word of God, of course.

As Allenby's men marched into Jerusalem they may have been singing good old rabble-rousing stuff like "Rule Britannia: Britannia rules the waves: Britons never, never, ne—ver shall be slaves." Or perhaps "Onward Christian Soldiers, marching as to war", or even "O God our help in ages past." Certainly people throughout the whole world knew of Jesus Christ. They didn't have much option. But they hadn't received His message. Certainly some of them had received the church's sacraments, but that was not the same thing. Whatever Allenby's men were singing was really a bit hollow. But maybe they were not singing. Some reports suggest their entry was a rather sombre occasion. Perhaps they were afflicted by a sense of misgiving, or guilt.

There were, however, a lot of people waiting for the chance to sing a different sort of tune. There were people like Gandhi keenly watching every move Britain and her allies made, and there were a lot of people who thought the words of Karl Marx made a lot more sense than those their clergy mouthed. In fact just as the world's Jews were beginning to believe that they might receive a response to their prayer "Next year in Jerusalem", because Britain had given them the nearest thing to a promise to make it so, the Bolsheviks of Russia were planning their version of a regional Christian reconstruction.

Volume II

Part 4

CAN ANYONE READ THE PLANS?

CHAPTER 17

IT'S TIME TO DESIGN THE PERFECT SOCIETY

Europe's efforts to reconstruct the rest of the world in its own Christian image looked rather ridiculous when everyone had a chance to pause and look around after the dust settled and the poison gas dissipated on November 11, 1918. The First World War had left the Continent in a sorry state. The poison gas might have dissipated, but the poison propaganda certainly had not. The war had also left Europe's colonies and dominions mourning the loss of hundreds of thousands of their young men and women who had forfeited their lives – so they were told, and many believed to the point of a personal obligation – to uphold Christian honour and glory and (by their sacrifice) to end barbarity and inhumanity for all time. It had been the war to end all war. It had been the war to secure the world for Christian principle. Or at least that was what the propagandists were saying on behalf of governments who were not prepared to admit that it had been simply another war to back a scramble for resources and land. But although the motives or aims of the conflicting powers may have been simple, the complex web of international interests, conflicts and intrigue which they had generated and the great powers' stated justification for intervention certainly was not and we must now examine some aspects of the web further.

When the United States finally entered the war on the side of the Allies, but not formally as one of them, the situation had already been complicated by the intrigues of both the British government and the Vatican over interfaith issues and non-European alliances. But once the United States was involved it proved no more willing to debate its motives and war aims than the Allies had been. The US had gone in for its own purposes and not as one of a gang with a common cause nor, necessarily, to speed up the peacemaking process, and the degree of cohesion between the Allies and the United States was little more than was required to defeat the Central Powers. As a result, politics, commercial interests and leadership attitudes in the United States, Russia and Germany had become further confused and intertwined.¹ Consequently, as the complex of wars dragged on the whole world was gradually drawn further into the confusion as if a giant vacuum cleaner was sucking in the entangled webs.

The unwillingness of Allied governments to debate their motives or war aims also had other effects. The Vatican had the Allies caught in a bind. They either had to satisfy the pope's

demands for the return of a papal state so that he could have his temporal rule, or they had to neutralize his potentially catastrophic subversive influence. They couldn't satisfy his temporal power demands even if they wanted to (which they didn't) because to get Italy into the war they had undertaken, in the Treaty of London, not to. However, they couldn't offset the Vatican factor by promoting national interest unless they were prepared to debate their war aims or their motives in waging war. This they could not do because they were well aware that they could not gain public support on that basis either at home or in their colonies.² Similarly, without such a debate they could not rely on claims of overall community benefit and this was confirmed by widespread resistance to conscription. Neither could they simply say "we are ignoring the pope's demands because" The struggle for the reunification of Italy had not ended with Garibaldi's victories and if it was to be resolved to the disadvantage of the church then clearly the whole world would pay for it under pressure of one kind or another applied by courtesy of the papacy. The grip of the clergy, especially after the oath of absolute conformity that they had just taken, was so tight that an open public debate was unwinnable. The gates had closed behind the Allies one by one.

Other methods had to be found to secure the allegiance of the Roman Catholic population. The Allies were left with appeals to racist nationalism, which could only be whipped up through revulsion at barbaric conduct, fear of being overrun, or hatred of the enemy who had to be portrayed as different and having warped, sadistic or sub-human standards. This could not possibly be done without relying on, and without aggravating, existing tendencies to racism and sectarianism. Truth was apparently of little consequence to governments, many politicians and their mind-manipulators, especially in the Western Alliance, in describing the conduct of the opposing side.

When Germany violated Belgian neutrality in August 1914 its troops were reported to have ravished women and young children, impaled and crucified men, cut off tongues and breasts, gouged eyes and burned whole villages. Such reports were not only carried by the more sensationalist press but they were endorsed by leading writers such as John Buchan, Arthur Conan Doyle and Arnold Toynbee. It has subsequently been confirmed that some large scale atrocities of the kind which were later categorized as 'war crimes', including the massacre of civilians in certain villages in Belgium, did occur but the level of exaggeration and distortion had been such that by the time the facts had been established after the war the allies were not in a position to take any action. It was not until the 1990s that the families of those massacred were able to arrange official recognition and commemoration for the victims.

In the initial phases of the war, such sectarian propaganda and recruiting campaigns based on virulent nationalism and fear and revulsion at barbaric conduct had been sufficient to mobilize patriotic populations in support of the war effort. But as the casualties mounted and the futility of fighting became evident, Pacifist and Communist arguments that characterized the war as a fight for imperial spoils that benefited only the rich gained increasing sympathy. As a result, by 1916 governments on both sides of the conflict had to find new ways of inducing their people to fight.³

Thus, although sectarian propaganda had continued throughout 1914 and 1915, and even decreased somewhat for a few months, it reached a new peak in April 1916 when the British press began to publish news and comments about the use of the corpses of fallen soldiers by the Germans for the production of lubricants such as glycerine, and soap. It was added as an afterthought, presumably for the benefit of Muslim countries and China, that the corpses were also being used in the production of pig food. The Financial Times reported that the Kaiser had personally ordered the torture of three children and specified the nature of the torture. And the Daily Telegraph reported in March 1916 that 700,000 Serbs had been killed by Austrians and Bulgarians using asphyxiating gas.⁴

FIRST TASK: FIND A TARGET ...

The Vatican could not expose such policies because of its own position, and the Orthodox and Reformed Churches were so linked in to either the national structures or the socio-economic philosophy of their community that, overall, they swallowed the role of national prop, hook, line and sinker. It was therefore some time before the general public became aware that such reports were fabricated and by that time lasting damage had been done. The reports of gas deaths and bodies for pig feed dreamt up by some sick-minded propagandist set a precedent that would soon haunt the whole world. The whole issue of war crimes became tainted by the odor of propaganda, greatly reducing in the public mind the credibility of any future claims concerning war-time atrocities.

Yet again the Roman Catholic Church's self-understanding and the papacy's demand for territorial sovereignty (to support its claim for temporal authority and, in turn, its claim to have divine spiritual authority) had contributed to, and prolonged, international conflict, death and destruction on a frightening scale. And alongside the eventual suspicion which would fall on war-time atrocity claims, it had also stimulated the development and use of completely new techniques in an armoury for manipulation of one's own and other people as well as for psychological warfare against one's declared enemy.

The Allies had a wide range of targets in the ensuing psychological war, and this had complicated their task. They had an alliance of Christians and Muslims to aim at plus a large target population of oppressed Jews in Germany and Austria. On the other hand, however, the Jewish populations outside of Europe were more antagonistic towards one of the Allies, tsarist Russia, than they were towards Germany. They had good reason to be. Tsarist Russia was not only pursuing its ruthless anti-Semitic policy at the domestic level, it was using anti-Semitic propaganda to incite mutiny among Polish troops of the Austro-Hungarian army. Leaflets were dropped among them describing the Germans and the Jews as their murderers, contemptible oppressors and executioners of their children in Posen. They posed the question of why the Poles, being Russia's unfortunate brothers, should waste their blood as slaves for the Prussians and Austrians who had delivered them as hostages to the Jews in Galicia. In the wake of the leaflet drop Russia swept into Galicia very quickly, but before their armies counter attacked, the

German and Austrian emperors jointly issued a manifesto, on November 5, 1916, promising the Poles an independent state with an hereditary monarchy. It put a completely new complexion on the Polish question, closing the door to future annexation by either Russia or the Central Powers and therefore preventing Catholicization by papal negotiation or manipulation.^{5 6} But in addition Britain was wide open to attack over its religious and racial policies in the dominions from which it was drawing armies of mixed faiths and races to fight its war. The absolute hypocrisy of its position was eventually exposed for all to see through its conflicting agreements with both Muslims and Jews for help in the same vital campaign area at the same time.

... OR A CAUSE

The Russian Revolution erupted on February 23, 1917, Lenin returned to Russia on March 3, and the US declared war against Germany on April 6 under the leadership of the man who has been described as “the prime embodiment, the apogee, of the Calvinist tradition,” and who it was impossible to understand apart from his religious faith.⁷ That man, President Woodrow Wilson, wrote that “the finger of God moves upon the face of the nations (and) is against every man that plots the nation’s downfall or the people’s deceit (and who is) simply groping and staggering in their ignorance to a fearful day of judgement.”⁸ The United States did not have an ‘established’ or state religion. It had complete freedom of religion and it had pursued a policy of complete separation of state and religion – up to the point which suited its politicians, anyway. It had no reason to be beholden to any particular religious community. Its history demonstrated that repeatedly. However its politicians and the churches recognized that religious adherence and religious teaching always invoked a sense of discipline and personal responsibility, and these were vital characteristics for an army in wartime. Therefore when the United States became involved in World War I chaplains were appointed to the armed forces from each of the Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish faith communities. They were given commissioned officer status and all the perks of office. The recruitment line was that the Allies were fighting a war to make the world safe for democracy, and, with a slight twist of emphasis, that could be made to read for the survival of Christianity.

Then a key phrase in the pledge of allegiance to the flag was changed by the addition of two words. The expression “one nation, indivisible” became “one nation, under God, indivisible.” It has been said that this was partly due to antagonism towards Communism as it was evolving in Russia “with little of intellectual depth or ... the kind of conviction that could be called Christian” but it has also been said that it was “evidence of a widespread superficial religiosity which was probably identified with the American way of life.”⁹ Britain was certainly not the only nation which was playing the religion game in the age of Lloyd George and Balfour, and the United States was doing so under the presidency of a man of equally impressive credentials.

Wilson, son of a Presbyterian clergyman, a lawyer by profession who turned to teaching became, in turn, author of an authoritative reference, Congressional Government, Professor of

Jurisprudence and Political Economy at Princeton University and president of that institution. He was a religious man whose speeches were often marked by such moral fervour that they were described as 'political sermons' and it was said that he "claimed an intimacy with the designs of Providence that could scarcely be justified." It may therefore seem somewhat surprising that he saw the function of a university as to train the intellect rather than the character or the body and that, with reforming liberal zeal, he paraded the message 'Live and let live.' He resigned from the university post in 1910 to seek election as Governor of New Jersey, and after only two years in that office he was elected President of the United States. He served from 1913 right through the war and the 'peace making' processes which followed, to 1921.¹⁰

BRITAIN'S TRUMP CARD

The biblical overtones of the Balfour Declaration were certainly not lost on Wilson and he is reported to have said to one Jewish leader: "To think that I, the son of the manse, should be able to restore the Holy Land to its people ..." ¹¹ He was a man who has been credited with having a vision of a welfare state in which governments would restrain exploiters, uplift the downtrodden, protect children and defend the helpless and weak.¹² He was fascinated by the idea that "a democratic Zionism might replace Ottoman despotism and create a haven for oppressed Jews in Palestine." ¹³ He was opposed to European imperialism and suspicious of secret Franco-British treaties covering the Ottoman Empire. He was soon to chair the meeting of Allied leaders at the opening of the Versailles Peace Conference, to play a dominant role in it, especially as prime mover behind the reconstruction of Germany from parliamentary monarchy to republic, and at the same time to be a key figure in the Western bid to prevent the reconstruction of Russia from despotic monarchy to republic, and he was also soon to be 'the father of the League of Nations.'

It was seven months after the US declaration of war that the British Government played its trump card – the ace of hearts – the Balfour Declaration. It was very fortunate for Britain, from both short term tactical and strategic points of view, that it had been possible to withhold publication of the declaration until after Turkey had evacuated Jerusalem. It is a very reasonable assumption that if the declaration had been published on October 31, when it was approved, or on November 2, when it was handed to Lord Rothschild, the Sharif of Mecca might well have withdrawn his support from Britain. Certainly the Turkish resistance would have been stiffened, the city would very likely not have been evacuated, and if that had happened there would have been two alternatives. Either Britain would have been involved in a Crusader-style blood bath for Jerusalem and every other city on its way through Palestine and Syria or it would have had to forfeit its strategic objective of Iraq's oil region. The British Government would have found that quite unacceptable. The declaration was actually made public in London very quietly on November 9, immediately after the Bolsheviks had seized power and installed a Council of People's Commissars, and the day that the Muslim mayor surrendered Jerusalem to two of General Allenby's soldiers he had found out looking for water – after the Turkish evacuation.

When General Allenby formally accepted the surrender and occupied the city on behalf of Christian Britain two days later he made no mention in his proclamation speech of the declaration or the government's intentions. This was presumably on instructions from London

If the declaration had been aimed only at Jewish financiers the timing of its release would not have been critical. In fact it need not have been released publicly until after peace had been achieved and in that atmosphere territorial negotiations could have been much more harmonious. Similarly, if it were aimed only at gaining public support in America for the war effort, and if its probable consequences in Palestine did not have to be considered, it could have either been released immediately it was approved or it could have been withheld until a respectable period had elapsed after the surrender of Jerusalem. However if the declaration was to have any influence in the Allied bid to swing public opinion in Western Russia towards staying in the war then it could not be withheld any longer after a Bolshevik government had been formed and a decision had been taken to sue for peace. Balfour had argued his case for it on its merits as a propaganda tool directed at both Russian and American Jews and had used the Graham memorandum to support it.¹⁴ Furthermore if Britain's proposal that Russia should have a hand in the administration of a zone of Holy Places under the Sykes-Picot Agreement, (justified by the involvement of the Orthodox Church), had not been for the same purpose it is most unlikely that Russia would have been told of the Anglo-French agreement at all. In that case the Bolsheviks would not have been able to hold it up to ridicule by Turkey after they came to power. After all, they had not been told of Emperor Karl's peace overture several months earlier.

BRITAIN'S HAND EXPOSED

When the declaration was finally published, Britain had to accept the exposure of her sheer hypocrisy in the matter of religious faith. Previously her Christianity had been so sacrosanct, and the affairs of the church so vital, that it had been her excuse for several naval and military excursions against less powerful nations in other parts of Asia. Now she had to drop her mask and not only accept, but also promote, the interests of the two faiths she had most consistently denigrated. It was part of the price of a much more vital material interest in West Asia. Oil.

The Russian Constituent Assembly was formally dissolved in January, 1918, a peace settlement was finalized with Germany in the first week of March and then, while Jewish cheers were still echoing around Europe and Jewish volunteers were still queuing up in the United States in response to Britain's new found religious tolerance, the Allies were teaming up with the Vatican for another round of psychological warfare. Anti-Communist propaganda in Britain and the US was targeted at Russia's new Bolshevik regime. The campaign ran hand in hand with their military misadventures which were intended to restore either a proper Christian monarchy or a republic, or anything except a Communist system.

According to Rome, the Romanovs and the Russian Orthodox Church were decadent and had run off the proper sacramental track. If the Russian people and their church would return to

Rome all would be well again. The opportunity to achieve what it had not been able to in all the strung-out manoeuvring over Poland and the Balkans was too good to miss. But according to the Allies who had plenty of friends to keep in Orthodox countries it was not all the church's fault. It was mainly that man Rasputin (whom the church was very quick to disown) and the atheistic Bolsheviks who had forsaken the church altogether. In their view it didn't really matter what church the Russians followed, as long as they followed the Christian ethic or, more correctly, as long as they kept their fingers away from Russia's resources – especially those Baku oil fields which Shell had bought from the Rothschilds in 1911. If the Marxist Bolsheviks were allowed to take public control of Russia's privately controlled resources in the name of the people the rot might set in just as it did when Peter's land grab from the church was taken as an example in Austria, France, Prussia and elsewhere.

The church-in-general shared the Western powers' concern that Marxism, no longer an idle philosophy but made respectable and powerful by having been adopted by a national government, might prove attractive in other parts of Europe. There was also concern about China as well. The ethnic links between Russia and China were strong in places in spite of conflicts in the past. With intense jockeying for power by regional interests since the fall of the Ch'ing Dynasty, aggravated by Japan's "gentlemanly and civilized" seizure of Germany's plot of Chinese ground, Marxism could prove very attractive to large sections of the Chinese people. If it took hold the church's missions could be closed again. The thought of so many people missing out on their sacramental salvation was dreadful!

The barrier which had been built between Russia and the rest of Europe over the question of church-state relations when Christianity was adopted by the princes, and which had only been broken down for a few generations by the Partition of Poland, was firmly back in place again by courtesy of a different set of church-state relationships. The church's want for people's minds and the capitalists' want for their resources brought the two together again and the Western anticommunist alliance became stronger than it had been during Marx's lifetime.

Within Russia itself the situation was no different. The shock of the Bolshevik seizure of power was a perfect opportunity for the Russian Orthodox Church to stop in its tracks, rethink its role in society and renew its relationship to the Russian people. Rather than opening itself to that historic opportunity, however, it decided immediately upon a course of opposition and reaction. There was no time to waste. The challenge to the traditional role of the Church as sole spiritual guide to the Russian people had to be put down.

There had been a brief period after the 1905 revolution when it looked as if the church might take on a new role, aided by decrees of religious freedom and reform of its structures which had been forced on Nicholas. But within two years the vision had been shattered completely. Concessions and clerical independence were withdrawn ¹⁵ and the whole church joined Tsar Nicholas II and his "...Orthodox Hessian (Tsarina Alexandra) with (her) Windsor upbringing and a Byzantine crown on her head ..." in their growing dependence on their "Man of God" the drunken, horse-stealing, insolent rake Rasputin.¹⁶

By the beginning of the Great War that dependence had reached the point at which, according to Trotsky, the Procurators of the Holy Synod, (first Sabler and later Raev), the Metropolitan Pitirim of Petrograd, the near-illiterate Archbishop Varnava, the president of the Council of Ministers and the Minister of the Interior all owed their positions to, or were sustained by, the institutionalized rogue. He was also credited with the dismissal of Premier Kokovstev. When War Minister Polivanov was asked about the situation at the front on August 4, 1915, he replied that he “placed (his) trust in the impenetrable spaces, impassable mud, and the mercy of Saint Nicholas Mirlikisky, Protector of Holy Russia.”¹⁷ And when the tsar visited the front his train carried a chapel full of large and small images, shingles and fetishes which were invoked against the German artillery.¹⁸

When Rasputin was murdered and the monarchy fell only a matter of weeks later, with foreign troops occupying a large part of Western Russia, the Russian church shook to the foundations. Then when Bolsheviks were brought into the Provisional Government the situation was even more grave. Professor Anton Kartashev was appointed Minister of Religion in June 1917 with the task of putting the church's house in order and of introducing real religious liberty. He refused to couple his office with that of Procurator of the Holy Synod, tried to cut the links between the church and the state, and helped assemble a 564-member elected Council of the Russian Church with about half clergy and half laymen in Moscow on August 15.¹⁹

By that time the country was at fever pitch with talk of the coming second revolution to install a Bolshevik government and the church recognized a challenge from Marxism very clearly. But the challenge it saw was not for a rethink of its theology. It couldn't shake off a fixation that its theology was perfect. The challenge it saw was a confrontation between atheism and Christianity. It saw the answer in a reorganized and reactivated church geared to fight the new menace. And yet it could see a paradox. It knew that Marx had been driven by a hatred of oppression and that in an ultimate victory of the proletariat he saw something of the nineteenth century Jewish concept of the collective Messiahship of the future even though he rejected each of the revealed faiths of the triangle. It knew that his talk of social justice through new economic policies had to be taken seriously but it rejected the whole package because Marx denied its concept of God. It took the stand that the ultimate victory of righteousness, (Salvation), would come to those who acknowledged God through the forms of the Orthodox Church and that a struggle to gain material benefits by overturning the God fearing Russian system was contrary to God's will. It could see that Western Europe was ripe for revolution because although its people did not have the courage to deny God's existence they had lost the ardour of true belief. It saw the Allies' apparent unwillingness to mount a full scale operation to maintain a Christian government in Russia as a symptom of that loss of faith.²⁰

The Council of the church met less than three weeks after the Sixth Congress of the Bolshevik Party and only three days after a meeting of the conservative State Conference and it was clearly influenced by them both. The Bolshevik Congress had elected a Central Committee to organize the seizure of government. The conservative State Conference had issued a call for

Marshall Kornilov to lead a counter revolution and it had thereby provoked a general strike in Moscow.^{21 22} In its turn the Council heatedly debated ways of restoring full autonomy to the church and whether it should have a patriarch or group leadership and it often divided along class lines. But it showed no such division or vigour in matters of doctrine and worship, nor, it seems, in the issue of the “Social Gospel” which was fueling the new Protestant effort in many countries and which Rome was about to emulate.²³ It was too preoccupied with stopping the “Social Gospel” of Communism to be able to do anything constructive about an alternative.

It seems as if the Russian Church was determined to demonstrate that in spite of its recent history, its views of itself and its role were just as deeply entrenched as those of its counterpart in Rome – except that it could not resolve the leadership issue until its arch enemies brought matters to a head. When the Bolsheviks seized power on October 26–27 (November 9 by the revised calendar)²⁴ the church hierarchy realized it needed decisive leadership if it was going to mount effective opposition against them. The issue was resolved nine days later (November 18) with the election of Metropolitan Tikhon of Moscow as Patriarch. As the church saw the situation, the people of Russia then split into two opposite camps to fight the battle for and against God till the finish.²⁵ The church was gearing up for that battle at just the right time to link into the Allies’ subversive activities while Lenin’s negotiators were trying for the best peace deal they could get from Germany. But by then it had become clear that the newly-born marxist state had more than a little subversive ammunition of its own with which to take the fight up to its Christian Capitalist opponents.

PEACE ON WHOSE TERMS?

When the Balfour Declaration failed to keep Bolshevik Russia in the war Lenin kept his promise and after a few days in power, and against strong opposition from reactionaries in the Foreign Ministry, he published all the secret treaties in which tsarist Russia had been involved.²⁶ It soon became patently clear that aristocratic and commercial interests, and not peace and security for the ordinary population, had been the Allied governments’ prime concerns. Labour organizations began to press for proper consideration of their interests in foreign affairs.²⁷ Sympathy for the Bolshevik cause increased in each of Germany, Britain and France where strikes and even an army mutiny had already been mounted to force a negotiated peace.^{28 29} The Allies and the US each received conflicting diplomatic, military, political and commercial advice and could barely agree on a common approach to the new regime. In response, censorship was tightened and massive propaganda smoke screens were thrown up to show that the Bolshevik government was about to fall and efforts were made to stir up the civil war in Russia.

Even before he published the secret deals (in fact on the night that he seized power) Lenin appealed to the Allies to make peace jointly and immediately. He added that his government considered it the greatest crime against humanity that the powerful and wealthy nations should

continue the war for the sake of dividing the weaker nations between them. When they had not responded within two weeks Lenin instructed his Commander-in-Chief to begin armistice negotiations at the front immediately but, with the support of the Allies, he refused. The Allied governments then ignored Lenin and began dealing directly with other reactionary commanders as well, in an effort to keep them in the war against the orders of the new government. Six days later, on November 27, the British Ambassador advised his government to change course, to recognize and to be reconciled with the Bolshevik government. That was still three days before a delegation left Petrograd for Brest Litovsk with orders from Lenin and Trotsky for the peace negotiations which the Commander in Chief had refused to begin. There was some support for the ambassador's views but the French Government insisted that Russia must honour its 1914 Tsarist treaty and stay in the war until it suited all the Allies to stop.³⁰

Apart from direct encouragement to military advisers and financial grants the reactionaries were spurred on by veiled threats of a Western-supported Japanese attack on Russia from the east if they laid down their arms. On December 1 Britain and France formally agreed on areas of responsibility for these subversive activities following a meeting of Allied prime ministers in Paris. Britain, which drew up the plan, took care of the Caucasus and Georgia (with the Shell and Nobel oil fields) and Armenia plus the key region of Kurdistan which straddled the borders of Turkey, Iraq and Iran, controlled the land routes to India and included the much sought after Mosul/Kirkuk oil concession. France accepted responsibility in Rumania, Bessarabia, the Ukraine and the Crimea to the north and west of the Black Sea.³¹

The strain on the new Bolshevik government as it faced Russia's hostile former allies and struggled for an armistice with Germany would have been great enough to exhaust the tolerance of any government but it also had to contend with a clutch of hostile elements fighting a civil war behind its back. It is therefore hardly surprising that it continued the harsh police-state tactics to suppress its opponents which the nation had become accustomed to under the tsar. The only thing that differed was the target. It was the wealthy aristocracy and reactionary groups, especially in the civil service, which had benefited under the old regime. The anti-Communist propagandists in the West were not left without material to work on. The church in Russia, as despised as it was, was going to come in handy at last.

Many Orthodox churchmen were prominent in the new government's target groups. As a result many of them, both clergy and laity, lost their lives in the continuing suppression of anti-government groups even though there was no systematic persecution of the church.³² The Russian church had degenerated into little more than a "spiritual servant" or a psychological prop for the aristocracy³³ and a propaganda arm of the monarchy. It was useful in the tsar's battles to suppress revolution and in his scape-goating of the Jewish community and, as Marx had put it, it had become an opiate of the masses. The people still clung to a pathetic hope that through its mystical rites they might gain some sort of relief from earthly distress in whatever lay beyond the grave.

On December 6 Trotsky announced that peace negotiations were suspended for a week, thereby keeping Germany guessing with its armies still facing the Allied-supported Russian reactionaries while he pressed the Allies to rethink their positions. They had not given any response when negotiations recommenced on December 12 and an armistice was promptly agreed. It took effect on December 17 and was to be maintained for a month while a peace treaty was negotiated. Progress was slow and delegates took another break from December 28 to January 9, so that all of the warring governments could reassess their demands. Of course a few thousand more soldiers were killed or maimed on all sides while prime ministers and presidents argued with their diplomats over whether their demands were being met, but that didn't matter much because their industrialists were keeping other people employed making bombs, bullets and mustard gas – and counting the growing piles of tax payers' money pouring into their merchant bankers' vaults.

On the day the talks were suspended Trotsky issued another impassioned appeal for the Allies to join the peace negotiations. They could no longer claim to be fighting to liberate occupied France, Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, Poland, Lithuania or Kurland because Germany had already agreed to a Russian demand for no annexations and for self-determination for people in disputed territories. He demanded to know what they were continuing the war for, left them to ponder the greater fighting power Germany would have on the western front after Russia made a separate peace, and incited the working classes of the Allies to bring the matter to a head by revolution against governments which refused to join the peace negotiations.³⁴ The Allies were unaccustomed to such belligerent open diplomacy. They became even more antagonistic towards the Bolsheviks but they were forced by public reaction to respond to Trotsky's demand for a statement of intentions.

On January 5, 1918, Lloyd George stated the British government's position in a speech to trade union leaders. His tone was much more conciliatory than that of previous government statements and his attitude towards people of other countries carried none of the sectarian and racial bitterness which had been the hallmark of government propaganda from the beginning of the war. He said quite specifically that Britain did not aim at the break up of the German people, the disintegration of their state or country, the destruction of "the Imperial Constitution of Germany", nor the destruction of Austria-Hungary.³⁵ But on the question of imperial interests he was very vague in wording Britain's position; he did not spell out what Britain expected to gain from the war; and he was clearly determined to hold his winning cards until the eventual peace conference. Just eight weeks after the Balfour Declaration about all he could say on Turkey's empire in the Middle East was that Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine were entitled to emerge as separate states. It was a glib attempt to avoid discussing Britain's three conflicting agreements over Palestine and the issue of Jewish, Muslim and Christian relations and rights in the region. In addition he stated that, though the Bosphorus would have to be kept open under international treaty, Turkey would keep its capital, Constantinople. Britain had made such a botch of its relations in the Middle East that it needed a basis for future negotiations with Turkey and, besides that, if the Bolsheviks were seen to

make a separate peace with Germany they could hardly hold Britain and France to a treaty gift of Constantinople. But, in contrast, the implication was clear that Germany would lose its empire.³⁶

President Wilson announced his stand on behalf of the United States in a message to Congress three days later, January 8, just the day before negotiations recommenced at Brest Litovsk with Trotsky personally leading the Russian delegation. Like Lloyd George, the President said little about what he expected for the US, except freedom of trade and navigation, but in his fourteen points he was in some respects somewhat more open about whose people and territory he would give to whom. Italy for example, was to get Trentino, which put the US in step with the Allies' commitment. The "Turkish portions" of the Ottoman Empire should be assured of a secure sovereignty, he said, but the "other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule" should be assured of an "undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development." That was suitably vague on each of the issues of Constantinople-in-Europe, (was it a "Turkish portion of the Ottoman Empire" or was it not?), and the growing Jewish settlements alongside the Arabs as nationalities in Palestine.

On the question of Germany's empire the American president wanted a bob each way. He said that a free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims should be based on a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.³⁷ He was much less vague in a piece of advice to Britain, which had to understand that it was not going to have an open run in the Middle East.

DIVINE RIGHTS MUST GO

On the question of Germany itself, however, Wilson was positively mischievous. Referring to "liberal majorities in parliaments" formulating principles while "militarist minorities" in Berlin and Vienna dictated their practical application, he said there could be no lasting peace without the "democratization" of Germany.³⁸ Lloyd George had already talked of "genuine self government on true democratic principles", so the two statements could be read to mean the same thing. But while Lloyd George had made it quite clear that Britain anticipated constitutional monarchies his American counterpart did not, at that point, make it clear that he anticipated something different. In his letter to Benedict XV on August 30, 1917, in response to the papal peace note, Wilson had written that the Kaiser should abdicate before any negotiations took place with Berlin, but abdication is normally followed by the succession of a new monarch and Wilson did not say that this should mean the end of the monarchy.³⁹

However, it soon became apparent that republican America didn't see the picture from the same angle as its Allies. America wanted republics in both Germany and Austria and it reckoned the world could stay at war until they were agreed to. The people of Europe could have their

self determination provided that it coincided with America's determination. The world was stuck with Jefferson's Declaration of Independence complete with its attack on the Divine Right of Kings, constitutional or otherwise. It was, according to America's self-understanding, its turn to reconstruct the world in its image.

There is ample evidence that after the papal peace notes, as 1917 gave way to 1918 and the bloody western war continued, Wilson was prepared to help the republican cause along. With the backing of Russia's new government, anti-monarchist radicals in Germany calling themselves "Spartacists" were openly demanding an elected government to negotiate a peace treaty. Wilson apparently took the view that if he had to back the Spartacists for a while to topple the monarchy it didn't really matter. After all, Brest Litovsk had taken Russia out of war with Germany but into conflict with the Allies, and the Allies were confident that while the Bolshevik Government could be removed it was unlikely that the Spartacists could form a government in Germany. Europe would therefore have two brand new, elected, republican governments. That would take some of the steam out of working class revolutionary fervour and both countries would remain Capitalist with wonderful opportunities for US investors. If a couple more of Europe's antiquated monarchies were also to fall in the rush, so much the better.⁴⁰ So the public posturing and the most un-public diplomatic activity continued while each country's sons, husbands and fathers slogged it out with gas and guns in the trenches so that governments – not necessarily their own – could get into the strongest possible position before calling for an armistice.

RUSSIA'S MOMENT OF RECKONING

Meanwhile negotiations continued at Brest Litovsk with only Russia, Germany, Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey involved. The Bolsheviks still saw themselves as the Saviours of the exploited masses of Europe and that self-understanding was naturally reinforced by their Allied-enforced isolation. They were determined to get a peace without annexations by any of the major powers and with self-determination, through plebiscites, for peoples with either an ethnic or regional community of interest. They used various strategies to drag out the talks so that the Allies would have to become involved either by free and logical decision or by the force of internal revolution. But they underestimated the determination of the Allies' capitalists not to sit at a common table with the Bolsheviks and they over estimated their own capacity to either inspire or generate revolution by the working classes of the Allies. Russia had, after all, sought peace as the underdog from a position of national distress. Unless the Bolshevik government was prepared to break off the armistice and carry on the war, which would play into the hands of the capitalists and achieve nothing except the slaughter of a lot more of their loved ones for the people of Russia, there was a limit to its bargaining power.

By January 20 Lenin had concluded that it would be a mistake to base the tactics of the Russian Socialist Government at the peace talks on attempts to determine whether the European Socialist revolution, especially that in Germany, would take place within six months.⁴¹ He and

his colleagues knew quite well that unless they could disentangle Russia from the Great War and concentrate on the civil war and Allied supported dissent at home their government would fall and there would be no power base from which the movement towards peoples' socialist government could progress in other countries. Even so, the negotiations dragged on, complicated by dissent over the future of the Ukraine, until the Central Powers lost patience, broke the armistice, and sent their armies rolling into Estonia on February 17. The move was designed to weaken the Bolshevik grip on the Ukraine as much as to knock out its Baltic army which included British-backed reactionaries.⁴²

The Allies continued their double talk. They had refused to sit down at a peace table with the Bolsheviks and they continued to stir up the civil war, but they continued their commercial dealings with them. On the basis that they were keeping the door open towards eventual normal relations with Russia, but mainly to encourage the Bolsheviks to keep Germany occupied on its eastern front, they set up a trading company to buy Russian commodities which might be useful to the Central Powers in the event of a separate peace. France also offered direct military and financial assistance to the Bolsheviks if they would continue the war – at the same time that it was financing and assisting reactionary interests in an effort to unseat them. The offer was refused.⁴³

The time of reckoning for the Bolsheviks had finally come. It was to be peace on Germany's terms at the point of a bayonet, with the loss of a lot of territory to Germany and with the principle of self determination ground into the dirt. The only alternative was a bloody war in which the peoples' revolution might not even survive to fight another day. Lenin was faced with deep division and swamped by great bitterness between factions within both the Russian Government and the Bolshevik Central Committee, and great bitterness towards the former Allies who were seen as largely responsible for Russia being in such a position. After a drawn out struggle to swing the party behind him he approved the harsh new German demands on March 3 and a peace treaty was ratified on March 8 1918.

ALLIED INTERVENTION ...

The Allies were not at all happy. Trotsky had warned them that if they forced Russia to make a separate peace they would have Germany's eastern armies turned against them in the west. Now it was free to move. Its former Allies promptly walked slipshod over Russia's neutrality, seized the port of Murmansk (well north of the Arctic Circle) in March, developed it as a base and forced a new eastern front on Russian soil from behind Petrograd where it could serve equally well for an assault against the Bolshevik government as for a front against Germany.

In addition to their military problem, the Allies saw that the Bolshevik government would be free from that point to begin reforms in Russia. It would, they expected, expropriate deposits of resources such as minerals, coal and oil and heavy industries to operate them in the name of the state. It would be able to offset personal income tax and finance welfare services through direct state income. The Socialist era would have arrived. But much more important was the threat to

the profits of Western European industrialists who had rushed to prop up the monarchy and cash in on the tsar's open-door policies of the previous generation or two. If such policies were allowed to take root the whole system of merchant banking to finance capital investment would be disrupted as well. What a ghastly thought!

By the end of May Allied intervention had grown to include landings at Archangel and support for anti-Bolshevik forces in Siberia, and Mr. Balfour made an oblique reference in a memo to President Wilson of the "vital importance" of holding Murmansk "if we desire any possibility at all of entering Russia."⁴⁴ It appears that his commitment to the overthrow of the Bolshevik government was already formed but the American government did not accept the need or the justification for it. However some of its diplomatic staff had already let their enthusiasm get the better of them. The head of the American publicity office for Russia had already published forged documents in an effort to show that the Bolsheviks were German agents, to discredit them, and to justify a direct attack on the regime.

In President Wilson's view the French wanted "intervention" to salvage the heavy investment of some of its nationals; the Japanese wanted it to establish a foothold in Eastern Russia; and the British wanted it to extend their influence into the Middle East ahead of the German thrust via the Ukraine and Southern Russia.⁴⁵ However in June he bowed to Anglo-French pressure and accepted the principle of intervention, while Japan, at the invitation of the Allies, agreed to send a force via Vladivostok.⁴⁶ The effort to destroy the Bolshevik regime before it became properly established then snowballed. An Allied supported Czechoslovakian force occupied Vladivostok in June and within weeks it had been joined by British, US and Japanese units. Additional French and US forces landed at Murmansk in July.

... HAND IN HAND WITH THE CHURCH

The Allies should have been delighted with the support they were getting from the newly reorganized Russian Orthodox Church. Patriarch Tikhon issued a writ of excommunication against all who profaned the church's buildings or attacked Christians. However his thinly-disguised attack against the Bolsheviks backfired. Anyone who was likely to take either action was hardly likely to recognize his divine authority or to be concerned with the consequences of excommunication. On the other hand it demonstrated clearly that the church had little concern for the welfare and social development of its people. In that way it effectively alienated the mass of people to whom the church meant little but for whom Bolshevism spelt relief from oppression by the aristocracy, and it alienated those active Christians who associated the Gospel with the sort of programme the Bolsheviks were committed to. It therefore encouraged rather than curbed attacks on the church and it also provided the justification for the confiscation of all church property by the Bolshevik government. And its political intervention was, in all probability, pointless because those of its reactionary members who were determined to undermine the new government would have taken much the same action whether or not the excommunication decree had been issued.

With the Allies' intervention in Russia well under way, armistice talks between them and the Central Powers could be considered. By mid August the combined Allied "final offensive" was battering the German Western Front from one retreat to the next. The Austrian and German emperors met, agreed that the war could not be won and that (in view of the US capacity to put up to five million men into the field within a year or so) peace negotiations should be opened.⁴⁷ Three weeks later, on September 10, with massive carefully planned and coordinated propaganda and subversion programmes aimed at ethnic minorities and national groups⁴⁸ unleashed by the Allies on all fronts, Germany's Chief of Staff, Marshal Hindenberg advised Emperor Karl to make the best terms he could.⁴⁹ The Austrian emperor sent a peace note to the US president five days later, September 15, just as 4,500 US troops under British command landed at Archangel⁵⁰ and the Allies began their offensive against Bulgaria, using Greece as a springboard, which brought King Ferdinand's unconditional surrender on September 29 and his abdication five days later. Another one down!

Notes had been passing between Berlin, Vienna and Washington at a furious rate. The Johnny-come-lately who had piously stood aloof from Europe and its war, wanting nothing to do with it (except invest in it and sell munitions and oil to keep it going) was calling the tune. It would only make peace with a German government which represented the people. Therefore, on the day that Ferdinand surrendered and the Allies were left almost without opposition on the Eastern front, the German government, being left with no alternative, appointed Prince Max of Baden as the minister responsible to arrange a parliamentary regime to make peace. But the Allied forces could almost walk through the Balkans to Austria and only two days later the German army chiefs told Prince Max the parliamentary process would be far too slow. The morale of the troops had been destroyed and the army could not hold out much longer. It was imperative that he make peace without his parliamentary backing.⁵¹

Three days later, on October 4, the day that Ferdinand abdicated, both Germany and Austria asked for peace on the basis of Wilson's "Fourteen Points" which he had said a few months earlier were all that was required for peace. But gone were all his grand speeches about "peace without victory"; about peace without "a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished"; about peace without victory which would have to be "accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and (which) would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand."⁵² ⁵³ He had either changed his approach under the pressures brought to bear on him or he had based his earlier speeches on the philosophy of Lloyd George that "nobody was bound by a speech."⁵⁴ Whatever the reasons may have been he was going to stick to his "principles." The fate of the people in the trenches didn't matter. Neither did the suffering of the German and Austrian civilian populations. Their monarchies had to go whether the "Fourteen Points" said so or not. He wanted a spectacular morale boosting "final victory" which would establish the superiority of the Allies in their own eyes as well as everyone else's.

From that point the Allies threw everything they could lay their hands on at the German Western front, including vast quantities of mustard gas. At the same time a carefully orchestrated revolt against the Hapsburg monarchy was “set in motion” in Austria.⁵⁵ In the Turkish theatre the Allies, supported by the Arabs, achieved a breakthrough in Palestine in September and the Turkish cabinet formally addressed a request for an armistice to Wilson on October 14. While the Allies haggled over the details, the US and Prince Max’s German Government agreed, on October 23, to the “Fourteen Points” plus the Kaiser’s abdication, but Britain, Italy and France were not satisfied. Italy expected the Treaty of London to be recognized. France wanted better assurances of compensation from Germany. Britain feared the “freedom of the seas” clause and, it is reasonable to assume, felt threatened by the enforced dismantling of the German monarchy.⁵⁶

Then it became a battle of wills between Wilson and Wilhelm. On October 27 Wilhelm dismissed Ludendorff⁵⁷ and directed the German army to keep fighting, so Austria announced it would agree a separate peace. The Allies very promptly signed an armistice with the Hapsburg regime on October 31,⁵⁸ much to the annoyance of national groups which had been led to believe that their subversive support had earned them the right to represent Austria.⁵⁹ Turkey’s requests had actually been agreed to and an armistice signed the previous day, October 30, when the British forces were quite some distance south of Mosul, but Britain ignored the armistice and fought on for the treasure at Mosul which they occupied on November 3. By doing so they demonstrated that they were not there to defend the existing Anglo-Persian oil fields which were already being protected by another unit of the Indian Army. They were there to occupy Turkey’s oil provinces before Christian Germany could do so and to establish, by that occupation, a firm claim to a mandate, or possibly even to annexation, whenever the war should end.

The German navy mutinied at Kiel when the Kaiser ordered it to sea three days later and the army chiefs simply ignored him and went to their opposite number, General Foch, for an armistice after another three days.⁶¹

The end was very close. Next day, November 7, Munich was swept by an insurrection led by an elderly Jew named Kurt Eisner who had spent nine months in gaol for wartime strike activities. Bavaria woke next morning to find that it was a republic with Eisner firmly in command. In the next forty eight hours Reds appeared from behind every bush and from under every bed – or so it seemed to the establishment. Revolution swept the country and forty eight years of effort to unify peoples of German language, and most of their provincial governments, were swept away. Pre-arranged workers’ and soldiers’ councils took control everywhere.⁶² In the middle of it all the German High Command, acting on instructions issued by Woodrow Wilson, crossed the French lines for armistice talks and agreed to unconditional surrender. Next day, November 9, the moderate socialist and former saddle maker Friedrich Ebert was named as Chancellor, the Kaiser abdicated (taking refuge in Holland) and a republic was proclaimed.

Wilson had got his way. Two days later, November 11, the armistice was signed. But it was not only Germany which had been forced by such relentless pressure to accept Wilson's Fourteen Points and the establishment of a German republic. Britain, France and Italy also had to swallow the Wilson package, together with their pride, and it was neither American diplomacy nor concern for the people in the trenches which finally forced their hands. It was fear of a flow on of the workers' revolution.

But on that point the armistice brought complications of its own. Until then the Allies had publicly justified their activities in Russia and the extra slaughter which went with it on the grounds that they had to keep up the eastern front against Germany and encourage Russia to stay in the war. But when the campaign and the carnage continued after the German armistice their mask was stripped completely. They had to admit that it was a campaign to destroy the Bolshevik regime and the new propaganda flowed easily as an extension of the wartime campaign which everyone was accustomed to. The Allies had a responsibility to expose and destroy international Communism before it destroyed Christianity and, of course, the good Christian ethic on which every decent society was built. So even though Britain and its Allies had called on Judaism and Islam to help in their time of desperation, Christianity was still useful as well.

"Intervention" continued but it took on an atmosphere of unreality. One general staff officer described it in terms of an exercise in sanitation to stop the flood of infection from reaching Western Europe.⁶⁴ The New York Times carried reports of 'the Red Peril', 'the Bolshevik assault on civilization' and the Red menace to the world. But many people found the sudden change from ally to enemy with only a change of government rather hard to understand, especially as both Wilson and Lloyd George had picked up Lenin's call for self determination for national groups as if it had been their own. Even so, Rumanian, Greek and Estonian forces were thrown into the fray together with extra British and French. The world looked on bewildered as Russia's former allies continued to try to tear it apart while they sat around a table at Versailles to make a peace treaty with Germany or, according to the attitudes of some of the delegates, to exact vengeance. They were determined to pin responsibility for the war on Germany and to make Germany an international scapegoat for all that had happened.

FORGING THE PEACE – FOR SOME

The Peace Conference was supposedly between the Central Powers, the remaining Allies and the United States which was aligned with them but not formally one of them. When it formally opened on January 18, 1919, there was disappointment, amazement and anger in Germany, Austria, Turkey and Russia because the vanquished didn't get invitations to the party at which the victors were cutting up their territory. Russia, one of the original Entente partners, having made peace with Germany against its Allies' wishes, and now being under Bolshevik rule, was treated as worse than one of the ordinary vanquished. It was a pariah. There was not to be one single peace treaty to which all of the belligerents were signatories, but separate treaties relating

to Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey. The first to be dealt with was Germany which the Allies had determined was to carry the blame for the entire war, and that treaty, to be known as The Treaty of Versailles, was to be linked to a Covenant to establish an international consultative and regulatory body known as The League of Nations.

An Anglo-American draft for the treaty was tabled on February 3.

It is an indication of naivety and wishful thinking on the part of the great power leaders that they thought a victors' club of 14 countries could draw up the constitution and method of operation for an international body which was to police their own actions as well as the actions of others who were not represented. They were, after all, the only ones who ever caused major wars. Minor players had theirs wars, but only between themselves – until major players saw an opportunity and intervened. There were some who looked to the proposal for a League of Nations as little more than a refinement of the pathetic, failed Concert of Europe, involving some nations in regions beyond Europe. Not all, but at least a few. But they, and notably Britain, still saw it as some sort of “European directorate responsible for maintaining the political system they had themselves dictated” giving the great powers “the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of the European states whenever attempts might be discerned to destroy or reform” their established system.⁶⁵ Others saw it as the start of a system of international justice in which every nation could be involved and through which the aspirations of people of all cultures, economic and legal systems could be recognized and accommodated, with means of settling disputes, ensuring security and enabling economic and social development in an environment of stability. With such a wide divergence of attitudes and expectations, getting an acceptable and workable constitution was going to be difficult right from the beginning of negotiations.

It was going to be especially difficult to rationalize two contradictory concepts of international and national organization. One was Wilson's American dream of freedom, self determination and no annexations with wanton greed camouflaged behind a screen of Utopian (or at least laissez-faire) free trade. The other was the Allies' want to perpetuate imperial prerogative, to take over the German colonies and to carve up between them the remaining areas of the Ottoman Empire, as they had schemed in secret to do before and during the war,⁶⁶ camouflaging the same wanton greed behind a screen of preferential trade areas, divine rights and sacred duties to civilize and to Christianize the rest of the world in the manner of the Holy Alliance (chapters 14 and 16). A compromise was found in the establishment of a system of mandates which has been described as “a stroke of genius, a solution that satisfied the demands both of Wilson (in principle) and the Allies (in reality).”⁶⁷ To give effect to the sacred duty of civilization to take care of the colonies and territories inhabited by peoples ‘not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world’ and who now had no ‘sovereign masters’ as a result of the war, such peoples (and their resources) were entrusted to the tutelage of “advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it.”⁶⁸

In practice a mandate to govern became little more than authority to exploit, but the drafters sought to avoid that interpretation by saying: "The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions, and other similar circumstances." Then with a barely concealed reference to the areas of Asia Minor and the Middle East which were of such strategic and resource importance that the great powers had schemed and gone to war over them, they said: "Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory." In practice that condition attracted only lip service.

These communities were contrasted with two other classes. One was: "other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, (who) are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals ... (and a host of other things) ... and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League." The other was: "territories such as South West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards ... in the interests of the indigenous people." (Emphasis added.) In these classes there was little difference between a mandate and annexation, and both provided virtually uninhibited opportunity for exploitation.⁶⁹

There were a number of other provisions in the covenant, bold and enlightened, such as control and reduction in armaments; an attempt to discourage "the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war (as they are) open to grave objections"; arbitration of disputes between countries; a permanent Court of International Justice; the organization of multinational forces if military intervention was required; the prohibition of secret treaties and the publication of all treaties, existing or new; international conventions to ensure fair and humane conditions of labour for men, women and children; prevention and control of disease; encouragement of voluntary national Red Cross organizations; and mandatory trade, financial and military sanctions against countries breaking the covenant.⁷⁰

And there were two other important provisions. One was an obligation to "respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League." It was another case of 'power for those who have it and others need not try to achieve it.' Especially non-member countries.⁷¹ The other provided that: "The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America."⁷² The trouble was about to start.

In parallel with the peace conference, but having no formal connection with it, subcommittee hearings were held by the US Senate Judiciary Committee, during February and March. They were clearly intended by America's power brokers to influence proceedings at the conference and their principal aim appears to have been to "picture Soviet Russia as a kind of bedlam inhabited by abject slaves completely at the mercy of an organization of homicidal maniacs whose purpose was to destroy all traces of civilization and carry the nation back to barbarism." In doing so, the hearings tended to distract attention from the proceedings involving Germany and the disclosure of all of the murky secret deals which had been done by the Allies and the US either for their own direct benefit or to disadvantage other countries, many of which were contradictory and certainly could never be honored. On February 12, during the early stages of the hearings, the New York Times carried a headline which read:

*DESCRIBE HORRORS UNDER RED RULE. R.E. SIMONS AND W.W. WELSH TELL
SENATORS OF BRUTALITIES OF BOLSHEVIKI – STRIP WOMEN IN STREETS – PEOPLE
OF EVERY CLASS EXCEPT THE SCUM SUBJECTED TO VIOLENCE BY THE MOBS.*

Apparently no story was too contrived, too bizarre, too grotesque, or too perverted to be printed and widely believed. They equaled stories in the British press of the Kaiser ordering the murder of babies in Belgium. Women were said to be 'nationalized' and babies were said to be eaten. It made little difference that the State Department denounced those stories as fraud. The perpetrators of the stories clearly intended the American public to believe that Russian Communists were criminal perverts.⁷³

Wilson knew that there was considerable resistance in the US to the country being tied to a system which required it to accept any responsibility for the course of events in Europe. Therefore after the proposed covenant, showing his heavy influence, was adopted as the first 26 articles of the Treaty of Versailles on February 14, he returned to America to press for its adoption by Congress. He spoke of "the union of wills in a common purpose" that there should be a world free of aggression and that "no nation will run the risk of attempting to resist." He justified the proposed structure, including provision for consultation, arbitration and authority for direct intervention by the League, indicating that its members represented two thirds of the world's people – 1.2 billion out of 1.8 billion – and he said there was a universal feeling that "the world cannot rest satisfied with merely official guidance" even though in the covenant "we are depending primarily and chiefly upon one great force, and this is the moral force of the public opinion of the world."

Wilson's punch line was: "(The League Covenant) is a definite guarantee against the things which have just come near to bringing the whole structure of civilization into ruin." He was wrong. Totally wrong. It could not possibly be such a guarantee. The covenant did not contain any provisions which recognized the basic causes of the Great War: national and corporate greed, and the want to exploit resources by resorting to claims of individual, corporate and national superiority in matters religious and racial. Sheer religious bigotry. In particular, the assumption of the superiority of all people and things Christian over all people and things non-

Christian. Some of those involved in the drafting process may have recognized those factors. They probably did. But it was a victors' club and a victors' covenant, so there was no way they could be written in. If they were not at least recognized and written into the covenant, how could it possibly be structured to expose, to outlaw or to prevent them? It could not. Those issues remained legitimate tools of adventure, at least in the victors' frame of reference, and therefore they were bound to be used again. It was inevitable. The world would just have to wait for the trouble in the triangle to be resolved.

Unfortunately, although Wilson knew more about the causes of the war than most people, and he was certainly trying to offset all colonial oppression, he had America's relationship with the other victors to consider and he aped the Allies, placing all the blame for the war on Germany. He said: "... the great power which has just been, happily, defeated put intolerable burdens and injustices upon the helpless people of some of the colonies which it annexed to itself; that its interest was rather their extermination than their development; that the desire was to possess their land for European purposes, and not to enjoy their confidence in order that mankind might be lifted in these places to the next higher level." In that sense his attitude mirrored the condescending and paternalistic 'sacred Christian obligation to civilize' the unbaptized.⁷⁴ Perhaps he was trying to corner the Allies into a change of heart. Perhaps he knew that corporate America wanted to keep pace with them or outstrip them. In either case he showed the same disregard for the history of his own country as the Allies showed for their conduct in their remaining colonies.

Facing mounting opposition to the proposal for a League of Nations, on March 4, Wilson declared the Covenant and the establishment of the League to be inseparable from the peace treaty, and returned to Paris to continue negotiations.

RUSSIAN REACTION: THE COMINTERN

What, then, was the American public to believe when the Bolshevik Government announced the establishment of the Comintern on the same day, March 4? The task of the new body (the Third Communist International) was not only to offset the Capitalist propaganda but to link and support radical Socialist groups and labour unions in every capitalist-controlled country in Europe with the declared aim of replacing their governments through revolution.

The Allied reaction was a mixture of shock and indignation. How dare they! It was completely acceptable and good Christian conduct – the Vatican said so – for Western European and US governments to incite civil war in Russia through subversive diplomatic activity; to finance a counter revolution; and then to "intervene" with their own armies. But for those atheistic Communists to declare a war of subversion and rebellion against all those good Christian countries was very nasty and had to be stopped. In fact it was enough to turn the champagne sour in a diplomat's mouth and the atmosphere at the peace conference turned distinctly sombre. Every country in Europe was already in severe difficulties. There were food shortages. There was chronic inflation aggravated by the war years; there had been strong

pacifist resistance to the war in spite of everything the propagandists had produced; and there were heavy war debts which had to be repaid to the bankers – out of the ordinary working man's pay packet of course because they had received the benefit of being “saved” from those nasty subhuman beasts by their dear benevolent governments. As already noted, Germany had barely avoided a radical Socialist takeover at the time of the armistice negotiations.

So the Peace Conference dragged on. The Brest Litovsk negotiations between Russia and the Central Powers, which had only dragged on at all because of the Allied intervention, had run for 71 days. Versailles would stagger on with a very rough passage for a total of 161 days. This was due in part to the victors' treatment of the issue of war crimes. Already poisoned by the propaganda spewed forth during the war, the debate over war crimes at Versailles turned the whole issue into little more than a farce.

The possibility of prosecution of war criminals under international law was in fact only relatively new. Though the 1864 Geneva Convention setting up the Red Cross had regulated some aspects of warfare, it was not until the Convention was revised in 1906, and the related Hague Conventions were signed in 1899 and 1907, that reasonably specific agreement was reached on what constituted a war crime. The agreements sought to set standards for military conduct, making war a ‘professional’ matter conducted between regular armies and navies fighting according to mutually accepted rules of engagement. Much of the thinking behind the treaties was far from humanitarian, however. A prime motive in setting them up was to restrict the continental arms race, which was already beginning to bankrupt the Imperial powers. The agreements also sought to directly bolster imperial control. In setting out the rules of military engagement the Hague convention formally banned fighting by guerrilla groups, revolutionaries and other ‘unauthorized’ armies, thus removing any obligation by ‘regular’ troops to extend to them the same courtesies due to their ‘authorized’ counterparts. Savagery was legal, as long as it was directed at someone who wanted to change the established order. Not satisfied with measures directed at ‘unofficial’ forces, however, the United States in addition exempted anything it might choose to do in Central and South America and the Philippines.⁷⁵ The anti-colonial rhetoric of the Monroe Doctrine notwithstanding, US attitudes to countries in its neighbourhood were outdoing those of the European imperialists.

In ‘civilized’ Europe, however, such things were now ruled out of bounds, on paper, at least, and the steady stream of government propaganda during the war had inevitably made prosecuting war criminals into a public issue of the highest order. Amid loud popular demands to ‘hang the Kaiser’, the trial of the German Kaiser and his high command became key election issues in both Britain and the US. Adding weight to the demands was the fact that the issue of responsibility for war crimes was mixed up with the widespread conviction that the defeated Central Powers should be forced to pay heavy reparations. By 1919, millions of people had been killed or maimed by poison gas, attacks on civilian shipping, or mistreatment of prisoners. In addition, despite the diabolical wartime propaganda, a large number of genuine atrocities had also occurred – though, of course, only those committed by the Central Powers were admitted.

Defining and allocating responsibility for such acts was a prerequisite to determining how reparations should be handled.

WAR CRIMES, COVENANTS AND CONTRAVENTION

In response to the public outcry, national leaders at Versailles had made punishment of the defeated powers for war crimes and atrocities the top item on the Conference agenda. Its first formal act was to create a 'Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War and the Enforcement of Penalties.' US Secretary of State Robert Lansing was named its Chairman. Far from supporting the idea of bringing war criminals to justice, however, Lansing was appalled by the notion. In Lansing's view, despite the exemptions the US had already claimed in the Americas and the Philippines, agreements such as the Hague and Geneva Conventions were already infringements of US sovereignty, and any new precedent set at Versailles could put the US national interest further at risk if it threatened to curtail its freedom of action in times of crisis. Any act in war was justified, he argued, if it was necessary to protect the national interest. More importantly, he also argued that punishing German leaders was undesirable for political reasons. Germany's political and economic system was already strained to the breaking point, and any further breakdown in authority had to be avoided to prevent the spread of Bolshevism. "We have seen the hideous consequences of Bolshevik rule in Russia," he wrote, "and we know that that it is spreading westward. The possibility of proletarian despotism over Central Europe is terrible to contemplate...We must look to the future even though we forget the immediate demands of justice."

Lansing faced strong opposition from European and other delegates on the War Crimes Commission. "Abundant evidence" had been collected, their resolution stated, of "outrages of every description committed at land, at sea and in the air, against the laws and customs of war and the laws of humanity" by the Central Powers. Thirty two specific crimes were cited. The fact that the Associated Powers had committed many similar crimes did not seem to matter to the Commission delegates, however. Germany and the Central powers, they contended, were solely responsible for initiation of the war and the criminal activities which flowed from it. The majority called for the Kaiser and other German leaders to be tried.

Germany, having been excluded from the Conference, publicly presented its own proposals in response. Stating its support for an independent commission to study the question of war guilt, it offered to submit cases of accused German criminals to an international court of neutral jurists if the Associated Powers would do the same. However, Germany also wanted to retain the power to retry Germans found guilty, and scepticism about the German proposals effectively squashed consideration of a similar French plan.

Despite Lansing's opposition, the Commission eventually resolved to press for trials. Its finding required that specific clauses be included in any peace treaty to force the defeated powers to turn over war crimes suspects and evidence to the courts of the victors. More significantly, however, in a remarkable innovation in international law, it also condemned

enemy violations of what it called “laws of humanity” – actions so vile that, though they had not been specifically banned by the Hague and Geneva Conventions, they should be considered criminal under the most basic norms of human behaviour. In proposing such crimes the Commission had been motivated in particular by Turkish massacres and deportations of hundreds of thousands of Armenian civilians during what later became known as the Armenian genocide, in which the ruling Turkish junta had attempted the extermination of the country’s largest minority group (chapter 16).

Lansing totally opposed the resolution and with President Wilson’s support pushed for the removal of any reference to war crimes in the final treaty provisions. After protracted haggling, the leaders of the Big Four nations (the US, Britain, France and Italy) eventually agreed to a compromise. The final treaty retained the Commission’s proposals on trials by the victors’ courts but left out any reference to ‘crimes against humanity.’ It was the worst result possible, with serious consequences for the future of Europe. In the event, the Kaiser fled to Holland and gained asylum with the tacit cooperation of the British Foreign Office. Germany refused to hand over to the Associated Powers any of 901 Germans subsequently accused of war crimes and held their own farcical trials instead. Only 13 convictions were recorded, and none served their sentences. As a consequence, any serious consideration of the issue of war crimes and atrocities was effectively removed from the international agenda.⁷⁶ Self-interest had once again triumphed over morality. It was a lesson that did not go unnoticed in Germany.

But as the peace conference proceeded with the cloud of the War Crimes Commission hanging over it there was a movement towards international cooperation focused on one of the “fourteen points” which President Wilson had made in response to the appeal which Lenin made in January a year earlier. Wilson had proposed the formation of an association of nations to provide “mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.”⁷⁷ He had previously raised the idea informally through Colonel House in 1916 and several governments had expressed general support for it, provided they were not left at a disadvantage and provided that it was linked with German disarmament.⁷⁸

However the proposal looked rather pathetic to the non-Western world when, within a few months of publicly announcing it, Wilson had sent US troops to join the Allies in abusing the political independence and territorial integrity of a country which he had entered the war to support. No doubt that provided another stimulus for the massive anti-Bolshevik propaganda campaign. In any case the American people were probably too close to the proposal to see the contradiction in their actions, and when the peace conference opened the plan received good initial support in the US. A commission of the conference, with Wilson presiding, was set up to draft a covenant for a League of Nations which was to form an integral part of the total peace package. However very soon, when all the secret treaties and Allied wheeling and dealing behind America’s back were aired in public, the level of support for the proposal fell in the US. To some extent support for the plan was encouraged in the US, and in Europe as well, when the activities of the Comintern and the threat of subversive intervention by international

revolutionaries received vigorous press publicity. Thus, after much soul searching by the world's senior statesmen, some of whom had serious misgivings about the nature of the document and its restrictive provisions, the covenant was eventually adopted by the peace conference on April 28 and became part of the treaty which was to be presented to Germany's representatives, *fait accompli*, within days.

Germany was obliged to accept the Covenant and the decisions of the League of Nations which would be set up under it but, along with Austria, Russia and Turkey, it was to be excluded from membership. The League was to be a winners' club. And a Christian winners' club at that. Of the thirty three countries which were to be founding members, all but four, (India, China, Japan and the Arab Hedjas which Britain had set up under its deal with the Sharif of Mecca), were Christian by linkage of one sort or another. Even India was ruled by a Christian monarch and China was still virtually a vassal of its four Christian Treaty Powers plus Japan in place of Germany. Of the additional thirteen neutral powers which were invited to join the club all but one, Persia, was Christian making an overall ratio of eight to one, (forty-one Christian powers to five non-Christian). Few people in the West gave that any thought at all. It was, according to the church's teaching, the natural order of things that Christians should dominate world affairs. All the rest didn't count. They had either been excluded or ignored, many because they were "minor" members of European Empires, or they had spurned the concept of the club. At least the League of Nations plan was a start, even if it was ill-considered.

However the conference didn't end there. Germany refused to sign and although only minor changes were made, debate continued over the consequences of key aspects of the effects of the victors' demands for massive reparations, the War Crimes Commission and the League of Nations, plus the implications of the establishment of the Comintern.

Quite quietly, as a result of a key meeting in Paris on May 19 a Council on Foreign Relations (C.F.R.) was set up in the US and branches of a Royal Institute of International Affairs were formed in the British dominions to link with a powerful but shadowy organization known as the Round Table. Subsequently the role and influence of the highly secretive C.F.R. (with regular high-level interchange of executive personnel between it and US government authorities), have been the centre of much speculation and in *None Dare Call it Conspiracy* Gary Allen set out to show that it was thereafter central to US political posturing and relations with Soviet Russia and international Communism.

Whether Allen's case holds or not, the collusion between Western governments and financiers at that time in response to the establishment of the Comintern was to have far-reaching consequences. Above all else it ran counter to the evolving new emphasis in the role of government, but the first visible effect came from scurrilous propaganda campaigns which added new dimensions to the complicated hate complexes of the West. It wasn't only ethnic groups and religious ideas which people had to hate but socio-economic ideas as well, and all three wings of the church – Roman, Orthodox and Reformed – were equally committed to the new hates, but for different reasons. Next the Western collusion involved military withdrawal

from Russia, and the powers soon had to explain to their publics whether, if the West had not been defeated militarily (which was only partly true) it had decided that Communism wasn't such a menace after all. Was the continuation of another war, which people were even more reluctant to fight, feeding revolution at home? Or were there other benefits from coexistence with the iniquitous system? There was another run of face-saving propaganda concoctions which further complicated the mess. Why, then, this sudden development at a critical stage in the Versailles Peace Conference?

Wilson and his contemporaries were neither the first nor the last politicians to realize the hard truth about the relationship between warring governments and those who dominated the private loan markets from which wars and other major ventures had to be financed until the tax money flowed in. Napoleon, Bismarck, Disraeli, the popes and the tsars of the nineteenth century had all been very conscious of it, but the scale of the Great War had drawn in far more people and some complex relationships and it enabled a little known group to develop quite disturbing behind-the-scenes influence. It grew out of a vision of peace through benevolent financial dictatorship which is illustrated by an incident from the second period of religious wars in Germany. We are told that on one occasion when war between two German states appeared imminent the widow of the founder of the greatest of the financial dynasties, Gutle Rothschild, commented to a neighbour that the possibility of war was nonsense because her boys would not give them the money.⁷⁹

Another figure who visualized peace imposed through financial dictatorship was the protégé of Gutle's sons, Cecil John Rhodes, but his vision was of peace of the British colonial variety and, if his ruthless actions are any guide, his dictatorship would not have been very benevolent at all. In his first will, prepared in 1877 when he was 24 and before he had even achieved absolute control of South Africa's diamond industry or entered the Cape Parliament, Rhodes proposed the extension of British rule throughout the world by means of a Secret Society modeled on the Roman Catholic Jesuit order. Eleven years later, in a third will, he left everything to Lord Rothschild with instructions for the establishment of the Society. However Rhodes lived on in spite of the heart ailment which had prompted him to go to South Africa and in 1891 he financed the setting up of the core of his Secret Society, later known as "The Round Table", with Lord Alfred Milner in command. In his final will, prepared in 1899 when he was 46, Rhodes appointed Lord Rothschild's son-in-law, Lord Rosebury, as a trustee of his society in place of the head of the dynasty.⁸⁰

The Great War made it quite apparent that the style and thrust of the scheme which Rhodes had conceived would have to be modified but it seems that no decisive action had been taken up to the time of the Versailles Peace Conference. By virtue of its nature, a number of people involved in the Round Table were included in British and European negotiating teams at the conference and it was to them that President Wilson sent Colonel House to gain support for his League of Nations and his scheme of international cooperation. Little was said at the time, but it later became apparent that the decision to establish the Council on Foreign Relations influenced

the way in which the conference closed and its consequences began to take effect within a few months.

GERMANY'S MEDICINE: THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

After months of argument and opposition in Germany the German government still refused to sign the final treaty while the war crimes provisions remained in place. It was issued with an ultimatum on June 16 and acquiesced only after a threat on June 22 by M. Clemenceau, the French Prime Minister and president of the conference, that if it did not sign the treaty within seven days the Allies would do as they had done against Russia and set the armies rolling again. They were, of course, still rolling against Russia. Together with the Allies and the US as an Associated Power, Germany therefore signed the Treaty of Versailles, with the Covenant for a League of Nations in place, under duress, on June 28 and proceedings against it closed.

Germany was greatly humiliated by the treaty with its 440 articles, the Covenant of the League of Nations which it could not join but which it had to recognize, and the enforced renunciation of its monarchy. Its former colonies were to be administered under League mandates by the 'developed countries.' Those in China, the Pacific, and Africa were allocated to either Britain, France, or other Allied nations. There was no suggestion that they should have independence. The philosophy of the European Great Powers had not really changed since Pope Nicholas V issued *Rominus Pontifex* in 1454, giving his blessing to what ever land and people grabs the Christian powers cared to make – anywhere – in return for help with a crusade, and Alexander VI followed with another bull which provided the basis for Spain and Portugal to cut up Latin America under the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. The world simply existed for the Christian powers of Europe to divide up and enjoy as they wished.

On that basis, being the vanquished nation, Germany naturally had to forfeit significant homeland territory to its neighbours and the new national boundaries were to be determined at the whim of the conference. The population and territory of homeland Germany was reduced by about 10 percent. Of its western territories, Alsace and Lorraine were returned to France. The Saar Basin was placed under the supervision of the League of Nations until 1935 with its resource production to be shared between the victorious countries – except for all its coal which was allocated directly to France. Further north, three small areas were allocated to Belgium. Subject to a territory in the whole of the province, the northern section of Schleswig was to be returned to Denmark. In the east, Poland was re-constituted and given most of the former German West Prussia and Poznań (Posen). It was also given a "corridor" to the Baltic Sea which then separated East Prussia from the rest of Germany. Poland was also to get Upper Silesia, subject to a plebiscite. Danzig (Gdansk) was declared a free city. Although some of the adjustments were logical, in terms of reversion to earlier ethnic, communal and political alignments others were not, and the entire package carried the hallmarks of punitive action and retribution. In addition to the territorial 'concessions' which were imposed on it, Germany surrendered all rights in other foreign countries; faced virtual disarmament; massive reparations,

the surrender of most of its merchant fleet, and the surrender of part of its fishing fleet. It had to accept the direction of its financial management and debt repayment at a level which was to be fixed at a conference a year later, and no consideration was given to the stability of world trade and currencies.

The treaty, overall, was an absolute shocker, but the Allies and the US gave little thought to the consequences. Self elevation at Germany's expense was their driving motive. The Treaty and the Covenant had already been ratified by Germany before Wilson arrived back in the US on July 8 to steer its ratification through Congress. But American opposition mounted. Influential politicians would not accept the obligation to prop up existing colonial powers and their boundaries. Neither would they agree to Japan replacing Germany as a colonial power in China; any decisions the US made under its Monroe Doctrine being subject to international arbitration; nor to any empire having more than one vote along side one vote for the US. If that objection was to be accepted by Britain, France and the other colonial powers it would have meant that if they wanted to retain their imperial authority, their dominions and colonies would have been deprived of votes in the League Assembly.⁸¹

On August 19, Wilson had a three hour luncheon meeting with the entire Senate Foreign Relations Committee and agreed to a series of their 'interpretative reservations.' He then undertook a massive personal campaign to swing the nation behind him. In 22 days from September 4 he made 40 major speeches in 29 cities before he collapsed from the strain while he was in Colorado and returned to Washington. He suffered a stroke a few days later and was ill for seven months. ⁸²While he was in the early stages of his campaign, on September 10 it came Austria's turn to sign its treaty. Although much less harsh than Germany's, it required the recognition of the independence of each of the countries which it had sought to embrace in its empire, and it was prohibited from entering into any national merger with Germany. On November 19, the US Senate rejected the Treaty of Versailles, but Wilson insisted that further efforts be made to find a compromise. A few days later, on November 27, Bulgaria signed its treaty.

A LEAGUE WITHOUT ITS LEADER

The Covenant of the League of Nations came into force on January 10, 1920, with 42 signatories, but on March 19, 'the Father of the League of Nations', President Woodrow Wilson, was forced to accept humiliating defeat when the Senate rejected a modified version of the Treaty of Versailles. The League would have to struggle on without America. It therefore convened a year later without the country whose president had launched the concept. Wilson had lobbied very hard to get a number of Europe's governments to accept the concept. Eventually 63 governments joined the League but due to withdrawals and expulsions its membership never passed its 1934 peak of 58 countries. Wilson also lobbied equally hard to get the support of major financiers and industrialists. He knew that any scheme for cooperation between governments was of little value unless there was an assurance of cooperation from, and

between, the financiers and industrialists of the Western World. Their interests knew no international boundaries and it was they who had effective control of the world's exploitable resources. And it seems that changes to the Treaty of Versailles were not the only matters discussed when he lunched with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

During September, 1919, while Wilson was campaigning in favor of the League Covenant, the footprints of the Council on Foreign Relations began to appear as the forces of the Western Allies were withdrawn from Russia progressively, beginning with the British and French forces at Archangel. The propagandists of the Western powers walked a tightrope as those powers prepared to buy off, or counter, Bolshevik subversion in the west with a series of trade treaties.⁸³ They were helped in their hollow bid to show a humanitarian front by a severe drought across much of Russia in 1921 which encouraged Lenin to adopt both a more accommodating attitude towards the West and a revised economic policy which was promoted in the West as the sudden end of Marxist economic theory.

The Capitalist press was loath to admit that the problems which the Bolshevik government had inherited in Russia were far more acute than anything the Western European governments had helped to set up for themselves. The tsar's regime had conscripted eight million men from the work force into the army. The depressing effect on farm production in a country in which nearly 90 percent of the population worked on farms was serious. The drain on public funds to pay such an army which could not be clothed, fed, equipped or deployed effectively was even more serious. In the months before the revolution huge bodies of the supposed army were left to roam, often without supervision by commissioned officers, to commandeer accommodation and food as best they could. They added wanton destruction of the property of the aristocracy and general social disruption to the woes of the oppressed and dispirited population. To rehabilitate the war-torn country and to introduce a completely new economic philosophy at the same time (with an openly hostile civil service in league with an equally hostile national church) was a task of daunting proportions even if the government did not have to fight a foreign-backed civil war at the same time. It was a remarkable achievement that the new government had reached a position from which it could even negotiate with the West, let alone call the tune to some extent.

So on one hand the Central Powers, as subhuman as they had been for four years or more, suddenly became thorough gentlemen alongside Marxist Bolsheviks. A veritable flood of propaganda fantasies and evil suggestions painted the Moscow adventurers as not just doctrinaire, incapable and dictatorial but as a vile, contemptible abomination, unparalleled in world history and worthy only of a crusade.⁸⁴ If the capitalists and their friends in the church and the press had set out to design a campaign to bring cohesion to the Russian people and determination to its isolated government, they could hardly have done a better job. But on the other hand there were other important spin-offs from Capitalist fear of the Comintern.

During the next few years progress was made in a number of countries with the introduction of enlightened social and economic policies. The framework was designed for communities in which people cared and shared; in which the initiative of the eager beavers could be rewarded

while the welfare of the weak or disadvantaged was assured; and in which the aspirations of everyone were recognized. The framework was also designed for systems of industrial negotiation and arbitration. Policies and reforms which had first been promoted by thinkers of the early years of the mechanical and industrial age were at last being introduced in some countries as a response to the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. Such policies had been fought for by Marx and his colleagues in the round of revolutions in 1848 but they had been consistently denied and vigorously opposed by political and industrial leaders. Clearly it was not necessary for the whole world to adopt Bolshevism for people worldwide to benefit from the challenge of Karl Marx. Bolshevism in Russia had generated enough fear of the loss of privilege among the Capitalists of the West for some benefits to flow immediately. They began to act on the policy of "give them a bit and they will stop barking for more."

Naturally, the progress was not uniform and such reforms had long been denied and opposed by the dominant wings of the church. While one aspect of Karl Marx' challenge was at last bearing fruit another one – the challenge to the doctrinal basis of the churches' views of themselves and their practices – was still lying on shell-shattered stony ground. The churches' responses to the Bolshevik Revolution were remarkably similar to their responses to the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, but the Marxist challenge to both the church and the prevailing political and economic system had become much stronger and more direct, and so was the reaction.

The responsibility to determine the pattern of "community" had been thrust more firmly than ever before into the laps of national governments, and that responsibility involved the pattern of social structures and relationships; welfare arrangements; industrial relations, and the continuity of the supply of goods and services. At the same time the influence of the church in these matters had been proportionately reduced, except in those countries where the Vatican had scored concordats. There were virtually no limits to the directions in which governments could move. The age of "big government" had arrived, and with it organized demands and competition for the decisions and favours of government from community interest groups (or classes) on a scale which had not previously been possible. Those demands led very quickly to a reaction from the controllers of capital, financial services, production and commerce, and within a few years it became apparent that there was an alternative policy to feeding them 'if the dogs didn't stop barking.' Fascist dictatorship. As will be noted, Western Capitalists and the Vatican both soon found the systems of Pilsudski and Mussolini very attractive, and there were other people waiting in the wings to offer their services as well.

In the United States there was widespread irritation and frustration that the country had become entangled in the affairs of Europe and this was exploited by 'isolationists' who promoted a "fortress America" attitude in the hope that the country could withdraw politically, if not economically, from international affairs. The rejection of the League of Nations Covenant therefore marks the beginning of a phase of American foreign policy which has been characterized as "unilateral internationalism" and the rest of the world was left to flounder around as best it could. On the other hand, even if the United States would not participate in it

when the chips were down, the League of Nations represented a starting point which future generations could build on or adapt to the world's needs – if they had the will and could develop the necessary cohesion.

The American self-understanding as the New Israel and successor to Christian Europe was compounded by a self-righteous conviction of their country's ability to treat all other nations justly and objectively, and a certainty that they could handle any and all problems alone. Generally content to "act like their Puritan forebears and lead by distant example instead of active commitment" the United States had the status of an observer at the League of Nations and toyed with disarmament.⁸⁵

But in contrast to the isolationists, and in common with the British government and the financiers themselves, President Wilson knew that the financiers were in a much more powerful position in relation to each of the European governments which had been involved in the war than ever before. Domestic national war debts were at unprecedented levels and in addition Britain had acted as something like a central banker to its allies. It had made loans totaling 586 million pounds Sterling to the Russian tsarist government; 434 million to France; 412 million to Italy; and other smaller loans taking the total to 1,825 million pounds Sterling.^{86 87 88} Of that, some 920 million pounds (a little more than half) had been raised in the United States with government backing. It was hardly surprising that when the time of reckoning came most of the countries which had accumulated such war debts, including Britain, were unable to meet their commitments and defaulted on the terms of their loans.

However: a step back for a moment. Hungary's wait for a treaty ended on June 4, 1920 but Turkey's humiliation was not formalized until the Treaty of Sevres was finalized on August 10, 1920, even though it was the first of the major Central Powers to sign an armistice, and the waterways and resources of its territory were some of the key trophies for which the other powers had engineered the war. It was not until July 2, 1921, that the US Congress finally officially ended its war by a joint house resolution and proceeded to ratify separate treaties with each of Germany, Austria and Hungary on October 18 that year.

When the peace conferences had been completed, when peace was supposed to have settled over the earth because the Great War had been 'the war to end all war', and before the footprints of the Council on Foreign Relations began to show, there were two major tasks ahead: completion of the redrawing of the map of Europe and West Asia, and the establishment of the League of Nations.

The mapping exercise took some time to complete after the formal peace conferences closed although the framework had been set at Versailles. While the redrawing can hardly be compared with that at the Berlin Conferences of 1884–85 which formalized the carving up of Africa, it was determined by the greed of the victors and it was almost as arbitrary and devastating as that at the Congress of Vienna after the Napoleonic Wars. Much lip service was given to the principles of self determination, common language and community of interest, but the political interests of the major players often ruled as arbitrary physical boundaries were fixed.

Turkey fared worst, as was to be expected, because the Christian European powers had long aimed to dismember the Muslim Ottoman Empire. The straits through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles were internationalized; Eastern Thrace, (including the bitterly contested Gallipoli), the Aegean Islands (except for Rhodes), and Smyrna were ceded to Greece; Syria and Cilicia were allocated to France; Iraq to Britain; Palestine as a mandate and Arabia as a protectorate also went to Britain; Rhodes and the Dodecanese, to Italy; the coastal region from Adramyttium to Adalia became a 'sphere of influence' of Italy; the status of Cyprus and Egypt which Britain had annexed during the war, was amended and they were designated only as British 'spheres of influence'; a wedge of Eastern Anatolia, with a coastline along the Black Sea and borders with Russia and Iran, was declared to be an autonomous republic of Armenia, and a second autonomous area was nominated to its south, bordering Syria on the eastern banks of the Euphrates River, for the Kurds. The Sultan had no option. He had to accept the 'umpire's' decision. But a revolutionary Great National Assembly which had been established in Ankara four months earlier, rejected it and the scene was set for widespread chaos.

However in addition to the dismembering of what remained of the Turkish Ottoman Empire, further changes were made to territories which had been part of that empire until the Balkan wars which preceded the Great War. Without waiting for the Great Power victors to have their conference, and not wanting Serbian ambitions for a Greater Serbia to be thwarted by Austria again, immediately the Central Powers collapsed in November 1918 the Serbian monarchy moved to 'unite' Serbia, Montenegro and the territories of Slovenia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Vojvodina. The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was proclaimed on December 1, 1918. It was to be expected that tensions would be generated, or would surface again, with such a complex ethnic and religious mix. They did, and even before the US had signed its separate peace treaties with Austria, Germany and Hungary, a new constitution was introduced to provide for democratic government in a bid to offset deepening rivalry between the Serbs and the Croats.

The ordinary people of Europe had no reason to think that the fate of the Ottoman Empire was anything other than fair and reasonable. After all, their forebears had fought and died over some seven hundred years for such a result and the pope, Benedict XV, had said quite recently that that was as it should be. But those same people had other problems on their minds. They no longer accepted the word of governments as Gospel and they were restlessly demanding a better deal for having accepted enormous disruption and sacrifices.^{89 90} Britain had its Irish problem and Lloyd George's Reconstruction Ministry was regarded as a hollow political sham. In addition unemployment was set to rocket with the completion of demobilization of armed forces immediately the peace treaty was finalized, and the housing shortage would then become even more acute.^{91 92} The last thing Western Governments could afford was organized political subversion. Even conservative politicians were concerned at the trends in private enterprise towards speculation, resource and market manipulation, and production of high profit

luxury goods as soon as controls were lifted. They were certainly not policies designed to avoid conflict with militant socialists.

‘SURVIVAL’: LOANS, REPARATIONS OR TRADE

Just as the Roman Catholic and Russian Orthodox Churches had seen the challenge of Communism as a battle for survival rather than as a call for a reassessment of their theology and practices, so Western capitalists saw it as a battle for continued supremacy rather than as a call to change their economic and social philosophies and practices. The governments of Europe were therefore caught in cross fire between a large number of workers holding very little guns on their left, and a small number of industrialists and financiers holding very big guns on their right. Unless they could silence both sides of the firing by juggling a negotiated peace, or unless they could silence one side or the other by direct action they were certain to be shot to ribbons. They couldn't juggle very well and they couldn't silence the guns on the right because they were dependent on them. They naturally turned their attention to the guns on the left.

The basic options open to Europe's governments were to satisfy the demands of the left or to suppress them. Such demands could not be fully met without provoking a massive barrage from the right, but absolute suppression could only be maintained for a short time. Less direct means were called for. In essence this meant accepting just so many of the demands of the left that would not provoke a barrage while introducing industrial legislation which would reduce the disruptive capacity of the left to below the point of revolution. And while the barrage of propaganda helped to conceal the fact, international trading policies were adapted to the new circumstances.

Britain and Italy both signed trade treaties with Russia in 1921 and trade delegations were exchanged between Russia and several countries of the Capitalist block.⁹³ In quick succession several Western bankers provided loans for the Bolshevik government. Standard Oil bought a fifty percent interest in the Nobel oil fields in the Caucasus, and the Chase National Bank (also dominated by Rockefeller interests) was instrumental in the formation of the American/Russia Chambers of Commerce.⁹⁴ Of all the justifications offered for the sudden change of heart by the West, two stand out. One was the need to reduce the probability of revolutions in Western Europe by buying a less belligerent attitude from the Russian-backed Comintern. The other was to help the Allies cut their losses from the fiasco of war loans and reparations which they were then trying to finalize.

After the tsarist regime had been toppled the Bolshevik government refused to recognize any war loan commitments the tsar had made. It insisted that reparations were an anachronism, that every government should bear its own costs and that financial arrangements should, in any case, be the subject of a conference of all parties. It also insisted that private individuals who had incurred losses as a result of the war should be compensated from a special fund raised by levies on each belligerent according to an agreed formula.⁹⁵ France, which had suffered the heaviest losses, consistently rejected the Russian stand which had no doubt helped to drive all

the Allies away from a common table at Brest Litovsk and then fueled the “intervention” machine.

Then at Versailles the Allies had forced Germany to accept a clause under which reparations would be fixed by a Commission. It finally published its figure in April 1921: 6,600 million pounds Sterling.⁹⁶ The men of the Round Table had done their homework very thoroughly and the Allied governments became largely dependent on them to produce the money for Germany and then to recover it for the Allies. Germany's new government dug its toes in and said it simply couldn't pay so the Allies promptly occupied the industrial cities of Duisburg and Dusseldorf. That must have been their roundtable version of Lenin's all-parties conference. It encouraged Germany to find fifty million pounds Sterling plus a few years' supply of coal for France, which very successfully dislocated Britain's export coal industry.⁹⁷ However that little package was hardly enough to keep the banking wolves away from the doors of Europe's governments and so they were all very happy to trade with anyone – even Bolshevik Russia.

While those trade negotiations were proceeding so were Britain's efforts to talk its way out of its loan commitments and to persuade France, which had dug its toes in, to stop rattling more sabres in Germany's direction. In August 1922, being unable to recover either its loans from Russia or its share of reparations from Germany, the British government offered to waive, proportionately, all loans and reparations due to it except for the Stg. 920 million pounds which it had raised in America. It expected everyone else to make a similar remission. Having belatedly recognized the impact which the requirements of the peace treaty were having around the world, especially in Britain and Germany, it had finally come very close to Lenin's logic of four years earlier. But the rest couldn't see it, least of all France and the United States. The proposal lapsed and in a desperate bid to bring sanity back into European affairs Britain reluctantly accepted an enormous long-term burden through a refinancing scheme with the United States in December 1922.⁹⁸

The US was being driven by a passionate desire to develop unassailable political and economic superiority over Europe in line with its view of itself as the second chosen race. The attitudes and historic factors which had so far shaped the United States' view of itself and the world had come into sharp focus with the infamous eugenics debate.⁹⁹ France on the other hand was being driven by much the same reasoning and reactions which had embittered Bismarck against her when their roles in reparations negotiations had been reversed forty years earlier, but they were even more exaggerated. Prime Minister Poincare was determined to exact revenge even if it ruined Germany in the process.¹⁰⁰

In January 1923, within a few weeks of Britain's deal with the US and in defiance of her intense diplomatic efforts, France and Belgium occupied the balance of Germany's industrial Ruhr basin and proclaimed they were there to stay until every mark had been paid. By expelling 150,000 people and substituting French workers in industries they did not know; by imprisoning mine managers; by dismissing state and municipal officials; and by sheer mismanagement France rapidly ran down 80 percent of Germany's coal and steel industry and

in consequence played a major part in the ruin of the balance of the nation's industry. The economy collapsed; reparations payments were temporarily resumed in valueless currency; old and new passions and hatreds were roused to unprecedented pitch. Political chaos reigned.

In August there was an abortive monarchist uprising in Bavaria. In October a French-supported separatist movement resulted in the proclamation of a Rhineland Republic which collapsed after only four months.¹⁰¹ Then in November all Germany learned a new household name. A former soldier and self-styled political agitator by the name of Adolf Hitler had taken advantage of the chaos to launch his version of the monarchist uprising in Bavaria. He almost took first prize, but he landed in gaol instead with plenty of time to write a book. *Mein Kampf*. Reason began to prevail in the international negotiations at last and France and Belgium began to withdraw their troops. However the die had been cast and that German household name was about to become a world household name.

THE CHURCH'S CHALLENGE: RENEWAL

Such was the background against which some of the people who had been at the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference, four years before the war, began to pick up the threads of Christian renewal and unity which had been ripped apart by the war and the deliberate, mischievous manipulation of interfaith relations to suit the needs of the warring powers.

Just how difficult it would be is best illustrated by the situation of the church in Germany. Germany was the seat of the Reformation. As such it had been torn asunder by wars associated with firstly the Reformation and secondly the Counter Reformation but it had come through it all with a very strong system of state-related churches. Each state church or *Landeskirchen* was controlled by the state and financed by it through a system of church taxes. Most of the states were ruled by a secular prince who was also the administrative head of his church. Because funds were no real problem each church had a system of foreign missions with missionaries placed widely around the world, but especially in its own colonies and those of Britain. The overall effect was to give the Lutheran Church a very dynamic presence around the world. In contrast to the highly competitive and usually very abrasive relationships between Roman Catholic and Protestant missions, relations between Germany's Lutheran missions and the Protestant missions of other European powers were generally very cordial.

Unfortunately the situation changed dramatically when World War I and the politicians intervened. German missionaries were immediately expelled from Britain's territories, many German nationals and even long term settlers were interned in countries such as Australia, and then its missionaries were expelled from the former German territories as well when these were forfeited to or occupied by the victors. When British missions sought to take advantage of the deportation of German missionaries relations between the churches deteriorated. Dr. John Mott was accused of being un-neutral in dealing with disputes between the churches in his position as Chairman of the Continuation Committee of the Edinburgh World Missionary Conference and

in the allocation of funds gathered in Britain and the United States to maintain the mission fields.

Mott was indeed struggling with conflicts of interest. Prior to the US entering the war he was helping to raise funds for service to prisoners of war, but when the US entered the war he took the lead in organizing and raising millions of dollars for the War Work Council of American YMCAs which recruited hundreds of men and women to serve the Allied forces. At the request of President Woodrow Wilson he also headed a campaign which raised over two hundred million dollars for voluntary organizations engaged in war-connected work.¹⁰² However Bishop Oldham did much to restore some balance and used his influence to persuade the victorious Allies to exempt German mission properties from confiscation and to restore them to the German societies. Even so, it was ten years before reconciliation could be said to be effective.¹⁰³

In their home territories the German Protestant churches faced almost equal hurdles. When the Weimar Republic was established at the insistence of the Americans the princes who headed and controlled the churches were replaced by governments of republics and there was a partial separation of Church and State. The churches gained the right to determine their structures, to make appointments and to determine their creeds and doctrines as they wished, and the state still funded university theological faculties, but the people were equally freed of constraints. Some states continued to collect the taxes for the support of the churches, but the right for people to declare themselves not associated with a church was made more accessible and on doing so they were no longer required to pay the tax. There was a four or five year rush to dissociate, but then the situation stabilized. Chaplains were still provided for the army and religious education was retained in state schools, but no student was obliged to attend it and no teacher was obliged to teach it.

Each of the Landeskirchen found their own ways of adapting to the new circumstances and in 1922 more than twenty formed a federation, the German Evangelical Church Federation, through which they coordinated many functions while retaining their independence. However, a steady drift from the churches became apparent in several ways.

The first was the rush to dissociate, as comparison with the figure of about 12,000 in 1910 shows. In the years 1919–1922 it averaged about 260,000 persons per year, fell to 110,000 in 1923 and levelled out to 28,000 in 1925, rising again under the impact of the Depression to 59,000 in 1930. Another was the number of people who took communion. It fell by 11% between 1920 and 1930. [As a proportion of the population the fall was slightly greater: 14%] But the most revealing indicator was the drop in the number of people being confirmed. Over the same period, 1920 to 1930, it fell by 45%.¹⁰⁴ The number of communicants relates to the entire age range of the church. The number of people being confirmed relates essentially to the youth. They were staying away from the churches in droves. Disenchantment with the morality of the war – “the moral sag” – was painfully obvious with youth in revolt against all conventional restraints and many attracted to cults such as anthroposophy and nature mysticism,

and Oriental faiths.¹⁰⁵ The rate of drift from the minority Roman Catholic Church was even greater than from the Protestant churches, by an estimated 16% for the period 1925–1930.

So the German church was in a state of disarray as ecumenical leaders began to pick up the threads of Christian renewal and unity which had been ripped apart by the war. Before the war a number of channels had been opened between churchmen of different denominations, mainly Protestant, but in some cases Catholic and Orthodox as well. A committee had been formed to continue the inter-church coordination which had been started in Edinburgh with Dr. Mott as chairman. Another, initiated by Bishop Brent of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States but chaired by Bishop Anderson of Chicago with a layman, Robert Gardiner, as secretary, began working towards an ecumenical conference on faith and order or, roughly speaking, “What is Christianity and what is it all about?” Concurrent moves by Peter Ainslie of the Disciples of Christ and leaders of the National Council of Congregational Churches indicated a ground swell of interest and plans were soon being made to enlist the support of the Roman Catholic, Orthodox and other Protestant churches for a World Conference on Faith and Order. The church was stirring. Here were the first substantial signs of the long overdue reassessment.¹⁰⁶

Planning for such a conference went ahead at a fast pace, largely financed by associates of the Episcopal Church, with 100,000 letters addressed to the clergy of all churches, and commissions of a number of churches met in New York on May 8, 1913. While many Catholic clergy showed personal support for the cause there had been no direct response from the Vatican and a letter in Latin was addressed formally to Cardinal Gasparri in the summer of 1914, presumably before the outbreak of war. The reply, dated December 18, 1914, when the war had already been in progress for four and a half months, indicated that the Pope was pleased with the project to examine “in a sincere spirit and without prejudice the essential form of the church.” He hoped that the conference, under the spell of the church’s native beauty, would mean that the mystical body of Christ would no longer be rent and torn, and that by harmony, cooperation and concord of wills, unity of faith and communion may at last prevail. But the final paragraph made it clear that because of its self-understanding there would be no change in the Vatican’s position. “Thanking you, then, that you have thought well to request the aid and support of the Roman Pontiff in expediting your worthy project, His Holiness expresses His earnest desire that the end may answer your expectation, and He asks the same of Christ Jesus with fervent prayers, all the more because, with the voice of Christ Himself sounding before and bidding Him, He knows that He Himself, as the one to whom all men have been given over to be fed, is the source and cause of the unity of the Church.”¹⁰⁷

Independently of those groups another ecumenical and openly pacifist group was forming in the United States under the name ‘The World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches.’ It planned an inaugural three-day conference to begin in Constance, Germany, on August 2 1914. When war erupted that day about the only conferring delegates could do was about how to get out of the country before the borders were closed.¹⁰⁸

A COURAGEOUS START

Under such circumstances it must have taken a lot of courage, tenacity and faith for people to keep contact across the borders of bigotry and then to openly seek ecumenical discussions immediately after the war. But the problem of disunity was so great that the spur to work towards unity was even greater. Archbishop Nathan Soderblom, Sweden, took the first step by prompting the World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches to hold a conference in September-October 1919 at Oud Wassenaar in the neutral Netherlands. It attracted churchmen from several countries, including a German delegation, and by attracting a concession from each side it helped to allay some of the deep antagonism which had developed. The Germans conceded that the infringement of Belgian neutrality had been iniquitous, and the British, French and Italians affirmed that missions were supranational and that the freedom for all Christians to carry the Gospel to the world was essential to the church's message.¹⁰⁹

The Episcopal Commission had maintained as much momentum as it could by arranging a preparatory conference attended by fifteen churches in New York in January 1916, then as soon as hostilities ceased it arranged for a group of bishops to visit Europe. Their main meetings were to be with the Greek Orthodox, Russian Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches, culminating in a meeting with Pope Benedict XV in 1919. The Greek church responded positively and accepted their invitations to participate in the planned conference. In Halki they learned from a former head of the Russian church that it was then "sick in body, mind and soul" but that "when she gets well again she will doubtless be represented at the conference." Then in Rome the audience with Pope Benedict XV was cordial. The bishops invited the pope to be represented at a projected conference on Christian Unity¹¹⁰ and the pope responded with a promise of his prayerful interest. But then as the Protestant churchmen were politely ushered from the Vatican they were handed a memorandum. Unity, it reminded them, had been realized from the beginning through the Roman, Catholic and Apostolic Church. Those who wanted it had only to return to Rome.^{111 112} It wasn't quite like an 1868 invitation to Vatican I, but almost. Planning went ahead, encouraged by appeals a few months later (1920) from both the Ecumenical (Orthodox) Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Lambeth Conference of bishops of the Anglican Church (the Church of England) worldwide.

Constantinople was in the middle of Muslim territory and right at the point of the most terrifying campaign of the war where Allied troops, urged on with the worst of racist and religious propaganda, had suffered dreadful casualties (along with the Turks) as they tried to break Turkey's grip on the Bosphorus. It was therefore a very appropriate centre to launch an appeal for Christian unity. And being, in a sense, a bridge between Catholic and Protestant Christians, and also between Russia and its Western detractors, the Orthodox Church was the right body to call Christians to bury their differences and divisions so that they could give the world evidence of the Christian Gospel through unity.¹¹³

The Lambeth Conference appeal for reunion referred to historical causes of the visible division in the church because of which, it said, "The Faith cannot be adequately apprehended

and the battle of the Kingdom cannot be worthily fought ...” It saw “the Holy Scriptures as the record of God’s revelation of Himself” (past tense again); it saw the Nicene Creed as “the sufficient statement of the Christian faith”; and it saw the hierarchical episcopate with bishops exercising the authority of the church as “the one means of providing (Christian) ministry.” They were sufficient basis on which Anglicans would be prepared to talk “reunion” with other churches as opposed to the concept of one communion being “absorbed” by another. While it was addressed to the leaders of Christian communities throughout the world it was clearly framed with Rome and Orthodox Churches in mind. Perhaps for that reason and perhaps because it gave the impression of a somewhat inflexible and dogmatic stand, it was greeted with less enthusiasm by many nonconformists than the open-ended call from the Ecumenical Patriarch. It also clung to the Europeanism which was being questioned in many quarters. After referring to the values of Eastern, Western and non-episcopal communions it said that with them “we are closely linked by many affinities, racial historical and spiritual.” Then came its vision of a church “gathering into its fellowship all who profess and call themselves Christian, within whose visible unity all the treasures of faith and order, bequeathed as a heritage by the past to the present, shall be possessed in common ...” A delegation from Constantinople attended the Lambeth Conference and two years later its synod “recognized” Anglican orders to clear the way for the possibility of union.^{114 115}

But at the same time some of the people who did not see the Nicene Creed as “the sufficient statement of the Christian faith” and the hierarchical episcopate with bishops exercising the authority of the church as “the one means of providing (Christian) ministry” were also organizing conferences. The Watchtower Society, under the leadership of its new president J.F. Rutherford, organized two conventions in the United States, the first in 1919 and the second in 1922. They saw the challenge of the Great War as to take up the Biblical call to go out and preach to the nations and they did so with great vigour. They believed that the salvation of man, in the generally understood sense, was secondary to the vindication of God as the rightful Sovereign. They produced a new magazine, *The Golden Age*, now known as *Awake!*, as a companion to the *Watchtower*, they undertook door to door distribution of their magazines with great dedication, and their influence within the United States was soon much wider than their numbers might suggest.

Three major ecumenical conferences eventually got under way in quick succession. The first, at Stockholm, Sweden, in August 1925, tackled important issues affecting the church’s involvement in the life of the community like race, education, capital and labour, social order, church and state, and war and peace. The second was the World Conference on Faith and Order at Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1927. A number of Germans attended both of those conferences and were prominent at the second. The third was the International Missionary Conference in Jerusalem in 1928 and it was then that reconciliation between the German churches and those of the Allied powers appeared complete.¹¹⁶

DEBATING THE BASIS OF BELIEF

During the intervening years the debate, both within and beyond the churches, touched a wide range of social and theological issues as well as the burning questions of church unity and reconciliation. It was vigorous, at times it was acrimonious, and it was often shallow and not well informed, but not always. One of those who were very well informed and who sought to steer the debate towards very basic issues was F. W. Buckler.

A very original although somewhat eccentric thinker, Francis William Buckler (1891–1960) was essentially a historian whose special interest changed progressively from Oriental studies to church history. Born and educated in England, he lectured at colleges in Madras and Allahabad, India, from 1913 to 1916 and then served as a lieutenant in the Indian Army Reserve for four years, being posted with units in Egypt and Palestine as well as India during the war. Back in England in 1922 he completed an MA and lectured until taking up a professorship in the graduate school of theology, Oberlin College, USA, in 1925. He incurred the scorn of British historians, business leaders and politicians in 1922 for his review of British attitudes and conduct at the time of the Indian Mutiny which favoured the Indian position just at the time that Britain was involved in delicate negotiations over the future of the country which was still the jewel in its colonial crown. However it is *The Oriental Despot*, a paper written in 1923 for the Fifth International Congress of Historical Studies in Brussels and used as the basis for a series of lectures at Oberlin in 1925–1926, and another read at Cleveland in November 1926, *The Re-emergence of the Arian Controversy*, which are of greater significance. Buckler's experience and fluency in the Persian language enabled him to view world affairs from an Oriental perspective. He consistently criticized Western historians for their eurocentrism and he sought to relocate the Gospels in their Asian setting.¹¹⁷

Buckler maintained that if Western Christians had approached the subject of oriental leaders and their beliefs with an open mind instead of denigrating them and attempting to gain or demonstrate a position of superiority over them, they would have gained insights into terms used in the Gospels and into Christ's teaching which could have changed the course of Christology, church doctrine and Christian theology. He said that from the time of Herodotus Western historians have pictured the Persian ruler as a tyrant in colours of the darkest cruelty and interpreted all acts of a religious significance in terms of servile flattery. "The Greeks saw in him, not only their hated 'tyrant' and 'despot,' but also their dreaded enemy, and if the character of Eastern Kingship has been misread, the fear of the Greeks is the beginning of the misunderstanding. They never understood the symbolism of the Eastern mind; they recorded the facts, often honestly enough, but almost invariably they drew the wrong conclusions. When Rome took over the heritage of Greece and Greek education she added her own hatred of the rex to the Greek prejudice against the Eastern tyrant. Even the idea of the Empire failed to render her Eastern counterpart either more intelligible or more palatable."¹¹⁸

Against that background Buckler discussed the functions of Eastern kingship, the relationships between the kings and their family members and subordinates, and the terms

used to identify those relationships. The king stands for a system of rule of which he is the incarnation, incorporating into his own body, by means of certain symbolic acts, the persons of those who share his rule, Buckler said, "They are regarded as being parts of his body, *membra corporis regis*, and in their district or sphere of activity, they are the king himself – not servants of the king but 'friends' or members of the king, just as the eye is the man in the function of sight, and the ear in the realm of hearing."¹¹⁹ He then discussed the use of robes of honour, coins of the realm and sharing the meal of the king in the same manner before finally turning to each of the major parables and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth in turn. These, he said, provided conclusive proof of the nature of the organic relationship between the king and his agents – or the incorporation of the agents of the king within the king's person and body and "...it seems beyond doubt that it was from this system of kingship that (Jesus) drew His figures of speech to express the relations of God to Man."¹²⁰

Buckler maintained that the Sonship of the Father was another instance of the same idea which underlies that of the true heir, a term restricted to an only son and therefore the authoritative viceregent or deputy of his father, while the words 'all power is given unto me' have a meaning corresponding to that in the Mughal Empire. Now if Buckler's interpretation is applied to an important exchange between Jesus and his disciples in the Gospel of Matthew, the passage takes on a new meaning which, if it had been recognized by the early church, would have had far-reaching consequences for each of its self-understanding, its doctrine and its organization or establishment.

Jesus asked his disciples "Who do people say the Son of Man is?" And some said, "Some say he is John the Baptist, some Elijah, and others Jeremiah or one of the prophets." "But you," he said, "who do you say I am?" Then Simon Peter spoke up, "You are the Christ," he said "the Son of the living God." Jesus replied, "Simon son of Jonah, you are a happy man! Because it was not flesh and blood that revealed this to you but my Father in Heaven. So I now say to you: You are Peter and on this rock I will build my church." Matthew 16:13–18 [Jerusalem translation.]

The same applies to a passage in the Gospel of John which records an exchange between Jesus and a group of Jews who had intended to stone him.

The Jews fetched stones to stone him, so Jesus said to them, "I have done many good works for you to see, works from my Father; for which of these are you stoning me?" The Jews answered him, "We are not stoning you for doing a good work but for blasphemy: you are only a man and you claim to be God." Jesus answered: "Is it not written in your Law: I said you are gods? So the Law uses the word gods of those to whom the word of God was addressed, and scripture cannot be rejected. Yet you say to someone the Father has consecrated and sent into the world, "You are blaspheming," because he says, "I am the Son of God." If I am not doing my Father's work, there is no need to believe me; but if I am doing it, then even if you refuse to believe in me, at least believe in the work I do; then you will

know for sure that the Father is in me and I am in the Father.” John 10:31–38 [Jerusalem translation.]

If Jesus and Simon Peter were both using the expression “son” in the understanding of Eastern Kingship, then it carries all of the authority which is implied in the term ‘Messiah’ but without the difficulties which arise because of the concept of incarnation. This is especially so in view of Jesus’ self-understanding, apparent from the words attributed to him, that he was ‘consecrated’ by God and sent into the world – not ‘begotten’ by God. In the same way, the word ‘rock’ in the expression ‘on this rock I shall build my church’ implies that Peter’s rock-solid understanding of his role and authority shall provide the basis for a church, and not Peter personally. Buckler saw the rigorous application of the Jewish Law as a rival kingship to that of Christ as “the true exponent or the command of God.” Jesus, he said, proclaimed war against this rival kingship and conferred authority to his ‘friends’ to ‘continue the fight’, or to uphold his teaching, which they vowed to do at the eucharist.

In Buckler’s analysis it follows that the atonement is automatic, resting on the succession of authority of man against the misrepresentation of God by ‘the Law.’ It also follows that “the divorce of the idea of sonship from its natural surroundings in Eastern kingship gave rise to the differences culminating in the Arian controversy by which an evil dilemma resulted. Either the Son had to be severed from the Father, as did the solution of Arius, or from man, as Athanasius’ atonement ultimately achieved. Whichever triumphed, the atonement was ‘undone.’ Athanasius, the champion of the lesser evil, triumphed, but he did not understand the nature of the Kingdom, or he would not have given a metaphysical solution where a political solution was necessary. The ‘wicked Arians’ were right in their contention: ‘Are we not all sons of god?’”¹²¹

It is hardly surprising that Buckler’s call for a review of the church’s most basic creeds was greeted with either an embarrassed silence or rejection, nor that he was even more outspoken in his Oberlin lectures three years later. In those lectures he dealt with “the wretched state of Semitic Christianity, in which the deification of the Virgin Mary had been accompanied by a revival of tantric ritual¹²²,” and then discussed the relationship between the Prophet Muhammad and the church. The work of the prophet, he said, was primarily to restore to its proper place the idea of the Kingdom of God, around which the whole of his teaching turns. He was driven to Semitic monotheism by the polytheism of the Greek and Semitic Christians and the heathens. Muhammad’s antagonism to the concept of the divine Sonship of Jesus was a protest against the association of a definite act with the Deity, and his protest against the Trinity was aimed at the widespread idea of a family deity: Father, Mother and Son. But, said Buckler, Muhammad did not grasp the full meaning of the cross and he therefore fell short of recognizing ‘the finality of Jesus.’ Both the church and the Prophet had revived the authority of the Law but the church did so in the name of Jesus who had died to shatter it.¹²³ The nearer the Western Christian comes to an understanding of the life, teaching and person of Jesus Christ, the closer he is brought to the Muslim because Jesus and Muhammad preached the Kingdom of God from the same ideas of kingship. Finally Buckler said that the place of Muhammad in Christianity is as a complement

to Paul the Apostle. Paul delivered Christ's teaching from the bonds of Judaism at the cost of detaching it from its Semitic connections, while Muhammad delivered it from the Greeks and restored it to a non-Jewish, Semitic atmosphere.¹²⁴

Buckler took his bid to stimulate a reassessment of Christian creeds and doctrine even further in his address to the Cleveland Clericus in November 1926. Taking as his subject *The Re-emergence of the Arian Controversy*, he discussed the aims of the Council of Nicaea, the concepts of divinity and the terms in which they had been debated, and noted that the whole controversy had been overshadowed by imperial politics. The statements by Athanasius and Arius about the relationship between God and man, as revealed in Jesus Christ, were both intended to bridge the gulf caused by faulty ideas of God and the Creation, he said, but the gulf had been re-opened by the rise of Pharisaism under the name of Puritan Christianity since the Reformation, and redemption had been pushed into the area of debate about the final destiny of mankind. In turn the Social Gospel has been thrown into the gulf in an attempt to bridge it, but those who advocate it have abandoned the Christ in favour of the ethical teacher. Churches of the West have placed a heavy emphasis on ethical perfection and have forgotten that Jesus' sinlessness was a matter of policy and not nature. Christ's object was to redeem man from the bondage of the Law and his attack was two-fold: ridicule of the Law, which angered the Priests, the Scribes and the Pharisees; and satisfaction of the Law, which left his opponents with no loopholes by which they could attack him. A doctrine which makes sin the basis of human nature "misses the whole point of the teaching and life of Christ," Buckler said. Any doctrine of Christ's person which rests on such a basis widens the gulf between sinless and sinful so that it becomes impassable yet again, and atonement is reduced to the realm of social improvement, resting, once more, on man's efforts.

Buckler went on to say that both Arius and Athanasias failed to see that the function of God the Father was as eternal as the Father Himself, and they tried to express the dynamic and organic relation of function in the best terms available to them, without being able to see the limitations of concepts in Greek philosophy. Jesus stands as the embodiment of the essential unity of God and man and neither of the concepts of divinity and humanity which they fought over can be dismissed. The Great War had "shaken the old theology to the foundation" by forcing people to think about the dilemma that "either an omnipotent God who could permit such a catastrophe cannot be a loving Father, or a loving Father who cannot prevent such a social cataclysm cannot be an omnipotent God." The result of current church teaching, he said, was that the Kingdom of God is relegated to the realm of eschatology, man is severed from God, and Christ becomes unreal, being seen as either one with the Father or one with man, but not both. The Arian controversy, Buckler said, is therefore back in our midst and the ordinary man demands once more an explanation of his relationship with God. The confession of faith which Nicaea aimed to convey is still essential to the church but the process by which the council reached its decision is out of date and requires restatement.

But who was going to take up Buckler's challenge and lead the churches into such a restatement? Individually they were all still shell shocked and taking a very defensive position,

searching for ways to recover their influence, except in the case of the Roman Catholic Church which was taking a very aggressive stand but with the same basic aim. And the young ecumenical bodies were not yet in strong enough positions to take such initiatives even if they were confident that it was the proper course to take.

RECONCILIATION: A STARTING POINT

A very progressive Swedish Lutheran leader, Archbishop Nathan Soederblom, was the driving force behind a stream of interest or commitment within the wider church which had become known as the Movement for International Friendship, Reconciliation, Life and Work, and the first of the three major conferences, at Stockholm in 1925. But he has been credited with more than that. It has been said that: "His efforts opened up to the churches new fields and new possibilities of common action; if there had been no Soederblom, there would have been no Stockholm 1925, if there had been no Stockholm 1925, the World Council of Churches, at least in its present form, would not exist."¹²⁵ Called a World Conference, the gathering attracted more than 600 delegates from 37 countries and from every major fragment of the church except, consistent with the pope's rebuff, the Roman Catholic Church. Its agenda was designed to relate the church to economic and industrial problems, social and moral problems, international relations, education, and cooperation between the separate and competing churches. Many initiatives were taken which led to the establishment of an International Christian Social Institute, a graduate school of ecumenical studies, a youth commission and an ecumenical press and information service. Plans were laid immediately for another conference in a decade or so on concrete issues of the church's Life and Work, but it did not see itself as the body to deal with issues of doctrine.¹²⁶

The deliberate decision had been taken that there would be no discussion of doctrine or interpretation of faith because "theological debate would mar the practical and realistic quality of the conference" and the 'theological cleavage' was so deep that "great care had to be taken not to offend the susceptibilities of the churches by precipitating confessional issues."¹²⁷ Those matters were to be left for the second of the three major conferences, that of the Faith and Order Movement, to tackle in two years time. While that was an eminently realistic decision it illustrates how deeply divided the church had become, the diversity of what its fragments each believed and taught, its systems of sacraments, discipline and authority, the abject failure of the Reformation, and how urgent was the need for theological reassessment to begin.

FAITH, ORDER ... AND BARTH ON ROMANS

When that World Conference on Faith and Order began at Lausanne, Switzerland, in 1927, it quickly became apparent how deep those divisions were. The atmosphere in which it met and its deliberations on the doctrinal basis of the church and its ministry were very much a product of the tensions which had been generated by the war and international crises. But the reaction to those crises and the thinking of one man, a professor of two obscure subjects (dogmatics and

exegesis) at the University of Munster who was not even present at the conference was to have an influence quite out of proportion to his involvement in the institutional life of the church. Five years earlier, in 1922, while that professor was still a parish pastor of the Swiss Reformed Church, 36 years old, he had published the second edition of a commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Romans. That edition reached the book shops just at the time Buckler was having his confrontation with the British establishment. It fell "like a bomb on the playground of the theologians."¹²⁸ Karl Barth had arrived. The impact of his writing was so great that the role of the church and its self-understanding could not be discussed without his name and his ideas being mentioned. He had ushered in – or forced upon the church – the first concerted rethink of its role and its theology since the Reformation. His insistence that the church had to rethink its self-understanding could not be avoided.

Barth was born in Basel into a family with six ministers in four generations.¹²⁹ He was senior to Hitler by three years, and to Buckler by five years. The plight of working people in the Swiss Alps industrial village of Safenwil, to which he was sent as pastor in 1911 at the age of 25, influenced him greatly. When the infamous 93 German academics, including some of his theology teachers, signed a manifesto supporting Kaiser Wilhelm's approach to the Great War in August 1914 he began to question the church's prevailing theological liberalism. A few months later he joined the Social Democratic Party, saying that he could no longer "remain suspended in the clouds above the present evil world (and that) it had to be demonstrated here and now that faith in the Greatest does not exclude but rather includes ... work and suffering in the realm of the imperfect." Liberal theology, he said, had been weighed and found wanting and he wanted to relate the infinite contradiction of life for his people to the infinite message of the Bible.¹³⁰

The letters of the apostle Paul had often been interpreted in a restrictive and chauvinistic sense which had contributed to the development of serious tensions in Christian communities. They seemed to hold a special attraction for Barth who regarded Paul as a prophet speaking to all men in all ages and not simply as an apostle addressing his contemporaries as a product of their particular age and environment. On that basis he began a thorough study of 'Romans' in 1916. His commentary was ready for publication in August 1918, just as the German and Austrian Emperors were preparing their joint peace note to the Allies via the US, just as the Allies were embarking troops for their brutal push against both the Bolsheviks and the Central Powers, and just a few weeks before Hitler was afflicted by Allied gas shells and when, in his own words, "it required only a little imagination to hear the sound of the guns booming away in the north."¹³¹ When it was published the following year, in German only, while Germany's people struggled to find their identity, while the Allies bickered over their fate and while the Vatican politicked to upset plans for a Jewish state, the response from theologians on both sides of the Reformation curtain was swift.

Barth had stirred up a hornet's nest and compliments and condemnation flew thick and fast. Both shocked and encouraged by the response he promptly set about a revision, clarifying and tightening his thinking as much as possible. It was the second edition, published in 1922 just

after he accepted a teaching post at the University of Gottingen, which rocked the European theological boat. The world was in such turmoil that politicians and church leaders wanted nice soothing religion which would settle frayed nerves, dampen down red revolutionary talk and put the church back onto its comforting and comfortable pillar of support for capitalism and country. But Barth appeared to be hell-bent on dismantling the church and on justifying revolution.

According to Barth the “concrete, visible powers” of Church and State, of Law and Society each claim to possess the answer to the question, “What shall we do?” They support their claims to be “not merely things in human life, but that order and direction which constitute the solution to the problem” with convincing arguments and demand recognition and obedience. “If we admit their authority”, he wrote, “we concede ... the principle of Legitimism (but if) we reject it, we are bound to accept the principle of Revolution.” He pointed out that we accept reactionary forces who appear to present little danger but we are anxious about revolutionary forces with their vital dangers. “For the honour of God we have to bring the revolutionary within the orbit of sacrifice; and his sacrifice is a sacrifice of quite peculiar dignity!”¹³² In the command to ‘overcome evil with good’ there is “no word of approval of the existing order, but there is endless disapproval of every enemy of it.” God “wishes to be recognized as He that overcometh the unrighteousness of the existing order”¹³³ The divine factor in both the existing order and the revolution that bursts forth against it is its capacity to bring the evil conduct of men under the judgement of God.¹³⁴

Barth wrote that when men undertake to substitute themselves for God, the problem of God, His mind and His judgement still remains, but they are rendered ineffective.¹³⁵ In the church the dead no-man’s-land between two opposing forces becomes visible and the hostility of men against God is brought to a head. All the piety which it encourages and all the knowledge, work and prayer by which it claims to be justified are, in Barth’s view, piled up to form a mighty obstacle on man’s side of the barrier which separates God and man. The church might be great if it adopted humility!¹³⁶ But as if that were not enough to stir a bit of opposition Barth wrote that it would be a sign of real perception if Protestants ceased celebrating the Reformation and learned seriously to regret it as a venture of Titanism.¹³⁷ The KRISIS of Protestantism comes from its refusal to dare to stand on the outermost edge of civilization and society, of world culture and world religion and to be the humble but decisive question mark and exclamation mark.¹³⁸ The Reformation had been a failure and the Reformed Churches had to think very carefully about their theology and their status. That part of Barth’s thinking should have pleased the Vatican.

But as if the Vatican didn’t have enough troubles trying to offset the Balfour Declaration, Barth wrote that Israel and the Jews had not been cast off. In a world lying in wickedness God sets the believer on his feet, reckons according to His standards, passes by all that is concrete, visible and outward, and judges in secret according to His justice.¹³⁹ In fact if the Jews have been “veritably entrusted with the oracles of God, their claim to peculiarity and to special attention is not necessarily presumptuous.”¹⁴⁰ Barth wrote that where human hope comes to an

end God enters upon the scene. "He has waited in His wrath for the cry of the lonely man in Israel, only in order that He may declare His mercy to him and to all Israel." The church has been dethroned but it has been no more cast off than Israel and it has perhaps been justified.¹⁴¹ The "elect" do not come from any particular school of thought or group of men; they cannot be identified; they emerge only to be submerged; and in "these bearers of hope the Church can see only the unfathomable freedom of God, for the hope of the elect is centred upon His grace. In them we can learn only the lesson (that) Israel hath not obtained that which he seeketh for."¹⁴² Salvation, Barth wrote, "concerns all Israel, the whole church, every church" as the fulfillment of prophecy and as the messenger of Christ but, possibly, subject to divine demolition and confronted by an impassable barrier as it dares to tackle its boundless task.

Barth's criticism of the church was so vigorous that it was said that his whole 'ecclesiology' was nothing but a denial of the church and an out-and-out attack on the existing historical church.¹⁴³ Hardly surprising. "... the church seeks to live: it struggles to preserve its life by turning its back on its veritable tribulation, by engaging in a tenacious defence of its traditions and customs, by attempting to galvanize itself into life or by setting out to erect new religious societies. This unwillingness-to-die is the real tragedy of the church."¹⁴⁴

But perhaps the sharpest sting came in Barth's statement that the risen Lord "is no founder of a new religion." Christ "erects no new Church which may be compared or contrasted with other Churches." He is the masterkey which opens every door and the "imperative of the righteousness of God (and) He is the point from which the vast horizon of life is seen in true perspective."¹⁴⁵ Muhammad couldn't have put his own understanding of Jesus of Nazareth any better if he tried. With a Barth in Jerusalem at the time of the Apostles there may never have been a triangle – especially if he had a few more allies such as F. W. Buckler.

With the Vatican waving its heavy hand against the Bolsheviks, against the Jews and against governments which refused to recognize it, and with some nationalistic sections of the Protestant church also lobbying for closer church/state ties, it is no wonder that there was a "celebrated collision in 1923 between Barth and Professor Adolf von Harnack in which both had predicted a black future for theology if the other was left in command of the field."¹⁴⁶ Neither is it a wonder that Karl Barth's ideas had a strong influence on people like the young theological student Dietrich Bonhoeffer who was studying under Harnack at the time of the controversy,¹⁴⁷ as well as at the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order.

Not only had Imperial Germany been devastated by the war, but the Monarchy was no more. The sheet anchor of belief for many people, that it was the mission of Imperial Germany to exercise world domination as an expression of divine will and as the hammer of God had been shattered, but many Germans, including theologians, were having great difficulty coming to terms with it. They appeared incapable of comprehending the defeat in the war and the post war crisis in Germany, and instead of seeing the nation's collapse as "a sign of the desertion or abandonment by God of His virtually chosen people (which should) lead to a fundamental

reappraisal of their ideas”, they saw it as “the victory of the Godless over the Godly.” This led them to grasp the “stab in the back legend which allocated the blame for the defeat of November 1918, and subsequent revolution, to the machinations of ungodly forces within Germany such as political liberalism, social democracy and communism all of which ideologies had prominent Jewish advocates.”¹⁴⁸ Anti-Semitism was being given a help along.

As a result of having read Barth, the young Bonhoeffer, whose posthumous influence as a writer would later prove at least as great as his impact as a leader of the German resistance and the Ecumenical Movement, was greatly influenced by the Stockholm Conference on Life and Work in August 1925. Many other people in the steadily growing Ecumenical Movement were too, no doubt, but Bonhoeffer saw it in a new light. He identified the movement as belonging to the Body of Christ and in his subsequent doctoral dissertation he attributed to Jesus’ high priestly prayer for unity, John 17:23, “the force of a commandment to be implemented here and now.” That verse reads:

*With me in them and you in me,
may they be so completely one
that the world will realize that it was you who sent me
and that I have loved them as much as you loved me.*¹⁴⁹

But in spite of the depth of the divide between the Vatican and the Reformed churches Barth’s influence extended well into the more liberal wings of the Roman Catholic Church. Within weeks of the Stockholm conference a sacerdotal association known as the Friends of Israel was set up within the framework of the Catholic Church by Fr. Anton Van Asseldonck. Its basic aims were said to be to encourage priests “to offer a daily prayer for the conversion of the Jews, to enlighten Catholics about Israel through their sermons and writings, with a view to combating hostile prejudices, and to show good will to Jews as well as a sincere apostolic zeal.” With the support of the Prefect of the Holy Congregation for Propaganda, Cardinal Van Rossum, it was formerly established on February 24, 1926, and by the end of 1927 its members included 19 cardinals, 278 archbishops and bishops, and some 3,000 priests. Having gathered such momentum it was widely seen as a demonstration that the true Catholic spirit was opposed to anti-Semitism.¹⁵⁰

However, as influential as the Stockholm Conference was, and in spite of the steadily growing confidence of the Ecumenical Movement, it appears that Barth’s influence really came to the fore at the Lausanne conference on Faith and Order, and that it was this which upset the reigning pope, Pius XI, more than either Stockholm or the third conference of the series, the International Missionary Council, which was planned for Jerusalem at Easter, April 1928. It was not just the fact of the conference being held which upset him. It was the circumstances of church-state relations in Italy at the time and the framework of the Vatican’s self-understanding which we shall now consider briefly.

ITALY AND THE VATICAN IN TURMOIL

Italy was drifting from one crisis to another, all of them involving church-state relations and Catholic lay participation in politics, and the pope was in the middle of crucial negotiations to get his temporal empire back. Such high powered talk of unity among Christians of non-Roman communions, of the church contributing to the crises of the world, and of an in-depth review of Christian doctrines and the purpose of ministry was seriously undermining his negotiating position. This was especially so because the chief negotiator for the Italian government was no ordinary politician. It was a former teacher turned journalist cum political organizer who had been arrested by the Austrian authorities and expelled from Trentino in 1909, in response to agitation by connections of the Vatican, because of his strong anticlerical attitudes.¹⁵¹ It was none other than Benito Mussolini who had come bouncing back in 1919 to lead the anticlerical, anticapitalist and antisocialist Fascists who wanted rule by a professional elite.

After the First World War the pope had lifted all restrictions on Italian Catholic involvement in politics and there had been swift polarization into factions which were based on attitudes to major social issues. The unifying influence of the Catholic Church, being dependent on single-mindedness of spiritual fellowship, was shattered. By 1922, with no major party able to hold the confidence of parliament for more than a few weeks, the minority Fascists were able to march on the palace and demand that their leader be given a chance to form a government. To King Victor Emmanuel III, faced with the task of getting Italy out of its cycle of recurring crises, anything was worth a try. He obligingly phoned Mussolini who was keeping out of sight in Milan and invited him to become prime minister.

Concerned to find the strongest prop to keep him in power once he was there, Mussolini courted the church. He permitted the use of the crucifix, which had long been banned, and the reintroduction of the catechism in elementary schools. In something of a volte-face he was billed as the newfound friend of the church. Conveniently putting more emphasis on his anti socialism than on his anticapitalism, he had soon wooed a large part of the right wing moderates and the autocratic clerico-fascists who found a leaning towards civil Fascism quite comfortable. By 1923–24 Mussolini had gained the firm support of the aristocrats of Lombard Catholic Finance, the Bank of Rome and the Catholic Trust newspaper chain.¹⁵² The church and Mussolini had almost hooked each other. A touch of patience, then one sharp tug on the line and the pope might get his state back.

The murder of a socialist deputy brought Italy's domestic crisis to near boiling in June 1924 and there was widespread but unfulfilled expectation that Victor Emmanuel III would dismiss Mussolini. The Catholic church found itself host to two bitterly opposed political movements. The Vicar of Christ as Bishop of Rome found his worldwide spiritual responsibilities getting rather confused with his domestic chores and his want to get his state back. He dropped his gloves, and let his mask slip a bit too, when he made a key statement in September 1924, a few weeks after the General Secretary of the Catholic Popular Party had proposed an alliance with the moderate Socialists as a means of deposing Mussolini. When politics and the altar draw

near, said Pius XI, the pope has not only the right but the duty to give particular directives which Catholic souls have the right to ask for and the duty to follow. There were dangerously immature ideas among us, he said, that any purpose of public benefit is enough to justify cooperation in evil. He indicated that collaboration with Socialists in other countries, once they were in power, was acceptable but collaboration with Italy's Socialists which might help them to gain power was different. He then held the chopper aloft saying it pained him to see good Catholics taking action which would separate them from the faith. It was proper and necessary that they should put the great principles of faith and religion at the base of their every activity, even political.¹⁵³ What he was really saying was that Lombard Finance, the Bank of Rome, the shipping line and the Catholic Trust system were not to be placed in jeopardy.

The pope had assumed personal direction of the political life of Italian Catholicism; all that remained was to pronounce the last rites over the Catholic Popular Party because it had been dealt a mortal body blow – and Mussolini had found his prop.¹⁵⁴ On January 3, 1925 he, too, dropped his mask, admitted that he had been responsible for all that had happened during the previous months, and declared that henceforth the Fascists would rule dictatorially. The grassroots church was thrown into confusion. Those who were game moved to counter Mussolini's declaration but it was too late. The great repression of opposition parties, press and labour organizations began immediately and it didn't take long to either silence or dissolve them all.¹⁵⁵

For the moment national feeling was running strongly against him but Mussolini had brute force on his side and there was plenty of time. He could afford to wait and he still had his trump card up his sleeve. He waited a discreet time and then negotiations were quietly opened, in 1926, through an intermediary, to resolve the Roman Question. They dragged on for three years but, as the public gradually got wind of what was happening, opposition increased. As a result there was anything but unity in the Italian church when 394 delegates – only nine of them women – gathered for the opening of the three-week Faith and Order Conference just across the border at Lausanne on August 3, 1927, without the Italian church involved. The pope had harshly suppressed the wish of many clergy to be involved, and while it was still in progress there was strong agitation for Rome to be represented at the next major ecumenical conference, that of the International Missionary Council, which was being planned for Jerusalem at Easter the following year.

Lausanne was the first international conference which had ever been convened within the non-Catholic churches specifically to consider matters of faith and order. It therefore provided the first post-war opportunity for theological heavy weights from the teaching institutions of Orthodox and Reformed churches to compare notes on their particular interpretations of the Bible face to face and without the immediate tensions of interfaith wars and international crises.¹⁵⁶ But there were other reasons for tension. One was the circumstances of church/state relations in Europe. Another was the dynamic – or devastating – challenge of Barth's Romans. As a result, with the conference working in seven sections,¹⁵⁷ each with a major aspect of faith to consider, the conference had periods of high drama in which the differences in doctrinal

approach came to the surface and threatened to undermine progress towards the establishment of an international ecumenical body.

When the section dealing with the unity of Christendom proposed that issues of practical application of faith (dealt with by the Life and Work Movement) would provide a basis for collaboration within an organization like the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, the delegates of Anglo-Catholic outlook objected. They did not want worldly issues emphasized at the expense of unity in faith, liturgy and systems of authority in the church.

The section dealing with a common confession of faith was similarly divided and the Nicene Creed was, naturally, at the centre of the controversy. Some theologians, notably the Orthodox, demanded that the conference declare the Trinitarian statement, in its existing form, to be basic to the life of the church. Others pressed the view that "the scriptures" were a sufficient basis for Christian life and worship without creeds, and one Congregationalist said the church "should clear all that old lumber out of the way." But what did the term 'the Scriptures' mean? The Bible on its own, or linked with 'tradition' and, in the common German view, an assortment of developed statements of confession? When each of several denominational (or confessional) groups stated their contrasting positions it did not help and it was apparent that there was deep division between the Reformed churches and the Orthodox churches. After Archbishop Germanos read a declaration on behalf of the Orthodox churches that the bases of the proposed reports were "inconsistent with the principles of the Orthodox Church" and that they would refrain from voting on all sections except the one dealing with the Gospel as the church's message to the world, he returned to his seat with tears pouring down his face.¹⁵⁸

The divisions were so deep that attempts to arrange either a united service of Holy Communion or a conference celebration failed, but the conference was able to agree on a call to Christian unity and a Continuation Committee was set up to plan for further consultations and conferences. In one sense the Vatican was delighted to see its competitors in the separated churches falling about arguing over every issue, but their divisions also brought to the surface the divisions within the Roman Catholic Church and some of its clergy were more eager than ever to see the debates continue and to be part of them. Thus, with his negotiations at a delicate stage the pope demanded that the boat rocking stop.

MORTALIUM ANIMOS: AGAINST THE TIDE

On January 6, 1928, Pius XI issued the encyclical letter known as *Mortalium Animos*. In it he condemned wholesale the conferences and assemblies through which the "pan-Christians" were trying to bring unity among Christians. This was, he said, based on false religious indifferentism which held that any religion at all was more or less good and praiseworthy because they all revealed and explained the significance of the native, inborn instinct which turns people towards God and makes them acknowledge His sovereignty.^{159 160} He forbade Catholics to have anything to do with the movement.^{161 162 163} He then repeated the old routine of justifying Rome through Peter but added a couple of fanciful new claims. The Roman Catholic Church was a

perfect society. It remained always identical to itself, visibly one, and it was the guardian of the immutable deposit of revelation. Within it the Roman Pontiff and the Bishops in communion with him were responsible to teach authoritatively and infallibly that deposit of faith. The union of Christians can only be fostered by promoting the return of the dissidents to the one true Church of Christ which they had abandoned and which Christ had destined for the common salvation of men. The mystical Spouse of Christ had never been contaminated (nor would she ever be) and no one remains within it unless he acknowledges and accepts with obedience the authority and power of Peter's legitimate successors. Finally the dissidents were again invited to return, provided that they did so without any expectation that the root and matrix of the church (which was also the pillar and ground of truth) would sacrifice the integrity of faith, and provided also that they intended to submit to her authority and government.¹⁶⁴

It is difficult to read that encyclical without a sickening feeling that Pius XI was anticipating the successful growth of totalitarian states complete with a return to the good old days of the Inquisition. But at the same time the real motives for setting up a series of special centres to foster relations with the Eastern Church and "to provide opportunities for evaluation and exchange of mutual information" in an atmosphere of dialogue which were established during that period becomes clear. Not only might it draw the Orthodox Churches back to Rome, it might undermine the strength of the Reformed wing by drawing the Orthodox Churches out of the international Christian unity discussions.^{165 166}

The overall effect of that encyclical was to entrench even more deeply the bigotry in inter-denominational attitudes which had risen and fallen since Vatican I and made it virtually impossible for the European powers to avoid a repeat performance of the psychological warfare of the First World War in the event of another war. The possibility of such a war was already being discussed around the world. Because of that it must rank among the most important statements to come from the Christian Church between the two world wars. Certainly it was the most destructive. The pope's assumption of the direction of Italian Catholic political life had been of immense importance and just a year later he would crystallize – or mummify – the church's view of itself and his view of the papacy when he announced the Lateran Treaty. One thing is certain. Without *Mortalium Animos* the world's affairs could possibly have taken a different course during the next generation.

Then on March 25, 1928, less than three months later, as Protestant leaders prepared to meet in Jerusalem for the International Missionary Conference the Holy Office issued a decree suppressing the Friends of Israel Association. The decree required, and had, papal approval. The world was expected to believe that the Catholic Church was so consistent in its opposition to anti-Semitism that it did not need a priestly association especially to promote or to demonstrate that position. The Catholic Church, according to the decree, had always been accustomed to pray for the Jewish people "which was the depository of divine promises up until Jesus Christ" in spite of "and indeed precisely because of" its continual blindness. It had protected them with charity against "unjust persecutions" – which implies that all that it had done for about 1,600 years had been "just" – and "because it disapproves of all hatreds and animosities among

people, it condemns in the highest degree hatred against the people formerly chosen by God, [implying now 'rejected'] the hatred that is commonly designated today under the name of 'anti-Semitism.'" ¹⁶⁷

Priests should simply stress, on the basis of scripture, "a prerogative of Divine Love toward the people of Israel; the sublime sign of this love constituted by the incarnation of Christ ...; the permanence of this love, and even its increase because of ... Christ's death; and ... the proof of this love in the conduct of the Apostles." One should be honest, show justice towards Jews and never doubt God's grace, but it might not be legitimate to conceal the role played by Israel with regard to Christ. No one, he said, "wants to make 'deicide' a sort of 'original sin' borne by every Jew today, but one cannot remain silent about Israel's unfaithfulness to its mission" or its participation in Christ's death, or the Divine punishment of the destruction of Jerusalem, or the requirement to work for 'conversion' of the Jews. It was an error, excessive and inexact "to praise Judaism so much that one seems to attribute to the Jewish race today a place of honour within contemporary Christianity, a place reserved for it and remaining vacant until its arrival." And "one should not strengthen among Jews, who are already so fiercely nationalistic, an anti-Catholic mentality whose omissions and deficiencies were admirably pointed out by St. Paul." ¹⁶⁸

Thus the Friends of Israel Association was suppressed with the full authority of Pius XI because it was trying to realign or redirect Catholic teaching on the Jewish Question in the manner of Karl Barth. It had challenged, within the Catholic Church itself, "an interpretation of tradition, a manner of speaking and prejudices that could only add to the scorn and hatred for Jews." ¹⁶⁹ That interpretation had arisen within the church. It had been perpetuated and reinforced within the church, and the church now wanted to continue to use it for its own ends. But it had so effectively permeated the entire amorphous Christian gel of the Western world that it was impossible to either exorcize it or see it apart from the church, and it had now become a fundamental aspect of Hitler's parody of the church, *Mein Kampf*, which was a major component of the trigger for theological reassessment. In a more immediate sense the suppression of the Friends of Israel was a strong rebuff to the thousands of clergy who had become associated with it so quickly; a direct rejection of the challenge of Karl Barth and any suggestion that the church should reassess its self-understanding or its theology; an affront to the Ecumenical Movement; and real encouragement to those, including Hitler, who wanted to share the anti-Semitic limelight with the church.

THE MISSIONARY COUNCIL IN JERUSALEM

It was therefore a somewhat dispirited band of about 230 delegates, equally split between "old churches" of the European mould and "younger churches" of the Afro-Asian mould, which made its way up the Mount of Olives at Easter 1928. They made up the first augmented meeting of the International Missionary Council which had been formed in 1921 as a follow-up to the 1910 Edinburgh Conference.¹⁷⁰ No Germans had attended the 1921 meeting and there were

none among the delegates at Jerusalem either. The German churches had decided that as long as they were excluded from the territories of the former enemies of the Fatherland they could not take part in international missionary conferences.¹⁷¹ The delegates in Jerusalem were therefore faced with division in their own ranks about who ought to have been at the meeting, about how the Gospel should be interpreted and therefore about the basic thrust of mission work. They had to recognize that the moral prestige and superiority of the Christian West had been exposed as a pernicious ideological myth by the First World War. This meant they no longer enjoyed captive audiences. They faced African and Asian societies which were showing vital revivals and turning their backs on the amorphous gel of Christian culture. These societies were struggling to find human fulfillment and salvation through profound strengths and values in their pre-Messianic faiths (which were being brought to light by a new kind of scrutiny) and they turned against the colonial legacy of racial domination, making rebellious demands for self-determination born out of sheer frustration.¹⁷²

The delegates were also shaken by the state of affairs in both Russia and Germany which had been humiliated, swamped with bitterness at the terms of the so-called peace settlement and which were determined to have their national revenge. Germany was about to have a national election and the fanatical anti-Semitic leader of one of its minor parties was running around saying that he would conclude the work which Christ had started but could not finish. That was the frank and disarming manner in which Hitler had already announced his personal messianic mission in life: the completion of the Christian Church's battle against the Jews whom he agreed were the enemy of the world.¹⁷³ Now they were gathered for a meeting in the city which was the focal point of both their own faith and that of the Jews. It was in an area over which Muslim Arabs had been promised sovereignty but, in view of Britain's contradictory promise, many of Europe's Jews hoped to make it the capital of their homeland in which they could escape from the clutches of the church and its allies like Hitler. In addition, as a result of decisions which Britain had recently taken as mandatory power the Jews were strengthening their political and religious organization.

As early as December 1918, only a year after the announcement of the Balfour Declaration, the Jews of Palestine had agreed among themselves on the structure and functions of an Assembly of Delegates (Asefat Hanivharim) and a National Council (Va'ad Leumi) as the basis of their domestic organization. In 1921 Britain recognized these as the Assembly of Israel (Knesset Israel) for purposes of relations with the mandatory authorities. Then in 1926 it granted limited taxing powers and legal status to the religious institutions of each of the three communities of faith as it struggled to negate the conflicts of interest which it had triggered with the Balfour Declaration. In a related move which subsequently caused considerable difficulties for the Jewish community and which must have displeased the Vatican greatly, both the Chief Rabbinate and the Rabbinical Council were recognized as part of Knesset Israel.

The Zionist Organization had sought to keep political and religious authority quite separate, and the Ultra-Orthodox groups declined to recognize Knesset Israel or any political organization unless it acknowledged that it derived its authority solely from Halakhah, the

Orthodox religious law. Their position was remarkably similar to that which the Vatican had sought to impose throughout Europe over a very long period, and the mainstream Muslim attitude towards the relationship between religion and state. In the circumstances, the Zionist Organization had little option but to accept the religious institutions as an integral part of Knesset Israel. However in an effort to prevent the possibility of Ultra-Orthodox (or other) groups rejecting the authority of Knesset Israel and seeking to secede, it rejected any separation of religion and politics. It declared that "religion was not a private matter for the individual conscience but an essential component in the structure of leadership within the new Jewish society, and ... a source of Zionist legitimacy." In using that expression it had sought to turn to its advantage the Orthodox argument that there was no political legitimacy without acceptance of Halakhah. But its move did not immediately succeed. Ultra-Orthodox groups, representing about thirteen thousand people, declared themselves to be outside Knesset Israel and sought recognition from Britain as a separate and parallel political community.¹⁷⁴

At the same time that these institutional developments were taking place within the growing Jewish community, political groups were being formed on both sides of the ethnic divide and volunteer Jewish defence groups were also being set up. These moves reflected the underlying tension between the Jewish and non-Jewish communities and the fears which each of them harboured. On one hand, fear that anti-Semitism could spill over from Europe and, on the other hand, concern at the intrusive nature of Jewish settlement and fear that collaboration between the Zionists and the British government might lead to non-Jews being swamped. The Muslim Christian Association (MCA) which was formed by leading members of those communities about the same time as the two units of the Assembly of Israel, became the mainstay of the Palestinian nationalist movement and branches were organized in several towns by 1919. It worked in parallel with two other groups, the Literary Society and the Arab Club, which were exclusively Muslim, but in addition there were a series of church-linked groups and "secret societies" some of which were somewhat less subtle in their attempts to counter the growth of Zionist influence. Together, all of these groups were represented at a series of All-Palestine Congresses, the first of which was organized by the MCA in 1919. A Palestine Arab Executive was appointed at successive congresses to serve as the peak body until the following congress, and elections became structured so that as the organization grew there were Muslim and Christian representatives from each district and from each religious institution. In addition a Supreme Muslim Council, led by the Mufti of Jerusalem, was established in 1922 to have responsibility for matters of specific concern to the Muslim community.

As if the complex inter-faith environment into which the delegates to the International Missionary Council stumbled was not enough to guarantee tensions within the group and to dampen its capacity to develop an effective program, the Council was faced with bitter antagonism from the Vatican and the Catholic Community as a consequence of *Mortalium Animos* and the decree suppressing the Friends of Israel. This was a strange twist to the prayerful interest which they had been promised. Perhaps it was a spur towards the fundamental theological rethink which was becoming ever more urgent. In any case the Council did produce

a document with some vital new thrusts in line with the functions which had been adopted in 1921. These included: to help unite Christian public opinion in support of freedom of conscience and religion and of missionary liberty, and to help unite the Christian forces of the world in seeking justice in international and inter-racial relations.¹⁷⁵ It repudiated attempts by trade and government to openly or covertly use missionary programmes for ulterior purposes. Any conscious or unconscious desire to use Christian missions as a means to fasten a bondage, whether economic, political or social, on any people could not be tolerated, it said. Neither did the Council wish to bind up the Gospel with fixed ecclesiastical forms which took their meaning from the experience of the Western church. Perhaps that was a response to the pope's encyclical letter. The Gospel was a sure source of power for social regeneration. It was also the only way by which humanity could escape from the class and race hatred which had devastated society to enjoy national well-being, international friendship and peace. It was the gift of a new world from God to the old world of sin and death, and it did not recognize an "antithesis ... between individual and social regeneration." It was the victory over sin and death. The Council said that Christ is the revelation of what God is and of what man, through Him, may become. In Him we come face to face with the ultimate reality of the universe. And, referring to other religions in which Christ is not recognized as Son of God, the Council said that the Father had nowhere left Himself without witness.¹⁷⁶

There hadn't been such an exciting fresh breeze to rustle the leaves in the reopened Christian book since Stephen proclaimed his vision of the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God. The Council even did a somersault over the Baptist and Westminster Confessions. In Jesus Christ, it said, we find the ever-unfolding revelation of the God in whom we live and move and have our being. Muhammad would have agreed with every word of it. It was the closest the church had come to his insistence that Jesus, the Son of Mary ¹⁷⁷(a), was a blessing from Allah (b) through whom the Gospel was revealed (c), through whom the Torah was confirmed (d), and who was a sign to mankind (e) to the Day of Resurrection(f). Buckler should have been quite pleased at the progress, too. But the Council had to make some concession to the church's dominant doctrine and deeply ingrained tradition. It took the shine off a brilliant piece of work by retreating part way back to Nicaea with the words "... in Him we find God incarnate ..." The old barrier was still there. At least the Council had avoided the traditional words "... Jesus Christ, the only Begotten Son of God ... God from God, Light from Light, True God from True God ... of one Being with the Father, By whom all things were made ..." ^{178 179}

Even that retreat still left the International Missionary Council way out in front of the rest of the church. It had faced the challenge of the Balfour Declaration head on. It had met at the physical focal point of its faith, within view of the Jews' sacred Temple Mount, right in the middle of Muslim territory (and in very difficult circumstances) instead of at some comfortable European conference centre.^{180 181} It had not been intimidated by the pope's *Mortalium Animos* and it had taken seriously the task of rethinking what the church was really all about. It had been like an impatient forward scout going too far, too quickly, into enemy territory. It was certainly exposed to sniper fire and most of the snipers proved to be behind it, not in front. It

wasn't long before some of the more conservative churchmen were accusing it of syncretism. According to some of its critics it had fallen under the spell of meeting in a Muslim region, but to others it appeared to have been so influenced by Karl Barth that it was falling under the spell of Zionist leaders like Rabbi Meir Bar-Ilan of the Mizrahi Movement. It was, they said, trying to achieve conversions by watering down the faith when the church was failing to achieve them by evangelism. It was also accused of concealing important differences between the faiths and of being too tough on secular involvement in mission work.

The reactions from conservative churchmen had been quite predictable but at least the Council had made a lot of progress. Many of the churches which had sent delegates took notice of its call to make mission work a series of decentralized partnerships with young churches and not a paternalistic colonial function which could be started and stopped at will. Many of them also began to debate social and economic issues in a new light. They had been reminded very bluntly that they had a duty to speak and work fearlessly against injustice of all types and to support all forces which bring nearer the establishment of Christ's Kingdom in the world of social relations, industrial organization and economic life.¹⁸² Padded pews were not all thrown out straight away, but at least they didn't feel quite so comfortable and soul-satisfying anymore.

ROME REVIEWS ITS APPROACH TO MISSIONS

It comes as no surprise to find that the I.M.C.'s attitude made relations between the Reformed churches and Rome even more difficult by highlighting differences in their approach to "mission" or evangelism, as well as causing ripples in the Reformed and Orthodox ponds. Pius XI had strong personal views on mission work and the role of the Vatican, and he had taken office in February 1922 when the world was very restless. The Western World had its eyes riveted on Russia to see what course world Communism would take following the appointment of Joseph Stalin as General Secretary of the party in Russia a few months earlier. It should have been taking more interest in people and events in China where the social progress of more than one fifth of the world community was at a critical stage. Relations between China and the Treaty Powers were shaky and a showdown had just been averted by the Washington Conference. Relations between the complex Chinese society and the fragmented Chinese authorities on one hand and the European and American sponsored Christian Missions on the other were little better. Neither were relations between competing missions. In his new role Pius XI immediately undertook a complete review of Catholic missions with, it appears, due emphasis on the problem of China.

He would have been well aware that Protestant fervour in China was such that their community growth rate was still quite a bit faster than that of the Catholic community.^{183 184} Just as he took office a National Christian Council was being organized to coordinate the growth of the "indigenous" Chinese Christian church and to expand work under the "social gospel", and Protestant missionaries were especially active in organizing the China International Famine Relief Commission in the wake of the North China famine of 1920–21.¹⁸⁵

But Pius' review took him in a completely different direction. On May 3 1922 he consolidated all Catholic mission programmes, budgeting, distribution of funds and fundraising under Boards of the Propaganda responsible to him. This involved transferring the headquarters of the Association for the Propagation of the Faith from Paris and Lyons to Rome.¹⁸⁶

In explaining his action to an audience of Missionary Union clergy six weeks later, (June 13 1922), Pius said the Catholic Church could no longer rely upon substantial help towards mission programmes from the civil powers. During the sixteenth century, (with its trauma of the Reformation), the papacy had relied on Portugal and Spain, he said. During various periods of the nineteenth century it had relied on France and Austria. But in future, he said, the Holy See would have to depend on the Faithful of Christendom in "the ancient duel being fought between God and the devil" on the mission fields. He proposed that a Priests' Missionary Union be formed in every parish.¹⁸⁷

CHINA: THE NEW FOCUS

At Pentecost a year later, (June 1923), he noted that the shift in Catholic numbers in Europe due to the sixteenth century upheavals "which had torn so many nations from the heart of the church" was being compensated for by growth in China and other parts of the Far East. This was due, he said, to the efforts of the Propaganda and he appealed for worldwide Catholic support. He also further tightened the papal strings around the Catholic mission programme by appointing Apostolic Delegates to China, Indochina¹⁸⁸ and South Africa.

There were to be no half measures. To make sure the money flowed freely, preparation for the grandest missionary display that had ever been conceived was pushed ahead under Cardinal Van Rossum of the Propaganda. It was to be the focal point for a Holy Year Exhibition 18 months later that would take the wind out of any talk of unity or coordination of mission work.¹⁸⁹ Neither was there to be any wilting under pressure. The message had to be pressed home relentlessly. China was to be no exception even if antichristian feeling was rising and even if competing warlords were tearing it apart so that it was at the point of a breakdown of civil authority. Those problems only made the challenge more interesting and called for more determination.

By 1919 there were already about half a million students in a mixed bag of Catholic and Protestant schools compared with four million in new style government operated schools ¹⁹⁰ and, as the crisis deepened, missions competed for the support of warlords and revolutionary leaders while they, in turn, competed for the support of either the church or the Confucian community. Feng Yu Hsiang, baptized by Dr. Mott in 1913, was known as the "Christian General" because he openly used his army to press Protestantism, austerity, practical education and social reform. He is said to have baptized his troops with a hose.¹⁹¹ His superior, Wu Peifu, on the other hand was a classical Confucian who was regarded by both British and Chinese aristocracy as a stabilizing influence in Central China. They were two of the main figures in a

series of regional power struggles, complete with pitched battles for the control of Peking, which began in 1921.¹⁹²

But in the period flowing on from the collapse of the Ch'ing Dynasty and the Great War, China faced economic and social reconstruction as well as power struggles. Her rural and secondary industries had to expand to offset the shortfall in European imports on which the country had become dependent because of the treaties forced on it by Europe and the United States during the previous few generations. Its new dependence was firstly on foreign capital which controlled much of its railway system, coal mining and manufacturing industry, and secondly on supplies of kerosene for domestic use and fuel oil for industrial use.¹⁹³ They came through affiliates of Royal Dutch Shell and Standard Oil which was about as popular as it was with the governments of Europe.

There was strong resentment that the self-determination which was being "granted" by the Allies (with much flag waving by US President Wilson) to some of the defeated peoples of Europe was not going to apply in the Far East. It was especially strong among the young educated elite who were still trying to batter down the remnants of the old system of government employment. They were also the ones most resentful of the secret deals between Peking and the Allies under which Japan was to hold the privileges previously held by Germany in Shantung Province.¹⁹⁴ Such things were enough to fuel a revolution but in addition there was real indignation at the refusal of foreign commercial interests to give up old treaty privileges after their governments had agreed to modified treaties at the Washington Conference of November 12 1921 to February 2 1922.¹⁹⁵

In that environment strong Socialist and Communist parties formed with links in Japan, Europe and Russia. The republican Kuomintang, led by the Anglican-educated 'Henry George' Socialist Dr. Sun Yat Sen and his anticommunist, non-Christian military deputy Chiang KaiShek, arranged a powerful coalition of convenience with the Chinese Communist Party in 1922. However Dr. Sun and the Russian Foreign Ministry agreed that the Soviet system would have to be greatly adapted for conditions in China.¹⁹⁶

Then with China rolling steadily towards revolution on a wave of anti-foreign, anti-Christian¹⁹⁷¹⁹⁸ and also anti-capitalist sentiments, or simply revulsion at that "amorphous gel", the Kuomintang planned its First National Congress for January 1924. Sun Yat Sen's 'Three Principles of the People' which he had published twenty years before to provide a basis for China's development as a multicultural society had retained their early wide acceptance. They were Nationalism, Democracy and Socialism. They were not in dispute but the emphasis had changed from time to time. In 1924 they carried heavy overtones of anti-imperialism. What the Congress would do would be to determine a method to carry out China's revolutionary reconstruction along those lines within the framework of Kuomintang/Communist cooperation.¹⁹⁹

With tension mounting, the Protestant churches believed discretion was the better part of valour. They took a low profile, avoided public incidents, and some began to move away from

troubled regions to return when the situation was more stable. But that did not fit into the Propaganda's no-wilting philosophy. It arranged to hold the First National Council of the Chinese (Catholic) Church to coincide with the Kuomintang Congress.²⁰⁰ To some it may appear to have been a bold evangelical move. To others it was at best an indiscretion and at worst an ill-considered deliberate confrontation which served only to inflame burning antichristian passions.

Out of the Congress came a plan based on three tactical principles. The Kuomintang would work in alliance with the Soviet Union; in collaboration with the Chinese Communist Party; and through the development of a workers' and peasants' mass movement.²⁰¹ It was put into immediate effect. The power of the Kuomintang/Communist Party alliance snowballed and so did the pressure against the churches.

Pius XI must therefore have been very conscious of events in China as he opened his Holy Year Missionary Exhibition with its mile-long avenue of pavilions on Vatican Hill on December 21 that year. In his inaugural address he left little doubt about who was expected to finance expanded Propaganda programmes and what the benefits would be, and it didn't matter whether it was good Catholic money, tainted Protestant money or even more of that Jewish money which had put the Vicar of Christ back on his throne after the 1848 revolution. He launched the Catholic Church into direct competition for the financial support of the largely American commercial interests which were backing Protestant missions in China on the basis that they would profit from improved commercial access to regions in which missions operated.^{202 203}

Referring to the scientific, ethnological, medical and literary aspects of mission programmes, and in clear contradiction of earlier papal pronouncements on things scientific, Pius XI said the time had come when "all the sacrifices which accompany missionary work will not suffice without the further help of scientific knowledge." Science, he said, must bring light, point to more direct ways and suggest better methods.^{204 205} This was true of industry, commerce and in practical economics. Missions "cannot and must not be deprived of the practical helps that present times afford", he said. Two weeks later he was able to congratulate the organizers for showing many who previously saw mission as "mere pious work" that it is "a work of worldwide importance, interesting alike both to religious and civil society, even from the mere civilizing point of view."²⁰⁶

On April 1 1925 Pius XI neatly redefined "mission" (to fit in with what was established fact throughout the church anyway) when he received the Superior Council of the Propaganda in audience. The Missionary Apostolate, he said, possessed "infinite grandeur and importance" and its aims were not only to evangelize peoples and to lead them "to the true Faith and to the supernatural life which is the highest one can aspire to ... But over and above all that, the mission aim is also to spread science, culture, civilization, in its sublimest comprehension, and thereby.... to uplift humanity itself."^{207 208} He was obviously delighted with the response to the exhibition, then well into its fourth month, but it is equally clear that he was very conscious of

the dire situation in China and the alternative paths it might take following the death of Sun Yat Sen less than three weeks earlier.

THE VATICAN'S NEW APPROACH

Pressure against the church had already been increasing under the Kuomintang/ Communist alliance even before Sun Yat Sen's death and it was a reasonable assumption that with its very moderate Protestant leader out of the way its position would become more militantly antichristian. It did, and against a background of whole regions being left without missionaries as intimidation forced them out, Pius XI was somewhat more subdued when he issued another major call for support for missions in his encyclical *Rerum Ecclesiae* in February 1926.^{209 210} He admitted that there was havoc on some mission fields as a consequence of the Great War and he drew two scenarios. In the first he suggested that a war of revolution might bring a change of regime so that European missionaries of one or another part of the church or nationality might be expelled. In the second, he said, a native people, having reached such a degree of civilization and political maturity that nothing short of complete autonomy would satisfy them, might rise in armed rebellion to expel all Europeans whether soldiers, officials or missionaries. Such events, he declared, would be a calamity for the church unless it had well established native missions with a native clergy able to look after the flock of Christ.

Pius then directed the heads of missions to recruit and train enough native priests to "extend the frontiers of Christianity and to govern the faithful by themselves alone, without the help of any outside clergy."²¹¹ In the eyes of the church there was no distinction between a native priest and a European priest, no barrier and no separation whatever, he said. It was a mistake to imagine that natives are inferior beings or dull-minded and long experience had proved the Eastern and African races have little to envy Europeans in terms of intellectual gifts and the potential for development of their minds, he said.

It was a remarkable and praiseworthy volte face on the part of the papacy. But it is also a shocking indictment against the church. It had been responsible for, it had fostered and it had clung to arrogant, ill-conceived racism, contrary to the Good News, ever since the Council of Nicaea and its sane, logical, long overdue change of attitude only came because of the force of a grave political situation and the threat of the expulsion of European clergy.

The world had waited a long time for such a ray of light. At least it proved the lamp on the hill hadn't been extinguished altogether, but there was still a long way to go to undo sixteen hundred years of damage. In fact just as Pius XI penned that encyclical racism was plumbing new depths both in Europe and North America under the pseudo-scientific guise of eugenics. This made the pope's encyclical all the more remarkable but also all the more difficult for the world to accept because of the Vatican's consistent rejection of things scientific. With simple Biblical truth and logic Pius had confronted the latest in popular scientific thinking and he had been right.^{212 213 214} He did it again four years later. On top of that there were many churchmen

actively supporting the eugenics movement so there was plenty of scope for people to read into the encyclical whatever motives and justification for whatever actions they wished.

Pius also weakened the impact of his direction and showed sympathy for prevailing attitudes when he went on to write that missions should have Religious Congregations of their own for natives of both sexes.²¹⁵ He thought these could be “more suitable to the native mentality and environment.” Of course he included the proviso that if natives wanted to become members of existing Congregations and seemed “endowed with the necessary qualifications, by all means let them be encouraged in their holy design ...”²¹⁶ And in addition to recruitment of a native clergy he wanted monasteries of contemplative orders established, (clearly to compete with the impact of Buddhism among Chinese); greater emphasis on schools and welfare institutions for children and the sick; and cooperation instead of competition between orders.

Turning on the “spiritual slackers” of the Western World who were the recipients and beneficiaries of the gifts of Faith, Grace and earthly treasures, Pius XI demanded they should shake off their lethargy and start sharing their gifts. He demanded a maximum effort from every bishop to set up Priests’ Missionary Unions and in soliciting funds for each of the missionary associations. Having picked up the thrust of the Chinese National Christian Council’s Social Gospel programme he also picked up the thrust of John Mott’s “Evangelization of the World in This Generation.”^{217 218} Christian Society should be “ever eager to give of her gold and her children for the cause of missions” he said, concerned that one thousand million human beings had not yet been led towards Christ who “became man” for their sake. Each succeeding Catholic generation should be anxious, eager and longing to leave a mark on the sands of time and to share in the history of Christ’s conquering march.²¹⁹

Just four months later, (June 15, 1926), Pius XI addressed a Pontifical message directly to the bishops of China with a sense of urgency which borders on despair. He referred to growing misunderstanding between the church and the people of China to whom Catholicism spelt Europeanism and who saw Catholic missionaries as agents of foreign powers, hostile to the political independence and just aspirations of the nations they evangelized. He acknowledged that at times politics and national passions had helped to spread prejudice which was injurious and unfair to the church. The ignorant, the simple and the youth among whom such prejudice took root, and “their governments, ever prone to suspect the Church as the inveterate enemy of their rights and liberties, were being alienated more and more from the Catholic religion” he said. But then, either in a flight of fancy or with an appalling ignorance of colonial history, or both, he claimed that the church “has never allowed her missions to be used as political tools by earthly powers ... (or allowed) ... any of the powers to make use of the missions for its own political ends ... (and) ... she has ever endeavoured to suppress any infiltration of the spirit of nationalism in the divine work of the missions.”²²⁰

The works of a long line of people like Constantine, Isabella, the Medicis, Napoleon Bonaparte, Napoleon III, the Romanovs, Queen Victoria and her lackeys, and industrialists like John D. Rockefeller who were pouring money into missions were coming home to roost. So

was the church's misunderstanding of itself and, as if to confirm that even revolution and persecution could not force the church to rethink its role, Pius XI blatantly contradicted the "no-Europeanism" line he was trying to promote.

With unmistakable allusion to the Treaty Powers he said that any government can and must, of its own right, protect its subjects and their property, including missionaries and their institutions, in any country and especially in times of persecution and revolution.²²¹ If it was intended either as a threat of Italian, French, British or American intervention on behalf of their missions or as an appeal for intervention by those powers, then it clearly confirmed what the Chinese revolutionaries were saying.^{222 223 224 225 226} If on the other hand it was a statement of religious philosophy then it was an open invitation for armed intervention by any country, anywhere, because what is good enough for the goose should be good enough for the gander. If it was proper for the Treaty Powers to "protect" the church in China as they had so often done, for example in the Boxer Rebellion, then it was also proper for China to intervene to "protect" a Confucian monk in Vietnam or for Turkey to send a battle cruiser to "protect" an Imam in Cyprus – or even Rome.

Another four months on, (October 28 1926), and Pius XI personally consecrated a batch of six Chinese bishops. They were the first non-European Catholic bishops ever. The situation had indeed become desperate with many European missionaries being evacuated as China's revolution neared its climax and persecution kept pace with it.²²⁷ It is hardly surprising.

The revolutionaries, struggling for the independence and just aspirations of which Pius XI had written, were having problems of their own. Chiang Kai Shek, as successor to Sun Yat Sen, had meshed military and political control together and grabbed the pinnacle of Kuomintang power by means of a personal bureaucracy and with the aid of Chinese bankers, US capitalists and friends among Protestant church leaders. He and the Chinese Communist Party under leaders such as Chou En Lai were gradually drifting apart as so often happens with coalitions, whether in revolution or in government, even without the coercive backing of a third party which is in open conflict with a coalition partner. That was bad enough but the C.C.P., backed by Russia, was keenly watching the Catholic press and the Vatican hierarchy making very friendly gestures towards their Fascist arch enemy, Mussolini. The C.C.P. turned the screws on the churches tighter and tighter so that in about two years five eighths of the foreign Protestant missionaries in the region of Central China were withdrawn and it seemed that "the ultimate day of trial for the Christian cause in China had come" after reaching a 1925 peak of 8,158 missionaries.²²⁸ Then in 1927 Chiang Kai Shek married a sister of Sun Yat Sen's widow; accepted Methodist baptism in 1930; tightened family links with the American financial world; and began systematically dismantling the labour movements which gave the C.C.P. its strength.

The revolutionary coalition broke up completely. The C.C.P. went underground or into the mountains and Chiang Kai Shek set up a government at Nanking to begin the task of reunifying China. He also acted to suppress attacks on the church so that its missionaries began to make their way back into Central China. With the people of China, more than one fifth of the entire

world population, moving into a period of calm the worst appeared to have passed for the Church.²²⁹

Such was the situation when the International Missionary Council was preparing its report in Jerusalem at Easter 1928. Apart from all the provocative things it said about the nature of the church and about church-state relations it was pretty blunt on some other issues and the influence on its thinking of events in Asia and Africa is obvious. It said that all social and economic systems, including the one “dominated almost entirely by the profit motive”, should be tested against three simple but fundamental criteria from Christ’s teaching: sanctity of personality, brotherhood, and corporate responsibility.²³⁰ It condemned the rivalry of competing imperialisms in their efforts to secure preferential access to sources of raw materials, markets, and opportunities for investment in Asia and Africa which, it said, were “ruinous alike to the nations engaged in it and to the indigenous populations.”²³¹ Then there was its punchline. “We believe that the Gospel ‘proclaims the only way by which humanity can escape from class and race hatred.’ But we are forced to recognize that such a claim requires to be made good and that the record of Christendom hitherto is not sufficient to sustain it ...”²³²

ITALY AND THE VATICAN REBUILD AN ALLIANCE

Within a matter of months Pius XI had put the finishing touches to his concordat with Mussolini, and the Lateran Treaty, and he was ready to unveil his answer to Jerusalem and the unity antics of the reformed and orthodox wings of the church. On February 11 1929 he announced to a special augmented audience of the parish priests of Rome that the Roman Question had been resolved once and for always. There was, of course, nothing unusual about the signing of a concordat. The Vatican used them as its means of negotiating a special status for the Roman Catholic Church and its adherents and it was under them that it exchanged diplomatic representatives with a string of countries. More than forty were signed during the reigns of Pius XI and his successor Pius XII.²³³ The system was an anachronism because it placed the rights of the Catholic Church above changing social conditions and was contrary to the principle of equality for all citizens before the law.²³⁴ It was no different in that respect to state-church laws in countries like Britain. They are an anachronism too. So we may well wonder what was so special about the 1929 Concordat with Italy. To put it in perspective we must retrace our steps from the beginning of The Great War.

Once the old links between a single church and a network of absolute monarchies had been broken, and once competition for the favours of the new constitutional governments developed between the old “parent” church and its “daughters”, (either Reformed or breakaway fragments), the concordat system became vital to the Curia. It provided the capacity to tie the regional units of the Catholic Church to the Vatican and the papacy. If the regional churches were able to make their own competitive arrangements with the governments to which their members owed their civil allegiance they could ignore the papacy altogether. They would be independent.²³⁵ ²³⁶ The concordat system was therefore developed in such a way that the Roman

Catholic Church's diplomatic links – political links might be more accurate – were directly between the papacy and national governments. In that way the regional churches were held dependent on their Roman connection. It was Rome's form of Christian unity. It also made conformity and agreement in all matters vital because without them the tensions which came from disagreements would begin the sixteenth century fragmentation process all over again. The central ruler therefore had to be more absolute than any ordinary monarch to suppress disagreement. From that flowed the dogma of papal infallibility, the need for an oath of antimodernist allegiance, secret services and more concordats. The circle got tighter and tighter.

As we have noted, the Italian government had made it a condition of its entry into The First World War that the pope was not to be involved in either peace negotiations or settlements. There was to be no question of the re-establishment of a papal state without the government's specific agreement. However in July 1917, just a few weeks after Pope Benedict XV met Nahum Sokolow at the Vatican and described Zionist plans for Palestine as "providential", he decided it was time to ignore the Italian Government. Perhaps the military situation was so sticky that Benedict felt he could not rely on providential intervention, but that seems unlikely because just at that stage Italy, with Allied support, had Austria running backwards through Trentino and the disaster of Caporetto was still a thing of the future. Perhaps, on the other hand, he had thought through the implications of that providential intervention, didn't like what he found, and decided to try to do without it. The Jews could stay where they were. Cardinal Pacelli went to Berlin as a papal emissary and on the basis of discussions with government ministers helped to prepare a peace plan which became known as "the papal note." It proposed a series of international agreements and systems of arbitration for future disputes; evacuation of occupied France, Belgium and the overseas German colonies; friendly settlement of the territorial disputes between Germany and France, and between Austria and Italy; and the restoration of Serbia, Rumania, Montenegro and Poland.²³⁷

The Papal Note certainly won the Vatican no friends in Britain's southern dominions and Japan, and it put Britain in an extremely difficult situation with each of them. The Vatican knew that President Wilson had previously pressed for the return of all of Germany's overseas colonies in an effort, it can be argued, to establish the principle that wars for territorial gain were no longer supportable. In doing so he had brought out sharp differences of opinion within the British government but there appears to have been a consensus that the future of the German colonies was a matter for international negotiation, with self-determination even being an option in some cases.²³⁸ However Australia and New Zealand saw the Pacific Islands, and especially the phosphate rich islands, as the spoils of war in compensation for their support for Britain. Australia also wanted NE New Guinea to extend the frontier of its White Australia Policy against "the Japanese Yellow Peril." South Africa wanted control of German South West Africa, and the London Times, (whatever vested interests it was speaking for), wanted Tanganyika in the British Empire. They were all rather upset and on January 31, 1917, the British Colonial Secretary found it necessary to issue a public statement that the German colonies would never be returned.²³⁹ Germany's determination to fight on rose noticeably and

Britain found the need for naval support in the Pacific more urgent than ever. Japan agreed to enter the war a few weeks later to neutralize the German Pacific fleet in return for a secret agreement with Britain that she could have Germany's colonies north of the equator, including Tsingtao on the Chinese mainland, and that Britain would support her claims to the whole of the surrounding province of Shantung.²⁴⁰ Britain, the great defender and bastion of the Christian faith and a leader in Protestant evangelism of the crude non-Christian, had already made her secret deal to set up a new Muslim Caliphate. She was now committed to handing colonies which were being actively evangelized to "the last stronghold of Confucian social practice"²⁴¹ and she was about to ring in the Balfour Declaration as well.

It could never be said that the papal note was not a serious attempt to get genuine peace negotiations underway but the circumstances were rather intriguing, the allied responses were generally cool and each of the warring parties put preconditions on consideration of the plan. President Wilson came nearest to supporting the Vatican initiative. However it is clear that no one wanted to sit around a conference table with the pope as chairman. There also appears to have been a feeling that the note was a little naive, and that the pope's interests in independence for each of the Orthodox areas under Russian influence and "friendly settlement" of territorial disputes between Austria and Italy were rather transparent. In any case the papal note was soon swept aside by the pace of events and it was quietly ignored as the powers jockeyed for positions and continued their pre-armistice deals in secret.^{242 243 244}

All that considered, the Vatican clearly felt that its efforts had justified a change of heart by the Allies and a seat at the eventual peace conference. But when it opened at Versailles, two months and a British general election after the armistice had been signed, the Vatican was not among the 27 powers who shared 70 seats around the table between them. The Allies had not had a change of heart. There were several major empires represented, a lot of independent countries, including those for whom the Vatican had spoken (in one grouping or another), plus a handful whose interest in the war had been fairly obscure. But not the Vatican, and there was strong resentment and disappointment in its corridors of power.

ROME'S AUTHORITY AT RISK

The attitude of the powers towards the church during the conference had made it perfectly clear there were difficult times ahead and the Vatican decided that a vigorous programme to secure concordats was necessary. It was pursued with vigour as soon as the new pope, Pius XI, was enthroned. Pius, otherwise named Achille Ratti, had spent the war years with the title Prefect of the Vatican Library where his responsibilities presumably included intelligence and information processing. He was then sent in 1918 as papal delegate to the church in Poland which was something akin to the missing jewel from the papal crown. As already noted, it had been pawned repeatedly in previous war and peace negotiations. Achille Ratti had the difficult task of ensuring that Roman Catholicism was adopted as the state church if and when the Allies either recognized the Austro-German promise to set up an hereditary monarchy or acted on their own

adaptation of it to grant Poland autonomy. It was no easy task because Poland's unique ethnic and religious mix had provided excellent fuel for subversion by each of the powers right to the end of the war.²⁴⁵ When the Polish Republic was recognized by the Allies in 1919 Ratti gained diplomatic accreditation as papal nuncio but he did not achieve his primary task. He was elevated to Archbishop of Milan, then cardinal, and then pope in very quick succession.^{246 247}
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But the peace negotiators soon ran into troubles. Several countries which didn't want concordats with the Roman Catholic Church, or with any church for that matter, said they couldn't negotiate agreements with powers with whom they didn't have diplomatic relations. Then it was very convenient that they couldn't establish diplomatic relations or exchange diplomatic representatives with the church because as a power it didn't exist. After all the church was, they pointed out, a religious community and not a constituted sovereign power. Perhaps it might be better for local churchmen to simply represent their points of view to their governments just like the Protestants had to. But what about the Jews? Oh yes, of course the powers would establish diplomatic relations with them when they went to Palestine because they were, according to the church's insistence, a race. If a national home were set up for them they would naturally have some sort of sovereign government and they would therefore be entitled to diplomatic recognition.

The Vatican was in a bind. It could accept that ghastly proposition, grant administrative autonomy to its national or regional branches and be content to appoint papal delegates to churches, with little more than advisory roles. But if it did so for one, it would soon have to do so for others and then its version of Christian unity would be shattered. All hope for a single worldwide Christian church based on Rome would be lost and yet Judaism would have worldwide recognition as a political force as well as being the religion of the Jews. That had serious theological implications.

In fact the Vatican had anticipated those reactions and as soon as it was confirmed by the Russian publication of the Treaty of London that there would be no seat for it at the Peace Conference and the implications of the Balfour Declaration became clear it set out to prevent Britain from securing the mandate for Palestine, to discredit the Zionist Movement, and to vigorously condemn the concept of a Jewish State. The level and venom of anti-Semitic statements emanating from Vatican sources increased at the same time.

During the early months of 1917, when the tide of war was turning in Britain's favor, European attention turned to the form of government in Palestine in the event of a British-French victory. Those who were well informed saw that phase of the war in terms of control of territory for access to resources, while some saw it simply as an extension of the struggle between the great powers for control of trade routes, and others saw it as the ultimate extension of the Crusades and the recovery of Palestine from Muslim control for the Christian Church. Their particular perspectives influenced people's attitudes towards future governance of the whole region known as Palestine, and the alternatives canvassed included annexation by

Britain, a British protectorate, a British-French condominium, a Belgian trusteeship and an international commission.

A MATTER OF TEMPORAL AUTHORITY

But the Vatican wanted control of Jerusalem and a strip of territory which would take in a host of other holy places and it certainly did not want a Jewish State. If the world would not let it have papal states and the temporal power and political influence which went with them, then the Jews most certainly were not to have them. When the Peace Conference convened in Paris (Versailles) on January 18, 1919, tension was running high in Rome because the Vatican was not invited to be represented and Secretary of State Gasparri's hostility to Zionism was pronounced. Sykes, who had visited Palestine prior to the conference, reported on arrival in Paris that "he was convinced that an estrangement between the Zionists and the Catholic Church would mean that 'two moral forces, pivoted on the same centre, instead of radiating outwards will consume their strength inwardly.'"²⁴⁹ His concerns were illustrated graphically by letters from the Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Bourne, to both the British Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary about a week after the conference opened. He wrote: "The whole [Zionist] Movement appears to be quite contrary to Christian sentiment and tradition. Let Jews live here by all means, if they like, and enjoy the same liberties as other people; but that they should ever again dominate and rule the country would be an outrage to Christianity and its Divine founder."²⁵⁰

Six weeks later both Gasparri and the pope personally expressed similar views. Gasparri told French Cardinal Amette (and indirectly the French Embassy in Rome): We are very worried about Palestine. ... we are told Zionism is gaining victories every day at the [Peace] Conference."²⁵¹ Then, in a conversation with the British envoy, Count de Salis, he implied that the Vatican would turn to France and Italy for a renewed religious protectorate if Britain acceded to Zionist demands.²⁵² Next came Pope Benedict's address to the consistory of cardinals on March 10. In a transparent bid to evoke the spirit of the Crusades he referred to "the efforts of Our predecessors to free [the Holy Places] from the dominion of infidels, the heroic deeds and the blood shed by the Christians of the West through the centuries." He then noted "the rejoicing of all good men [that] they have finally returned into the hands of the Christians" and his keen anxiety about the decisions the Peace Conference may reach, and said it would be terrible grief for all faithful Christians "if infidels were placed in a privileged and prominent position; much more if those most holy sanctuaries of the Christian religion were given into the charge of non-Christians." Then an appeal for funds for Christian missions and institutions, and a veiled threat: "... it is our intention to excite the Bishops of the whole Catholic world that they may take to heart such a noble and holy case, arousing among all the faithful that sense of active charity which their ancestors always showed towards their brethren of the Orient."²⁵³ Gasparri sought to clarify this a few days later in discussions with the Belgian Representative, saying: "The danger we most fear is the establishment of a Jewish state in

Palestine.” He noted “the influence the Jewish element has on the leading Allied statesmen” and that “... the private secretaries of President Wilson, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George are Jews. Add to this the activity of Jewish banking and you will understand the causes of our concern.”²⁵⁴

NO PLACE FOR A JEWISH STATE

Naturally, within days *Osservatore Romano* and the Jesuit organ *Civiltà Cattolica* were both pursuing the pope's theme. Explaining the church's opposition to ‘the Zionist illusion’ *Osservatore Romano* stated that the Jews had been dispersed by divine decree and would return to Palestine only after they had converted to Christianity. It continued: “The salvation of Israel will arrive when all the nations open their souls to the hope of the Kingdom of God. ... (But) even when East and West fully join the Catholic Church and the Jews accept Christianity, there will still be no assurance that the Jewish nation will rise again.”²⁵⁵

So international discussion of the question of the administration of Palestine dragged on until a conference was held at San Remo in April 1920 and the Allies agreed that a mandate should be granted to Britain, subject to ratification by the League of Nations in due course. When the British government proceeded to appoint a Jew, Sir Herbert Samuel, as first High Commissioner to Palestine there was grave concern in the Vatican²⁵⁶ and it was not long before *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were given greater credibility by commentaries in *Osservatore Romano*. In October it republished an article on the ‘Jewish Peril’ from the French Catholic newspaper *La Croix*. This asserted that the Jews who hated Christ and Christian nations were behind the British policy on Palestine. It questioned the authenticity of *The Protocols* but then said the danger described was real and that the Jews had carried out in Russia, through the Bolshevik Revolution, the plan set out in the book and had also stirred up the miners' strikes in England. Six months later both newspapers took up the same theme again: even if the book was not to be believed, the Jews' plan set out in it certainly was.²⁵⁷ The relentless campaign certainly had some effect. When de Salis reported on the Vatican's anxieties to the Foreign Office a senior official penned a note on his cable: “... I share the pope's anxiety regarding the most extreme intentions of the Zionists. ... he foresees a spiritual campaign against Christianity. Is the anti-Christ not a Jew according to the Roman tradition? Judaism, under the cover of Bolshevism, has already destroyed the Orthodox Church; could Bolshevism not do the same to Rome? ...”²⁵⁸

But Britain was obliged by the San Remo Conference to establish a commission to administer the Holy Places under the chairmanship of a League of Nations appointee and in November 1920 the government received a proposal drawn up by Samuel. His proposal was that a 31-member commission would have eleven Christians, eight Jews, eight Muslims and four additional members appointed by the administration. The Christian representatives would be three Catholics, three Greek Orthodox, two Armenians, one Copt, one Abyssinian and one Anglican to reasonably reflect the existing denominational involvement in the Holy City.²⁵⁹ But

the Vatican objected strongly. It saw a plot being hatched by Jewish, Protestant and Orthodox interests to prevent the Vatican from exercising its rights and authority as – in its view – the sole representative of God on earth. In December a British Government committee of Ministers adopted an alternative, providing for six commissioners, all nominated by Britain, three of whom would be Christians, with a chairman appointed by the League of Nations. But this was little better for the Vatican and in a bid to break the plot and to avoid Jewish representation altogether it sought to substitute a commission of consuls who represented members of the League of Nations in Palestine. Catholic countries were to be in the majority and religious representatives were to be present only in a consultative capacity. It soon became obvious to the government that the international and inter-religious conflicts of interest were so complicated that the matter could not be readily resolved, and when a draft mandate document was submitted to the League of Nations no numbers were included. Subsequently the Colonial Office proposed three Christians, three Muslims and two Jews, but still no agreement could be reached and Britain reserved the right to appoint a commission after the mandate was ratified.

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A note of desperation gradually crept into the pope's statements, reaching a peak in his allocution to the cardinals on June 13, 1921, which was directed squarely at the Christian member states of the League of Nations to which the matter of Palestine had been referred for ratification by the San Remo Conference. He referred to his 1919 speech and said his anxiety was increasing every day; lamented the "iniquitous activity of non-Catholic sects which are pleased to glory in the name of Christian, ... cleverly profiting by the misery in which the inhabitants were plunged after the war;" complained of the prospect of Jewish privilege over Christians in Palestine; and closed with a mixture of coercion and appeal. The rights of Jews must in no way be put above the just rights of the Christians, he said, "and to this end We warmly urge all the governments of Christian nations, even if not Catholic, to bring vigilant pressure to bear on the League of Nations which, it is commonly said, is to consider and adjudicate on the English mandate in Palestine."²⁶¹ ²⁶²

THE LATERAN TREATY: A MUTUAL CONVENIENCE

The Vatican was certainly in a bind and so the Great Powers were also in a bind again because the Roman church was in trouble – yet again. Its understanding of itself and its doctrines interacted, influenced each other and determined its structures, its policies and its attitudes to the world around it. To prop them up in the twentieth century it had to have concordats but to get concordats it had to get its temporal power back. By the time Mussolini had blasted his way to his Fascist dictatorship he and the pope were equally eager to agree a concordat and a treaty to go with it, and the pope was more eager than ever that the Jews should not go to Jerusalem.

When Pius XI made his historic statements in February 1929 it was with surprising frankness that he said of the Lateran Treaty, which gave him and his successors absolute sovereignty over Vatican City, that "... no form of sovereignty is recognized by the world as true and proper

unless it is also territorial ...” He said “... the Vicar of Christ is not influenced by worldly greed, but only by the recognition of that which it is impossible not to ask for; because a territorial sovereignty of this sort is universally recognized as an indispensable condition for all real sovereignty of jurisdiction.” It was therefore “... indispensable (to enable) him ... to exercise the spiritual power entrusted to him for the good of mankind”, but he had only sought “... a minimum of territory, just enough for the exercise of sovereignty ...,” or “... just enough body to retain his soul in union with it.”²⁶³

The Lateran Treaty provided the stitches which were to draw together the fabric and authority of the Roman Catholic Church which had been ripped when Garibaldi proclaimed the former papal states a part of a reunited Italy. The world's powers, with the possible exceptions of Spain and Austria, had been happy to see the fabric torn and would do nothing to mend it until Mussolini needed a prop for his Fascist dictatorship. Under such circumstances the pope's statement may appear at first glance to be no different to the views of the Vatican for many hundreds of years. However he had gone further and his description of the church, the papacy and the Fascist dictator whose cause he now espoused must be seen in relation to the new Reformed and Orthodox ecumenical movement; the increasing prevalence of totalitarian regimes; the vital new Christian interest in Jerusalem as the focal point of the Christian faith which had been triggered by Zionism and the Balfour Declaration; and the Zionist struggle for a national Jewish homeland based on Jerusalem at the expense of the Muslim community.

Pius XI even introduced a touch of divinity into the explanation of his job description which none of his predecessors had dared to do. He said that a “true, proper and real territorial sovereignty ... is necessarily due to him who, holding the Divine Commission and being the Divine Representative, cannot be subject to any earthly sovereign.” He had changed himself from simply a representative of God, the Divine Creator, to the Divine Representative in a single sentence. Having claimed that transformation he went on to refer to the universal Fatherhood and universal Magisterium confided in the Sovereign Pontiff, the Representative and Vicar of God on earth, by Divine Providence.

The totalitarian, inquisitorial streaks which had been apparent in his anti-Christian-unity encyclical a year before were confirmed and reinforced although he made no direct reference to either dissident Pan-Christians or Jews. Jerusalem was written off, as a competitor of Rome, in a couple of sentences. Admitting that “... the territory We have reserved ... is materially very small ...” Pius said that “... nevertheless We have the right to say that it is ... larger than anything in the world, from whatever point of view it is looked at. When a territory can boast of Bernini's Colonnade, of Michael Angelo's Cupola, of the treasures of art and science contained in the archives and the libraries, in the museums and galleries of the Vatican; when a territory governs and guards the Tomb of the Prince of the Apostles, surely it has a right to claim that in all the world no other territory is greater or more precious.” It was a deliberate denigration of Jerusalem – the Holy City with sacred sanctuaries venerated by the people of several faiths – as well as Bethlehem, Nazareth, the River Jordan, and every other place from Lake Tiberias to Hebron which was held holy by Christians. And yet the security and responsibility for “those

most holy sanctuaries” had been the stated basis of the Vatican’s efforts to prevent the British mandate and the possibility of a Jewish State in Palestine. The pope was desperate to justify his treaty and the concordat, and to draw world attention away from Jerusalem and the Zionist bid for a Jewish state.

The conflicts of interest which had been caused by the need for one or more defence pacts to guarantee the security of the former papal states had concerned many critics while the treaty was being prepared. Pius admitted that he had been questioned about any guarantees he might want from friendly (Catholic) powers when he had briefed the corps of diplomats accredited to the Vatican on the progress of negotiations. He showed that alliances with mere temporal powers had proved inadequate in the past; he said he valued the favour and friendship of all States and all Governments; he “emphatically endorsed” the view that “there could be no question of (the Sovereign Pontiff) asking permission, or consent, or guarantees”; and he said that future dangers could only be hypothetical and “... are certainly never more unlikely than today.” He looked for guarantees “... in the consciousness of Our own just cause ... the conscience and sense of justice of the Italian people ... (and) in God’s Providence in that indefectible assistance, divinely promised to the Church, which is seen working in a special manner through the Representative and Vicar of God on earth.”

The Concordat had been achieved by the Grace of God and the future was, he said, in God’s hands. But he either let the mask drop or suffered the gravest lapse of judgement, or both, when he said that “there was also needed a man such as Providence has caused Us to meet, a man unaffected by the prejudices of the “Liberal School” ... (through whose) constant and generous assistance ... We have succeeded ... in drawing up a Concordat which, if not actually the very best possible, is certainly to be reckoned among the best ...” Cavalier Benito Mussolini. “Therefore”, said the pope, “it is with the deepest satisfaction that We are persuaded that We have given God back to Italy, and Italy to God.” With a friend like that in the Vatican Mussolini had no further need for a ballot box unless he rocked the papal boat, especially in view of Article 43 of the Concordat.

The State agreed to recognize organizations dependent on Italian Catholic Action in so far as they were to spread and realize Catholic principles under the direction of the Church hierarchy and also in as far as they acted outside of any political party. At the same time the pope agreed to reimpose the old prohibition on Italian clergy enrolling and working in political parties. To some observers this was a neat coup by Mussolini who eliminated a source of political opposition at the stroke of a papal pen. To others it was equally a coup by the Vatican and a high price for Mussolini to pay for a compliant church because the pulpit, parish hall and school room became more than ever the focal point for Italian political power play with the pope firmly in control and with no definition or restriction on matters of Catholic principle.²⁶⁴

The apparent benefits of the Concordat, apart from “the sympathy of the entire world” which it and the treaty were “calculated to evoke”, were the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church as the only state church in Italy; restoration of religious marriages alongside civil;

reintroduction of compulsory religious instruction in both elementary and secondary schools; absolute control over religious appointments throughout Italy, and diplomatic immunity for Vatican officials. Of course there was also the little matter of financial settlement for church property confiscated in 1870. The Holy See accepted 750 million lire in cash and 1,000 million lire in Italian State Bonds. This was substantially less than it had refused in 1871 but the new political relationships which came with its sovereignty were far more important than cash compensation. In any case Pius was quick to remind the clergy that “We have unlimited confidence in the charity of the faithful, in that marvelous work of Divine Providence which is expressed practically in ‘Peter’s Pence’ truly the hand of God ...”

The new political situation called for a Secretary of State with the same attitudes towards papal diplomacy as the pope and preferably similar experience. The ink was hardly dry on the Lateran Treaty before the pope appointed Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli to the post. Pacelli, coming from a Bank of Rome family, was well connected with the Fascist government. He was the emissary who had carried the papal peace note around Europe and he had stayed in Munich and Berlin as nuncio to successive German governments under the collapsing monarchy, the Republic and the Reich, with essentially the same responsibilities which Pius had during his concurrent spell in Poland. In addition his brother had been the first papal representative in negotiations for the Lateran Treaty and the Italian Concordat.^{265 266}

CONCORDATS BACK IN FAVOUR

In the meantime several other countries had succumbed and agreed to concordats of one type or another, including the long sought after jewel: Poland. A much manipulated pawn in the war games, Poland had to steer its way through an obstacle course of the Treaty of Brest Litovsk, then Versailles with its series of plebiscites and finally a border war with Bolshevik Russia.²⁶⁷
^{268 269} But it eventually emerged as a strong – albeit harassed – republic with an eastern boundary roughly the same as after the second partition in 1793. It had its glorious mixture of Jewish, Protestant, Catholic and Orthodox faiths and, like the United States, an excellent base from which to demonstrate complete religious tolerance of the sort which had made the nation great in the days of King Boleslav the Pious.

But the people and the times had changed. Poland had been subjected to more vile, contemptible sectarian propaganda from each of tsarist Russia, Germany and Austria, Britain and France, the Vatican, and then Britain again with the Balfour Declaration than any other part of Europe. In that situation religious tolerance was no more than a fantasy.

When the Russian monarchy fell the Russian border areas had, among the Christian population, a majority of Russian Orthodox and a minority of Roman Catholics and members of other sects who had managed to survive attempts by the tsarist regime to eliminate them. The influential Orthodox Christians tended to be reactionary and quick to subvert Bolshevik government affairs so when they came under notice they were treated severely. However the Roman Catholics had been so primed against the Orthodox Church as well as against

Communism that they tended to be anti Russian rather than just anti-Bolshevik and they were treated rather ruthlessly with quite a few joining the missing persons list – permanently. Naturally the Communists added their touch of antireligious propaganda to all the garbage and bigotry that was flowing already. It was their attempt to bring some reason and stability to the disgraceful mess. In doing so they handed the church a lot more ammunition to throw back on the grounds of religious persecution.

Then came four years of utter confusion. Between Brest Litovsk and Versailles, Germany ruled the region until the Republic of Poland became a reality and the people were swept back into a war between Poland and Russia. Marshal Pilsudski, encouraged by the Allies, took advantage of the civil war which went with the establishment of a Bolshevik republic and tried for a bit more of Russia than the peace treaties allocated to Poland. Being too greedy, he refused to quit when the Bolsheviks twice offered terms while he was in front. The Russians thereupon buried their differences for a while, threw everything at the marshal and pushed him back to Warsaw. It looked as if Poland was about to be rubbed off the map again until Britain or France sent some moral and technical support in the form of civil and military missions led by Lord D'Abernon and General Weygand. The tide turned once more and, in what the Catholic Church was able to dramatize as "the miracle of the Vistula", the Russians were pushed back home.²⁷⁰

POLAND, PILSUDSKI AND A MESSAGE FOR THE JEWS

It was not until 1931 that the new border was formally agreed in the Treaty of Riga and so for ten years there was continued agitation and conflict. Pilsudski needed either a buffer between his French and British-backed Capitalist regime and the Russian Communist regime or clear-cut separation and both were difficult to achieve because the disputed border areas then contained a majority of Catholics and a minority of Russian and Ukrainian Orthodox, and Jews. Pending a final settlement, a concordat might help to provide some political stability through clerical influence, even if not through religious conformity. A concordat with the Vatican was signed and took effect in 1925. The Vatican got what it wanted, but there was a price tag: support for Pilsudski to stabilize the country and to reduce the role of parliamentary government. But perhaps it was a matter of mutual convenience and not a "price." The church and the state each wanted to assimilate the Ukrainians and there was bound to be resistance. There was.

Thus, after Pilsudski and the Vatican had exchanged props the pope devoted a little thought to both Ukrainian assimilation and the Jewish question. Poland's Jews once more began to get the messages that "Christ must rule" and that the peace of Christ would come through the reign of Christ – or his sole representative, of course. On his elevation to the papacy in 1922 Pius XI had adopted the motto "Pax Christi in regno Christi," and now, immediately after the triumph of his Polish concordat, he instituted the annual feast of Christ the King.²⁷¹ It was said to be in honour of Jesus Christ as lord over all creation, a magnification of the Feast of the Ascension, and to highlight "the royal prerogatives of Christ" in a declaration that he was entitled to homage, service and fidelity from all men in all phases of individual and social life.²⁷²

But the new feast, officially instituted on December 11, 1925, became the centre of controversy and was opposed by many theologians who said that the Feast of the Epiphany already highlighted Christ's role effectively,²⁷³ and they were not comfortable with the introduction of yet another feast as a mechanism for 'assimilation' or proselytizing. Some of the pope's stated reasons for going ahead with it are therefore noteworthy. In their attempts to justify it, Vatican authorities referred to selected passages in the encyclical *Quas Prima* in which Pius XI said that "people are instructed in the truths of the faith, and brought to appreciate the inner joys of religion far more effectively by the annual celebration of our sacred mysteries than by any pronouncements, however weighty, made by the teaching of the church (which) usually reach only a few and the more learned among the faithful ..." ²⁷⁴ Another reference was said to be directed at Communist states and others which had not yet started negotiations for concordats. It noted that the new feast should call to mind "for princes and rulers as well as private individuals the Last Judgement when Christ, cast out of public life, despised, neglected and ignored, will most severely avenge these insults; for his kingly dignity demands that the State shall take account of God's Commandments and Christian principles. This both in lawmaking and administration; also in providing sound moral education for the young." Some writers suggest it was also aimed at totalitarian regimes such as those of Mussolini and Pilsudski but, in view of his relationships with them and both his earlier and later pronouncements, that must be regarded as diversionary.²⁷⁵

However the Pope's other motive had to come out eventually and he admitted, during an audience, that it was also a message for "non-Christians," and that the new feast also highlighted the affinity between the church of Rome and the atmosphere and practices to which the Russian Orthodox Poles had long been accustomed. The pope was reinforcing the Vatican's regular efforts to offset the Jerusalem-and-unity trend.

However a reading of the complete encyclical is more revealing. Pius referred to his first encyclical in which he had said that the chief causes of the difficulties under which mankind was labouring were the manifold evils due to the fact that the majority of men had thrust Jesus Christ and his holy law out of their lives. Until individuals and states submit to the rule of our Saviour there was no "really hopeful prospect of a lasting peace among nations." He referred to men and nations cut off from God, stirring up strife and discord and hurrying along the road to ruin and death, and said men must look for the peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ – his Church – the one Source of Salvation.

Then the pope moved to his theme, extending his reasoning progressively towards the point that ultimate divine authority over all states and all individuals was vested in, and should be accorded to, the Catholic Church. He said the Nicene Synod had "defined and proposed for Catholic belief the dogma of the Consubstantiality of the Only begotten with the Father, and added to the Creed the words 'of whose kingdom there shall be no end,' thereby affirming the kingly dignity of Christ." He then wove a series of Biblical quotations together to the effect that it was Christ who came out of Jacob to rule, who has been set by the Father as king over Sion, his holy mount, who shall have the Gentiles for his inheritance and the utmost parts of the earth

for his possession, and as King of Israel is to be hailed as a most rich and powerful monarch. Christ shall execute judgement and justice in the earth and reign in the House of Jacob for ever. The Father does not judge any man, having given all power of judgement to the Son, including “the right of rewarding and punishing all men living” and executive power which all must obey and none may escape.

With a return to the concept of the Holy Roman Empire in his sights, Pius wrote “The empire of Christ over all nations was rejected. The right which the Church has from Christ himself, to teach mankind, to make laws, to govern peoples in all that pertains to their eternal salvation, that right was denied. ... The rebellion of individuals and states against the authority of Christ has produced deplorable consequences.” And: “It would be a grave error ... to say that Christ has no authority whatever in civil affairs, since, by virtue of the absolute empire over all creatures committed to him by the Father, all things are in his power.” During his life on earth he refrained from the exercise of such authority but his empire embraces all men and (quoting from Pope Leo XIII, he said) his empire includes not only Catholic nations, not only baptized persons who, though of right belonging to the church, have been led astray by error, or have been cut off from her by schism, but also all those who are outside the Christian faith, so that truly the whole of mankind, individual, family and state, is subject to the power of Jesus Christ. If, therefore, the rulers of nations wish to preserve their authority, to promote and increase the prosperity of their countries, they will not neglect the public duty of reverence and obedience to the rule of Christ.

The Church was, according to Pius, founded by Christ as a perfect society and has “a natural and inalienable right to perfect freedom and immunity from the power of the state and ... she cannot be subject to any external power.” Then the reference that private individuals, rulers and princes (must) “call to their minds the thoughts of the last judgement, wherein Christ, who has been cast out of public life, despised, neglected and ignored, will most severely avenge these insults: for his kingly dignity demands that the State should take account of the commandments of God and of Christian principles” Clearly the pope had in mind Herzl’s discussions with his predecessors and the Vatican’s failed bid to prevent Britain being granted a mandate over Palestine when he wrote: “On many occasions, when the Jews and even the Apostles wrongly supposed that the Messiah would restore the liberties and the kingdom of Israel, he repelled and denied such a suggestion.” It was his fervent desire, he said, “that those who are without the fold may seek after and accept the sweet yoke of Christ ...”

In May 1926, within months of the concordat taking effect and the introduction of the Feast of Christ the King, Pilsudski seized absolute power in a military coup, justifying it on the basis of the weakness of Poland’s coalition governments. The process of assimilation of the Ukrainians could proceed, assisted by coercion from Orthodoxy to Roman Catholicism as the state’s version of Christianity and, in view of the level of reluctance to arbitrarily change theology, it resulted in the imprisonment and execution of many of their Orthodox clergy.^{276 277}

Among the other takers for concordats during those years were Latvia (1922), Lithuania (1927), both from somewhat similar motives to Poland, and Rumania (1927) which, having absorbed a Roman Catholic Hungarian minority of 1,500,000, either had to recognize Rome in some way or face a very hostile religious minority. Then there were the German provinces of Bavaria (1924) and Prussia (1929), both in Cardinal Pacelli's territory, and eventually Baden (1932). This gave the Vatican a very good foothold in postwar Germany but it wasn't satisfied. Successive federal governments would not agree to a federal German concordat in spite of Pacelli's concentrated efforts²⁷⁸ and the Vatican saw this as a serious impediment. The church hierarchy intervened directly in German politics more and more. Priests held many important posts in the Centre Party, including the party chairmanship from 1928, in sharp contrast to the prohibition on them joining political parties in Mussolini's Fascist Italy, but the distinction could no doubt be justified by some distorted theological gymnastics. After all, Germany had not yet been given back to God. It was not until 1933 that the Vatican was able to correct that situation, but before we look at the German Concordat we must first look at the life, career and teachings of the man under whose authority it was signed on behalf of Germany.

CHAPTER 18

HITLER'S BLUEPRINT WINS SUPPORT

Adolf Hitler was a product of Christian Europe. Certainly he left his own very big mark on it. But he was essentially a product of the dominant Christian influences of the Europe of Dreyfus, (the affair ran from about his fifth to his seventeenth birthdays); of the Boxer Rebellion; the Boer War; the Edinburgh International Missionary Conference; the papal oath against modernism; the Great War; the twin Russian Revolutions, and the Balfour Declaration. He was no more and he was no less a product of those influences than his contemporaries, who included Marshal Erwin Rommel (two years his junior), President Charles De Gaulle (one year his junior), or the theologian and writer Professor Karl Barth (three years his senior). The fact that they each saw the same situations from a different point of view and reacted somewhat differently makes none of them any less a product of Christian Europe. It simply demonstrates the diversity of human nature, the capacity we each have, by the Grace of God, to make our own choices within the constraints of our particular environment and the capacity we each have to influence others in the way in which they use their capacity. If the factors which shaped his thinking had not also shaped the thinking of a great many other people so that they were ready to respond to him, Hitler would not have been able to carry out the programme which he did.

Hitler experienced his share of family discord. He was fathered by an Austrian customs official of illegitimate birth whose legitimization complicated his extramarital relations. On the death of his first legal wife he had to appeal to Rome for a special dispensation to marry a 'niece' who was already pregnant. Being his mother's fourth-born but first surviving child, Adolf was spoiled. His mother was devout, protective and possessive. But he was maltreated by his father who became gradually more tyrannical. He faced jealousy from his half-brother and he knew personal tragedy when his mother suffered an agonizing, drawn-out death from cancer. At the age of eight he was in the highest grading at school and because of his good natural singing voice his padre encouraged him to attend sessions at the Benedictine monastery choir school. The monastery made a very strong impact on him. The abbot became his boyhood idol; he became intoxicated with the solemn splendor of brilliant church festivals so that for some time he aspired to become a priest. The main feature of the monastery's coat of arms also left a deep impression on him. It was a swastika¹

The Boer War was raging when Hitler started secondary school. At first he was swamped, felt isolated and did not show the promise of his primary school days at the monastery. But it inspired his Germanic patriotism, introduced him to anti-British sentiment and no doubt helped

plug the gap that had developed in his confidence so that after a year or so he was again filling a student leadership role. His short-lived clerical ambitions being a thing of the past, he devoted himself to art but messed up his chance to pass his technical school exams. Determined to become a great artist he headed for Vienna and the School of Architecture of the Academy of Fine Arts, only to find that without a certificate from his Realschule the path ahead was blocked. After running through his share of his father's moderate estate while he enjoyed a Bohemian life on the loose he soon got to know hunger and cold nights without a blanket, the limited security of a poor house and the stimulation of debate with his Jewish friends. But he also got to know the stark contrast between his personal poverty and the opulence of Vienna's wealthy merchants, bankers and aristocrats as he struggled to keep the wolf from his coattails by selling paintings on commission.

By the age of eighteen when his mother died in circumstances that left him grief-stricken, Hitler was rebelling at the social injustice of unearned wealth. During his years in Vienna he read extensively and spent hours listening to debates in the House of Deputies. The last acts of the Dreyfus drama were being played out in Paris with the fanatical anti-Semitic campaign by the Jesuits and the disestablishment of the beloved church which was, in part, a consequence of it (chapter 15). Together with a high proportion of the population he soaked up the rampant anti-Semitism of the Christian Socialist mayor, Karl Lueger, (who almost filled the role of idol left vacant by the Benedictine abbot of his school boy days) and of the press which supported him. It was almost inevitable that he would personally identify with the anti-Semitism which was a way of life for Vienna's gentiles. He did. He associated Jews with atheism among Social Democrats, with prostitution and with every form of exploitation. But so did almost everyone else.²

In spite of the depth of his antagonism towards unearned wealth, his experience of poverty and the breadth of his social reading, Hitler developed an almost equal antagonism towards the "doctrine of destruction" of Marxism.³ He probably picked it up from the same sources as his anti-Semitism and, like many people of the time, associated the two groups anyway. It is problematical whether the Marxist connection was another reason to hate Jews or whether the Jewish connection was another reason to hate Marxists.

Then came the throbbing excitement of the threat of war and confusion over his conscription because he had moved from Austria to Germany. Having been rejected as a conscript on medical grounds by Austria, the nation of his birth, he managed to wangle acceptance as a volunteer in the 1st Bavarian Infantry Regiment, which he preferred anyway, just as war was declared.^{4 5 6 7} The motives which drive young men to volunteer for service in the army of another country when they have been rejected by their own are many and varied. In the case of Adolf Hitler, then twenty five years of age, a bachelor and still facing poverty because paintings were very hard to sell, several stand out. The obvious ones, but the ones he would tend to play down, were security and self-esteem. He would have food, clothing and shelter, he would be working with a definite purpose and with a definite role. Then there was patriotism based on the

hatred of things and people Serbian or Slavic in general which he had absorbed along with most Austrians from the House of Deputies and the press of Vienna.

But then came the one which Hitler maintained had driven him on. It was patriotism based on Pan-Germanism, which was still being whipped up in all German speaking areas. Pan-Germanism was little different in its basic thrust to the continuing movement for the reunification of all Italian speaking areas which was the basis of the politicking between the Allies, the Central Powers and Italy over Trentino. It was also little different to the Pan-Slavic movement which was taking hold in the Balkans. And, like anti-Semitism, it was a widespread and highly emotive sentiment being vigorously promoted by political leaders long before Hitler came on the scene. Allied politicians and their propagandists would later attribute them to Hitler as if they were both brand new sentiments – they had to if they were to gain the support of Catholics around the world – but Hitler had simply grasped them both and run like any good relay team runner.⁸

In one respect, however, Pan-Germanism differed from the other movements. Not to be satisfied with unification alone, Pan-Germanist leaders were shouting from the roof tops that all men of German tongues must be gathered into “one Reich and one people (as) an everlasting master race” which would direct the progress of mankind. Actually the Pan-Germanists didn't have a monopoly on that particular conceit, or the shouting that went with it. The papacy (and some other fragments of the church) had long maintained that such a role belonged to it. The Jewish concept of a Messianic Age in which the people of Judaism would play a key role had often been misrepresented as the same thing. The self-sown concept of Americanism, representing the people of the United States as the new chosen people, was rapidly developing the same overtones and was about to get a big boost from the eugenics movement. Nineteenth century Britain confidently believed it had already been endowed with the role and men like Cecil Rhodes had done their best to give it a push along. In addition there had been a number of rulers, both before and after the Messiah, who had asserted the right to dominate the rest of the world just for the sake of power and resources, but without the overtone of a God-given right or responsibility to rule. And lurking in the wings were the Bolshevik Marxists, whose approach had its roots in Karl Marx' particular brand of collective messianism.⁹ But their approach was very different.

Contrary to the steady stream of attacks which issued from anti-Marxist propagandists it is impossible to read into Marx's conception of the flow of history and human development a place for a single class, a single power or a single master race to dominate the social, economic or political structures of the whole of Europe, let alone the whole of mankind. Rather, Marx and his followers envisioned a world-wide system dominated by a new set of principles that would allow people to rule themselves and be relieved of the systemic domination of any vested interest group. The industrial proletariat, in whose name Marx wrote and for whom he fought, were viewed only as the carriers of those revolutionary principles, not as a new ruling class. Moreover, during the long period in which he towered over the workers' movements of Europe and was constantly consulted on methods and tactics as well as on revolutionary philosophy, Marx issued no orders and set no patterns which the expected class wars should follow. Even

though he was convinced that real social and economic change would be achieved in continental Europe only through revolution he believed that the idea of commanding an overall European Workers' Movement from his home base in London was absurd and he resisted the urge to develop a plan of action which should be adopted for all countries and for all times. He regarded England as the one European country in which peaceful revolution was still possible because social evolution was taking place through concessions "wrung from" the ruling classes under "pressure from without." Even recognizing that, he was deeply concerned for England. The pressure was gradually being relaxed because the working classes did not understand how to wield the power or use the liberties which were already legally theirs.¹⁰

Unfortunately, however, some such as Lenin's Bolsheviks were impatient with the failure of the proletariat to fulfill Marx's predictions and had sought give the revolution a push from above. In so doing they created a tightly controlled political apparatus that was eventually used to completely overturn Marx's principle of government by the masses in favour of government by a single party. As a consequence, when faced with the profoundly negative response to the Bolshevik Revolution in the Christian Capitalist West, an isolated and embattled Russia eventually assumed the domineering attitude to the international socialist movement which Marx had so strenuously tried to avoid. In due course that development would also become a key factor in the deepening trouble in the triangle.

But back to Adolf Hitler. Although his years in Vienna had drawn him firmly into the Socialist camp, it was not the anti-religious and revolutionary philosophy of Karl Marx which Adolf Hitler was becoming steeped in as he swore allegiance to each of Bavaria's King Ludwig III, Germany's Kaiser Wilhelm and Austria's Emperor Franz Josef at Munich on October 8, 1914 in the presence of Ludwig III.¹¹ It was Pan-Germanism.

During the next four years Hitler threw himself into his chosen work as a despatch runner with courage, determination, skill, reliability in a crisis and Pan-Germanic enthusiasm which brought admiration from his superiors as well as six service and bravery awards during the course of the war.^{12 13} It was largely his wish to stay in a role he knew (and was obviously good at) and to stay in the front line which kept him in the ordinary ranks for the duration of the war and gave the allies their chance to taunt him and depict him in propaganda twenty years later as "the little corporal" who had lacked leadership capacity.¹⁴ There were few chances for commissions in his chosen field. He also became known among his fellows for his puritanical attitudes towards smoking, drinking, prostitution (developed from his experience of Vienna) and personal privation.¹⁵

On leave in October/November 1917 for the first time since enlisting, Hitler made a point of visiting the shrine where Martin Luther had preached his first sermon, where Bach had played the organ for twenty seven years and in which Wagner had been baptized.¹⁶ Seeing the pathetic state of civilian Germany he developed a hatred for trash literature at times "when we are concerned with the fate of mankind." He read history and philosophy extensively, starting with Homer and the works of evangelists. But then the soldier who – if he had been fighting for the

other side – could have walked straight out of a picture in a publicity leaflet for the Protestant Ethic, began to read Schopenhauer and soon found that he had no further need for the evangelists.¹⁷ He wrote to a friend that even if Christ was a true fighter the turning of both cheeks was not a very good recipe for the front line.¹⁸

Because Hitler had soaked up the German master race propaganda quite freely (probably more freely than a majority but no more freely than a substantial minority of the population) and because he had withheld absolutely nothing in his fanatical war effort, the appalling conditions and the atmosphere of despair which he found in civilian Germany when he was finally persuaded to take that furlough had a very great impact on him. He had been blindly convinced that there was no possible result except a German victory and it shook him to find that even the sawdust and potato peelings which passed as bread in some areas was in short supply; that cats and dogs were being slaughtered for meat; that morale was at rock bottom because the Kaiser's government had failed to agree immediate peace terms with the Bolsheviks in Russia; and that the effort of the troops at the front was being undermined by industrial unrest and strikes.

He would not have known at that stage that the Allies were adopting a deliberate policy of provoking and supporting subversion through exiles and minority ethnic and political groups in an effort to fill the void left in the Alliance by Russia's peace moves¹⁹ and in particular he is unlikely to have known about Britain's Balfour Declaration leaf drop (chapter 16). However he took careful note that minority political and ethnic groups were prominent in the strife, and especially Jews. The conviction that what he had heard and read of them in Vienna's Christian Socialist press was correct grew stronger.

In January 1918 the nation ground almost to a halt with a national strike. In Berlin alone some 400,000 workers were out for almost a week demanding peace without annexations, representation in negotiations with the allies, an end to martial law, and the introduction of democratic government throughout Germany. The Treaty of Brest Litovsk in March lifted the war effort for a time but in August, (a week or two after he received his second Iron Cross on the recommendation of his Jewish battalion adjutant), Hitler's views on Jewish subversion were boosted by a statement from the German High Command. It was General Ludendorff's excited demand that there had to be discipline on the home front as well as more vigorous conscription of the young Jews who had, according to him, been left pretty much alone until then.²⁰ Lots of Germans and Austrians began to think of "Jew" and "Communist" as interchangeable terms for people with any nasty combination of anti-German characteristics.

Within a few weeks of Ludendorff's intervention the war had really turned sour on Germany, mainly because of the flood of US troops which had joined the Allied offensive. But when anti-monarchist radicals calling themselves "Spartacists" began to openly demand an elected government to negotiate a peace treaty, anti-Semitism began to boil over right across Germany. Everyone knew that Russia's new government and its Jewish Foreign Minister, Trotsky, were backing the Spartacists in a bid for revolution, so whatever one thought of the monarchy there

was no better target on whom to vent a bit of spleen than the Jews. Of course, what ordinary people in Germany, Hitler included, did not know at that stage was that Russia was not the only foreign power interested in bringing down the monarchy. The Monroe-Doctrinaire, capitalist republic of the United States of America had been trying to bring down the German monarchy for almost a year while it did lip service to Lenin's call for self-determination for everyone (chapter 17).

AMERICAN POLICY: NO MONARCHY OR NO PEACE

By mid August 1918, with the situation rapidly deteriorating, the Austrian and German emperors had agreed that the end was in sight. Less than a month later, as the Allies' unleashed their massive propaganda and subversion programmes aimed at ethnic minorities and national groups' the Austrian emperor sent a peace note to the US president. But Washington was intent on playing its own game. Notes passed between the three capitals soon made it clear that the United States would deal only with representative governments, regardless of Wilson's much vaunted commitment to self-determination. The German government recognized it had no choice but to bow to the inevitable, and on September 29 Prince Max of Baden was appointed as the minister responsible to arrange a parliamentary regime to make peace. He was quickly informed by army chiefs that the German army could not hold out much longer and that an armistice could not wait for parliamentary backing. So, with the gate to Austria opened to the Allied armies by the surrender of Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria, on October 4 Germany and Austria sued for peace on the basis of Wilson's "fourteen points."

But Wilson was not about to let them off the hook that easily. Their monarchies had to go whether the Fourteen Points said so or not. The United States was going to have its way. So from that point the Allies threw everything they could lay their hands on at the German Western front, including vast quantities of mustard gas. However, the deferred cost of that decision to pound hell out of the Germans – and the cost of the mustard gas in particular – was to be far greater than Wilson or any of the Allied leaders could anticipate. The victims of random gas shelling near the village of Werwick near Ypres, on October 14, 1918, included Corporal Adolf Hitler.

Like many others, Hitler suffered temporary blindness. It gave him a few days to lie in bed with nothing to do except ponder the news. He was actually going east on a hospital train on October 16 when Prince Max received President Wilson's formal reply with a demand for the Kaiser's abdication. He knew from first hand contact that the effect in Germany was devastating.²¹ But there was worse to come.

On October 23 the US and Prince Max's German Government agreed to the Fourteen Points plus the Kaiser's abdication. This time, however, it was the turn of Wilson's allies to muddy the waters. On October 27, after Italy, France and Britain each demanded further concessions, Wilhelm dismissed General Ludendorff and directed the German army to keep fighting. Austria quickly announced it would agree a separate peace, and two days later an armistice was signed

with the Hapsburg regime. It was too much for the German armed forces. The German navy mutinied at Kiel when the Kaiser ordered them to sea, while the army chiefs simply ignored him and went to their opposite number, General Foch, for an armistice.

Government control in Germany was breaking down everywhere. On November 7 Munich was swept by insurrection. The next day Bavaria was proclaimed a Republic, with the elderly Jew Kurt Eisner in command. It was the signal for a nationwide uprising. Across the country, pre-arranged workers groups and soldiers councils emerged, their factories and barracks to take control of Germany in the name of the socialist revolution. In the middle of the chaos and upheaval the German High Command crossed the French lines for armistice talks and agreed to unconditional surrender. By November 9, courtesy of the United States of America, Germany had a new socialist Chancellor, the Kaiser had abdicated, and a republic had been proclaimed.

HITLER'S MESSIANIC VISION

In the meantime Hitler had been recuperating from his gas attack in the Pasewalk hospital and his sight had recovered. He knew Germany's situation was desperate but he tried to persuade himself that rumours of revolution were false until a delegation of Red German sailors burst into his ward to convert the patients to it. Three of their leaders were young Jews. The "commo-Jew" connection from his years in Vienna and from Ludendorff's outburst were reinforced.²² He detested them both even more strongly. The revolution just had to be put down. When the patients were assembled on November 10 for the local pastor to break the news that Germany was a republic and had surrendered the shock and the distress were so great that his blindness returned. Two nights later, on November 12, overwhelmed by misery after the signing of the armistice the day before, Hitler had a vision.²³ He heard voices summoning him to save Germany, and then his sight returned. He vowed there and then to become a politician and to devote his energies to carrying out the command he had received.^{24 25 26}

Hitler carried that vision with him right to the Berlin bunker in 1945. It drove him on. It dominated every decision he took. It determined the way he interpreted everything he saw, heard and read. But when the church and the world began to hear about it they just turned off. It was a sick joke. The army's consultant psychiatrist²⁷ could find no medical reason for Hitler's second bout of blindness and had treated him as a psychopath with hysterical symptoms. His vision, the medico said, was hallucinations, perhaps deliberately induced by Dr Forster as part of his treatment, or perhaps an effect of syphilis which he was rumoured to have contracted from a Jewish prostitute in Vienna²⁸ and which, if it were correct, would have helped to explain his fixation about Jews and prostitution.²⁹

We will return to the matter of visions shortly, but first a note on Hitler's immediate movements after his recovery in hospital. There is a degree of confusion about his movements for some time, no doubt contributed to by deliberate attempts by the Nazi Party to develop myths around its charismatic leader, but also because the influences under which he fell reflect very poorly on the churches and their cohorts in collusion, the Western powers. It appears that upon discharge following his recovery in hospital Hitler made his way south to Munich.³⁰ He

had time to ponder Germany's situation and he was greatly shocked by what he saw and experienced in post-armistice Prussia and Bavaria which were then being ruthlessly moulded into the Weimar Republic under Western pressure. This contributed to a period of uncertainty and confusion in his thinking on social policy. The Nilus version of the Protocols was being vigorously promoted in Russia in a bid to discredit and undermine the influence of the Bolsheviks, among whom there were large numbers of Jews, during the continuing civil war which had erupted following the Bolshevik Revolution, and Russian emigres were now eagerly spreading their message in Germany as well in order to counter the uprisings which were led by the Spartacists. Among the first people to carry a copy to Germany, probably in 1918, was an Estonian student of German heritage, Alfred Rosenberg, who took it with him when he was forced to flee from Moscow by the civil war.³¹ The first version of the Protocols to be sighted in Germany was apparently an edition by Ludwig Muller, under the pseudonym Gottfried zur Beek, and this may have been the version which Rosenberg took with him. However, that edition soon caught the attention of people as eminent as Prince Otto zu Salm-Hortsmar and General Erich Ludendorff – and the Pan-German League – who promoted it in their efforts to influence the course of the Weimar Republic.³²

Within Russia the principal promoters of the Protocols were the reactionary so-called White Armies whose members were mainly Orthodox Christians who wanted to see the monarchy reinstated. In turn, their principal supporters and co-promoters were agents of the British, French and United States governments whose main interest was the defeat of the Bolsheviks by whatever means were available. By its involvement in their promotion the British government continued to plumb new depths of religious cynicism. It had justified the Balfour Declaration partly on the grounds that it would help keep Russia in the Great War by promoting Zionist interests and discouraging Jewish participation in the Bolshevik Revolution (chapters 16 and 17) but now, as if in retribution for Jewish thanklessness, it was party to inciting pogroms against the same people in a bid to negate their political influence and bring down the struggling Bolshevik government. Japan was also supporting the White Russians but its motive was to strengthen its claims to territory in the east, and there is nothing to indicate that it was party to the promotion of the Protocols.

Being unaware, at that stage, of the complex international political machinations behind the Great War, the Russian Revolution, the establishment of the Weimar Republic and anti-Semitism, Hitler was shocked that revolution continued after the proclamation of the Weimar Republic. His sense of shock then deepened progressively when the Spartacists dropped their disguise in January 1919, while he was finding his way south to Munich, and called themselves Communists; and when Socialists, including a number of prominent Jews, seized Munich, most of Berlin and a number of key Federal and provincial posts. He certainly did not want to join the massive ranks of the unemployed. He had retained his much-loved military uniform and, on approaching his former unit he was re-enlisted and continued as if there had been no break in his active army service. He was posted to the 7th Replacement Company of the 2nd Bavarian

Infantry Regiment in Munich and his experience there as a guard at a prisoner of war camp with mainly Russian prisoners during February-March 1919 had very mixed influences on him.

The founding congress of the Third (Communist) International was actually convened in Moscow by Lenin while Hitler was doing his term of guard duty. The call by delegates from nineteen countries for workers world wide to unite and rise and take political action to gain better conditions would have struck a responsive chord, but the fact that such a call was linked to a call to support the Soviet Union as the Workers' Fatherland was abhorrent to him. He knew that Hungary was in chaos as a result of Allied efforts to undermine the liberal socialist post war republic and that most of the country was occupied by either Czech, Serbian or Romanian forces and that the country was ripe for revolution. However when the revolutionary Soviet government which Bela Kun, a Jewish Communist, set up on March 21, 1919, was reported by the German press to have 25 Jewish Commissars in a total of 32, he was deeply disturbed. Then in April, 1919, his concerns increased when he witnessed the overthrow of the moderate Social Democrat government in Bavaria in a coup which brought to power another soviet government led by three Russian emigrants, two of whom were also Jewish.

Overall, Hitler's experience during those months aggravated his antipathy towards things and people Russian and Jewish, and in his thinking – as in that of many other people – there was a blurring of the identities of Jews, Russians and Communists. He took note that within weeks the Bavarian soviet was overthrown in a bloody counter-coup in which the even more fanatical and murderous Free Forces butchered their way across Germany massacring hundreds of Communists, Socialists and people associated with them in any way. There seems to have been no logic in his thinking about these contradictory issues, but then there was very little logic in how the great powers and the various revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries were thinking and conducting themselves anyway. The Free Forces were solidly backed by Capitalists of both Germany and its former enemies, plus some of their governments with their neurotic opposition to Communism combined with deeply entrenched anti-Semitism. It is therefore hardly surprising that Hitler was confused by the anti-Communist slaughter taking place.³³ He had not yet developed, or been indoctrinated with, an absolute antagonism to Communism and because he hated the excesses of Capitalism he briefly dabbled with both the independent Socialists and the Communist. He was arrested for illegal activities but he was released on the intervention of his commanding officer because a staff officer, Captain Karl Mayr, had proposed the establishment of a counter-Communist operation under his command and he saw a role for Hitler in it. He was ripe for his next assignment.

HITLER'S TRAINING FOR PROPAGANDA

In June, 1919, Captain Mayr organized his first course for anti-Communist agitators and Hitler, then attached to the Command Company of the 2nd Bavarian Infantry Regiment, was selected to attend. Then on July 22, having completed that indoctrination course which was conducted by 'nationally minded professors' at Munich University, Bavarian Monarchists and "a pan-German monetary crank"

named Gottfried Feder,³⁴ Hitler was posted to an 'enlightenment squad' or a 'propaganda commando' at the Lechfeld demobilization camp to help straighten out 480 returning prisoners of war who were said to be demoralized by Communist agitation. As one of his duties, Hitler was required to act as a 'liaison man' to investigate the host of radical groups of both the right and the left which were springing up across Bavaria and which might be usefully manipulated in the anti-Communist campaign. On September 12, he was ordered by Major Hierl to attend a meeting of one such group, the German Workers' Party, which had been organized at the behest of a shadowy figure, Rudolf Freiherr von Sebottendorff, who believed in the Germanic wave of the future led by Teutons who could establish 'the purity of their blood' for three generations, and who had personally established the Thule Society to promote that concept. Von Sebottendorff had not organized the German Workers' Party personally but had used an intermediary who recruited "a seedy sports writer" named Karl Harrer and the founder of another ineffectual group called The Free Labour Committee for a Good Peace, Anton Drexler, as co-founders.³⁵ On that first night Drexler was so impressed by Hitler's fluency in debate on the need to retain Bavaria as part of the German Reich that he urged him to visit the group again. Hitler was apparently not impressed, according to his report for the army, but he recognized that the embryonic party had the potential to attract masses in the way the Social Democrats had in Vienna and he accepted an invitation to attend a committee meeting.

In the meantime, he prepared a statement, dated September 16, in response to an instruction from Captain Mayr for a position paper on 'the danger Jewry constitutes to our people today' which seems to have impressed the captain.³⁶ A key extract of four sentences indicates quite clearly that he had been influenced by the Dreyfus Affair and the manner in which it had undermined Franco-German relations; the Protocols of the Elders of Zion; the Balfour Declaration, and the Vatican's bid to prevent the granting of the Palestine mandate to Britain.

Hitler had barely started school when Captain Dreyfus was arrested and convicted of selling French secrets to Germany, but he grew up as the fantastic episode unfolded. He was nine when Zola published his pro-Dreyfus exposure of the French army's misconduct and was gaoled for his trouble; ten when the first Dreyfus retrial ended in a second conviction followed by a pardon; 15 when the second retrial was ordered and the Protocols began to circulate widely in Europe, and 17 when that retrial finished with his acquittal, reinstatement and award of the Legion of Honour. When Dreyfus was then recalled after the Great War broke out, raised to Lieutenant Colonel and given command of an ammunition column on the German front – rubbing salt into the wounded German religious psyche – Hitler was 25. He was 29 when the Balfour Declaration was announced and 30 when the Vatican stepped up its politicking to prevent the British-Palestine mandate – and as he sat down to write his statement on the dangers of Jewry.

It was inevitable that the potent bigotry and psychological manipulation which had dominated all of his experience would meld with his instilled nationalism and show in his reasoning and his writing. It certainly did. The key extract reads:

*Anti-Semitism on purely emotional grounds will find its ultimate expression in the form of pogroms. The anti-Semitism of reason, however, must lead to the planned legal opposition to and (the) elimination of the privileges of the Jews. Its ultimate goal, however, must absolutely be the removal of the Jews altogether. Only a government of national power and never a government of national impotence will be capable of both.*³⁷

This has been described as Hitler's first public reference to a 'final solution' of the Jewish question, but it is of the utmost significance that it was not a spontaneous outpouring of anti-Semitism but a considered response to an instruction, a response to the circumstances of the time, and a reflection of the dominant attitudes of the time which have been noted. It appears that he had not met von Sebottendorff at that stage but he was certainly in accord with the 'principles' which the prime mover behind the organization embraced.

Then, having accepted an invitation to join the German Workers' Party and to take responsibility for recruitment and propaganda, rather than to just observe and assist it, Hitler set about his new task with enthusiasm, aiming to lift its numbers from a handful into the big league by careful preparation and publicity for a meeting on October 19, 1919. At that meeting he was supposed to be only a support speaker, but he gave an electrifying and passionate presentation at that meeting which convinced him and his audience that he was going in the right direction, and the impact of his views was reinforced by the fact that the Protocols had just then been published in the German language.

At about that time Mayr was succeeded as commander of Hitler's unit by Captain Ernst Rohm, a homosexual man who had survived major facial battle injuries who has been described as an exemplary officer, a comrade to be trusted in peril but who was, in his own words, "a wicked and immature man" to whom war and unrest appealed more than an orderly life. Rohm and Hitler soon developed "bonds of blood and suffering."³⁸ Over successive fortnightly meetings Hitler's anti-Jewish rhetoric, encouraged by his equally radical anti-Semite-anti-Marxist friend and supporter Drexler, became progressively more strident and he became more demanding in proposing that the committee reconstitute the organization as a formal political party. Rohm encouraged Hitler to take over the organization and ensured that he had no effective opposition by seconding other soldiers into the organization to 'keep order' at rowdy meetings. As attendance at the Nazi meetings grew and more soldiers were seconded to help they became known as the Sturm-Abteilung (Storm Division) or SA.³⁹ Also, about that time, Hitler met the Estonian student-refugee from Moscow, Alfred Rosenberg, who had brought the Protocols with him to Germany and who had been active in von Sebottendorff's Thule Society. Their friendship was not spontaneous but it developed rapidly when Rosenberg realized that Hitler was an orator par excellence and when Hitler saw some of Rosenberg's articles published⁴⁰

By the end of December, 1919, Hitler had persuaded Drexler to support a 25-point political program which they then pushed for the committee to adopt. Some members were reluctant, but on February 24, 1920, at a dramatically successful meeting of 2,000 people at the Festsaal of the Munich Hofbrauhaus – after the other soldiers had helped overcome some opposition and

rowdiness – Hitler persuaded the party to change its name to the National Socialist German Workers' (Nazi) Party and to adopt the 'unchangeable' 25-point program. Among the 25 points was the demand that Jews be treated as aliens, that they be denied the right to hold public office, that those who had immigrated to Germany after August 2, 1914, be deported immediately, and that the others be deported also if Germany found it impossible to feed its entire population.⁴¹ Hitler and his 25 point plan gained even greater support next day when the anti-Semitic and anti-Marxist newspaper the *Völkischer Beobachter*, which Eckart was editing, published the German translation of the Protocols.

On March 13, within weeks of Hitler's success at the Hofbrauhaus meeting, right wing army units which had been ordered by the Socialist Weimar government to disband, marched on Berlin and installed a new chancellor, Kapp, in a bloodless coup. Hitler and another colleague from the Nazi Party, a romantic revolutionary academic and poet named Eckart who believed that Germans who married Jews should be jailed for three years, and who had fallen to become a drunkard, drug addict and vulgar charlatan, then went to Berlin with Captain Rohm's support to determine whether joint revolutionary action could be mounted in Bavaria. However when the deposed Ebert government called for a general strike it was so effective that Kapp was not able to control the government; the nation fell into chaos; a 'red army' of 50,000 workers took control of the Rhur; and President Ebert had to re-commission the disbanded right wing Free Corps forces in a bid to control the new uprising.

Hitler remained in Berlin with Eckart through the peak of the crisis. He was still on the army's payroll, even receiving a special allowance for his party political work, and together he and Eckart met Hitler's hero, the extreme right wing General Ludendorff, and numerous ultra-nationalist and racist veterans' groups who were being financed by industrialists until they returned to Munich on March 31, 1920. That day Hitler ceased to be a member of the armed forces. Whether it was by discharge forced upon him or by his free will is uncertain.⁴²

Up to that day Hitler had put his postwar army training as a political re-education officer to very powerful use but now he was at a loose end. It was work which he enjoyed, which he was well suited to. He had earned a reputation as an outstanding orator, he had a deep personal commitment to his new task, and he was ready to take full advantage of it. He had very faithfully obeyed the instruction of his commanding officer (contrary to army regulations) to help build it up.⁴³ It was one of the workers' organizations which had been picked by a group of capitalists and high ranking army officers (including General Ludendorff) to provide a political power base from which to rebuild Germany's military power which had been dismantled by the Allies in their detested peace treaty.⁴⁴ The formal severing of his connection with the army that day meant that he had become a political organizer cum politician with no other commitments, but with no secure income. But the first part of the vow which he had made under the influence of his blindness on the day after the armistice, and his vision, had been fulfilled. The second part would take a little longer. Life would be a struggle for a while. He had

to gather financial support from wherever he could and he moved into a single poorly furnished room only a few doors from the offices of the *Völkischer Beobachter*.

Only three days later, on April 3, the Free Corps Forces swept through the Rhur, murdering with impunity, wiping out Red strongholds and dealing ruthlessly with any people thought to be associated with them. As he responded to the confused circumstances, social and industrial unrest, and Capitalist intrigue and propaganda Hitler was really little different to those who were shaping his thinking and his responses. The outcome was that his worst fears of a Marxist/Jewish push for world domination seemed confirmed. As his meetings became bigger there were bigger efforts to disrupt them and he needed more Storm Troopers for both defensive and aggressive measures, and in April he used his army contacts to secure one of the leaders of the abortive Kapp putsch, Lt. Klitsch, to organize the SA and to bring it more under his control.⁴⁵ The Allies' crushing peace terms and their sectarian and racist propaganda aimed at ethnic groups, and especially Britain's abuse of the Balfour Declaration and the Vatican's efforts to stop it, had been too effective. Anti-Semitism had become a way of life in Germany. A monstrous disease had been released for which there was no vaccine except love, and that had been out of stock for quite a long time, unlike visions.

Reports of visions were becoming quite widespread. Only eighteen months before Hitler's experience, the first of a series of reports about Mary making six appearances to three children near Fatima, Portugal, had begun to circulate. They fell between May 1917, (shortly after both the lifting of all tsarist restrictions on Jews by the Provisional Government and Nahum Sokolow's visit to the pope), and the announcement of the Balfour Declaration. The reports said that Mary asked the children that the people of Russia be consecrated to her under the title of her Immaculate Heart.^{46 47} Other people could therefore have visions or visits from the Holy Ghost, Angels, Mary or anyone else the church approved of, provided they propped up the Church's view of itself. Hitler was, in fact, doing that very eagerly, to suit his understanding of his role, until his and the church's immediate aims began to diverge as their self-assessments came into conflict.

The experiences of visionaries has been a constant basis for conflict and connivance for the Church, as many and varied interpretations had been applied to the visions of Jewish prophets, the Christian apostles, Constantine, Augustine, Muhammad, Thomas Aquinas, Joseph Smith, Juan Diego⁴⁸ and many other people. As if to highlight and to invite debate on the related issues of Divine intervention, visions and both individual and community predestination, the pope, Benedict XV, canonized another visionary shortly after Hitler's experience but before the Vatican was in a position to understand his future political significance.

The canonization of the French heroine, the Maid of Orleans, as Saint Joan of Arc on May 16 1920, provides a classic example of blatant political opportunism. Relations between the Vatican and successive French governments had remained icy long after the Dreyfus affair and the Law of Separation, but there had been an improvement during the Great War because of the pro-Allied stance of the French clergy. Benedict then built on the conciliatory atmosphere by

appointing a French clergyman as bishop in charge of occupied German territories in 1919. There was soon a hint in the air that the Law of Separation might be revoked and it was clear that there was even a chance of a new concordat, if there was a bit more public support. The canonization of a national hero might just do the trick. Joan of Arc had become a national heroine when she led the relief of Orleans and the expulsion of the British from most of France following a vision. She persuaded Charles VII to be crowned at Rheims but she was then betrayed, sold to the British to face a Roman Catholic church court on charges of witchcraft and heresy, and burned at the stake for her trouble.

For a country hard pressed to justify its claims for reparations from Germany and struggling to recover from the war, her canonization was good morale boosting stuff. It also made it easier for the government to send a military 'mission' to support Poland in its Vatican-backed war against the Russian Bolshevik government six weeks later, and the two issues, together, made their task a lot less odious for the French troops who were occupying the German Rhineland. By February 1924 agreement had been reached for a scheme to enable the church to keep control of property which had been vested in non-religious associations. But the combined effects of those things antagonized socialists and antireligious friends of the Bolsheviks so that an anti-Catholic backlash resulted in the defeat of the government only three years later and the introduction of new measures to clip the wings of the Catholic church. These included a proposal to withdraw France's embassy at the Vatican.^{49 50}

It is probable that Hitler saw himself as another Joan of Arc when her canonization was made public in May, 1920. It was just three months after his grand performance at the Hofbrauhaus in engineering a change of name for the infant Nazi Party of which he had been a member for eight months and for which he was now well established as head of its propaganda machine, and it was only two months after he had been discharged and became a full time political agitator/organizer. And the announcement coincided with a report in the London Times to the effect that the Protocols should be taken seriously. This aggravated long standing Catholic teaching about the Jews who killed Jesus and Lutheran teaching that they were "a plague, pestilence (and) pure misfortune" and a blight on Christianity which had to be dealt with peremptorily.⁵¹ The stimulus for another burst of virulent anti-Semitism across Europe and in the Americas was considerable.

Hitler now threw himself into the task of developing the National Socialist Party into a powerful, nationwide organization with fully integrated political and para-military wings, able to identify with the interests of people right through the German social structure and dedicated to their leader to the point of fanaticism. It was only then, when absolute power appeared to be within his grasp and when he realized that a reaction against his anti-Semitism could go against him in the ballot box, that he began to soft pedal that paramount plank of his platform.⁵² Until then he had pressed it flat to the boards and neither German voters nor foreign governments could truthfully claim that they had not been warned.

Hitler launched his first full scale public denouncement of the entire Jewish community at another mass party meeting in the Munich Hofbrauhaus on August 13, 1920. He was certainly under the influence of the Protocols, but he was also taking full advantage of them because by then they were being widely distributed in several languages and actively reported and promoted by Catholic press right across Europe. For two hours he lectured a mass meeting in Munich on the dangers of the international Jewish conspiracy. They eagerly latched onto his battle cry “anti-Semites of the world, unite. People of Europe, free yourselves!”⁵³

Events were ‘conspiring’ in Hitler’s favour. Four months later, in December, 1920, Rohm helped him raise 60,000 marks from General von Epp to help buy the *Völkischer Beobachter* whose proprietors were on the brink of bankruptcy and to make it the party’s paper. Then, within days of the opening of the first National Congress of the National Socialist Party on January 22, 1921, the Allied Supreme War Council made formal reparations demands on Germany. Payments were to start at two billion marks for that year, to rise to six billion marks a year after eleven years and to total 134 billion marks. Hitler now had an effective vehicle through which to push his extreme anti-Allied, anti-Communist and anti-Semitic views, but he was not alone. In fact he was in very good company. Although within a few weeks, in February, 1921, Herman Bernstein exposed the Protocols as a fraud in “The History of a Lie” the church, its allies or others with an axe to grind were not discouraged from raving about Zionist intentions of world domination. Some were fearful of Jewish prominence in international financial circles and the international communist movement; others were simply jealous of the newfound position of privilege and influence of the Jewish community in international affairs; and others, like the Vatican, were fearful of the political and theological implications of the Zionist presence in Palestine.

THE PROTOCOLS

On May 21, 1921, nine months after Hitler’s big ‘launch’ and a mere three months after Bernstein’s book was published, the august, prestigious and immensely influential London Times carried a major article asserting that the Protocols should be taken seriously because they appeared to be genuine documents written for Jews by Jews.⁵⁴ The Times correspondent was among those who fell into the trap of inverting traditional British ideas of justice and called for Jewish leaders to disprove the authenticity of the Protocols. Many different stories of their origin circulated together with variations in the content of the Protocols which were designed to link Jews with everything subversive, revolutionary or ethically undesirable anywhere in Europe. After praising the credentials of “Professor S. Nilus ... of the Department of Foreign Affairs of Russia” under whose name the document first appeared, the correspondent summarized the supposed Zionist plan in seven paragraphs and then showed situations in which it may have already been put into effect. He asked if Europe was to struggle to blow up the secret German plan for world domination “only to find one more secret and more dangerous” and he then called for an impartial investigation into the Protocols because Jewish

denunciations of them had not been convincing.⁵⁵ With backing like that there were few people in a position to contradict Hitler except the former tsarist secret police and clergy who had concocted them some twenty years earlier.

Faced with the threat of the occupation of the Rhur, the German Government accepted the terms and paid the first one billion 'old' marks by borrowing in London. It was the British Government's turn to learn what it was like to have its own financiers preferentially prop up a foreign economy to ensure the security of big loans. But Hitler and other German political leaders could hardly be expected to recognize that prospect. They were more concerned with the national humiliation of the reparations scheme and they did not lose sight of the fact that the bankers servicing the loans included connections of those who had previously controlled both French and German loans in similar circumstances. They just couldn't escape from those former "court Jews."

THE BLACK SHAME

But there was another aspect of the reparations scheme and the threat of occupation of the Rhur which bothered people like Hitler at least as much as economic humiliation. The social humiliation of the "Black Shame." The stationing of black troops from the French North African territories as part of the occupation force in the Rhineland had caused another running sore in relations between Germany and France since the armistice. It was said that the black French troops were routinely raping German women and children, that they were more beastly than white European troops, and that France was using them to humiliate Germany.

In April 1920 the Papal Nuncio in Bavaria, Archbishop Eugenio Pacelli, who was waiting in the wings to become Nuncio to the Weimar republic as well and acting on behalf of the German bishops, relayed these reports to the Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal Gasparri, and advised that in order to improve relations with Germany, the Vatican should intervene with France to force it to remove the black troops. During the following months a German government enquiry produced a report of "the crimes committed by these troops: a catalogue of sadistic abuse, rapes, and horrendous assaults on women and cruelty to children, among other things."

On December 31, 1920, Cardinal Adolf Bertram of Breslau relayed the German government's report on atrocities by French black troops in the Rhineland to Rome. The French were, he said, planning to send even more black troops to the area, preferring to employ "African troops who, in the savage absence of culture and morals ... inflicted unspeakable assaults ... in a situation that has become known as the 'Black Shame.'" At the same time a rabble-rousing campaign against the black French troops was whipped up overseas to such an extent that the US House of Representatives responded to "patently racist petitions" by commissioning its own investigation.

On January 16, 1921, five days before the opening of the Nazi Congress, the French ambassador to the Holy See sought to quell the fury by explaining that there was only a small number of North African troops in the region and that most of them were from an old

civilization “among whom there were many Christians.” He dismissed the “odious propaganda” inspired by Berlin. But the US House committee went further. The United States should take no action on the complaints coming from the German government and the Holy See, it said.⁵⁶ However Pacelli had set himself a twin target: to achieve the maximum centralization of clerical power in the office and person of the reigning pope by means of the recently promulgated Code of Canon Law; and to extend and consolidate the power and influence of the Vatican world wide, starting with Europe, by means of a system of binding church-state concordats. He had completed the drafting of the code in 1917 and he had also succeeded in finalizing a concordat with Serbia – to the great advantage of the Vatican but with equally great disadvantage for Austria – only four days before the Archduke was assassinated and while he was still working on the code. Now he was in the middle of sensitive negotiations towards a concordat with Bavaria which he saw as the first step towards a complex of concordats with each German state and with the Weimar Republic as well. He had generated considerable recognition for the Vatican within Germany by his intervention in the dispute between Germany and France over the “Black Shame”; he could see more ‘mileage’ in that dispute yet, and he was not to be put off by a minor thing like a US House of Representatives report. Either he cared nought about the impact of his actions on international race relations or he had tunnel vision on the matter because, on March 7, as the Ruhr Reparations row approached its peak, he wrote again to the Secretary of State. This time he urged papal intervention on behalf of the molested German women and children. Gasparri declined to pursue the matter or to make any further approaches to the French government. To do so, clearly implying that France could not properly handle race relations questions, and that would have undermined its case in another matter of international relations about which it was about to go public. The controversy therefore raged on. It has been described as a “shaping experience” in Pacelli’s attitude to race and war,⁵⁷ but it is more likely that his attitude was already firmly fixed, because his later actions as pope during World War II were consistent with his actions in 1921. Hitler took very good note of them, too. Blacks joined Jews on his hate list.

Then, only a matter of days after the German government accepted the Ruhr Reparations terms in order to avoid occupation, the Vatican publicly machine entered the act again on the other matter. Some of its advisers had thought very carefully through the political and theological implications of the Balfour Declaration and of Jews settling in Palestine and Jerusalem, and they didn’t like their conclusions. The Vatican was not yet in a position to make a full-blooded push for concordats but it held some hope of forcing the Zionists out of Palestine. While Britain was trying to sort out how to manage its most recent acquisition,^{58 59} the Vatican began to lobby for either direct control over religious affairs in the Holy Land or indirect control through the extension of the authority of the church in Lebanon. When Winston Churchill, newly appointed British Colonial Secretary, visited the Middle East in May 1921 and then reported to the House of Commons in favour of the policy of Jewish settlement the battle appeared to have been lost.⁶⁰ But the pope, Benedict XV, in his final year, tried a desperate long shot.

On June 8, 1921, writing in the official Vatican journal *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (XIII 282–283), Benedict appealed to “the governments of Christian nations, even non-Catholics”, to make a joint protest to the League of Nations.⁶¹ It was more than an effort to force Britain to change its policy. It was an effort to have the provisional British mandate withdrawn and to have Palestine added to the French mandate over Syria and Lebanon which had also been agreed in April 1920. As already noted, relations between France and the Vatican, though still somewhat strained, were improving. On one side, France was insisting on its claim to “protect” or have diplomatic responsibility for all Catholic Christians in the entire Holy Land as part of its mandate.⁶² It was therefore calling on every possible reserve to strengthen its negotiating position with Britain, with whom relations were strained because of the problems generated by the Great War and, in this particular situation, by Britain’s multi-faced conduct in the Middle East. On the other side, despite Vatican and Italian opposition to French demands for commercial privileges which went with the long standing Turkish capitulations, the canonization of the Maid of Orleans only weeks after the mandates had been agreed had certainly helped the rapprochement, and French control of Palestine was more welcome to the Vatican than British pro-Zionist control.⁶³

However the Vatican also had its relations with Germany to consider. The government of Chancellor Joseph Wirth, stung by the Allied reparations demands and the French occupation of the Ruhr, was pressing Archbishop Pacelli to conclude the concordat which he knew Pacelli personally wanted, in the hope that this controversial ‘surrender’ would be compensated for by Vatican support for Germany in its other major territorial dispute: Poland had laid claim to Upper Silesia. The plebiscite which had been held on March 20, 1921, in accordance with the League of Nations direction that a plebiscite would decide the future of the region, had resulted in a heavy popular vote in Germany’s favor. However the Poles had secured a majority in the economically important south eastern area and in May the Silesian Poles staged an armed uprising, demanding inclusion of that area in Poland, in line with the Polish government’s claims.⁶⁴ Therefore, because Pacelli also wanted a concordat with Poland, the missing jewel of Eastern Europe (chapter 17), he could not take sides in that territorial dispute and he had to find alternative issues which might provide a springboard to public support for a German concordat. The issue which interested him most was privileges for the Catholic school system, but the government was not eager to negotiate over these. They were not politically acceptable. Perhaps a domestic blast across the border at France over the ‘black shame’ may do the trick. It did not. It merely stirred up more race hatred. Then perhaps the Jewish question may be more effective. It was useful for so many purposes ...

THE CONVERGENCE OF PROPHECIES

Although the Times correspondent may not have known of Bernstein’s book when his report was published in May there can be no doubt at all that Vatican officials were well aware of it when Benedict XV made his appeal for League of Nations intervention. Nevertheless, the

venom of attacks in semi-official and church-related papers against Jewish influence and supposed plans for world domination increased. About the same time a Vatican spokesman advised the Zionist Organization that the Holy See did not want to help the Jewish race, "permeated with a revolutionary and rebellious spirit", to gain control over the Holy Land.⁶⁵ Hitler was still in very respectable company.

Unfortunately, however, leading Zionists in Palestine under British patronage had acted in such a manner that when Benedict played his long shot they had given him plenty of ammunition. He was able to base his case on the misconduct of Jews towards Christians coupled with the threat of Zionist ambitions, and he therefore needed to say little about Vatican politics.

Britain had been caught in the net of its own politicking by the need to honour undertakings made to its financial backers, the need to keep faith with the hoards of Jewish recruits queuing up in the United States and the need to maintain its propaganda initiatives in Europe. It had invited a Zionist Commission to leave for Palestine in March 1918. The need to establish the British government's credentials had been so urgent that the appointment of the commission could not wait until the end of the war. The commission's task was to provide a link between the British military administration and the Jewish population, to co-ordinate relief work, to help restore and organize Jewish communities, and to establish good relations with communities of Christian and Muslim faith.⁶⁶

The impact on the Arab population, which was being treated like a useful colonial ally and had still not been advised officially of the Balfour Declaration, was apparently of little importance to Britain.^{67 68} In fact when the commission arrived the British army was still held down at Jericho, barely twenty five kilometers from Jerusalem, and it made no progress until forces could be released from the European Western Front after another six months. Under the circumstances it is hardly surprising that the commission did not see its role in the same light as the British military authorities. The government had not even briefed the hastily improvised and constantly harassed Occupied Enemy Territory Administration on how it was expected to relate to the Zionist Commission. The first of the three Chief Administrators in quick succession was simply instructed to make the Commission welcome.

The tightrope which he and his successors had to walk suddenly went slack every now and then as they tried to wrestle with a series of conflicting facts. They knew that their government had made three commitments which were not readily compatible; that the Palestinians were present as the legal occupiers with long established communities; that the Jews were entering as new settlers with very varied expectations; that Britain had been dependent on Arab support in its war in the Middle East against Turkey; and that Britain was currently heavily dependent in its overall war effort on the goodwill and influence of the Zionist Commission. The Commissioners were not slow to take advantage of the situation. They knew that Jewish communities world wide, whether Zionist or not, were keenly watching them for tangible

evidence that the return to Eretz Israel and relief from Christian persecution were achievable. Under such pressure they allowed their enthusiasm to get the better of them.

The majority of the commissioners apparently saw themselves as wartime interim administrators in occupied territory preparing the way for the establishment of a self-governing Jewish State promptly after the war. In any case they were so deeply committed to the Zionist concept and the belief that Palestine was theirs to do more or less as they pleased with it that they were determined to hold Britain to the promise which they believed was implicit in the Balfour Declaration. And there were some very influential names associated with the Commission. Dr. Weizmann was a member together with Edwin Samuel, (son of the future British High Commissioner), and two government nominated Political Officers accompanied the commission. They were Major Ormsby Gore who later became Britain's Secretary of State for the Colonies and Major James de Rothschild.

The Jewish commissioners had probably never paid any more attention to Muhammad's Night Journey and the Qur'anic prophecy about the consequences of the Jewish community transgressing against its neighbours (chapter 6) than any of the Christian cabinet ministers of Britain who had invited them to go to Palestine and who had also arranged for Dr Weizmann to be presented to the Defender of the Faith, HM. King George V, at Buckingham Palace on the eve of their departure.⁶⁹ If they had, they didn't let it influence their actions once they reached Palestine. Although Dr Weizmann talked of joint autonomy for Jews and non-Jews and urged conciliation and a gradual programme to establish a Jewish homeland, the Zionist Commission, as a body, did not see the Palestinian Arabs, whether Muslim or Christian, as their equals. Neither did they see themselves as alien immigrants or refugees seeking a home and security in another land. They regarded Palestine as if it had been left vacant after the destruction of the city of Jerusalem and the expulsion of the Judeo-Christian population. They ignored, or lost sight of, the pastoral and fruit growing enterprises complete with irrigation systems which were well established, and they acted as if the existing community was devoid of social, legal and political structures or a well defined system of ethics based on an intense belief in the absolute authority of God. They acted just like all the other Europeans who had either set out to escape religious persecution or to set up a colony in a non-European country. They regarded Arab Palestinians as subjects in much the same manner as the British going into India or the French going into Algeria. They did not think of what they were doing in terms of transgression. They were well trained by Britain, by heritage, to think in terms of the rights and authority of a colonial power: not the rights of indigenous people. In fact as the early Arab welcome changed to opposition when their colonial policy became apparent, they began to look more and more like Italians in Libya egged on by pulpit and press talk of Holy War against the Muslims in the immediate prewar days of Pius X.

The commissioners would almost certainly have been familiar with Maimonides and his expectations of the Messianic Age, but, apart from his references to the legitimate roles of both Christianity and Islam alongside Judaism in leading humanity to an understanding of God, they would have had little reason to think of specific Qur'anic passages. And the commission also

made the mistake of assuming that every Palestinian Jew was a Zionist eager to usher in a new regime in much the same way that Napoleon III had expected Vietnamese Catholics to spring into action to help the French forces. Every Jew was expected to speak Hebrew and to stop speaking Yiddish but many, including some senior Orthodox Rabbis, refused. Every post was to be a winning post and the Commissioners adopted a policy of confrontation with the British authorities to gain as many of their demands as possible. They adopted the name Eretz Israel in place of Palestine and they were soon demanding that the British administration submit its policies to the commission for approval before putting them into effect. One of America's most prominent Zionists, Justice Brandeis, threw his great political weight behind the demand. An effort was made to impose a policy under which the Jewish community could have armed forces, but not the Arabs, and the Commission pressed for a policy of positive discrimination in favour of Jews and against Muslims and Christians in civil court actions.⁷⁰

The Zionist Commission had not simply sought to correct the long-established discrimination against Jews but had begun to reverse the pattern of discrimination. As time passed and the commission strengthened its position, discrimination in such matters as land settlement, employment and political franchise became more marked. In short the Jewish community was in the process of triggering the fulfilment of Qur'anic prophecy. It had transgressed against its non-Jewish neighbours. However its actions had not been spontaneous. It had been driven to transgression out of sheer desperation. Its basic motive was self-preservation but in pursuing that quite natural aim it had deviated from the task which was basic to its self-understanding. To some of its number self preservation and national prestige had taken precedence over a commitment to the task of their faith. They had done no more than the Christians of Europe had been doing for a very long time. In fact they had done a great deal less. But they had transgressed, and they were about to experience the fulfillment of the prophecies of both Muhammad's Night Journey and Maimonides' The Law of Kings and Their Wars.

The responsibility for the situation lay fairly and squarely on the shoulders of Christian Europe but the Jewish community and not the church was about to become the focal point for a reassessment of the Messianic message. People of the three faiths in the triangle were in conflict at their home base and the challenge of the Balfour Declaration was out in the open. Some fragments of the Orthodox and Reformed wings of the church were taking it seriously but the church of Rome, still the most influential wing, was sticking to its well established policy of rejecting all challenges outright. And while Benedict XV was unsuccessful in his immediate aim of ending British control of Palestine, the Vatican was not about to change its mind on how best to respond.

A number of events and trends in other countries during that period had an important bearing on the social and economic environment in Europe and on Hitler's thinking and his subsequent actions. The Bank of England joined the private financiers in helping to boost Germany's economy and thereby reduced the appeal of a revolution by supporting the establishment of a new gold-based German bank.⁷¹ In the United States the Eugenics Record Office campaigned successfully for the introduction of race-based immigration laws and legal sterilization

programmes to control human breeding.⁷² In Italy Mussolini had seized dictatorial powers and was in the process of crushing press, union and parliamentary opposition. And in Russia Joseph Stalin, General Secretary of the Communist Party and Commissar for Nationalities, began to consolidate his personal power and to move towards his ruthless dictatorship which destroyed the last shred of Marx's principle of government by a broadly based popular movement. At the same time he came into increasing conflict with Russian Jews. As we shall see, this was not because he was anti-Semitic by nature, but because the Jewish community had suffered more than most in each of the Great War, the Revolution and the Civil War which was a consequence of them, and because its expectations for the future had been inflated by the Zionist movement and the Balfour Declaration. In addition, Stalin was locked in a power struggle with Trotsky and other leading Jewish members of the ruling bodies.^{73 74} So, in September 1921, just two years after Hitler provided his first systematically prepared denouncement of the Jews for his military colleagues, it was a simple step to the first organized physical assault by Nazis on Jews in public in Munich – carried out with Hitler's encouragement.⁷⁵

Then, while the Vatican's anti-Semitic propaganda continued to poison the atmosphere in Europe and provide Hitler with plenty of support, the League of Nations played into his hands again. Being more concerned with honoring subversive favours to the wartime allies than with the economic, geographic and ethnic links which it was placing under greater strain, it ruled in October, 1921, that southeastern Upper Silesia was to become part of Poland.^{76 77} That region to be ceded to Poland produced an estimated four fifths of the resources of the whole of the province of Upper Silesia on which Germany had become heavily dependent. Most important were three quarters of Silesia's coal and two thirds of its steel. That heavy dependence had developed because of French occupation of regions in the West under the protection of the League of Nations. Coming only seven months after the crippling and demoralizing reparations demand, that decision piled insults and injuries onto a nation already humiliated and inflamed by unconditional surrender and the enforced dismantling of its monarchy. The whole lot provided a hothouse climate for Hitler's doctrines.

A PLEA FOR A CONCORDAT

As the uprisings continued and added weight to Poland's territorial claim, Chancellor Wirth was so eager – desperate might be a better word – to gain the Vatican's support that he asked Pacelli to give him in writing "a list of points to which the Holy See attached special importance."⁷⁸ In view of Germany's tumultuous relations with the Catholic Church ever since the Reformation, and especially during and following the Kulturkampf, it was indeed humbling for Wirth to even have to make such a request. He knew that the Vatican's demands would be linked to its self-understanding and its determination to gain and to hold a position of preference or privilege over other wings of the Christian church and other faiths as well as financial and ecclesiastic privileges, and such demands were likely to be politically unacceptable within Germany. When he made his request he was probably painfully aware that Italy had agreed to join the war

against Germany on the specific condition that the Vatican was excluded from any peace negotiations, and the Allies were in full accord with that condition. They didn't want the Vatican interfering and playing the concordat game either. But now, with changed circumstances and as leader of the defeated power, he was appealing for Vatican intervention, prepared to make humiliating concessions to it, in the hope that it may have some influence on the powers which had agreed that it should not have any role in the process. Nothing in the contemporary scene could have better illustrated the self-understanding of the Roman Catholic Church and its never ending grab for power to determine the domestic and international policies of the countries in which it claimed to be the sole representative on earth of the Triune God. However the fantastic conflicts of interest and pressures to which it was prepared to subject both its adherents and non-adherents (of any faith) under its policy of Ultramontanism, with all authority in matters religious, social, economic and political centralized in the Vatican in Rome, were largely concealed from the world at that time because, by their devious and dubious nature the negotiations were carried out behind closed doors and with a minimum of publicity. It was power politics of the most undemocratic nature.

The Nuncio's first offering was virtually a draft of the Bavarian concordat "with conditions relating to the schools question that for Prussia constituted an insult," but in December, 1921, he aggravated the situation by reinforcing his key demand at a meeting in the Kultusministerium with both the minister and the Secretary of State. He would assist Germany, he said, by making a rapid appointment of a German bishop to Trier in the Saar region, but only if the government would cooperate on the schools question in the concordat. To apply even more pressure he then added what has been described as 'his usual rider.' The Holy See, he said, would think itself better off without a concordat if it could not get its own way over the schools.⁷⁹ Pacelli had Wirth over a barrel. The Saar was under League of Nations administration but France had effective occupation of the coal producing regions from which it was to be virtually the exclusive beneficiary for fifteen years under the Treaty of Versailles (chapter 17). This led, naturally, to a territorial dispute between Germany and France with which the Vatican was also in the middle of delicate negotiations in which the Vatican had already applied very crude pressure by means of the 'black shame' affair. The appointment of a German bishop in Trier would be seen as a very definite statement that the Vatican considered it to be in German territory, and such an action could prejudice the Vatican's French negotiations. It would not prejudice those negotiations with France by entering an arrangement with Germany unless it was going to be a clear winner.

There was apparently no substantial discussion of the crisis which had prompted Wirth's approach to Pacelli – the dispute with Poland over the future of Upper Silesia – and the German ministers observed at the end of the meeting that the problems of German politics appeared to be beyond Pacelli's grasp. In fact he was both more politically astute and more devious than the German government gave him credit for. He was playing several hands all at once: Germany (the Weimar Republic), its states of Prussia and Bavaria, France and Poland. On January 6, 1922, Pacelli sealed a deal through coercion and collusion between the Weimar government and

the state of Prussia which was intended to minimize non-Catholic opposition to a concordat and to condition public opinion generally, and which he believed put him well on track towards his key objective of a concordat with the central German (Weimar) government. He coerced Prussia, the largest of some twenty German states, into signing an agreement that it would discuss the school question "at the request of the Reich" and then promptly appointed a German bishop in Trier.⁸⁰

While Pacelli boasted about his achievement, the two senior Catholic prelates in Germany were aghast at what he had done. One, Archbishop Schulte, wrote to the other, Cardinal Bertram, on January 9, 1922, describing it as a most extraordinary risk which would encourage the French to greater acts of territorial aggression which, in due course, would work against the interests of the Vatican in Germany. Bertram then told Pacelli that the Prussian state's authority in education was sacrosanct and implored him not to overreach himself. However, when Pope Benedict XV died during the course of that correspondence and was succeeded on February 6 by Cardinal Achille Ratti of Milan who took the title Pope Pius XI, both the Secretary of State, Gasparri, and Pacelli as Nuncio were retained in their positions. This meant that there was no change in policy towards the negotiation of concordats and Pacelli's authority increased. He showed "a characteristic mixture of persistence and recklessness"⁸¹ in his continuing dealings with the Weimar government, undermining any chance which he may have had to secure a concordat with it, and, in his desperation to secure one, left himself vulnerable to manipulation by Hitler when he came to power a few years later.

The relentless pressure which the Allies and the US continued to apply to Germany over reparations, the crises with both France and Poland which were linked to it, and the Catholic Church's reactionary manipulation to take advantage of it as well, gave the Weimar government excellent reasons to conclude a treaty with Bolshevik Russia at Easter 1922, but that decision forced Hitler further and further into anti-Semitic anti-Communism and, at the same time, increased his determination to either harness or restrain the church.

Hitler had gradually become a figure to be reckoned with. In November 1922, in the wake of Mussolini's October march on Rome and his consequent appointment by King Victor Emmanuel III as the youngest-ever prime minister of Italy, the United States diplomatic military mission was briefed to interview and report on him. Its officers rated Hitler "a marvelous demagogue" with immense power over the mob; a great leader of men who was working slowly and efficiently along the same lines as Mussolini. They knew that if Hitler idolized anyone it was Mussolini. He took note that the Italian Fascist leader was able to manipulate the constitutional system of government and his team of coalition ministers which still included two Catholics from the Popular party; that the ordinary middle class job seekers were flooding into the Fascist Party; and that the Fascist Black Shirts were incorporated into an official voluntary militia for national security. Hitler told one of the US investigators quite bluntly that the present abuses of capital had to be done away with before Bolshevism could be put down and that the parliamentary system had to be replaced by a dictatorship to put Germany back on its feet.

Their report, noting that Hitler was an extraordinary orator who would play a big part in Germany's future, was calmly filed away in the State Department.⁸²

The French and Belgian occupation of the Ruhr for two months, on January 11, 1923, on the pretext that coal and timber deliveries had been withheld, confirmed Archbishop Shulte's fears about the possible effects of Pacelli's interference. The Weimar government retaliated by halting reparations payments and deliveries, and called for passive resistance through strikes; the resulting unemployment required it to pay the workers compensation; terrorist groups, aided by the army, struck at the industrial infrastructure; chaos reigned; the German mark went into free fall against the US dollar and within months it was worthless. France complained bitterly that the Vatican was favouring Germany and this was confirmed publicly on June 28 when *L'Osservatore Romano* published an open letter from the pope in which he condemned the French occupation of the Ruhr and the harsh reparation terms. Pacelli claimed that the turmoil was undermining his chances of negotiating a German concordat and prompted by him, Gasparri warned the French prelates that France was playing a dangerous game in the Ruhr.⁸³ Then, sharing Hitler's concerns about Germany's friendly relations with Russia, and claiming that Soviet Russia was about to take advantage of the turmoil to move into Western Europe, he was able to bring German and French government representatives together and to represent the Vatican as the noble-minded peace maker. It was a further – and quite remarkable – extension of the Vatican's manoeuvring to capitalize on the peace processes from which the Allies had very deliberately excluded it. This time it was France which was forced to accept the process. Certainly it was not the first time that it had found it wise to accept Vatican intervention. But, as in the experience of other countries, it was not the expectation of an enlightened contribution by the self-proclaimed sole representative on earth of the Triune God which had encouraged that situation. It was the fear of being placed at a disadvantage either by Vatican-German politicking or intervention by Russia, or both, if France rebuffed the Vatican's overtures. And just at that time the Soviet government's oppression of counter-revolutionaries in the churches had given each of the Vatican, Germany and France cause for concern and reason to seek each other's support.

The Catholic Church was quite small in Russia compared with the Orthodox Church and Islam, but all three, together with Judaism, were suppressed with equal vigour: the Orthodox for its share of responsibility for the pathetic social conditions which prevailed under the former monarchy and which precipitated the Bolshevik Revolution; the Catholic because of collusion between its clergy and the Allied and US forces in supporting the counter revolution; Islam because it was a threat to the atheistic teachings of Marxism; and Judaism for the same reason and because of the political influence which its adherents were perceived to exercise. The level of antagonism within the Communist Party towards institutional religion was such that it had been declared a crime to teach religion to children under sixteen years of age; churches, synagogues and mosques were destroyed or converted to museums or other public facilities; and any pretext was good enough to imprison the clergy. But earlier in the year a series of arrests of Catholic clergy at Mohilev for having fostered the counter revolution, the torture and

grizzly execution of the Vicar-General on Good Friday, the imprisonment for life of the exarch of the Byzantine Catholic Church, and an accelerated campaign of deportations to Black Sea labour camps had sent chills down religious and political spines in Western capitals.⁸⁴

However Germany's own turmoil had triggered uprisings in Munich and demands for social and political change in the state of Bavaria which were not being satisfied by the government of the day. Against that background, and encouraged by members of the Wagner family (including the neurotic and racist son-in-law, Houston Stewart Chamberlain) and startling predictions of 'destiny' by the astrologer Frau Elsbeth Ebertin, Hitler began plotting a Bavarian coup at the beginning of October. The result was the abortive beer hall putsch on November 8, 1923, which, at first sight, appeared to do little more than provide the opportunity for Hitler to rest in prison from November 9, 1923 to December 20, 1924 with plenty of time to study both domestic and international politics and economics and to write *Mein Kampf*. However it shocked members of the Bavarian government into realizing that Hitler and his Nazi mobs may try to strike again and it encouraged them to finally conclude the concordat which Pacelli had been working towards for five years. Such a concordat could be expected to bring the authority of the entire Catholic clergy to bear on the Catholic population and that should provide a security blanket against any further attempts by Hitler to destabilize constitutional government. It was back to Constantinian basics: religious conformity was supposed to be a road to political stability.

Hitler took careful note when the concordat was approved by the Bavarian parliament in January 1924 and then signed into effect in March. Pacelli got everything he wanted: recognition, protection and advancement of the Catholic Church and all its associations and institutions for all time; recognition of the Catholic Code or Canon Law as the norm for the appointment of archbishops, bishops, monsignori and canons throughout Bavaria; and full authority to run religious instruction throughout the entire Bavarian education system as well as uninhibited powers to run religious schools. The only concession he appears to have made was to undertake that because the state was to pay the salaries of all clergy, only persons with citizenship in Bavaria or another German state were to be employed.⁸⁵

In the circumstances it probably bothered Pacelli very little that under the Bavarian Concordat the Vatican could not send (other) Italian clergy into Bavaria. However it did bother him when his negotiations for a Prussia concordat were undermined by his public boasting that he was going to negotiate a Reich Concordat based on the Bavarian model to enable him to impose his will on Prussia, the biggest state. Then on November 27, 1924, while Hitler was still in prison, the Prussian state government told the Reich government that it was no longer acceptable for Rome to be in a position to dictate church-state policies for the largest German state on the basis of the Bavarian model. Prussia therefore intended to negotiate its own concordat so that there would be an office of the church in Berlin with full authority to negotiate instead of only in Rome, it said. The Prussian government either did not understand the over-riding authority which would still lie with Rome because the rigid policy of Ultramontanism was still firmly in place, or it thought that it could circumvent that policy.

However the Prussian declaration still had a sting in its tail: there could be no over-riding Reich Concordat without the consent of the Prussian government.⁸⁶ Pacelli knew that in view of that condition he would have to bide his time to achieve his major objective: a German national concordat. He had (almost) picked off the two main German states, but he did not want twenty or so separate state concordats. He had only wanted one at all in order to put pressure on the Reich government to sign a national concordat.

HITLER'S BLUEPRINT

Volume I of Hitler's remarkable book *Mein Kampf*⁸⁷ was published about six months after his release from prison. Volume two did not appear until December 1926, two years after his release, by which time he had gained absolute authority for the affairs of the National Socialist Party throughout Germany. By then the ecumenical movement had gained strong support within the Reformed and Orthodox wings of the church in Germany, and Pius XI was making his bid to catch up in the numbers race through commercially endowed foreign mission programmes.

The remarkable thing about *Mein Kampf* is that there was nothing new in it at all. Hitler's "new philosophy" was simply a collection of ideas from both contemporary and earlier writers, politicians, theologians and scientists whose works he had read. Most of them were famous, influential and highly respected. *Mein Kampf* might therefore have been a blueprint for the ideal society. It could have been a pathway to Salvation. Instead it was a pathway to tragedy, to despair and to the Holocaust. But it was also the means by which the ultimate challenge to the church and the trouble in the triangle (which is the visible consequence of the rejection of the challenge) were brought to a head. It became the trigger which forced the world to accept the Zionist State of Israel when the Vatican was trenchantly opposed to it and when Britain had finally reneged on the Balfour Declaration.

Mein Kampf is a parody on the amorphous gel of early twentieth century Christianity. It was not written as such, and neither was it recognized as such. It was written in deadly seriousness, but until its author was on the verge of power it was not taken very seriously outside the immediate circles of Germany's National Socialist Party. The psychopath who wrote it voluntarily consulted a psychiatrist before he put his "new philosophy" into practice and later said he wished he had not written it.⁸⁸ He had not changed his views. He simply feared that a reaction against his anti-Semitism might prevent him from holding office and thereby prevent him from putting his plan into effect.

It is a damning self-inflicted indictment of the church that it failed to see in *Mein Kampf* a parody of itself and its connections. Its leaders, its members and its connections, with a few notable exceptions, could identify with some of Hitler's views and proposals so readily that they were either unable or unwilling to recognize or condemn the evil effects of the overall composition. It was not until the consequences of Hitler's borrowed ideas began to shake the world as he put them into effect that the people of the amorphous gel recognized the depth of

the evil in them, began to rethink their ideas and began to respond to pressure from the rest of the world to change course.

Mein Kampf reads as if Hitler's eyes and ears acted as selective filters on a slush pump. They filtered out much that was compassionate, sympathetic to the aspirations of mankind at large and constructive in human relationships. They let through much that was cruel, unbalanced, perverse and destructive of human relationships. What collected in the cesspool of Hitler's mind then flowed freely through his pen, often disjointed, inconsistent and contradictory, to be strung together with bitter reactions to Germany's treatment by the Great War Allies and a few fine sounding statements of community ideals, both of which ordinary Germans could readily identify with. The whole lot formed the ultimate in nationalistic and racist propaganda, a blueprint for disaster and a mocking archive for the discredited ideas and misconduct of the Christian West.

After the outbreak of World War II the props on which Hitler built *Mein Kampf* were knocked away one by one either by disciplined scientific or Biblical study, by simple logic or by the pressure of events around the world. However, in the social and political wake of the devastating consequences of *Mein Kampf* the church dived for cover behind a rampart of Councils and revised statements, and has tried to parry criticism with the little white lie that "they were Hitler's ideas, not ours." The organized fundamental rethink began but faltered and, especially in the Vatican wing, has been actively discouraged because of that all-consuming fear of the effect on the church's self-understanding and worldly position. And in recent years a number of the props have reappeared, but much of the world has forgotten that they were discredited in the rush to put Hitler down.

SOURCES OF HITLER'S INSPIRATION

To go through *Mein Kampf* and identify possible sources of the confused ideas, some of which are taken out of the context their originators intended, is useful to help grasp the role of the book in bringing the trouble in the triangle to a head. Some of the sources for the anti-Semitism which obsessively dominated Hitler's "new philosophy" are listed by D. C. Watt in his introduction to *Mein Kampf*.⁸⁹ They include *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* which Bernstein had shown to be based on a deliberate parody on the earlier papal prop, Napoleon III, for which Maurice Joly spent fifteen months in gaol in the 1860s.⁹⁰ Then there are the Social Catholic journal *Deutsches Volksblatt*, the Catholic paper *Das Vaterland*, and the journal *Ostara*, published by a Cistercian monk, Lanz von Liebenfels, who claimed to have provided the basis for Hitler's thinking and who was (in his later years) rejected by the hierarchy of his order.⁹¹ But there are many other papers, both religious and commercial, including Henry Ford's 'Dearborn Independent'; writers such as Goethe; the intensely nationalist and racist composer Richard Wagner; and even leaders of the Reformation, including theologian Martin Luther.

Hitler's anti-Semitism was closely linked to his beliefs in the German or Aryan master race and the acceleration of its development by controlled breeding. In promoting those ideas he was

able to catch the crest of a wave given impetus by Darwin's theories of evolution. Darwin's ideas had not only provided a direct challenge to the church's self-understanding and teaching but, ironically, had prompted widespread social theories which were used to support the racist Athanasian Creed and to establish the science of eugenics.

A seminal influence on Hitler's thinking was Houston Chamberlain, the son of an admiral who renounced British citizenship, took German nationality and (as noted above) married the daughter of composer Richard Wagner. In 1899 Chamberlain published *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*. It ran through eight editions in twelve years in Germany and had immense impact there before being translated into English for the American market in 1912. Wilhelm II described it as his favorite book and he had copies distributed to army officers, diplomats, schools and libraries.

Chamberlain set out to reconcile Christianity with German nationalism, racism and anti-Semitism. He claimed Jesus was not a Jew but a "Teuton." He blasted the ecumenical movement and groups like the World Missionary Conference for showing tolerance, humility and sickly humanitarianism. Christ, he claimed, would never have sent an apostle to such a gathering. There was a 'plus' for the Vatican, but with an easy flow of rhetoric he also wrote that Rome presided over "chaotic mongrelism" and that it was among Germans with their uncompromising character, sense of absolute justice and impelling will to triumph over all circumstances that true Christianity flourished.⁹²

Another source of inspiration for Hitler was the *Essay on Inequality of Races* in which Frenchman Count Arthur de Gobineau had earlier promoted his belief that the decline of civilization was inevitable because of racial interbreeding. Like Chamberlain, de Gobineau's influence was widespread, and had helped to poison the atmosphere in America before the Civil War when the country was struggling to sort out the built-in mess of the slave trade. The influence of his *Essay* shows in Abraham Lincoln's statement (in debate in 1858) that he was not in favour of "social and political equality of the white and black races ... of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people..." He believed there were physical differences which "will for ever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality (and that) there must be the position of superior and inferior..."⁹³

Those sentiments were shared by a prominent Englishman of the late nineteenth century, Herbert Spencer. In contrast to de Gobineau, however, the 'liberal' Spencer favoured complete separation of the races without imperialist exploitation of one by another. He annoyed a lot of his fellow racists with his incisive overview of the United States in the nineteenth century. "First men are sent to teach the heathens Christianity, and then Christians are sent to mow them down with machine guns ... The policy is simple and uniform. Bibles first and bombshells after."⁹⁴ The lack of reaction from the church was very telling.

But it was the organized systematic application of social Darwinist ideas which was of greatest consequence for Hitler's program, and there was no shortage of examples to follow. A

Laboratory of National Eugenics had been established in England in 1904 and the Eugenics Education Society was set up three years later to complement it through the circulation of eugenics propaganda. The first eugenics society on the Continent was formed at Munich in 1910, three years before Hitler arrived there from Vienna. It was the Internationale Gesellschaft fur Rassenhygiene and its honorary president was Francis Galton, the Englishman who had launched the movement with his study paper entitled *Hereditary Genius* (1869) in which he proposed that man promote his own evolution by encouraging breeding by “better endowed stocks of men” and by preventing breeding by those less well endowed.⁹⁵ Other societies were set up in Scandinavia, France, Austria, Italy, Russia, Japan, South America and the United States and in 1912 the first International Congress of Eugenics was held in London with 800 scientists present.⁹⁶

But although the movement had begun in Britain and several other British writers including Spencer and Chamberlain contributed much of its early “evidence” and philosophy, it was in the United States that its growth was most rapid. It was also in the US that its fantastic beliefs were first written into laws to provide Hitler with models for his racist population control laws.

The New York-based Eugenics Record Office was established by Charles Davenport in 1910, the year the Munich society was formed, and shortly before the translation of Chamberlain's book reached America. His summer schools had already trained 258 field workers by 1912. The nation's racist pot, never allowed to cool down completely, began to simmer again. The Eugenics Research Association was established in 1913 and the Birth Control Movement, led by Margaret Sanger, a year later. There was plenty of organized opposition by the time the discriminatory “Grandfather legislation” went before the Supreme Court in 1915 but it was still declared unconstitutional and Negroes were again officially entitled to vote. Not to be outflanked by the processes of law, a number of bigots, more determined than most and led by Atlanta preacher Colonel William Simmonds, re-established the Ku Klux Klan. Prompted by the Eugenics movement and related racist propagandists the Klan soon adopted not just an anti-Negro stance but an anti-immigrant, anti-Jew and anti-Catholic stance from an Anglo-Saxon Protestant base. By 1923 its membership was being variously estimated at between three and six million out of an adult male population of about thirty million.⁹⁷

With the probability that the United States would get involved and would need to recruit a large army for foreign service, the Great War influenced many people to accept the court's decision on the “Grandfather legislation” with better grace than they might have otherwise. When the war finally engulfed America too, it brought another complete load of propaganda which contradicted the line from Chamberlain and added anti-German racism to the established mix. Then when it passed and a flood of Slav and Russian immigrants, including a high proportion of Catholics and Jews, descended on America just as about 1,500,000 troops were being demobilized, the emphasis lurched again and the Ku Klux Klan had its propaganda ready made.

In the mean time the Stamford-Binet scales of intelligence and tests to go with them had been “perfected” by Lewis Terman and his associates. Without proper regard for educational, cultural and environmental influences, they were used to assess more than 1,700,000 recruits. America’s Anglo-Saxons were delighted by the results. Not only were all non-whites reckoned to be inferior to whites but the army’s chief psychologist reported that the tests “brought into clear relief ... the intellectual inferiority of the Negro.”⁹⁸

Flooded by undesirable immigrants, unemployed soldiers and unintelligent Negroes the Anglo-Saxons eagerly took to *The Passing of the Great Race* by lawyer Madison Grant (1916), in which he called for race-based immigration restrictions, a race based franchise, laws against inter-racial marriages, and the disenfranchisement and compulsory sterilization of the feeble, sick and criminal. There was little immediate opposition when he said that before the discovery of the truths of eugenics there was a case from a Christian and humane point of view for “indiscriminate charity for the benefit of the individual” but that without a plan for sterilization of the unfit such charity was of “more injury to the race than black death or small pox.” Then came the punch line and Hitler’s selective filter system went into top gear. “The laws of nature (said Grant) require the obliteration of the unfit and human life is valuable only when it is of use to the community or race ... (It is a) ... mistaken regard for what we believed to be divine laws and a sentimental belief in the sanctity of human life ... (which tends to prevent) ... the elimination of defective infants.”⁹⁹

By 1919 the pot was well and truly boiling again. Race riots occurred in many cities, fear of red-rag Bolshevism was being whipped up as the US prepared to join the Allies in bringing down the Russian government through “intervention”, and fourteen states enacted laws to criminalize worker organizations and the expression of critical opinion.^{100 101} Universities began to restrict or to ban Jews and Negroes. Fifteen states made English the sole language for schools and Henry Ford began promoting the Protocols stories through his dealer chain. Candidates for political offices from postmasters to presidents were quizzed on the race control question and Warren Harding, perhaps reluctantly, bowed to pressure and supported changes to immigration laws in his presidential campaign in 1920.¹⁰²

After Harding’s election the clamour increased. Dr Alfred Wiggam proclaimed that God had previously spoken to man through burning bushes, stone tablets, prophets and dreamers but now the instruments of divine revelation were the microscope, the spectroscope, the telescope, the chemist’s test tube and the statistician’s curve. These things, he said, added an enormous range of new commandments and moral codes together with the means of putting them into effect. Advanced, civilized races were plunging backwards, biologically, and efforts to improve man’s lot instead of man were hastening his destruction. According to Wiggam, Jesus did not subscribe to “the facile doctrine that all men are created equal” and if he had been among us he would have been president of the First Eugenics Congress.¹⁰³ In *America: A Family Matter*, Charles Gould called for the repeal of naturalization laws¹⁰⁴ and Kenneth Roberts claimed that if a few millions more of Alpine, Mediterranean and Semitic stock were poured into America “the result must inevitably be a hybrid race of people as worthless and futile as the good-for-

nothing mongrels of Central America and Southeastern Europe.”¹⁰⁵ From Dr H. Laughlin came the news that immigrants made up a disproportionate percentage of America’s insane, criminals and poor. He concluded from that rather obvious circumstantial development that immigrants had “inborn socially inadequate qualities.”¹⁰⁶ And from Dr Charles Josey came a call for the colonial powers to rigidly control their “natives” and for their populations to be held in check by the dissemination of birth control information.¹⁰⁷

With that sort of domestic pressure around it while the echoes of the Allies’ racially provocative and subversive Great War propaganda still drifted across the Atlantic the United States federal government introduced immigration controls in 1921. The maximum number of immigrants from any country was set at three percent of the number of residents from that country already in the US in 1910. It was a deliberate attempt to stem the flood of Jewish and Catholic refugees and immigrants from the Slav states of Eastern Europe and Russia.¹⁰⁸ A number of states either introduced or tightened sterilization laws and expanded institutions and asylums for the feeble-minded, insane, epileptics, criminals, drunkards, drug addicts, syphilitics and prostitutes.¹⁰⁹ The United States was going to be kept Protestant and pure by keeping such people off the streets. The prevailing philosophy was “let’s not worry about understanding the circumstances of such groups, their causes or means of offsetting them, let’s just hide them away and sterilize them.” In the same year the Supreme Court decided that a ‘primary’ for the selection of a political candidate was not part of an election. It could therefore be conducted on any franchise a party determined. This provided an alternative to the outlawed ‘Grandfather Legislation’ and within eleven years all of the southern (former Confederate) states had introduced some form of white primary election which effectively disenfranchised Negroes once more.¹¹⁰

But these moves failed to satisfy the race bigots and the eugenics fanatics, and the clamour for further tightening of the regulations increased. Vice President Calvin Coolidge wrote in 1922 that biological laws showed that “Nordics” (a regionally more acceptable racist term than “Anglo-Saxons”, “Teutons” or “Aryans”) deteriorate when mixed with other races. Secretary for Labour James Davis went even further. He said that the older immigrants to America were the beaver type that built America, whereas newer immigrants were rat men trying to tear it down. Rat men, he said, could never become beavers!¹¹¹

Such was the situation when Hitler paid a visit to the aging Houston Chamberlain on September 30, 1923, and found complete harmony in their ideas. Chamberlain wrote to him a few days later that: “With one blow you have transformed the state of my soul. That Germany, in the hour of her greatest need, brings forth a Hitler, that is proof of her vitality.”¹¹² Hitler was actually working on *Mein Kampf* in gaol when the US Immigration Act was tightened to restrict immigration to 150,000 persons per year with the limit on migrants from any country set at two percent of the settlers who arrived from it prior to 1890.¹¹³ That threw the balance heavily in favour of the so-called ‘Nordic’ peoples from England, Ireland, Germany and Scandinavia and cut to a trickle migration from Italy, Russia, Poland, Austria and the Balkans. In addition Japanese migrants were totally excluded, in line with the ban on other Orientals which was

already being enforced. Secretary of Labour Davis announced triumphantly that American immigration policy had passed through the earlier phases of, firstly, the principle of asylum and, secondly, the economic need into a new phase of the biological ideal.¹¹⁴

The self-styled “new Chosen people of God” were making the White Australia Policy look quite amateurish and Hitler was having a field day. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler praised the United States’ immigration controls; he declared that citizenship should not be a matter of birth and that women and foreigners should be subjects and not citizens.¹¹⁵ He had absolutely no place for universal suffrage.¹¹⁶ He claimed that pandering to ethnic groups fragmented a society, that a higher race needed a lower race to do its dirty work; that interbreeding was a sin against providence and that eugenics had to be employed to further improve the German master race.¹¹⁷ Henry Ford and Mussolini, he said, were great men.¹¹⁸ And noting the conflict between Britain and the United States for control of Iraq, he showed greater astuteness than many Western observers gave him credit for in stating that the “child of the great mother seems to be growing into a new master of the world.”¹¹⁹

The future Fuhrer devoted quite a lot of space in *Mein Kampf* to expounding his non-colonial colonial policy. “Never forget”, he wrote, “that the most sacred right on this earth is a man’s right to have earth to till with his own hands, and the most sacred sacrifice the blood that a man sheds for this earth.”¹²⁰ Fine sounding words. He could have been speaking for the American Indians, the Australian Aborigines or the Palestinian Arabs. But it was the other nations of Europe, and the United States, from which he took his inspiration and what he really meant appeared on other pages.

There were immense areas of unused soil waiting to be tilled or to be exploited for their resources; they were not reserved for any particular nation or race; and they existed for the people with the force to take them and the industry to cultivate them.¹²¹ So what he really meant was the sacred right was really only for Germans and the blood sacrifice should be anyone else’s. But all the non-European land had now been grabbed by European colonizers which stood like pyramids upside down, with their “absurdly small” home bases supporting the weight of their colonies and foreign trade. The lessons for Germany from this and “the only possibility for carrying out a healthy territorial policy lay in the acquisition of new land in Europe itself.”¹²² That possibly puts too much order into Hitler’s inconsistent ramblings, but the basic message was clear. Europe’s racist colonial policy was now to be applied in Europe itself. Using such starting points, he quite disarmingly discussed Austria and the Polish, Slav and Russian territories which Germany must acquire to have its colonial pyramid right side up. The inferior peoples of those territories were to provide the labour for the people of the German master race on a greatly expanded home base.

So it went on. Germany would have to remodel its propaganda machine and messages on the lines so successfully used by the Allies during the Great War.¹²³ Democracy was a redundant deception, according to Hitler. Mussolini had the right idea and the ridiculous Marxist concept of equality had to be eliminated. There were to be no such things as majority decisions.

Parliament would be revised so that it became a working institution without votes.¹²⁴ To round it all off, there would be no room in the German master race state for any of the three “poison fangs” of the Jewish supra state: Masonic secret societies, the supranational press and international Marxism.¹²⁵

Having thus left no doubt about his attitude to the fictional Jewish ‘supra state’, Hitler completed his parody with an equally forthright appraisal of a far more real ‘supra state’ – the Catholic Church. The world, he proclaimed, could learn by the example of the Church which, through its doctrinal edifice, resists sacrificing one syllable of its dogmas in spite of collision with exact science and research, stands more firmly than ever and will gain more and more blind support as a static pole amid the flight of appearances.¹²⁶ However, the Church would have to be more dogmatic, more nationalistic and more forthright in its anti-Semitism.¹²⁷ It also had to take full advantage of incredible strength and vigour in the age old institution of celibacy which ensures its spiritual suppleness, iron willpower and “instinctive bond with the emotional world of the people.”¹²⁸ And it had to stop wasting time and money on mission work among Zulus, Hottentots and Negroes in Central Africa where “our ‘higher culture’ turns healthy, though primitive and inferior, human beings into a rotten brood of bastards.”¹²⁹

THE WORLD HAD BEEN WARNED

So: Hitler was out of jail, *Mein Kampf* had been published and its author was back on the hustings whipping the mob into a frenzy. The message contained in *Mein Kampf* was clear. But there were too few people alert to the dangers to heed the warning. The tide of the times was flowing steadily in the opposite direction. In fact by the time Hitler came to power, Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, and the Canadian province of British Colombia had joined a total of 28 states of the US with sterilization laws.^{130 131}

Fortunately a few consciences were beginning to stir. In the United States, where the tradition of the cultural ‘melting pot’ could be expected to create points of resistance and opposition, organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (founded 1909), the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and the American Civil Liberties Union were gradually gaining more confidence and influence. After the adoption of amendments to the immigration act in 1924 while Hitler was studying and writing in jail, they began to campaign strongly against racism. Anthropologist Franz Boas, a Jew, provided effective leadership and many biologists, geneticists and anthropologists also became more critical of the claims of the eugenics movement, but it was the eventual revulsion at Hitler and his parody which really shook the foundations of racism.¹³²

But the institutional church was still slow to react. The Federal Council of Churches in the US took an active interest in industrial affairs but was inclined to falter on the issue of race.¹³³ The churches connected with the council drew the bulk of their membership from conservative, economically and socially stable middle and upper class groups corresponding to Marx’s bourgeoisie. It was to exactly those groups that the main thrust of racist and eugenics

propaganda had been directed so successfully and they were caught in a pronged stick. After the Jerusalem Missionary Conference at Easter, 1928 (chapter 17) there was a definite lift in their support for the establishment of colleges for Negroes, slum betterment schemes and evangelical programmes but they were still scratching the surface with marked diffidence. The real effort did not begin until the Great Depression, but it is impossible to apportion credit for that awakening between humanitarian compassion, an understanding of the Gospel, reaction to Hitler's parody and fear of Bolshevism.

Within the Catholic ghetto in the United States the main motive behind social action was still preferential protection of the interests of 'the flock.' This was being stimulated strongly by the change from an Irish/German base as the unwanted and denigrated flood of Catholic migrants arrived from eastern and southern Europe. The Catholic community generally, and the new part of the flock in particular, was affected more than the majority by the changes to social and migration laws from 1921 to 1924. The pressure to accept birth control, the threat of asylums for the feeble-minded and the threat of the sterilizer's knife hung over them more than over the bulk of the community, together with deliberate oppression by some deeply bigoted sections of the Protestant dominated employer groups. Because of that situation the Catholic Church naturally took a more active and more hostile stand against the diabolical laws of that period.

Out of the hypocrisy and bigotry which engulfed America after the Great War a new era in the Catholic Church's attitude to social issues was dawning. It had a hellish history to make up for but a few sparks were flying and they were bound to catch in the tinder-dry grass somewhere. Considering the circumstances in the United States between the two world wars, (especially after the Ku Klux Klan developed its three pet hates and had gained the active support of between one and two out of every ten adult males), it would have been reasonable to expect the Catholic Church to develop some sort of working alliance with the Negro and Jewish communities. At the very least an understanding of their problems and the development of a community of interest could have been expected because of their joint persecution. However no such developments took place. The gulf between the Catholic Church and the largely Protestant Negro community which had been dug deep during the days of the slave trade could not be bridged.

However there was one gulf which could be bridged: the gulf between the Vatican and Fascism. The extent to which the Vatican was prepared to go to impose its will and the manner in which it did not want to share the exercise of power with lay Catholic politicians were plain for everyone to see. It was common knowledge that the two Catholic ministers in Mussolini's cabinet had withdrawn under pressure from the Vatican which said it did not like Fascist policies towards the church. It was also common knowledge that in April 1924, when Mussolini was going through the motions of another election, the Vatican disowned the Popular Party and forced its Catholic leader to resign.¹³⁴ The Vatican wanted total control of negotiations with the government and it did not want mere lay politicians getting in the way. And Hitler's comments during the next three years on the exercise of power by the Catholic Church were to show that the situation was certainly not lost on him. He understood it very well indeed.

Shortly after his release from prison, on February 26, 1925, he wrote in the Nazi Party newspaper that the National Socialist Movement would not be dragged into religious disputes; and in *Mein Kampf* he noted the importance of drawing a distinction between political Catholicism and religious Catholicism, that there was potential within the Catholic Church for resistance to National Socialism, and that a confrontation with the church in Germany would lead to a catastrophe and was to be avoided. He wrote:

When church dignitaries make use of religious institutions or doctrines to injure their nation, we must never follow them on this path and fight with the same methods. For the political leader the religious doctrines and institutions of his people must always remain inviolable; or else he has no right to be in politics, but should become a reformer, if he has what it takes! Especially in Germany any other attitude would lead to a catastrophe. ¹³⁵

Then in a Nazi circular in 1927 he wrote that there would be no new *Kulturkampf* in his battle with the Catholic Centre Party. He would, he said, confront the party purely on the basis of political perceptions. And, in response to personal correspondence from a Catholic priest who was a Nazi sympathizer, he avoided any suggestion that the National Socialist Party and the “immense technical apparatus” of the Catholic Church were in direct competition for the hearts and minds of the people. He noted that in all circumstances it was “a misfortune when religion, regardless (of) which form, is joined to political parties” in the pernicious politicization of religion, but said it was not the task of the party to appeal to ‘loyal Christians.’ It simply had to “win back for the nation all the elements of itself and its moral and spiritual culture which were lost.”¹³⁶ However Hitler clearly saw himself as both politician and reformer because he subsequently contradicted that statement in *Mein Kampf* on the inviolability of religious doctrines and institutions with the same gay abandon with which he saw the Catholic Church interfering in politics to the injury of many nations.

At the same time, Mussolini's ability to cling to power without being confronted by the Catholic Church, in spite of widespread belief that he was implicated in the elimination of a key opposition leader, was not lost on Hitler either. The Vatican was more eager than ever to resolve “The Roman Question” by means of a concordat, and rapprochement with Mussolini – the bridging of the gap – could provide the means. There was nothing to be gained, in the Vatican view, by confrontation with the Fascists over a few ruthless measures which Mussolini took to stay in power. That would only widen the gulf. However the process of rapprochement with them, which was proving too slow – four years too slow – could be helped along a bit by an assault on the Ecumenical Movement which would show that the Vatican did not agree with its opposition to strong, centralized totalitarian government. *Mortalium Animos*, issued on January 6, 1928 (chapter 17) helped quite a bit.

But the Vatican still had to wait a while. The Italian Concordat was not agreed to until late 1928 when world and domestic circumstances made it advantageous for Mussolini to turn to the church for the prop which was announced on February 22, 1929 (chapter 17). It was music to

Hitler's ears and he was able to exploit it to great advantage. In an article in the Nazi Party newspaper the same day he warmly welcomed the concordat and wrote that: "The fact that the Curia is now making peace with Fascism shows that the Vatican trusts the new political realities far more than (it) did the former liberal democracy with which it could not come to terms (and) by trying to preach that democracy is still in the best interests of German Catholics, the Centre Party ... is placing itself in stark contradiction to the spirit of the treaty signed today by the Holy See."¹³⁷ Then the Vatican struggled to justify its contradictory positions and the institutional Church continued to struggle with issues of race and community relations while Italy and Germany, together with the world-at-large, were thrown into chaos as a result of the efforts of the Allies and the United States to extricate themselves from the mess they had got themselves into by prolonging the Great War and moving against Bolshevik Russia.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION

From 1916 onwards, economic stagnation in the United States had been buffered by the growth of its war industries and the mass recruitment of Southern states Negroes to work in them in the northern states. The social patterns of northern cities had changed as a result, and this had contributed to the race problems already discussed.¹³⁸ While they were being worked through, the economy was boosted by continuing high net immigration and by the growth of the motor vehicle, highway and housing construction and chemical industries. It was during the 1920s that the growth of the synthetic chemical industry began to change the petroleum industry from a simple energy supplier to the supplier of vital and complex raw materials as well as energy. And that industry grew up very largely on some 4,500 German patents sequestered and freely applied in US industry through the nonprofit Chemical Foundation after the Great War.¹³⁹

Economic theories and policies were being developed and shattered as the US also became caught by the war loans which it had made and refused to remit, and by the gold standard which it had insisted be adopted. It found itself exporting more capital to Europe and Latin America, competing domestically with the foreign industries it was propping up in order to obtain repayment of loans, and maintaining in power some Latin American and other governments whose ability to achieve stability and to attract the loyalty of their own people was highly suspect.¹⁴⁰ The payoff for that support was further commercial advantage for US operators and the treadmill of political corruption was soon running at full speed.

The US had thus been able to achieve reasonable economic stability during the mid 1920s and it seemed to have overcome the establishment of the Socialist movement in America and the attempted substitution of "Christian Socialism" for the Protestant Ethic.¹⁴¹ However Europe was still under great strain and a conference was convened at Locarno, Switzerland, during the third quarter of 1925 to resolve the major territorial issues. A series of agreements and treaties were eventually signed on December 1. The Franco-German and Belgo-German boundaries and the status of the Rhineland as a demilitarized zone were all confirmed in a major treaty signed by France, Belgium and Germany, and the terms were guaranteed by Britain and Italy. Germany

concluded arbitration conventions with France, Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia; France signed treaties of mutual guarantee with Poland and Czechoslovakia; and Germany was admitted to the League of Nations about the same time that France and Belgium vacated the Ruhr which they had occupied in 1921 when Germany defaulted on reparations payments. It was also granted a permanent seat on the Council. The reparations and Great War loans arrangements which had been modified by the Reparations Commission under the Dawes Plan only a year earlier were also reworked again during the Locarno negotiations. Under the Dawes Plan a fixed annual rate of reparations payments had been introduced, the government was given until 1988 to complete payments, and the German State Bank had been reorganized. The outcome was hardly more satisfactory.^{142 143} Then, in accordance with a round of disarmament negotiations and in response to demands for financial restraint, Britain continued to run down its navy while the USA, Italy and Japan each increased their overall war capacities.¹⁴⁴

French Foreign Minister Briand, who was given much of the credit for the diplomatic success of the Locarno Conference, was concerned that treaties alone would not be sufficient to prevent a return to the battlefields of Europe as countries sought to improve their positions. He proposed that governments should renounce war as an instrument of national policy and in April 1927 he approached his American counterpart, Secretary of State Kellogg, for their countries to set an example by making a joint declaration outlawing war. Kellogg opposed the idea of a bilateral statement or agreement, but believed a multilateral pact may have some value. Accordingly a Convention was held in Paris and in August 1928 delegates from nine powers signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact. Subsequently 56 more countries agreed to the pact. Its strength was that it included Germany and both the United States and the Soviet Union, neither of which were members of the League of Nations, but it was of limited value because it had no mechanisms for punitive action against aggressors and made no direct demands on the sovereignty of those who signed it. At least it was a step in the right direction.

Unfortunately, while these major treaties and pacts were under discussion, the continuing strains from financing the Great War and reconstruction had begun to tear the Western world's monetary system apart. Since the outbreak of the Great War the United States had changed from being a net international debtor to an international creditor of major importance and in about four years from 1925 some \$US5 billion flowed out from its artificially booming economy in foreign loans. To avoid some of the recognized complications from that pattern the US government took a series of steps, the likely effects of which were less well understood.¹⁴⁵ Rash speculation in unsound securities was followed by panic selling of shares on the Wall Street stock market, beginning on October 24, 1929, and continuing until October 29. Many banks failed immediately. The stock market collapsed, businesses closed and unemployment in the United States leapt from 3.2 percent of the 'normal' workforce in 1929 to 15.9 percent in 1931, and 24.9 percent by 1933.¹⁴⁶

In the socio-economic circumstances of 'dog-eat-dog and every man blame the next one for his woes' there was very little prospect of the enormously deep gulf between Rome and the Jerusalem Conference lobby against racism being bridged. Perhaps no real effort was made to

bridge it. Certainly Pius XI made a call for racial tolerance and the training of native clergy in his *Rerum Ecclesiae* in February 1926 but the primary motive behind that has already been discussed (chapter 17). It was to be another forty years or more, plus Hitler's parody, several lesser wars and a series of Latin American dictatorships, before a new era in Catholic social attitudes became well established.

But within weeks of the stock market collapse shock waves echoed around the world as country after country followed the United States into economic catastrophe. The New York Stock Crash and the economic depression focussed attention on the inequality and the potential for exploitation inherent in the Capitalist system even more sharply than the famine which had triggered the round of revolutions of the 1840s. As a consequence the Christian Western World became a social and political battleground at least as traumatic as during the closing stages of the Great War. Tensions between countries and tensions between social groups within countries became profound.

In Germany the situation was especially acute. Its remarkable recovery since Locarno turned sour. Three million people were soon out of work and the repercussions were felt immediately in the adjacent countries, especially France – the main beneficiary of the reparations provisions. These were the countries in which the Vatican's politicking had been a critical influence and in which there could now be a strong backlash against the Catholic Church. The hard-won Prussian state concordat had been signed by the government only four months before the crash, in mid June, after protracted and acrimonious negotiations. Pacelli had been forced to compromise on a number of issues. The government, which agreed to pay the salaries bill, had the right of veto over the appointment of bishops in a very complicated system which involved both the cathedral canons and the Holy See. All clergy were required to have gained degree level qualifications and, as with Bavaria, to be citizens of the German Reich. But, in particular, the concordat contained no reference to schools at all. During the drafting stage, when Prime Minister Braun insisted that there could be no provision whatsoever on schools, Pacelli had replied that he could not go back to the Holy Father in Rome with a draft concordat that did not mention schools. But Braun stood firm: "I can't go to parliament with a concordat that does mention schools without exposing myself to certain defeat." So the draft was agreed and the eventual parliamentary motion to approve the concordat was passed, in mid July, by 243 votes to 171. But Pacelli promptly angered a very large part of the constituency by claiming in an official note to Braun on August 5 that the compromise on the schools issue had been made under pressure, and that he had not renounced the fundamental principles which had been secured in other concordats.¹⁴⁷ The government was under notice that the matter was henceforth a major political controversy, but by November, within days of the crash, it was engulfed by so many social and economic controversies that religious bigotry and the schools question simply merged into the whole complex.

Pope Pius XI recognized immediately that dynamic leadership was needed in the church's international relations and this could no longer be expected of a Secretary of State approaching eighty years of age. He decided that Cardinal Gasparri should retire and be succeeded by

Archbishop Pacelli. It can only be assumed that he put more weight on Pacelli's success as a political negotiator than on the extent to which he caused or aggravated ecumenical and social crises. After all he did expect, on the basis of the church's developed dogma and self-understanding, that whatever happened on the world stage the Catholic Church would come out on top and continue as the sheet anchor of Western Christian civilization which would eventually encompass – or engulf – the world. The Nuncio received his summons to return to Rome late in November, 1929 barely a month after the stock market crash; he left Berlin on December 10 to flamboyant and highly orchestrated demonstrations of religious fervour by the Catholic community; he was elevated to Cardinal within a fortnight; and on February 7, 1930, he was in office as Vatican Secretary of State, second only in authority and power to the pope.

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In his new capacity Pacelli took unto himself direct responsibility for all concordat negotiations, paramount among them being those with Germany and its states. He even told the new nuncio in Berlin that he would not be involved in the negotiations.¹⁴⁹ Pacelli was the pope's "favourite cardinal" and because Pius XI was plagued with illness and entrusting more and more responsibility to him there was virtually no restraining him.¹⁵⁰ He was determined that he would achieve a national German concordat, regardless of the opposition which had now erupted in Germany. It was only a matter of time. He expected that it would be with the Weimar Republic under its existing constitution. Why should he expect otherwise? He therefore kept the pressure on the government in parallel with moves by the German bishops to isolate Hitler, exactly as he had expected.

With growing tension between Germany and the Allied reparations recipients the matter of discipline and command in the army of the Weimar Republic had become a matter of tension between certain military commanders and the government. One issue concerned whether all chaplains in the army should be responsible to a specially appointed military bishop or to the diocesan bishops of their own churches. Pacelli saw this as an issue which he could exploit in negotiations for a national concordat in place of the schools issue which had backfired on him. On March 9, 1930, he proposed that Catholic chaplains report to their own bishops and sought a meeting to discuss "a concordat relationship with the Reich in order to secure the fulfilment of the modest wishes of the Holy See as a quid pro quo from the Reich." However the economic and political crises in Germany were compounding rapidly; democracy was under threat from parts of the army and powerful industrial interests; the grand coalition government collapsed on March 27 and consideration of Pacelli's proposal was deferred. By the time his request was again under consideration, in June, a devout Catholic from the Centre Party, Heinrich Brüning, had been installed as Chancellor and Pacelli no doubt thought his chances of success were brighter. However his request was brusquely rejected.¹⁵¹ Within weeks the Brüning government had also fallen and a general election was called for September 14.

At that election that the Nazi vote rose eight-fold, from 810,000 in 1928 to 6,371,000, or 18 percent of the total vote and its representation jumped from 12 to 107 in a parliament of 577

members, in spite of Vatican interference of a very vexing kind in support of opposing Catholic-led parties, tinged with encouragement for Italian Fascist style corporatism. At the same time some clergy had run an anti-Nazi campaign and the Nazis were not at all pleased. When the Nazi regional command in Mainz sought clarification of a local priest's ban on party membership the vicar-general confirmed his action. The religious and educational policy of National Socialism is inconsistent with Catholic Christianity, he said, and no Catholic may be a card-carrying member of 'the Hitler Party.' If one was, "he may not be admitted to the sacraments."¹⁵² That was exactly the kind of action and interference which Hitler, as a Catholic of long standing, had anticipated and which he feared could keep him from office.

In the chaotic wake of the election President Hindenberg appointed Brüning, whose Catholic Centre Party had only 68 seats, to form another minority coalition government. Even the Communists had more seats: 77. He was to govern by Presidential decree, thus blocking both the large minority Socialist Democrats (143 seats) and the Nazis (107 seats) from any real influence and leading to even more disruption and confusion in a nation already deep in crisis. As the crisis deepened, support for Hitler increased, and not only among the general public, the army and the right wing industrialists but among the Catholic bishops as well. As a consequence, when they met in national conference at Fulda they failed to agree on a statement condemning National Socialism or its policies. Cardinal Bertram, president of the conference, therefore took it on himself to include in a message for New Year, 1931, a general warning against political extremism and the insanity and wickedness of racism.¹⁵³ But the publication of that message coincided with the release of a much more influential message.

CASTI CONNUBII

Into the international battleground of the Great Depression Pius XI threw another papal encyclical, dated December 31, 1930. It was motivated by the turmoil in race, migration, and population control laws and community standards in the United States during the 1920s. It was the second of the major "social encyclicals" which Pius XI produced as part of the programme to reinforce papal rule throughout the church, to complement the concordat system and to offset the influences of both Protestant and secular voices which had progressively undermined the authority of the Roman Catholic Church. It soon became apparent, however, that the capacity of the papacy to make universal judgements and rules had been overtaxed.¹⁵⁴

Direction and increased regimentation of one section of the world community in questions of ethics could not be carried out in isolation and had to influence the whole world community. That is no doubt exactly what Pius XI intended, but he failed to understand the diversity of situations in which his paramount 'guidance' was supposed to be applied and the increased tensions which he was generating. He was providing further evidence of the unworkability of the Vatican's ultramontaniam. The second of his social encyclicals was praiseworthy in what appears to be its basic intent – to help bring sanity into the eugenics debate. It was courageous in its timing and productive in its immediate effect, but unfortunately the Pope spread his net far

too wide. He left both the faithful and the separated, their governments, scientists, social planners, psychologists and a host of others to sort out the consequences. His successors have tried to separate each of the issues which he treated in the long-established, arrogant, inflexible manner which the Vatican had been clinging to. They have treated them rather more sympathetically, but they have avoided changing the main thrust of his pronouncements any more than has been absolutely necessary in an effort to maintain both continuity and their central teaching authority. Three generations later they are still trying to sort out the mess.

But the Pope's encyclical also had more immediate effects. Because of the Great Depression, Capitalist governments around the world were under intense pressure to make concessions and social reforms or be overthrown. It was very convenient for them to be seen as dynamically Christian, responding to the church's leadership, and encouraging (or imposing) the essentials of the Christian faith – strict personal and community discipline – through their education, health and welfare systems. It didn't matter whether a government had a concordat with the Vatican or not. It could still benefit from the spin-off from the Vatican's social encyclicals. There was the Catholic vote to be considered and that was more significant than usual in the volatile political environment of the time. In a stable parliamentary electoral system in which governments were formed from a host of independents and small parties, the influence of the church and special interest groups tended to be relatively small. But when national or regional politics became polarized, or in places where two-party systems were the norm, the ability of the church to influence the direction of policy was greatly increased. Shifting coalitions or small swings could mean gaining or losing seats on government benches. While the consequences of that encyclical are now apparent some three generations after it was issued, and governments of the day can be criticized for the way in which they responded to it, there is little doubt that it had the immediate effect which Pius XI was aiming for.

Casti Connubii was handed down as a follow-up to (and exactly two years after) the pope's first social encyclical, *Divini Illius Magistri*, which had confirmed and tightened the ground rules for education of Catholic youth and sought to turn the tide or to undermine the state school education system. "A good Catholic," he said, "precisely because of his Catholic principles, makes the better citizen, attached to his country, and loyally submissive to constituted civil authority in every legitimate form of government."¹⁵⁵ Those principles could be received only in a Catholic school and attendance at any other school was forbidden. Adolescents were "as soft as wax to be moulded in a vice", and being surrounded by immorality, corruption and false doctrines they had to be protected lest they succumb to evil passions and the dangers of moral and religious shipwreck through inexperience. "False and harmful" coeducation was therefore prohibited. So also was physiological sex education in the class room "by which some reformers pretended to help but through which adolescents learned the art of sinning rather than the virtue of chaste living."¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ But that was a mere foretaste of what was to come in the second social encyclical.

Casti Connubii had taken some time to prepare but it was issued at the very time when family life and relationships were under enormous strain at the height of the Depression. Very

long and very tedious, it dealt exhaustively with marriage, sex, childbirth and the abuse of human sexuality, but with heavy emphasis on Augustine's theology and discipline in a very narrow sense. In addition, references to other long-dead authorities and the Council of Trent are dotted through it so that there appears to have been a deliberate effort to scorn Karl Barth's call for a rethink and his attacks on the church's claims to have divine teaching authority based on historical continuity. While the encyclical dealt with some aspects of eugenics it had also been prompted, at least in part, by rising interest in family planning and sex education which the church was opposing with great vigour. Ever since 1914 when Margaret Sanger began publishing articles on sex education and family planning the churches had been divided over those issues, with the Reformed Churches generally regarding them as a legitimate step towards logical social policies. But the Catholic Church threw its weight behind the opposition. When she opened the first family planning clinic in 1916 she was arrested. When she organized a three-day conference in New York in 1921 the Catholic Archbishop called the police on the final day – without consulting the responsible municipal authorities first. Amid violent scenes they carried Sanger out to prevent her from speaking and cleared the hall. Over the next few years her conferences for the medical profession and educational programs drew mass audiences across America, and family planning and contraception had grown into a world wide multi-million dollar business by the Depression years.¹⁵⁸

In *Casti Connubii* Pius XI addressed the world as if there was no valid form of family tie other than the “single chaste and sacred fellowship of nuptial union”, inspired by divine wisdom, which was the “living image of that most fruitful union of Christ with the Church...”¹⁵⁹ He made dogmatic statements about the shape of the box it had to be forced into and confirmed the opposition to civil marriage and to divorce which the church had maintained ever since Austria's Joseph II had introduced them 150 years earlier. (See above, chapter 16, p. 11L). He blasted those who dared say that matrimony was “not instituted by the Author of nature nor raised by Christ the Lord to the dignity of a true sacrament but (was) invented by man.”¹⁶⁰ Propagation of the species was, he maintained, the primary purpose of marriage. Mutual aid and the cultivation of mutual love were secondary. Husband and wife “are not forbidden to consider ... the quieting of concupiscence ... so long as they are subordinated to the primary end and so long as the intrinsic nature of the act is preserved.”¹⁶¹ Those who ignored the prohibition on mixed marriages under both canon and divine law faced a “danger to their eternal salvation.”¹⁶²

Abortion was declared to be murder and the world was reminded of “the precept of God and the law of nature: “Thou shalt not kill!” Pius XI went on to say “We may pity the mother whose health and even life is gravely imperiled in the performance of the duty allotted to her by nature, nevertheless what could ever be a sufficient reason for excusing in any way the direct murder of the innocent?” Two pages later he answered his own question: only for disagreeing with the church! Arguing against sterilization carried out under United States eugenics laws, he referred to the teaching drawn up by Aquinas at the direction of Rome that, though authority exists to

inflict punishment in order to prevent future evils (from heresy), “no one who is guiltless may be punished by a human tribunal either by flogging to death, or mutilation, or by beating.”¹⁶³

Contraception was attacked especially strongly with “priests who hear confession and others who have the care of souls ... admonished ... in virtue of Our supreme authority and in Our solicitude for the salvation of souls, not to allow the faithful entrusted to them to err regarding this most grave law of God.” Couples who were “frustrating the marriage act (by) this criminal abuse (because) they are weary of children and wish to gratify their desires without consequent burden ... commit a deed which is shameful and intrinsically vicious.” As a very authoritarian head^{164 165} of an autocratic, celibate clergy showing a definite tendency to be both masochistic and neurotic¹⁶⁶ Pius XI invoked the saintly authority of both Paul and Augustine to bolster his own. Paul, a bachelor, is thought to have been physically handicapped, emotionally unstable and obsessed with the need to be “free” for the imminent second coming of Christ.¹⁶⁷ Augustine, whose personal sexual conduct and marriage were tragedies which greatly influenced his later life and writing, equated sexual intercourse with original sin and his conversion has been described as “a decision against coitus.”¹⁶⁸ Pius XI quoted Augustine as saying “Intercourse even with one’s legitimate wife is unlawful and wicked where the conception of the offspring is prevented.”¹⁶⁹

And concerning adultery, Pius XI did not quote the incident in the Temple when scribes and Pharisees brought a woman caught in the act to Jesus who said, after some debate with her accusers, “Neither do I condemn you, go away and don’t sin any more.” (John 8;311) Instead he turned again to Augustine who had claimed that the binding force of the sacrament of marriage was such that “those who commit adultery carry with them that sacred yoke, although in this case not as a title to the glory of grace but for the ignominy of their guilty action.”¹⁷⁰

Women were in for a tough spin. They had to stoically accept as their divine lot any danger to their health and life from pregnancy, because “no difficulty can arise that justifies the putting aside of the law of God which forbids all acts intrinsically evil.” But they also had to continue to subordinate themselves to men. In an obvious reaction to the movement for women’s rights which had become a significant force under the leadership of Emmeline Pankhurst, a British hunger-striking suffragette who had been imprisoned several times, Pius XI complained that “false teachers” who wanted to weaken the bonds of marriage also wanted to “do away with the honourable and trusting obedience which the woman owes to the man.” “Many of them even go further”, he said, “and assert that such a subjection of one party to the other is unworthy of human dignity, that the rights of husband and wife are equal (and) the emancipation of women ... ought to be effected.” He objected that demands for three-pronged social, economic and physiological emancipation would debase womanly character, debase the dignity of motherhood, prejudice the rights of the husband and children, and provide only false liberty.¹⁷¹

The response to *Casti Connubii* was predictably mixed, with many horrified sociologists seeing the consequences of it much more clearly than Pius XI. Eugenics lobbyists, and notably the Protestants among them, assailed the pope for playing the numbers game. He was, they

claimed, trying to swamp Protestant countries like the United States and Australia through uncontrolled breeding by Catholics of poor racial and physical stock without regard for the effects on either the superior white civilization or the poor families who were supposed to produce the flood for him. He had played into their hands with his statement that "We ... whom the Father has appointed over His field, We who are bound by Our most holy office to take care lest the good seed be choked by the weeds, believe it fitting to apply to Ourselves the most grave words of the Holy Ghost ... 'Be thou vigilant ... Fulfill thy ministry ... Preach the word, be instant in season, out of season; reprove, entreat, rebuke in all patience and doctrine.'"¹⁷²

In fact, on balance, the pope had actually given restrained support to the eugenics movement. He criticized "some who, over-solicitous for the cause of eugenics, not only give salutary counsel for more certainly procuring the strength and health of the future child – which, indeed, is not contrary to right reason – but put eugenics before aims of a higher order, and by public authority wish to prevent from marrying all those who, even though naturally fit for marriage, they consider, according to the norms and conjectures of their investigations, would, through hereditary transmission, bring forth defective offspring. And more, they wish to legislate to deprive these of that natural faculty by medical action despite their unwillingness ..." Sterilization was taboo and "Public magistrates have no direct power over the bodies of their subjects (and) can never directly harm or tamper with the integrity of the body, either for the reasons of eugenics or for any other reason." Then came that quote from Aquinas ...

Just a few paragraphs earlier Pius XI had said that "what is asserted in favour of the social and eugenic 'indication' may and must be accepted, provided lawful and upright methods are employed within the proper limits: but to wish to put forward reasons based upon them for the killing of the innocent is unthinkable and contrary to the divine precept promulgated in the words of the Apostle: 'Evil is not to be done that good may come of it'"¹⁷³ Pius XI must have hoped that people couldn't see across the border into Poland, that they had very short memories and that they couldn't read Aquinas for themselves.

A few years later, when the Vatican was applying strong pressure on Hitler to reprieve the inmates of mental asylums and the physically handicapped who were being systematically fed into gas chambers, (but without any reference to Jews), some churchmen claimed that those sections of *Casti Connubii* had been aimed at him all along. However the claim fails under scrutiny. Sterilization was on the statutes of more than half the states of the US already, some of them had enforceable restrictions on marriage, and pressure was mounting for the legal execution of the insane. On the other hand Hitler was still more than two years away from power and comparison of *Casti Connubii* and *Mein Kampf*, written six years earlier, shows that Hitler was enjoying the best of support on many issues, even though the Catholic political parties were in competition with him on the hustings.

Hitler had in fact spent several pages in *Mein Kampf* ranting against birth control and any control of procreation at all – among Germans at any rate. His motive clearly was to win the racial numbers game, but from that point he stayed with the eugenics lobby, opting for

elimination of the weak and unwanted after birth.¹⁷⁴ He showed some consistency in that he promoted the higher goal of marriage – procreation to preserve the species¹⁷⁵; but he exhorted the church to promote controlled breeding and declared it to be the highest honour for the weaker men in society to renounce their right to breed.¹⁷⁶

On another front, however, Hitler was clearly in closer accord with the sentiments of the Vatican. Pius XI had even been able to wave the Red Bogey in *Casti Connubii*. As if the moral decline in the countries in which his encyclical was to circulate (and which was the justification for it) was a myth, Pius XI wrote of “the daily increasing corruption of morals and the unheard-of degradation of the family in those lands where Communism reigns unchecked.”¹⁷⁷ In warming to his theme, Pius alluded to some of the practical implications of his social policies and spelled out the political opportunities awaiting those prepared to enlist in the Vatican’s cause.

Taking full advantage of the fear of Communism which was being whipped up in Capitalist-controlled countries he included a section on Christian Charity (as if it were somehow different to any other charity) and linked it with an appeal for closer ties with non-communist governments and political parties. He pointed out that larger and poorer families were subject to a great string of pressures and that “indeed it is obvious how great a peril can arise to the public security and to the welfare and very life of civil society itself when such men are reduced to that condition of desperation that, having nothing which they fear to lose, they are emboldened to hope for chance advantage from the upheaval of the state and of established order.” He called for public authorities to allocate funds for welfare, to make “proper provision for matrimony” and to make laws to protect chastity. Temporal powers should, he said, establish firm harmony and friendship with “this Church of Christ” and take account of divine and ecclesiastical law in laying down ordinances and in fixing penalties. This would enhance the dignity of the state and the Church would be “a safeguard and defence which will operate to the public good of the faithful.”¹⁷⁸

That section can be interpreted in a number of ways. It could have been a tacit admission that the policies which he was promoting would bring the consequences which advocates of birth control and eugenics were claiming, that they would complicate the world wide depression which was already serious and that civil help was therefore needed. It could also have been a thinly veiled threat of political intervention along a well trodden path if governments and political parties did not toe the papal line. At the same time, however, it can also be seen as a clear message to anyone seeking the Vatican’s support. In any case it was capped off with a glorious piece of worldwide propaganda for Hitler’s “great man”, Mussolini, and Fascism as Pius XI bid high for more concordats. He referred to the “recent and clear example ... quite in consonance with right order and entirely according to the law of Christ ... (of) the solemn convention happily entered into between the Holy See and the Kingdom of Italy.” This showed, he said, that the one supreme (religious) authority could be united and associated with the other (supreme civil power) without detriment to the rights and supreme power of either.¹⁷⁹

The pope admitted in *Casti Connubii* that the worldly would see his programme as “an abstraction (which) cannot be attained without the suppression or dwarfing of the natural faculties” or without renouncing normal activities and therefore as “inimical to social life and temporal prosperity and contrary to all progress in letters, arts and sciences, and all the other elements of civilization.”¹⁸⁰ But he quoted Tertullian, the second century African Montanist who paved the way for Augustine, to back up his statement that his vigilance against the seductions and errors of the world “does not demand that young people be removed from the society in which they must live and save their souls ...”¹⁸¹ Then there was his political sledge hammer again. If such education was opposed by civil authorities or was not aided from public funds “whatever Catholics do in promoting and defending the Catholic school ... is a genuinely religious work and therefore an important task of ‘Catholic Action.’” They were not, according to him, mixing in party politics.¹⁸²

Thus, although it was primarily a social document, the political implications behind *Casti Connubii* were very important indeed, and its social impact helped those political implications to become complications. Combined with *Divini Illius Magistri* it aggravated political and social division within all communities where Catholics were present: not only those in Christian-dominated countries. Together, the two encyclicals also compounded the emotional and psychological tensions which were peculiar to Christian communities because of the approach to human sexuality which the whole church had adopted. They encouraged rejection of the church’s authority in all matters of morality and ethics among those who saw the fantastic illogic of them or who simply fell foul of the clergy over them. Rejection naturally led to over reaction in demands for freedom or licence and, just as with the church’s response to Darwin, they led to rejection of the very ideas of God as Creator, of Jesus as Messiah and of any value in personal relationships other than personal gratification. They therefore encouraged a rapid expansion in the problems which Pius XI was trying to suppress (by means of that celibate iron will and resistance to science of which Hitler thought so highly), namely: the exploitation of human sexuality for commercial purposes, the misuse of mass media and the decline in community morality.¹⁸³

Those encyclicals, taken together, provide another classic illustration of an attempt to prevent the consequences of a problem by putting people in straight jackets and chastity belts instead of assessing and exposing the factors behind the problem and attempting to offset them. They also suggest a reaction to the report on socio-political conditions which had been prepared by the International Missionary Council in Jerusalem in 1928 (chapter 17). Perhaps if the Vatican bureaucracy had not been so stubbornly resisting a review of its purpose and authority it may have adopted a different approach to the problems.¹⁸⁴ It seems to have been quite prepared to ignore the fact that people of non-Christian heritage do not generally suffer the sexual inhibitions, consequent frustrations, neuroses and other psychological disorders, which have characterized communities under the influence of the church’s “doctrinal edifice”, (with some regional exceptions such as where traditional male dominance compounds Buddhist teaching). Nor do their communities suffer the high level of violent and sex-related crimes which keep the

police, lawyers, prison wardens, social workers and crisis counsellors of Christian communities busy. And yet, in spite of the work of Freud¹⁸⁵, Cupitt¹⁸⁶, Barker¹⁸⁷ and a host of other writers, many Christians continue to regard the sexual morality and discipline of both their partners in the triangle and their neighbours of pre-Messianic faiths as inferior.

But in the depths of the Great Depression the long term effects of *Divini Illius Magistri* and *Casti Connubii* were yet to be felt, even if they could be foreseen. Of more immediate consequence was the fact that the Holy See had clearly spelled out the terms by which a right thinking and opportunistic politician might earn its support.

Casti Connubii – and Cardinal Bertram's warning against political extremism and racism – were followed during February and March, 1931, by statements from the Bavarian bishops and the archbishops of Cologne, Paderborn and the Upper Rhine to the effect that on the basis of its current cultural and political opinions National Socialism was not compatible with Catholicism.¹⁸⁸ No more. Hitler knew an opportunity when he saw one, but he had a bit of fine tuning to do and a lot of propaganda to generate if he was to be able to take full advantage of the social encyclicals.

Similarly Pacelli, always a political opportunist, could only see the situation in terms of an opportunity to strike. To him, "Bruning's agonizing responsibilities as chancellor of a great nation in crisis were of less significance than his status as a malleable Catholic whom he could shape to his will in the interests of achieving a Reich Concordat favourable to the Holy See."¹⁸⁹ Thus, in March, at the same time that the archbishops were warning of Catholic-Nazi incompatibility, Pacelli was "badgering Berlin with his concordat demands, including insistence that the Reich should surrender on the schools question" which was central to both the social encyclicals and his dispute with Prussia. His reciprocal gesture, or compromise, was to hint that the Reich could have its way on the issue of army chaplains and their responsibility to the military bishop. The whole proposal fell on deaf ears. With one exception not even the leaders of the Catholic Centre Party would support it, so a group of party leaders was invited to Rome for discussions at Easter. Bruning was not among them and the former chancellor, Wirth, led the group. Pacelli was told firmly that the Vatican's demands were out of the question, and Wirth later stormed out of a bitter meeting with the pope when Pius XI proposed that the Centre Party should sever its coalition with the majority Socialists in Prussia and, by implication, join the move to the right to be consistent with the Vatican's 'understanding' with Mussolini's Fascists.

Pacelli did not see the matter as ended, just stalled again, and his next opportunity to push for his version of a concordat came on August 8, 1931, when Chancellor Bruning visited Rome for economic cooperation discussions with Mussolini and, of course, an audience with the pope. Pacelli pressed for his version of a concordat, complete with the schools provisions, and again offered his reciprocal gesture on army chaplains. However Bruning was already firmly committed to a policy of chaplains reporting to the military bishop. He did not see that as a matter of compromise and he insisted that a Reich Concordat that favoured the Catholic Church in schools was out of the question. There would be Protestant outrage and "total bafflement on

the part of the Socialists,” he said. But Pacelli was trying to deal with Germany’s Catholic Chancellor as if he was a parishioner in the confessional – one who was prepared to argue. Tempers flared when Bruning insisted that he had to give equal weight to the interests of both the Protestant and Catholic Churches in corresponding concordats. Pacelli told him angrily that it was incredible for a Catholic chancellor to sign a concordat with a Protestant church. He pressed Bruning to ignore the Protestants and the Socialists and to form a right-wing administration (which could then govern without having to rely on rule by Presidential decree) precisely in order to achieve a Reich Concordat. It should be a condition of the coalition agreement “that the treaty be concluded at once,” he said. If the price of a concordat favourable to the Vatican was to invite the Nazis and Hitler into his minority cabinet then he should seek an agreement at once! Bruning would not hear of it, reminding Pacelli that Mussolini’s Fascists were already riding slipshod over the Lateran Treaty and that Pius XI had denounced the Fascist government for its unfair treatment of Catholic Action in an encyclical (*Non abbiamo bisogno*) in mid July, only three weeks earlier. But to reinforce his demand Pacelli threatened to undermine Bruning’s Centre Party. He would insist, he said, that Fr. Ludwig Kaas resign from the presidency of the party and accept a minor ecclesiastical post in the Vatican because Bruning’s attitude had destroyed any standing that Kaas (and the party) had with the Vatican. The option was, as he insisted, that the German Centre Party should reach “an understanding” with the Nazis.¹⁹⁰

In the encyclical which Bruning had referred to, the pope had attacked the Fascists’ efforts to monopolize education – the very thing that Pacelli was trying to achieve through his concordats – and by that means to “snatch the young from Christ and His Church” with its “divine mandate ... incommunicably and exclusively commissioned by Jesus Christ Himself (which) extends to the supernatural, the celestial the eternal, and to that order of things which on the one hand is of the strictest obligation for every rational creature and which, on the other hand, must, by the very nature of things subordinate and coordinate to itself all else.” He said that in this way the regime was elevating the adulation of the state to the point of pagan worship or “Statolatry.”¹⁹¹ It seems that Pius XI had forgotten about Mussolini’s trenchant criticism of the church and its view of itself which had led the Vatican to request his expulsion from Austria before the Great War (chapter 17). He seemed hell-bent on describing the church in the most exaggerated, flamboyant and provocative terms that he could. He could not see that what he described as “Statolatry” was a reaction against “Churcholatry” and he seems to have forgotten his own role in forcing the church to support Mussolini’s Fascism just a few years earlier when there had been an alternative.

Somewhat shaken by his confrontation with Pacelli which he was pleased to draw to a close in order to keep his audience appointment with the pope, Bruning was amazed when Pius XI, without Pacelli present, congratulated the German bishops on their “clear and courageous stance against the erroneous tenets of National Socialism.” Later that evening Bruning had a second meeting with Pacelli and, bolstered by the pope’s remarks, told him sharply that he had decided to drop the issue of the army chaplains and the Reich Concordat altogether and leave

the matter to who ever succeeded him as chancellor. Then, anticipating the tide of political events in Germany, he said he trusted that "the Vatican would fare better at the hands of Hitler ... than with himself, a devout Catholic."¹⁹² He later noted in an unpublished memoir that:

*All successes [Pacelli believed] could only be attained by papal diplomacy. The system of concordats led him and the Vatican to despise democracy and the parliamentary system. ... Rigid governments, rigid centralization, and rigid treaties were supposed to introduce an era of stable order, an era of peace and quiet.*¹⁹³

Hitler had never had it so good. While the pope and many of the German Catholic bishops were criticizing some of his policies and trying to isolate him, the Vatican Secretary of State was trying to propel him into power in order to secure a Reich Concordat which, in his estimation, was in the interests of the Vatican, and it mattered not at all what the adverse consequences might be for Germany or for the rest of the world. The church's self-understanding and that of the Vatican in particular – and its social teachings – were tying the world up in knots. Over the next four months Pacelli's influence, over and through both the pope and Kaas, was brought to bear increasingly on the Centre Party to coerce it into cooperation with Hitler.

During that time the world economic situation had become so critical that the Allied Reparations Commission stopped all reparations payments. Germany had paid only one eighth of the original demand of 6.85 billion pounds Sterling and it had actually received more in foreign loans to assist its financial recovery so that it might be able to pay reparations than it had paid out. The arrangements were chaotic and waiting on the sidelines, Hitler was handed a marvelous opportunity to take advantage of national discontent. With five million German workers unemployed he played up the personal issues of the depression, played down his anti-Semitism, actively manipulated Christian sympathies instead, and campaigned for national unity. At the same time he adroitly exploited a deep seated fear shared by the newly impoverished middle classes, wealthy capitalists and the Church alike: fear of communism.

In Germany as elsewhere, the battle between opposing ideologies was joined. While Capitalists sought to keep a tight rein on the allegiance of their communities – or to ensure their acquiescence – Marxists sought to transfer those communities' allegiances from Capitalism to Communism. In the propaganda war which naturally dominated the battle the Capitalist lobby was in firm control of almost all of the Western World's mass media. That was especially the case with new-fangled radio systems and cinemas. Communism and Soviet Russia were represented as one and the same thing. Both were represented as the dungeon of human rights, as repressive, as economically inefficient and, of course, as the antichrist. And that lobby had plenty of ammunition at its disposal.

The circumstances in which the Bolsheviks had come to power and the extent of land, law and social reforms which were necessary in Russia made strong internal security forces essential. The extreme nature of Lenin's methods and the manner and extent of Western and Church interference in the nation's affairs in an effort to unseat the Bolsheviks made the

transition from dependence on strong security forces to a police state inevitable. The struggle for absolute power which followed was, in its turn, a consequence of all that had gone before. And while Germany's circumstances spawned Hitler, Russia's circumstances spawned Joseph Stalin. As the reforms attempted became more drastic, such as the enforcement of collective farming in an effort to achieve national productivity goals, so the requirement for forced labour and the level of dissent increased together until, in 1933, Stalin set in motion a purge of the Communist Party which cut its membership by about one third in a year or so. In 1935 it was followed by another blood bath, after Stalin's closest associate was murdered, and a series of trials and purges which were to continue until 1938.¹⁹⁴

During this period the Soviet Government had continued to support and to finance Socialist movements and subversion against Capitalist systems in other countries. But the prevailing attitude in the West right from the moment that socialist movements began to develop and Marx began to write had been "let's not look around to see what's wrong in the West and correct it: let's prop up the system to preserve our positions of privilege." The majority of its people of influence therefore assumed that it was quite proper for the West to try to subvert the Soviet government or support governments which might contain or oppose it, but it was quite dastardly for the Soviets to try to do the same. Debate on the old "chicken or the egg" riddle (which came first, Soviet subversion or Capitalist repression?) was not welcome. For anyone who cared to consult the history books, of course, the answer was not in doubt. But now the riddle had become a game and it was being played for very high stakes.

In that environment the church was doubly happy to join the anti Communist front. It had always held to exactly the same attitude in its own affairs and the only strategy it had ever adopted in the face of a challenge (except within the 'new-age ecumenical movement') was that offence is the best means of defence. It was not about to change when confronted by the atheistic and anti-religious philosophy of militant Communism. Apart from that, the church had become so intimately linked into and so dependent upon the Capitalist system, in the ways already traced, that any attack on Capitalism implied or actually involved an attack on the church in the broadest sense. And as a consequence, any defender of capitalism against communism was considered a defender of the Church.

But, also in July, 1931, while the pope tried to avoid losing his grip on the social and educational strait-jacket, and while the churches of the ecumenical movement tried to resolve their approach to world wide evangelism, the Bible Students of the Watchtower Society were doing some thinking, too, looking for alternative approaches to strengthening the kingdom of God on earth. The society had already grown to about 50,000 dedicated adherents with some 'witnesses' active in many countries but, being a laity-based organization which was barely fifty years old and still very US-centric, it had to map out its future. It did so when several thousand witnesses met in Columbus, Ohio, and determined to adopt the name Jehovah's Witnesses and to extend their world wide efforts.¹⁹⁵ They also began to refine their thinking about the ultimate heavenly hosts, the nature of what mainstream Protestant churches called the 'priesthood of all believers' and what they would need to resource their responsibility as witnesses for Jehovah.

The results of that thinking would begin to show a few years later, about the time that Hitler's campaign to achieve what he saw as his divine calling hit rock bottom.

THE PARODY BEGINS TO UNFOLD

But by the end of 1931 the situation, both domestic and international, was ripe for a strong leader who could reasonably claim to be able to save Germany from Communist revolution. Hitler had only to play his cards right and support would flow in from all important quarters. The Vatican, remarkably eager to assist, intervened yet again. Pius XI, constantly prompted by Pacelli, let it be known through diplomatic channels that cooperation between the church in Germany and the National Socialists "perhaps only temporarily and for specific purposes" would "prevent a still greater evil."¹⁹⁶ So while Pius XI and his Vatican colleagues tried to reconstruct the world in their own neurotic image, Hitler prepared to act out his parody. But there was more than two years of political wheeling and dealing still ahead of Hitler before the chancellorship was his and, like every ambitious politician, he took full advantage of a series of parliamentary crises.

In April, 1932, his public standing was boosted enormously when he ran second to President Hindenburg who was seeking re-election. Then a few weeks later, on May 30, Brüning resigned as chancellor and Hindenburg appointed another deputy from the Catholic Centre Party, the aristocratic ultra-right wing "closet Nazi admirer"¹⁹⁷ Franz von Papen, who immediately alienated his own party by the unrepresentative right wing appointments he made to cabinet. Papen then dissolved the Reichstag, called new elections for July 31, and lifted the ban on Hitler's storm troop, the Nazi SA. At those elections many of the smaller parties were decimated, the Socialists lost a few seats, the Catholic Centre Party and its arch rivals, the Communists, both gained a few seats, but the Nazis became the largest single party with 37.4 percent of the vote and 230 seats in a parliament of 608. In spite of that dazzling performance Hitler was kept out of power by the von Papen-led coalition of parties ranged against him, bolstered in numbers but with much discomfort, by the Socialists. Hitler refused the Vice-chancellorship. For him it was to be top dog or nothing.

Many of Germany's Catholic bishops now became seriously concerned about the prospects of a Hitler-led government and, disregarding Pacelli's views, the senior prelates repeated their criticism of Nazi policies immediately after the election. That criticism was followed by the publication of a minute from the August meeting of the Fulda Bishops' Conference indicating that all diocesan authorities had banned membership of the Nazi party because its official program contains false doctrine and declarations which are hostile to the faith. However their attack was blunted somewhat by the simple disclosure of the partisan nature of their concerns. The collective judgement of the Catholic clergy was, the statement said, that if the party achieved the monopoly rule in Germany which it ardently desires "the interests of Catholics will prove extremely bleak."¹⁹⁸

The statement did not suggest that Nazi rule would mean a bleak future for Germans in general. It was quite specific. It was the interests of Catholics which were at risk. The statement therefore cannot be read as an attack against National Socialism in general. And "monopoly rule" was a key phrase. Pacelli still wanted the Centre Party in a coalition with the National Socialists because that "would correspond to their principles" and provide a means of blocking the Socialists and Communists. And Catholic Centre Party chancellor von Papen saw a coalition with Hitler as holding "the best prospect for the survival of his chancellorship."¹⁹⁹ It was obvious that without a substantial partner in the coalition Germany was virtually ungovernable. The Catholic Centre Party held only 75 seats while the Communists held 89, the Socialists 133, and the Nazis 230. The Vatican could not tolerate the thought of a coalition with the Socialists, and Kaas clearly pointed the way ahead in an article he published on the relationship between the Holy See and the Fascist State. He noted the similarities between the ideology of papal primacy and the fascist fuhrer-prinzip (leadership principle), discussed the necessity for withdrawal from social democracy, and noted that "the authoritarian church should understand the authoritarian state better than others." It has been argued, with much authority, by John Cornwell that Kaas could not have written the article without consultation with Pacelli or even under his supervision, and that "Pacelli's spirit, in fact, breathes through every line of this manifesto."²⁰⁰

When the new Reichstag met for the first time six weeks after the elections, on September 12, 1932, von Papen was immediately faced with a vote of no confidence and called fresh elections for November 6. At that election the Nazi vote fell from about 13,700,000 to under 12,000,000 and its number of deputies fell by 34 from 230 to 196. This has often been represented as a substantial drop in the Nazi vote as a result of the Catholic Church's opposition. However, if that were the case it would be expected that support for the Catholic Centre Party would have risen. That was not the case. During the thirteen years since the establishment of the Weimar Republic the size of the Reichstag had been increased steadily from 423 deputies to 608 for the July election, but in the volatile political circumstances the number to be elected in November was reduced by 24, to 584 and there were significant changes in party support and greater polarization between the right and the left of German politics. While the number of Nazi deputies fell, as noted, by 34, the biggest gains were made by the ultra-right wing Nationalists (up 15 from 37 to 52), and the Communists (up 11 from 89 to 100), while the losers included both the moderate Socialists (the Social Democrats down 12 from 133 to 121) and the Catholic Centre Party (down 5 from 75 to 70). The Nazis were still by far the biggest party with 39.6 percent of the popular vote and 33.6 percent of deputies compared with 37.8 percent in the previous parliament, while the Communists had risen from 14.6 percent to 17.1 per cent. The Catholic Centre Party was more or less static with 12.0 per cent, down only slightly from 12.3 per cent. There was therefore very little comfort for the Vatican in the results and the Catholic Centre Party could not find a coalition partner.

A Socialist dominated government was not acceptable to either the army, the industrialists or the Vatican and, being unable to form a stable government, towards the end of November von

Papen was forced to offer his resignation but Hindenberg did not accept it immediately. The momentum was building up behind Hitler and it was not only the anti-Semites and the malcontents who then flocked to his banner. The solid middle class had gradually moved in behind him and in a desperate bid to avoid either a Communist victory or a Socialist coalition the mighty industrialists joined forces with him also. They were confident that once Hitler gained power he would drop his socialist tag and be a nice compliant tool for capitalism. Thirty nine prominent industrialists, including Krupp, Siemens and Bosch, signed a letter petitioning Hindenburg to appoint Hitler as Chancellor.²⁰¹ Hindenburg refused but accepted von Papen's resignation and on December 2 he appointed an ultra-nationalist, Schleicher, who declared that he would govern in coalition with the National Socialists, provided that Hitler was not in cabinet. Clearly it was going to be impossible to split the Nazi Party from its leader in that manner and when Schleicher's scheme quickly proved equally unworkable von Papen proposed to Hindenberg that Hitler be appointed chancellor with himself as vice chancellor. Von Papen expected to be the real power in the government. Faced with a strong possibility that if the Communists did not mount a coup beforehand they would gain power at the next election anyway, Hindenberg reluctantly agreed on the basis that Hitler appeared to be the only leader who could stop the Communists.

Hitler was sworn in as chancellor on January 30, 1933. The Catholic Centre Party was now eager for a place or two in Hitler's cabinet but he was not interested in sharing power and it was unwilling to accept his terms. This made it very difficult, as it had been for his predecessors, to lead a stable coalition and gave him the justification to demand from Hindenburg one final election.²⁰² He needed a clear electoral mandate to govern, he said, and demanded that parliament be dissolved for one final election. Hindenberg agreed. The election was called for March 5, and Hitler began to campaign immediately. But now it was different. He was campaigning as Chancellor and with his remarkable memory, presence of mind in discussions and ability to reduce a complex problem to understandable proportions, he set the pace.²⁰³ He quickly imposed his personal dominance on what had been reduced to an interim coalition cabinet so that, in fact, for a few weeks the country experienced the nearest thing to stable government which it had seen since chaos set in shortly after the stock market crash.

Against that background Hitler cast his lines to hook both the Catholic vote and the Vatican fish. The Prussian state government was persuaded to announce, on February 22, the gradual abolition of inter-denominational schools and the reintroduction of religious education in vocational schools. Then on the February 27 seven Catholic feast days were declared to be public holidays.²⁰⁴ The Centre Party's position was undermined by these measures, together with Hitler's Commo-bashing publicity (financed by his newfound Capitalist sponsors), repression against opposition parties and candidates, and the Vatican's widely known interest in having Hitler's National Socialism as a bolster against Communism.²⁰⁵

In the meantime talk of a Communist revolution to abort the election had begun to spread and Hitler's well greased propaganda machine helped it along a bit. Then a young anti-capitalist incendiary who had previously been a member of the Communist Party was caught in the act of

burning the Reichstag, quite fortuitously only hours after the Church's feast days had been declared. Hitler took full advantage of the event, declared it to be a Communist plot, coerced the cabinet into declaring a state of emergency and coerced Hindenberg into agreeing to the suspension of civil rights. This ensured that the remainder of the election campaign revolved around the threat of Communism. The status and influence of the SA rose sharply. Known Communists were rounded up and carted off to gaol in droves. Hitler had already promised I. G. Farben that if he came to power his government would support the production of synthetic gasoline. He had also promised the Circle of Friends that he would abolish all trade unions and all other political parties. There would be industrial peace and profitability. The money poured into Nazi campaign funds and 25 industrialists agreed to underwrite the costs of blanket media cover for the last two days of the campaign. Krupp pledged 1,000,000 marks, I. G. Farben 400,000 marks and the others 1,600,000 marks between them.

After the cut in the size of the Reichstag for the November election, from 608 to 584 deputies, it was again increased – substantially – for the election on March 5, to 647 deputies. The big winners were the Nazis whose numbers rose from 196 to 288, (from 33.6 per cent to 44.5 per cent of the house). The Catholic Centre Party also gained four seats, rising from 70 to 74, but it actually fell in percentage again, (from 12.0 per cent to 11.4 per cent). No other party of substance increased its number of deputies and the big losers were the Communists who fell by 19 from 100 to 81 deputies, (from 18.2 per cent to 12.5 per cent), but even so they were still seven seats ahead of the Catholic Centre Party. The net result was that Hitler was firmly entrenched as Chancellor. He was firmly in charge of the evolving pattern of domestic policy in Germany – religious, commercial, industrial and community affairs – but he was also in charge of Germany's relations with its neighbours.

COMPETITORS ON THE WORLD STAGE

At that critical time most people in Europe would therefore have been preoccupied with events in Germany. They knew that the direction of many aspects of life across the continent – everything which could be influenced by a changing relationship between Germany and its neighbours – could be affected by the outcome of the political turmoil in Germany. They probably realized that on the day that Germans went to the polls for their crucial elections a new administration took control of government in the United States of America, after its inauguration the previous day. The man who took office as 32nd president of the United States that day had actually been elected in a landslide victory early in November, 1932, but, under the US system which provided for a change of administration with a lead time of four months, there was a blurring of the change. Outside the US it was widely assumed that the country was running on an even keel with cooperation and collaboration between the outgoing and incoming administrations and that the inauguration was simply a bit of celebratory hoo-ha. In this case they were under a distinct misunderstanding. There were distinct differences in social and economic attitudes and policies between the outgoing and incoming presidents. These would

become clear within a few days and the personal authority of the new president – Franklin Delano Roosevelt – would be stamped so firmly on the New Israel that he would remain in office until his death twelve years later. He would make decisions which, sustained by the economic and strategic strength of the nation during the critical period of a war which was still six years in the future, would largely determine the course of the world for generations to come.

From the day that Roosevelt took office as President he served, at the pinnacle of authority in the democratic republican model of the United States, for twelve years and thirty eight days until his death on April 12, 1945. When Hitler was returned to power that day as Chancellor of Germany he was not yet at the pinnacle of authority in his country's US-imposed democratic republican model. He still had the president above him able to exercise restraint. It would take Hitler another eighteen days to reach the pinnacle of authority as dictator in his new National Socialist model which would replace the US-imposed model which he detested so much. From that date he would also serve for twelve years and thirty eight days until his death on April 30, 1945.

The American president who was about to share the role of chief opponent of Hitler's National Socialism with Britain's Churchill and Russia's Stalin was, like the others, a product of the amorphous Christian gel. Roosevelt was born into a wealthy family which traced its roots to a Dutch immigrant who arrived in New Amsterdam (later renamed New York) in the 1640s. It appears that little is known about him but it was one of his sons, Nicholas Roosevelt, who fathered two sons and founded the dynasty which would provide two presidents for the United States within six generations, one from each branch. Both branches of the family accumulated substantial wealth. Franklin's father, James, inherited extensive holdings in coal mining and transport. His wealth was such that even after making substantial losses from speculation he and his family could travel in a private railway car of the company of which he was president, and divide their time between homes in New York and Campobello Island, spending summer holidays there or in Europe, and retain tutors and governesses to educate Franklin at home until he was fourteen.

The family's religious heritage was Calvinist. The southern section of Manhattan Island where their forebear settled was colonized in 1625 as a Dutch trading post, and the first Dutch Reformed minister arrived three years later. However he did not go necessarily to minister to religious refugees. It was in that year that the father of modern philosophy, the French liberal Catholic Rene Descartes, (chapter 12) settled in Holland with its more tolerant society in order to escape religious persecution. Therefore although the small New Amsterdam settlement developed and retained a strongly Calvinistic character it cannot be assumed that the first Roosevelt settler had migrated to avoid the trauma of Europe's religious wars. When James decided that Franklin was ready to move from the secure and perhaps over-protective and dandyish environment of home to school away from home he was enrolled in a privately endowed school established and run on the lines of the great English Public Schools by an autocratic Church of England clergyman, Rev. Endicott Peabody, at Groton, Massachusetts, and thereafter Franklin is described as Episcopalian. It was Peabody's aim to instill Christian ethics

and virtues into his students and to imbue them with an understanding of the responsibilities of the privileged and the wealthy toward public service and the welfare of the wider community. The impact of that teaching and Franklin's belief that the upper classes had a responsibility to society was apparent in his early working years but it became quite clear with the policies which he pursued as he ran for, and then began, his first term as president.

But neither the domestic nor the world environment into which Roosevelt was born in 1882 was consistent with the principles in which he was being educated. Religious bigotry was approaching its peak. The controversies are Darwin and evolution, biblical inerrancy and papal infallibility were raging. Bismarck had just ended his Kulturkampf with a Vatican Concordat and redirected his venom from Roman Catholics to Jews. The United States seemed to be awash with oil flowing from Titusville and Roosevelt's extended family was exploiting that situation alongside Rockefeller and others. Japan's reaction to Perry's visit and European adventures had led to the introduction of the Meiji constitution. French officials and businessmen in Indochina were carrying missionary passports. Then, just after the Pittsburgh Platform of Reform Judaism had introduced the possibility of better understanding between Christians, and Jews and while Roosevelt was at Groton, the Dreyfus affair was raging, and Herzl responded with *Der Judenstaat* and the establishment of the Zionist Organization. From Groton, Roosevelt went to Harvard, gained an arts degree, came under the influence of professors who favoured a move away from laissez-faire economics to more government intervention to steer the economy, and met a distant cousin, Eleanor Roosevelt, who was a niece of the incumbent president, Theodore Roosevelt. They married in March, 1905, moved into a stately home in New York, and Franklin began law studies at Columbia while Eleanor worked in welfare and settlement programs among underprivileged communities in slum areas. Roosevelt passed examinations for admission to the bar then promptly cut short his studies without completing his law degree. However the world of religious affairs and ethics was not standing still, and while he was at Columbia the scurrilous Protocols of the Elders of Zion were put into circulation, the Pontifical Biblical Commission to stop boat-rocking was established, the Oath Against Modernism was imposed on Catholic academics, and the US anti-trust actions to break up Rockefeller's Standard Oil empire got under way. (See chapters 15 and 16 for an outline of these matters.)

Roosevelt had been working with a New York law firm for only a couple of years when. At the age of 28, he was approached in 1910 by local Democratic party leaders to stand as a candidate for a seat in the New York state Senate. They knew he lacked experience, but "he had assets as a candidate: the wealth to finance a campaign, and the best-known political name in the United States."²⁰⁶ He won against the odds in a traditional Republican area. Much of his support was linked to his progressive social and economic policies: workmen's compensation; the setting of maximum working hours for persons under 21 years of age; soil conservation; state development of electricity generation; election of senators by popular vote; and women's suffrage. His first real political battles were then against the domination of his own party administration at Tammany Hall, New York. After he supported Woodrow Wilson for nomination as president against the wishes of Tammany Hall, and Wilson was elected president

in 1912, he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy, aged 31, and moved to Washington in 1913. He was in that post when Churchill, as First Lord of the British Admiralty, ordered the conversion of the British Navy from coal to oil, while the Sykes-Picot Agreement and the Balfour Declaration were being negotiated, and during the early phases of the negotiations towards the iniquitous Treaty of Versailles.

In 1920 as the Democratic candidate for Vice President alongside James Cox as candidate for president, he pressed for US participation in the League of Nations which Wilson had proposed, but in the anti-war backlash against the government they were thrashed by the Republicans. Then, having returned to private law practice, he faced the prospect of life after politics and in a wheel chair when he suffered severe poliomyelitis in 1921. But with the support of Eleanor, who had forgiven him an affair with her social secretary, and with dogged determination he accepted a challenge to stand for election as governor of New York State in 1928, and won. Then, a year after his election, when the impact of the speculative stock market collapse became apparent, Roosevelt's commitment to the principles which were instilled into him as a youth – and constantly reinforced by Eleanor – came to the fore. He recruited a brains trust of university professors and with their help he introduced progressive programs of rural and urban reform and support before any other states would consider them. This raised his national profile to the point that key party officials saw him as the candidate most likely to win the presidency from the incumbent, Herbert Hoover, and after a hard-fought party convention battle he gained its nomination. At the election on November 8, 1932, he gained a landslide victory, receiving 59 per cent of the popular vote. During the months which followed, while he selected his administration, developed plans for a new approach to the economic crisis, and waited for his inauguration he refused to endorse the policies which Hoover was pursuing.

Thus, when President Roosevelt read the first of his four inaugural addresses on March 4, 1933, the United States was, indeed, going in a new direction. It was electrified by the belief that “the only thing we have to fear is fear itself – nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance.” In contrast to the dependence on the financial and industrial far right which Hitler had admitted when he enjoyed its heavy financial support for his election campaign, Roosevelt confronted his fellow elite, saying: “the rulers of the exchange of mankind's goods have failed, through their own stubbornness and their own incompetence, have admitted their failure, and abdicated. Practices of the unscrupulous money changers stand indicted in the court of public opinion, rejected by the hearts and minds of men.” Then: “The money changers have fled from their high seats in the temple of our civilization. We may now restore that temple to the ancient truths. The measure of the restoration lies in the extent to which we apply social values more noble than mere monetary profit.” And: “These dark days will be worth all they cost us if they teach us that our true destiny is not to be ministered unto but to minister to ourselves and to our fellow men.” Then, after referring to future safeguards through strict supervision of banking and credit, an end to speculation and provision for sound currency, he turned to foreign affairs. “In the field of world policy I would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbour – the neighbour who

resolutely respects himself and, because he does so, respects the rights of others – the neighbour who respects his obligations and respects the sanctity of his agreements in an with a world of neighbours.” In closing, his one direct religious reference: “In this dedication of a Nation we humbly ask the blessing of God. May He protect each and every one of us. May He guide me in the days to come.”²⁰⁷

During the next three months Roosevelt set about a crash program of New Deal reform which, while it did not solve completely the very deep-seated economic and social crises which were largely the outcome of conduct facilitated by the self-understanding of the New Israel, it did significantly shift the social and economic balance in favour of the disadvantaged, and leaven the national self-understanding. He forced the re-organization of banking, providing stability for the bankers and greater security for their clients, and established the Home Owners Loan Corporation; he approved funding for the Civilian Conservation Corps which eventually reduced the crisis of unemployment by providing work on conservation programs for more than two and a half million men; he removed the social blight of the illegal liquor trade by abolishing prohibition; and he provided a code for the regulation of production, pricing and wage negotiations by establishing two new authorities.²⁰⁸ There was, however, a big question mark hanging over the matter of whether Roosevelt would or could adjust the dominant attitude to foreign affairs either in the United States or in the countries from which its settlers had come. There were many who did not wish him to try, so that when he made his first moves – withdrawing the US from the World Gold Standard, announcing that the US would not participate in international currency stabilization, and extending diplomatic and trade recognition to the Soviet Union – he was not popular either in Europe or in some sections of the United States.

However it is unlikely that either Roosevelt or Hitler gave much thought to the circumstances and the coincidence which brought them to office as world leaders at the same time. They certainly did not see the significance of the roles which lay ahead of them as the Qur’anic Night Journey, Maimonides’ expectation of the establishment of Israel, and the potential for the unfolding of the Messianic Age came together under the umbrella of the parody of *Mein Kampf*.

Hitler’s first concern when he learned on March 5 that even with the organizational and big business support which he had enjoyed, the Nazis had failed to gain an absolute majority. He knew that without it, although he was firmly entrenched as Chancellor, he did not have the absolute power which he craved, and he would still have to lead another coalition cabinet. Nazi numbers were such that it would certainly be a coalition of his own choosing and he needed only one coalition partner (either the Social Democrats or the Catholic Centre Party would provide the numbers he needed) but Hitler was in no mood to compromise. He proposed that an Enabling Act to give himself effective dictatorial powers by the transfer of legislative authority from parliament to the cabinet should be the first bill to go before the new Reichstag. Thus, within days of the election, wheeling and dealing began between the Centre Party, Hitler and the minor right wing parties. Germany was sick of turmoil. The people wanted a strong,

inspiring leader; the industrialists wanted no more elections and no Communists or Socialists in cabinet; the Vatican was not eager for any more elections either but it wanted some of its people in cabinet with Hitler; Pacelli wanted his concordat; and Hitler wanted to silence the critical German bishops. There would definitely be no concordat unless the Catholic bishops reversed their denunciation of National Socialism. Neither would there be a concordat unless the Catholic Centre Party agreed in advance to pass the Enabling Act. And Hitler knew that he could not quell the bishops' criticism and get the Catholic Church out of direct party politics unless he agreed to a concordat and was able to write into it a clause like that in the Lateran Treaty which had outlawed Catholic political action in Italy. And both Hitler and Pacelli knew from the nature and history of negotiations between the Weimar Republic and the Catholic Church that there would be no Reich Concordat without dictatorial fiat, with the Fuhrer dealing directly with the Vatican Secretary of State acting in the name of the pope.²⁰⁹

The political jigsaw puzzle fitted together beautifully. Everyone would get their wishes – if the enabling act was passed. Two days after the elections, when the result and its implications were clear, Hitler told caretaker cabinet members that the Centre Party would be defeated (or its influence negated) only if the Vatican could be persuaded to ditch it. Then, when he raised the matter of the Enabling Act with von Papen, the vice chancellor's response and events and discussions over the next few days made it quite apparent that Pacelli would call the shots from the Vatican, that Kaas would be his mouthpiece, and that a trade off could be arranged. It would be the Enabling Act in return for a Reich Concordat on the basis that the Secretariat of State indirectly endorsed the actions taken by the Reich chancellor and the government against Communism.²¹⁰ Thus, in spite of strong opposition from the German prelates and great unease within the Centre Party, with Kaas acting as a go-between Hitler was able to announce to his cabinet on March 15 that he now anticipated no difficulty in reaching the two thirds majority required to pass the Enabling Act.

Parliament opened in the Potsdam Garrison Church on March 21 – to give an outward appearance of religiosity before shifting to Berlin's Knoll Opera House for its working sessions – and a vote on the Enabling Act was scheduled for March 23. The Centre Party meetings over those two days were emotional, tearful occasions. Kaas briefed his colleagues on the Vatican's position and on undertakings he had received from Hitler; Bruning pleaded passionately against handing Hitler a dictatorship; both Bruning and Wirth threatened to resign as deputies; and a straw vote indicated that 14 deputies would vote against the Act. But Pacelli and Kaas were already at work on a draft Pacelli-Hitler agreement and reference to the constitutionality of Hitler's regime had already been published in *L'Osservatore Romano*, so fear for their safety and the consequences of a split vote for Catholics who might later resist religious persecution convinced the 14 that they should unite in a disciplined vote.²¹¹

ABSOLUTE POWER: WITH THE HELP OF THE VATICAN

Hitler therefore got the Catholic Centre Party's undivided support, which was all he needed to govern in coalition if the Act did not pass, but he also received more than the additional 70 votes he needed from minor right wing parties to push the Enabling Act through the Reichstag with the required two thirds majority. It passed by 441 to 94. Hitler was Chancellor-absolute with a rubber stamp cabinet. There was to be no comedy in the Opera House plot. Only tragedy. The parody was about to be played out. However Hitler needed three things to put his position above question. They were a decisive demonstration of popular support at home, the blessing of the church, and international recognition. He would achieve them in reverse order.

Next day, March 24, Cardinal Faulhaber wrote to the bishops in his conference in southern Germany urging them to show more tolerance towards the new government which "today is not only in a position of power – which our formulated principles could not reverse – but which has achieved this power in a legal fashion." He said he took this action "after what I have encountered at the highest places in Rome – which I cannot communicate to you now ..." ²¹² Two days later, on March 26, Protestant churches across Germany which were already under pressure to merge into one Reich Church (see below) also acknowledged their acceptance of Hitler and his regime and, having watched the Vatican negotiating for a concordat, they realized that they now had no option but to do the same. Then, on March 28, the Catholic bishops published a conciliatory statement which had been hurriedly compiled on von Papen's initiative, urging "Catholic Christians to whom the Church is sacred" to be loyal to the lawful government and to reject on principle all illegal or subversive behaviour as they conscientiously fulfill the duties of citizenship.

It was "a devastating acquiescence on the part of the bishops," ²¹³ but it was exactly what Hitler wanted. He took full advantage of the turmoil and competition between the Catholic and Protestant wings of the church to move decisively on two matters at once: German-Jewish relations and Christian church-state relations. The Jewish boycott controversy was reaching a critical point (see below, The Jewish Question) and Hitler authorized an immediate retaliatory campaign against them, beginning with a full, page advertisement in the party paper next day, March 29, invoking a counter-boycott and a terror campaign against Jewish businesses throughout Germany. And, with the Catholic Church now eating out of the palm of his hand, at only a couple of days notice he convened a special working committee meeting of representatives of the churches and government authorities for March 31 to consider church/state relations.

The dual move proved to be a remarkable coup against both the churches and the Jewish community. Kaas, who was already closeted away in the Vatican with Pacelli working on the draft of a proposed concordat, returned to Berlin as a matter of urgency to lobby for the protection of Catholic education and other privileges. This ensured that the meeting on March 31 was preoccupied with such matters and the assault on the Jews apparently didn't even rate a mention. It was "the first major test on a national scale of the attitude of the Christian Churches

toward the situation of the Jews under the new government” but ... as Hitler deliberated with Christian representatives on future relations between his regime and the Churches, there was no word of protest as a result of this first systematic and nationwide persecution of Jews (under Hitler's chancellorship), neither from Germany nor from Rome.²¹⁴

Within days the attitude of the Catholic Church hierarchy and its policy of non-intervention were confirmed in two separate items of correspondence. In the first, a letter to Pacelli, Cardinal Faulhaber noted that protest against the Nazi attacks on the Jews was pointless since it could only extend the struggle to Catholics. “Jews can help themselves,” he wrote, but it was “especially unjust and painful that by this action the Jews, even those who have been baptized for ten and twenty years and are good Catholics ... are legally still considered Jews, and as doctors or lawyers are to lose their positions.” In the second, a response to a plea for intervention in defence of the Jews, Cardinal Bertram wrote that there were “immediate issues of much greater importance: schools, the maintaining of Catholic associations (and) sterilization ... (and) the Jews are capable of helping themselves.”²¹⁵ Again, Hitler had reason to be well satisfied. By their silence on his anti-Jewish campaign within days of their messages of goodwill in which they implored the faithful to recognize the legality of Hitler's government and to accept his policies, the churches had said, in effect: ‘this is fine, it's all part of the new order and we don't object.’

FOREIGN OBSERVERS

Naturally, every government around the world was eager to find out what direction the new German government would take on sensitive issues. Ambassadors and consuls were besieged for ‘guidance’ and insights. The mandated territory of Palestine was no exception. The Mufti and senior Palestinian colleagues had two meetings with the German Consul, Heinrich Wolf. The first was in March, possibly before the post-election meeting of the Reichstag, and the second was in April, a couple of weeks after the passing of the all-important Enabling Act. The Mufti “spoke approvingly of the Nazi's Jewish policies, particularly of the anti-Jewish boycott in Germany” and at the second meeting “tried to impress upon the German Consul the Palestinian demand for the termination of Jewish emigration from Germany to Palestine.” Germany was not yet seen as a reestablished major world power, nor as a possible anti-British ally, but the Palestinian delegation was concerned that the rise of the Nazis had led to a significant increase in German Jewish immigration to Palestine. They received no encouragement. Not only did they learn that Germany was disinterested in supporting the Palestinian Arabs, but Wolf was personally strongly pro-Zionist.²¹⁶

Whether the Palestinian delegation knew of discussions which Wolf had already had, early in the year, with the Jewish owner of a Tel Aviv Citrus export firm named Sam Cohen, is uncertain. Cohen had proposed to the Consul a scheme to expedite Jewish emigration to Palestine. Under his proposal German Jews emigrating to Palestine would be allowed to purchase German goods prior to their departure for shipment to Palestine. The goods could then

be sold in Palestine and the cash paid to the purchaser on their arrival. Wolf quickly grasped the value of the idea, writing to Berlin "In this way it might be possible to wage a successful campaign against the (planned) Jewish boycott of Germany."²¹⁷ Cohen also assured the German Consul that he would act behind the scenes at a forthcoming boycott conference in London to weaken or defeat a boycott resolution.²¹⁸

Also on the international front, Britain, France and Italy were pursuing three objectives. They wanted to show that they had buried the hatchets with which they had dismembered the German and Austrian empires; they wanted to strengthen their trading ties with the resurgent Germany into which their bankers and industrialists had poured a great deal of capital; and they wanted to secure a strong buffer between themselves and Russia's Bolsheviks. Negotiations towards a four power pact opened in March, very soon after the elections. The pact was initialled on June 7 and signed by the three Allies and their former enemy on July 15, the day after Germany became a one party state. Hitler was wasting no time at all!

A CONCORDAT IN THE MAKING

At home in Germany the Catholic hierarchy and the Centre Party politicians were all well aware that Pacelli was determined to negotiate a concordat with Hitler. However, consistent with Pacelli's instructions to his successor as nuncio that the Vatican Secretariat of State would conduct all negotiations with the Weimar government, they were not told that discussions and drafting were already underway. In Rome on the Monday of Holy Week, April 10, Pacelli and von Papen agreed a schedule by which von Papen and Kaas would complete a basic draft by Holy Saturday, April 15. Working at a furious pace they completed their task and Pacelli and Kaas then spent Easter Sunday and Monday, April 16 and 17, going through the draft point by point. Next day, Tuesday, April 18, Cardinal Bertram, in his capacity as president of the German Catholic Bishops' Conference, "petitioned Pacelli with a series of anxieties about the rumoured negotiations." Pacelli did not respond.²¹⁹ Perhaps he was waiting to hear from von Papen who, after returning to Berlin that same day and having a general discussion with Hitler, advised Pacelli that the Fuhrer was ready to grant far-reaching guarantees in the matter of schools, but the wording of the depoliticizing article was "quite inadequate."²²⁰

A week later, because of the obvious fears among the Catholic bishops about the undisclosed political wheeling and dealing which was proceeding between Pacelli, von Papen, Kaas and Hitler, and their eagerness to secure the church's interests under the new regime, Hitler agreed to meet Bishop Berning and Monsignor Steinmann on April 26, while the bishops were actually in conference in Berlin. It was a month after the passing of the Enabling Act. Berning and Steinmann asked for assurances on the church's independence, the freedom of church schools, the rights of Catholic organizations and the future of Catholic civil servants. After telling them that neither a personal life nor a state could run without Christianity and that he was going to help them fight liberalism, Socialism and Bolshevism, Hitler turned to Judaism and the Jewish question. There was "fundamental agreement" between National Socialism and Catholicism, he

said, reminding them that the church had banished the Jewish parasites into ghettos. He was merely going to continue what the church had done for 1,500 years.²²¹ There was certainly nothing new in that advice.

About the only really consistent theme in *Mein Kampf* was that the elimination of the Jews is God's will and that he, Hitler, was going to complete the task in which the church had failed.²²² Christ, according to Hitler, "took to the whip to drive from the temple of the Lord this adversary of all humanity (and) in return ... was nailed to the cross, while our present-day party Christians debase themselves to begging for Jewish votes at elections." The greatness of Christianity, he wrote, lay not in negotiations for compromise in philosophical positions but in its "inexorable fanaticism in preaching and fighting for its own doctrines."²²³ It was only from the "fanatical intolerance" which was its "absolute presupposition" and which forced it to "undertake the destruction of heathen altars" instead of being content to build up its own altar that its clearly established faith could take form.²²⁴ Hitler believed that Protestantism was "a better defender of the interests of Germanism" when matters of "inner purity or national deepening as well as German freedom are involved ... but it combats with the greatest hostility any attempt to rescue the nation from the embrace of its most mortal enemy, since its attitude towards the Jews just happens to be more or less dogmatically established."²²⁵ He had written that religion could not be amalgamated with the scheming of political parties. Rome's entry into parliament had therefore made the Pan German movement impossible and made a struggle against the Catholic Church necessary, but the *Kulturkampf* had little practical result.²²⁶ The churches could overcome their conflict by a joint attack on Jews²²⁷ but the nation could not be made free by prayer. Sacrifice was needed.²²⁸

Yes, Hitler told the Catholic delegation, their schools would be quite safe, because character could only be built on religion. Devout, believing soldiers were the most valuable because they would risk everything. Trouble with Poland was on the horizon, he said, and therefore the church and the state had to cooperate in running confessional schools to bring up good devout soldiers.²²⁹ The parody was already turning into a farce. The church could never claim that it had not been warned, but apparently Berning and Steinmann deferred to the chancellor without debating the matter. Perhaps, like Bertram, they believed there were more immediate issues that might be prejudiced if they debated the Jewish question with him. Perhaps they agreed with him anyway. A few days later, about May 2, Bertram received a response from Pacelli to his petition of a fortnight earlier, before the bishops' conference. "Possible negotiations had been initiated," he said.²³⁰

Following those meetings there was still a bit of work to do to tidy up the concordat and the negotiating process took a couple of months but, as Hitler was so eager to get it signed promptly, the Vatican asked for, and got, a few extra concessions.²³¹ Drafts passed formally between Rome and Berlin, and eventually Pacelli took two German prelates into his confidence during their obligatory five-yearly visit to Rome on May 18. Archbishop Grober of Freiburg and Bishop Wilhelm Berning of Osnabruck, both Nazi sympathizers, were told that the time had come for all the German bishops to "consolidate their view of the concordat." A few days later,

in the third week of May, Hitler tired of Pacelli's delaying tactics and manoeuvring to get around the depoliticization issue by simply changing canon law to require episcopal approval for a priest to hold office in a political organization. He penned a note on the draft concordat insisting that all political activity by the Catholic clergy was to be categorically forbidden. But in spite of that, late in May, Pacelli still hedged and "patently lied when he told Cardinal Faulhaber of Munich that there had been merely talk of concordat, but nothing concrete."²³² He wanted to leave it to the two emissaries he had briefed in Rome (Grober and Berning) to persuade the bishops, in conference again at the end of May, that he had everything under control. A concordat was virtually complete, they said. The remaining focus of negotiation was the depoliticization issue; the Cardinal Secretary of State wanted their support and speed was of the essence.

Bitter disagreement erupted. Cardinal Schulte of Cologne insisted that no concordat could be concluded with a government under which law and right were nonexistent, and Bishop Konrad von Preysing wanted a pastoral letter addressed to all German Catholics telling them of conflict which was probable and the dangers for faith and morals which emerge from National Socialist ideology. However the objectors were a minority and the bishops, although suggesting revision of the depoliticization clause, were influenced by their confidence in Pacelli and endorsed the signing of a concord.²³³ The bishops obligingly resolved to lift the ban on Catholic membership of the Nazi party and a pastoral letter, drafted by Grober, was published on June 3.²³⁴ A few days later the concerns of the minority were confirmed when the SA violently broke up a rally of 25,000 Catholic apprentices from all over Germany and a giant open mass planned for the following day was cancelled.²³⁵

Negotiations had also begun by then for the four power pact and Hitler helped both negotiations along a bit by telling the Garrison Church gathering that his government saw in Christianity the unshakable foundation of the moral and ethical life of the German people and therefore attached the "utmost importance to the cultivation and maintenance of the friendliest relations with the Holy See."²³⁶ But the industrialists who had planned to have Hitler as a puppet soon found that it was he who was pulling the strings through a party-controlled chamber of commerce and industry, and farmer and worker organizations were brought to heel by similar means. On June 22 the Social Democrats joined the Communist Party in the history books and the Catholic Centre Party was not far behind. That day von Papen received from Hitler his final requirement for the depoliticization clause. It included the words "the Holy See will ensure a ban on all clergy and members of religious congregations from party political activity" and a note acknowledging that the Holy See had the power to control and coerce Catholic clergy in Germany with efficient sanctions through canon law.²³⁷ Any lingering doubts which Catholics world-wide had about the meaning of the Vatican's policy of Ultramontanism should have been promptly dispelled!

Von Papen personally took the revised clause – in effect an ultimatum from Hitler – to Rome on June 28 "for Pacelli, the Curia, and the Pope to ponder." The pondering gave way to

acceptance on Sunday, July 1, when Pius XI and Pacelli went over it together, except that the pope, noting the endless round of “alternating abuse and negotiation,” pressed for “guarantees of restitution for acts of violence,” without which there would be no signature.²³⁸ Von Papen was happy to write them in, knowing very well that they were only words which would never be applied in practice, and being impatient for the dissolution of the sole remaining democratic party – the Catholic Centre Party – so that the concordat could be signed and sealed. The dissolution took only three days to determine. Kaas, acting at the behest of Pacelli, blasted a left wing leader of the Centre Party over the phone on July 2 with: “What! Haven’t you dissolved yourselves yet?”²³⁹ Bruning, as leader, resisted but on July 4, faced with the defection of many Centre politicians to the Nazis, he reluctantly agreed to ‘voluntary’ dissolution rather than liquidation enforced by more direct Vatican intervention.²⁴⁰ His prompt acquiescence apparently distressed Pacelli who would have preferred him to hang on so that the existence of the party could still be used as a bargaining chip until the concordat came into force.²⁴¹

THE SEAL OF APPROVAL

The concordat was initialled in the Vatican Secretariat of State in a tense atmosphere on Saturday, July 8, and announced to the world on Sunday, July 9, 1933. Then on July 14, just four months after he was elected to head a coalition government, Hitler’s cabinet had a memorable day. It accepted a one-party plan without dissent; it announced the dissolution of all political parties except the Nazis; it approved a constitution to organize the Protestant churches into the Reich Church (Reichskirche) which was to be cleansed of all baptized Jews; and it also approved ghastly sterilization laws modelled on the pattern of those in the US. These were not announced immediately. Hitler chose to withhold that news pending the actual signing of the concordat.²⁴² Of course cabinet formally approved the concordat as well, and with his astute understanding of the church, domestic public opinion and world political sympathies, Hitler told his colleagues that the concordat had created an atmosphere of confidence that would be “especially significant in the urgent struggle against international Jewry.”²⁴³ Five days later, on July 19, the Catholic bishops announced the decision they had taken some time earlier to lift the ban on party membership and called for loyalty and obedience to the new regime with its dictatorial powers. Next day, Thursday July 20, Vice Chancellor von Papen, (the former Chancellor and Centre Party leader), and Minister Göring arrived in Rome with the concordat for the official signing. They were received at the Vatican with great honours.²⁴⁴ Pacelli signed for the Vatican and von Papen signed for the Reich government.

Events continued to move at a great pace. It was as if Catholic organizations across Germany were competing to decorate the Hitler bandwagon. The once-independent Centre Party had been destroyed in the interests of church aggrandisement through the Reich Concordat which Rome had been working towards ever since the peace treaty but which it could not achieve while the Weimar Republic existed. That concordat was considered second only in importance to the linked Lateran Treaty and Italian Concordat. Hitler had the blessing of the church which he

wanted. He was legitimate in the eyes of the world,²⁴⁵ and he had the pope's undertaking that the Vatican would stay out of German politics. That was probably just as important.²⁴⁶

The Vatican had forced its supporters out of German party politics so effectively and so ruthlessly at that critical time in history that its apparent lack of concern had several very important consequences. It imposed another intolerable conflict of interest on its adherents by implying moral approval of Hitler's policies, and by enabling Hitler to play one wing of the church against another. It compromised the Protestant wing also, but that was a fact which would not have concerned it in the least. It not only bound the German church hierarchy and the faithful to political silence and inaction on any issue the Nazi regime deemed 'political', especially the persecution of the Jewish community. It also involved them directly in that persecution when, on April 25, the day before Hitler's meeting with Berning and Steinmann, its priests became part of an anti-Semitic attestation bureaucracy which provided details of 'blood purity' from marriage and baptismal registries. By treating the Jewish community with such continuing, self-centred and nonchalant disregard it ensured that the trouble in the triangle would roll on relentlessly towards the final act. In doing so, it also compromised the contemporary concept of cultural and institutional Christianity as a system on which to base community life and as a vehicle for humanity's salvation.

The linchpin in a series of interlinked situations was a secret annex to the concordat with Hitler. It was known to only a handful of German officials, German bishops and Vatican negotiators. It was so secret that Germany's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at the outbreak of World War II did not know of it until advised by the papal nuncio in the hurly-burly of final preparations for the invasion of Poland which was launched two days later.²⁴⁷

The secret annex provided exemptions and privileges for Catholic clergy and students studying for the priesthood in the event of Germany introducing universal military training or general mobilization.²⁴⁸ Its significance lies not in the fact that students were exempt from training except in a general mobilization, and not in the fact that most diocesan clergy would be exempt from service while the balance were to be inducted only for pastoral work with troops, ie, as chaplains, or in the medical corps. Its significance lies in two facts. Firstly, that it existed as a secret annex instead of as an integral part of article 27 of the concordat which dealt with the relationship between the Catholic Church and the army.²⁴⁹ Secondly, that it was added to the concordat at the request of the Fulda Bishops at their conference in May 1933.²⁵⁰ We know that Hitler disclosed his intention to do battle with Poland in his conversations with Bishop Berning and Monsignor Steinmann on April 26, but it is doubtful whether that was sufficient basis for a secret agreement. The conclusion is therefore inescapable that the Vatican and probably the bishops' conference were privy to even more details of Hitler's plans than have been disclosed progressively over the years.

The Vatican's self-understanding, its view of the church and its determination to keep a soft spot for its clergy were more important than peace. Having entered into that secret agreement the Vatican could not disclose or denounce Hitler's plans for war, (or his later genocidal

programme), even while Britain was continuing to disarm and its gullible prime minister was waving misleading pieces of paper at his voters. If it had done so it would have forfeited those privileges. For the same reason it could not, if it had actually wanted to, take decisive action against Hitler's anti-Semitic programme and his ultimate attempt at genocide. If the Vatican had disclosed and denounced what it knew of Hitler's plans in the way that Karl Barth, Dietrich Bonhoeffer and a number of others attempted to do, firstly, it would have lost its privileges and its German clergy would have been in some degree of danger, along with those others, but secondly, the course of history may have been significantly different.

Therein lies a major piece in the jigsaw puzzle of the parody. At that critical stage the Vatican did not have the courage to say "we want a concordat with Germany but we are not prepared to commit ourselves to a racist warmonger who is about to withdraw from the League of Nations, flout the Allied-imposed peace treaty and re-arm in preparation to invade Poland." If it had done so, the stance of the rest of the world would have changed and Hitler may have been prevented by combined domestic and foreign pressure from acting on the policy to which the Vatican knew he was committed. Instead it acquiesced in Hitler's withdrawal from the Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations, and the dissolution of the Reichstag, all of which he announced on October 14, 1933 only five weeks after the concordat was ratified on Sunday, September 10, by the ceremonial official exchange of signed documents. Brüning had mounted a vigorous personal campaign to persuade the bishops to reject it but, not surprisingly in view of the senior hierarchy ranged against him, he had failed.²⁵¹ The Catholic Church in Germany celebrated the ratification with great enthusiasm, a highlight of which was a rousing service of thanksgiving in St. Hedwig's Cathedral, Berlin, on Sunday, September 17, presided over by the papal nuncio. With the cathedral draped with Nazi flags and Catholic banners, the service, complete with the singing of the Nazi 'anthem' the Horst Wessel Song, was relayed by loud speakers to thousands outside.²⁵² The church then threw its immense weight and prestige behind Hitler in both the single-party election and the plebiscite on the matter of withdrawal from the League which he called for November 12, 1933, and which was his method of engineering his other vital need: a show of public support.

Certainly the church was in good company. On the day before the election and the plebiscite – the anniversary of Armistice Day 1918 – Hindenberg broadcast a call to all Germans to show national unity and support for the government. His call was to "Support with me and the Reich Chancellor the principle of equal rights and of peace with honour, and show the world that we have recovered, and with the help of God will maintain, German unity!" The show of unity and public support for Hitler was so overwhelming that it shocked international observers. Ninety six per cent of all registered voters cast their ballots. Of those, 95 per cent approved of Germany's withdrawal from the League, and 92 percent voted for the National Socialist single-party slate of candidates.^{253 254}

On the surface, or from the things which the general public could see and hear, the new marriage between the Catholic Church and the Nazi regime which had been engineered by Pacelli and Hitler appeared to be a brilliant success. However even during the honeymoon

period it had been difficult to conceal the tensions and the relationship would very quickly become somewhat stormy. And while that relationship was a key aspect of the trouble in the triangle it was intimately woven into the enormous web which was being stretched further and further, and two other aspects – Hitler's relations with the Reformed Churches and the Jewish Question must be examined before we look further at the stormy Catholic-Nazi relationship.

HITLER AND THE REFORMED CHURCH

In the meantime Hitler had not ignored the Reformed wing of the church but, as he had indicated in *Mein Kampf*, his problem with them was somewhat different. He either had to coerce or cajole them into line on the Jewish question or suppress them. Although German theologians had been active in the ecumenical movement and although the booming voice of Karl Barth had shaken the church out of its lethargy, his task was made surprisingly easy by the confusion and fragmentation which afflicted the Reformed wing in the wake of the Vatican's support for the Enabling Act. His amazingly quick success depended on a combination of all three approaches as his hacks, armed with a carrot, a whip and then the Vatican Concordat, set about playing one group against another.

Even before the second edition of Barth's *Epistle to the Romans* went into general distribution many younger Reformed theologians had begun to feel nagging doubts about the church's basic doctrines. There was the challenge of Zionism on one hand, given credibility by the Balfour Declaration, and there was the Papal Oath Against Modernism on the other hand, striking chords of sympathy in a surprising number of Protestant ears. Intellectuals debated "common grace", "predestination" and "determinism" (explaining cause and effect patterns in a way which added confusion to ideas about humanity's free will and God's incomprehensible authority) against a backdrop of scientific progress, a world war and international discord. It became clear that if there were "religious absolutes" then some theologians were right and others were wrong. That called into question the correctness of the church's simplistic black and white creeds. That, in turn, called into question the relationship between Christianity and other faiths, especially Judaism and the third partner in the triangle, Islam, which was just beginning to be forced back into Europe's narrow field of vision by the Great War and the consequences of the Balfour Declaration.

The theologians could still largely ignore Islam because of Europe's physical isolation from the immense regions of Muslim influence, and because of the relative military and economic weakness of its people. They could also try to make believe that the Balfour Declaration was purely a matter for political consideration but, try as they might, they could not ignore its consequences or its implications. Efforts to prop up the creeds led to the study and teaching of Apologetics, (the defence of doctrine against non-Christian criticism by reasoned argument), from a Reformed point of view whereas since the Reformation it had been a peculiarly Catholic activity. Some theologians saw Apologetics as a means of recovering the lost spiritual militancy of the early Reformation years while others saw it as a defence against secularism and as an

asset which the church “needed ... desperately if it was not going to lose its power among the intellectuals.”²⁵⁵

In the near fantasy world of bigotry, ethnic division, conflicting propaganda, deflated national pride and crushed personal aspirations which the Allies, the Vatican and Wilhelm had combined to leave for his successors to sort out, there was a quite natural keenness among churchmen to use the Gospel and the church as vehicles towards national cohesion and reconstruction. There were many who were searching for a theological justification for their country's aspirations and some of them were very ready to follow Bismarck's Court Preacher Adolf Stocker. They used much the same distortions of both Paul's letters and Luther's anti-Semitism and anti-democratism in efforts, firstly, to prepare a base for a federation of Germany's churches organized on a regional basis and, secondly, to remove Jewish influence. They were quite prepared for a confrontation with Karl Barth over his interpretation of Romans. They took literally Paul's words that the people of the church must all obey the governing authorities, since all government comes from God and since the civil authorities were therefore appointed by God. Paul had said that “anyone who resists authority is rebelling against God's decision, and such an act is bound to be punished.”²⁵⁶

These tensions surfaced from time to time in the wider arena such as at the ecumenical conference in Stockholm in 1925 when a German theologian shocked delegates with his claim that the Christianization of the world was impossible.²⁵⁷ He was reflecting the sentiment which was common in Europe at the time (and which had been evident in the call for unity issued by the Lambeth Conference) that Christianity was a cultural phenomenon. It had evolved with a particular character in Europe; it had to be fostered there; its impact on the rest of the world would be indirect and it would be expressed through the activities of European governments, enterprises and individuals. It had to be cleansed of all non-Christian or pre-Christian influences including that of Judaism. Volume I of *Mein Kampf*, with most of Hitler's general discussion on the two wings of the church, had been published just one month before the Stockholm Conference. Volume II, with his attack on foreign mission work and most of his discussion on race and culture control through Eugenics, was published sixteen months later.

Prominent among churchmen who promoted the European culture concept of Christianity was Otto Dibelius who, as General Superintendent, sent a blatantly anti-Semitic Easter message to the clergy of his diocese in 1928.²⁵⁸ Thuringian German Christians were quick to demand a complete commitment to politics through an intimate alliance of the church with the Nazis. They promoted the idea of “One people, one God, one Nation, one Church”, they marched behind the motto “we put our trust in the Godsent Fuhrer”, and they took full advantage of Hitler's temporary gas blindness and his vision, relating it to Paul's temporary blindness and his vision on the road to Damascus. In a similar mould the extreme right-wing “Faith Movement of German Christians” provided chaplaincy services for Hitler's paramilitary “Brownshirts.” Their

support for the dictator helped to offset his antagonism to Protestantism which was partly a reaction to its "soft" attitude to the Jewish question. ²⁵⁹

The Guiding Principles of the Faith Movement represented a fundamental repudiation or contradiction of generally accepted interpretations of the Gospel which are supposed to be the basis of the life and teaching of the Christian Church. The Movement criticized weak Christianity, parliamentarianism in the church and ecclesiastical political parties as well. It was the example par excellence of the historical stream which saw religion as the prop with which to preserve national political stability and the interests and privileged position of the elite of the day. Although it had no time for multinational churches and was vigorously anti-papal there are remarkable similarities between its platform and the thrust of the pope's remarks concerning the purpose of the Feast of Christ the King. Its Guiding Principles were dated June 6, 1932, just six months after Pius XI had instituted the new Solemn Feast.

The Faith Movement demanded a "reawakened German sense of vitality respected in our church" and an all-out fight against the reactionary Center Party, against atheistic Marxism "which is the enemy of religion and the nation, and against its Christian social fellow travellers of every shade." It said the way into the Kingdom of God was "through struggle, cross, and sacrifice, not through a false peace." Race, folk and nation were "orders of existence granted and entrusted to us by God (and) consequently miscegenation is to be opposed." Mere pity is charity and becomes presumptuous, coupled with a bad conscience, and makes people soft, it said, demanding that the nation be protected against the unfit and the inferior with home missions organized to avoid adding to "the degeneration of our people." It claimed that mission to Jews was "an entrance gate for alien blood into our body politic" and a grave danger to nationality. Holy scripture spoke of "holy wrath and a refusal of love." Marriage between Germans and Jews was therefore to be forbidden to avoid the danger of "racial camouflage and bastardization." Finally, throwing Peter's vision of the unclean food out the window it said "We repudiate the spirit of a Christian world citizenship. We want the degenerating manifestations of this spirit, such as pacifism, internationalism, Free Masonry, etc., overcome by a faith in our national mission that God has committed to us"²⁶⁰ It was more than a continuation of the German Protestant belief that German history was a unique and most significant part of revelation and that the mission of Imperial Germany was to exercise world domination as an expression of divine will, as reflected in the Declaration of the 93 in 1914. (Chapter 16) It was an extension of it.

From January 1933, and Hitler's rise to the chancellorship, moves to unify the 28 provincial Evangelical Churches into a single Reich Church under a Reich Bishop were stepped up. Five months of deep division and politicking followed as Hitler eased and forced his nominees into key church posts and while a constitution for his unified Reich church was prepared. It was completed to his satisfaction only two days after the initialling of the Vatican Concordat and approved by 'cabinet' on July 14, 1933, together with the Concordat. He was then in a position to play one church against the other with the clear threat that if either the Roman Catholic

Church or the Reich Church stepped out of line the appropriate document could be annulled on some suitable pretext. Such action would have left the field clear for Hitler to demonstrate his version of the old claim that political stability came through theological conformity.

But a small minority of Evangelical Christians refused to accept the new situation. Among them was Dietrich Bonhoeffer who tried to put his preaching into political practice and was later hanged (only weeks before Hitler's death) for his part in attempts to assassinate the Fuhrer. In 1930–31 Bonhoeffer, having completed his doctorate and already under the influence of Barth's reforming zeal, spent a year at Union Theological Seminary, New York, and developed a close working relationship with black American students and their congregations. He soon realized that any form of nationalism or claims for one nation to have a mission to enforce its culture on the world could not be reconciled with Christianity. Then a few months after returning to Germany he was asked to attend a joint meeting of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and the Life and Work Movement in Cambridge, and his commitment to ecumenism deepened when he accepted appointment as one of three regional secretaries to the new joint Youth Commission (chapter 17). He developed a strong theology of ecumenism and against war, arguing that war could no longer be regarded as an order of preservation because it resulted in the destruction of all belligerents, destroying both the body and the soul, and it therefore had to be denounced by the church. Then, presumably without being conscious of doing it, he picked up the thrust of each of Islamic understanding of religion and state, the debate in Palestine between the Zionist Movement and the Ultra-Orthodox Jewish community (see chapter 17), and one aspect of Augustine's City of God. He said that Christianity and the world, church and state, were all standing together under the revealed word of God in Christ and for this reason there was no longer any separate sphere of political life in which the state operated according to its own laws of being.²⁶¹

It was then a very logical and profound step, but personally dangerous, when Bonhoeffer responded to the establishment and policies of the Reichskirche with a paper entitled *The Church and the Jewish Question*. He said that if a church wanted to exclude members on racial grounds then it was no church.

*What is at stake is by no means the question whether our German members of congregations can still tolerate church fellowship with Jews. It is rather the task of Christian preaching to say: here is the church where Jew and German stand together under the Word of God; here is the proof whether a church is still a church or not.*²⁶²

Battle lines had been drawn. In September, 1933, while Bruning was campaigning against the ratification of the Reich Concordat, Bonhoeffer had the World Alliance pass resolutions condemning the Jewish policy of the German government and protesting against those church synods which applied the Nazi-inspired 'Aryan paragraph' within the church. Moves to establish a 'Confessing Church' picked up pace.²⁶³

But perhaps principal among those opposed to Nazi racial and religious policies was Karl Barth, by then a professor at the University of Bonn, who, together with Eduard Thurneysen, a

colleague from his days as a village pastor at Safenwil, established a journal²⁶⁴ which kept up a stream of opposition to the linking of Christianity in Germany with National Socialism. It provided a means for others of like mind to keep in touch and enabled the Pastors' Emergency League, (founded by Martin Niemoller about the same time), to expand into the Confessing Church, for which Barth drafted the Barmen Confession. The Synod of Barmen was held from May 29 to 31, 1934, and included representatives of the Evangelical Congregations of the Lutheran, Reformed and United Churches in Germany. It was convened "to withstand in faith and unanimity the destruction of the Confession of Faith, and thus of the Evangelical Church in Germany." It declared that "In opposition to attempts to establish the unity of the German Evangelical Church by means of false doctrine, by the use of force and insincere practices, the Confessional Synod insists that the unity of the Evangelical Churches in Germany can come only from the Word of God in faith through the Holy Spirit. Thus alone is the Church renewed." It went on to repudiate the constitution of the Reich Church, to condemn the theological errors and false doctrines which were devastating the church, and to contrast, by clear implication, the roles and influence of Christ and Hitler.

While Barth worked on his monumental Church Dogmatics from the relative security of Switzerland's neutrality the world slowly and painfully dragged itself out of the depression and Hitler built his new German Reich at a fanatical pace. He was driven on by the fear that he might not live long enough to see his plans fulfilled and he used vast amounts of British and American capital in industrial development. He was the darling of the industrialists, being the European leader best able to maintain growth and industrial peace, and he was the arch enemy of Communism. While he built concentration camps for his opponents, gas chambers for the mentally and physically handicapped, sterilization clinics for those who were not to be permitted to breed and an army which the Great War Allies were not in a position to say 'No' to, the Reich Church's Evangelicals and the Roman Catholic Church competed for the privilege of keeping his persecution of them to a minimum by a strong display of support.²⁶⁵

Pastor Niemoller was another who spent some years in a concentration camp for his trouble but he survived. Barth, being a Swiss subject, was more fortunate than his German colleagues. Deprived of his university post and expelled from Germany in 1935 he accepted a post at the university of his home town, Basel, and continued the theological rethink which he had started while the Balfour Declaration was still only an idea in Dr Weizmann's mind.

THE JEWISH QUESTION

While Hitler's relations with both the Catholic and Reformed wings of the Christian Church were vital to his political plans, they were nevertheless of secondary importance. As much as both institutions may have wished to think otherwise, they were for the most part merely means to an end. Dealing with the Jews, on the other hand, was primary. However, although Hitler's intention and aim to 'solve the Jewish Question' – to eliminate all Jewish influence within Germany and within his sphere of influence – was one of the central points of the political

philosophy which he had expounded ad nauseam until his appointment as Chancellor on January 30, 1933, he had not taken office with any clear plan prepared on how that aim was to be achieved. As a result, action against the Jews at first was left in the hands of local Nazi Party groups or officials who were all eager to fulfill their understanding of the Fuhrer's intention, and such action, mainly against Jewish traders and businesses, was haphazard, brutal and degrading. The increase in anti-Jewish activity which followed the election of March 5, 1933, has been described as a 'revolution from below.' Hitler knew that he had to put some order into his fuzzy plan to exclude the Jews from the economic life of Germany and to expel them from the country, and provide some guidelines or a channel for the energies of the party radicals, or he would fail in both objectives, the country's reputation would suffer, and he would lose the support of the country's conservative elite who had financed his political campaign.²⁶⁶ He also knew that while he retained the confidence of Germany's conservative elite – and basically that meant steadily increasing economic activity and their profits because those were the only matters which concerned most of them – he would face a minimum of opposition from their foreign counterparts and the Jewish community would find it very hard to secure a base for anti-Nazi propaganda in the foreign media.

The percentage of Jews in the total German population was about 5.4 percent but, as with any ethnic group in any country, they were not uniformly represented throughout the community or in all sectors of employment. About 16 percent of the country's lawyers and public notaries were Jews, 15 percent of brokers and commission agents, 11 percent of doctors and 9 percent of dentists. However the Jewish profile was highest in the commerce and trade sector in which one half (48.9 per cent according to the census of June 16, 1933, three months after the passing of the Enabling Act) of the total number of Jews in regular employment were involved, compared with under one sixth of the non-Jewish population. (The figure for the number of people involved in the trade and commerce sector as a percentage of the total population, including Jews, was 15.6 percent.)²⁶⁷ A boycott against Jewish traders and business houses would therefore have the most immediate and most visible impact of any action which could be organized. It would be the most easily organized, using the Nazi party machinery which was already in place and, because it would have some impact on the ordinary shopping or commercial habits of almost every person, it would have the most immediate 'educational' or indoctrinating influence as it drew everyone into an official political or ideological activity of the state. A successful boycott would also serve to show to the outside world who the 'real' rulers of Germany were and demonstrate that they were strong enough to maintain quiet. Julius Streicher, editor of the anti-Semitic weekly *Der Stürmer*, was appointed to head a committee of dedicated Nazis in organizing the boycott.²⁶⁸

THE ANTI-NAZI BOYCOTT ...

Before it could be implemented, however, forces outside Germany began counter-measures against the new regime's treatment of Jews which threatened to sink the plan. Early in March,

when it was apparent that the election was consolidating Hitler's authority in Germany, an anti-Nazi boycott movement formed in Poland and took hold in a number of other east European countries. In Britain a spontaneous boycott of German goods by Jews and non-Jews also coalesced into an organized boycott movement.²⁶⁹ On March 19, New York's Jewish War Veterans announced a trade boycott of Germany and organized a protest parade for March 23, the day on which the Enabling Act was due to be voted on by the Reichstag and when the German Centre Party, under pressure from the Vatican, capitulated to Hitler. In the meantime, in response to mounting public pressure, leading Zionist Rabbi Stephen Wise of the American Jewish Congress, an organization strongly aligned with the World Zionist Organization, organized a mass rally at Madison Square Garden scheduled for March 27.²⁷⁰

The prospect of an international anti-Nazi boycott which had been widely canvassed posed a significant problem for the new regime. Jews were prominent in the retail trade in US and Europe, and an organized boycott of German goods could badly damage Germany's balance of trade just as Hitler began to implement measures designed to pull the country out of the Depression. Fearing retaliation against their own companies, Hitler's capitalist backers urged him to call off his action. In response, the Nazi leadership decided to use German Jewry to head off Wise. Immediately after the passage of the Enabling Act, Göring called a meeting with four prominent Jewish leaders, including representatives of the assimilationist Central Union of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith (CV) and the Zionist Federation of Germany (ZVfD). Göring flatly told the gathered Jewish representatives that unless the Rally was stopped, he could not vouch for the safety of German Jews. He proposed that a delegation go to London to contact world Jewry and pass on the message. The Assimilationists declined the offer. The ZVfD representative accepted.²⁷¹

On March 27, while the German Catholics and Protestants were competing with each other to show their loyalty to Hitler, after prevailing upon CV member Dr Ludwig Tietz to join them in the mission, ZVfD officials Martin Rosenbluth and Richard Lichteim arrived in London. Meeting immediately with forty Jewish leaders at a gathering chaired by World Zionist Organization president Nahum Sokolow, the delegation gave stark evidence of the situation of German Jews. Later, after meeting with British officials, Rosenbluth called Wise in New York. Rosenbluth later claimed in his memoirs to have conveyed a cryptic message to Wise to proceed with the rally. No independent evidence exists to support this claim. On the contrary, only hours after speaking to Wise the ZVfD officials cabled the Jewish Agency Executive in Palestine in the name of the Zionist Executive in London requesting that they immediately dispatch to the Chancellery of the Third Reich statements declaring that they did not condone an organized anti-German boycott. When the London Executive learned of this several hours later they sent another cable to Jerusalem to head off the first.²⁷² That night, March 27, despite the efforts of Rosenbluth and the ZVfD, the rally went ahead as a large assembly of politicians, churchmen and trade unionists gathered at Madison Square Garden to denounce the Hitler regime.

... AND A RAPID RESPONSE

The Nazi response was immediate. At a meeting between Goebbels and Hitler next day, March 28, an official decree was approved for publication as a front page full-page notice in the official Nazi newspaper *Völkischer Beobachter* (VB) on Friday, March 29, instituting a general boycott against all Jews in Germany with effect from 10am on Saturday, April 1, the day after a specially convened meeting with all of the German Churches which Hitler had ordered to take advantage of the capitulation by the Catholic Centre Party under pressure from the Vatican. The headline read 'Let Jewry Know Against Whom It Has Declared War.'²⁷³ It was, in effect, the implementation of the previously, but rather loosely, planned anti-Jewish boycott. The boycott against Jewish goods, shops, doctors and lawyers was intended to "hit the Jews in their most sensitive spot", their commercial activities, and it was intended to continue indefinitely. Local action committees were to organize SA and SS guards to prevent shoppers from entering Jewish premises, and propaganda and mass protest meetings to demand that the number of Jews in any trade or profession should be reduced to not more than the proportion which they represented of the total population.²⁷⁴

Among the first to learn what it meant to be a Jew in the new Germany was the Director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Research Institute for Physics, formulator of the Theories of Relativity and 1921 Nobel Prize winner, Albert Einstein, who was in the United States as a visiting professor at the time. In his absence Hitler seized his house and his bank accounts and had his books and writings publicly burned in front of the Opera House-cum Parliament.

However the immediate public response to the Nazi boycott was poor. Many shoppers ignored the guards. Many were apathetic or openly antagonistic to the program, trouble was caused in some cities, and it became apparent that there would be a generally negative impact on the economy and that trade would not automatically increase for non-Jews at the expense of Jews. The boycott in that form was therefore called off with an official announcement on April 4 that the "boycott has achieved its purpose and is over"²⁷⁵ and attention turned to reducing the number of Jews in the professions and the public service by legislation rather than by using Nazi party machinery. Measures had already been taken in Prussia before Hitler gained the Chancellery to prevent Jews camouflaging their presence by changing their family names, and these were now tightened.²⁷⁶ In addition, in a matter of only days, the first formal anti-Semitic legislation was drafted and introduced on April 7. It was the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service under clause three of which, the 'Aryan Clause', officials of non-Aryan descent were to be retired. President Hindenberg insisted that exceptions be made of those who held office on August 1, 1914, those who had fought at the front during the war, and those whose fathers or sons had been killed on active service. Four days later, on April 11, the Law Concerning Admission to the Legal Profession took effect with the same 'Aryan Clause.'

²⁷⁷

Hitler had directed that medical doctors were to be exempted from the 'Aryan Clause' but in a clear case of the 'Revolution from Below' which showed that he did not always set the pace,

Nazi local authorities banned Jewish doctors from health insurance panels and the Reich Minister for Labour found it necessary to ratify that action and to include dentists and dental technicians as well.²⁷⁸ Similarly, immediately Hitler came to power and without waiting for legislation or consulting the new central government for guidelines, some states had begun to exclude Jewish students from popular courses on the basis that they were avoiding over crowding for non-Jewish students. It was therefore necessary to put some order into what was happening (and what Hitler intended anyway) and the Law Against the Overcrowding of German Schools was introduced on April 25,²⁷⁹ together with the establishment of an anti-Semitic attestation bureaucracy which was to provide details of 'blood purity' from marriage and baptismal registries to facilitate the enforcement of the major laws. The number of Jewish students in any course, school or university was limited to five percent, but another clause setting the total Jewish enrolment at a maximum of 1.5 percent gave radical Nazi authorities the opportunity to exclude Jews altogether so that the national average would not be exceeded. It was this boycott program, or the early stages of it anyway, to which the Mufti and members of the Palestinian delegation referred during their meeting with German Consul Wolf later in the month.

The acceptance of Göring's mission by the German Zionists was not an isolated event. On the contrary, it represented the first major step in a campaign by a major part of the world Zionist movement to secure the cooperation of the Nazi regime in their program of emigration to Palestine. To the German Zionists, and later the World Zionist Organization, the equation was simple: Hitler wanted the Jews out of Germany, and the Zionist movement could help take them off his hands. Cooperating with the regime to undermine the anti-Nazi boycott would not only help establish the proper relationship with the Nazis necessary if emigration to Palestine was to be allowed, it would also undermine the positions of those Assimilationists, both in Germany and abroad, who did not support the Zionist solution to the Jewish question. There was, of course, the problem of those Jews who wished to stay in Germany or who were not able to emigrate, but that was evidently of secondary importance. The primary issue was Palestine. And, it may well have seemed, once the proper foundation was established and a practical solution to the Jewish question in Germany was seen to be achievable, Hitler would perhaps listen to reason and moderate his approach to those left behind.

As already noted, Sam Cohen had already proposed, through Consul Wolf in Jerusalem, a trading scheme to assist some settlers to reach Palestine. In spite of the Nazis' measures against Jews in Germany his scheme was now approved by the German authorities and early in May Cohen signed an agreement for 1 million Reichmarks (US\$400,000) in Jewish wealth to be shipped to Palestine in the form of farm machinery.

A memorandum sent by ZVfD to the Nazi Party less than three months later, and the German response, provides a revealing insight into the thinking of both parties. The memorandum sought to solicit the cooperation of the Nazi Party in the solution to the Jewish question in Germany. It stated in part: "...For its practical aims, Zionism hopes to be able to win the collaboration even of a government fundamentally hostile to Jews, because in dealing with the Jewish question no

sentimentalities are involved but a real problem whose solution interests all peoples, and at the present moment especially the German people.” That blunt statement was followed by one less direct, but nevertheless just as clear in intent: “The realization of Zionism could only be hurt by resentment of Jews abroad against current German development. Boycott propaganda – such as it is currently being carried on against Germany in many ways – is in essence un-Zionist, because Zionism wants not to do battle but to convince and build...Our observations, presented herewith, rest on the conviction that, in solving the Jewish problem according to its own lights, the German Government will have full understanding for a candid and clear Jewish posture that harmonizes with the interests of the state.”²⁸⁰

The pitch was simple if tactfully presented. In return for favoured treatment the Zionists would downplay the issue of Germany's treatment of Jews and work to undermine the international anti-Nazi boycott movement. The German government would gain a ready-made propaganda counterweight to anti-Nazi sentiment abroad, while the Zionist movement would benefit from a reduced focus on assimilationist issues while at the same time being allowed to advance its program for Palestine.

Equally important as the terms of the proposed bargain, however, was the reasoning by which the ZVfD sought to persuade the Nazis of the merits of their case. According to the ZVfD memorandum, Zionism could foster a practical working relationship with Nazism because of the affinity between the two movements. Zionism was in fact akin to Nazism because both were based on the nationalist/racist community ideal. The memorandum stated in part:

“...an answer to the Jewish question truly satisfying to the national state can be brought about only with the collaboration of the Jewish movement that aims at a social, cultural and moral renewal of Jewry...a rebirth of national life, such as is occurring in German life through adhesion to Christian and national values, must also take place in the Jewish national group...”

...On the foundation of the new [German] state, which has established the principle of race, we wish so to fit our community into the total structure so that for us, too, in the sphere assigned to us, fruitful activity for the fatherland is possible...Our acknowledgment of Jewish Nationality provides for a clear and sincere relationship with the German people and its national and racial realities. Precisely because we do not wish to falsify these fundamentals, because we, too, are against mixed marriage and are for maintaining the purity of the Jewish group...”²⁸¹ (Emphasis added.)

Those statements may not have represented the thinking of mainstream Zionism. They may well also have been designed to play upon National Socialist prejudices. Nevertheless, they were quite consistent with the published views of a large number of Zionist writers of the time, German and otherwise. The fact that representatives of the Zionist movement could plausibly make such claims demonstrates that Zionism, no less than Christianity, was deeply infected with the distorted thinking at the heart of Hitler's parody. Both groups had lost sight of the reality of the historical expansion of Judaism and the extreme dilution – complete severing in some regions – of the direct link between racial origin and religious faith for the majority of the European Jewish population many hundreds of years before. The church's fight was actually

against its parent religion which challenged its origins and its theology. The people called Jews were the vehicle for that religion and they were persecuted and isolated accordingly. Hitler's fight was against the people called Jews as a consequence of their perceived influence, communal characteristics and conduct. These were the product of their persecution and isolation in their role as the vehicle for that parent religion. Neither the church nor Hitler seemed able to comprehend the difference.

But it is equally important that, as the peak body of the international Zionist movement and perhaps the most influential representative of the interests of international Jewry, the World Zionist Organization severely undermined the morale and effectiveness of those groups, both Jewish and otherwise, who sought to oppose Hitler's racial policies when it later supported the ZVfD's line. At a time when the new regime was most vulnerable to challenge, the Zionist movement was so intent on fulfilling its aspirations for a Jewish return to Palestine that it chose not to confront Hitler but to cooperate with him.

However, opposition to the anti-Nazi boycott movement within the worldwide Jewish community did not come only from those who wished to collaborate with Hitler. Agudas Yisrael, the political arm of the Ultra Orthodox movement, opposed it on religious grounds, arguing that the Talmud forbade Jews to revolt against Gentile authority in the Diaspora. Others had political reasons. Fearful of the negative domestic consequences of a noisy public campaign, the British Council of Jewish Deputies refused to support the British boycott movement. Similarly, despite the fact that he had organized the Madison Square Garden rally and later opposed cooperation with Germany, Rabbi Stephen Wise also opposed a boycott. Along with many others he preferred instead the traditional Zionist approach of behind the scenes contacts with high-level policy makers and politicians. Writing to a friend he complained, "You cannot imagine what I am doing to resist the masses. They want tremendous street scenes."²⁸² Public protests would not only jeopardize the successful results of years of painstaking effort in establishing networks of influential contacts, they might also provoke even worse persecution in Germany.

Unfortunately for the advocates of the traditional approach, the State Department, like the British Foreign Office, at that stage saw Hitler more as a means to bottle up the Soviet Union than as a threat to human rights and was not likely to be persuaded by quiet diplomacy. Similarly, American politicians wanted German markets to offset the effects of the Depression and they were not going to be easily convinced to make a fuss about the situation of Germany's Jews if that meant fewer jobs for their constituents. Nevertheless, Wise and others maintained their stance. So with a large proportion of the American Jewish public demanding action, a serious rift was caused among American Jewry when Wise's American Jewish Congress and B'nai B'rith tried to muffle public protest and quash the boycott.²⁸³

The pace of events in Germany was such that even Mussolini was eventually moved to urge Hitler to soften his approach. However, it did little to blunt the efforts of those seeking Hitler's cooperation. Sam Cohen was soon superseded by more authoritative figures. Chaim Arlosoff,

the Political Secretary of the Jewish Agency in Palestine, was also interested in finding a way to take advantage of Hitler's anti-Semitic posture. Arguing that world opinion would support a "constructive treatment of the Jewish question in Germany", his ambition was to eventually see established an alliance between the Zionists, Germany, Britain, and other European states, such as Italy, to organize the evacuation of Jewry from Germany. As a first step Arlossoff envisaged the setting up of a special bank along the lines of Cohen's scheme which would enable the gradual liquidation of the property and capital of German Jews, which could then be used as a means of stimulating the economic development of Palestine. Jewish property in Germany would be sold, the money put into a bank which would buy German goods to be sold in Palestine and other countries, and the money would then be available at a discounted rate to German immigrants to Palestine. In May, shortly after the signing of the Cohen contract, Arlossoff and the Nazis came to a preliminary understanding to extend Cohen's arrangements. However, Arlossoff's involvement was cut short brutally on June 16, when two days after returning to Tel Aviv from a trip to Berlin he was found murdered on a Tel Aviv beach.²⁸⁴

Arlossoff's death signalled the emergence of deep divisions within the international Zionist movement. In part these were motivated by developments in Palestine itself. In early 1933 the new British Administrator, General Wauchope, had revived a plan which had been dropped in 1930 for a Legislative Council with representation related to community numbers which would have therefore favoured the Palestinian Arabs. This had antagonized radical Zionists, who in response stepped up both legal and illegal immigration which reached a peak in 1935. In the meantime, however, their anger was increasingly directed against the British and against those 'soft' Zionist authorities who cooperated with the British. Arlossoff, a Socialist moderate who understood the aspirations of the Arabs, was a prime target, and his murder was generally believed to have been committed by extremist Revisionists.²⁸⁵ The fanatically right-wing Revisionists and their leader Vladimir Jabotinsky also favoured the anti-Nazi boycott and strongly opposed any dealings with the Nazi regime. The timing of Arlossoff's murder therefore strongly suggests that may also have been a factor in his assassination.

However, Arlossoff's death did little to stop the contacts. Negotiations were immediately taken over by the director of the Anglo-Palestine Bank in coordination with the ZVfD.²⁸⁶ Soon afterwards a letter was sent by the ZVfD to the World Zionist Organization requesting that the upcoming World Zionist Congress in Prague be called off. Fearful that the Congress would be used to denounce the Nazi regime, the ZVfD argued that their lives could be at stake at a time when "our legal existence has enabled us to organize thousands and to transfer large sums of money to Palestine."²⁸⁷ In the meantime, however, in an indication of the seriousness with which the Nazi leadership took the boycott threat, Germany's Finance Minister, Helmut Schacht, on a visit to the United States in May, met with a number of Jewish leaders to urge them not to carry out the boycott.²⁸⁸ At about the same time a confidential report was prepared for the American Jewish Congress about the precarious situation of the Jews in Germany which stressed the boycott's likely impact. By August, with Rabbi Wise in Europe preparing for the Prague Congress, militants in the American Jewish Congress called for a boycott to be

implemented.²⁸⁹ The stage was therefore set for confrontation when the delegates to the Congress met on 21 August.

Business turned quickly to a resolution on the treatment of Jews by Nazi Germany. The WZO's leaders were in a difficult situation. They knew that the Nazis were interested in a deal and that they had to avoid offending Germany by limiting discussion of the situation there to a bare minimum. The regime was therefore not explicitly condemned. In addition, though the League of Nations was asked to help in the fight for the recovery of the rights of Jews in Germany, the request was buried in a lengthy discussion of emigration and Palestine. No plan was proposed to put pressure on the League, nor was any specific action called for on the League's part.²⁹⁰

THE TRANSFER AGREEMENT

Next on the agenda was a resolution on the anti-Nazi boycott. Before the proposed resolution could be debated, however, the German government announced that an agreement on Jewish migration had been signed with the Zionists. Under the so-called Transfer Agreement, or Ha'avara, German Jews would be allowed to ship 3 million Reichmarks worth of Jewish wealth to Palestine in the form of German export goods. The news fell like a bombshell among the delegates. When the Congress realized that the announcement was not a propaganda stunt, pandemonium broke out. Ironically, when business resumed the next day, it was the pro-fascist Revisionist leader Vladimir Jabotinsky who presented the argument for the boycott. However, as several of his Revisionists had been arrested by the British for Arlossoff's murder there was little chance he would get a hearing. The situation was made worse when several of his Brownshirts accompanied him into the hall in full military formation, compelling the Congress organizers to ban the uniforms for fear of provoking a riot from Arlossoff's Labour comrades. Consequently, despite the behind-the-scenes urgings of German CV members not to abandon the boycott movement,²⁹¹ Jabotinsky's motion of support for the boycott and opposition to the Transfer Agreement was dismissed by an overwhelming majority of 240 votes to 48.²⁹²

Nevertheless, opposition to Jabotinsky's motion did not mean that all delegates were in favour of the Ha'avara agreement. Wise, despite his opposition to the boycott, demanded that the leadership explain 'how to prevent German ... propagandists from utilizing the agreement.'²⁹³ Similarly, supporters of the boycott argued that the prospect of saving Germany's Jews through the boycott was neutralized by the readiness of the Zionists to enter into an economic agreement with Germany.²⁹⁴ In the face of such opposition the WZO executive committee was eventually forced to deny responsibility for the Ha'avara, claiming instead that it only bound Germany and the formal signatory, the Anglo-Palestine Bank. However, since that was its own bank its protestations rang somewhat hollow.²⁹⁵

Following the Congress the controversy raged on across the world Jewish community. In Poland, Jews feared that if there was no resistance to anti-Semitism next door their own anti-Semites would start demanding that the Polish Government imitate Germany. A movement opposed to the Ha'avara and favouring the boycott even arose in Palestine, mainly comprised of

youth. Non-Zionists demanded that the Ha'avara be denounced, accusing the Yishuv of abandoning moral and political principles for the sake of economic gain.²⁹⁶ In America, prominent Zionist Rabbi Hillel Silver as well as Rabbi Wise spoke out in opposition. In a speech at a World Jewish Conference in September 1934 Wise stated the matter forcefully: "One leading Palestinian put it over and over again at Prague: Palestine has primacy. This conference must clearly state, that while Palestine has primacy over all other factors in the equation, its primacy ceases when it comes into conflict with a higher moral law."²⁹⁷

That argument had little impact on Ha'avara's backers. In 1934, Weizmann had clearly reflected the reasoning behind the ZVfD's memorandum of June 1933 to the Nazi Party when he stated: "We, being a Zionist Organization, should concern ourselves more with the constructive solution of the German question through the transfer of the Jewish youth from Germany to Palestine, rather than with the question of equal rights for Jews in Germany."²⁹⁸ Nevertheless, due to the sensitivity of the matter and the split within the WZO Executive, the Jewish Agency Executive continued to avoid a clear public stand on the issue. The World Zionist Organization tried to defend itself by insisting that the Ha'avara agreement did not really break the boycott since Germany did not receive foreign currency for its goods as they were all purchased inside the country for marks. However the basis of that tenuous argument was undermined when Berlin soon demanded part-payment for some commodities in foreign currency.²⁹⁹

One vital factor which the Zionists did not wish to take into account was the impact which the Transfer Agreement had on the Arabs of Palestine. It confirmed to them that even Hitler's Germany was largely disinterested in Arab affairs. It simply wanted to be relieved of its Jews. The German administration was not concerned where the Jews went or what problems their presence caused when they arrived there, as long as they went somewhere. Nazi racist ideology combined with its twin foreign policy strategy of seeking advantage in the Soviet controlled East European Steppes (rather than the Arab East) and reaching an understanding with Britain to add more burdens for the Palestinians.³⁰⁰ This situation left the Palestinians with little option except to appeal to Britain and, when their appeals were ignored, to apply whatever pressure they could to seek relief from the progressively worsening transgression.

In the meantime Hitler continued to tighten the legislative restrictions on Germany's Jews, in the process revealing his extreme sensitivity to adverse reactions both at home and in the foreign press. On September 29, 1933, the law to establish the Reich Chambers of Culture was introduced and this was followed only five days later by the Editors' Law. These effectively excluded Jews from any influence through the media and performing arts and ensured a minimum of public criticism of existing or future laws. It was at this point that Bonhoeffer and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches condemned the Jewish policy of the German government and protested against those church synods which applied the Nazi-inspired 'Aryan paragraph' within the church, and moves to establish a 'Confessing Church' were accelerated. At this point also, October 4, 1933, much to the displeasure of von Papen and Grober, Cardinal Bertram took "a catalogue of protest" to

the Vatican listing many of the consequences of “the totalitarian claims of the state” including the sterilization laws and widespread discrimination against Jewish converts to Catholicism. Although the pope was inclined to issue a public protest he was restrained by Pacelli because of the delicate stage of his negotiations to have the definition of Catholic religious and political organizations refined.³⁰¹

However not all of their colleagues agreed with the Pacelli-von Papen-Grober approach, and during November-December Faulhaber preached and published a series of five sermons as a qualified protest on behalf of all German Christians including those who were converts from Judaism.³⁰² These were monitored by Himmler's security officer and among his ‘offences’ were noted the statement that “we extend our hands to our separated brethren, to defend together with them the sacred books of the Old Testament”, implying that National Socialism's denial of those books was a heresy. But Faulhaber's criticism became more direct as the series progressed. Over Christmas-New Year he said the Nazis were threatening to abandon the Old Testament because its books were Jewish; that Christ rejected “ties of blood” and replaced them with “ties of faith”; and that “We may never forget (that) we are not saved by German blood ... (but) by the precious blood of our crucified Lord.”³⁰³ However his protest was tempered by his own admission that his sermons were directed mainly against “theological anti-Semitism”; that he was not defending all Jews but only those who became Christian; and that he did not “take a position in regard to the Jewish question of today” nor comment on “contemporary aspects of the Jewish issue.”³⁰⁴

Himmler's security officer noted that Faulhaber was “generally considered the spiritual leader of the Catholic resistance to the National Socialist state, especially for the foreign press ...”³⁰⁵ and on January 14, 1934, the Reich Minister for the Interior issued a circular to national and regional authorities noting that the limits set by the Reich Government had to be heeded if Germany's ‘Aryan legislation’ was to be correctly judged at home and abroad. He said it was ‘especially improper’ for the application of the Aryan Clause to be extended beyond the fields set by the Reich, particularly in the economic sphere.³⁰⁶ The Nazi propaganda machine was cranked up appropriately.

That circular appears to have prompted – or perhaps it coincided with – the introduction of a resolution in the US House of Representatives for the establishment of a committee to investigate Nazi propaganda and Nazi activities in the United States. The resolution was introduced by Representative Samuel Dickstein of New York, an Eastern European-born Jew, and during the rancorous debate which followed several Congressmen objected that it was essentially a Jewish Bill. One representative declared that most Germans thought Hitler was doing a fine job and that German Americans would resent the investigation. However when the debate ended the Bill was carried overwhelmingly by 168 votes to 31 and the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) was formed.³⁰⁷ It soon became apparent that because of the perception that HUAC was a Jewish-sponsored Committee and because of vigorous opposition from “America Firsters” including industrialists such as Henry Ford, the committee would be able to do very little constructive work. In due course, in 1937, the committee was

hijacked, and reconstituted with a new chairman with strong anti-Semitic and racist connections, including leaders of the Ku Klux Klan. The new committee's work was re-directed, with its thrust becoming anti-Communist and anti-Jewish rather than anti-Nazi. The chairman was Texas Democrat Martin Dies who, on his first day in Congress, had moved to suspend immigration for five years. He defended his position on the grounds that he was restoring "Christian influence" in America then proceeded to appoint as the committee's first investigator a prominent speaker for the Nazi Bund.³⁰⁸

In the meantime, in 1932 Jack Warner of Warner Brothers film studios, one of the Hollywood Moguls, had become chairman of the motion picture industry's division of the "Roosevelt for President" Committee and chairman of the Los Angeles division of the "National Recovery Act."³⁰⁹ Then in 1933, just as Hitler was gaining absolute power, and at the height of the Depression, the Moguls were involved in collusion resulting in most industry employees having to take a 50 per cent pay cut. This antagonized the left wing members of the industry and it has been said that "Louis B Mayer created more Communists than Karl Marx" because of that action.³¹⁰

By that stage the plight of Germany's Jews was getting desperate and Hitler was enjoying the respectability which his papal concordat provided. The protests of people like Faulhaber and Bonhoeffer had little influence compared with the positive supportive statements and actions by people like von Papen, Grober, the various bishops' conferences and the suppression of dissent by Pacelli in spite of the fact that he was moved to advise the bishops on September 2, 1934, that the concessions made by the German government were "below the degree of religious freedom guaranteed by the text of the concordat."³¹¹ By August 1935, after Hindenburg's death, Hitler's power was virtually beyond challenge. The repressive measures which had been taken in quite quick succession in Germany during that period should have been taken as a very strong warning that even tougher times lay ahead. In Palestine the situation also continued to worsen. Following the Prague WZO Congress, the Revisionist military wing, Irgun Zvai Leumi, split from the mainstream Socialist-dominated Hagana and stepped up terrorism against the Arabs and, later, the British. However, at the same time that anti-British feeling was increasing among the Zionists, so it was among the Arabs. They had decided that because Britain was responsible for the imposition of Zionism upon them that the British must be the prime target of their attacks if the situation was to be reversed and their interests protected. They stepped up their boycott against Jewish traders, and demonstrations against British policy were organized in Jerusalem, Jaffa and other centres six months after the murder of Arlosoroff. The demonstrations were put down ruthlessly by the British and 25 Arabs were killed.³¹²

In the circumstances it is somewhat surprising that when they met in Rome a few weeks later on February 24, 1934, Dr Weizmann rebuffed an offer of help from Mussolini who was prepared to support and to try to arrange the partition of Palestine. Such was their preoccupation with total control of Palestine that, even in the light of Hitler's domination of Germany and the Passfield White Paper of October 1930 which had set restrictions on Jewish emigration to Palestine, Weizmann suggested to Mussolini that any discussion along the lines of a Jewish

State should be deferred until the population of Eretz Israel had reached half a million.³¹³ The Jews' return to Palestine was paramount, according to mainstream Zionist leaders, and they would not support anything which prejudiced their chances of gaining maximum control of its territory. But for the same reason, neither would they support anything which may have jeopardized their favoured position in Germany.

It is not clear to what extent the Zionist leadership realized the threat which their stated position posed to Vatican self-understanding, but it was very substantial indeed. As we have noted, the Vatican had insisted – to the point of generating major political and social discord in Italy which had culminated in the signing of the Lateran Treaty and the Italian Concordat – that temporal rule over a papal state was essential to confirm and to demonstrate the status of the pope as Vicar of Christ on Earth and the sole representative of the Triune God. The challenge to that position which would be generated if a Jewish state, ruled in a theocratic manner by a religious authority subsisting in Judaism, gained recognition by the world-at-large was simply unacceptable. Thus the flamboyance with which the Vatican set out to establish an aura of regal grandeur around the papacy, implying the divine, became increasingly extravagant. Pius XI, already too frail to undertake extensive international travel personally, asked Pacelli “to travel in his name and to present himself as the representative of Christ’s Vicar on Earth abroad.” Pacelli was therefore “dispatched” as the papal legate for an International Eucharistic Congress in Buenos Aires, Argentina, where “traditional Catholicism under a benign military president with a semblance of republican democracy (was) the true voice of Church-State harmony” It was to be the first of a series of overseas appearances in quick succession. When he sailed from Genoa on September 24, 1934, the extravagance and the pomp were extraordinary³¹⁴ and his greeting by the president, General Agustin Pedro Justo, on board the battleship 25 de Mayo bears all the hallmarks of having been scripted in the Vatican Secretariat of State. “Your Eminence”, he said, “I salute in the person of a papal legate the foremost sovereign of the world, before whose spiritual authority all other sovereigns prostrate themselves in veneration.”³¹⁵ The influence of Constantine, Augustine, and Pope Leo III hung heavy as if the Holy Roman Empire had never been dissolved or was about to be reinstated.

The prevailing view in Germany is indicated by an SD (Internal Security Service) Situation Report on the Jewish Question prepared in May/June 1934 and summed up in an article which its chief, Reinhard Heydrich, wrote for the official SS journal, *Das Schwarze Korps*, of May 15, 1935. The report included a proposal for a solution through mass emigration then concluded that “... in its treatment of the Jews the regime should distinguish between the Zionists, who should be encouraged, and the Assimilationists who should be persecuted.” Then in his article Heydrich noted that the Reich racial laws introduced “after the Nazi seizure of power” did in fact “curtail considerably the immediate influence of the Jews,” but in their tenacity they saw that as a temporary restriction and they were then (mid 1935) seeking ways to win back their old position and “again work to the detriment of Germany.” He said that Jewry had to be separated into two categories based on the way the individuals worked. There were “those who

work openly as Jews and those who hide behind international Jewish welfare agencies and the like.” Germany’s Jews, he said, fell into two groups: Zionists and those who preferred assimilation. “The Zionists adhere to a strict racial position and by emigrating to Palestine they are helping to build their own Jewish state. The assimilation-minded Jews deny their race and insist on their loyalty to Germany or claim to be Christians, because they have been baptized, in order to overthrow National Socialist principles.”³¹⁶ What hope did they have? Like the Zionists, the Assimilationists had been forced into their position by the long-running abuse of the church, but now they were condemned for it by the Nazi regime, a product of the same long-running pressures.

It was in that context that the Zionist movement met again for its Nineteenth World Congress in Lucerne, Switzerland, from August 20 to September 4, 1935. Weizmann’s position was again made clear in the weeks preceding the Congress. Writing to a colleague in Palestine he stated, “I know very well that the Congress in Lucerne can bypass and take no notice of the German Jewish question just as did the Prague Congress...I dare to doubt if anyone, especially the German Jews and the German Zionists, will gain advantage from the German Jewish question being treated in all thoroughness...It will not achieve a positive useful effect especially today, in view of the readiness in the world to come to terms with Germany. On the other hand, I believe it is very possible that such a report may become dangerous to the only positive thing we have in Germany, the intensified Zionist movement.”³¹⁷ As Weizmann expected, the Congress proceeded to finally endorse the Ha’avara agreement, though only after strong resistance from a Revisionist splinter group which had remained loyal to the WZO. In contrast, numerous speakers disparaged the boycott as ineffective,³¹⁸ despite the fact that German economists had attributed to it Germany’s decline in exports in 1934.³¹⁹

THE NUREMBERG LAWS

In the meantime the Nazi regime continued to apply the pressure. On the basis of the ‘facts’ in its 1934 report the SS began to encourage organizations which asserted their Jewish identity and which aimed to strengthen Jewish self-awareness. At the same time they set out to establish detailed records of all Jews and their organizations.³²⁰ Then on September 15, within two weeks of the end of the Lucerne Congress, the persecution reached a new level with the passing of the Nuremberg Laws. The Nuremberg Laws were designed to achieve two primary purposes: to separate the Jewish and German races and to define the rights of a citizen of the Reich. The Reich Citizenship Law removed German citizenship from Jews and dramatically curtailed their political rights. Reich citizenship was preserved for those of “German or related blood”, who were to be “sole bearer(s) of full political rights in accordance with the law.” The Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour, on the other hand, was intended to preserve German racial purity. It forbade marriages between Jews and people of German or related blood, and prohibited sexual relations between these two categories of people out of wedlock. In addition, Jews were forbidden to employ German female domestic servants under the age of

45 and were forbidden to fly the Reich Flag. They were, however, permitted to display the Zionist flag.³²¹

The Nuremberg laws provided the basis for much subsequent anti-Jewish legislation. But since the laws used the term Jew without defining it, the German experts were left to grapple with an age old problem. Who was a Jew? On November 14, after much internal debate, a definition was finally published as part of the First Implementing Order to the Reich Citizenship Law. Once again it was stated that a Jew could not be a citizen of the Reich, had no right to vote, and could not hold public office. However, despite their insistence that Jewishness was a racial characteristic, the Nazis could not avoid using religious and cultural factors as a means to identify a Jew. Once again, as it had so many times before, the issue of children of mixed marriages (mishlinge) and converted Jews complicated the picture. The law stated in part:

1. *A Jew is a person descended from at least three grandparents who were full Jews by race...*
2. *A Mischling who is a subject of the state and descended from two full Jewish Grandparents is also considered a Jew if:*
 - a) *he was a member of the Jewish religious community at the time of the promulgation of the law, or was admitted to it subsequently;*
 - b) *he was married to a Jew at the time of the promulgation of the law, or subsequently married to a Jew;*
 - c) *he is the offspring from a marriage with a Jew in accordance with Paragraph 1, contracted subsequently to the promulgation of the law for the protection of German Blood and German Honour of September 15, 1935;*
 - d) *he is the offspring of extramarital intercourse with a Jew in accordance with paragraph 1, and will be born illegitimately after July 31, 1936...*³²²

The Nuremberg Laws were enforced ruthlessly, with severe penalties including property confiscation enforced on those found to be breaking them. In their wake it is therefore hardly surprising that popular support for the anti-Nazi boycott intensified. In 1936 the American Jewish Congress finally resolved its internal wrangling and joined with the Jewish Labour Committee to form the Joint Boycott Council, which led to greater support from American trade unions. About the same time the Hollywood anti-Nazi League was formed and became a major vehicle for anti-Nazi and left wing publishing and other activities. This was not lost on the Communist Party. Neither was the fact that there was a high proportion of Jewish writers and producers among its members. The Party therefore joined forces with the Hollywood anti-Nazi League and other left-wing groups and began actively recruiting Jews. It has been estimated that for the next few years well over half of the members of both the Hollywood anti-Nazi League and the Communist Party in Los Angeles were Jews. They not only campaigned against Hitler and Nazism but also against Japan after its invasion of China, and in support of Roosevelt's Federal Theatre Project. About September 1936 some of the "more conservative Hollywood Jews began issuing tentative attacks on the Hitler regime", Mayer urged the United States to merge forces with Britain because war in Europe was imminent, and four

hundred well known figures from the motion picture industry gathered at the Hotel Roosevelt to openly fight any cause which threatened America. Although both Fascism and Communism were included in the threats, all of this antagonized the political right wing and the anti-Jewish lobby even more and the motion picture industry became the primary target for investigation by the reconstituted HUAC.³²³

On March 15, 1937 another mass rally was held at Madison Square Garden, this time with the belated support of Rabbi Wise and the participation of prominent non-Jewish figures. By then, however, it was too late. The movement had failed to attract the necessary early support to give it momentum, the German economy had stabilized, and Hitler had consolidated himself in power.

In contrast to the ill-fated anti-Nazi boycott, Ha'avara grew rapidly to become a substantial banking and trading house. The original agreement was extended several times, and at the height of its activities it employed 137 specialists in its Jerusalem Office alone. The top limit through the scheme was 50,000 Reichmarks, equivalent to US\$20,000 or 4,000 pounds per emigrant. This made it unattractive to the richest Jews and partly as a result, only \$40 million dollars went to Palestine compared to \$650 million to the US and \$60 million to the UK. Nevertheless, Ha'avara's impact in Palestine was considerable. Of the 51,700 German Jews who emigrated to Palestine between 1933 and 1939 (representing a quarter of all Jewish emigration from Germany in that period, and one fifth of all emigration to Palestine), 37.1 percent made use of the Ha'avara, which also helped to finance other emigration to Palestine. In addition, funds channelled through Ha'avara between August 1933 and September 1939 represented approximately 60 percent of all funds invested in Palestine. And, since immigrants bringing in over 1000 pounds were allowed by the British to enter Palestine over and above the annual Jewish immigration quota calculated on the basis on Palestine's 'economic absorptive capacity', the approximately 19,000 'capitalists' who used the scheme were a bonus. The fund was therefore of considerable importance to Zionism. In the midst of the world-wide Depression, Palestine experienced a Ha'avara-induced boom.³²⁴

For Palestine's Arab community, however, those developments were less welcome. Inevitably, as both Jewish migration and economic power increased, so did the pressure to respond. A second Arab rebellion rocked Palestine in April 1936. It began with sporadic attacks on Jews but erupted right across the country into open rebellion aimed mainly at the British and coincided with the start of a planned general strike. The strike was organized by an Arab Higher Committee involving four Muslim and two Christian parties, led by the Mufti of Jerusalem, but was called off by the Higher Command, in response to appeals by the Arab leaders in Iraq, Transjordan, Arabia and Yemen. However hard-line rebels outside the Arab Higher Command gained control of the situation and kept the rebellion-cum-strike going for many months. By the end of the year when it was finally suppressed there were 300 deaths and about a thousand other casualties. In November, by which time the rebellion had spilled beyond Palestine into neighbouring Arab countries, Lord Peel arrived to lead a British commission of enquiry into the causes and prospects for settlement of the conflict and the future of the mandated territory.

For the British, Zionism was increasingly becoming a liability. Its grip on the Middle East – vital to its oil supplies and lines of communication and supply to the Far East – was becoming endangered. The Zionist movement, however, was not about to diminish the pressure generated by its commitment to Palestine, despite the increasingly troubled Palestine situation or the divisions within its own ranks over methods and tactics. And despite the worsening circumstances in Germany, neither were its leaders willing to work against Hitler for the betterment of the situation of German Jews if that aim conflicted with the primary goal of establishing control of Palestine. As a result, the Zionist movement was unknowingly playing its part in the Qur'anic Night Journey just as surely as was Hitler. Indeed, the realization of the Palestinian dream had become so important to Zionism that nothing could be allowed to interfere with it – not even the betterment of the situation of Jews in Russia.

THE SOVIET-ZIONIST RELATIONSHIP: A LOST OPPORTUNITY

During this period, the mid 1930s, there was a distinct contrast between official attitudes towards Zionism in the Soviet Union and in Germany, resulting from the circumstances of the Jewish communities in the two countries. The roots of that contrast reached back to the Revolution and the changes it had wrought.

As British strategists had anticipated, the majority of Jews in Russia welcomed both the Revolution and the Balfour Declaration. Coming together, they seemed to be ending the long era of oppression under Christian Tzarist regimes. The first decree issued by the revolutionary government on March 17, 1917, after the toppling of the monarchy, abolished all discrimination at law based on national, ethnic or religious grounds. Then came the Declaration of Rights in November when the Bolsheviks seized power and that coupled with the Balfour Declaration to produce an upsurge in Zionist influence and to encourage the proliferation of Hebrew newspapers.

In January 1918 the People's Commissariat for Nationality Affairs was established and out of recognition for the special position and problems of the Jewish community a special Commissariat for Jewish Affairs was set up within it. Its head was Joseph Stalin. Four months later a Zionist Conference was held in Moscow to discuss the implications of the Balfour Declaration and shortly afterwards special Jewish Sections (Yevseksii) were set up within the Communist Party. They were to implement party policy among Jewish workers and to arrange propaganda in Yiddish so that the Jewish community would be able to satisfy its intellectual needs in its own language. These moves were quite in accord with the views which Lenin had apparently accepted in 1913 and 1914 that Jews had a common national character and that the equality of all national groups had to be recognized.³²⁵ They were certainly in accord with the realities of the situation into which the Jewish community had been forced by the complex pressures of European Christianity. And they were also in accord with article two of the 1918 constitution which guaranteed the rights of minorities.

Unfortunately the vision soon turned sour. The Jewish community was caught in another pincer movement. The very things which it took to be the dawn of a new era, and the actions which the new government took to support it, each served to highlight the division within the new nation in a time of crisis. In 1918 the poverty-stricken Jews of the border areas suffered another round of pogroms at the hands of the Orthodox elite which tried to bring down the Bolshevik regime while the Western powers and the Vatican stoked the fires of civil war. Then in August 1919, as part of its policy of equality through assimilation which was taking shape, the Bolshevik government dissolved all of the separate Jewish institutions which were a carryover from the days of the Monarchy and which had been intended to keep the Jewish community in abject isolation. But they had become a prop for the community and they appeared to be consistent with the special programs which the Bolsheviks had set up. The act of dissolving them was therefore widely seen as an attack on both the Jewish people and the rights of minorities. It also coincided with anti-Zionist crusades by the Bolsheviks in the Crimea, and later in Leningrad also, in an effort to counter Denikin's British sponsored uprisings. It therefore provided another excellent supply of propaganda material for the Western powers to use against the only real Communist power.

Out of the maelstrom of European religious bigotry, the Great War and the twin Russian Revolutions, two distinct policies or philosophies affecting Jews in Russia had emerged. One proclaimed absolute equality for Jews along with all other groups in the Russian nation and was characterized by measures to compensate for the oppression which they had suffered. The other was also a consequence of belief in the absolute equality of all branches of the family of man. It proclaimed the fallacy of Zionism which sought a preferred position for one segment of that family of man, and it was characterized by anti-Zionist propaganda and increased persecution against Zionists.

That distinction is crucial. The persecution was anti-Zionist and not anti-Jewish. However there were many people who were either blind to that distinction or whose interests were served, in the narrow, short-term sense, by blurring it. They included propagandists for the Capitalist system in Western countries, Zionists and their sympathizers, and apologists for the traditional Christian doctrines both inside and outside of Russia. Those people used the terms "Jew" and "Zionist", (and also "Judaism" and "Zionism") as if they were interchangeable.

At the same time two authority patterns were being slowly reversed. But it was very early days in the manmade process and it seems that even Karl Barth did not grasp the full significance of it. He was actually working on The Epistle to the Romans when the Bolsheviks swept into power and set about a new deal for Russia's Jews while Britain attempted to bribe them with the Balfour Declaration. During the following generation, while the process was evolving, he was rather too preoccupied with Hitler's Germany to pay close enough attention to events in Russia to identify all the trends.

From the moment the young Christian Church had joined hands with Constantine its aberrant doctrines had been used to secure privileges and a position of superiority for those under its

umbrella and to isolate its older mother-partner in the community of that era. The Jewish community had, as we have seen, accepted that authority pattern. However after contemporary Zionism had evolved as an aberration of Judaism and after the Jewish community had joined hands with the British government because of essentially the same motives, it began to tread the same path. Looked at in retrospect, the time span required for it to achieve a level of political power, to seek a position of privilege and to develop its own version of the isolation game, relates very well to that taken by its daughter-partner.

In spite of the anti-Zionist crusades of the western intervention years in Russia, (or perhaps stimulated by them), Zionist organizations continued to multiply. In fact in 1921 things looked distinctly brighter because of the New Economic Order. Jewish small businessmen, showing that industriousness and capacity for self-preservation which had been fostered by generations of persecution, were among the groups who benefited most. But, alas, that inevitably emphasized their distinctiveness and drew attention to the group self-interest implicit in Zionism even more. In those areas where private business ownership came under increasing attack between 1921 and 1928 it was often Jewish businessmen who took the brunt of the attack. Internal migration increased and it was easy, for those who wished, to portray the attacks as anti-Jewish rather than as directed against exploitation through private business. Coincidental with that situation a campaign was mounted by the Commissariat for Nationality Affairs from 1922 to 1925 to exterminate Zionism from the Soviet Union for ever. Again deliberate misrepresentation and confusion were simple matters.

THE GESERD PROGRAM

While that anti-Zionist campaign was still rolling in the Commissariat for Nationality Affairs an important organizational change was made. The subordinate Commissariat for Jewish Affairs was abolished and the Society to Settle Working Jews on the Land in the USSR, known as 'Geserd', was established in its place.

The settlement policy which Geserd adopted involved assimilation and did not provide for the exclusive Jewish settlement of large regions. This was fully consistent with the basic Soviet anti-Zionist view that Jews did not constitute a nation but it was therefore in conflict with the policy which Britain was under pressure from the World Zionist Organization to adopt for Palestine. With a touch of verbal gymnastics it could also be shown to conflict with Lenin's pre-revolution statements of 1913 and 1914. When 40,000 families, involving a total population probably in excess of a quarter of a million immediately applied to settle in the Ukraine and the Crimea under the Geserd program its success seemed guaranteed. This meant that the claims of the World Zionist Organization were in danger of being exposed as ill-founded and that its plans for Palestine could fall apart. It also required an enormous budget which, if it were to have been met entirely from Soviet Government revenue, would have been politically unacceptable. The government therefore resorted to the long accepted Jewish practice of an appeal to world Jewry

to help raise the necessary funds and an agreement was signed with the American Joint Distribution Committee³²⁶

The strains which this generated between Zionist Jews and non-Zionist Jews both inside and outside Russia were such that the Geserd scheme, introduced and greeted with such high hopes, was doomed to a miserable end. Pressure from Zionist quarters for Russian Jews to migrate to Palestine instead of settling under Geserd increased. So did demands for the establishment of an autonomous Jewish region in Russia along similar lines to that which Britain was under pressure to agree to in Palestine. The conflicts of interests and the contradictory arguments became so enmeshed with fears and aspirations, and also with politics and economic planning, that a Zionist propagandist could turn the situation to advantage in various directions. It could be used either to attack or to support Marxism, Leninism, Communism, Capitalism, Colonialism, Imperialism, Nationalism or virtually any other ism including Orthodox Judaism.

By 1927 Jews had become the third largest community group in the Communist Party and the search for alternative areas for Jewish settlement began in earnest. But as the heavy emphasis in the search was for an area in which autonomy might be achievable it is difficult to discount the notion of concerted Zionist infiltration. Zionist activity had increased strongly, mainly in Western Russia, and it had continued to trigger anti-Zionist reaction. In fact conflict had reached such a level that the special Jewish section of the Communist Party was seen by both Zionists and anti-Zionists as a tool of the other, to have outlived its usefulness, and to be strongly counter-productive. It did not meet in conference after 1926 and it was officially disbanded in 1930. By that year all overtly Zionist organizations had either been driven underground, crushed or persuaded to disband in the interests of national unity by the Communist Party.

BIRABIDZHAN

In the meantime the region at the confluence of the Bira and Bidzhan Rivers had been selected as suitable for assisted Jewish settlement. It had a severe climate but potential for development so it was favoured by government agricultural authorities. It also had immense strategic importance because it straddled the vital Trans-Siberian Railway which linked Europe to the Sea of Japan and it was adjacent to Manchuria. Its accelerated settlement was therefore also promoted by defence authorities.

BiraBidzhan was formally declared an area for Jewish settlement by the Supreme Soviet, at the request of Komzit, (the Committee to Settle Jews on the Land), in March 1928. That was at the very time that the International Missionary Council was struggling with the impact of Karl Barth's theology in Jerusalem. It was also at the same time that Britain was trying to weave its way through the unholy maze it had thrown up in the Middle East; the oil companies were within four months of their notorious Red Line Agreement; and Ataturk was throwing the Muslim community into further confusion with his decision to sever the connection between Islam and the Turkish constitution. (see chapter 19 below)

BiraBidzhan was to be administratively and territorially a Jewish national unit but it was not to be a Zionist state. That distinction was quite clear in the minds of the members of the Supreme Soviet but although overt Zionist organizations were being eliminated rapidly the authorities did not bargain for deeply-entrenched Zionist influence and widespread sympathy for it. Neither did they bargain for a resurgence of anti-Semitism among the Christian populations of the Ukraine and Crimea. Those Christians were being spurred on to bitter and intense jealousy of their Jewish neighbours who again appeared to be getting favoured treatment. They were being flooded with anti-Semitic propaganda by both Hitler and the church, and the effects of Western intervention in an effort to bring down the Communist government were still quite serious in those regions.

The Supreme Soviet therefore faced several conflicting but equally urgent tasks which complicated its programs of social and economic development. It had to offset the anti-Semitic propaganda in the Ukraine and the Crimea, and it had to disentangle the twin Zionist webs around BiraBidzhan which were like a replay of the intrigue over Jewish settlement in the Ukraine and the Crimea. There were those people who promoted BiraBidzhan as an alternative to Palestine and as a Russian Zion. But there were also those who sought to undermine it because they saw it as undermining their chances of securing Israel. The Supreme Soviet set about all of its tasks with equal vigour and ruthlessness. It got them all mixed up with Stalin's purges against political and economic deviants and it handed both the West and the church another ready-made propaganda program. Its 1927 law against religious involvement in politics was obviously unenforceable and unworkable, and it was made to look ludicrous alongside the Vatican with its growing string of papal concordats in Western Europe. It took the easy way out and gave anti-religious propaganda equal status with religious propaganda. It had played into the hands of Western Capitalist propagandists and the church yet again. Communism and Russia were both branded as atheistic rather than as antireligious and both the party and the people naturally drifted in that direction.

The situation became more complex with the Soviet passport reforms of December 1932. The long-established practice of each republic in the Soviet Union issuing its own passports was scrapped. A common passport was introduced for the whole union. It was to serve a number of purposes. Firstly, it provided ease of identification and every person aged 16 and over was required to carry one. Secondly it helped to simplify the provision of many services which had become a public responsibility. In particular it streamlined the allocation of apartments under the public housing program. But there were some services which were only available to designated groups in the community and a note in their passports provided a simple confirmation of their entitlement to those services. The assisted settlement scheme for Jews was such a service. At the same time, in order to recognize the level of autonomy enjoyed by each republic within the Soviet Union, it was decided that the nationality of the holder would be shown in each passport.

Confusion reigned. The church had tried for centuries to identify Jewishness as a national or racial characteristic. Hitler had eagerly taken up the cause and now a Communist power, the

arch enemy of both, seemed happy to confirm it. The passport identification system let everyone, whether Zionists, anti-Zionist Jews, Christians or atheists, take up their chosen cry. It could be “persecution”, “favouritism” or a call for autonomy based on national identity because no other religious group was required to be so identified. The question “who and what is a Jew” had echoed down the ages and had been brought into prominence by courtesy of both Communism in Russia and Hitler in Germany. In Russia the debate was basically directed towards support but in Germany it was towards oppression.³²⁷ For the next fifteen years the passport identification system became an all-consuming obsession in some quarters while in others it was blurred beyond recognition by the cacophony of conflict. Then it took world centre stage while the privileged members of the United Nations tried to resolve it once and for all by establishing the Zionist State of Israel.

But during the 1930s the Capitalist community was more interested in deriding Russia's experiments in forced collectivization of agriculture, and of the control and utilization of resources, than in the settlement of Jews. Collectivization of grain regions began in earnest in 1930; basic laws for collectives were issued in 1932; and by the end of 1933, when Stalin ordered the party to take control of the program, 85 percent of productive land and about two thirds of all peasant farmers had been organized into collectives.³²⁸

Planned and carried out against such a backdrop of social and economic upheaval the BiraBidzhan scheme was doomed just as surely as the Geserd scheme in the Ukraine and the Crimea. Jewish settlers arrived and left in almost equal numbers during its first six years. Migration targets became little more than a sham and most of the settlers were simply escaping from anti-Semitism in the Geserd areas. But neither the government nor the Jewish community were prepared to admit the scheme was another failure and in a very bold last ditch attempt to get it moving the Soviet Government declared BiraBidzhan to be an autonomous Jewish region in May 1934.

An unfortunate but natural consequence of the Zionist preoccupation with raising the Jewish population in Palestine was that Jewish migration to BiraBidzhan was given only a minor fillip by the decision to grant Jewish autonomy within the region. The major effect was to make relations between Jews and Non-Jews in the region very precarious. At the end of 1935, seven years after the scheme had been launched, the net increase in the Jewish population was still only 14,000 and Jews made up a mere twenty three percent of the population. That level was not passed until after the war.^{329 330} The position was distressing for both the Jews who tried to make a go of it and for the non-Jewish majority.

Then came a new constitution for the Soviet Union. The decision to prepare it was taken in February 1935 but it was not ready until November 1936, when Stalin delivered a major policy speech to introduce it, and it was adopted on December 5 that year. It is best remembered in the West for the dominant role of the Communist Party and the “Dictatorship of the Proletariat” which it confirmed. Little is ever said about the equity provisions which led the world in their intention and in their scope. The fact that the Soviet authorities fell short of Article 123 of their

constitution is a reflection of complex world circumstances, the trouble in the triangle and Joseph Stalin's progressive dictatorial paranoia. It is not a reflection of lack of sincerity or will on the part of those who framed it. It read, in part, that:

*equality of rights of citizens of the USSR, irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, government, cultural, political and other public activity is an indefeasible law. Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of, or conversely, the establishment of any direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality ... is punishable by law.*³³¹

Seen against that background the gradual change in the attitude of Soviet authorities towards BiraBidzhan and preferential Jewish settlement is readily understandable. The failure of the scheme was grudgingly recognized and talk of autonomy gave way to talk of freedom of organization. Stalin gave notice of the harder line to come in his policy speech. He mentioned neither BiraBidzhan nor the Jewish community by name but he stated three conditions necessary before an autonomous region could become a constituent Soviet republic. It had to be a border region which was not surrounded on all sides by Soviet territory; the nationality which gave it its name had to constitute a more or less compact majority in the planned republic; and it had to have a population of at least one million.

Taking their cue from Stalin the Soviet authorities continued to denounce Zionism while they continued their unsuccessful efforts to encourage Jewish settlement. In the meantime, prompted by world economic conditions and the need for trade, the United States had finally recognized the Soviet Union in 1933.³³² Stalin's government had then ceased its trenchant criticism of the League of Nations as a "mere mask to conceal from the broad masses the aggressive aims of the imperialist policy of certain great powers or their vassals"³³³ and accepted an invitation to join the League in 1934. This gave it an excellent platform from which to try to expose the links between some of its problems and western interference. It was, of course, keenly aware of the links between the failure of its BiraBidzhan scheme and collaboration between Britain and the World Zionist Organization in Palestine and the surrounding region. It is therefore no surprise that from 1936 the Soviet Government mounted a consistent campaign (in both the international and domestic arenas) against "Zionist imperialist oppression of the Palestinian Arabs."³³⁴ It cannot be denied that there was a valid basis for that campaign, but Western powers and the church have consistently tried to turn it back towards a supposedly anti-Semitic Soviet Union. They conveniently forget that the Vatican had launched attacks in the League of Nations against the Jewish community in Palestine for oppression of Palestinian Christians about fifteen years earlier and that the Jesuit press in Europe was continuing its steady stream of anti-Semitic propaganda.

THE SD JEWISH AFFAIRS SECTION: A NEW PHASE OF CRISIS

So while the Soviet Union struggled to untangle the web of competing interests surrounding its Jewish community, Germany continued to deal with the Jewish question in its own fashion. In

autumn 1936, while Russia was busy finalizing its new constitution with its guarantee of the rights of ethnic minorities, the SD established a separate section for Jewish affairs with Adolph Eichmann as deputy head. Another year on, in December 1937, that section announced the provisional objective of National Socialist Jewish policy as the pushing back of Jewish influence in all aspects of public life and the encouragement of Jewish emigration. It also proposed to centralize all Jewish affairs in the hands of the SD and the Gestapo.³³⁵

Those developments marked a crucial new phase in Germany's treatment of its Jewish population. With the benefit of hindsight, it is evident that from that point onwards Hitler had decided that the time had come for a comprehensive solution to the Jewish question in Germany. Seventeen years had passed since Hitler had conceived of a 'final solution' to the Jewish Question when a new member a German army political education unit, but now that idea was to be realized. There was no longer to be any place left for Jews in the new German Reich. Jews were to be squeezed and persecuted until the trauma and upheaval of leaving their homes and livelihoods was simply outweighed by the cost of staying put. However, for contemporary observers of the international scene Germany's new policy towards Jews was far from the most pressing issue on the agenda. The lack of international reaction was telling. Well before 1937 the world's attention had been increasingly rivetted by other developments emanating from Berlin.

In January 1935, only six months after the signing of the German Concordat, the Catholic-dominated coal-rich industrial region of the Saar had, with Vatican support, voted overwhelmingly in favour of annexation by the Reich. As a consequence Germany's industrial capacity had expanded enormously, and military strategists across the continent were quick to calculate the likely effects on Germany's war making potential. Soon afterwards Hitler's protestations of peaceful intent were seemingly confounded when Germany enacted a law of compulsory military service in clear contravention of the Treaty of Versailles imposed after World War I. That news was quickly followed by the revelation that Germany had an air force, also forbidden under the terms of Versailles. However, in June of that year, in an evident display of unconcern, Britain effectively abrogated its commitment to the Treaty when it signed a maritime agreement with Germany securing conditions for the rebuilding of the German navy at a strength of roughly one third the size of Britain's. In March 1936, gambling on the acquiescence of Britain and France, Hitler took the last step himself. In a definitive repudiation of the detested Treaty he denounced the League of Nations and reoccupied the Rhineland region. Demilitarized and excised from Germany under the terms of Versailles, the return of the Rhineland boosted Hitler's domestic popularity to dizzying heights.

However, there was far more at stake than just the repudiation of a peace treaty widely seen as excessive and unjust. Hitler had taken the first steps in his much vaunted plan to integrate all German speaking peoples into a greater German Reich. It was no secret that Austria was to be the next target, with parts of Czechoslovakia and Poland also on the agenda. It was all in line with the program he had outlined in *Mein Kampf* more than a decade earlier. It should therefore have been taken as a warning of things to come. But much of the rest of Europe simply looked

on. Many could sympathize with Germany's sense of injustice and its desire to have Germans united in a single nation-state, and they willingly believed Hitler's proclamations of peaceful intent. And with the horror of the First World War still a vivid memory, more bloodshed was the last thing anyone wanted. The popular mood was for disarmament. After all, hadn't World War I been the war to end all war? Hopes still rested on the humanitarian ideals of the League of Nations which had been set up to ensure that it would never happen again. Confrontation with Hitler might wreck the new system before it had even had a chance to prove itself.

Others, of course, had slightly less idealistic motivations. Seemingly powerless to affect low levels of consumer demand in their own economies, many international capitalists and financiers were more concerned with protecting the profits to be had from a miraculously resurgent German economy. That interest was also combined with the conviction that a strong and re-armed Germany was Europe's dike against the Bolshevik tide. Sir Henry Detering, who had outmanoeuvred Sir Marcus Samuel, (the Jewish Lord Mayor of London and Britain's first oil knight), to become chairman of Shell, was a prime example. Even before the 1933 elections Detering had begun to openly proclaim Hitler and the Nazis as the only solution to the Communist menace. Then, being an embarrassment to his fellow directors, he was eased out of the chair, took up permanent residence on an estate in Germany, became intimate with the Nazi leaders and worked to develop closer ties between the Nazis and Britain.³³⁶ Others were more straightforward in their admiration for Hitler's brand of fascist dictatorship. In Rumania Octavian Goga formed a short lived but avowedly anti-Semitic government which set about emulating Hitler.³³⁷ Throughout Europe, the hothouse environment of economic unrest, church-sponsored anti-communism, pseudo-scientific racism and anti-Semitism spawned a plethora of local Nazi parties.

In the midst of all the confusion and conflicting motivations, however, there were a few who recognized the seriousness of the Nazi threat. For Britain in particular, as the chief guarantor of European peace and stability, Germany's intentions were of considerable interest. For hundreds of years Britain's foreign policy had aimed at preventing a single power dominating Europe. From the point of view of Britain's security, despite its utility in preventing the spread of Russia's influence westward, the consequences of Germany's rise could not be predicted. But in contemplating a response even the hardest-headed and most clear sighted of British strategists had serious reasons for pause. On the one hand, post-war disarmament had seriously diminished the war making potential of all European powers, Britain included. On the other hand, the Depression – for which only Germany seemed to have a solution – meant that comprehensive rearmament programs were an economic burden that could not be afforded. And there were other storm clouds massing.

In 1933, largely in response to Christian Europe's meddling in Asia's affairs, a newly militarized Japan had occupied Manchuria. Its subsequent struggle with China for primacy in the Far East was looming as a threat to all European colonial powers with interests in the Far East. That had been an important factor in Britain's decision to sign a naval agreement with Germany, since by limiting Germany's navy to a strength only 35 percent of Britain's, the bulk

of the British fleet would be free to defend its naval base at Singapore, vital to the protection of its Far Eastern interests. But in October 1935 the increasingly fragile strategic situation had been dealt a further sharp blow. In a bid by Mussolini to restore the former glory of the old Roman Empire, Italy invaded Abyssinia. Italy's actions not only threatened Britain's lines of supply and communication through the Mediterranean and Suez to the Far East, they upset the delicate balance of alliances on the continent which had been set up after World War I to contain the German threat. Then in June 1936 the increasingly unstable European situation was complicated even further when civil war erupted in Spain following a coup against the elected leftist government by right-wing forces led by General Franco. With Europe polarized along ideological lines, and Germany and Italy lining up with the new pro-fascist regime in Spain, Britain was forced into a delicate balancing act in a tangle of criss-crossing interests and alliances. Britain's interests were now threatened by three powers, and it was feared that a war with any one could conceivably draw attacks from the other two. Even with the support of its colonies and dominions, it was clear that Britain had barely enough military resources to go around. Europe was fast approaching crisis and the strategic situation of Britain's Empire was approaching breaking point.

Then the Arab revolt had erupted in Palestine to shake Britain's complacent hold on the Middle East. What at first appeared to be a purely local issue had soon spread to engulf the entire region, as support for the uprising spread in response to the perceived Zionist threat to Arab and Islamic interests in Palestine. Anti-British sentiment was further fueled by the Arab world's increasing resentment of its derisory treatment at the hands of its European imperial overlords. In Egypt, British manipulation entered a new phase with the elevation of sixteen-year-old Farouk to the throne on the death of his father Fuad I, and the introduction of a new constitution. In Britain that was quite easily portrayed as a constructive move because Italy, taking full advantage of papal concurrence, was in the process of absorbing Abyssinia into its possessions after its advance from neighbouring Eritrea. In the Middle East, however, the perception was different. Already Hitler's influence had showed up directly in the region when *Mein Kampf* was translated into Arabic in 1936 for distribution throughout the Middle East and North Africa³³⁸, and it was therefore hardly surprising that many now began to look to Britain's chief rival as a means to deliver the Arab world from its overbearing and self-interested imperial masters and their Zionist allies.

Faced with the threat of German expansion in Europe, Britain was paralyzed. It had no more room to manoeuvre. Its own security was at stake, its economy was depressed, its interests in the Far East were under challenge and its Empire was under threat at its vital Middle Eastern nexus from both within and without. Despite the fact that the Palestine situation was draining a large proportion of its available troops, neither the security of its shipping through Suez or its land routes through the Middle East could be guaranteed. In addition, even India, the jewel in the imperial crown, was increasingly wracked with turmoil and division as agitation for independence became entangled with growing hostility between India's Hindu and Moslem populations in reaction to British divide-and-rule policies. That in turn was feeding Britain's

crisis, since neither Hindus nor Moslems could now be counted on to bolster the British army's strategic reserves. So with its out-dated system of imperial defence simply stretched beyond its limits, Britain could not commit itself to opposing Hitler in Europe without placing its entire Empire at risk. Unfortunately, as we shall see in later chapters, due to deliberate policies of misinformation and deception being pursued by those in power, the British public did not and could not fully understand the gravity of the situation into which Britain had stumbled. But those in power did know, and they were soon to give a name to the policy they adopted in response. Appeasement.

The dilemma was in large part of Britain's own making. In its greed and arrogance it had spread its empire to cover all corners of the globe, supremely confident that its power and reputation were sufficient to thwart the misplaced ambitions of any nation or people who deigned to challenge it. Its ability to hold the 'inferior' races it had subjugated and exploited firmly in their place, along with its moral right to do so, had never been questioned. To do so would be to question the very 'superiority' of the Christian civilization which it represented, and the 'superior' Christian ethic that went with it. But there was never any need for that. If its combination of military, economic and technological superiority weren't enough to keep the local heathens in line, there was always recourse to a bit of religious manipulation. After all, they were only savages and idol worshippers, or the barbarous followers of fakirs and false prophets. And as for the threat of foreign competitors, hadn't generations of British children had been taught that the British Empire was the greatest the world had ever known? Anyone who dared to challenge it could soon be put in their place. Just call in the colonials to do the dirty work, or the Scots guard or the Gurkhas.

But the very greed and arrogance that had inspired the fantastic growth of Britain's empire had inevitably brought forth the reactions which now threatened to tear it down. The anger and resentment of the subjugated and exploited, the litany of shattered hopes left in the wake of a long list of double-dealings and betrayals, and the envy of younger and less prosperous nations who looked to emulate her example, had finally combined to destroy Britain's overweening confidence. A hydra-headed monster had been created, with little prospect that it could be controlled or faced down. And unrecognized at the heart of the monster lay Hitler's parody of the attitudes and actions which had led to the growth of empire in the first place. It had only ever been a matter of time, but the actions of the former corporal and one time rabble-rouser had now brought that reaction to a head.

But Hitler's parody represented more than just a threat to the British Empire. It was a key factor in a deepening crisis between the long-standing triangle of Semitic faiths – Judaism, Christianity and Islam. An aberration of one of those faiths – Zionism – was the focal point of the crisis. The continuing Zionist transgression against the Arab population of Palestine was fueling Islamic Arab hostility to Christian Britain, and thereby undermining Britain's ability to resist Hitler's anti-Semitic and expansionist policies in Europe. However, it was long the established tradition of Christian anti-Semitism which had led to the development of Zionism, and it was also the latest and most intense manifestation of that anti-Semitism, personified in

Adolf Hitler, which was fueling Zionist actions in Palestine. Moreover, it was the doctrinaire anti-communism of the Christian capitalist West which had allowed Hitler to flourish. It was also the racist colonial mentality of Western Christian civilization which had created the environment in which the crisis had developed. Thus, despite the role of Zionism as the focal point of the crisis, responsibility for the deepening trouble in the triangle rested squarely with the attitudes and actions of traditional Christianity. If disaster was to be averted, what was required was inspired leadership from the Church.

THE CHURCHES FAIL TO RESPOND

In the early 1930s, writing in the shadow of Hitler's ascension to power, Karl Barth had wrestled mightily with the issues at the heart of the crisis. His *Doctrine of the Word of God*, the first volume of which was published in German late in 1932 and in English early in 1935, had given the theologians much to think about. Following the same line of reasoning which had led him to reassess Paul's Letter to the Church at Rome, Barth had decided it was time to reassess the whole field of Christian dogma. He believed that all human knowledge of God, including that contained or proposed in the creed or confession of the church depends on the revelation of God for its validation. In other words he wanted to scrub the lot and start all over again. But he could not quite bring himself to do it. His years caught up in the church's self-perpetuating teaching system and the world situation during those years had perhaps blunted the cutting edge of the brilliant mind which had produced the vital and refreshing commentary on Romans.

True to his intention, Barth had gone back to the issue at the centre of the crisis. He pointed out that the doctrine of the Trinity "is not to be found in the texts of the Old and the New Testament witness to God's revelation" and suggested that the Biblical root of the doctrine could be that God revealed himself as the Lord three times in a different sense. He then asked what need and what right the church had to formulate the doctrine and discussed the circumstances at the time of the Council of Nicaea and the Council's motives. He suggested that if we saw the Council's decision as being determined by the politics of the time then "we credit her with having ... lost her theme, so that in what she really aimed to be, namely, the Church of Jesus Christ, she need no longer be taken seriously, that her work is therefore no concern of ours, save as an object of such observation from without." He then suggested that by seeing her "as at worst" we would be dealing with a heresy or an alien religion and we could not enquire seriously, "in sympathy with her, into the meaning of her intention." We would have reached "an exceedingly risky and dangerous verdict (which) is indeed not impossible, but at least involves a great responsibility, especially when, as here, there is in question the line of history of dogma, along which, ever since the great and decisive struggles of the 4th century, all Church theologians of any importance, including the Reformers and their successors in the 17th century, have unswervingly advanced." He was not prepared to reach such a verdict. He recognized that "if in the Church a man is determined to look upon and regard others in this

purely external fashion, he must submit to the interrogatory as to whether on the contrary he himself is not perhaps the outsider, as being the adherent of a heresy or of an alien religion.”³³⁹

His lengthy discussion of the matter in both his *Doctrine of the Word of God* (Vol. I) and his earlier commentary on *The Epistle to the Romans* give strong grounds to believe that Barth agonized over the problem of whether “to let drop ... the Church of (the) early period during which the doctrine of the Trinity took its rise.” Perhaps, as he implies, he could not convince himself that there were sufficient grounds. In *Doctrine* he posed the question: “Are the reasons in favour of such a course so cogent in the case of the church’s early period during which the doctrine of the Trinity took its rise?” Then, after further discussion, he wrote: “The possible grounds for an attitude towards the Church of the 4th century particularly, and so also towards her dogma, so mistrustful as to lead to dropping the question of its meaning, seem to us to be unconvincing. But it is clear that if anyone wishes to assert them we cannot meet them with counter-arguments. The formal possibility, that that Church might be an apostate Church which does not concern us and has nothing to say to us, cannot be contested.” This was quite consistent with two of many statements in *Romans*. First (as already noted, chapter 17), “...the Church seeks to live: it struggles to preserve its life by turning its back on its veritable tribulation, by engaging in a tenacious defence of its traditions and customs, by attempting to galvanize itself into life or by setting out to erect new religious societies. This unwillingness to die is the real tragedy of the church.”³⁴⁰ Second: “Only when the end of the blind alley of ecclesiastical humanity has been reached is it possible to raise radically and seriously the problem of God.”³⁴¹

As he became more engrossed in both teaching and writing on one hand and the Ecumenical Movement on the other, Barth felt constrained to soften his denial and “out-and-out attack on the existing historical church.”³⁴² In *Doctrine* he discussed some possible negative attitudes and noted – without reference to the existence of Unitarian churches and others which do not adhere to the doctrine of the Trinity – “We ought to take account of the fact that to this day this decision is not just that of the Roman and the Orthodox Churches, but is fundamentally also that of all the great Evangelical Churches. Not one of them has actually revoked what is implied in the fact that an express confirmation of the ancient Church symbols which give expression to the dogma of the Trinity was in the sixteenth century made an integral part of the Reformed Confessions.”³⁴³

At the same time, Barth was painfully aware of the consequences of rocking the church boat even more when it was already in disarray, when both the Nazis and the Communists were on the rampage, and when Hitler, pressing for the Chancellorship at the time that Barth was completing volume one, was barely camouflaging his well known intention to ‘harness’ the churches which he feared could keep him out of office. Barth’s foreword to volume I is actually dated August, 1932. That places it shortly after the July elections in which the National Socialists rocketed to 38 per cent of the Reichstag, bigger than the next two parties combined. The Fulda Catholic bishops had placed a ban on Nazi Party membership, but Cardinal Pacelli was lobbying hard for a Nazi-Catholic Centre Party coalition government, and Kaas had

published his paper showing the close relationship between papal primacy and the Fascist fuhrer-prinzip. It was already clear that von Papen's government could not survive, that a new election was in the offing, and that in all probability Hitler would soon become chancellor. Barth also knew that although he was a Swiss citizen he would not be immune from persecution and in due course, in 1935, two years after Hitler achieved dictatorial power, his refusal to take the oath of unconditional allegiance to the Führer cost him his chair in Bonn. By then it was nearly three years since he had completed the first volume of his *Church Dogmatics*, *Doctrine of the Word of God*, in which his doubts about the Doctrine of the Trinity appeared, but he was still working on the later volumes.

With his towering intellect he could not have been blind to the probability that theologians in a more settled period would pick up the threads at the point where he left a half hitch, and it is surprising that in the circumstances he did not return personally to that theme during the post war years. He seems to have skirted round the proposition that the basic aim of the early church was consistent with its role but that its Christology, formed on the basis of spurious reasoning, and its actions, taken on the basis of that spurious reasoning, were quite inconsistent with that role. But also, after the war it could have been devastating to the struggling ecumenical movement if he had taken up that theme immediately.

In his lengthy, complex and convoluted justification for the doctrine of the Trinity which was written during that period of crisis, Barth drew heavily on the reasoning of the early church 'doctors' and his argument has the tone of classic apologetics rather than an explanation of dogma. However if Barth compromised himself in the face of the political realities of Europe in the 1930s one thing is certain. His motives were above reproach even if the same could not be said for all of his contemporaries. He took the doctrine of the Trinity as his starting point but he set about a comprehensive re-evaluation of it. Although he could not bring himself to fulfill the promise which shone through Romans that he would grasp the Scriptures, ignore all else and start all over again, he did provide new perspectives and new emphases which inspired many people and disturbed a lot of others. He was accused of trying to push the church into another Reformation and his ideas were denigrated as "crisis theology" prompted by Hitler and Jewish persecution. In fact, as already noted, the trauma of the Great War was the catalyst which motivated both Barth and Hitler, and Barth could better be described as inhibited by the crisis of Hitler rather than prompted by it.

Commentators debate the reasons for the change in emphasis as Barth 'progressed' and made "some quite obvious corrections"³⁴⁴ from his earlier to his later writings and his increasing concentration on Christology. However the nature or direction of his Christology cannot be divorced from two considerations. The first was his overriding belief in, and emphasis on, the absolute sovereignty of God and that Christian theology, and the life of the church, must begin and end with its sights firmly fixed upon the Word of God – on what God has done in the past, is doing at present and will yet do in the future.³⁴⁵ The second was his decision not to reject the Doctrine of the Trinity. His decision to wear blinkers. Having made that decision, he was bound to develop a Christological view that, the sole basis for past, present, and future knowledge of

God was God's gracious act in condescending to mankind in His Son and through His Spirit.³⁴⁶ That blinkered view made it impossible for Barth to recognize that revelation through Christ was possible without incarnation. This led to the contradictions between his Christology and "his refusal to allow for the possibility of saving knowledge of God in non-Christian religions;"³⁴⁷ his early assessment, in *Romans*, of the continuing role of the Jews in God's unfolding revelation; and the remarkable similarity, already noted, between his early Christology and Muhammad's view of Christ (chapter 17).

It is unfortunate that Barth was sidetracked in his Christology by the circumstances in which he was embroiled – the very circumstances which he was attempting to set right and which were a product of the church's history and conduct which he had perceived with such inspired clarity. However his work became the benchmark from which his contemporaries and many of the theologians of the following generation had to begin. It stimulated a period of very constructive debate among theologians about the meaning of Christ's life and his role in God's revelation. Although concrete results are hard to see at this stage Barth, and those who have reacted to him, have helped to set the scene for a solution to the trouble in the triangle. They have become a part of the process of revelation. Barth pointed out that the question of the subject of revelation (for which the doctrine of the Trinity has been the church's answer) should be seen as only the first part of the whole question of God and revelation. Scripture, in which the problem of the doctrine of the Trinity is set, stands above the dogma of the church. It is and it remains, in Barth's view, the measure and the judge of the solution of the question.³⁴⁸ If he, personally, had failed to find that solution he had, at least, pointed clearly to the nature of the problem. The reformation had stalled and Karl Barth had tried to kick start it again. If the church had been willing to at least openly confront that problem, perhaps it may have been enough to set the world upon a different course. But by 1937, there was no indication that the church would take up the challenge. Not even the force of Hitler's parody which he was pursuing with vigour was sufficient challenge to prompt that task.

With most of his radical Protestant opponents either dead, in concentration camps or in exile, Hitler had Germany's two officially established churches exactly where he wanted them.³⁴⁹ They were eating out of his hand, supporting him with their competitive blessings, and they were not in a position to oppose his major policies. *Mein Kampf*, with its remarkable parody of the Christian amorphous gel generally accepted throughout Germany as the proper philosophy of the nation, and with its criticism of both wings of the church, was proving to be Hitler's most effective secret weapon. The Protestant churches had been criticized for being soft on Jews, but they had been praised for being strong on nationalism. Being German-based the Reich Church was therefore in a reasonably secure position but its clergy did not want to lose their recognition as a reliable instrument of the state. It was the Roman Catholic Church which was in the weaker position and stood to lose far more if it fell out with Hitler. It had eagerly confirmed that it was foreign controlled through the Vatican's negotiations for the concordat and it had good reason to fear another round of *Kulturkampf* if its adherents showed signs of divided loyalties. Its most

favourable attribute, in the Fuhrer's eyes, was its vice-like grip on the minds of its people, coupled with its supposed ability to produce good automatons for his military machine.

By 1937 several million copies of *Mein Kampf* had been sold. It was a must for anyone who wanted promotion; it was a school primer on racial science; it was a gift to newlyweds from the registrar and it was an award for meritorious service in the German railways. It had not only been printed in German and Braille for the domestic market but, either complete or abridged, it had also been translated and printed in English, Danish, Swedish, Portuguese, Bulgarian, Spanish, Hungarian, Arabic, Chinese, Czech, Japanese and French. Translations were later produced in Norwegian, Finnish and Tamil as well.³⁵⁰

Mein Kampf was therefore dynamite for the Vatican. This was not because so many of its policies were espoused by Hitler, (at that stage they were still respectable), but because if the Roman Catholic Church were to be rejected by Hitler the whole world would know his reasons and the consequences could be disastrous. Even in the face of broken promises, the virtual disregard of the concordat and direct persecution it was vital that good relations be maintained. Hitler no longer needed the Vatican. It had served its purpose and it was dispensable. Any religious function or authority which he needed was readily available without it. But the Vatican had worked itself into a corner in which it needed Hitler even more than when he came to power because it had forfeited much of its capacity to undermine him or to even act as a brake on him. A handbook, edited by Archbishop Grober and published with the recommendations of the entire German episcopate, described the concordat as proof that two powers, both totalitarian in character, can find an agreement if their domains are separate and if overlaps in jurisdiction become parallel or, in a friendly manner, lead them to make common cause.³⁵¹ The Vatican was still trying to sell concordats to other countries and, with totalitarian regimes being the only ones very keen to buy them, it was happy to substitute Hitler for Mussolini by way of illustration.

STORMY PASSAGE: MIT BRENNENDER SORGE

But eventually the strain became too great. While Grober's handbook was still actually in circulation, Pius XI shattered the illusion by authorizing his remarkable encyclical *Mit Brennender Sorge* which was smuggled into Germany in March 1937 and read in all pulpits before the Nazi authorities could do anything about it. It was a courageous action because although the pope did not move to rescind the concordat the encyclical could have placed the Catholic Church, and especially its clergy, at greater risk. It grabbed the initiative from Hitler and ensured that if he rescinded the concordat his action would be seen as retaliatory and would, if anything, reflect credit on the Catholic Church in other countries. By exposing the real nature of Hitler's regime it began to undermine his credibility to some extent. It also alerted the people of other countries to the danger from Nazi Germany and it offset, to some slight extent, the immeasurable damage which the Vatican had caused by eagerly negotiating the concordat with its shameful secret annex four years earlier.

However Mit Brennender Sorge was also a pathetic encyclical because of the fact that it had to be written at all; because of the implicit admissions of serious faults in the concordat system and of grave errors of judgement on the part of the Vatican; because it called into question once more the doctrinal basis of the church's self-understanding through the extravagant claims which Pius XI made yet again; and because it was not written to stand on its own but was written as one of three encyclicals which, as a cluster, were written with other aims in mind. The Vatican was not saying that it did not want – or that the world should not have – fascist or totalitarian governments. It was saying that governments should be moulded to its particular interpretation of totalitarian government so that, as Grober put it, totalitarian church and totalitarian civil government could run in parallel, making “common cause” in a friendly manner.

During negotiations with Pacelli, von Papen and his advisers had succeeded in leaving ‘political activity’, ‘political association’ and the status of baptized Jews ill-defined and the signing of the German concordat therefore did not, and could not, stop Nazi intimidation of Catholic organizations and its press, or persecution of clergy who challenged the regime. Vatican efforts to define these things in a manner which favoured the Catholic Church over Protestant churches, especially relating to the status of baptized Jews, only aggravated the situation. On September 19, 1933, only two days after the ratification of the concordat had been celebrated with enthusiasm, the political police chief in the Bavarian Catholic heartland issued an instruction banning all Catholic meetings except choir practices and meetings of the St. Vincent de Paul charitable society, and two weeks later Cardinal Bertram delivered a catalogue of protests about suppression of church activities to the Vatican. This led to Pacelli advising the German ambassador that the pope intended to make a public statement on infringements of the concordat and to a round of discussions on which church organizations were legitimate and which should be incorporated into National Socialist programs, after which Pacelli is said to have “restrained” the pope from making a worldwide protest.³⁵²

The level of harassment rose and fell, protests continued to pour into the Vatican, cat-and-mouse negotiations continued to little effect and the German bishops became increasingly frustrated. When a group of three who had originally been briefed as Pacelli's intermediaries sought to resolve matters in direct talks with Hitler they were restrained on the authority of the pope, with Hitler's “Night of the Long Knives” cited as justification. On that night, June 30, 1934, in Hitler's mini version of a Stalin party purge, an estimated 84 senior figures in politics, the church and public administration who had either been crucial to Hitler's personal rise to power or who may have been potential competitors for power were eliminated. That blood purge certainly struck fear into the hearts of many would-be protesters, but the real reason for the Vatican's intervention in a “characteristic act of centrism” was that “the Holy See was not going to allow the German bishops local discretion under any circumstances.”³⁵³

Overall, the relationship between the Catholic Church and the Nazi state continued to deteriorate over the next two and a half years and usually the church was stifled into silence whenever a dubious social program was introduced or the Nuremberg laws against the Jews were tightened. But on August 28, 1935, the German bishops issued a pastoral letter to be read

from all pulpits in an effort to repudiate the notion that “religion has nothing to do with politics” and to encourage the faithful into action which would “let their light shine before the people.” It was an indication of their frustration with Pacelli’s inaction, but it was also a none-too-subtle and dangerous bid to prompt protest action. Hitler responded on September 11 with a statement to the Nazi Congress that he was not against Christianity itself, “but we will fight it for the sake of keeping our public life free from those priests who have failed their calling and who should have become politicians rather than clergymen.”³⁵⁴ Then a series of morality and sexual misconduct charges were laid against clergy in a bid to keep them silent, and when a series of atrocities against nuns and priests in the context of the Spanish Civil War led to criticism of Fascist regimes both Hitler and the pope were quick to point out that things were worse under Communism! This led Faulhaber to issue an episcopal letter to the churches in Bavaria in January 1937 to encourage cooperation between church and state in combating Communism.³⁵⁵

However, about the same time the Fulda Bishops Conference drew up a list of seventeen violations of the concordat and a delegation of three cardinals and two bishops was sent to Rome and met Pacelli on January 16. According to Cornwell,³⁵⁶ their demands for action were so determined and persistent that the Secretary of State “had no choice but to involve the Holy Father.” Pius XI, although gravely ill and “almost unrecognizable” from a complex of diabetes, heart complaints and other disorders, agreed to receive them in his bedroom. Convinced of their case, he decided to issue an encyclical on the plight of the church in Germany. Faulhaber was instructed to prepare a draft and he did so at great speed, handing it to Pacelli on January 21. Pacelli then edited the draft, and added material on the history of the concordat. Pope Pius XI did no more than authorize its preparation and publication in his name.

The encyclical in its published form opens with an attempt to justify the concordat on compassionate grounds, saying “We wished to spare Our loyal sons and daughters in Germany, as far as was humanly possible, the strain and the suffering which otherwise at that time and in those circumstances must certainly have been expected.” At best it was a very incomplete statement of Vatican motives. There follow very ambiguous references to “intrigues which from the beginning had no other aim than a war of extermination.”³⁵⁷

That particular clause has been widely interpreted as a condemnation of Hitler’s anti-Semitic policy but it requires close examination. There is no direct condemnation of either National Socialism or Hitler. Neither is there any direct reference to anti-Semitism; the pope had previously failed to act on a request for a special encyclical on the subject; and the Jesuit press was continuing a steady stream of its own anti-Semitic propaganda which Hitler took full advantage of and which nullified attempts by other Catholic churchmen to correct the situation.³⁵⁸ In addition, while Hitler’s practices at that stage were highly oppressive they had not reached the stage of organized murder, with the notable exception of the ‘Night of the Long Knives’, and either the drafter or editor (‘author’, hereafter) included his own highly provocative anti-Semitic statements in the encyclical. He quoted the text from the Gospel of John to the effect that anyone who denies the Son (Jesus) also denies the Father (God); he

referred to the way of Salvation for eyes “not blinded by prejudice or passion”, and he capped it with a reference to “Christ who truly appeared in the flesh, and who took His human nature from the people which was afterwards to nail Him to a cross.”³⁵⁹ On the other hand, Hitler’s programs of legalized sterilization and execution of medical “undesirables” were already underway (with certain categories of Catholic medical practitioners exempted from carrying out the operations) and the reference to extermination was at least in part a reference to those programs.³⁶⁰ It must also be coupled to Hitler’s general attack on the church and the reference in the encyclical to “storm clouds of destructive religious wars” and the threat of damnation for those who discriminated against Roman Catholics.

The encyclical dealt with Nazi efforts to suppress church schools; idolatrous cults of race, pre-Christian rites and ‘godman’ adulation of the fuhrer; showpiece trials of dissident priests and their incarceration in concentration camps; and the use of national youth associations to indoctrinate young people against the church. Then there was a note on “the blessing which came to Western civilization from the living union between the (Catholic) Church and (the German) people.”³⁶¹ The Vatican’s troubles in Germany were being compounded by the state-church status of the Reich Church coupled with the snowballing ecumenical movement. This prompted the author to include a strong swipe at the incompatibility of the German National Church with the primacy of Rome and at the “hopeless sterility (and) spiritual torpor” of the separated “broken pieces” of the church.³⁶² He knew that two major world conferences were to be held only a few months after the release of Mit Brennender Sorge and interest in them was such that discussion within the Catholic Church could no longer be suppressed by the simple expedient of yet another critical papal encyclical. The first of those conferences, at Oxford in July 1937, was to be concerned with life and work while the second, at Edinburgh, was to deal with issues of faith and order. They were to be followed towards the end of 1938 by a third international missionary conference at Tambaram, India, and together they involved three of the main thrusts of the ecumenical movement which had been going along in parallel for some forty years.³⁶³ However there was a relatively small meeting planned to be held at Westfield College, Hampstead, on July 8–10, immediately before the Oxford Conference. There were only 35 people to be present but, as representatives of most branches of the ecumenical movement, they were expected to make a decision of far-reaching importance which would greatly influence not only the tone and decisions of each of the following conferences but the future direction of the church world wide. They were expected to recommend the establishment of a World Council of Churches.

THE NEED FOR A BALANCING ACT

However, the author had other things as well as the ecumenical movement to worry about. One effect which the Vatican seems to have anticipated from the publication of “Mit Brennender Sorge” was a boost to the standing of international communism which had been the only major political force consistently opposed to Hitler and Nazism. If the infallible pope had to admit,

with such deep emotion, that the church had been wrong in its assessment of Hitler and Nazism people could reasonably conclude that it was wrong on Communism also. And if it was wrong on Communism what did that suggest about its position on Jews? And if ... As always, once that question had been asked there was no end to the questions. The entire doctrinal basis of the church would be under scrutiny again. The threat to the entire institutional structure of the church was as real as ever. And in addition that man Karl Barth was still lurking in the wings. He and his colleagues had stopped short once. Might they do so again?

Actually it is doubtful whether, in 1937, Vatican officials and theologians took the line of reasoning that far. They probably got no further than recognizing the threat to the teaching authority of the Catholic Church and the immediate consequence of that – the undermining of what they saw as its primary God-given role: the direction of universal social and political patterns.

Thus, whatever the end point of their reasoning, the Vatican had a number of vexatious issues to consider. Although the urgency with which the approach was made to Pius XI for action and relief in Germany, and the haste with which *Mit Brennender Sorge* was drafted would suggest that it was intended for very prompt publication, it was not published until two months later. The other situations had to be taken into account and they were considered of at least equal urgency. The result was that three major encyclicals were prepared concurrently for carefully controlled – or stage managed – release. The text of *Mit Brennender Sorge* was prepared in the German language only, it was promulgated secretly on March 14, 1937. Copies were smuggled into Germany, duplicated and distributed with equal secrecy and it was read from all Catholic pulpits – in Germany only – on Palm Sunday, March 21. *Divini Redemptoris*, a systematic denunciation of Communism, was prepared in both Latin and Italian. It was promulgated openly five days after the apologia, on March 19, for world wide consumption. It was admitted into Germany quite freely, and it was certainly widely read across Europe on the same day that *Mit Brennender Sorge* was read in Germany: Palm Sunday. And because the apologia was not immediately widely known outside of Germany the anti-Communist encyclical is often regarded as the first of the three and it was certainly intended to hold the public spotlight. The third, *Nos es muy*, on Marxist influence and persecution of the church in Mexico, was issued in both Latin and Spanish for reading on Easter Day, March 28.

According to Passelecq and Suchecky, Pius XI had already ordered work to begin on two encyclicals “toward the end of 1936.” One was *Mit Brennender Sorge*. The other, on atheistic Communism and the necessity of working toward the transformation of society through professional organizations, *Divini Redemptoris*,³⁶⁴ According to information available to them, preparation of *Divini Redemptoris*, was placed in the hands of the Superior General of the Jesuit Order, Fr. Wladimir Ledochowski, but preparation of *Mit Brennender Sorge* was “under the personal direction of Cardinal Pacelli” whose “moderating influence had up to that point kept the pope from expressing himself publicly.”³⁶⁵ Their sources indicate that the basic drafting had already been done by a team of writers who included Monsignor Ludwig Kaas, (apparently prior to the visit of the German delegation to Pacelli on January 26, 1937), and that Faulhaber’s

role, after he and other members of the delegation had reviewed the draft during their visit, was to put the final touches to it.³⁶⁶ It was Kaas who had worked intimately with Pacelli on the drafting of the concordat; acted as courier between Pacelli and Hitler; persuaded the bishops to accept the document; acted for Pacelli in applying pressure on the Catholic Centre Party to dissolve; and published a paper on the relationship of papal primacy to the fuhrer-prinzip. It is therefore most unlikely that Faulhaber would have had any real success in strengthening the draft encyclical.

However Passelecq and Suchecky also make three significant points concerning the relationship between the two key encyclicals. First: Fr Gustave Desbuquois, one of the drafters of *Divini Redemptoris*, was called to Rome urgently at the beginning of February to help revise the whole text of that encyclical to ensure that it was not limited to a simple condemnation of Communism.³⁶⁷ Second: Ledochowski was obsessed by the Communist danger and hoped, against all the evidence, that the church and the German government would ultimately find a *modus vivendi*. Third: he was therefore concerned that there should be no stronger statement made (in isolation) against National Socialism in case it prompted greater support for Communism and, in the same vein as Pacelli, that above all the concordat should be preserved.³⁶⁸

It is therefore reasonable to reach the following conclusions. First, that as a result of the pressure from the German bishops either the drafting or the completion of *Mit Brennender Sorge* was brought forward. Second, that decisions were taken to edit *Mit Brennender Sorge* in such a way that the German bishop's criticisms of National Socialist conduct were muted so that the encyclical could not precipitate a break with Hitler. Third, that the decision was taken to speed up completion of *Divini Redemptoris* so that the release of the two (or three) encyclicals could be coordinated or 'stage managed' in the manner noted above. Fourth, that each of the decisions except the first were basically taken by Pacelli, the architect and protector of the Reich Concordat, whose aims were to maximize the Vatican's influence through a series of concordats with totalitarian governments and to minimize international questioning of its self-understanding and the consequences of the concordat system.

DIVINI REDEMPTORIS

Divini Redemptoris opens with either a very literal interpretation of the first book of the Bible, Genesis, or a misuse of it – or both.

*The promise of a Redeemer brightens the first page of the history of mankind, and the confident hope aroused by this promise softened the keen regret for a paradise which had been lost. It was this hope that accompanied the human race on its weary journey, until in the fullness of time the expected Saviour came to begin a new universal civilization, the Christian civilization, far superior even to that which up to this time had been laboriously achieved by certain more privileged nations. Nevertheless, the struggle between good and evil remained in the world as a sad legacy of the original fall.*³⁶⁹

This had the effect of placing heavy emphasis on both the guilt complexes of the concept of original sin and the church's Jewish heritage. In doing so it did two things: it validated the Hebrew Scriptures and it emphasized the claimed superiority of Christianity and the socio-economic and political systems which it spawned or which were associated with it. Pius XI, or the author or editor, then continued with the same disregard for historical accuracy and perspective which had marked so many previous papal statements. He completely ignored the pattern of causes and effects in human interaction and relationships which run through history, the rapidly growing knowledge of pre-history, and the dynamically growing knowledge of the nature of the universe and linked Communism directly with "the ancient tempter" who has never ceased to deceive mankind with false promises, and the series of "convulsions" which have followed one another through the centuries "down to the revolution of our own days."

The world was expected to believe that Communism was spawned by the devil and that it had nothing to do with the abuse of humanity by the dominant people and powers of the Western Christian World. He went on to claim: "Christian civilization (was) immeasurably superior to the culture which some advanced nations had contrived with great labour and difficulty to attain." Bolshevist, atheistic communism "whose one aim is to upset completely the ordered structure of society and undermine the very foundations of Christian civilization" had brought the world to revolution "exceeding in violence and magnitude any persecution which the Church has ever sustained." It threatened to "reduce whole nations to a state of barbarism worse than that which prevailed among most peoples before the coming of the Redeemer."³⁷⁰ Apparently he could not recall anything about the Christianization of Scandinavia, the Crusades, the Inquisitions, heresy hunting and burnings at the stakes, or the conquest of Latin America. Communism aimed, he said, to "set up a barrier between science and faith, and between human life and the church."³⁷¹ Such statements are hollow indeed coming after Copernicus; Darwin; the Syllabus of Errors; the Lateran Council, the papal oaths against modernism and restrictions on universities which had actually been devised and drawn up while Pius XI was working his way up through the Vatican hierarchy. He was, at that time, head of the Ambrosiana and, according to a church historian, "esteemed by the world of European scholarship as a prefect and author of a host of fundamental critical works on church history ..."³⁷² Surely it is highly improbable that he would have written with such callous disregard for history even if he was eager to sustain the Vatican's social and teaching authority.

The real situation was that Communists and other non-believers demanded a review of those statements by the church which had been proven erroneous by modern research, and reasonable compatibility between the church's doctrinal statements and the rapidly growing store of facts derived from scientific and historical research. The church could not oblige because of its self-understanding and so it defended itself by the only course it understood. It denigrated scientists, historians and philosophers along with Communists and other non-believers and built the barrier of dogma and doctrine ever higher.

The author of the fanciful representation of history in the encyclical took the concept that 'the Word' preceded creation, then extended and transferred the continuity of its authority to the

church, sought to maintain the myth of a universal presence of unblemished Christianity, and described a constant struggle by powers of evil to unseat it and deceive the world in spite of the church. He deliberately linked Christianity and conservative western social and economic order, equating one with the other, and saying 'if you upset one you upset both.' [... bolshevistic and atheistic Communism ... aims at upsetting the social order and at undermining the very foundations of Christian civilization."³⁷³] He then referred to the 1846 encyclical of the "immortal" predecessor of Pius XI, Leo XIII, and said that in order to save Christian civilization and to protect the rights, property and possessions of all men from the satanic scourge it was "... Our duty to raise Our voice once more, in a still more solemn missive, in accord with the tradition of this Apostolic See, the Teacher of Truth ..."³⁷⁴

The author then followed his historical overview with his particular interpretation or "brief synthesis" of the "Doctrine of Communism." With the best of rhetoric, but with a line of reasoning which not all scholars accept, he concluded that "such a doctrine obviously leaves no room for the idea of an eternal God, for a distinction between spirit and matter or between body and soul, for the survival of the soul after death, or for any hope of a future life."³⁷⁵ But the author's interpretation of the 'Doctrine of Communism' and his misrepresentation of the human rights struggle in Russia combined to win the pope and the Vatican friends among Western Capitalists, and it also reinforced the barrier between Russia and the West. Similarly, his virulent attacks on Soviet Russia's steps to ensure equality and political and domestic emancipation for women served to entrench male chauvinism in the West even further. It was only after a generation of war had established the need for women to join the income-earning workforce in the interests of national survival, and when it was in the economic interests of Capitalism for them to stay there, that women's rights could get an effective hearing in the West.

And those issues linked into the pope's trenchant but ill-informed attacks on Soviet Russia's family and marriage policies to compound the effects of his social encyclicals in a most destructive way. He, or the author, chose to totally ignore new laws introduced in Russia during the previous year which bore a remarkable similarity to some aspects of Vatican policy both during the 1930s and the 1980s. For example, Soviet Russia's 1936 marriage and family law made it much more difficult and more costly to obtain divorce, especially after second or subsequent marriages. There was no provision for Las Vegas-type quickies in Russia and alimony provisions were tightened.³⁷⁶ Financial support for large families was a long established political Catholic platform which had brought only a limited response in the West, but Soviet Russia introduced it without a lot of ballyhoo and without the need for competitive denominational lobbying. However, in view of contemporary Roman Catholic sponsorship of "Right to Life" movements, the most striking omission from the papal encyclical was any reference to Soviet Russia's belief in the sanctity of life and its virtual total prohibition of abortions which had previously been legal.³⁷⁷

Pius XI, or the author, also totally disregarded the fact that the change from a religious to a civil basis for marriage had swept western Europe from Austria to France when both Capitalist monarchies and republics had been struggling with the church quite a few generations earlier. He simply characterized Communism in Russia as “a lawless system”, “constitutionally devoid of any principle of restraint” and “an association of human beings with no other principle of unity save an authority deriving from economic factors.” He said it “scorns and rejects all the sacred functions of human life”, “denies the indissoluble perpetuity of wedlock”, denies parents “the right to educate their offspring”, claims that right “exclusively for the community”, lacks ethical standards of administration and has “reduced whole masses of citizens to the state of slavery.”³⁷⁸

In addition he also ignored some of the conciliatory steps which the Soviet government had taken in 1936 when the new constitution was introduced. It retained the freedom of worship – alongside the freedom of anti-religious propaganda – and it abolished previous ‘disabilities’ imposed on priests. Children of clergymen were again permitted to enroll in institutions of higher learning, and the collection of funds for churches and ringing of church bells were again permitted.

When he turned to economic and political comparisons the author’s reasoning and presentation was little better. His attempts to ridicule “the doctrine which Bolshevist and atheistic communism preaches to the world as a new gospel, as the harbinger of salvation and deliverance” only serve to draw attention to the inadequacies of the church, including its pathetic efforts to prop up the concept of papal infallibility; its claims to authority over the state; and the delegated divine right of kings. He described Communism as “a doctrine destructive of the foundations of civil society and subversive of social order; a doctrine which refuses to acknowledge the true origin of the State, its true nature and purpose; which repudiates and denies the rights, the dignity, and the freedom of the person.” Then he claimed that the ground had been prepared for the spread of communism by the failure of governments to build churches in the neighbourhood of factories, or “to facilitate the ministrations of the priest”, and the drift away from Sunday observance.³⁷⁹ The answer to Communism was therefore to promote religious education in schools and to pour money and people into the church!

A BID FOR MORE CONCORDATS

Then came the pincers to pick up a few more concordats and to tighten the links between the church and Capitalism. “... there can be no hope of saving human society from the ruin and disaster to which an amoral liberalism is driving it, unless the economic and social order is inspired and guided by the principles of social justice and Christian charity ...” There could be no salvation through class warfare, terrorism, or the arbitrary and tyrannical use of the power of the state ... according to the encyclical. What a pathetic statement to make in view of the church’s long history of the abuse of state power. It is not conceivable that he was admitting the

failure of the church during its long history. He simply hoped that people had forgotten its history.

True welfare of the people, according to the author, "should be secured through a properly devised system of corporations which would acknowledge and respect the different ranks of social authority ..."³⁸⁰ "It is utterly untrue, and mere empty talk, to say that all citizens have equal rights ...(and) ... Catholics may find (in earlier papal encyclicals) clearly expounded the principles of reason and revelation which will arm them against the beguiling and dangerous doctrines of communism." "The community as well as the citizen is of divine origin ... (and) ... in their fundamentals these mutual relations of citizen and community have been established and regulated by God Himself ..."³⁸¹ Perhaps that should have read that they have been interpreted, imposed and regulated by the church and its associated temporal powers.

As if to allow some slight independence for civil authorities the author noted that the church has "never propounded any definite technical system" in the social and economic field. "This is not her function," he said, "but she has nevertheless laid down fundamental principles and general directions which, while capable of adaptation according to differences of time, place and people, do point out to civil society the safe path towards an era of improved culture and greater happiness."³⁸² Those "fundamental principles", he said, had to adhere closely to "the ancient doctrine of the church on the nature of private property in its relation to the individual and to society ..." which he (Pope Pius XI) had dealt with in one of his encyclicals at the height of the Great Depression. "We clearly and distinctly emphasized the rights and dignity of human labour (and) the mutual relations of help and support which should subsist between those who provide capital and those who supply their labour ..."³⁸³ It was a pat on the back for Capitalism generally and any authoritarian power in league with the church, and a strong encouragement for Hitler who was varying the established Capitalist pattern to suit himself.

According to *Divini Redemptoris* the poor could endeavour "in accordance with the laws of justice and charity to gain what is needful for themselves and even to better their lot." But they "must, in like manner be 'poor in spirit' and set greater store by heavenly things than by earthly joys." Let them bear in mind, too, the author continued, "that men will never succeed in ridding this life entirely of misery, sorrow, and disease, evils that afflict even those who to all appearances are more fortunate than they." Patience maintains a cheerful spirit and finds confidence in the divine promise of eternal bliss, he said.³⁸⁴ Certainly he criticized abuses which "defraud the worker of his wage and his social rights" but the pope's basic theme was "the very right of ownership which the church sanctions and defends."³⁸⁵ Capitalists and their system had the papal blessing they were desperately in need of, especially in the exhortation for the downtrodden not to resort to revolution.

Priests were exhorted to count the fight against Communism as second only to the maintenance of life; to beg the intercession of "His Immaculate Mother, who long ago crushed the old serpent's head"; to appeal for close cooperation between governments and the church; and finally to invoke "the guidance and protection of St. Joseph, the powerful patron of the

Catholic Church” in the campaign “against the onset of atheistic communism.”³⁸⁶ Sweet words indeed for Hitler. Unknown to the rest of the world, his chaplains were ready, willing and waiting to serve. For those who accepted the church’s theology of Mariology and saintly intercession that was powerful stuff. For those who did not, it was either sickening or laughable, depending upon their personal perspective. In either case it meant that the church then ranked the fight against Communism as even more vital than the fight against either of its partners in the triangle of Messianic faiths: Judaism and Islam. To slot another ‘ism’ onto a rung even lower than them was at best a very backhanded compliment and it was hardly a basis for improved interfaith relations. To label a person a Communist was to denigrate him or her in the most insulting and degrading way and, by implication, anyone who opposed Communism was an ally of the church. Hitler included.

In the circumstances as we now know them, and given the state of the pope’s health, it is reasonable to assume that Pius XI had no more involvement in either *Divini Redemptoris* or *Nos es muy* than he did in *Mit Brennender Sorge*. They, too, were prepared and published on his authority and in his name but with no direct input from him and with either the Cardinal Secretary of State, Pacelli, or the Jesuit Superior General, Ledochowski, controlling the processes.

In view of that, the importance of *Divini Redemptoris* does not lie solely in the fact that “it had become the ideological basis of Catholic defence against Communism and a source of inspiration and hope for the whole Christian world.”³⁸⁷ It lies in the fact that in publishing it and allowing it to be coordinated with *Mit Brennender Sorge* in this manner, the Vatican Curia had engineered two things. Firstly: the ties between the Vatican and anti-Communist regimes, and in particular the National Socialist regime of Hitler in Germany and other totalitarian regimes had been strengthened. Secondly, the church had been linked absolutely and officially to the Capitalist system, complete with all its abuses of human personality and rights. These things had been done by the use of theological rationale and doctrinaire statements at the very time when the church faced its greatest challenge from Communism, a movement which had developed to oppose and to offset such abuses and misuse of doctrine. Links between Christianity and Capitalism had been forged as a result of papal financial policy during the Crusades. They had been strengthened during the struggle for Constantinople; the rush for the New World; the Reformation; the French Revolution; and the Napoleonic Wars. They had been given more obvious form during the Colonial era – the era of Christian reconstruction of the non-European world – and the Industrial Revolution, and they had been given a theological basis of sorts, and respectability, with the development of the American version of the Protestant business and work ethic. Now those links had been graced with the ultimate stamp of approval: a papal encyclical coupled with policies and actions which showed a strong leaning towards ‘professional’ or totalitarian and Fascist systems of government.

The movement towards social and economic reform was retarded immeasurably and, with the crisis in Europe deepening, so was any prospect of rapprochement between the Soviet Union and the West which might have acted as a brake on Hitler. As much as they might try,

Christians could no longer deny the deliberate doctrinal links between the church, Capitalism and oppressive authoritarian regimes. And in spite of all that had happened since the challenge of the Balfour Declaration had been thrown down, the church-at-large was unshaken in its self-misunderstanding. It still failed to see in *Mein Kampf* the parody of the Christian amorphous gel or to grasp the consequences of its actions. It was as if Hitler and Pius XI were competing in the parody writing business. *Mein Kampf* was the classic parody of the amorphous Christian gel. *Divini Redemptoris* was an equally classic parody of the Gospel as preached and exemplified by Jesus of Nazareth. Only a quite remarkable change in attitude could avoid a dramatic response from Stalin's communist government or the acting out of the twin parodies, but there was no sign of such a development. No sign, that is, until the Tambaram International Missionary Conference in December the following year, 1938. But that didn't have the same impact as *Divini Redemptoris*. The Tambaram participants were swimming against the tide of events. In any case they were too late because the world didn't have long to wait to see how the Soviet regime reacted.

Within months of *Divini Redemptoris* a program of closure of selected places of worship was enforced across Russia and about 1,900 places of worship or related facilities had been closed by the end of 1937. They included 240 Roman Catholic Churches, 115 synagogues, 110 mosques, 61 Lutheran churches or places of worship for other faiths and 1,100 Orthodox Churches, or less than 3% of an estimated 39,000 which had been operating in 1928. [There had already been a fall in the number of functioning churches by about 4% compared with pre-revolution Russia.] Then in 1938 political executions on the grounds that the accused were counter-revolutionaries, spies or conspirators in league with enemies of the regime accounted for eight bishops and many more priests, monks and laymen. In addition about fifty other church officials of high rank were imprisoned.³⁸⁸ However at the same time that the government wielded the big stick it continued to dangle the carrot of reconciliation. The mass observance of Christmas and Easter was recognized and orders were issued that workers were not to be penalized for absenteeism during those festivals; the manufacture and sale of objects connected with worship was again permitted; in one region ikon painters were allowed to continue their trade; history texts ridiculing Russian Christianity were removed from schools; blasphemous plays and films were banned; anti-Christian carnivals were also prohibited; and films, plays and books were produced lauding the patriotism of early churchmen and the constructive role of Christianity in the formation of Russian culture. Two years later, while the German-Soviet non-aggression pact was in effect, the seven-day week was restored and Sunday was made a compulsory legal holiday.³⁸⁹

During the twenty years since the Balfour Declaration the challenge to the church had taken on new and fearsome dimensions but few people realized they were acting out a parody on Christianity. The world situation became more complex and the causes of the complications were concealed, sometimes by circumstances but very often by deliberate leadership decision, as the consequences of one thousand nine hundred years of Christian self-misunderstanding began to change the trouble in the triangle into turmoil.

The Vatican-based wing of the church, still in a dominant position, acted as if it was determined to suppress change at all costs; to squeeze the world into social and ethical straight jackets of personality-destroying rigidity and to maintain its political power through a system of concordats or similar arrangements. The papal encyclicals *Mortalium Animos* (against the ecumenical movement); *Casti Connubii* (coupled with the other social encyclicals); and papal speeches announcing the Lateran Treaty and anticipating the growth of totalitarian government each illustrated those attitudes. Then *Divini Redemptoris*, following hot on the heels of Mit Brennender Sorge, left the world in no doubt about either the intimate links between the Christian Church and Capitalism, or the means by which it hoped to eliminate the challenge of Communism. At the same time it was using every contrivance available to it to offset the recurring challenge of Judaism.

Fortunately a rethink had begun in some fragments of the church. The towering intellect of Karl Barth had led the way, but his efforts were being stifled by circumstances and the contradictory conduct of the church. There was a growing number of people who were prepared to question the role, doctrines, policies and actions of the church. There were a few, such as those at Tambaram for Christmas 1938, who were prepared to fly in the face of *Divini Redemptoris*; to declare that “the dominating social and economic order throughout the world has been organized in such a way that it is difficult for man with his fellowmen to realize the Christian meaning of community” and who were prepared to break the links between the church and political power. There was the hard core of leaders in the several parallel thrusts of the ecumenical movement who were determined to bring reconciliation through a fresh look at those aspects of Christian life and worship which had fragmented the church. And there were even a few, like Bishop Oldham, who were prepared to actually talk about other faiths with people of those faiths without the assumptions of superiority which marked most Christians.

THE COLUMBUS PLATFORM

For its part the Synagogue – in all three denominational streams – had come increasingly under the influence of Zionism. The movement had started as a political stream within the Jewish Community of Europe. It had been aimed at freeing that community from the oppressive weight of the church and its amorphous Christian gel. It had been based on an aberration of Jewish theology, it was being shaped by world circumstances and it had gradually become the dominant thrust of Judaism, but there were still other developments and further reforms taking place in Judaism in response to those same pressures, and the net result was a progressive recovery in its influence in relation to its partners in the triangle. The Union of [Eastern European] Orthodox Rabbis was established in the United States in 1902; the Menorah Society at Harvard University was set up in 1906; B’nai B’rith established the Anti-Defamation League in 1913; then in 1917 the Conservative United Synagogue of America adopted a more pro-Zionist position and set up a committee on the interpretation of Jewish Law. During the years following World War I the Institute for Jewish (Historical) Research was set up in Vilna, a

principal centre for Jewish culture in Poland's notorious buffer zone which had changed hands with monotonous regularity. Then the Synagogue Council of America was set up in 1926 in a bid to bring together Orthodox and non-Orthodox organizations; the Rabbinical Council of America was organized by English-speaking Orthodox Rabbis in 1933; and many organizations of an educational, welfare, industrial, philanthropic or theological training character were established within, or to serve, Jewish communities in America, Europe and elsewhere.³⁹⁰

Coinciding with those moves, and complementary to them, was the establishment of the World Union for Progressive Judaism (WUPJ). This had its roots in an invitation by German Liberals for their counterparts in Britain, France and the United States to send representatives to their regular conference in 1914, shortly before Europe was engulfed in the First World War, so that, together, they could move towards a permanent union of all Liberal Jews. However that effort was interrupted and complicated by the war in exactly the same manner as the moves by leaders of the Ecumenical Movement to bring the Reformed Churches together, and it was not until 1926 that a conference could be organized on that basis, in London. The establishment of the WUPJ as a permanent body at that conference, in spite of vigorous dispute over the issue of Zionism which threatened to undermine its position of neutrality and scuttle it, was due largely to the drive of Miss Lily Montagu, the first woman to exercise significant influence within the Reform Movement, the first woman to be invited to preach and to read the service in a London synagogue, and a person who deserves special mention. Montagu, had already fused religion with a career in social work among under-privileged Jewish girls at the time of the Dreyfus controversy. Unable to accept Orthodox Jewish worship, only two years after the formation of the Zionist Organization she was then bold enough to propose an association which would extend the social obligations into the practice of religion and restore the blessing of religion to those who had lost it. Then she was a very mature 28 year-old when she agreed to serve as a vice president of the Jewish Religious Union at its formation in 1901. A committed universalist and anti-Zionist, she was very firm in her belief in God-external who cares for and loves each person. She was equally firm in her opposition to mixed-religion marriages.

When the WUPJ held its second conference in Berlin in 1928, Montagu became the first woman to deliver a sermon in a German synagogue. That conference, unaware of what lay ahead in the Depression, or of the full impact that Hitler's *Mein Kampf* was about to have, or that he would have achieved absolute power in Germany only five years later, set a new direction for Liberal Judaism in Europe, and somewhat less so in the United States. Rabbi Leo Baeck reflected and strengthened the thrust of the conference when he told delegates that the message for Liberal Jews lay not in any sermon but in the person; not in trying to keep Judaism current with the times, but in setting it against the times so as to help order the world for the Kingdom of God. In the nineteenth century Judaism had been too concerned with conformity, he said, and with how it appeared to others rather than with what it really was. Now the time had come to throw away the mirror and to look inside. True Liberalism was an intensive Judaism, he said, a religion of piety that took itself seriously. Such a religion would always have to set the messianic against the existent, the future against the present, great unrealized ideas

against the ways of the world. He urged the delegates to “begin to create the future.”³⁹¹ [Emphasis added.]

Under the stimulus of the WUPJ the Reform Movement tried to respond to the growing crisis for Jews in Europe, and, in spite of the deepening economic crisis and the ever increasing pressure to recognize the role of Zionism within the Jewish community, it successfully established a Union of Liberal Religious Jews in Holland. It also launched a survey of religious conditions among Jews in Poland and tried to establish a Liberal mission to serve the larger cities but, when it found that the most serious of the enlightened Jews in Poland were interested in Jewish culture and modern Jewish studies rather than in a Jewish identity which was essentially religious, it reluctantly abandoned the venture.³⁹²

Subsequently, recognizing the tensions over the issue within the WUPJ and elsewhere, the Central conference of American Rabbis adopted a resolution in 1935 that ‘Zionism is a matter of personal conscience’ and deferred a more definitive decision on changes to the movement’s platform to a later conference. Then in May 1937, influenced by the ever-deteriorating situation in both Europe and the Middle East, and endeavoring to maintain its position at the leading edge of theological evolution, it adopted the Columbus Platform. For a time the conference was deadlocked over which of two drafts to adopt, or whether to have a formal platform at all, and the new platform, radically different in format and emphasis from the Pittsburgh Platform of 1885, was only adopted after much soul searching.³⁹³

The Columbus Platform departs from the forms of religious dogma and doctrine and presents beliefs and faith as a statement of religious philosophy, except to note that: “The heart of Judaism and its chief contribution to religion is the doctrine of the One, living God, who rules the world through law and love. In Him all existence has its creative source and mankind its ideal of conduct. Through transcending time and space, He is the indwelling presence of the world. We worship Him as the Lord of the universe and as our merciful Father.” Judaism, it states, is the historical religious experience of the Jewish people, growing out of Jewish life, with a universal message and aiming at the union and perfection of mankind under the sovereignty of God. Reform Judaism recognizes progressive development in religion, welcomes all truth whether written in the pages of scripture or deciphered from the records of nature and science. Then the platform refers to the nature of man, the role of the Torah, ethics, social justice, peace, religious practice, and Israel. It refers to Judaism as the soul of which Israel is the body; recognizes the bond of religious tradition and Israel’s mission to witness to the Divine; beholds the promise of renewed life in the rehabilitation of Palestine; welcomes those who accept the faith of Judaism; and affirms the obligation of all Jewry to aid in its upbuilding as a Jewish homeland by endeavouring to make it not only a haven of refuge for the oppressed but also a centre of Jewish culture and spiritual life. Then it states Israel’s Messianic goal as cooperation with all men in the establishment of the kingdom of God, of universal brotherhood, and of justice, truth and peace on earth. It does not use the terms ‘Zion’ or ‘Zionism.’

However it was Zionism which had determined and which had undermined relations between the Bolshevik movement in Russia and Russia's Jewish community. It was a reaction against Zionism which largely fuelled the Nazi drive to power in Germany and it was Zionism which had an influence on British and European foreign policy quite out of proportion to the size of the Jewish community. It was also Zionism which was driving the Jewish community to make its inflexible demands on Palestine. Thus it was Zionism which was fuelling conflict in Palestine and undermining Britain's ability to stand up to Hitler, and which was responsible for the fact that Jewish people, as a worldwide community, were enmeshed by an act of transgression against the people of that land.

The situation envisaged in the Qur'anic Night Journey had become a reality. But unfortunately only the Muslims of the Middle East who were continuing their organizational and spiritual revival from a position of political weakness seemed conscious of it. People and powers in the Christian West wouldn't listen. For one thing they still didn't recognize Islam or the validity of Muhammad's prophetic mission. For another thing, what the Jews were doing in collaboration with Christian Britain was no different to what European Christians were doing in colonial areas right around the globe, so that meant it was quite acceptable. It was another vital link in the parody. But if that had been recognized and if it had been acted on, the political and economic consequences would have been enormous. And there was that persistent issue of a rethink of Christian theology ...

The church could not afford to recognize the Qur'anic verse, sura 17:8 which had been addressed to the Jewish community. Neither could the Jews. It was an embarrassment to both groups. It is the passage which warns that if the Jews as a community transgressed a third time they would again be scourged. It ends with the words "We have made Hell a prison house for the unbelievers." (Chapter 8) If the church had recognized Zionism as a reaction to its own excesses, and if it had recognized the validity of that verse then the process of dismantling the burden of its doctrinal deadweight must have begun and the world could have taken the path towards peace. As it was, it stayed on the path to war. Britain was about to change its mind on the Balfour Declaration but the Zionist wing of the Jewish community had not changed its mind on Palestine.

So Hitler pressed on with his military and territorial expansion. Russia pressed on in a last ditch effort to make the BiraBidzhan scheme work, but many leading Zionists pressed on with their efforts to undermine it so as to strengthen their claims to Palestine where, they believed, the situation was turning firmly against them. And as they did so, the situation in the Middle East worsened. We must now go back and pick up the threads of that key element in the development of the trouble in the triangle.

CHAPTER 19

WHO DOES OWN THE MIDDLE EAST?

There was a lot of action in the Middle East in the twenty two years after the Balfour Declaration was devised, complete with its challenge to the church, but it was usually only the bomb throwers and the anti-Semites who caught the world headlines. It was a vast area and only parts of it could be shown in the colours of Europe's great Christian empires on educational maps of the period. Children would turn to their teachers or their parents with the question "who owns that piece in there?" The answer was seldom simple.

Double-handed imperial games were being played behind the scenes with more competitive greed and bitterness than in any other region but with so little publicity that the world was hardly aware that they were in progress. The name of the games was 'oil'. They were played at a hectic pace to rules of diplomatic deceit, political manoeuvre, and commercial intrigue based on the pattern which had already been set before the Great War. The key players, Britain, France and the United States, repeatedly tried to outsmart each other and also the resident players of the Middle East whose trump cards were the aspirations of Arabs, Persians and Zionist Jews. For quite some time the great power players managed to deflect responsibility for each successive upheaval onto one or other of those resident groups.

To grasp the significance of the imperial games and the way they meshed into, and were actually part of the action in Europe, it is necessary to look at the region as a whole and to note a series of events and decisions in the order in which they happened. We pick up the threads at the point where British and Dutch interests had been prepared to combine with German interests in order to keep US interests out of the Mosul region of Iraq which was expected to be a valuable source of oil.

In 1914 the Turkish Grand Vizier announced his government's intention of granting a concession to the European consortium but no action had been taken because relations between Europe's governments were severely strained as they slid towards war. Britain and Russia, which had divided Persia's exploration areas between them, both recruited army units in Persia for the subsequent campaign against Turkey. In March 1915 they joined with France in the 'Constantinople Agreement' for the division of the Ottoman Empire. A year later Britain and France gave the plan more substance with the Sykes-Picot Agreement while Britain set about inciting Arab leaders in rebellion against Turkey.

However not all of the Arabian Peninsula was under Turkish control. The central region, Nejd, was divided between Arab communities led by Rashids to the north and Saudis to the south. In 1912 Ibn Saud had extended the area under his control to include the key region of Hasa along the Persian Gulf. The two families were still at loggerheads when Britain and Turkey went to war. The Rashids threw their lot in with Turkey but the Saudis, sharing the vital waterway of the Persian Gulf with the powerful British fleet protecting Abadan, was very happy to do a deal with Britain. They didn't have much option if they wanted to survive. Ibn Saud signed what was, in effect, a protectorate treaty with Britain on December 26, 1915 and agreed not to grant any oil concessions without Britain's approval.

At the time that the Sykes-Picot Agreement was being negotiated Britain's dominant interest lay in ensuring control of the Suez Canal region and it was prepared to concede control of the Mosul region to France. However after Germany occupied Rumania, denying oil to the Allies, and Standard Oil began to exploit its market dominance ruthlessly there were British officials who regretted that concession. As the end of the war approached they were eager to renounce the agreement altogether, on the grounds that Russia had already discredited it, so that they could go into post war negotiations unencumbered.¹ In that sense, although it was partly prompted by frustration at US policy, the British army's mad post-armistice dash for Mosul must also be seen as demonstrating a lack of confidence in future cooperation from France which had good reason to anticipate territorial conflict after the announcement of the Balfour Declaration in November 1917.

When the Zionist Commission arrived in Palestine in March 1918 Britain, under pressure to confirm its assurances to the Arabs, said that it recognized the complete independence of those territories which had already been independent before the war or which had been liberated by the Arabs themselves. The government of those territories liberated by Allied armies would be "based upon the principle of the consent of the governed" and Britain would work for the freedom and independence of the parts of Syria and Iraq which were still unliberated.² Naturally the Egyptians, whose country had been reduced to a protectorate from which Britain controlled the Suez and from which it manipulated Arab "liberation", wanted a piece of the liberation action too. The extremists even demanded that London receive a delegation to discuss full independence. They were excited, and a period of four years of tension, murder and mismanagement opened as the British government, playing for very high stakes, rejected the advice of its own diplomats that the protectorate should be scrapped in favour of self-government.³

Standard Oil understood Britain's aims and attitude towards it very well and sensed that it could take advantage of her very uncomfortable political position in the Middle East to press its corporate rights. On September 3, with the Turkish armistice clearly only weeks away, the company applied officially to the British Authorities for permission to proceed with exploration and drilling in the Palestinian leases which Turkey had granted to it six months before the outbreak of war. They were then in occupied enemy territory over which several parties each

claimed sovereignty. Britain refused permission and a strong disagreement flared between the US State Department and the British Foreign Office.

VICTORS HAGGLE OVER SPOILS

Britain soon faced disagreements and discord throughout the region. On October 3 when Faisal entered Damascus the French objected to an Arab flag being hoisted. It was removed on British orders and a counter-rebellion was only averted when a joint Anglo-French Declaration was issued on November 7, promising complete and final liberation for the peoples oppressed by the Turks. Their national governments would derive their authority “from the ... choice of the indigenous populations” with help from Britain and France in programmes of justice, education and development.⁴ It was enough to regain the confidence of the Arabs – for a while.

In London and Paris Prince Faisal, whose father had been recognized as king of the independent Hejaz, pressed for Britain and France to honour their undertaking for a single Arab State to be formed from all of the liberated territories. He soon found that contrary to all their encouraging words the Sykes-Picot agreement was to take precedence over the McMahon letter and four areas of occupation were going to be set up. He was thrust onto the sidelines, humiliated and placed in an impossible position from which to lead the people for whom he was speaking while Britain’s Lloyd George and France’s Clemenceau haggled at a conference in London in December. Clemenceau wanted Mosul but he wanted the Rhur more. He also knew that an Arab Nationalist reaction could cost France dearly in Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. Accordingly the two leaders agreed that France would cede Mosul to the British and modify the Palestinian boundary in return for Britain’s support for France’s claim to the Rhur and a share of Mosul oil.

The importance of the region to Britain becomes clear from a cabinet decision on January 15, 1919 that “His Majesty’s Government should at once signify their willingness to cooperate (on Mesopotamian oil) before the French secured American assistance, and before this country was forced by decisions at the Peace Conference to adopt, in self-defence and practically under compulsion, the policy of cooperation to which it is now invited.”

The Peace Conference then allocated four zones. Iraq, including Mosul, and Palestine were to go to Britain; Lebanon was to go to France; and Faisal was to get the crown of an inland Syrian Arab State. Mr. Balfour, the man who had chaired a section at the Edinburgh International Missionary Conference, confirmed in a submission to cabinet that while self-determination might be an acceptable policy in Europe it had no place in the Middle East. “... in Palestine, (he said), we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country ... The four Great Powers are committed to Zionism. And Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is rooted in age-long traditions, in present needs, in future hopes, of far profounder import than the desires and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land.”⁵

On January 3, while those negotiations were in full swing and only twelve days before that cabinet meeting, Faisal signed an agreement with Dr Weizmann in the belief that cooperation and goodwill between Arab and Jew in Palestine was achievable, that Arab independence in Palestine was not under threat and that Weizmann's people were not working towards a Jewish government in the territory.^{6 7} Faisal accepted and was sympathetic towards what he understood to be the intent of the Balfour Declaration, the Zionist programme and the proposal for large scale Jewish immigration.^{8 9} In return Weizmann committed the Zionist Organization to study and foster economic development for the whole region which was badly denuded of timber and olive plantations by the armies of the great war and was in a parlous social and economic plight as a result. Article V. of the agreement guaranteed freedom of religion and specifically that "No religious test shall ever be required for the exercise of civil or political rights."¹⁰ At that stage both parties were equally intent on showing that both religious harmony (which had never been achieved when the church had a finger in the pie) and religious liberty (which was still only being achieved the very hard way in Europe) were to be part of the way of life in Palestine. However it is clear that the negotiators did not share a common conception of the future political shape of Palestine and from a proviso clause which he attached to the agreement it appears that Faisal sensed that he was being manipulated. He wrote that he could not be answerable for failing to carry out the agreement if changes were made to the proposals which he had addressed to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the same Mr. Balfour.

Faisal didn't have to wait long to realize that the agreement was a waste of time. The French were hostile to him and the Arab Nationalism which he personified, and Britain was committed to paying off the Jewish community for its response in the Great War. He therefore pressed for an international commission of enquiry to be sent to Syria and Palestine. With Woodrow Wilson's support the proposal was adopted and it was agreed that a team of British, French, Italian and US commissioners would set off promptly. But French and British suspicions of each other (and of more or less everyone else) quickly sabotaged the proposal. Only the US nominees (Dr Henry King and Mr. Charles Crane) made the trip. Subsequently, and as a response to the US Senate's refusal to ratify the League of Nations Covenant in May, the European powers had an excellent reason to ignore their embarrassing report when it was released in August.

While King and Crane were in the Middle East they learned from the General Syrian Congress that the Arab community wanted a nation unified by a constitutional monarchy with Faisal as king. They also wanted its economic viability assured by a 20-year US assistance scheme in place of a mandate, but they did not want either the French or a Zionist State which could only be established by force of arms.¹¹

However the British and French governments were still arguing over the future of Mosul and its oil. On April 8 they agreed that, subject to their mandates being granted, a Mesopotamia-Turkish Petroleum Co. would be set up. Seventy percent of the capital would be held by British interests, twenty percent by French and ten percent by the "native government." France would "facilitate construction" of two separate pipelines from Persia and Mesopotamia to the

Mediterranean, free of a transit fee across French mandatory territory. Three weeks later, on April 29, a British inter departmental committee on Eastern Affairs noted that the April 8 agreement was “an important part of the more important negotiations by which H.M. Government hoped to secure control of the Royal Dutch-Shell combine.” On May 16 the British Foreign Office confirmed the agreement so that arrangements could proceed, but on May 21 Lloyd George and Clemenceau clashed over parts of it and on July 22 Lord Curzon, the new Foreign Secretary, annulled it. The French would get nothing and the pipelines would run through British territory either to the Gulf or through Palestine.

In August, while the King/Crane Commission was putting the finishing touches to its report, the British government called Faisal to London for further talks. He was not fully briefed on the real motives behind the row between Britain and France and he was still actively pressing the Arab case for a unified territory overlapping the Great Powers’ mandate claims. Neither would he have known (although the British Government would probably have either known or assumed) that the King/Crane report would recommend that there be a US and not a French mandate over an enlarged Syria, with Faisal as constitutional monarch, and a British mandate over Iraq. Lloyd George advised him that British troops would be withdrawn from the area which Britain had proposed should become an Arab State and also from the area to which France laid mandate claims. Clemenceau believed, probably quite rightly, that Britain was using Faisal as a lever against France and refused to meet him or to discuss his proposal for a US-British-French conference on the Arab State until the end of November.^{12 13} He then consented to a territorial compromise which left almost everyone who was directly involved dissatisfied but which was designed to satisfy the League of Nations and avoid an outright Arab revolt.

France then returned to the conference table battle field with Britain on December 12. It demanded an equal share in the oil reserves of both Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, which overlapped the proposed borders of Turkey, Iraq and Persia, as compensation for giving up any claims to Mosul. Britain dug its toes in. After all it had spilled a lot of Indian and English blood to get its hands on Mosul and it wasn’t giving in that easily. About two weeks later, on December 29 (after a suitable break to celebrate the birthday of the Messiah) a new agreement was initialled under which France was to have a 25 percent share in the Turkish Petroleum Co. which would be the only company allowed to operate in the long-disputed area. There was at least one point on which the two powers were in complete agreement: the US, and especially Standard Oil, had to be kept out at all costs.

ARABS DIVIDE, REVOLT

The new year, 1920, was not a happy one in the Middle East. Faisal had been so manipulated and outmanoeuvred by both Zionist interests and the Great Powers which dropped any pretence of honouring obligations to the Arabs that he could not carry his people with him. On March 8 the Syrian Congress proclaimed the independence of an Arab State which included Palestine and also Lebanon with special provision for its autonomy. Iraq took similar action and

proclaimed the Amir Abdullah, Faisal's elder brother, as king. Britain and France immediately called a meeting of the Supreme Allied Council at San Remo. To some people it was little more than an annoying diversion from the real problem of Germany's reparations and the muddle of Allied war debts to be refinanced via the US. The quicker it was out of the way the better. The Arabs simply had to be put in their place – under Europe's heel. Without even waiting for a peace treaty to be finalized with Turkey the council scrapped the idea of an independent Syrian Arab State altogether and awarded mandates over both Syria and Lebanon to France, and over Iraq and Palestine to Britain. It was not until August that year that Turkey formally renounced all claims to former Ottoman territories outside Turkey in the Treaty of Sevres which was hailed as formally concluding World War 1. The European Christian reconstruction of the Muslim Middle East was finally taking place.

Faisal refused to lead a war against France which was unwinnable; the French crushed the Syrian uprising; and Faisal, rejected by both sides, was expelled from the country which had called him to be its king. But just a year later he was back in favour in the Arab world and accepted the British-sponsored throne of Iraq. After the highhanded San Remo Conference the Iraqis rose in bloody revolt against Britain as the Syrians did against the French. Britain had to have peace if it was to be able to exploit the Mosul oil fields and by making swift concessions to Arab Nationalism it could achieve peace as long as it could isolate Iraq from the issue of Zionism just across the mandate border in Palestine. Having put down the revolt, Britain promptly agreed to a constitutional monarchy within the framework of the mandate, held a plebiscite and happily crowned Faisal on whom the choice of the people fell. It was his brother's turn to be out of a throne and he would have to wait a few years until Britain again needed to establish a constitutional monarchy as part of its policy of divide-and-rule to suppress either anti-Zionist movements or Arab reunification.

While those two rebellions against European colonial policy and Zionism were in progress Britain was having trouble of a different kind with Zionism in Palestine. The Zionist Commission had reached the arrogant stage at which the Vatican used its conduct and reports of atrocities against Christians in its attempts to have the Palestine mandate switched from Britain to France and to have the League of Nations squash the concept of a Jewish National Home altogether. But it had also caused such problems and tensions for the Occupied Enemy Territory Administration (O.E.T.A.) that Major General Sir Louis Bols recommended that the Commission be abolished. However the British Government's romance with Zionism – or the extent of its dependence on financial and political interests which supported Zionism – was such that its solution was to abolish not the Zionist Commission but the O.E.T.A. and to appoint Sir Herbert Samuel as High Commissioner in its place. He arrived to take up his post about the same time that Faisal arrived in Jerusalem as an exile from Damascus.

PERSIA ENDURES A PROTECTORATE

During 1919, while Britain and France argued over control of Arab territories, Britain was also busy strengthening its position by extending semi-colonial control over Persia. It had bribed its way to a secret protectorate agreement which would have given it virtually absolute control over Persia's oil and other resources.¹⁴ Early in May 1920 a team of British financial advisers led by Sydney Armitage Smith arrived in Teheran to oversee arrangements between the two governments and on May 8, almost as if it were a bit of side play to the Arab attempts to throw off the hated mandates, Britain paid the Russian Khoshtaria 100,000 pounds Sterling for the northern region oil concessions. It had succeeded in convincing both Persia and Russia that arrangements negotiated with imperial Russia were void. At least that episode was consistent with Britain's attitude to the Standard Oil concessions in Palestine. The government-controlled Anglo-Persian Oil Co. immediately established a subsidiary, North Persian Oil Co. Ltd., with an authorized capital of three million pounds Sterling.

Five days later the United States launched a blistering attack on Britain and France at the long-running Peace Conference in Versailles after learning of their secret negotiations over Mesopotamia and Mosul. The uprisings in Iraq against the mandate quickly swelled into full scale rebellion and Britain suffered 2,500 casualties between May and October. Intense anti-British feeling was generated in the US during June; the government officially pressed for an "open-door policy" on Middle East Oil; and Lloyd George was forced to withdraw his government's support for the agreement with France. In retaliation, France joined the US in trying to dismantle Britain's preferred position in Persia where the government had finally been forced to disclose the agreement with Britain and to seek ratification of it. In July the Persian government fell under the combined weight of several linked issues: US and French pressure; domestic opposition to the heartland of one of the world's former great empires becoming a resource vassal to a European power; and a British military withdrawal in the face of Russian forces when Soviet authorities decided they didn't like what Britain had done either.

It was only the first Persian government (and the first of a great string of Middle Eastern and other governments) to fall as a consequence of getting caught up in the Western World's oil intrigues – that is if we regard Turkey's troubles and the mandate manoeuvring as an integral part of the Great War rather than as the opening round of the oil wars.

The new Persian government refused to ratify the protectorate agreement and on August 12 the US State Department stepped up its campaign to break Britain's near monopoly on Middle East oil concessions. It advised the Persian Minister in New York that the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey would be happy to consider a proposal to operate in Northern Persia and that other US-based companies might also seek such concessions. But in spite of considerable counter pressure, the Persian government signed the Armitage Smith Agreement with the Anglo-Persian Oil Co. on December 22. The D'Arcy Concession was modified and the government was to receive 16 percent of the net profits derived from local and overseas operations involving Persian oil, exclusive of transport operations. That little loophole introduced a new element into oil manipulation which was not blocked effectively for two generations. It is amazing how cheaply oil could be produced, processed and marketed but how expensive all stages of

transport became! Transport subsidiaries were established by the oil majors; disproportionate profits were attributed to them; and profit payments to Persia and other countries which accepted similar agreements were squeezed to a minimum.

From Britain's point of view the year was closing on happier notes than those on which it had opened in other regions as well as in Persia. Dr Weizmann had become President of the World Zionist Organization and this had brought a very close working relationship between his organization and the British government. In Palestine Sir Herbert Samuel had gained the confidence of the Arab population and had established a system of local councils as well as an Advisory Council that was made up of four Muslims, three Christians and three Jews. But one of the appointments he made in 1921 was to prove troublesome. Following Britain's well established policy of moderating radical opponents of its colonial administrations by appointing them to positions of responsibility, he appointed a leading anti-Zionist, Haj Amin al Husseini, as Grand Mufti of Jerusalem. Husseini gradually became the focal point of resistance to Zionist expansion.

In 1921 another appointment was made on that basis which Britain may have regretted later also. King Faisal's brother Abdullah, who had been prevented by circumstances from occupying the throne that Iraq wanted to give him when they thought Faisal was set for the Syrian throne, was most upset when Faisal was expelled from Syria. He announced that he would personally drive the French out of Syria. He resigned his post as Foreign Minister for the Hejaz, began to gather an army and began the long march north along the Red Sea. Britain was not at all keen on Abdullah's plan and when he reached southern Palestine in January 1921 he was made welcome for a while. Then when Churchill visited Cairo in March for conferences with British and Arab officials the welcome was converted to recognition as ruler of the Transjordan region and it was not long before he had been persuaded to forget all about his northern mission. All that was required was a bit of financial help to establish a new state, assurances of British protection and the promise of a crown. In 1923 Britain confirmed its recognition of Abdullah's territory east of the Jordan as administratively separate from that west of the Jordan and exempted it from any Zionist settlement. In return Abdullah recognized Britain's mandatory authority. Five years later Britain and Transjordan exchanged formal agreements.

Several factors must have influenced Churchill's decision to recognize Abdullah. There were concurrent anti-British troubles in each of Palestine, Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Iran, coupled with anti-French trouble in Syria and Lebanon as well. His first task was to restore Britain's authority in Iraq but its political and commercial difficulties in Persia were not far behind. By deflecting trouble from France in Syria he would strengthen European authority overall and strengthen Britain's position in delicate negotiations with France. Recognition and support for Abdullah would help to reestablish confidence in Britain which had been totally undermined by its broken promises and its bias in favour of the Zionists. Abdullah, like Faisal, was known to be moderate in his attitude towards Zionism and well disposed towards Jews generally. If he were to control a region adjacent to the Zionist settlement there would be a buffer zone between the more radical Arab Nationalists and the Zionists. But an additional argument which found favour in

some quarters was that the land available for Zionist settlement would be restricted; the total Jewish population in the region could therefore be restricted by appropriate migration policies and, as a consequence, tension and the probability of conflict between Jews and Arabs would be reduced. That argument has provided a source of contention ever since.

Only a couple of weeks before Churchill's Cairo visit, Persia had another quick change of government – by bloodless coup. Sayyid Zia edDin Tabatabai, a young political reformer, became Prime Minister and the Cossack colonel whose troops had put him there became Minister for War. The colonel was Reza Khan. Sayyid Zia tried to change the corrupt established order with great speed, clashed with powerful vested interests and, unable to retain the support of Reza Khan, departed in haste after only three months. Reza Khan, commander-in-chief as well as minister for war, took a firm grip as master of the revolution. He also took legal advice – in London – on the Armitage Smith agreement; found that it put Persia at a serious constitutional disadvantage; that Armitage Smith had exceeded his authority; and that by swift action he might be able to repudiate it and get Persia off the British hook.¹⁵ Soviet Russia agreed rather reluctantly to renounce all claims to territorial concessions which imperial Russia had gained in collaboration with Britain in 1907 and extracted a favorable commercial treaty in its place. On November 22 the Majlis declared the Khoshtaria concession which Anglo-Persian had bought from Russia to be invalid. It then granted Standard Oil of New Jersey a 50-year concession in the five northern provinces, bordering Soviet Russia, under which the government was to get 15 percent of gross earnings.

The US authorities and Standard Oil were being quick to seize opportunities from the mess which Britain had got itself into. In October/November, while they were negotiating with the Reza Khan government in Persia, they took advantage of the new circumstances in Iraq following Faisal's investiture as vassal-king in July 1921 and made another push to break Britain's grip on Mosul and the rest of the Mesopotamia oil basin. The State Department, in collaboration with Standard Oil of New Jersey and six other US companies, pressed for an equal and competitive opportunity with Britain and proposed arbitration to test and determine the rights of the Turkish Petroleum Company. Standard Oil withdrew its claims for separate concessions in Palestine in order to strengthen the US group case.

It was now patently clear to the British oil men and their government that they had lost the initiative and the most fruitful approach might be one of cooperation with US interests instead of confrontation. Discussions began with a view to burying the Anglo-American hatchets so that a joint approach could be taken to the Persian government, ('collusive' might be more accurate), and these brought a quick response. On February 28 1922, only three months after the Majlis had acted in favour of the US at Britain's expense, a counter proposal for a joint operation was put to the government. Standard Oil and Anglo-Persian Oil proposed to establish the Perso-American Petroleum Company to operate concessions that might otherwise be granted to one or the other company. The proposal was rejected. Subsequently the Majlis empowered the government to negotiate an alternative concession with any independent and responsible

American company, on condition that a development loan of \$US10,000,000 would be arranged for the Persian government.

GROWING US INTEREST FORCES ‘COOPERATION’

Britain’s Middle East oil strategy, around which its neo colonial policy of mandates, protectorates and the exclusion of American interests had been hung, was in tatters. The US was firmly entrenched in Iran and it enjoyed strong support in Syria and Lebanon where its prestigious American University in Beirut had largely influenced the Arab preference for links with the US rather than with France. But in addition, the Balfour Declaration had prompted a surge of interest in Zionism in the United States, (to the extent that the World Zionist Organization faced the tensions of a ‘European Wing’ and an ‘American Wing’) and the US was developing strong influence in Palestine as a result. There was therefore no acceptable alternative to the cooperative approach in Iraq as well, especially as Britain had been forced to repudiate its agreement with France already. On August 1, 1922, Britain, in collaboration with France, offered the US a 12 percent share in the Turkish Petroleum Co. for its group-of-seven but the US State Department declared it unacceptable. On August 26 the offer was raised to a 20 percent share with a plan for the subleasing of portions of the T.P.C. concessions. The State Department accepted that offer somewhat grudgingly.

But the competition for the spoils of the former Ottoman Empire was not over yet. The game still had a few more rounds to play, and none of the players had yet reckoned with Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Atatürk. The soldier who had been sent to Anatolia to oversee Turkish demobilization in accordance with the armistice had attracted massive support for a nationalistic reform and resistance movement whose membership drew heavily from among former members of the ousted wartime Ittihad government. Support for his movement had snowballed with the transfer of the port city of Smyrna to Greece under British-imposed Treaty of Sevres, and by the end of 1920 he had set up a provisional government in Ankara in opposition to the official government in Constantinople. His successful action to restrain further Greek settlement in September 1921, six months after Churchill’s Cairo conference, cemented his position. Then a year later his decisive victory over the Greeks put him in a position from which, politically, he could challenge British and French occupation of the dismembered Ottoman Empire. It recast the Allies’ thinking towards a “final” Turkish peace treaty. In particular, it raised the matter of one of the ugliest issues of the war. The Armenian genocide.

THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE

Beginning in 1914, and acting under the cover of war, the Turkish Ittihad government had organised and implemented a systematic program of murder, deportation and starvation in an attempt to exterminate Turkey’s Christian Armenian minority. The program resulted in the deaths of over one million Armenians. (see chapter 16, pp 40–46) In response to public outrage at the Turkish atrocities, the governments of Britain, France and Russia had in 1915 condemned

the massacres, promising that Turkey's leaders would be held "personally responsible." Despite the failure at Versailles to adopt proposals which would have enabled the guilty to be punished under international law for 'crimes against humanity' the new Turkish Government, under pressure from Britain, France and the US, subjected hundreds of former Ittihadist accomplices to a series of trials under Turkish law throughout 1919 and 1920. Turkey was then forced under the Treaty of Sevres to agree to a number of specific terms that included the establishment of an independent Armenian State, compensation to Armenian survivors and tough punishment of war criminals.

But Ataturk's rise to power, with substantial support from members of the former Ittihadist government, had changed the equation. His nationalist movement was trenchantly opposed to Armenian independence, and even before the Treaty was signed fighting had broken out between Ataturk's forces and Armenian nationalists pushing for the establishment of their promised state. Under intense pressure from his growing movement, by the end of 1920 the Turkish government was forced to end the war crimes trials even as a new round of massacres commenced. By the time Ataturk had installed himself as the undisputed ruler of Turkey, it was clear to the Allies that they would have to change their tack if they wanted to get their hands on Mosul's oil.

In fact, the US government had long since sniffed the change in the political wind and set its sails accordingly. Among the first to see the implications of Ataturk's push for power was the American High Commissioner to Turkey, Retired Admiral Mark Bristol. The bigoted Bristol had no sympathy for the Armenian cause. "The Armenians", he wrote, "are a race like the Jews – they have little or no national spirit and poor moral character." The United States should abandon its support for an Armenian Republic, he argued. Instead it should strengthen its relations with emerging government of Ataturk, and enlist his support in gaining access to the oil fields of the former Ottoman Empire. The new Harding administration, with key links to the oil industry, agreed.¹⁶

A systematic effort to turn US public opinion in favour of Turkey was soon mounted. To assist the shift in policy, Bristol barred American newspaper reporters from travelling to areas where renewed massacres were taking place. When reports nevertheless continued to find their way into the American press, he wrote to the State Department to intervene with US publishers to change the tone of reporting to one less sympathetic to the Armenians. The response from the head of the State Department's Near East desk, Allen Dulles (later head of the CIA) was frank, if somewhat pessimistic: "Confidentially, the State Department is in a bind. Our task would be simple if the reports of the atrocities could be declared untrue or even exaggerated but the evidence, alas, is irrefutable...[T]he Secretary (sic) of State wants to avoid giving the impression that while the United States is willing to intervene actively to protect its commercial interests, it is not willing to move on behalf of the Christian minorities."¹⁷ Dulles needn't have worried. Throughout 1922 a range of public figures, some with connections to the US oil industry, were trotted out to announce to the American public that claims of Turkish atrocities

were indeed ‘exaggerated’. At the same time the US discretely withdrew its previous promises of aid and protection for the proposed Armenian republic.¹⁸

Ataturk now had the competing powers on a string. Fearful that King Faisal may throw his weight behind Turkey’s claims on its former imperial territories, Britain made the Iraqi mandate sufficiently attractive for King Faisal to drop any ideas he may have had of supporting Turkey’s position. Strengthened by the US State Department’s acceptance of its Mosul oil plan in August, Britain negotiated a Treaty of Alliance with Iraq in October 1922 which was to stand for 20 years. Faisal gained a greater degree of autonomy but continued to recognize Britain’s mandatory authority.

Then on December 12, still fearful of the Iraq mandate being annulled by the eventual peace conference with Turkey and needing US backing to avoid such a result, Britain offered to increase the US share in the Turkish Petroleum Co. from 20 to 24 percent. The condition was that the US support the T.P.C.’s claims to the exclusion of all other interests, including those of Americans. Politicking was going on at a great pace. Britain’s fears were well-founded – the US State Department rejected the offer and Britain became more dependent on French support than she cared to be. For that reason, painfully conscious of the earlier agreement between them, Britain could issue little more than a sham protest when France occupied the Rhur a few weeks later. The real protesting was left to people like Hitler. Then it was Turkey’s turn to try to isolate Britain still further. On April 10 the National Assembly voted 141 to 16 in favour of accepting the American Chester group proposal which (like the joint British/Dutch/German proposal) had lain on the table since before the Great War. It involved both Turkish and Iraqi mandated territory.¹⁹ The matter may have rested there but for a bit of swift diplomatic footwork by Britain, which insisted that the province adjoining Constantinople on the Balkans side of the Bosphorus remain part of Turkey. When the Lausanne Conference finally determined a peace treaty with Turkey in July the Mosul decision went in favour of Britain, but only just. Mosul would remain under British-Iraqi control either for one year, during which there would be further negotiations, or until the matter was referred to the League of Nations.²⁰

ARMENIANS WERE EXPENDABLE

Ataturk had played his game well. In return for relinquishing all claims on the territories of the old Ottoman Empire, the Western governments agreed to new Turkish borders and officially recognised Attaturk’s government. In addition they abandoned any claims on behalf of Armenian state, and agreed to an end of war crimes trials and an unconditional amnesty for all Ittihadist members previously convicted of atrocities.²¹ For the Western powers it was a sell out on a grand scale, and the message sent by their shameful oil for blood deal was clear. It was a lesson learned by a young Adolf Hitler just starting on a political career in post-war Germany. In 1931 Hitler would comment that “the extermination of the Armenians” had led him to “the conclusion that masses of men are mere biological plasticine.”²² Eight years later, on the eve of Germany’s invasion of Poland, he would tell his generals, “I have sent to the east...my Death’s

Head Units with the order to kill without pity or mercy...Only in such a way will we win the vital space we need. Who still talks nowadays of the extermination of the Armenians?"²³ His generals may well have asked themselves: "who, indeed?"

But Britain's interest was secure for the time being and the Churchillian approach to Faisal and Abdullah was beginning to pay off. However, only two months after Churchill's Cairo Conference in march 1921 the first major violence between Arab residents and Jewish immigrants had erupted at a hostel at Jaffa, just as Faisal was preparing for his new role in Iraq and just as Abdullah was settling down in Transjordan. About 100 deaths and 200 other casualties were shared equally between the two communities but Arab feelings were inflamed because it was police and other official forces who had been responsible for most of their casualties, and not the immigrants.

Neither had Churchill been able to find solutions to Egypt's complaints which were acceptable to both countries. With Ataturk mopping Armenians, Greeks and other Europeans out of Turkey, Britain had to grant a degree of independence to Egypt as well as Iraq. If it did not, the rising tides of Arab Nationalism would link up across the enthusiastic young Zionist enterprise – because of which Britain had artificially separated them – engulf Britain in a struggle it could not possibly cope with and sweep all British interests out of the Middle East. In a move born out of desperation the British government unilaterally declared Egypt to be independent in February 1922, except that it insisted on stationing forces there for the defence of the Suez Canal, the communications system and the Sudan. The Sultan was set up as Fuad I and constitutional government was established, but the new situation could hardly be described as 'peace'. There was three-way friction between Britain, the king and the constitutional government seldom far below the surface.

The policy of divide and rule had taken on another new dimension. Britain was committed to showing that a series of Arab communities which were interlocked by a common religious heritage and culture, and which were now linked even more closely through monarchies which it had set up to suit its own purposes, were separate oil-tight countries. In order to suppress both their anti-Zionism and the cohesive nationalism which was being further stimulated by it, Britain had to negotiate with each of them separately and on a different basis. It was adopting a deliberately divisive policy which was subsequently continued by the state of Israel and its principal ally, the United States.

Britain's policy was basically a defensive tactic aimed at achieving the most favourable result for Britain. It would make only those concessions which were necessary to satisfy the minimum individual demands of each of the Arab States which had either been recognized already or which were being set up on arbitrary boundaries which cut across real communities. However, in its effects Britain's policy was not then, nor was it after World War II, purely defensive. Throughout the period it involved an aggressive strategy to secure control of oil resources and trade routes in other people's territory. Its successors in the region have pursued

the same strategy either for the same purposes or to support and impose the interests of the Zionist State of Israel.

BRITAIN'S BALFOUR DILEMMA BEGINS TO HURT

The dilemma which Britain faced in trying to discharge the conflicting commitments which it had made without having to forfeit strategic and material benefits which flowed from those conflicting commitments is shown by Churchill's White Paper of June 1922.²⁴ The reasoning given to justify Britain's actions (and for the complex administrative and political system which Sir Herbert Samuel was trying to make workable) ran around in circles and could be used by both the Zionist Organization and the Arab communities to support their demands.

On one hand Britain claimed that it had never intended Jews to have a state of their own or to assume the government of Palestine but that it wanted them to have somewhere to go to live and to be a focal point for the whole Jewish community. This meant that they could have prestige but they could have little more. Certainly they could not have a home for all of Europe's Jews, whether refugees or not, because their numbers were to be restricted to levels at which the Jewish and Arab communities together would be economically viable in a region of about one third of the area of that which had originally been envisaged. On the other hand it regarded Palestine as excluded from the area of Arab independence although the Arab community was still to govern it and its rights were not to be affected adversely in any way. But of course both groups existed for Britain's benefit. As a statement of colonial rationale or foreign policy it was about as cohesive and logical as another statement of colonial and foreign policy which was about to be written and which would be published three years later: *Mein Kampf*.

ABOLITION OF THE CALIPHATE

However by 1923 the British Government had reason to believe that it was managing to defuse the interfaith issue in Palestine through its conciliatory approach to domestic issues; through its role in settling the future of Turkey; and through the actions it had taken to placate Egyptian and Iraqi nationalism. But it had not reckoned with Ataturk. It was not really unhappy to see the dynamic Turkish leader dismantle the moribund Sultanate as he gained power in 1922 and it probably shared the joy of the United States at the establishment of a republic in September 1923 under the Treaty of Lausanne. Then in 1924 Ataturk secularized the state, withdrew recognition of Islam as the religion of the state and as the basis of its civil and legal codes, and abolished the Caliphate. Western observers gleefully predicted the imminent end of Islam as a force in world affairs. Their reasoning ran that without a paramount religious leader as a personal focal point, and with the last Islamic empire dismantled, Islam would disintegrate and Muslims, left without political leadership, would lose the tenacity of their faith. They would probably defect to Christianity en masse but even if they didn't the churches would have an

open field for evangelism, there would be no reason for compromise and the future of Jerusalem would be simply a matter for Christian and Jewish discussion.

The first shock of Ataturk's decision certainly sent a tidal wave of dismay flooding across the Muslim world and it looked as if the Western observers might be correct. Muslims throughout the world were under Christian rule or suzerainty with the only significant exceptions, numerically, being in the Communist Soviet Union where all institutional religion was discouraged, and in republican Turkey which had just disowned Islamic law in favour of European law and which was substituting the Latin alphabet for Arabic.

But as the flood subsided many influential Muslims began to realize that it was taking with it, like flotsam and jetsam, relationships and traditions which had tended to inhibit thought and development and which had coupled with European Christian attitudes and colonial policies to become self-perpetuating. They began to reason that Muslims didn't need a paramount religious leader like the Roman pontiff as a dictator on moral issues or as a focal point for their faith. It didn't really matter if apostolic succession was broken, except to certain fragments of Islam such as the Shi'a, because it was the word of Allah transmitted through the Messiah and the prophet Muhammad which mattered and not the person momentarily leading the faithful. And besides that, Islam had its two focal points in Mecca and Jerusalem.

JERUSALEM OR MECCA?

Jerusalem! Perhaps the abolition of the caliphate was the signal for Muslims to turn back to Jerusalem from Mecca. There were a number of Muslim scholars and leaders who believed it to be so. Among them was the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al Husseini. His opposition to Zionism became stronger and his appeals for Jerusalem to be an open city administered on a genuinely multi-faith basis for people of all faiths, notably Muslims, became louder. Husseini's standing and influence had grown immensely in the few years since his appointment as Grand Mufti, especially after the Jaffa riots of 1921 when the British authorities tried to placate the Arab Palestinians by establishing a Supreme Muslim Council with him as president. With the abolition of the Caliphate they deemed it necessary to make further concessions in an effort to defuse the impact of his new appeal. It is reasonable to believe that they were also made in an effort to reduce both his personal authority and that of his office. His religious zeal was misrepresented as a matter of local politics and as a camouflage for a push for personal power. The base of Arab involvement in the city's administration was broadened by enlarging the local council without changing the balance of interfaith power.²⁵

But there was a strange assortment of people other than the Zionists who did not want to see Muslim attention focussed on Jerusalem. It included people of all three faiths, each with their own assortment of reasons and, because of the quite fantastic position which successive British governments had got themselves into as a consequence of their imperial greed, Britain was happy to respond to them all.

Three months after the outbreak of the Great War, as an early shot in the insidious, unscrupulous campaign to poison relations between the Arabs and the Turks and to manipulate the Muslim world community, Field Marshall Lord Kitchener²⁶ had written a letter to the Sharif of Mecca which must rank among history's foulest pieces of religious intrigue and characterizes the general Christian misunderstanding of both Islam and Christianity itself. He wrote that until then Britain had defended and befriended Islam in the person of the Turks but that henceforward it would be that of the noble Arab. "It may be (he wrote) that an Arab of true race will assume the Khalifate at Mecca or Medina, and so good may come from the help of God out of all the evil which is now occurring."^{27 28} Naturally enough the Sharif, recognized by Britain as King Hussein of the Hejas with his base at Mecca and with two of his sons in similar roles in Iraq and Transjordan, was quick to claim the title of Caliph when the Turkish Caliphate was abolished. He was very unpopular with Britain because of his strong anti-Zionism coupled with contempt for Britain's failure to honour its undertaking to support a unified Arab nation but his claim had to be recognized even though it strengthened his personal authority and the anti Zionist cause. Britain would have been universally damned by the Kitchener letter if it had not recognized him, and at least the spotlight moved to Mecca and away from Jerusalem.

But Hussein's immediate neighbour a few hundred miles away in Central Arabia, Ibn Saud, was not at all impressed by the idea. He was the leader of the puritanical Muslim reform group, the Wahhabis, whose fanaticism had helped restore religious fervour to Mecca during the previous three or four generations and he was not eager to be encircled and then eliminated by Hussein's family. Nor was he keen to recognize a British sponsored usurper as Caliph when one of his own tribes had led one of the religious reform movements which had cleaned up much of the religious dry rot which the old ecclesiastical order had been associated with. When the British authorities learned of his plans to "absorb" the kingdom of the Hejas they were caught in another jam. They had a treaty with both dynasties and they were happy to contemplate the Middle East without Hussein but if they supported Ibn Saud they would invite further uprisings in Iraq and Transjordan. Officially they discouraged him and went as far as cutting off a "subsidy" of Sterling 5,000 pounds per month which had been paid as part of the 1915 protectorate agreement to gain his support against Turkey – or at least to keep him friendly.²⁹ However when Ibn Saud turned his fanatical religious troops (the Ikhwan) against Mecca in 1924 they turned a blind eye and stepped up support for both Faisal and Abdullah to avoid further eruptions in Iraq and Transjordan.

In fact Britain was having to walk another of its homemade tightropes and it was running out of balancing options. One of its stated reasons for discouraging his adventure was that if the battle went against him, Britain did not have the forces in the region to support him. That was in reality an admission that it could not stop him and that in any event it could not involve its forces in Iraq, Palestine or Egypt. Its relations with Turkey and its oil interests in Iran, Mesopotamia and, by then, in Arabia as well had become so complicated that it could not afford to intervene in Arabia either for or against Ibn Saud for fear of triggering a chain reaction. Britain tried to placate both Abdullah and Faisal and to appear to be innocent of complicity with

Ibn Saud who obligingly cabled London that his Ikhwan had invaded Mecca against his orders.³⁰ Britain was still in the middle of delicate negotiations to get its Iraqi treaty ratified and it only achieved that by subterfuge on the night of June 10, 1925.³¹

If Britain had fallen out with Ibn Saud it could have faced a crisis in its efforts to impose exclusive control of the vital Persian Gulf with its access to both the Persian and the Mesopotamian oil fields. Britain therefore had to maintain its position in Arabia irrespective of any other considerations. But if it had tried to prevent Ibn Saud's expansion by military intervention it is almost certain that its action would also have inflamed Arab feeling even more in Iraq, Palestine and Egypt as well. The entire region would have been at risk including both the Mesopotamian oil region and the Suez Canal. But in addition there was also Britain's resources agreement with Ibn Saud which it did not want to lose to any other power which was already friendly with him or which might choose to become more friendly.

PILGRIMAGE FEES OFFSET LACK OF PROMISED OIL INCOME

One aspect of Ibn Saud's protectorate agreement with Britain in 1915 which received little publicity was that he had agreed not to grant any oil exploration rights without Britain's agreement. In the years following the Great War he was naturally eager to capitalize on oil exploration rights and, if possible, to generate royalties similar to those which the Persian government was enjoying. However the government-controlled Anglo-Persian Oil Co. was happy with its level of production, (two and a half million barrels in 1921–22), and, being doubtful of prospects on the other side of the gulf, it did not want to spend money on exploration. Based on the company's advice to him the British High Commissioner actively discouraged Ibn Saud from granting any concessions. He also discouraged potential explorers on the grounds that Britain could not provide protection. In spite of that, in May 1923 a New Zealander, Major Frank Holmes, sought and was granted a concession over 36,000 square miles of eastern Arabia for an annual rental of a mere 2,000 pounds Sterling. He was in his second unsuccessful year of exploration when Ibn Saud swooped on Mecca and eliminated Hussein's very temporary universal Caliphate and his short-lived Hashemite Kingdom of the Hejas as well.

Even though he was virtually the spiritual leader as well as the political leader of the Wahhabis, Ibn Saud was much too astute to claim the Caliphate himself. It lapsed. But that was not the end of the episode. Ibn Saud had a greatly increased area and population over which he had to establish his authority. To do that he had to provide for both economic development and political security. That took greatly increased funds as well as great diplomacy to secure the allegiance of tribes whose allegiance had either been with the Hashemites, the Rashids to the north, or the Turks whose empire was re-emerging as a dynamic republic. In a sense he needed a continuing alliance with Britain as much as Britain needed one with him.

Neither Britain's investors nor its authorities would provide increased funds through exploration royalties or grants in view of the chaotic state of Europe's finances. However Ibn

Saud's control of Mecca now promised a couple of real advantages for Britain. It therefore reversed the policy of opposition to increased revenue generation through pilgrimages to Mecca which it had maintained while Hussein was in control. This relieved the pressure from Ibn Saud for alternative financial support, elevated Mecca as the focal point for Islam, eased the spotlight away from Jerusalem, helped to further undermine the Grand Mufti's authority and influence, and helped to defuse the issue of Zionism. It also tied the fervently puritanical and evangelical Ibn Saud even more tightly to Islam and for the second time in only a few generations a Wahhabi reformation swept through Jeddah and Mecca and on across the Muslim world. At the same time Ibn Saud took full advantage of Muslim acceptance of polygamy to forge links with tribes not previously owing allegiance to him. Of course to avoid antagonizing tribes already allied to him he also had to seek wives from them. It has been said that within a few years he had married at least 135 virgins and possibly a hundred additional wives.³² His dozens of sons and daughters multiplied so that in recent years the scale and activities of the royal family has provided ample opportunity for attacks by those wishing to denigrate either the Saudi Arabian monarchy or Islam.

Ibn Saud's romantic and easily misrepresented programme to unify the whole of Arabia through marriage – unusual only because of its staggering scale – coincided with the development of several conflicting streams of moral and ethical behaviour in the Christian West which have already been discussed. They included the frightening net of eugenics-based race control programmes and the sanctimonious, inhibiting, frustrating and destructive programmes which were unleashed by Casti Connubii. But they also included the rising tide of sexual permissiveness and promiscuity which has been described as both a trigger for, and a consequence of, Casti Connubii. Now, in the third generation since those developments, they serve to highlight differences in ethical interpretation and practices between the partners in the troubled triangle.

But in 1924 Britain showed little interest in the long-term effects of the policies it was pursuing in the Middle East and even less understanding of them. Its deeply ingrained self understanding as one of the dominant Christian, Western nations strongly discouraged both interest and understanding and so the politicking went on apace. British diplomats skillfully led Ibn Saud, Abdullah and Faisal to agreement on boundaries between their three territories and then, in 1927, Britain formally recognized Ibn Saud as an independent monarch as part of the deal.

In the region under its control France had been following much the same policy as Britain in an equally divisive and sterile manner. Its motive was to avoid a flow on of nationalistic subversion in its enormously important North African territories. It seems to have overreacted to the anti French component in Britain's manoeuvring which suggests that Britain was very successful in concealing both her motives and the extremely fragile position into which she had blundered. France seems to have even seen Britain's cordial relations with Faisal and Abdullah in that light rather than as absolute political necessities. It set about fragmenting the area of its mandate both politically and administratively. It tried to suppress communities hostile to it by

isolating them and by making access to the coast more difficult, and it grasped the reality of Arab nationalism only slowly.

TWO CAN PLAY 'DIVIDE'N'RULE'

France was, like Britain, preoccupied with events in Europe. It was struggling with the financial crisis over German reparations and the political crisis over its seizure of the Ruhr. Its programme of divide-and-rule in the Middle East resembled Britain's nineteenth century activities in India even more closely than its concurrent activities in neighbouring regions. When it was faced with a rash of revolts connected with the crisis in Asia Minor in 1924 it took what appeared to be an easy way out. It doubled the size of Lebanon at Syria's expense to "balance" the numbers of Christians and Muslims; it imposed a constitution and electoral system based on religious division, and then it proclaimed the enlarged Lebanon a republic in 1926.³³ The consequences of those moves began to show within a few years with a revolt by the Druze, but they multiplied with World War II so that a new constitution was hastily drawn up in 1943. They then burst Lebanon apart only a few years later in the wake of the partition of Palestine to establish the state of Israel.

Naturally very few people other than the Arabic speaking peoples have thought of the Middle East as a unified region, albeit complex, since the mandate fiasco of the 1920s. Everyone outside of ruling circles has been encouraged to see it as a series of pocket handkerchief European (or at least Western) possessions which had previously suffered neglect and under-development because of their one common factor: an "inferior" religion and a "barbaric" system of ethics. They were all supposed to be of low productivity and of very little strategic importance except for Egypt and Palestine which could not be kept out of the limelight. But to informed observers visiting the region in the late 1920s its importance, its political turmoil and its religious tension and dissent were all very real.

Such was the situation when delegates to the International Missionary Conference trudged up the Mount of Olives in 1928. It has been of great consequence that most of their colleagues back home failed to understand it and refused to heed their message. If that conference had been accorded more credibility instead of being denigrated on both sides of the Reformation fence the tenor of subsequent events could quite conceivably have been different. Diverse European interests, both Christian and Jewish, were hell-bent on pursuing their own economic, political and sectarian interests without regard for the increased tension and conflict being generated in the triangle of faiths and irrespective of the consequences for other people.

BRITAIN: STUCK FAST AT THE CENTRE OF THE TRIANGLE

Britain, which was clinging to the role of standard bearer for the Christian West which it had assumed during the European Colonial era, was preoccupied with economic problems which degenerated into deep economic depression after the Wall Street collapse of October 24, 1929.

It was Britain's actions in bringing the three faiths into direct confrontation in Jerusalem during its Great War manipulation which had actually set the irreversible scene in which a thorough rethink of the Messianic message can no longer be avoided. But the people of the entire amorphous Christian gel were unwittingly condemning themselves and the rest of the world to another two generations or so of deepening crisis until they came face to face with the even greater catastrophe of World War II and the extensive degradation of their own society: all because of their inability or their refusal to recognize the nature of the challenge.

As with each of the previous challenges to the church's self-understanding and theology which had been rejected, the crisis would have reverted to manageable proportions if the challenge had been recognized and acted on. But because humanity has not been programmed to produce a fixed response to a particular mental stimulus and because its members are permitted, by the Grace of God, to make their own decisions – whether responsible or irresponsible – they have to accept the consequences of whatever decisions they choose to make. So the plot thickened. The years from 1928 to 1933 (when Hitler gained the authority to put his parody of the amorphous Christian gel into effect) provided an opportunity to either put out the fires which were blazing around the world or to stoke them up. By their decisions and their actions the controllers of the amorphous gel stoked them up. Perhaps it was done unwittingly. Perhaps it was done knowingly and arrogantly on the basis that they, or their successors, controllers of the destiny of humanity on behalf of God, would never lose control of the long term situation and that they would therefore be able to put out the fires in due course.

The interdependence of countries in which major financiers, resource extractors and industrial employers had either complementary or competing interests had been well established by the time of Napoleon's sweep across Europe. By the time of the Crimean war the governments of every country in which the Rothschild family held investments was forced to recognize it and by the time of Bismarck's confrontation with the House of Rothschild after the Franco/Prussian war it had become an important factor in both domestic and foreign policy. Then the relationships between Cecil Rhodes, the Rothschilds and the Round Table highlighted that dimension in international affairs. But during those four or five generations the world's population, the level of industrial activity, and the number of major investment institutions had each mushroomed so that when Wall Street crashed no country involved in the Western World's trade could avoid being affected.^{34 35}

Britain, as political master of most of the Middle East, was faced with a multitude of conflicting interests. Its successive governments had to try to prevent the hungry American eagle from nesting among the choice pickings. At the same time they had to maintain good diplomatic and commercial relations with the countries of Europe and a strong naval presence in the Mediterranean to preserve what was left of Britain's preferential position. They sought to take advantage of Germany as a buffer against Communist influence and for a decade or so that appeared to be a successful strategy. But once Hitler came to power it became a much more

delicate task to use Germany as a buffer because, although they readily identified with his domestic economic policies, they were, out of sheer self interest, in conflict with some aspects of his social and foreign policies. And they had got into such a frightful mess that they could neither support nor reject his racial and religious policies so they stayed silent. They became unsure in their attitudes, policies, strategies and everyday decisions in both Eastern Europe and the Middle East. Anti-Semitism increased to unprecedented heights in Europe as Hitler raved and ranted against “the Jewish materialistic spirit.” In fact his ‘anti-ism’ was misplaced and what he was really attacking was Western Christian materialism.

With the advantage of hindsight we can now see that at the time of the Wall Street crash, although Hitler was not yet in power, his parody was already beginning to come into play but, naturally, the Christian West didn’t recognize the parody and applauded that part of his performance which it could identify with. British governments, unable to counter Hitler’s public stance, launched one enquiry after another into affairs in Palestine in order to stabilize the region. They sought to camouflage Britain’s sheer political and religious hypocrisy and dishonesty during the Great War which had become enshrined in the Balfour Declaration by continuing to support two clearly defined and competing commitments. One involved Zionism and Jewish rights in Palestine. Britain had to continue to support this commitment in order to secure the economic and political support of the Jewish community which had become important if imperial stability was to be sustainable. The other was the political, religious and land rights of the Arab populations of the Middle East. Britain also had to continue to support this commitment in order to retain access to the petroleum supplies within the Arab territories and to retain secure access to both the trade of its dominions and colonies, and defence-sensitive facilities and regions (notably Suez, the Persian Gulf and Singapore) which had become vital to imperial stability. As the crisis which developed from these two commitments became more acute the British Government became aware of two realities. The first reality was that without massive military and naval capacity to enable it to enforce its decisions, the two commitments were incompatible. Britain did not have, nor could it afford, the massive military and naval capacity which would become necessary to secure its position if a major war broke out and it had to rely entirely on its own goodwill and resources. The second reality was that maintenance of stability in the Middle East had become the single most critical factor in the maintenance of Britain’s imperial power. Britain could not simply walk away and leave the Jews and the Arabs to resolve the crisis which it had generated. If it did so it would lose everything on both sides of the basic equation. It therefore had to stay and endeavour to stabilize the region with whatever goodwill and resources it could muster.

ZIONIST-ARAB CLASHES INCREASE

It was the Arab population which had suffered most in the confusion resulting from the Balfour Declaration, especially as the distinction between “Arab” and “Muslim” became blurred in many public statements. Christian Arabs were often conveniently made to appear to be a

curiosity minority but the facts, as far as Jerusalem was concerned, did not justify it and the churches continued to press for their rights.^{36 37 38} The supposition that “Arab” meant “Muslim” was cleverly and conveniently exploited by Zionist groups when serious clashes occurred between Jews (including Palestinian Jews who had never left Palestine) and Palestinian Muslims in 1928 and 1929.

Both communities – Jewish and Arab – took advantage of every incident they could to apply pressure on the British administration, to make it appear to be favouring the other community, and to manipulate it into making rulings in their favor to offset the perceived advantage which the other was enjoying. The importance of an incident involving a prayer screen used by the Jewish community at the Wailing Wall was exaggerated by the Arabs and when ugly brawls resulted in September 1928 the Grand Mufti aggravated the situation by enlarging his house above the wall, by insisting on changed arrangements for access to the wall and by adding additional calls to worship at the adjacent mosques which became a distraction from worship for the Jews. The bitterness had not subsided in July 1929 when a new constitution was approved for the Jewish Agency by the Sixteenth Zionist Congress. It formalized both the inclusion of non-Zionist Jewish representatives as well as Zionists, and its role as a fund raising and development agency for Jewish activities in Palestine. While that may have suggested some moderation in Jewish attitudes to Palestine it had the effect of increasing Jewish support for the work in Palestine, especially in the United States, and there was no real moderation. When it was established without a formal constitution in 1923 the Agency had been, in effect, the Zionist Organization wearing another hat even though only half the members of its executive were Zionists and half were non-Zionists. Since then Zionists had tightened their numerical grip so that eventually there were 17 Zionists out of 20 members and no non-Zionists were elected after 1937.

At that Sixteenth Congress meeting the leader of the Revisionist group, Vladimir Jabotinsky, was insistent that a National Home could only mean a state with a Jewish majority in which the life of the community would be directed by Jews, and that ‘Palestine’ referred to territory on both sides of the Jordan. He was opposed to Weizmann’s policy of cooperation with Britain. He demanded that Britain open up all of Palestine to Jewish settlement, and he called for Jews to repudiate the White Paper of 1922 and cease a policy of appeasement towards the Arabs until a Jewish majority had been achieved. In mid August, shortly after delegates returned from that Congress meeting, Arab fears were reinforced by a demonstration at which Jews demanded ownership of the Wailing Wall which the Arabs understood to be a claim to the Temple Mount and the mosques as well. A few days later the murder of a Jewish boy led to further demonstrations and, in turn, widespread attacks on Jews in Jerusalem and four other centres. Unable to quell the violence, the security forces called for reinforcements from Egypt and Malta, but before they arrived 133 Jews had been killed by Arabs and 116 Arabs had been killed – all except six of them by soldiers and police.^{39 40} From that point on, any reputation for even handedness which the British security forces may have tried to maintain was totally destroyed in the eyes of the Arabs and, for the first time, the Arabs unleashed their hatred not only against

the Zionists but also against the old-established Jewish religious groups which had little sympathy for the Zionists and with whom they had maintained peaceful relations up to that point.

A WHITE PAPER CRISIS

Early in June 1929, barely two months before that crisis in Palestine, Ramsay MacDonald's second Labour minority government took office in place of Baldwin's Conservative government and the new Secretary for Colonial and Dominion Affairs, Fabian Socialist peer Sidney Webb, (Lord Passfield) ordered a detailed review of the situation in Palestine by a British Commission. Passfield followed the Commission's report with another White Paper, published in October 1930. It proposed restrictions on Jewish immigration and on land sales to Jews in order to protect the rights of the Palestinian people. Dr Weizmann immediately resigned as president of the World Zionist Organization in protest. When it was debated in the House of Commons in mid November the White Paper was trenchantly criticized by members of former governments, then in opposition, who echoed the Zionist view that it contradicted the British mandate and the spirit of the Balfour Declaration.

In the meantime a substantial group of Jewish scholars, working within a group called Brith Shalom, sought to reduce the likelihood of further violence by redirecting Zionist ideology towards a bi-national Arab-Jewish state and away from an ultimately exclusivist Jewish State. Its members included prominent academics such as the founding Chancellor of the Hebrew University, Reform Rabbi Judah Magnes, two professors at that university, Hugo Bergmann and Gershom Scholem, and the editor of a scholarly magazine, Robert Weltsch. Its spiritual leader was the Viennese-born philosopher Martin Buber who was teaching in Germany and braved the storm there until 1938 when the Nazis drove him from his post as national director of Jewish adult education. After World War One Buber had urged the Jewish community to lay the foundation of a true brotherhood with the Arabs and not to see themselves as emissaries of the West which he concluded was doomed to destruction.⁴¹ He also placed great importance on Christian-Jewish dialogue and pressed the Jews to recognize the reality of Christianity as a path to God, coupled with the demand that Christianity similarly acknowledge Judaism as an authentic path to god.⁴² (Remarkably similar to the reasoning of Karl Barth.) However Brith Shalom failed to develop any real political muscle, it had little impact among the Jewish settlers of Palestine, it therefore could not generate a favourable reaction from the Arab community, and its most prominent publicity appears to have resulted from attacks on the views of its leaders by Zionist leaders in the United States.⁴³

Any impact which it may have hoped to achieve was overshadowed by an even greater crisis than that in Palestine which overtook the British government following the Wall Street stock market collapse on October 24, 1929, exactly two months after the crisis in Palestine reached its new peak. The great depression was worsening every day and with a desperate need to secure employment, to generate investment and to prevent an outflow of capital, it was the British

Government's turn to suffer an attack of the Bismarck jitters. It appeared more prudent from the point of view of both politics and economics to respond to the Zionist cause and to hold the Arabs in subjection by a military presence. Economic interest again took precedence over religious belief (or heritage) and interfaith relations. Therefore, on February 13, 1931, three months after the Commons' debate, Prime Minister MacDonald wrote to Dr Weizmann with a partial retraction of the White Paper. In view of the Prime Minister's assurances that the terms of the mandate would be adhered to and his very gymnastic interpretation of the meaning of some sections of the White Paper, Dr Weizmann resumed his former policy of cooperation with the British government. But bitterness was welling up relentlessly on all sides.

Arabs of all persuasions attacked the "black letter" and for the first time their wrath was let loose on British authorities in Palestine as well as on Zionist oriented Jewish communities and the older non-Zionist communities associated with them. When the Seventeenth Zionist Congress was held in Switzerland in July 1931 to elect a successor to Dr Weizmann another split developed. Although the majority of delegates supported his policy of cooperation with Britain the Revisionist wing again demanded that the aim of Zionism be redefined to include the establishment of a Jewish state with a Jewish majority. In a bitter outburst which ultimately led the Revisionists to break from the World Zionist Organization (in 1935) and to establish a separate organization, Jabotinsky tore up his delegate's card, saying "This is no Zionist Congress!" Weizmann refused to withdraw his resignation and Sokolow was elected president.

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It was then the turn of Zionist propagandists and sympathizers to take advantage of the Muslim population for their own ends as the Christian powers had during the Great War. They began to play up Arab attacks on British authorities and to misrepresent it as Muslim hatred of Christians. They were very successful, largely because they were simply adding a bit of impetus to what churches had been doing and saying for a very long time, and the myth gradually drifted towards fact. Certainly their activities made it easier for the British Government to align itself with Zionism rather than with Arab interests in Palestine. A vicious circle had been set in motion in the middle of the triangle.

When an international Muslim Conference was held in Jerusalem at the end of 1931 it was portrayed by Zionist groups as a political meeting arranged to scheme against Britain, Christians and Jews, and to assume control of Palestine. In fact that conference, attended by 145 delegates from around the world, was the Islamic counterpart of the 1923 Christian Missionary Conference. The spotlight was again on Jerusalem as the focal point of all three partners in the triangle and it is of immense significance that Muslim theologians and leaders also chose Jerusalem as the venue for their conference. Because of the double demolition of the Caliphate they were meeting in much the same atmosphere of crisis as the Christian missionaries had. They were also meeting with the same incentive and urgency in their search for renewal and reformation. And in addition their reasons for choosing Jerusalem in preference to Mecca, Istanbul, Cairo or any other seat of Muslim administration or learning were essentially the same

as the Christians' reasons for bypassing Rome, Constantinople (Istanbul), Canterbury and the other seats of Christianity in Europe.

Cairo, in particular, could have pressed quite strong claims to the honour of hosting the conference. Its position as a seat of Muslim scholarship had strengthened gradually during the previous two generations with two streams of thought developing together, even if in conflict to some extent. Those streams illustrate an interesting parallel between Islam in the twentieth century and Christianity when it was confronted by Darwin.

Muhammad Abduh, teaching at Al-Azhar University, led those who believed that faith and reason were compatible and that they both contributed towards the advancement of true religion coupled with the development of a well ordered society. He saw Islam as a call to man to use his reason to investigate the world of nature since the totality of nature, of which humanity is a part, is God's creation. His teaching encouraged the rejection of medieval religious authority along with the modernization of the Muslim Middle East. However the fact of religious renewal had tended to enhance the role of religious teachers and leaders at the same time that the Qur'an and the Sunna were being elevated above the authority of long-standing Islamic tradition. This was a consequence of the integration of religion and government remaining undisturbed in much of Islamic society.

After the drawn-out demolition of the Caliphate, in a continuation of the cycle of action and reaction, Al-Azhar became more and more the centre of scholarship for the Muslim world community. But it was definitely a centre of scholarship and leadership as opposed to a focus of faith and a centre for pilgrimage. This was especially so from 1928 when Ataturk's Assembly deleted all reference to Islam as the State religion from the Turkish constitution. A new political movement developed at alAzhar with the broad aim of ensuring that such a break between state and religion did not take place elsewhere. Islam began to assume a new and militant dimension. Before long the Muslim Brotherhood was also established. Its aim was to eliminate Western influence from Muslim communities and it was difficult for anyone to distinguish between "Western influence" and "Christianity." The church and the Western powers had spent so much time and effort in persuading each other and the world that such was the case, how could they expect anyone to suddenly believe otherwise?

CHANGES PLACE GRAND MUFTI IN KEY ROLE

In the circumstances it was natural that the Grand Mufti's influence was further enhanced when the 1931 International Muslim Conference was held in Jerusalem.⁴⁵ He became a dominant figure in the whole Arab Nationalism movement and under the pressure of those circumstances and the attitudes around him his tolerance of things and people non-Muslim began to falter. It is hardly surprising that he saw the Infidel Jew as being in league with the Infidel Christian government.

But as was the case when King Hussein claimed the Caliphate in 1924, the Grand Mufti's rise to pre-eminence in the Muslim community posed another threat to one of his near

neighbours, Ibn Saud. It was a different kind of threat but it was no less real. Ibn Saud did not fear political or military encirclement as he had when he was faced with Britain's trio of Hashemite kingdoms.⁴⁶ He feared economic problems and a consequent internal political challenge if Mecca was supplanted by Jerusalem as the focal point of Muslim pilgrimage.

The Great Depression had not bypassed the Middle East. Investment money was scarce, so were royalties from concessions, and Ibn Saud had cancelled Major Holmes' concession in 1928 because he had earlier defaulted on payments. Money for travel was also very scarce. Fees and general income from pilgrimages to Mecca slumped sharply. Ibn Saud and his Meccan subjects were soon in financial trouble in much the same way as the papacy and the innkeepers of Rome when the pope's Holy Year failed in 1450. Anyone or anything which shifted the spotlight from Mecca to Jerusalem encouraged a further drop in pilgrimages to Mecca and was to be discouraged. This was therefore a significant factor in Ibn Saud's quite remarkable tolerance towards Zionism and Jewish claims to Jerusalem. And when he assumed the title King of a unified Saudi Arabia shortly after the Muslim Conference in Jerusalem it was Britain's turn to show equally remarkable tolerance, especially in view of the split between the Revisionists and the World Zionist Organization over the matter of relations with Britain only a few months earlier.

However the increased prestige from his being both spiritual and temporal ruler over most of the Arabian Peninsula did not stop the decline in pilgrimage income. During 1932 the country's financial position became desperate and the government was unable to meet its commitments.⁴⁷ Ibn Saud turned to his chief confidant, the British geologist, diplomat and explorer H.St.J. Philby, for urgent assistance in raising additional income by means of oil concessions. The prospects for the discovery of oil in Saudi Arabia had improved dramatically with the discovery of oil in neighbouring Bahrain at the end of May that year. But Ibn Saud could not have known that he and his country were about to become locked into some of the most unsavoury episodes in resource exploitation history.

At that time very few people knew of a couple of sweetheart agreements which had been made between Western oil companies during the previous couple of years. Certainly the last people intended to know anything about them were the governments of countries in which there was any prospect of those companies finding oil. And at the core of the matter had been Britain's efforts to gain control of the oil resources of Mesopotamia and adjacent areas which figured so centrally – but out of public gaze – in the lead up to, the conduct of, and the aftermath of the Great War.

Britain had recognized Soviet Russia in February 1924, some years ahead of its European neighbours and the United States. In view of the fantastic relationships between the Western powers and Soviet Russia at the time, there can be no reasonable doubt that a major factor in Britain's early recognition was the need to avoid Russian intervention on the side of Ataturk (with whom diplomatic links had also been established). The Allies and the USA had been struggling to sort out their financial and political relationships with each other and with

Germany. Among the arrangements made were that France's national oil company, (specially spawned for the purpose), took Germany's interest in the Turkish Petroleum Company, and Britain surrendered some of its interest in that company to the USA and some degree of self-government to Iraq. At the same time Soviet Russia played one Western oil company against another while doing all it could to negate Western interference in its affairs, Standard Oil and BP battled into a price fiasco in India, and a world oil glut developed.⁴⁸

RED LINE: ARAB INTERESTS UNDERCUT

Against that background Standard Oil (later Exxon) reached a patent agreement in 1926 with Germany's I.C.Farben.⁴⁹ A year later, in October 1927, the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC, the new name for the Turkish Petroleum Company) made a fabulous oil strike. It must have seemed to Iraq that fifteen years of trauma, including the Great War, was a moderate price to pay for the benefits of the Christian reconstruction of the region. Industrial development was assured (for those who controlled the oil supplies anyway), along with material prosperity on an unprecedented scale and almost unquestionable military superiority. The collaborating governments, and the companies which used and sheltered behind them, only had to stabilize the region, the flow of oil around the world, and the competition between them. Eight months later, in July 1928, the members of the IPC met in Belgium for that purpose and adopted the Red Line Agreement. They agreed that no party to the agreement would seek an oil concession, other than through the IPC, in Turkey, the mandated territories of Iraq, Syria, Palestine and Jordan, and the entire Arabian Peninsula except the Sheikdom of Kuwait.⁵⁰ The resources of those countries were to be the possessions and the playthings of the Christian Western World in no less a sense than the resources of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Government authorities and the major oil companies of three European powers and the USA were involved in the agreement.

But the agreement wasn't tight enough. A few weeks later the same group met again, with a few extras, in Scotland. They set up a "Pool Association" under the Achnacarry Agreement and divided the world into marketing regions. They agreed to maintain the existing volume relationship between each other; to maintain world prices based on prices for oil shipped from the USA's Gulf region; to restrict any production increase to the level required to meet actual demand; and to avoid any additional countries entering the oil market.^{51 52}

This means that only a few months after the International Missionary Conference in Jerusalem some of the capitalists who were pouring vast amounts of money into competing missionary enterprises in Asia and Africa had reached an agreement which was discriminatory, contrary to the economic and political principles which they claimed to espouse, against the interests of people in countries where their Christianizing money was being spent, and which was morally insupportable. It is no wonder they sought to keep it secret. It was another infamous link in the chain which the Protestant Work Ethic had helped to forge; which had conveniently propped up British and European capitalism in its fledgling form after the French

Revolution; which had been the trigger for the studies and writings of Karl Marx; and which had been developed into the American Protestant business ethic after the American Civil War. South of the Caucasus the “mighty army” of Christian “soldiers” were wildly flaying their fellow man with that chain for their personal advantage. North of the Caucasus the disciples of Marx were trying to beat it into plough shares to benefit mankind. Unfortunately they had lost sight of the pattern and a few swords were coming out of the forge as well, as we shall see shortly.

By March 1929, in a move designed to implement the Achnacarry Agreement, the American Petroleum Institute adopted a plan to cut US oil production to 1928 levels. It tried to camouflage profiteering behind a propaganda front of resource conservation. When the US Federal Government vetoed the plan the companies and the state governments with which they collaborated found simple ways to circumvent the veto.⁵³

Then came the Wall Street crash. With industrial productivity and consumer demand cut to ribbons the problems of petroleum oversupply became even more acute and from the point of view of the companies which were party to the Red Line Agreement and the Achnacarry Agreement it was certainly no time for further oil discoveries, and exploration, both in the USA and elsewhere, was definitely discouraged. So when a Texas wildcat well flowed 7,000 barrels a day in October 1930, and triggered an uncontrolled rush with irresponsible drilling that made Titusville seem like a Sunday School picnic, most of the oilmen were very embarrassed. Most. But not all. Even though the US price of oil collapsed to ten cents per barrel the Hunt fortune flowed out of it.⁵⁴

No member of the IPC group was at all interested in Major Holmes’ Bahrain concession but eventually Gulf agreed to give him \$50,000 for it. Then, being unable to take advantage of it, Gulf passed it on for exactly the same price to a stable mate of Exxon’s, Standard Oil of California, (Socal), which was not a party to the Red Line Agreement. Socal then registered a subsidiary, BAPCO, under the Canadian flag, to circumvent the British treaty requirement and, not being directly favoured by the flood of oil in the United States, began a program of remarkably successful drilling.^{55 56}

Now back to Ibn Saud’s efforts to find an answer to the financial crisis engulfing his young kingdom. On the surface it would seem that Socal’s success would have improved his chances of a strong negotiating position and a good deal. In fact its effects were contradictory. The IPC partners and their governments, especially BP and Britain, were not about to let another outsider in if it could be prevented and they wanted markets for the oil they had already, not more oil.

The intrigue became ever more complex. In the US the various governments and the majors joined forces – because it pleased them for once – to restrict interstate trade and to undermine the smaller companies. Six of the seven majors met, in 1932, to try to enforce the restrictive clauses of the Achnacarry agreement.⁵⁷ The Sheik of Kuwait was keen to get into the oil act too, but Britain was trying to keep him tied to his Great War protectorate treaty which virtually bound him to accept any British resource offer. It was on the basis of that treaty that it had

succeeded in having Kuwait excluded from the IPC Red Line Agreement.⁵⁸ At the same time BP and the British government succeeded in subduing the very independent minded Reza Shah. They extracted from him an extension of the BP exclusive concession, to run to 1993.⁵⁹

Ibn Saud, naturally, did not know of either the Red Line Agreement or the Achnacarry Agreement. But there were several other important things that Ibn Saud did not know, or his decision making may well have taken quite a different direction. First, Exxon was about to buy control of Creole in Venezuela from another of its stable mates, Standard of Indiana. Second, his most trusted confidant, Jack Philby, was a two-timing British intelligence agent who had also been running Britain's spy operations in Transjordan from 1922 to 1930 when he adopted Islam and became a member of Ibn Saud's entourage. Third, Philby was also retained as a consultant by two of the oil companies, Socal and IPC (dominated by Anglo-Persian) and he therefore had a very twisted mass of conflicting interests, each of which he was exploiting to the full with total disregard of the consequences for any of the governments with which he was associated. Fourth, Philby's illegitimate son, Kim, an intellectual Marxist who at that time was estranged from his Fascist father, was well on his way to becoming a double agent serving both Russia and Britain, with the specific task of spying for Russia on his father and the oil manipulations in the Middle East.⁶⁰

GRAND COLLUSION: THE LONDON COMMITTEE

However in Saudi Arabia, hamstrung by the complexity of its interests and Philby's duplicity, Britain had lost the initiative and the long round of politicking seemed to have ended when the king granted a 60-year concession to Standard Oil of California in May 1933 in return for an immediate payment against first year royalties of five thousand pounds Sterling plus a loan of thirty thousand pounds. Philby's agreed take, in contrast, was an immediate US\$10,000 plus US\$1,000 a month for six months, plus a bonus of US\$25,000 to be paid when commercial exploitation began, plus 50 cents per ton for oil exported up to another US\$25,000. Only two months later Socal upgraded his retainer to permanent employment at one thousand pounds Sterling per year.⁶¹ In fact none of the conflicts of interest and jealousies had been resolved although Ibn Saud's immediate financial needs had been satisfied. Socal was effectively prevented from utilizing any Saudi Arabian oil it might extract by the secret inter-company arrangements, and the Red Line group were still determined to get a share of the concession. The big three oil companies, Exxon, Shell and BP, met secretly again in April 1934 to draft a Memorandum of Principles which would be adopted throughout the oil industry to control production, prices and competition, and to impose penalties on companies or countries which failed to tow the line. The 'principles' were to be enforced through a 'London Committee'.⁶²

Exxon, Shell and BP had just devised the techniques of an international cartel on a scale and to a degree of refinement which the world had not previously experienced and did not then comprehend. They were about to use those techniques not only against competitors but also to make a mockery of participation in their industry by the government of Iraq and to prevent the

participation of other sovereign governments at all. But 40 years later they were at the forefront of a Western oil industry campaign to discredit OPEC, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, and its member governments as a 'cartel' trying to hold the world to ransom when, in fact, those governments were acting to protect legitimate national and international interests.

When the big three met to draft their 'principles' the majors already had to adapt to increasing production from Socal's Bahrain fields and they were determined that its Saudi Arabian potential would not be allowed to rock their boats even more. The manoeuvring for a share in the concession or for some other solution began in earnest. Although it could not be certain of a market for any oil which it extracted in Saudi Arabia, Socal had to drill at a minimum rate set down in its agreement or face the probability of forfeiting the concession. The screws tightened even further when BP and Gulf reached a devious deal for a joint concession in Kuwait in December 1934 after protracted negotiations between the US State Department and the British Colonial Office. But more than two can play at market grabs when the stakes are high and in July 1936 Socal began merger negotiations with the Texas Company to set up the California Texas Oil Company Ltd – Caltex.⁶³ Socal had immense production potential but it had been shut out of markets, while the Texas Company had developed foreign markets but no offshore production. Socal announced in March 1938 that it had struck oil in Saudi Arabia and that it was going into production. To ensure that Philby retained his interest in the company and in things American it promptly made the first of the two payments of US\$25,000 agreed with him.⁶⁴

By the late 1930s most of the world except the United States had begun the long climb out of the great depression but it had also begun the long slide towards World War II. And because of the bitterness towards the excesses of the Capitalist system which had developed during the depression, the Capitalist confrontation with Communism was entering a new phase. It was already an important aspect of the trouble in the triangle but it was about to become even more firmly entangled in the intrigues of the Middle East, "the Jewish question" and the question which the powers of Europe had fought and manoeuvred over with total disregard for the people of the region – "Who does own the Middle East?"

But there was now a new factor which had not been conceived when the Balfour Declaration had been drawn up or when the European Powers and the oil majors began politicking to out-manoeuvre each other for control of those Arab oil resources. *Mein Kampf*. Hitler had gained power in Germany on January 30, 1933, and he had already consolidated his authority in Europe at the expense of the other major powers and it did not take long for Arab leaders to realize that they now had a potential ally in both their struggle against subordination to Zionist interests and their struggle for economic justice in the exploitation of their petroleum resources. However Ibn Saud knew that there were two marketable resources within his grasp – oil and land – and that both competition for power, and fear can be powerful stimuli towards decisions to buy. He also knew that in the circumstances of the time either, or both, could strengthen his position.

Firstly, oil. Following the discovery of oil in Saudi Arabia, Philby held talks in Spain with German Nazi officials with a view to ensuring supplies of oil for Germany in the event of a war and the imposition of an embargo on supplies from the United States and other countries. The proposal was that the Fascist dictator General Franco, who had been dependent upon German support during the Spanish Civil War, would receive a share for enabling the oil to be shipped from 'neutral' Saudi Arabia through 'neutral' Spain. The Spanish were concerned about the possibility of an attack on Spain if such a ruse were recognized and to test international reaction the matter was leaked, through Philby's son Kim, to both Russia and Britain. At first there was no response from Britain with authorities apparently being content to encourage Hitler to turn his attention to Russia. However in August 1939, after the signing of a non-aggression pact between Germany and Russia which did not welcome the idea of such 'attention', the reaction from Britain was strong.⁶⁵ Spain and Saudi Arabia both learned that such an arrangement would not be advisable.

Secondly, land. When the Evian Conference in July 1938 failed, tension around the future of Palestine naturally increased. The Arab and other Muslim nations held a conference in Cairo three months later and Britain interpreted it as possibly a prelude to another form of Arab-Axis cooperation. However although the Arab revolt erupted again with full force, from the point of view of his relations with the Arabs Hitler mistimed his move into Czechoslovakia and in doing so provided something of a distraction. In a bid to capitalize on it and possibly find a basis for Arab-Zionist cooperation, the British government convened a round table conference for February 1939. Jack Philby was there to watch over Ibn Saud's interests. He arranged a luncheon at which Zionist leaders Chaim Weizmann and Ben-Gurion could meet the Saudi's foreign affairs representative and proposed an arrangement for substantial Jewish migration into Palestine in return for Jewish support for Saudi 'domination' or authority over the region.⁶⁶ The reaction when that proposal was also leaked was mixed. For some, it showed an admirable degree of religious and community tolerance while for others, including the surrounding Arab nations, it was either a ploy by Britain to strengthen its hold over the Middle East or simply a power grab by one Arab ruler which would play into the hands of Zionists at the expense of the total Arab community. The matter was dropped – for the time being.

The question remained: "Who does own the Middle East?"

CHAPTER 20

JERUSALEM NOW!

During the 1930s, as people struggled to cope with the effects of the Depression it was still quite apparent that the First World War had taken a frightening toll of all of the countries involved: those who were more or less innocent occupied bystanders as well as those who had hoped to gain from it. They had been persuaded by their politicians that there would be no more wars and they strongly opposed any national economic and financial policies which were based on the need to rearm. But within the countries of the victorious Western Alliance people were less aware that the Treaty of Versailles had taken an even heavier toll on Germany. Germany had not only been forced to dismantle its monarchy, under the treaty it had been stripped of all of its colonies, one eighth of its European territory, one tenth of its European population and most of its iron, steel and shipping. The Rhineland and the Saar had been placed under temporary foreign control, the German navy and air force had been eliminated and its army had been reduced to a force of 100,000 men who were required to serve for a minimum of twelve years so as to prevent the creation of reserves. Germany had been forced to provide a written admission of war guilt and under the treaty an extensive reparations bill had been imposed on it with no immediate limit other than the victors' assessment of Germany's capacity to pay.¹ In the political and economic circumstances which followed the Great War it was virtually inevitable that the job of enforcing the terms of Versailles would prove too much to handle.

The first aspect to come under pressure had been reparations. In 1921 the Allied Reparations Commission fixed Germany's provisional reparations bill at £6,850 million, with the understanding that it could be increased if the Commission decided that Germany could pay more. In 1924 another attempt was made to quantify reparations in the light of hyperinflation which had resulted in Germany defaulting on its payments, France and Belgium exercising their right to occupy the Rhur, and Hitler's failed Munich putsch which the Rhur crisis had provoked. Under the US-sponsored Dawes Plan Germany undertook to repay the equivalent of £50 million a year, though still with no fixed limit. But no one seemed to mind very much since the US was lending Germany the money to pay reparations to Britain and France who were, in turn, using it to pay back their war loans from the US, plus enough to finance Germany's post-war reconstruction, pay off its trade deficits and provide a gold reserve to boot. The American capitalists and financiers who were creaming off a percentage at virtually every stage of the money merry-go-round were quite happy.² Then in 1929 the Young Plan reduced the Dawes Plan payments and fixed a limit to Germany's reparation payments. It also secured yet another

loan to Germany of \$300 million, and provided for the evacuation and demilitarization of the Rhineland in 1930, five years ahead of schedule. Nevertheless, the Young Plan committed Germany to paying reparations for another 59 years.³ But with the coming of the Depression, partly in response to the unsustainable international financial arrangements which had been set up, the rules of the game changed entirely.

The political and military aspects of Versailles had proved no easier to enforce than the draconian reparations demands, but for different reasons. President Wilson's hope that the League of Nations would alone underwrite the peace had ended when the United States failed to join. In return for British acceptance of the League Covenant, the United States had agreed to join Britain in guaranteeing France's borders. But when the US Senate refused to ratify the Covenant, the American guarantee to France lapsed, and that of the British with it.⁴ That had left the European powers, and especially France, casting about for an alternative. They found it 1925, or thought they had, when they signed the Treaty of Locarno.

Under the Treaty of Locarno Britain and Italy jointly guaranteed the Franco-German border and the demilitarization of the Rhineland. But while that may have satisfied France's security claims in Western Europe, its interests in Eastern Europe were left hanging. Following the collapse of the Anglo-American guarantee France had also sought to contain Germany from the east, and to that end she had concluded a series of treaties with Germany's eastern neighbours. Its effort began in 1921 with an agreement with the newly re-established state of Poland under which France and Poland mutually guaranteed each country's borders with Germany. Similar treaties soon followed with the countries of the so-called Little Entente, Czechoslovakia (1924), Rumania (1926) and Yugoslavia (1927), which had been carved out of the Austro-Hungarian empire at Versailles. At Locarno, Germany formally acknowledged its western borders but it refused to do the same for its eastern borders which it still hoped to modify in its favour. And while France at Locarno confirmed its existing guarantees to Poland and Czechoslovakia, Britain, more intent on imperial matters and anxious to conciliate Germany, had refused to add guarantees of its own.⁵

But before we piece together the jigsaw of those few years we must again retrace our steps through some of the countries which had suffered during the British phase of the Christian reconstruction era.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE UNDER PRESSURE

Officially the British Empire no longer existed. The Imperial Conference of 1926 had declared the major countries which were already broadly self governing, Australia, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, Ireland and Newfoundland (later merged with Canada) to be fully independent and self-governing, equal in rank with Britain and "united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."⁶ Five years later, in 1931 when the world was at the deepest point of the trough of the Great Depression and Hitler was still two years from the Chancellorship, their status was formalized and the British

Commonwealth took form as an association of independent nations, dominions, territories, dependencies, colonies, protectorates and mandates with the adoption of the Statute of Westminster.

The decline of the empire, in the traditional sense of imperial rule maintained by military presence, had begun long before the empire reached its greatest extent, like Rome, with the establishment of mandates over Palestine and the adjacent Arab regions as a consequence of World War I and the Balfour Declaration. The emphasis in Britain's efforts to retain the economic advantages of empire had swung firmly away from military operations to political and trade negotiations after the near catastrophe of the Boer War and the introduction of a scheme of Commonwealth trade preferences in 1932, hot on the heels of the Statute of Westminster, was consistent with that new emphasis. It was therefore quite natural that the trade preferences scheme would come under attack from Britain's competitors, particularly its former colony which had suffered so badly from Britain's previous restrictive trade practices, the United States. But the Commonwealth trade preferences system was also a vital aspect of Britain's bid to climb out of the Depression, and every concession and every authority for independence in foreign policy still had to be wrung from Britain the hard way, especially in the case of communities which were not dominated by Anglo-Saxon settlers.

Uprisings from 1916 to 1920 had won for the Irish Free State something akin to dominion status in 1922, and the continued civil war then led to the abolition of the oath of loyalty to the crown in 1933 and the termination of annual payments to Britain. Coincidentally a customs war was necessary to achieve the British-Irish Trade Agreement and parity with the dominions under the Commonwealth Preference scheme. But though the British government was prepared to offer some concession in the face of acute pressure, it was not prepared to allow the secession of a white, Christian community, in what the world had been taught was British home territory. To do so would generate even more pressure for the dismantling of its empire of non-white, non-Christian possessions. Another major ingredient had therefore been added to its recipe for troubles in Ireland.

India was the biggest country in the Commonwealth, it was the most influential, and it was arguably the one among those which had not gained Dominion status out of the 1926 conference which had been most degraded by imperial policies. Disappointed with the outcome of the Imperial Conference, its leaders took note of the pressure for constitutional reform in the American colony of the Philippines. They then noted the establishment of the P.N.I. as an anti-Dutch federation in the Dutch-governed East Indies after the government had expelled 1,300 P.K.I. members in 1926; the growing influence of China's Red Army; and the growth of Japanese sponsored secret societies which aimed to oust Anglo-Saxons from Asia. And they also noted the ruthless repression which followed anti-British race riots in Burma which was, then, still governed as a part of India. But, inspired by Gandhi's example, most of them kept their protests and their pressure on Britain at the passive, or at least non violent, level.

The Indian National Congress, a body with a very broad base of community support but largely Hindu-led, boycotted the 1928 Simon Commission which was announced following the 1926 Imperial Conference and which was intended to plan reforms in India as a bit of a consolation prize. Then, on December 31, 1929, Congress resolved to push for independence. In doing so it triggered pent-up tensions and aspirations so that India resembled a multiple jack-in-a-box with Britain, a frustrated master, trying to close all the traps at once with just two hands. Gandhi demanded tax reforms, publicly defied the salt tax and was gaoled in May 1930 for the second time. Britain convened a Round Table Conference in London in December-January 1930–31 but, being dissatisfied with the Simon Commission's recommendations which were to be the basis of negotiation and being bitter about the imprisonment of 60,000 Indians on civil disobedience charges, Congress boycotted that too.

Although most other religious, ethnic and ruling groups cooperated, Britain's Prime Minister MacDonald knew that a solution was not possible without the Indian National Congress so he instructed the Viceroy to encourage Gandhi to participate. A second Round Table was then held from October to December 1931 but it broke up in disarray and, being seen as the inspiration for further unrest, Gandhi was again thrown in jail when he returned to India. The deeply ingrained attitudes in Britain towards the concept of empire and towards India at that time are illustrated by Mr. Winston Churchill's intemperate remark that he was "nauseated to see Mr. Gandhi, an Inner Temple lawyer, now become a seditious fakir of a type well known in the East, striding half naked up the steps of the viceregal palace while he was still organizing and conducting a defiant campaign of civil disobedience, to parley on equal terms with the representatives of the King-Emperor."⁷

India's troubles were linked to those of Palestine. Britain's Colonial officials were painfully aware that Indian Muslim sympathies had been firmly with Turkey during Britain's long-running confrontation with it over the fragmentation and exploitation of the former Ottoman Empire. They were vainly trying to defuse the bitterness between Jews and Arabs in Palestine by means of the Passfield White Paper when the first Round Table on India was convened, and they were working to undermine the Grand Mufti and his ideas on the preeminence of Jerusalem while they sought to entice Gandhi to the second Round Table and while the International Muslim Conference was being held in Jerusalem. Anything they did to antagonize or to undermine the Muslim community at either of those functions would bring an adverse reaction at the other. On the other hand, pronouncements and actions favourable to the Muslim community would bring an adverse reaction from both the Hindu community in India and the Jewish community in Palestine, plus the Zionist lobby in Britain. It is therefore hardly surprising that when the Indian Communal electorate scheme was introduced in 1932 Britain's troubles were aggravated by a deepening of the division between Hindus and Muslims which it had fostered as a matter of policy in earlier years in its effort to divide and rule. Three years later, when the powers of governments in India were fragmented by the complex Government of India Act, the new scheme brought a greater degree of cooperation from Muslims but forced the Hindu-dominated National Congress into more bitter opposition.

ASIA FOR THE ASIATICS

But Britain's Asian troubles in the 1930's didn't stop at India. They involved its interests in China and its relations with Japan as well. The assassination of two premiers, in 1930 and 1932, had resulted in strong-arm highly nationalistic and sharply anti-Communist military governments taking charge in Japan, with several big privately controlled financial empires given roles in public administration in a manner that has been compared to private socialism.⁸ By the time Hitler had achieved his position of absolute personal power, bolstered by his concordat with the Vatican, Japan was already, effectively, a Fascist state, firmly in control of Manchuria – the Czechoslovakia of Asia – and the Western powers had lost their grip on affairs in East Asia.

Japanese political and business groups, smarting under the impact of Western efforts at a Christian reconstruction of their country, were taking advantage of Europe's troubles in their efforts to eliminate all Anglo-Saxon Christian influence from their region. Taking up the theme of America's Monroe Doctrine they were proclaiming "Asia for the Asiatics." It wasn't hard to blame Western interference and gun barrels for most of Asia's economic ills, social degradation and international humiliation. To them, the West and its Christianity was the mass-personification of greed and corruption. Japan and its clearly defined system of ethics therefore equated to national purity and patriotism.

During the early years of this century, and even after the Great War, Ultra-nationalism in Japan had lacked the well-defined philosophy and organization of Fascism in Italy and Nazism in Germany. It had tended to reflect all of the community's circumstantial reactions drawn together by a yearning for strong central authority. It was anti-West, anti-liberal, anti-democratic, anti-parliament, anti-international and anti-disarmament, and yet it was also anti-Communist and anti-socialist.⁹ Given Japan's heritage as a well disciplined nation in which close family and community links were very important it was natural that its ultra-nationalism should merge with its State Shinto. It was also natural that its military hierarchy would seize on the Shinto veneration of the nation and the emperor as manifestations of God, which was then current. This became the focal point of their efforts to achieve political stability and growth of empire through religious conformity in much the same way that the emperors of Rome had sought to exploit the same idea.^{10 11} There was certainly no room for competition from Christianity which was so clearly and intimately linked with the powers and the systems to which the military hierarchy attributed Japan's predicament.

During and after the Great War, Western politics and the effects of manipulation during the Christian reconstruction period had become steadily more entangled with the affairs of Japan and China. But of course the Western powers and the church, (with the few notable exceptions already discussed), had not grasped what was happening and pushed on relentlessly in the belief that the world and everything therein, including nonwhite people, existed for the benefit of Christian whites. Lord Balfour and Hitler were not the only political figures to base their foreign policies on the well-taught axiom that the inequality of races was a plain historic truth

which justified the process of settler colonialism as an expression of the great rights and privileges of the races of Europe.¹² The United States had refined it and almost claimed it as its own discovery through the Eugenics movement. It was highly conceited in its corporate confidence that none of those lesser mortals would ever be able to do anything about it if the unassailable truth did happen to prove an untruth. Its dealings with Japan in the 1920's illustrate the point.

DISCRIMINATION IN AMERICA

In 1920 the State of California denied its Japanese residents the right to lease land, to act as guardians for their American-born children who might own land, and to own shares in American-controlled landowning companies. Previously, a year before the Great War, they had been declared aliens and ineligible for citizenship or to own land. Then in 1924 whatever goodwill towards America may have remained in Japan evaporated when the US Congress banned Japanese immigration totally. Of course it was still America's right to exploit Japanese markets as it wished, and Japan had few options but to continue to buy American oil, cotton, scrap iron and loans for its own capital development. And of course America continued to buy Japan's silk, tea and cheap-labour manufactured goods. But on top of that a host of major American companies such as Ford, General Motors, RCA and the Aluminium Company of America set up subsidiaries to tap Japan's cheap labour and expanding markets more directly while others, such as General Electric and Western Electric, made patent and trade mark agreements with Japanese companies. It is quite likely that among the patents were some of those which had been expropriated from Germany after the Great War and which had boosted US industrial competitiveness very greatly.

It is no wonder that Japan's attitude to the West hardened even more when the Western powers further tightened the limits imposed on its rearmament program in 1927. The growth of anti Western secret societies from 1928 onwards was a natural response to Western attitudes and actions. And while some of Japan's secret societies restricted their activities to Japan others sponsored and financed groups in other parts of Asia to help liberate nonwhites from Anglo-Saxon domination. It was a very short step from wanting to free Asia from domination by outside powers to wanting to take the place of those powers.

So when the collapse of America's economy threw Japan's economy into chaos, the nation's determination to eliminate Anglo-Saxon Christian influence and to buffer itself against the traumas of the Western World by expanding its own empire rose quite sharply. Japan would provide the leadership for the Asian region and it would reap the benefits just as the European powers and the United States had. It knew it had little to fear from British naval retaliation. It had, after all, gone to Britain's aid with its own navy in the Great War and had "earned" its Pacific dependencies accordingly at Germany's expense. And even before that it had learned very well from its nineteenth century overlords. Using much the same bash'n'bully methods as the United States and European powers had used against it just 50 years earlier, in 1904 Japan

had forced Korea to accept Japanese advisers to supervise its finance, military, foreign, and domestic affairs. A year later, taking full advantage of its war with decadent Tsarist Russia and in collaboration with the United States, it imposed a protectorate. It was then a short step via the Japanese-enforced abdication of the Korean Emperor and a short-lived agreement of cooperation to outright annexation in 1910.

Also in 1905 Japan had gained special economic concessions in Manchuria as successor to Russia, with the agreement of both China and the United States. Its extensive program of railway construction, control of vital ports on the Liaodong Peninsula in the Gulf of Chihli and treaty access to trading centres in North China provided the legal status which Japan was able to use a generation later to justify its military expansion in China. In the meantime the preoccupation of the European powers with their own neocolonial Great War games gave Japan the chance to press its demands for additional rights in Manchuria while China was not in a position to deny them. But then, in 1922, the Four-Power Treaty on respect of mutual rights in Pacific territories and the Five Power Treaty on naval arms limitations put a damper on her ability to manoeuvre until the Great Depression again changed the international rules.

But in 1930 Japan's ambitions for independence from the West and for the development of its own empire were being undermined by fears that China would upstage it, or even invade it in a bid to solve its own problems. Britain and the US were both in league with Chiang Kai-shek in his bid to reunify China and to eliminate Mao Tse-tung's Red Army. Britain still had its Chinese territories, the US had its Philippines, France was in firm control of Indochina and Chiang was courting them all. His acceptance of the divisive Christianization programs was just one aspect of that courtship, but it might help the West keep its hold in Asia, and that concerned Japan. And those concerns deepened when the Western Powers again cut the permitted strength of Japan's navy relative to their own at the Washington Naval Conference that year. Chiang Kai-shek therefore had to be stopped for several reasons, but it was not to be done through collaboration with Mao Tse-tung so the only option was direct Japanese military intervention. In 1931 a unit stationed in Mukden, Southern Manchuria, provided the pretext for an invasion by blowing up a bridge and blaming it on Chinese guards.

Chiang Kai-shek then found himself more dependent on his Western allies as he tried to reunify China, to liquidate the Red Army and to repulse Japan at the same time. But by 1933 his Western allies had a new problem to worry about.

DECLARATION OF THE GREAT POWERS

In October 1933 the British Chiefs of Staff (COS) warned in their annual review of defence preparedness that Germany would rearm to the point where within a few years it could start a war in Europe. As soon as she felt strong enough, the report stated, Germany would "attain her ends in a war of offence in the East, combined if necessary with a defensive in the West." If that happened Britain might then be obliged to come to the aid of France as it had pledged under the Treaty of Locarno. Moreover, the COS stated that in accordance with a long standing national

interest, Britain must keep any continental power from seizing the Low Countries. That interest had now been magnified by the need to prevent the establishment of air bases within striking distance of Britain. In the view of the COS, however, the combination of disarmament and the ten year rule meant that Britain's defences were now inadequate to meet its responsibilities in both Europe and the Far East, where the recent Sino-Japanese truce had not removed the threat to the British Empire from Japan.¹³ To fulfill its European obligations, the British Army could provide at most two divisions, which could not be reinforced for many months. At the same time, war in Europe would certainly entail trouble elsewhere which would make competing demands on Britain's military resources. "We are forced to the conclusion", the COS stated, "that, should war break out in Europe, we should be able to do little more than hold the frontiers and outposts of the Empire during the first few months of the war."¹⁴

Arguing that adequate military strength in peacetime was "the best possible deterrent to the ambitions of any enemy", the Defence Requirements Committee (DRC, an ad hoc sub committee of the Government's Committee for Imperial Defence) admitted that "practical finance [made it] impossible for a world-wide empire like our own to be equally secure against every conceivable enemy." It therefore advocated a limited but carefully targeted program balanced between the three services. With regard to Germany, which the DRC identified as Britain's most significant long-term threat, the report concluded that an army expeditionary force of four infantry divisions, one cavalry division, two air defense brigades and a tank brigade, supported from the air, "would as a deterrent, exercise an influence for peace out of all proportion to its size." With regard to the Far East, where the threat from Japan was seen as the most significant in the short term, the DRC argued that British imperial interests would be adequately safeguarded by a reconditioned fleet with well-defended bases. A total of £71 million was requested for the program over the first five years, with £40 million earmarked for the Army, £21 million to the navy and £10 million to the air force.¹⁵

However, it was not until five months later, in July 1934, that the Cabinet approved measures to reinvigorate Britain's flagging defence requirements. By then the DRC's proposals had been radically revised, largely due to the dogged intervention of the influential Chancellor of the Exchequer, Neville Chamberlain. Reflecting both the financial orthodoxy of the Treasury and the domestic political situation of the Conservative Party, Chamberlain insisted that Britain's financial position meant that it simply could not afford to prepare for a two-front war. He would not sacrifice butter for guns when the government had pledged to reduce taxes and restore salary cuts made in 1931. Neither would he borrow to pay for defence. Instead of preparing for war on two fronts, he argued, Britain should work toward rapprochement with Japan and must concentrate on Europe. In addition, despite recognizing the vital importance of defending the Low Countries, Chamberlain as well as other ministers also emphasized public distaste for terms such as 'expeditionary force', which brought back bitter memories of the Somme. In Chamberlain's view, therefore, the best, quickest and cheapest defense against Germany would be the deterrent power of a larger air force. The army would not have to send an expeditionary force to Europe unless the air deterrent failed, and the navy would not need major expenditures

on deficiencies for a European war. The budget for the deficiency program was accordingly cut back to £50 million over five years, with the navy getting £13 million, army £20 million and the air force £17 million.¹⁶

No sooner had that decision been taken, however, than Hitler's parody began to challenge the British Cabinet's complacent views on the need for an expeditionary force. On 25 July, 1934, in an attempt to hasten the Anschluss, which Hitler had called for in *Mein Kampf*, the Austrian Nazi party murdered Austrian Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss. Recognizing the threat to Italy's security, Mussolini immediately moved troops to the Austrian frontier on the Brenner Pass, effectively forestalling Hitler's attempt at Austrian revolution.¹⁷ But the matter was far from settled.

THE SMALL POWER ADVANTAGE

The situation was that the establishment of the small independent nations of Austria and Czechoslovakia under the Treaty of Versailles had been intended by the World War I victors to weaken Germany and to provide a buffer zone around it. The security of those countries was to be guaranteed by the League of Nations or, effectively, the victors. Austria was clearly dependent for its security on an agreement between its southern neighbour, Italy, France and Britain that they would jointly guarantee its independence. To consolidate that relationship Austria's new Chancellor Kurt von Schuschnigg visited Mussolini three times in quick succession between August 1934 and January 1935 and signed formal protocols with him; France and Italy signed an accord to guarantee Austria's independence in January 1935; and von Schuschnigg then visited Paris and London in February 1935.¹⁸

However, in the prevailing circumstances the British government was not able to give a commitment. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Sir John Simon, to whom Schuschnigg was referred by Prime Minister MacDonald and other ministers during their February consultations whenever 'too hard' questions were raised, said that Britain had "full understanding" of the pressures which Austria was under from Germany outside and from Nazi extremists inside its borders. Certainly, he said, Britain was "all for" Austrian independence because any change from the status quo in the Danube Basin might bring catastrophe and "... it was in Great Britain's vital interest to keep quiet, order, security, and normal developments in the regions at the heart of the Continent." But, apart from the Declaration of the Great Powers, Britain could not and would not give any further guarantee for Austria and "it was not in a position to take on new European obligations, or obligations with respect to France, which could not be judged at present in all their possible consequences." Sir John made it clear to Schuschnigg that "it was necessary to quench the spark before the whole country was in flames" and he asked whether Austria could not strengthen its domestic policy by a free plebiscite on the question of the Anschluss. He also said that in spite of its friendship and understanding for Austria, 'public opinion' in England found it regrettable that Austria had "abandoned democratic forms." Schuschnigg in turn explained that the "temporary expedient"

of election of governments through corporate bodies instead of through political parties had been adopted in order to preserve Austria's long term democratic integrity and independence in view of the conduct of some of those parties – he was alluding to the National Socialists – and outside pressure for the Anschluss.¹⁹

Britain's attitude was far from reassuring and Schuschnigg returned to Vienna somewhat despondent. He noted England's "decisive influence in Europe", the effect of Europe's (colonial) contact with the rest of the world and that this "... can be good or bad – for most people it will be good."²⁰ He also noted that "the English Government, always anxious to retain Parliamentary backing, takes account of public opinion to a degree unknown to our continental democracies. This is all the more remarkable as the Government has very few means by which it can influence public opinion."²¹ He was very perceptive indeed, but he was not to know that the situation was about to change with dramatic consequences for him, his country and the world.

A new British White Paper on Defence was published on March 4, 1935. Reflecting both the influence of pacifist public opinion and the realities of Britain's strained financial position, Cabinet's directions for producing the final draft had stated that the paper should emphasize "the importance of our defence forces from the point of view of peace, defence, and deterrent against the outbreak of war, and ... not make specially prominent such matters as our military obligations and commitments, as well as our deficiencies from the point of view of offensive action." Accordingly, the Paper emphasized the importance of air defence of Great Britain, omitted any mention of an expeditionary force and the implied commitment to Belgium and France, noted the Government's continued adherence to collective security and disarmament, and stressed the compatibility between deterrence and the "establishment of peace on a permanent footing." Nevertheless, despite the assurances which it contained of Britain's continued commitment to collective security, the White Paper was labelled a betrayal of peace and disarmament by both Clement Attlee (deputy leader of the Labour Party) and Sir Herbert Samuel (leader of the Liberal Party) in debate in the House of Commons a week after its release.²²

Following the White Paper, Cabinet proposed to send the Foreign Secretary, Sir John Simon on an official visit to Berlin, despite the potential damage it might cause to relations with Italy and France. The controversy surrounding the visit was heightened when on March 9, taking advantage of popular acclaim for the recently successful plebiscite on the re-incorporation of the Saar, Hermann Göring announced the existence of the Luftwaffe. Then on March 16, three days before Simon was due to arrive, Hitler announced the introduction of universal military service and a peace time army of half a million troops. Both announcements were in clear contravention of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. When questions were raised about whether Simon would be welcome and whether the visit should go ahead, Hitler said it should. Then, on March 19 Hitler personally told Sir John the equally staggering news that Germany had reached air parity with Britain. Hitler's revelation sent shock waves through Whitehall, but the government did not inform Parliament.

In Rome, the British Ambassador was so alarmed by the damage done to Britain's relations with both France and Italy by Simon's visit that on March 20 he proposed a three power meeting in northern Italy to reaffirm a united front against Germany. Accordingly, a conference was arranged for April 11 in the Italian town of Stresa. In what became known as the Stresa Front, all three countries censured Germany for its unilateral action and reaffirmed their commitment to the Treaty of Locarno. They also reiterated their support for Austria's independence. However Britain once again refused to give its support the status of a guarantee.²³ It may well have seemed to Schuschnigg that his understanding of the British Government's inability to influence public opinion had been correct. But he was wrong.

THE CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

In fact a conspiracy to camouflage the British Government's actions, the reasons for them, and the critically weak position into which Britain had floundered was just beginning. It continued up to and well into the war, but its impact was most critical in the period from 1935 up to the outbreak of hostilities. As archives have been examined and cabinet and private records have been opened for public perusal in recent years the full extent and impact of the conspiracy has become apparent. Richard Cockett documents much of it in *Twilight of Truth*. Drawing on that and other sources we can now trace the early stages of the conspiracy and then follow its consequences in coming chapters.

The basis of the conspiracy was the need, at least as the then Chancellor of the Exchequer and later Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain perceived it, to conceal the complex and fragile predicament into which successive imperial governments had floundered because of the self-misunderstanding of the amorphous Christian gel of which they were key pieces. Government documents and other publications as well as newspapers from the years leading up to World War II show that the motive behind such concerted non-reporting and misrepresentation was to prevent a further weakening of Britain's position. However the conspiracy and the policy of deception which went with it simply contributed to the relentless slide into the trouble in the triangle by requiring people to make decisions and to respond to government initiatives in a partial information vacuum, or even on a false basis, while it enabled Chamberlain to pursue his policy of appeasement unrestrained by the reasoning of those around him.

The seeds of the conspiracy had been sown some years before. From 1885 a House of Commons 'Lobby' of specialist political journalists had been recognized and organized, with a secretary, and given open access to government departments and to any Minister or Member of Parliament who wished to speak to a representative of the press. The lobby was a very privileged group but it helped the British free press attain and maintain an enviable reputation for accuracy and independence. Of course journalists still had to 'ferret out' information or to be actively investigative, because any person with such access to the press only wanted to disclose information which was to their advantage, but basically the system worked to everyone's satisfaction. The first real change came in 1929 when the Labour Prime Minister, Ramsay

MacDonald, faced with economic and international crises on many fronts, was dissatisfied with the news coverage provided by the conservative 'press barons' who controlled Britain's newspapers and set out to influence them or to get balanced coverage by appointing a press officer. The press officer soon assumed the responsibility of arranging regular press briefings for the lobby and restricted access to ministers and departments.²⁴ In due course the number of press staff grew, and with successive changes in the coalition or National Government, conflicts developed, especially as the Prime Minister's press officer and the Foreign Office News Department (FOND) tended to work independently. From 1930 Press Officer George Steward placed restrictions on the lobby in a bid to control the flow of information and when these were tightened in 1933 they tended to encourage ministers to attend secret briefings on a confidential 'off the record' basis and reports were published without a source quoted. Heads of departments also tended to develop their own favoured press connections. Some lobby journalists realized that influence was being peddled, while others saw themselves as members of a power establishment and ex-officio members of a political system, or legitimate "allies, legmen and buddies" of those with the authority to govern the country.²⁵

But in 1930, at about the time that Steward introduced controls over the operation of the lobby, an appointment was made by the Conservative Party, then in opposition, which was to prove crucial in the subsequent conspiracy. Sir Joseph Ball, a former head of MI5's Investigation Branch, who had been recruited to run a little intelligence (or political infiltration) service for the Central Office of the Conservative Party in 1924, was appointed director of a new Research Department for the party. In that capacity he also became Neville Chamberlain's closest political adviser. From August 1931, when the Conservative Party became the dominant partner in a coalition National Government, of which Ramsay MacDonald was still Prime Minister, Ball became indispensable to, and inseparable from, Neville Chamberlain.²⁶

Actually Chamberlain did not have everything under his control. The Foreign Office had set up its News Department, FOND, in a bid to ensure that the public had access to information to enable it to properly interpret Foreign Office policy, and Rex Leeper had been appointed to head it early in 1935. Controversy erupted from time to time when information which he released was in conflict with the views being offered by Steward's office, such as when Prime Minister MacDonald sought to suppress the fact that Germany had reached air parity with Britain. Sir John Simon had recorded this on file but did not include it in his report to the Commons of his visit to Germany. Sir Robert Vansittart, the permanent head of the Foreign Office, then instructed Leeper to inform selected diplomatic journalists and a report was published in the Daily Telegraph on March 29. This incident showed clearly that FOND was a powerful competitor with the Downing Street Press Office and that this dual system could become "menacingly fractious" when the policies pursued by the Foreign Office and Downing Street parted company. From that time Vansittart briefed Winston Churchill, possibly the strongest critic of government policy on its own backbench, on matters of importance regardless of the fact that he was only a back-bench MP.

So Chamberlain did not have everything under his control, but almost. After June 1935 when Baldwin became Prime Minister with Chamberlain as his overpowering Chancellor, the lines between what was 'government' and what was Conservative Party became progressively more blurred. Chamberlain treated the lobby as his personal service and when he was not present to brief the lobby Sir Joseph Ball was. Similarly, a National Publicity Bureau was set up to publicize government achievements and policies prior to the November 1935 elections. The source of the bureau's funds is unclear but Ball was a member of its committee and what was government and what was Conservative Party in the material distributed was also blurred.²⁷ Cockett notes that: "Through Ball and George Steward, Chamberlain was able to run an entirely unattributable news campaign. Via the obliging Lobby, he could set the tone of political reporting every morning." Cockett also refers to the personal relationships between the core members of the Baldwin-Chamberlain cabinet (Lord Halifax, Sir John Simon and Sir Samuel Hoare) and key press barons and editors, notably the Times editor Geoffrey Dawson, and says that: "Indeed, throughout the 1930s it can be said that Dawson was privy to more cabinet thinking and secrets than most members of the government, whether the Prime Minister was MacDonald, Baldwin or Chamberlain."²⁸ Because these personal relationships were common knowledge within diplomatic circles the Times was widely regarded as a semi-official channel for the British Government's thinking on foreign policy and its editorial statements were "scrupulously scrutinized in the chancelleries and embassies of the world."²⁹

ANGLO-GERMAN NAVAL TREATY

Thus, when on May 21, 1935, Hitler announced a thirteen point peace plan with honeyed words and promised to limit Germany's navy to 35 percent of Britain's capacity or 85 percent of France's, the British press, including The Times, dutifully responded with the sort of coverage both Chamberlain and Hitler wanted. It did not seem to matter that the proposed limit to the size of the German navy actually represented a substantial increase over the Versailles treaty level or that regulations against the Jews were being tightened with monotonous regularity. Such a limit would reduce pressure for rearmament by enabling the release of forces from Europe to defend Britain's naval base at Singapore against a threat from Japan, which had denounced its naval limitation treaties with Britain and the US six months earlier, in December, 1934. Subsequently, Britain's commitment to the Treaty of Versailles and her allies of the Stresa Front was effectively abrogated when an Anglo-German Naval Treaty was signed in June.

Britain's allies were aghast at the signing of that treaty and the rising tensions in Europe were not lost on the US administration. With the publication of revised histories of the Great War and evidence given to the Senate Munitions Committee, Americans were becoming conscious of the guilt which the allies shared for the world's crises and concerned at the role of businessmen in provoking wars in order to profit from the sale of arms and munitions. They were eager to take steps to ensure that the United States was not involved if there was another war in Europe as a spin-off from the failed Treaty of Versailles and the resurgence of Germany. But there was

another critical situation which the world's governments tried to make-believe was a bit of a sideshow: Spain. The crises which had rocked Spain since the monarchy gave way to an unstable republic at the depths of the Great Depression in 1931, gave every indication that it could become the focal point for another conflagration.

In 1931, the tottering and unpopular monarchy of Alfonso XIII, (whose wife was a great-granddaughter of Britain's Queen Victoria), had finally been replaced, by popular demand, with a republic governed by a coalition of Left-leaning Republicans and Socialists, shortly after the depression-embattled dictator, Primo de Rivera, resigned. The monarchy had been propped up by the Roman Catholic Church and the efforts of de Rivera since 1923. Among the republican government's early major initiatives was the separation of state and church with the disestablishment of the Roman Catholic Church. Even before Hitler began to wield his big stick in Germany the Spanish government had begun the process of nationalizing all ecclesiastical property, although it did permit the church to have continued use of it. It also discontinued the state payment of the clergy, ordered the Jesuits expelled, forbade the remaining teaching orders and congregations from operating church-controlled education, and it introduced civil marriage. In some towns radical mobs took affairs into their own hands and a number of churches and convents were destroyed. But when the church and its allies succeeded in bringing down the two-year old government in November 1933 and installed a conservative government based on a coalition of the Catholic Right and Radical Republicans, the anticlerical measures were relaxed somewhat. Relaxed, but not ended. Of course the Vatican had never taken such treatment lying down and in October 1934, when the Socialists objected to the government supporting the suppression of Socialists in Germany and Austria, the nation was rocked by an abortive anti-democratic revolt which had been planned in a bid to establish Fascism in Spain with the support of Italy's most famous modern anti-clericalist-turned-church-prop, Mussolini.³⁰

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In view of Spain's strategic importance with its constantly-threatened empire straddling the Straits of Gibraltar and its history as a site of religious turmoil, it was very likely that if the instability continued each of Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, the United States and the Vatican could become involved in a struggle to determine its future form of government, the direction of its economy and its alliances. The result was that in August, 1935, Congress passed a Neutrality Act. Under the act, once the president declared that a state of war existed between two foreign nations, Americans were forbidden to sell or transport arms to either of the belligerents and the president could warn Americans that they travelled on ships of the belligerent nations at their own risk.³²

Such actions gave the new Baldwin-Chamberlain government the justification it wanted to go to the electors on a pacifist note. On October 1, 1935, six weeks before the election and in spite of the fact that the Conservative Party manifesto referred to 'increased rearmament' Baldwin told the Peace Society: "I give you my word there will be no great rearmaments."³³ Two days later, however, Baldwin was confronted by an entirely new set of circumstances

which called his statement into question. Italy invaded Abyssinia, and intentionally or otherwise, Mussolini changed the balance of power in Europe.

ITALY, ABYSSINIA AND 'A MOST INCONVENIENT DILEMMA'

In fact, the Prime Minister's statement was all the more remarkable because Italy's interest in annexing Abyssinia (Ethiopia) was long standing and the British Government had known of Mussolini's intentions for some months. The origins of the dispute lay in the 1890's, when in the final stages of the Christian reconstruction of Africa, Anglo-Italian protocols had assigned much of the Horn of Africa to the recently reunited Italy. In 1896 war had broken out between Italy and the Abyssinian Empire over disputed territories lying between the Abyssinian capital Addis Ababa and the Italian-controlled coastal strip of Eritrea. Italy was defeated, and the disputed territories were incorporated into the Abyssinian Empire.³⁴ Not to be outdone by the other European colonial powers, Mussolini was determined to retrieve the lands for his new version of the Roman Empire.

His problem, however, was that Abyssinia was a member of the League of Nations and could therefore expect support from the League in the face of any hostile moves by Italy. But the Duce also knew that he could use his support for the anti-Hitler front as a bargaining chip. France's position had been made clear some ten months earlier, in January 1935, when Italy had pledged support for France if Germany threatened Austrian independence. In return French Prime Minister Pierre Laval had offered concessions to Italy in Africa, including what amounted to an implicit free hand in Abyssinia.

However, Britain's position was more complicated. Officially committed to a policy of support for collective security, the British Government could not be seen to be undermining the League by giving in to the aggressive demands of a dictator. Thus, in December 1934, when clashes had occurred between Italian-led Somali tribesmen and Abyssinian troops along the Abyssinian border, Britain had warned Italy that it would not support an Italian invasion. At the same time, however, given its need to maintain a common front with France and Italy in relation to Germany, it had expressed a willingness to help negotiate a compromise settlement favouring many Italian claims.

Britain's silence on the matter at the Stresa Conference in April, 1935, when the Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers of Italy, Britain and France met to discuss a common front against Germany, had naturally led Mussolini to believe that Britain, too, rated the question of Abyssinia a low priority. By June Anglo-Italian talks aimed at formulating compromise proposals had broken down. In mid-June, soon after the Anglo-German naval Treaty was signed, Foreign Minister Samuel Hoare had informed the cabinet that relations between Italy and Abyssinia had deteriorated, and that Italy was sending forces to its colonies in Eritrea and Italian Somaliland. Given that the French seemed more willing to side with Italy than the League, Hoare noted, His Majesty's Government would soon face "a most inconvenient dilemma."³⁵

Hoare's description was an understatement. As a leading member of the League of Nations Britain was committed to opposing aggression against any of its member states through collective economic sanctions. Failing to oppose Italy through the League would therefore severely undermine the credibility of the League's collective security system and hence weaken its capacity to resist German expansion in the future. On the other hand, punishing Italy through the League would inevitably alienate Mussolini, destroy the Stresa Front against Germany, and possibly push Mussolini out of the League and into the arms of Hitler. Moreover, making economic sanctions work required the support of France, whose conciliatory attitude to Mussolini was already evident. And should economic sanctions lead to war, which was likely, the parlous state of British defences would make French support for Britain even more vital.

But there were also the considerable effects on British imperial interests to consider if Italy invaded Abyssinia. Already Britain was chafing at Italian propaganda about succeeding the "effete" British in Africa, and conflict between the two colonial powers would only further inflame nationalist feeling in the region already fanned by resentment of European imperialism. In addition, war between the two powers would draw off vital resources from both Europe and the Far East. In doing that it would significantly weaken air and naval defences against potential German or Japanese aggression and disrupt the air rearmament program. But equally importantly, Italian expansion in Africa would threaten British control over neighbouring Sudan and Egypt, as well as imperial communications through the Mediterranean and Suez.³⁶

Expecting that Mussolini would invade but hoping that pressure from the League would get him to stop and negotiate after achieving something he could claim as a victory, Cabinet wagered on a bluff. On September 11 Hoare addressed the League Assembly with a rousing speech of support. Britain, he said, was committed to "steady and collective resistance to all acts of unprovoked aggression", and would be "second to none" in carrying out the obligations contained in the Covenant. Within a week, however, the bet had soured when it became clear that France would not commit itself to supporting Britain in the event of war against Italy unless Britain gave an unequivocal commitment to France in the event of a German attack. And that, Britain would not do.³⁷

VATICAN AMBITIONS

By mid-September the British navy had all but mobilized in the Mediterranean, and substantial reinforcements had been sent to Egypt and Malta. Not to be intimidated, Mussolini rejected the League's compromise proposals for a transfer of territory on September 18.³⁸ It was then, on October 1, that Baldwin gave his pre-election commitment to the Peace Society, and it was two days after that, on October 3, 1935, that Mussolini's armies crossed from Eritrea into Abyssinia. Ethiopia immediately appealed for British intervention and Britain officially opposed the invasion, but in spite of pressure from its African colonies it did not intervene. There was a certain amount of propaganda about the rights of independent states, but Britain was on very boggy ground over that issue. However, there was little point in either Abyssinia or other

African colonies appealing to the pope to intervene with Mussolini because the Vatican saw an opportunity looming to absorb the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Mussolini didn't have the benefit of a Rominus Pontifex. He didn't need it. He wasn't carrying the church into a new Muslim or other non-Christian territory. It would be a case of bringing a part of the 'separated brethren' back into the fold. The Vatican established an Apostolic Delegation, on the basis that the Lateran Accord gave it the authority to do so; it divided the country into prefectures apostolic and at least one vicariate apostolic, and it hoped to "bring the Church of Ethiopia into obedience to the Pope."³⁹ A papal nod was as good as a wink. In this case judicious silence was just as good. There was no papal condemnation of Italy's aggression. Not even an effort to subdue the enthusiasm of the Italian church hierarchy. The bishop of Terracina declared: "O Duce! Today Italy is Fascist and the hearts of all Italians beat together with yours. The nation is ready for any sacrifice to ensure the triumph of peace and of Roman and Christian civilizations ... God bless you, O Duce."⁴⁰

Immediately following the invasion the League accused Italy of breaking the Covenant and commenced a debate on the imposition of economic sanctions. Britain and France voted with most members to impose them, though Austria and Hungary, 'recognizing their existing treaty obligations' and needing to retain Italy's support against Germany, stood by Mussolini.

With the British general election due in mid-November, the Abyssinian crisis inevitably focused attention on the general question of rearmament. On the day of the invasion, and only two days after Baldwin's commitment to the Peace Society, Conservative MP Winston Churchill, then on the backbench, had moved at Conservative Party Conference for the repair of defence facilities and the organization of industry for speedy conversion to defence; for the recovery of equality in the air with "the strongest foreign air force within striking distance" (Germany); and strengthening of the Royal Navy for defence of supplies and the cohesion of the empire.⁴¹ Then on October 8 he told parliament that Italy's invasion of Abyssinia was a very small matter compared with danger posed by Germany. There could be no anxieties "comparable to the anxiety caused by the German rearmament. We cannot afford to see Nazidom in all its present phase of cruelty and intolerance, with all its hatreds and its gleaming weapons, paramount in Europe." In the Strand Magazine he wrote: "side by side with training grounds of the new armies and the great aerodromes, the concentration camps pock-mark the German soil. In these, thousands of Germans are coerced and crowded into submission to the irresistible power of the Totalitarian State." The persecution of the Jews is being pursued with "brutal vigour" and "No past services, no proved patriotism, even wounds sustained in war, could procure immunity for persons whose only crime was that their parents had brought them into the world. Even the 'wretched Jewish children' were persecuted in the national schools, he said. The world still hoped that the worst might be over, 'and that we may yet live to see Hitler a gentler figure in a happier age.' Yet even as Hitler spoke words of reassurance from Berlin, 'the great wheels revolve, the rifles, the cannon, the tanks, the shot and the shell, the air-bombs, the poison gas cylinders, the aeroplanes, the submarines, and now the beginnings of a fleet,

flow in ever-broadening streams from the already largely war-mobilized arsenals and factories of Germany.” The German government protested about both the speech and the article.⁴²

Such backbench efforts at public education were to little avail, and despite its acute awareness of Britain’s military ill-preparedness, the Conservative Party stuck to its politically expedient campaign platform of collective security and limited rearmament. The election on November 14 resulted in a landslide victory for the Conservatives, who won 432 seats to Labour’s 151 and the Liberals’ 21. But even so, Ball expressed concern to Baldwin that the press had been biased against them and recommended that a weekly newspaper be acquired to redress the balance. Using National Publicity Bureau funds without the committee’s knowledge, Ball subsequently bought control of the *Truth* and directed it from his office, also without the committee being aware of it, using it to promote appeasement and to discredit the government’s political opponents.⁴³

Within days of the election, however, the folly of its election platform was made clear to the Government. On November 15 the League agreed in principle to the adoption of oil sanctions against Italy, and Mussolini promptly responded by declaring that he would treat an oil sanction as an act of war.

Britain’s dilemma was starkly outlined in a DRC Report of 21 November, 1935. The DRC noted that the Mediterranean crisis had exposed Britain to ‘probings’ in both Europe and the Far East. Rapid rearmament was needed. In addition to recommending an expanded program for the air force, the report recommended the establishment of an expeditionary ‘Field Force’ of five divisions capable of mobilization on the Continent within two weeks of the outbreak of war, with reinforcement by twelve ‘Territorial’ reserve divisions over a period of eight months.⁴⁴ Stressing that Germany and Japan remained the priorities, the DRC also recommended the adoption in principle of a new standard of naval strength that would enable the fleet to operate against those two powers simultaneously. It also noted, however, that it was impossible to make provisions against Italy as well. Since Germany was still the main menace, there were overwhelming arguments “for avoiding any further estrangement of Japan ... or of any Mediterranean Power [i.e. Italy] which lies athwart our main artery of communication to the East. Least of all could we contemplate without the gravest misgivings an estrangement with Japan and a Mediterranean Power at once.” There was therefore a need for an “ultimate policy of accommodation and neighbourliness with Italy.”⁴⁵ In short, the DRC had made it starkly clear that Britain’s obligations under the League were incompatible with the interests of empire.

By December, despite Hoare’s September speech of support to the Assembly, Britain was the only League member not to have declared support for an oil sanction. Desperate for a way out, Cabinet agreed on December 2 to Hoare’s proposal that Britain should accept the oil sanction in principle but postpone the date of its implementation so long as peace talks offered the prospect of a reasonable territorial settlement. In the meantime, while the war in Abyssinia continued, Britain should simultaneously work at conciliating Mussolini and pressuring him in cooperation

with France. Cabinet instructed Hoare to continue talks with the French aimed at arriving at a settlement acceptable to Mussolini.⁴⁶

Following two days of talks in Paris between Hoare and French Prime Minister Laval, Cabinet on December 9, 1935 approved a plan under which the League would agree to Mussolini's occupation of large tracts of the Abyssinian Empire. When news of the plan was leaked soon afterward, the uproar in public and parliament over the British government's betrayal of the League, Abyssinia and its recent election manifesto was such that within two weeks the Hoare-Laval plan was a dead-letter. Hoare was forced to resign as Foreign Minister to save the Government.

CREDIBILITY GAP IN THE FAR EAST

But even with that level of appeasement the danger of concurrent operations against both a European power and Japan could not be ignored. Only weeks later, on January 17, 1936, the Secretary of State for War, Alfred Duff Cooper, circulated a memorandum to cabinet members which reflected growing concern in the War Office about Britain's position in the Far East. Entitled 'The Importance of Anglo-Japanese Friendship', it advised that the state of Anglo-Japanese relations was unsatisfactory and the level of tension could only be reduced if the British Government was more friendly in its attitude to Japan. It went even further than the DRC's December Report, noting that "... so long as affairs in Europe remain unsettled, our interests in the Far East, at any rate north of Singapore, are at the mercy of the Japanese." The recommendation which followed was brutally frank. "It would seem a reasonable precaution, therefore, to try, by every means and even at some cost, to safeguard by amicable agreement with Japan, interests which we are unable to protect by military means." (Emphasis added.) It then advised that it would be logical for Britain, considering its strategic position, to take advantage of a number of overtures which Japan had recently made.⁴⁷

However six percent of Britain's total overseas investment at that date was in China and a number of its powerful bankers and importers and exporters were heavily dependent upon the Chinese import/export trade. It was in a cleft stick. It could support Japan's push for closer economic and political relations with China or the alternative concept of dividing China into spheres of influence. If it did so it would weaken its own commercial position and undermine its relations with Chiang Kai-shek and each of the competing Chinese power-lords, but if it refused to show some support for Japan there was a real possibility that Japan would simply 'brush it aside.' If it chose to side with the Nanking regime in the hope of retaining a fruitful long term relationship with a re-invigorated China it would have to concede "outdated imperial privileges such as extra-territoriality and the Treaty Ports" and directly confront Japan in alliance with China.⁴⁸ Whichever course Britain took required political and commercial concessions and military resources which it could not provide, and would also cause repercussions for either the United States, the Soviet Union, Germany, or France, Holland, Spain and Portugal as the other European powers with major Asian colonies. It dare not move.

The government's international credibility was in tatters. More than ever, it was searching for some means of relief. To add to its concerns a bitterly contested election campaign was being fought in Spain between a reorganized coalition of the Left, known as the Popular Front, and the army-backed Fascist coalition of the Right. In view of Italy's involvement with the Spanish Right it was wise for Britain to wait until it was clear which way the winds of fortune were blowing in that country before making a decision on Italy and Abyssinia. At the election on February 16, 1936, the Popular Front won a narrow working majority, but the country was polarized. The Right made it clear it would oppose any reforms, while the Socialists insisted that the government must press on with reform immediately. The signs for the future were ominous but the common assessment was that in the circumstances Italy was not likely to either want to or be able to intervene, and Britain's least dangerous option was to close ranks against it. Therefore on February 26, Cabinet finally voted in favour of oil sanctions against Italy as the least contentious option, and a week later, on March 4, the decision was announced in Geneva by Britain's new Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden. By then, however, the action was largely symbolic, since sanctions had already been undermined by the actions of United States suppliers. Just as it had in the early stages of the First World War, the United States government and its oil companies had wasted no time in taking advantage of squabbles between European powers to make some extra profit at Europe's expense. During February, oil exports from the US to Italy reached three times the normal flow.⁴⁹ But it was not only the British government which had undermined its own credibility. The United States government was also open to charges of hypocrisy, double standards and playing to the rules of sheer self-interest. Its neutrality was either a matter of circumstantial convenience or lip service.

THE US MOCKS AN EMBARGO

Then, at the same time that the United States and its oil companies were making a mockery of Britain's oil embargo against Italy, Congress was debating – and passed – an extension of its Neutrality Act with additional clauses prohibiting loans to belligerents in foreign wars. Trade in materials other than arms and munitions could continue, of course. The sale of oil – the most important strategic resource to a nation at war (or facing the threat of war) after arms and munitions – continued. Mussolini continued to press his advantage in Abyssinia and Hitler was well pleased, too. And although it hardly affected his plans, this new provision in the Neutrality Act prevented the US from providing financial aid to Germany's opponents since most of those countries had defaulted on their World War I war debts and were ineligible for private loans under the provisions of another act, the Johnson Debt-Default Act of June 1934 which was passed in an attempt to coerce the Allies into paying their debts. All of the warring European nations except Finland had defaulted on those debts.⁵⁰

Then the day after Eden's announcement of the oil embargo, March 5, the British Government presented a new White Paper on Defence. The measures it outlined followed the recommendations of the DRC report of the previous November, to be funded by recourse to a

Defence Loan. But there was one major departure from the DRC's recommendations. Despite the illogic of providing an expeditionary force with no reserves to back it up, Cabinet had approved the five regular divisions of the Army's expeditionary force, but not the twelve territorial divisions. Chamberlain had again decisively shaped cabinet's views. Britain could simply not afford to provide for home defence, its imperial commitments, and a continental army as well. The British public had no stomach for continental adventures, he argued.⁵¹ Britain was better off building up its air force as a deterrent to any aggressive designs by Germany. In the meantime it would be necessary to seek diplomatic solutions in Europe.

Talk in Whitehall began to focus on the need for a 'general settlement.' It was clear that an overall peace deal would mean that many of Germany's claims must be met, including the possibility of the return of Germany's colonies. But the most pressing issue was the question of the Rhineland de-militarized zone, a stretch of German territory along the border of France in which all military activity was prohibited by the Treaty of Versailles. By early 1936, following the reincorporation of the Saar, it was increasingly apparent that Hitler would soon act to reclaim it. In early March Eden floated the idea of offering Rhineland in return for an Air Limitation Pact before Hitler had the chance to seize it. He was too late.⁵²

THE RHINELAND

On March 7, 1936, well satisfied with Britain's two-day old Defence White Paper, Hitler reoccupied the Rhineland with a force of only three battalions, which would have been far too small for the task if Britain had backed France. The commander had been ordered to stage a fighting withdrawal if his force was challenged by French troops.⁵³ Hitler had taken full advantage of Britain and France's troubles with Mussolini, together with a regimental rebellion in Japan that had triggered violent anti-foreign propaganda by that country, increased tension between Japan and China, and Chiang Kai-shek's appeals for Western support. In announcing the Rhineland occupation Hitler denounced the Franco-Russian treaty of May 1935 in which the two countries pledged to come to each other's aid in the event of military attack. He offered non-aggression pacts to both Eastern and Western countries and he offered to rejoin the League of Nations. He also offered an air pact. Britain, desperate to avoid military confrontation, eagerly grasped Hitler's terms to block insistence on tough action by France and Belgium. The only response from the West was a resolution from the League on March 12 denouncing Germany as a treaty breaker, plus a proposal to hold a Five-Power Conference between Britain, France, Belgium, Germany and Italy to reach a general settlement on new treaty arrangements in the west.⁵⁴

Having nothing to fear from further negotiation, Hitler agreed to the Conference proposal. Then, taking full advantage of Germany's irritation at the League's reproach, he dissolved the Reichstag and staged a plebiscite on March 29 in which he gained 98.8 percent support for his policies. It was an even more resounding demonstration of support than his plebiscite of November 1933. He had reason to be well pleased with events. The re-militarization of the

Rhineland had pushed the German front-line to the French border. Germany was now in a position to launch a surprise attack in the west, while the French Army could no longer move unopposed into Germany if it should be required to come to the defence of Austria.

From Austria's point of view the situation had worsened considerably. In addition to the weakening of France's position with regard to Germany, its own capacity to resist Hitler had also been undermined by the Abyssinian crisis. The estrangement of Italy and Britain meant that Italy might now become subject to a new relationship with Germany. Thus, although Austria had voted with Italy in the League, it could not rely on its southern neighbour's continuing protocol support in the event of a showdown with Germany, which was working to undermine Austria's domestic stability as quickly as it could. Austria was therefore dependent upon an 'understanding' between France and Britain about their treaty obligations which was of very uncertain quality.

For Britain, however, a military commitment to Austria and France was simply out of the question. With a continued threat to its Imperial interests from Japan the Far East, its paltry military resources were simply insufficient to act to restrain Hitler in Europe while Italy still threatened its lines of communication and supply in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. War with any one of those powers could only serve as an invitation to the others to join in. The result would be the dismemberment of the entire British Empire. The weakness of Britain's position was driven home in early May when Abyssinia surrendered to Mussolini's forces and King Emmanuel of Italy was proclaimed Emperor. Having lost all hope of British or French intervention if it faced a crisis with Germany, Austria found it advisable to endorse an agreement for the restoration of friendly relations with Germany. It did so in July. But by then Britain's 'inconvenient dilemma' had been complicated by another factor. A second Arab Revolt had broken out in Palestine.

THE ARAB REVOLT

1936 marked a turning point in the affairs of the Middle East. Throughout the region there had been a dramatic shift in perceptions of European colonial power as a result of tensions in Europe. Italy's invasion of Abyssinia clearly exposed Britain's weakness in the Eastern Mediterranean, and her impotence in the face of Hitler's occupation of the Rhineland had dealt a further blow to her standing and prestige. With a European war appearing imminent, there was widespread hope it would 'provide the Arabs with the chance to realise their full political and national aims.'⁵⁵

In the face of continued Jewish immigration and land purchases, the Palestinian Arab community had throughout the 1930's continued to press for reform of the Mandate arrangements. Spurred on by the establishment of the self-governing Kingdoms of Iraq and Trans-Jordan as Britain's consolation prize to the Arabs for the broken promise of an independent Arab state, Palestinian leaders had demanded similar treatment in the belief that the formation of a representative government would enable them to use their numerical majority to

curtail Jewish immigration. The Passfield White Paper of 1930 had gone some way to meeting their demands by proposing the establishment of a Legislative Council made of elected and appointed representatives from the Muslim, Christian and Jewish communities. Despite its limited powers, Arab political leaders were inclined to accept the proposal as a first-step toward full self-government. But vehement opposition by the Jewish Agency successfully blocked implementation of the proposal for four years, until continuing unrest forced Mandate authorities in late 1935 to propose proceeding with the plan with or without Jewish participation.⁵⁶

The British authorities had good reason for concern. Greatly facilitated by the Ha'avara Agreement between the Jewish Agency and Nazi Germany, legal Jewish immigration to Palestine in 1935 had reached a record 65,000 people. By 1936 the Jewish population had more than doubled from 175,000 in 1931. With Jewish land purchases continuing apace, and Zionist authorities rigorously enforcing a 'Jewish labour' policy on Jewish employers to prevent widespread unemployment from undermining British support for large-scale immigration, Arab discontent had inevitably intensified.⁵⁷ The mandatory authorities were keenly aware that many Palestinian Arabs had watched with interest when, following Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia in late 1935, Egyptian nationalists had staged violent demonstration in Cairo against the strengthening of the British garrison in Egypt and were rewarded with the restoration of their suspended constitution.⁵⁸

Thus, when the British Cabinet in March 1936 finally rejected proposals to establish the Legislative Council – almost in the same breath as announcing the Defence White Paper – the scene was set for an explosion. In mid-April a series of reprisal killings between Arabs and Jews provided the trigger. Beginning with sporadic attacks on Jews, Arab violence soon escalated into riots and demonstrations. Within a few days calls to implement a previously proposed general strike were being made throughout the country. By the end of the month a succession of rapidly formed local strike committees had come under the direction of a newly established Higher Arab Committee involving four Muslim and two Christian parties, and led by the Mufti of Jerusalem, Hajj-Amin al-Husayni. Its first act was to announce that the strike would continue until the British Government agreed to the cessation of Jewish immigration, the prohibition of the transfer of Arab Lands to Jews, and the establishment of a national government responsible to a Representative Council.⁵⁹

The commencement of the strike was accompanied by escalating violence. By early May organized armed bands began to appear, and with the situation out of control, on May 13 the British Cabinet decided to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate the disorders. Then, with appalling timing, the Government announced approval of a new round of immigration certificates on May 18. The rebellion intensified. Initially concentrated in cities and towns, the rapid assertion of control by the British in the major centres merely caused the centre of gravity of the revolt to be shifted to the countryside. A number of large British targets were bombed, including an attempt to blow up the main railway line from Palestine to Egypt. By June the

revolt had spread to the point where guerilla-style armed bands were operating all over the countryside with the support of the local population.⁶⁰

At the same time an important change occurred in the character of the revolt. Until then the Mufti had distanced himself from the rebellion and had refrained from using his position as head of the Palestine's Supreme Muslim Council (SMC) to foment it. No religious slogans were adopted, and Friday sermons avoided a militant tone. But in June Muslim leaders began to appeal to the masses to support the revolt in the name of Islam, citing alleged insults to the Qur'an by British troops and emphasizing the threat of losing control of Muslim Holy places to the Zionists. In a letter to the British High Commissioner from the SMC, the Mufti wrote: "The Council believe that the principal motive which moved the Jews to think of making Palestine a National Home for them is a religious one. That being the case, the Zionist case is fundamentally and principally a religious case." The reason the Jews had refused to establish their National Home in other, better places, he continued, was due solely to "a religious idea which they maintain and which aims at the reconstruction of the temple of Solomon in the Place of the Holy Masjed Al-Aqsa [Al Aqsa Mosque]."⁶¹ Of course, the Mufti was well aware that far from being religiously inspired, Zionism was a predominantly secular movement whose primary aim was to deliver the Jews from Christian oppression in Europe. Only a small, albeit influential section of its following were motivated by the religious factors he cited. But Zionist leaders had been more than willing to use religious arguments when it suited their purposes, and now he was going to fight them with the same weapon. The character of, or the emphasis in, the Jewish-Arab struggle for dominance in Palestine shifted significantly.

Equally disturbing for the British, however, was a growing concern over events in Palestine, in other Arab countries. Bolstered by the Mufti's call to defend the holy places of Islam, efforts by the HAC to foster support among the wider Arab population proved fruitful, particularly in Syria and Iraq where pan-Arabic sentiment was high. In June the Iraqi Prime Minister warned the British Ambassador that 'amicable relations between their two countries would be damaged if the present state of affairs were allowed to continue.' In Saudi Arabia, the British representative was told that Ibn Saud had received 'many appeals from Moslems all over the world, begging him to take the lead in liberating Arabs from the menace of Jewish domination.' Even the Muslim press in India published demands that Britain change its policy, and mass meetings were held in support of the demand.⁶²

At the beginning of July, desperate to end the conflict in order that the Commission could proceed, the Foreign Office began cautiously promoting mediation by Arab Rulers, giving its blessing to a joint effort by Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Yemen to stop the strike. Transjordan and Egypt were excluded, the former to avoid a clash between Abdullah and his family's old rival Ibn Saud, and the latter due to fears that Egyptian intervention in Palestinian affairs may strengthen her position in Anglo-Egyptian Treaty negotiations which were then in progress. But the effort was cut short when Cabinet rejected the Arabs' precondition that Jewish immigration be ended first. Subsequent attempts to mediate by Abdullah and Iraqi Foreign Minister Nuri Al Said broke against the same rock.⁶³

HITLER, BRITAIN AND THE HOUSE OF ROTHSCHILD

In the meantime Hitler had briefed his closest aides, Göring and Blumberg, on the need to prepare for war within four years. This required economic and strategic planning to raise military strength to the limits of Germany's potential.⁶⁴ This, in turn, required the utilization of the entire raw material, food resources and manufacturing capacity of the entire German nation. In Hitler's view that included his native Austria and "the artificial state of Czechoslovakia which the Great Powers had established after the Great War as a means of preventing national reunification" which was vital to enable the German race to take its proper place in world leadership. Göring was made responsible for the four-year plan. The urgency of the situation, Hitler said, did not permit gentle scruples in dealing with those whose cooperation was necessary. Nothing was to stand in the way of German self-sufficiency for war. Government planning and diplomatic activity, especially in solidifying connections with Britain, were to be pursued relentlessly. King Edward VIII had succeeded to the throne only a few months before and as he was known to favour peace, with close relations between Britain and Germany, he was to be a particular target of diplomatic activity.⁶⁵

Hitler was in a very strong position at that time, both in foreign and domestic affairs, although he knew just as well as his military leaders that he had to rely largely on bluff and division between the Western powers to achieve his aims. Germany simply did not yet have the military capacity to enforce them.

So Göring set out on his none-too-diplomatic efforts to coerce Austria and Czechoslovakia into industrial cooperation. It was made quite clear to Austria's Chancellor, Dr Von Schuschnigg, that, as part of the German race, Austria was to link its industrial production into the Göring plan and that the alternative was a "spontaneous uprising" of the kind the West had been so expert at producing. The result of that would be the reunion of the German-speaking peoples of Austria and Germany, and relief for Austria's Germans from economic oppression by non-Aryan minorities. That was simply another way of saying that the Jews of Austria would be brought under the same regulations as those in Germany and that they would forfeit all property to Aryans.

The implications for Austria in either course were abhorrent, and its independence was likely to be short-lived unless it was assured of support from Italy, France or Britain in the event of a showdown with Hitler. Schuschnigg stalled for time and discussed the German "proposals" with the three Rothschild brothers with whom he was on close terms and who were among the chief financiers and industrialists in Austria. He had no real alternative to political appeasement and with time running out he signed a cooperation agreement with Germany on July 11, 1936. He hoped it would be a workable compromise under which Austria could preserve its independence and safeguard its citizens. But in secret clauses he had agreed to pardon Nazi offenders and to allow Nazis to occupy important government positions, so Hitler had more than a toe in the door and the Rothschilds knew it.⁶⁶ However there was a shock in store for Schuschnigg that day – and a boost for Hitler – when they learned of two reports in the London Times. One

concerned the Austro-German negotiations. It noted the relief for Germans in Austria who were linked by race but left “sulking in the corner.” Germany’s proposals would bring not only “mutual economic concessions” but also “restoration of normal political collaboration between two peoples closely related by race and language, having common interests and equally affected by policies running counter to their requirements.” The word “Jews” was not used at all. But the other directly concerned the Jewish question and referred to debates in the House of Commons over claims that police were favouring Fascist groups and oppressing Jewish groups. Though the government tried to play down the rising tide of anti-Semitism in Britain it could not deny it, and it had to be very careful to ensure it retained the confidence and support of the leading representatives of Britain’s Jewish community at a critical time in Britain’s affairs. But, of equal importance, with the Royal Commissioners about to embark for Jerusalem in response to the Arab Revolt, the government could not afford to alienate the House of Rothschild at a critical stage in negotiations over the future of Palestine.

Four days later, July 15, 1936, the Times said in an editorial that Hitler was to be congratulated on the conclusion of the cooperation agreement between Germany and Austria. It was welcomed as “freely made (with Hitler) by the Austrian Government (and it) cannot but help to stabilize and pacify Central Europe, improve its economic conditions, and pave the way for a permanent settlement between the two main branches of the German race.” The Times was arguably the best informed and most influential newspaper in the world. Diplomats and other well-informed readers who knew how Hitler worked and what was going on in Europe were staggered by the use of the expression “freely made.” The credibility of the Times began to come under scrutiny and a few people began to wonder what was going on.

Among those who knew all too well were the Rothschilds. Two of the brothers, Alphonse and Eugene, promptly transferred their wealth and moved their families to France and Switzerland but Baron Louis refused to flee before it was clear that his immense business empire and the network of industries he controlled throughout central Europe was irrevocably lost. The cornerstone of his empire, and a resource which was vital to Hitler if he was going to achieve his four year plan, was the vast complex of coal mines, (among the largest in Central Europe), and iron and steel works, Vitkowitz, at Moravska Ostrava in Czechoslovakia.

Baron Louis reasoned that if Vitkowitz was transferred from Austrian to British ownership it would help to secure his own position and that it would also be of benefit to each of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Britain. He summoned legal advisers from both Prague and London to Vienna to begin the long and complicated process of transferring the shares in Vitkowitz from his company in Vienna to Allied Assurance which was still controlled by the House of Rothschild in Britain.^{67 68} He appears to have had little difficulty persuading each of the governments to his point of view. For Austria the transfer meant a loss in government revenue, but this was more than offset by the elimination of a point of friction with Czechoslovakia, the continuing goodwill of the House of Rothschild, the undermining of Hitler’s demands for economic “cooperation” from Austria, and the assumption of a greater level of support from Britain in the government’s efforts to resist Hitler.

Baron Louis was able to tell the Czech government that continued Austrian control posed a threat to it because of the growing influence of the Nazi Party through senior appointments in Austria's government services. However there was a much greater benefit for Czechoslovakia in having an increased British stake in the country. Hitler would be much less likely to force a showdown with it if substantial British interests were involved. It was therefore implicit, if not explicit, that Czechoslovakia would have British backing if it had to tough-out a takeover bid by Germany of the type that Austria was then facing.

The British government was not blind to the situation which it was accepting, nor to the fact that a commitment to Czechoslovakia was in conflict with the ruling Conservative view that Hitler was a buffer against Communism and that he should be encouraged to look east. A greater British stake in central Europe must have a bottling-up effect on Hitler if Britain were to adopt the same militaristic posture in Czechoslovakia as it had always done elsewhere in protecting the commercial interests of its nationals. But there were several benefits for Britain in the transfer. There were financial benefits for both the government and investors and there was increased political bargaining power in dealings with both Czechoslovakia and Germany. There was also an important benefit in having direct access to, and British commercial control of, a major European iron and steel complex because the government was embroiled in a serious domestic political controversy over the state of the steel industry in Britain. Official predictions for steel supply and demand during the 1930's had proved wildly astray and the scrapping of plans by an industry consortium for a major new steel works at Jarrow-on-Tyne had been announced on July 10, the day before Schuschnigg signed his cooperation agreement with Hitler. Socio-economic impact studies by local government and health bodies, environment protection groups and labour organizations had lead to strong opposition to the project and to conditions being imposed which made the project uneconomic.⁶⁹

But there was to be no respite for the British government. While Baron Louis pressed on with his plan to circumvent that of Hitler, and the British government pressed on with its efforts to prevent the loss of its imperial benefits, another crisis erupted in Europe to further complicate Britain's already difficult position. As expected, Spain was engulfed in civil war.

THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR

After the election in February and in spite of the signs that a right wing coup was still a real probability, major agrarian reforms were carried out and anti-clerical measures were tightened again by the Popular Front coalition of radicals, socialists and Communists. This drew together even more firmly the traditional alliance of the landed gentry and the church. The murder of a monarchist deputy early in July provided the justification for a Nationalist military rebellion and on July 17, 1936, a well planned military uprising began in garrison towns throughout Spain. It was backed by the Vatican, Mussolini, Hitler and Portugal's arch-conservative Premier Antonio Salazar. Each was honoring the spirit of their concordats, of course. This collaboration in a rebellion to bring down another legally constituted government occurred two years after the

Reich Church had been established at Hitler's direction, while the churches in Germany were suffering severe oppression and while Cardinal Pacelli was using all his influence to suppress opposition to the continuation of the Reich Concordat. It illustrates the parallel lines along which the Vatican and the Nazis were running and the expectation which the Curia was clinging to that the Vatican's fortunes and its role in the world could be sustained through collaboration with Hitler and other Fascist regimes.⁷⁰

Britain, to which many countries turned for a lead, was facing its enormous conflicts of interest and opted for a policy of nonintervention. That meant it sat on the fence. So did France. Both governments were supposedly committed to the principle of popularly elected responsible government and therefore they could have been expected to support the elected national government. But with Hitler and Mussolini lending their support to Franco's forces and in view of Hitler's occupation of the Rhineland, neither could afford to intervene on the side of the elected government unless it wanted to risk an escalation of the Spanish Civil War into a European war between the great powers.⁷¹ Britain also had to remember that a popular front government was likely to demand the return of Gibraltar to Spain; that the king in exile, who had not renounced the throne, was connected through marriage to the British monarchy; and that some of Britain's prominent finance houses were involved in key resource extractive industries in Spain. Notable among them was the House of Rothschild with Rio Tinto copper mines and the Almaden mercury mines which would both be high on the list for nationalization if the Socialists and Communists dominated the popular front government. And if Britain would not collaborate with Soviet Russia in an effort to clip Hitler's wings there was no real likelihood of it collaborating in a scheme to support a government which included Communists in preference to a right wing Fascist regime.^{72 73} Officially, therefore, Britain supported French efforts to get each of the major powers to adopt a policy of non-intervention while its own conservative groups quietly but actively supported the military rebels.

Italy's position was quite clear. Mussolini wanted a Fascist government. He also wanted an agreement for naval bases in Spain so that he could challenge France's position in the Mediterranean and Britain's at Gibraltar. And he also needed the Vatican's support for his annexation of Abyssinia, although that was reasonably assured by the Vatican's opportunity to gain control of the long-independent Ethiopian Orthodox Church.

Hitler's position was equally clear. He wanted to destroy the possibility of a Communist or Socialist power to his west involving, probably, an alliance between France and Spain; he wanted to encourage dissent between France and Italy; and he hoped for an ally with Nazi sympathies controlling the gateway to the Mediterranean.

Russia welcomed the idea of a republic with a popular front coalition which could well become the first Communist government in the Western block, although there were those who said that it was in Russia's interests to encourage Hitler to look westward. Russian support for the leftist forces was soon forthcoming.

France, which could have been expected to support the republic as a matter of principle, was caught in a bind too. It shared Britain's conflict of interest because of its citizens' investments and it also feared the prospect of being in league with Russia in sponsoring a potentially Communist dominated government on its southern border. It was embarrassed that Paris was home to the Communist International Comintern.

Without immediate help from Salazar the revolt would have collapsed very quickly, but when Hitler and Mussolini both responded to urgent appeals from the commander of the main Nationalist forces, General Francisco Franco, a long drawn out civil war was assured. The legally elected government was pushed aside in the rush and competing governments were set up by the Nationalists, supported by the bulk of the army which had been officially dissolved, and the Republicans, dominated by the trade unions and supported by workers' militias in place of the dissolved army. Mussolini sent ground forces, but Hitler, having extracted an agreement for mineral concessions from Franco, sent one hundred aircraft, including twenty transport planes, which helped ferry Franco's troops from Morocco (over which he gained control in only four days from the initial uprising) to enable him to march on Madrid. To offset that support for the gaggle of right wing Nationalists, the Soviet Union supplied tanks, aircraft and a military mission to assist the Republicans. But there was yet another sideshow for the politicians to step around.

THE WORLD CONGRESS OF FAITHS

The World Congress of Faiths was actually meeting in London to encourage peace through religious understanding at the time that the Spanish Civil War erupted, but few people in Britain would have been very concerned with it. It was widely considered to be a bit of a colonial novelty because Christianity was paramount and it was going to replace all the other faiths in due course anyway, and passions were running high around the Western World over the Spanish question. The whole world was still struggling to shake off the Great Depression and the alternatives of government by popular will, or by traditional power brokers backed by military force, appeared to be more clearly illustrated in Spain than anywhere else.⁷⁴ Then there was the question of the 'right' – or the disgrace – of the Vatican's interference in it as one of those traditional power brokers.

The World Congress of Faiths, to which Britain played a somewhat reluctant host, provided quite a boost for each of the pre-Messianic faiths of Asia, and for Buddhism and Hinduism in particular. It also drew attention to the existence of Islam as a competitor to Christianity but the British authorities, the churches and the compliant media were eager to play this aspect down. The fact that they were to be involved in the congress at the heart of the empire which had actively sought to supplant them with its own church – together with that church – was a challenge to the self-understanding of both the British government and the church-at-large, and an embarrassment to them as well. It is to the credit of the hierarchy of the Church of England that it cooperated, at least to the extent of allowing the hallowed sanctuaries of St. Paul's and

Canterbury Cathedrals to be used for interfaith worship services, and a number of Reformed churchmen participated, while the Vatican, consistent with its attitude to other churches let alone other faiths, does not appear to have recognized the Congress in any way.⁷⁵ Jewish participation in the Congress did not seem to pose such a challenge as the participation of the other faiths. Jews and Judaism did, after all, have recognized roles in British life.

The organizer for the Congress, Sir Francis Younghusband, was an Indian-born British soldier, explorer and authority on Asian religions. Its President was the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, and among the participants were the Aga Khan, Sir Herbert Samuel, and the president of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Dr. J.L. Magnes. In a paper read on his behalf, Dr. Magnes told the congress that fellowship between people of different faiths was difficult enough in times of peace. He queried whether it was possible in times of war. A large part of the world was already at war and the whole world soon would be, he said. Then, in a remarkably accurate and frank assessment of the situation, he added that the religions of the world had done nothing to inculcate a spirit of unselfishness, disinterested service and reconciliation.⁷⁶ He could have laid responsibility on the politicians who manipulated the faiths and not on the faiths as such.

A general meeting which followed the congress took up the spirit of Dr Magnes' challenge and set up a committee with members drawn from several religions and several nations. It was instructed to continue the work begun at the congress with the aim of continuing to spread world fellowship through religion. But, as with the ecumenical movement, the establishment of the interfaith dialogue movement was a response to a crisis situation. Unfortunately the Christian Church, which has to accept the greatest share of responsibility for both the crisis and the solution, had very few people who understood the situation. Those who did understand were in no position to take initiatives which could bring quick results. However, although the churches sought to play down the significance of the Congress, it is reasonable to assume that the proceedings of the World Congress of Faiths, coupled with the political turmoil in India and South East Asia, were an important consideration in the planning for a series of ecumenical conferences, and in the debates and decisions of those conferences, including the International Missionary Conference at Tambaram which was planned for December 1938.

But back to Spain ...

In spite of the civil war and the fact that Nationalist forces had gained control of some regions, the fragmented and ill-coordinated Republican government pressed on with programs of industrial and farm collectivization. There were fantastic atrocities committed by both sides and it was inevitable in the circumstances that the Catholic Church suffered heavy losses in priests and religious killed and properties destroyed or commandeered. The Vatican had, as already noted, been heavily involved in precipitating the overthrow of the constitutionally elected Republican governments and as the war progressed it threw its diplomatic weight behind the Nationalists. In September Pius XI said publicly that it was the "Satanic enterprise" of Marxism that had prompted the war and he blessed those who, he said, were defending "the

rights and honour of God against a wild explosion of forces so savage and so cruel as to be well-nigh incredible.” Probably in response to such glowing tributes Franco declared that “Spain shall be an empire turned toward God.”⁷⁷ On October 1 he assumed control of the Nationalist government, gathered the Fascists, Falange and Carlists into a unified movement and the tide began to turn against the Republic. At that time the Communist International, operating from its headquarters in Paris, set out to recruit and train International Brigades to support the Republican forces and the first contingent of 500 trainees arrived in Spain on October 14, 1936. They were followed by a total of about 60,000 volunteers organized into seven brigades with a maximum strength at any time of 20,000 troops, including some women, from fifty countries. France was the source of nearly half of the total (28,000), while substantial numbers came from Germany, Austria, Poland, Italy, the United States, Britain, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Canada, Hungary and Belgium and formed, where they could, battalions carrying their national name. The American unit took the name ‘The American Abraham Lincoln Battalion.’⁷⁸

A REPRESENTATIVE OF ‘CHRIST’S VICAR’ IN NEW YORK

Just as the recruiting campaign for the International Brigades was getting under way, on October 8 Pacelli sailed for New York on another of his missions as a papal legate or, in the words of Pius XI, “as the representative of Christ’s Vicar on earth abroad.” In fact while Pius XI was trying to consolidate the Vatican’s position and gain support for its policies by having Pacelli make these journeys he was also trying to impose Pacelli, “his favoured protégé,” on the Catholic Church as his personally chosen successor. “I make him travel so that he may get to know the world and the world may get to know him. He will be a splendid pope,” he told a senior Vatican official.⁷⁹ This was the first visit by a Vatican secretary of state – or a papal legate – to North America and its primary objective was to secure an exchange of diplomatic representatives between the United States and the Vatican, but it took on even more significance because of the need to justify Vatican and Italian policy in both Abyssinia and Spain. Pacelli had to ensure that the United States neither threw its weight behind the Republicans in Spain nor encouraged Americans to enlist as volunteers in the International Brigades. The United States certainly had security interests to consider. This was clear from the debates over its involvement in Europe. But Pacelli need not have been too worried about US intervention. It had so many commercial interests to consider that it was bound to shelter behind its Neutrality Act.

On one hand the Roosevelt administration was well aware that the involvement of both Hitler’s Germany and the Soviet Union in the Spanish Civil War “raised the spectre of threats to American security and interests.” On the other hand its petroleum industry and its arms manufacturers wanted open access to those markets for death and destruction and the US would forfeit the opportunity for profits and employment to someone else if it did not oblige. Public opinion, being moulded largely by commercial interests, was overwhelmingly in favour of

“impartial neutrality.” Thus the Neutrality Act, again due to expire, was retained but with yet more features. The president was given discretionary power to authorize the sale of goods to belligerents, for cash, provided the goods were not carried in American vessels. Long term loans and arms shipments to belligerents were still not approved, but there were back doors as every good salesperson knows. United States power brokers “hoped to gain all and sacrifice nothing.” National interest and profits could be preserved by the selective application of ‘cash and carry,’ but restrictions on the sale of arms, long term loans, and travel by American citizens on belligerent vessels would prevent the nation from becoming directly involved in war.⁸⁰

A visiting secretary of state would normally expect to negotiate with the secretary of state in the host country and perhaps a courtesy call on the head of state may be on the agenda. But Pacelli was not content with that. As papal legate he expected to talk business – diplomatic business – with the head of state personally. However there was a presidential election in full swing and Roosevelt certainly did not want religion elevated to a bigger issue than it already was. Pacelli was kept waiting until immediately before he was due to return to Rome, after the election, but he was then one of the president’s first callers. Cardinal Spellman had arranged for him to lunch privately with Roosevelt at Hyde Park on November 6, the day after his landslide re-election. Using Vatican concern that the United States had recognized the Soviet Union as a lever, Pacelli secured the president’s agreement that he would reinstate the diplomatic links which had been severed in 1870, in the wake of Protestant hostility to the anti-democratic Syllabus of Errors, when the papal states were dissolved and the papacy lost its temporal authority. However that agreement came at a price. Roosevelt expected a favour in return. In Detroit there was a Catholic priest, Fr. Charles Coughlin, whose weekly radio broadcast reached an audience of fifteen million. Coughlin was “anti-New Deal and blamed America’s ills on Roosevelt, the Jews, the Communists, and the ‘godless capitalists.’” He was an electoral embarrassment and Roosevelt wanted him ‘muzzled.’ Pacelli obliged. Two days later Coughlin announced that he was making his last broadcast.⁸¹

So the civil war in Spain dragged on, and despite the deep ideological divisions it generated between people of opposing sympathies in both of their countries, the governments of Britain and France successfully reduced it, in the words of one historian, to a “noisy, emotive and cruel sideshow.”⁸² France’s capacity to intervene was undermined even further by attacks on Premier Leon Blum, founder of the modern French Socialist movement and the first Jew and the first Socialist to serve as premier of France. He had offered support for the Popular Front but non-Jewish bankers mounted a campaign to discredit him. The Fascist Conspiracy of the Hooded Men, which was something akin to the Ku Klux Klan, mounted a political campaign to bring his government down.⁸³ Many Roman Catholic schools continued to use Pascal’s bigotted fantasies as text books on Christian-Jewish relations and “the terrible punishment which weighs down that decide race”⁸⁴; and some French commentators even went as far as to preach “better Hitler than Blum.” The atmosphere was so bizarre that for a time Blum was fearful that the Spanish Civil War could even envelop France.

But within a few months there was another sideshow – out of sight and out of mind as far as the British public was concerned – almost a hemisphere away. This one demonstrated the hypocrisy of the US position even more than the one in Spain and made the Roosevelt administration aware that neither isolation nor neutrality towards belligerents were realistic policies in a world of instant communications, high speed long distant transport and intense competition for trade. The second sideshow was Japan's attack on China in July 1937. We shall come to it shortly.

PALESTINE, THE AXIS ACCORD AND THE ANTI-COMINTERN PACT

In the meantime, Britain continued to contend with its other sideshow, in Palestine. In the context of the increasingly critical international situation in which Britain was enmeshed, the significance of the wider interests that centred on Palestine was enormous and Peel's task was of far broader import than merely the settlement of the immediate conflict between Jews and Palestinian Arabs. Those wider interests made his task extremely delicate. On the one hand, given her parlous financial position and her increasing rearmament needs, the need for the British Government to retain the strong support of the international Jewish community to weather the impending crisis was paramount. On the other hand, however, it was equally vital that Britain retained stability in the Middle East. Further conflict in Palestine would not only jeopardize continued support for Britain in the Arab world, it might well tempt Mussolini into launching a 'mad dog' attack on British interests in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. With the likelihood that Italy may soon seek an alliance with Germany, the threat of such an attack had become more important. The Austro-German friendship agreement of July, 1936, coming only four months after Hitler re-occupied the Rhineland, had effectively ended Mussolini's hope of preventing a German takeover of Austria, and this meant that Germany and Italy were free to seek a rapprochement at Britain's expense.

As if to reinforce Britain's concern at the increasing interest shown by other Arab countries, at the end of August, 1936, a group of 200 Iraqi, Syrian and Trans-Jordanian volunteers, headed by a former Ottoman officer, arrived to assist the local forces. By that time the Mandate authorities had concluded that either the Arab demand for the cessation of immigration would have to be met, or Britain would have to declare Martial Law and wage all-out war on the rebels. On September 2, cabinet weighed the arguments. The Colonial and Foreign Secretaries favoured the suspension of immigration but the War Secretary opposed it, arguing that there should be no surrender to violence. He noted that the re-disposition of British forces under the recently concluded Anglo-Egyptian treaty had increased Palestine's importance for imperial defence, and that while the Jews would never accept Arab terms, "it was open to us to make terms with the Jews with which in the long run the Arabs would acquiesce." In line with his recommendations, Cabinet ordered that Martial Law be declared and that the Palestine garrison be reinforced from Britain with a full army division.⁸⁵

Two days later, on September 4, with little progress in negotiations towards the Five Power Conference which had been agreed to in the wake of Hitler's reoccupation of the Rhineland, David Lloyd George, the former prime minister whose influence had weakened during the 1930's, joined the growing list of British dignitaries who called on Hitler in an effort to avoid a breach between Britain and Germany. He told Hitler that action was needed for the two countries to reach agreement within a few months, otherwise they would drift apart.⁸⁶

Then, in the face of Britain's declaration of Martial Law, and with the onset of the agricultural season leading to calls from Arab citrus growers to end the strike, the HAC began to look for a face saving way to end the revolt. They promptly requested that Britain invite the Arab kings to call for the end of the disorders, but the government refused, suggesting instead that the HAC approach the Arab rulers directly. Not content with Britain's attitude, the Arab Chamber of Commerce in Jerusalem submitted a petition through the then German Consul, Dohle, urging a revision of the Transfer Agreement and the opening of trade with Germany to the Arabs, and advising that if the Zionist monopoly of trade with Germany continued it would result in a Palestinian boycott of German goods. In spite of support from Dohle, the petition was rebuffed by authorities in Berlin.

However other people were having private talks at that time, also, and neither Britain nor the Arabs could have known of the understanding reached between Hitler and Mussolini in September, that Italy was to have "a free hand" in the Mediterranean Basin and the Arab World. What the Arabs did know was that, on one hand, Hitler was not willing to listen to reason and to stop the flow of German Jews to Palestine under the Transfer Agreement, and Mussolini's forces were already occupying Libya and Abyssinia without being seriously challenged by Britain, France and the League of nations. This therefore made Mussolini very attractive as an ally in the Palestinian Arabs' worsening struggle with Britain after its crackdown against the Palestinian National Movement. Secret contacts were arranged between some Arab leaders and the Italian Consul in Jerusalem. On the other hand Italy's obvious ambitions in Egypt and Tunisia, its penetration of Yemen and its approaches to Saudi Arabia were "becoming too ominously conspicuous to be ignored," and this led some other Arab leaders to lean towards further approaches to Hitler to offset Italy's influence and in a direct bid to have him curtail Jewish immigration to Palestine.⁸⁷

After much wrangling between them, the strike and the revolt were called off by the HAC on October 10, in response to appeals by Arab leaders in Iraq, Transjordan, Arabia and Yemen. Over the next few weeks the revolt therefore gradually petered out.⁸⁸

Lloyd George's fears that Britain and Germany were 'drifting apart' proved well grounded. On October 24, 1936, only six weeks after his talks with Hitler, Germany and Italy confirmed the thrust of the Hitler-Mussolini talks by signing the Axis Accord. Hitler believed that this would enable them to defeat Bolshevism in the east and then turn towards Britain which, he expected, would seek "an accommodation" with them. The accord committed the two governments to cooperate closely on a wide range of matters, including membership of the

League of Nations, commercial policies in the Danube region, and the protection of Europe against Communism. In return for German recognition of the incorporation of Abyssinia into the Italian Empire, Italy agreed to support Germany's colonial claims. Both governments agreed to recognize the Franco government "as soon as possible."⁸⁹

Britain's situation was indeed complex and it was complicated even more by reports coming from the Far East. Early in the year there had been rumours of a Sino-Soviet military cooperation pact and in June Chiang Kai-Shek had openly asked the British Ambassador what his government's attitude would be to a Sino-Soviet alliance. The Foreign Office assessment was that it was all a Chinese exercise to discourage Japan's ambitions from spreading beyond Manchuria and Mongolia, that Chiang Kai-Shek was "too astute to risk resistance against Japan" and that he was trying to persuade the Western powers to "restrain Tokyo." Shortly afterwards, a new Japanese government offered him cooperation based on four points. They were: cooperation in the suppression of Communism in China; recognition of an "independent" Manchuria; the establishment of an economic block of Japan, China and Manchuria; and Japanese advisers in place of Europeans. Relations began to improve as negotiations continued, but the Foreign Office assessment changed dramatically on September 28 when Chiang Kai-Shek told the British that he would order general mobilization if there was any further Japanese aggression. Next day Britain's ambassadors were instructed to tell Japan that harsh demands on China would lead to "further incidents and harm Anglo-Japanese relations", and to urge China "to curb anti-Japanese activities." Then on October 7 the Joint Intelligence Sub-Committee advised that Japan had developed naval radio silence techniques such that it could launch an expedition towards either Hong Kong or Singapore from Formosa with no guarantee that Britain would have any warning.⁹⁰

As a result, the reaction in Britain to the signing of the Axis Accord was prompt. With Italy posing the most pressing short-term threat to British interests, and in the absence of any other plans to conciliate Germany, attention quickly turned to Rome. An Anglo-Italian understanding, it was felt, might prevent the Axis maturing into a military alliance, reduce the possibility of a sudden Italian attack against Britain in the Mediterranean and Middle East, and give British security in the Mediterranean in case of war with Germany or Japan.⁹¹ Towards that end, on November 5, six days before the Peel Commissioners were due to arrive in Palestine, Eden made a conciliatory speech towards Italy in the Commons. By coincidence, in an interview in the *Daily Mail* published on the same day, Mussolini had broached the idea of a 'gentleman's agreement' between the two countries.⁹² The stage thus seemed set for an accommodation between the two powers.

Lord Peel finally arrived in Palestine on November 11 to lead the British commission of enquiry into the causes and prospects for settlement of the conflict and the future of the mandated territory. By the end of the year when the revolt was finally suppressed there were 300 deaths and about a thousand other casualties, though pockets of trouble continued for some months. [During that time the unofficial Jewish defence force, Hagana, was reorganized,

secretly armed by Britain, and split into parallel groups, some of which became tenaciously offensive rather than defensive.^{93]}

However, the announcement of the recognition of Franco's regime by Germany and Italy on the day of Peel's arrival in Palestine, and the events which followed, soon spoiled the mood. Although Hitler refrained from committing large forces to the conflict in Spain which he considered to be a useful diversion, drawing attention away from Germany, Mussolini immediately increased his aid to Franco on the grounds that continued intervention by the Soviet Union posed a threat to the balance of power in the region. With its naval interests under threat from Italy's military buildup in the western Mediterranean, Britain was forced to consider abandoning its negotiations with the Duce. Despite Eden's misgivings, however, it was decided to pursue an agreement as a test of Mussolini's good faith.⁹⁴ On November 18, Eden reported to Cabinet that negotiations with Italy were proceeding smoothly.⁹⁵

SOVIET RUSSIA WEDGED BETWEEN TWO POWERS

The effort to achieve such an agreement became even more important on November 25, when Germany and Japan signed the Anti-Comintern Pact to safeguard their common interests against the Soviet Union. Under a secret annex to the agreement, the details of which were soon made public, both countries pledged not to conclude any political treaties with the Soviet Union "contrary to the spirit" of the pact, and to assist the other in the event of an unprovoked attack "or threat of attack" by Russia.⁹⁶ Though clearly in line with the anti-Soviet views of the British Government, the pact just as clearly signalled, for Britain, a dangerous strengthening of the relationship between the two powers. In addition, when combined with the Axis Accord, the Pact also signalled an emerging three-way anti-Russian front that Hitler would use to expand into central and eastern Europe.

Japan's signing of the Anti-Comintern Pact therefore complicated world relationships considerably and international reactions were prompt. Japan was antagonistic to Chiang Kai-Shek, even though he shared Japan's concern about Communism, because he was under European domination. But Britain and the United States, preferring Japan's brand of Fascism to Communism, modified their pro-China stands to ones of benevolent neutrality towards Japan's claims in China. Bolstered by that shift in position by the major Western powers, Japan again became more aggressive towards both Chiang Kai-shek and the Red Army. Hitler became more aggressive in Eastern Europe, bolstered by the expectation that Japan would divert Russia's attention if need be. Then on December 12, within weeks of the signing of the pact, the Chinese Red Army kidnapped Chiang Kai-shek and would not release him until December 25 when he agreed to end the civil war and unite with it in a major effort to repulse Japan.

In the meantime, on December 16, while Chiang Kai-Shek was still detained, Vansittart at the Foreign Office provided a report on the world situation and British rearmament in which he said that the Anti-Comintern Pact clearly "introduced Japan into the orbit of European affairs at a particularly delicate and dangerous phase" and increased the probability that, "in given

circumstances, Germany and Japan will now act together.” He proposed that the government adopt a new policy towards Japan to counter any strengthening of Japanese-German ties, including close liaison with those in Tokyo who opposed the German connection and improvements in Britain’s naval defences in the East.⁹⁷

It was the Chinese Nationalist leader’s turn to about-face. Chiang Kai-shek’s Kuomintang formed a united front with the Chinese Communists for the second time. He began to launch vitriolic attacks on Japan, he sought closer relations with each of the United States, Germany and Italy and it appeared that China would be able to resist the steady advance of Japan. But there were too many “ifs and buts” and the Western powers had too many conflicts of interest. Whichever warring parties they supported, one or more of the Western powers faced the loss of significant privileges from the other warring party.

So Eden continued his discussions with Italy and by January 2, 1937, negotiations towards the “Gentlemen’s Agreement” between Britain and Italy were complete. Under the agreement both countries recognized the importance to the other of free transit through the Mediterranean, pledged to uphold the territorial status quo in the Mediterranean area, and agreed to cooperate to limit intervention in Spain. In addition, Britain received Italy’s assurance that it would cease stirring up trouble in Palestine with its propaganda broadcasts into the Middle East.⁹⁸ It seemed that Britain had at last won back some lost ground and the agreement was greeted with a burst of optimism in the British Foreign Office. On January 5, the First Sea Lord, Admiral Chatfield, noted: “An understanding with Japan ... is ... the first essential and, difficult as it admittedly is, should not be unobtainable if we make it not a weak aim but a decided policy. Having thus secured our Eastern Empire against our first commitment, we should be in a stronger position to sit on the fence in Europe.”⁹⁹ Italy might now be detached from Germany, and as a result Germany may become more ‘reasonable.’¹⁰⁰ The prospect for a settlement in Europe therefore seemed less remote. But the optimism was short lived. Within a month Mussolini had blown the agreement apart, and the British government was again looking for ways to conciliate Hitler. However, it is doubtful whether the British public shared the government’s disappointment. In fact, it is highly unlikely that many people were even aware of the ‘Gentleman’s Agreement’ at all, or of the massive fallout in the Far East from the Anti-Comintern Pact which further strengthened Hitler’s hand, or of the continuing haggling in cabinet over how to handle relations between China and Japan, and Britain’s precarious position in the East.

WHAT PARTITION PLAN?

Neither was the British public aware that a new concept had just been introduced into the discussions about a Jewish Homeland. Early in January, 1937, towards the end of its two-month investigation in Palestine during which it held sixty-six meetings, the Peel Commission invited Dr. Weizmann to appear before it for a second time, in closed session. The members of the commission were inclining towards cantonization, but one member, Professor Coupland of Oxford, eventually reached the conclusion from the discussions that cantonization did not go far

enough and a more radical approach was needed. It appeared, he said, unlikely that harmony between Jews and Arabs could be restored in the near future and that, if that was the case, “there was no other way to peace than the termination of the mandate by agreement.” This would mean splitting Palestine into two and “consequently the emergence of an independent Jewish and an Arab state.”

That was the first time that the idea of partition had been raised with Weizmann. He did not respond immediately but asked for time to reflect and consult his colleagues. Then, favouring the idea all the more, the more he thought about it, he sought a private meeting with Coupland at which they discussed the idea at length. As a result, “Coupland took it upon himself to persuade his colleagues that cantonization, favoured by the mandatory administration, would not work, and that partition was the only way out.”

Weizmann’s comment to farmers gathered outside the “secret” meeting as he left was “Hevra [comrades], today we laid the foundation for the Jewish State!”¹⁰¹ From that moment, as far as Weizmann and the Zionist leadership were concerned, there was no turning back. They no longer needed to be concerned about seeking harmony with the Arabs as a means of supporting their claim to a national homeland in Palestine. In fact the opposite was the case. They were assured that continued disharmony was the quickest route to not only a national homeland but a Jewish State. It was not intended as such, but in reality the understanding between Coupland and Weizmann was a signal that the Zionists should increase their pressure on Britain through an uncompromising policy towards the Palestinian Arabs. But it would be six months before the Peel Report would be published. That discussion between the two, and the proposal which would be made to the British government would remain privy to a select group – certainly not including the Arabs – until then. The Zionists had a good lead time in which to plan their response and their strategy uninhibited by public debate.

However there was debate continuing in another forum, and that would prove quite inhibiting in due course. About the time that Weizmann had his discussions with Coupland, the German emissary in Baghdad, Fritz Grobba, was approached by an influential Palestinian delegation. They appealed once more for the cessation of German Jewish immigration to Palestine and coupled with it a strong demand for German backing for their nationalist struggle and for the establishment of an Arab state in Palestine. Grobba’s advice was that the matter of Jewish migration to Palestine was then being reconsidered in Berlin but apart from that he could do no more than offer moral encouragement. However the Arabs did not let the matter rest there. Over the following months contact with Grobba was maintained by the Iraqi Prime Minister and the Saudi Deputy Foreign Minister as well as a key Palestinian representative and, concurrently, Consul Dohle submitted to Berlin an assessment which was clearly sympathetic to the Palestinian position. He questioned Germany’s 1933 agreement with the Zionists, and raised alarm over the effects of the British plan to establish a Jewish state in Palestine.¹⁰²

So: the British public was kept in ignorance. But in any case its attention was focused entirely on matters closer to home. Amid a storm of controversy, the King of England had

abdicated the throne.

THE ABDICATION CRISIS

When he succeeded to the throne in January 1936 as a very popular bachelor-king, Edward VIII stirred the popular imagination because of his concern for the welfare of ordinary people of all creeds and races.¹⁰³ He was intent on reforming and democratizing the monarchy and he was quite prepared to use his position in an effort to change government attitudes and to improve the lot of communities caught in the maze of industrial society. His popularity with ordinary people was therefore not reflected in the attitudes of the aristocracy, the industrialists and landlords among whom the feeling was growing that Britain could be headed for its own version of the French Revolution if he were to stay. And even if the change from a constitutional monarchy to a republic was nonviolent, the links which held the dominions and colonies together would be broken and the trade advantages – the basic reason for the empire-grab in the first place – would be irretrievably lost as each country went its own way. The Jarrow affair, in which Edward's sympathy gave those who were pressing for industrial justice a lot of encouragement, showed that there could be quite important economic and social change even well short of the end of the monarchy. With serious troubles throughout its empire Britain's ruling groups could do without boat-rocking at home. They were quick to criticize Edward's slapdash approach to the constitutional duties and office work which was the lot of the monarch.¹⁰⁴

To remove Edward as a constitutional monarch in twentieth century Britain would have been very difficult in ordinary circumstances but because of his determination to live his life his own way the task was made easy with the ready collaboration of the church. Edward was determined to marry an American divorcee, Mrs. Simpson. Although Britain's aristocracy included many men who had married divorced women it was declared incompatible with his role as Defender of the Faith and chief model for public conduct for the king to do so. The Church of England was caught in another dilemma over its constitutional role and the question of church state relations. However senior churchmen, having been briefed on the king's links with Hitler's regime, and having an attitude similar to the Roman Catholic Church on the question of divorce, supported the Baldwin Government's decision that Edward should be forced from the throne on moral and religious grounds rather than political grounds. He would be seen as choosing between Mrs. Simpson and the throne.

Many of the people who were in a position to influence the church's decision were among those who also wanted the king's demise for political reasons, and it would not have escaped their notice that an alliance between the government and the church would help prevent a political coup by Winston Churchill, Edward's principal supporter, and a far more serious constitutional crisis that would follow. Churchill, who was not at that time a member of the government, had already made it known that if the government resigned over the king's refusal to abdicate he would be prepared to accept a commission from the king to form a new government without an election. Such a government would have had very little support and

could have survived only long enough to fight an election around the issue of support for the king against the previous lawful elected government.¹⁰⁵ In supporting Prime Minister Baldwin's position and the demands for the king's abdication the church was therefore not only involved in consideration of moral issues but it was party to political and constitutional plots and decisions which had far-reaching consequences. But it was probably not conscious of this. It would have seen its action as providing continuity in moral guidance and as avoiding a very divisive public debate with an election that could have turned violent at a time of international crisis when the stability of the nation was at risk.

Edward VIII dutifully, but very reluctantly, avoided that crisis by abdicating on December 11, 1936.^{106 107} This meant that from his father's death almost a year earlier until after his brother's coronation as George VI, on May 17, 1937, the British public was held preoccupied with the pageantry and crisis of constitutional monarchy. Consequently, those who influenced and conducted foreign policy, whether they were hell-bent on appeasing Hitler or forcing his hand, or whether they were juggling Britain's trade relations with China and Japan – and the defence requirements which went with the juggling – could do their politicking with much less scrutiny than otherwise would have been the case. Under the auspices of the League of Nations trade negotiations began in Geneva in March, about the time that *Mit Brennender Sorge* and *Divini Redemptoris* were both issued, with Germany absent but with Japan as an observer. Britain sought to exclude trade with India from the discussions and to restrict Japan's access to African markets. On the other hand Japan "desired freedom of distribution of raw materials, free access to the development of backward areas, an end to restrictions on access to markets, and free movement of people." On March 24, Foreign Secretary Eden proposed the establishment of a trade policy committee which would study, in particular, trade relations with Japan. He pointed out that Britain was "engaged in damming back Japanese goods from our colonial empire, and elsewhere if we can (by a) policy of quotas which we are the first to condemn in other countries; while the Japanese, cut off from normal economic expansion and nervous about their supply of raw materials, are busy establishing by force of arms a preferential area in Manchukuo and North China." Eden told Chamberlain, the 'prime minister-in-waiting', that it could not be regarded as an ideal state of affairs and that a settlement with Japan was "not unobtainable."¹⁰⁸

A special interdepartmental trade committee was set up and began work in May, coinciding with a visit to London by the Chinese Finance Minister conveniently arranged at the time of the coronation and an Imperial Conference, and talks concerning the possibility of loans from both the UK Government and the Hong Kong Shanghai Bank for a series of railway projects.¹⁰⁹ During the Imperial Conference the Australian Prime Minister, Joseph Lyons, proposed that a new enlarged version of the 1922 Four Power Pact between Britain, the United States, France and Japan should be negotiated to uphold the status quo of Colonial possessions in the Asia-Pacific region and to provide an apparatus for economic and cultural collaboration. However that proposal lapsed, partly because the Foreign Office, while agreeing with the idea in principle, doubted that a multilateral approach was any longer practical, and partly because to

seek the support of the US would be tantamount to admitting that Britain could no longer defend its empire. The newly appointed ambassador to Japan, Sir Robert Craigie, later noted that “a wiser procedure would be confine our efforts at first to the settlement of some of the outstanding problems in Anglo-Japanese and Sino-Japanese relations (and) if success can be achieved in these two fields, the way would then be open for an advance to a wider international settlement.”¹¹⁰ His note was consistent with a strongly held view in the Foreign Office that Britain’s policy towards Japan had been “nothing more than a set of delaying tactics, that it was necessary for a more active policy to be pursued.” Britain’s position could only be improved if there was a substantial effort to improve defences in the region and it would then “be easier to persuade Japan to agree to engage in serious negotiations about its grievances.”¹¹¹ Thus, just a week before the Imperial Conference opened, Eden argued in cabinet for a two pronged approach: a new standard of naval strength coupled with an effort to improve Anglo-Japanese relations which ‘rested on a community of interests as regards the joint policy of England and Japan towards China.’¹¹²

But from the time of Edward’s abdication to well after George VI’s coronation on May 6, the Imperial Conference which opened on May 19, and Edward’s marriage on June 3, the manipulation of the media and the wall of silence which so concerned Vansittart reached a level of obscenity that had not previously been known in Britain’s free press. While the press in America had published stories of King Edward VIII’s relationship with Mrs. Simpson for some months, the level of collusion between the British government, the press and the king was such that virtually nothing was published in Britain until a week before the abdication. The crises in Europe, China and in the Middle East were very effectively submerged when the flood-gates damming the abdication propaganda were finally opened on December 3, 1936. The politicking behind Belgium’s declaration of neutrality in January 1937, the separation of Burma from India, the Imperial Conference, the Sino-Japanese controversy, the results of the Peel Commission on Palestine, and the Anglo-Japanese trade war crisis were effectively swamped by a flood of royalist propaganda and sentiment.

THE CONSPIRACY THICKENS

Within days of the signing of the Anglo-Italian “Gentlemen’s Agreement” in early January, 1937, Mussolini had demonstrated his ‘good faith’ by landing three thousand Italian volunteers in Spain in support of Franco’s right wing Nationalists. By the end of January it was also clear that he had no intention of ending his anti-British propaganda broadcasts in the Middle East either. Britain’s hopes of ‘detaching’ Mussolini from Hitler were therefore abandoned – for the present – but Cabinet rejected Eden’s recommendation that Britain mount a show of naval force of the coast of Spain to deter further intervention by Italy and Germany.¹¹³ Attention soon shifted to finding some other means of persuading Hitler to be more ‘reasonable.’

In the meantime Hitler was wooing Britain in numerous ways. He wrote to Lord Rothermere advocating Anglo-German understanding and the Daily Mail published his letter on January

1.¹¹⁴ At the same time, and in spite of Churchill's backbench status and his vigorous condemnation of Nazi policy, Hitler extended an invitation for Churchill to visit Germany for talks. This time it was Winston's decision to rebuff the dictator. In April 1932, before Hitler had gained power, Churchill had invited Hitler to dine with him during a private visit to Munich. Hitler had declined against the advice of his staffer Putzi Hanfstaengl, an acquaintance of Winston's son Randolph, asking what he would be able to discuss with the English MP. He would have received a shock. Louis Kilzer reports that during dinner Churchill asked Hanfstaengl how his chief would feel about an alliance between Germany, France and England.¹¹⁵

But despite Hitler's apparent interest in a deal, Britain was yet to come up with a formula that would meet his demands. Throughout 1936, work had continued on plans for a Five-Power Conference which would develop a replacement Pact for Locarno. Britain's efforts to engage Germany were consistently blocked by Hitler's refusal to consider any discussions while France insisted on maintaining its commitments to help Czechoslovakia, Poland and USSR against aggression. According to Hitler, such commitments invalidated in advance any French pledge not to attack Germany, and so made pointless any western pacts of mutual guarantee.¹¹⁶ Hitler's arguments found considerable sympathy in Britain, where many people were opposed to any moves that might be seen as supporting Russian interests. At the same time, as the Foreign Office repeatedly emphasized, Britain still had to rely on its alliance with France and could not afford to simply cast her interests aside.

But Germany was not the only country that disliked the French insistence on linking security pacts in eastern and western Europe. Belgium did also. Throughout 1936 the Belgian government, under pressure from public opinion, had steadily moved away from alliance with France towards a position of armed neutrality.¹¹⁷ For France's military planners the Belgian moves were disastrous. France's line of fortifications against German attack, known as the Maginot Line, did not extend along the Belgian border. In the event of war between France and Germany, a German invasion of Belgium would be a 'one-way street' from Germany into France. Moreover, Belgium was considered the best location from which to launch a counter-offensive into Germany. But French concerns were not shared by the British, who considered an armed and neutral Belgium less likely to invite German aggression.¹¹⁸ When Hitler applied further pressure on January 30, 1937, by announcing to the Reichstag Germany's formal withdrawal from any obligations under the Treaty of Versailles and offering to guarantee Belgian neutrality, French resistance was further undermined.

With little progress towards a Five Power Conference, Chamberlain turned to the idea of offering Hitler colonies as a means to buy his cooperation. In late 1936, both the Government and the Conservative Party had ruled out the return of any British colonies to Germany. In early 1937, however, a report reached Chamberlain through Treasury channels that Germany's Finance Minister, Hjalmar Schacht, wished to discuss the return of French colonies in West Africa as a means of inducing Hitler to behave peacefully. The French Government, according to Schacht, had indicated to him its willingness to discuss the issue.¹¹⁹

At that time the Committee for Imperial Defence (CID) was reviewing the formula used to determine rearmament and in the light of the Mussolini's apparent disregard for the 'gentleman's agreement' the Foreign Office argued that the assumption of Italian friendship as the basis of operations was outdated and the Admiralty agreed that it was folly to ignore the possibility of a Mediterranean war. However the Admiralty drew attention to the "prohibitive expenditure" involved in some of the proposals such as a naval base on Cyprus. Influenced by that, on February 11 Cabinet accepted Chamberlain's argument that it would be unfortunate to install 15-inch guns in the Mediterranean as a follow up to the 'gentleman's agreement.' The rearmament formula was slightly revised but the policy that Italy was not to be regarded as a probable enemy and that major expenditure was not to be committed to the Mediterranean was continued.¹²⁰

On March 18, despite Foreign Office demands that discussions be placed on a formal basis with German Foreign Minister Von Neurath, Cabinet's Committee on Foreign Policy supported the initiative towards third party colonial concessions. Nevertheless, against Treasury advice it agreed with Eden's view that concessions should only be proposed if Germany pledged something concrete in return. Soon afterward, however, the initiative was abruptly ended when discreet inquiries with the French Government produced a polite but firm no.¹²¹

Britain's pro-appeasement forces were becoming increasingly frustrated at the lack of progress. On March 17 Hoare had written to Chamberlain that the Foreign Office was so inclined toward making agreements with France and "so much biased against Germany (and Italy and Japan) that unconsciously and almost continuously they are making impossible any European reconciliation."¹²² Agitated at the delay in Baldwin giving way to Chamberlain, Britain's pro-German right wing elements were sharing their own confidences. Dawson, Lord Astor, J.L. Garvin, Lord Beaverbrook (proprietor of the Daily Express, the Sunday Express and the Evening Standard), and Lord Rothermere (Daily Mail and Evening News), all shared a sense of urgency on the question of the settlement with Germany and the accession of Chamberlain. Garvin wrote to Lord Astor that Czechoslovakia and Austria should be excluded from any continental obligations, that the new Reich was destined to be a great Reich and it must therefore have a big show somewhere. Garvin's view, expressed in personal correspondence with anti-appeasement MP Leo Amery, was that not only Cameroon and Togoland but the British colony of Tanganyika should be given back to Germany as part of a general settlement.

MIT BRENNENDER SORGE, DIVINI REDEMPTORIS

Then three days after those cabinet discussions on concessions for Hitler, on March 21, 1937, the spirit of expectation which Palm Sunday is supposed to evoke among Christians was dampened, perhaps undermined, by the widespread publication of Divini Redemptoris and the carefully managed release in Germany of Mit Brennender Sorge. In view of that timing it is now appropriate to look again at those two encyclicals. [See chapter 18, pp. 58–62 for

discussion of some aspects of both documents.] Mit Brennender Sorge has usually been viewed as essentially an apologia for the German Concordat and a lecture to Hitler on social policy. *Divini Redemptoris* combined an attack on atheistic Communism, a warning for the faithful to have nothing to do with Soviet Russia, and a bid for greater support from governments for the Catholic state-church system and more concordats to enable the Vatican to extend its influence over social and economic policies. But with a careful examination of both encyclicals and the manner of their release in the context of the political decision making of the day, other implications and motives behind the preparation of the two carefully contrived documents become apparent.

If Mit Brennender Sorge had been intended to undermine or to isolate Hitler and Germany rather than to just recover some of the church's lost influence and to influence policies within Germany there can be little doubt that it would have been distributed internationally. It was not. It was issued very quietly in the Vatican and then distributed only in Germany. That can only indicate that Pope Pius XI, or his Secretary of State, Cardinal Pacelli, and his other advisers were deliberately avoiding undermining Hitler's position and avoiding antagonizing him. The fact that Hitler did not object to the encyclical supports this assessment. In contrast, *Divini Redemptoris* was very definitely intended to isolate and undermine the Soviet Union. The widespread publicity given to it made it virtually impossible for France to continue to pursue its policy of isolating Germany through a system of mutual support or defence arrangements involving each of Czechoslovakia, Poland and Soviet Russia. At the same time it undermined the influence of those in Britain who wanted an alliance with Russia in place of a policy of appeasement of Hitler. In fact, as the figure most trenchantly opposed to Russia's political philosophy, Hitler's position was strengthened considerably, especially in any negotiations towards a Five Power Conference and a replacement for the Locarno Pact.

The Vatican's attack on the Jews in Mit Brennender Sorge was, in fact, strong encouragement to Hitler to pursue his expansionist policy towards both Czechoslovakia and Poland. Hitler must have seen immediately that the Pope was eager to take advantage of the opportunity (as much as an obligation) to send his 'storm troops' – priests in the role of chaplains to the Nazi invaders – into Poland under the secret annex to the German concordat. It is no coincidence that the encyclical was issued on the day when Christians celebrate Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem as a prelude to the culmination of his ministry, his rejection by the Jewish authorities, and his crucifixion. The release of every papal encyclical is timed with great care to achieve greatest impact. Similarly, the use by the pope of expressions which reflect the tenor of *Mein Kampf* in Hitler's attitude to the Jews is no coincidence. It is consistent with the nature of *Mein Kampf* as a parody of the amorphous Christian gel. It is consistent with the Pope's remarks to Vice Chancellor Papen during negotiations for the concordat that he was pleased that the German Government "now had as its head a man uncompromisingly opposed to Communism and Russian nihilism in all its forms."¹²³ It was consistent with the pope's insistence on the conclusion of a concordat "because he wanted to come to an agreement with Italy and Germany as the countries which, in his opinion, represented the nucleus of the Christian World."¹²⁴ And

it was also consistent with Papen's statement that the pope had pressed on with a concordat in spite of warnings that he should not conclude a treaty with "so unworthy a partner as the German Reich led by Adolf Hitler." Pius XI told Papen that "he had full confidence in the assurances of the Reich Chancellor that the national renaissance would be carried out upon the sole foundation of Christianity" and he had agreed to the form of the treaty "in the recognition that the new Germany had fought a decisive battle against Bolshevism and the atheistic movement."¹²⁵ Some illustrations.

Hitler in Mein Kampf, chapter 2:

...I am acting in accordance with the will of the Almighty Creator: by defending myself against the Jew, I am fighting for the work of the Lord." And chapter 11: "... the great founder of the new doctrine ... made no secret of his attitude towards the Jewish people, and when necessary he even took to the whip to drive from the temple of the Lord this adversary of all humanity, who then as always saw in religion nothing but an instrument for his business existence. In return, Christ was nailed to the cross ..." And: "To what an extent the whole existence of this people is based on a continuous lie is shown incomparably by the Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion, so infinitely hated by the Jews. They are based on a forgery, the Frankfurter Zeitung moans and screams once every week: the best proof that they are authentic."¹²⁶

Compare that with Mit Brennender Sorge:

God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spoke in times past to the fathers by the prophets, in these days has spoken to us by his Son. ... The sacred books of the Old Testament are all God's word ... Corresponding to the gradual unfolding of the revelation ... they are the reflections in many particulars of human imperfection, weakness and sin. Side by side with innumerable touches of greatness and nobleness they relate the dissipation and worldliness that occurred time and again among the covenanted people who bore the revelation and promise of God. ... Yet for every eye not blinded by prejudice and passion, out of the human failings, of which the Bible history speaks, shines forth all the more clearly the divine light of the work of salvation, finally triumphant over all defects and sin. ... He who wants to see [the church's interpretation of]¹²⁷ the biblical history and the wisdom of the Old Testament banished from the church and school, blasphemes the Almighty's plan of salvation, makes the narrow and limited mind of man judge over the divine plan of history. He denies belief in the real Christ, Who appeared in the flesh, Who took His human nature from that people which was to nail Him to the Cross. He stands uncomprehendingly before the world-drama of the Son of God who opposed to the felony of His crucifiers the Divine high-priestly action of the Redeemer's death and thus brought the Old Testament to its fulfilment and completion in the New, by which it is superseded.¹²⁸

The paragraphs from which these extracts are taken have generally been represented by the church as an attack on Nazi efforts to suppress church schools. But if that were their sole purpose a much stronger reaction could have been expected from Hitler. Certainly he was upset that the church should speak out in that manner and that it should openly accuse him of violations of the concordat. The Gestapo made a show of confiscating copies of the concordat

when it came across them. It closed a number of print shops which had been involved in its printing and distribution, and it protested to the bishops and the Vatican. The Foreign Ministry labelled the encyclical a grave violation of contractual obligations under the concordat and a summons to battle against the leadership of the state, and Hitler ordered the resumption of trials for foreign exchange and immorality offences against certain Catholic clergy which had been halted to avoid adverse publicity during the Berlin Olympics. But a number of observers and at least one Catholic writer regarded Mit Brennender Sorge as a moderate document which was essentially a condemnation of neopagan doctrines favoured by the German authorities and written with considerable skill in a manner that would not condemn political and social Totalitarianism.¹²⁹ It is noteworthy that neither Hitler nor the Vatican made any move towards renouncing or repudiating the concordat and Hitler simply omitted a courtesy call on the pope during his state visit to Rome a year later. It is also noteworthy that senior German Catholic clergy had been at pains to align the church's teaching with that of the Nazi authorities as the Catholic Church sought to ingratiate itself with Hitler at the expense of the Protestant churches. For example, when Bishop Berning sent a copy of his book to Hitler he asked the Fuhrer to accept it as a token of his devotion and to take note of the services which the church in the course of its history had rendered to the German nationality as a community of blood, language and culture.¹³⁰ And in a pastoral letter in 1934 Bishop Hilfrich of Limburg wrote that the church has always supported the principle of authority and she will "gladly do her share so that the idea of [secular] authoritarian leadership will also be accepted with conviction in the hearts of men."¹³¹

It therefore appears that Hitler interpreted those key paragraphs as he was intended to: as an attack against the Jews. Similarly, the paragraph which followed has generally been represented as an attack on Hitler's personal messianism and the man-god cult which he, or those around him, had encouraged in order to place him (in public acceptance) above the church. Again, if that were its sole purpose a strong reaction was to be expected. There was none and, again, Hitler appears to have been satisfied with an alternative interpretation of its very clever construction, that it was an attack against the Prophet Muhammad and Arab Muslims who were in deep conflict with Britain and the church in their bid for control of Palestine.¹³²

But in addition, the Vatican attack on 'human rights' was a warning against demands for human rights which were being used to undermine either colonial authority – existing or anticipated in line with Hitler's expansionist policies – or totalitarian government's in league with the church. Another selection of passages.

Hitler, in Mein Kampf.

... Nature as such has not reserved this soil for the future possession of any particular nation or race; on the contrary, this soil exists for the people which possess the force to take it and the industry to cultivate it. Nature knows no political boundaries. First, she puts living creatures on this globe and watches the free play of forces. She then confers the master's right on her favourite child, the strongest in courage and industry." And: "It cannot be emphasised sharply enough that any German internal colonization must serve to eliminate social abuses

particularly to withdraw the soil from widespread speculation, but can never suffice to secure the future of the nation without the acquisition of new soil.” And: “... philosophy is intolerant; it cannot content itself with the role of ‘one party besides others’, but imperiously demands, not only its own exclusive and unlimited recognition, but the complete transformation of all public life in accordance with its views. It can, therefore, not tolerate the simultaneous continuance of a body representing the former condition. This is equally true of religions. Christianity could not content itself with building up its own altar; it was absolutely forced to undertake the destruction of the heathen altars. Only from this fanatical intolerance could its apodictic faith take form; this intolerance is, in fact, its absolute presupposition.” And: “Protestantism as such is a better defender of the interests of Germanism ... (but) ... it fails, however, in the moment when this defence of national interests must take place in a province which is either absent from the general line of its ideological world and traditional development, or is for some reason rejected. Thus Protestantism will always stand up for the advancement of all Germanism as such, as long as matters of inner purity or national deepening as well as German freedom are involved, since all these things have a firm foundation in its own being; but it combats with the greatest hostility any attempt to rescue the nation from the embrace of its most mortal enemy, since its attitude towards the Jews just happens to be more or less dogmatically established. Yet here we are facing the question without whose solution all other attempts at a German reawakening or resurrection are and remain absolutely senseless and impossible.”^{133 134}

Divini Redemptoris.

The pope asserted that the Christian civilization or social order was the true *civitas humana*, that it was based on the natural law with divinely imposed obligations which were expounded in the age-old doctrines of the church concerning the individual and social character of private property which explain the right and dignity of labour, the relations of mutual aid and collaboration which should exist between those who possess capital and those who work. He noted:

“The Communism of today, more emphatically than similar movements in the past, conceals in itself a false messianic idea. A pseudo-ideal of justice, of equality and fraternity in labour impregnates all its doctrine and activity with a deceptive mysticism, which communicates a zealous and contagious enthusiasm to the multitudes entrapped by delusive promises. This is especially true in an age like ours, when unusual misery has resulted from the unequal distribution of the goods of this world. This pseudo-ideal is even boastfully advanced as if it were responsible for a certain economic progress. As a matter of fact, when such [economic] progress is at all real, its true causes are quite different, as for instance the intensification of industrialism in countries which were formally almost without it, the exploitation of immense natural resources, and the use of the most brutal methods to insure the achievement of gigantic projects with a minimum of expense.”¹³⁵ (Emphasis added)

After claiming that the established Christian society has divine origins and is the ideal state, he made the barely compatible concession that Christian employers and industrialists “are saddled with the heavy heritage of an unjust economic regime whose ruinous influence has been felt through many generations” but proceeded to say that the poor “while engaged, according to

the laws of charity and justice, in acquiring the necessities of life and also in bettering their condition, should always remain 'poor in spirit' and hold spiritual goods in higher esteem than earthly property and pleasures ... [remembering] that the world will never be able to rid itself of misery, sorrow and tribulation, which are the portion even of those who seem prosperous." The poor should be patient, the pope said, because patience comforts the heart with the divine assurance of eternal happiness, and "the more the workingmen and the poor realise what the spirit of love animated by the virtue of Christ is doing for them, the more readily they will abandon the false persuasion that Christianity has lost its efficacy and that the Church stands on the side of the exploiters of their labour."¹³⁶ The enemies of the church, he noted, "accuse her of having failed to act in conformity with her principles, and from this conclude to the necessity of seeking other solutions." But "the utter falseness and injustice of this accusation is shown by the whole history of Christianity ... (and) ... it was Christianity that first affirmed the real and universal brotherhood of all men of whatever race and condition ... (and) ... with an amplitude and conviction unknown to preceding centuries ... potently contributed to the abolition of slavery."¹³⁷

There was praise for Hitler's renaissance 'founded solely on Christianity'; a subtle attack on the exploitation of colonies which had given Britain and its allies a lead over Germany; there was mild praise for the concept of universal brotherhood which it suited Hitler to ignore rather than be seen to be arguing with it; and there was a strong attack on the Russians who were looking for solutions which did not involve the church. Because they were prepared concurrently and because of the way in which they were released, *Mit Brennender Sorge* and *Divini Redemptoris* must be viewed as two parts of a coordinated statement from the pope and the overall effect was support for Hitler and active discouragement of any plans to encircle him with an alliance involving Communist Russia. It is therefore hardly surprising that soon after their publication the Soviet authorities unleashed another anti-religious campaign and for a few months life became even more difficult for the Russian Orthodox Church.¹³⁸ From their point of view it was simply another part of the arrogant Christian church, out of touch with reality and quite incapable of reviewing either its theology or its sociology.

The Vatican appeared to be 'on a winner.' In its propaganda it could capitalize on the even more aggressive and oppressive policies of the Communist regime towards its Christian communities which the Vatican itself had triggered. But it was very hopeful that the prize which had eluded it ever since the Christian church had split into two bodies of Christ would fall into its lap. In the event that Hitler pursued his eastern breathing space plan and invaded Russia it could expect to absorb whatever remained of the Russian Orthodox Church after the invasion. Its concordat with Hitler, albeit a little tarnished, and its legions of Catholic State Chaplains who would go in with the invasion forces would ensure the Catholicization of the Russian church which had defied all of the Vatican's previous intrigues and remained vigorously independent of Rome and a leader of the Orthodox group of churches. This meant that it would also absorb Poland on the way if it had not already been able to do so.

The stakes were very high indeed and Mit Brennender Sorge and Divini Redemptoris had both been composed with equally great care in a bid to ensure the maintenance of the position of authority of the Vatican and the territorial and numerical expansion of the Catholic Church. The Vatican drafters had ensured that there would be no further talk of French guarantees for Czechoslovakia, Poland and Russia, or of a new five power pact. They had isolated Russia and encouraged Hitler towards the war for which he knew he had the obligation and the opportunity to supply chaplains, and by their continuing anti-Semitism they had encouraged Hitler to move against Poland. By appearing to show independence in spite of the German Concordat they had made another bid, similar to that of the pope's predecessor in World War One, to be dealt a hand in the international political play and to tighten the Vatican's grip on social and economic programs. They may have been fearful of the consequences of a near-exclusive intimate alignment with the German-Italian alliance which they saw as 'the nucleus of Christianity' and from that point of view they would not have been at all upset by Hitler's snub during his 1938 visit to Rome. And by authorizing the two encyclicals Pius XI had certainly encouraged Totalitarianism which offered the prospects of more concordats. Overall he had strengthened Hitler's hand and undermined the anti-Hitler alliance. At the same time he had discouraged and dampened the recognition of fundamental human rights and efforts towards colonial self determination. The downtrodden, whether at home or in the colonies, were to be patient and not rock the boat. One effect which he may or may not have anticipated was that by encouraging Hitler's designs on Poland he had also encouraged the Jewish lobby and Jewish MPs in Britain to oppose Britain's policy of appeasement and to press for rearmament and more determined government.

Why were these implications not more obvious to the governments which were jointly trying to out-manoeuvre or to restrain Hitler? Because they gave little thought to the implications behind the published clause 11 which covered the reorganization of diocesan boundaries in consultation with the Reich Government in the event of reorganization or changes which exceed the boundaries of one German state. They were not aware of the secret annexe to the concordat and therefore they had little reason to be concerned about the preferential treatment for Catholic chaplains and advance warning of mobilization. They were not able to read between the lines. But Hitler was, and he did so very well indeed, exploiting and out-manoeuvring the Catholic Church as he played it and the Protestant churches against each other – just as Britain had been playing each of the non-Christian faiths against each other for years.

A CAULDRON IN THE BALKANS

In fact Britain was so preoccupied with its inter-faith games in the Middle East and India, and with the immediate problem of relations with Germany, that it was not taking sufficient notice of what was happening in the inter-faith cauldron of the Balkans. Neither were any of the other great powers, except Soviet Russia which was having a territorial dispute with neighbouring Rumania; Hungary which had lost some territory to the same neighbour; and Italy which was

eager to annex Albania which had become little more than an economic dependency. All of the major powers were smugly satisfied to leave the Balkans group of countries to sort out their own problems, both internal and external, within the framework of treaties, redrawn boundaries and constitutions which had been imposed on them after Europe's war of convenience had degenerated into World War One. But in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, efforts to suppress the independence aspirations of Catholic Croats, Muslims in several regions, and the dominant Orthodox Serbs, and to also suppress moves for either a Greater Serbia or a Serbia-Slavic Confederation led to a change of name to Yugoslavia (Land of the South Slavs) and a period of royal dictatorship from 1929. That led to even more bitter Croatian hostility to Serbian dominance, the assassination of the king while on a visit to France in October 1934, the suspension of the constitution, the establishment of a complex system of nine banats which were devised without proper regard to ethnic concentrations or historic boundaries, operating under a regency, and all of the tensions were aggravated, but harshly suppressed.

The fledgling Yugoslavia was immediately under threat from the north-west by Hitler's policy of Lebensraum and encouragement for Croatian Fascist agitators, and from the north-east by hostile support for the Communist Party of Yugoslavia from the Soviet Union. By the mid 1930's, stirred on by those pressures, groups such as the Serbian Cultural Club were trying to generate support for another attempt to establish a Greater Serbia. While some of its leaders were prepared to accept minority communities within their Greater Serbia, others were not. They wanted minorities out. Especially Muslims. On March 7, 1937, while the Vatican drafters were presumably putting the final touches to their linked encyclicals with a view to suppressing the Jews, Professor Vosa Cubrilovic of Belgrade University presented his plan for the expulsion of all 'Albanians', meaning, roughly, Muslims, from Yugoslavia. In terms comparable to those used later by Hitler about the Jews, but going even further than any of Hitler's public pronouncements up to that time, he proposed the total expulsion of all Kosovar Albanians, preferably to either Albania or Turkey, saying that if there were any objections the Albanian government should be told that "we shall stop at nothing to achieve our final solution to this question." Steps to "create a suitable psychosis" were to include bribing and threatening the Albanian clergy; propaganda; coercion by the state apparatus with ruthless police powers, fines and imprisonment; refusal to recognize old land deeds; withdrawal of permits to practice a profession; dismissal from state, private or public office; 'destruction' of clergy and cemeteries; distribution of weapons to "our colonists" for use in such programs as "a tide of Montenegrins ... launched from mountain pastures," and much more.¹³⁹

Cubrilovic's plan was a portent of things to come after he became Director of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences. It cannot be 'elevated' to the level of a 'crusade' and therefore 'justified', in earlier Catholic parlance, as a bid to recover the religious centre of the universe, Jerusalem, for Christianity as a step towards the elimination of Islam. The world was no longer that ignorant in political matters or that naive in religious matters. Although some supporters of the plan later talked of expelling all Muslims to either Baghdad or Mecca it was simply a plan for 'ethnic cleansing' – the elimination of a Muslim community from within an Orthodox

Christian dominated region – such that Europe was more accustomed to seeing the Roman Catholic Church implement against Jewish minority communities. Apart from the Crusades, there had been one major exception – Spain – where the same techniques had been applied against the Muslims around the time of Maimonides.

In mid April, a few weeks after the British cabinet discussions on colonial concessions for Hitler and the publication of both *Mit Brennender Sorge* and *Divini Redemptoris*, Hitler showed how sensitive he was to adverse publicity. This was in spite of his mild reaction to *Mit Brennender Sorge* but while the Spanish Civil War was proving an embarrassment to every government in Europe whether it sent forces to support one side or the other or not. In retaliation for the publication of a report of German planes involved in bombing Guernica in Spain a ban was placed on staff of the Times to prevent them working in Germany. Dawson wrote to his correspondent H.G. Daniels in Switzerland that he could not understand such German antagonism because he did his utmost ‘night after night, to keep out of the paper anything that might have hurt their susceptibility.’ At the same time Lord Astor encouraged J.L. Garvin, the editor of his Observer, to write editorials in praise of the territorial revision of Europe in favour of Germany.¹⁴⁰ And as a result of cabinet’s policy decision, the Joint Overseas and Home Defence Subcommittee pigeon-holed its own assessment that the defence of Malta and Gibraltar required counter-bombardment guns of 13.5 inch or greater, and ruled that lighter guns were to be installed.¹⁴¹

Then, with the gulf widening between Chamberlain and his appeasers on one hand and Vansittart at the Foreign Office, the close working relationship in which Churchill acted as a mouthpiece for Vansittart and the Foreign Office was strengthened. At Vansittart’s request Leeper met Churchill at Chartwell on April 24, 1937, and encouraged him to try to bring together all the various groups who were already concerned about the German menace. Cockett identifies that meeting as the genesis of the anti-Nazi council that became known as ‘The Focus Group.’ Focus duly tried to rectify what Vansittart had identified as the crucial flaw in Britain’s state of readiness: “the people of this country are receiving no adequate education – indeed practically no concerted education at all – against the impending tests.”¹⁴²

Then, encouraged by the amazing support which he was getting from some sections of the British press and the spin-off from the two encyclicals, and not put off by Churchill’s rejection of his invitation to Germany, Hitler instructed Foreign Minister Ribbentrop to meet Churchill in London and to discuss an Anglo-German Alliance which would allow Germany to achieve its Lebensraum in Poland, Russia and the Ukraine in return for support for Britain’s retention of its empire. The meeting took place at the German Embassy on May 21, two days after the Imperial Conference opened. When Churchill, surprisingly well briefed on Hitler’s plans after two hours of discussion, rejected the proposal, Ribbentrop said that his attitude meant inevitable war. They then parted, warning each other of their respective country’s determination, and Churchill – then better informed than ever – stepped up his anti-appeasement campaign still further.¹⁴³

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

The abdication crisis had given the British government a perfect opportunity to call an Imperial Conference in conjunction with the coronation to brief and consult the dominions on the international crises. One matter not on the agenda was the question of India. It should have been. The appalling lack of understanding of non-Christian faiths within the British administration, and the extent of manipulation of those faiths which had become a matter of standard practice, was rapidly leading to a crisis situation.

In the run-up to the Conference, in April 1937, the potential crisis of relations between Hindus and Muslims had deepened when the Hindu-dominated Congress Party gained 711 seats in the elections for a national parliament out of a total of 1,585, with a majority in five provinces and with a dominant position in two others. At the same time, the severing from India of the Buddhist stronghold of Burma, which along with Aden had been administered from India for a long period, only added to the confusion and brought more demands for the partition of India on ethnic lines as well.¹⁴⁴ Britain's decision, and a series of long-overdue reforms which it had introduced, were partly a response to the aspirations of ethnically different communities, but they were basically a political exercise to suppress the growing mood of rebellion and to enable Britain to retain its highly profitable grip in Burma.

Buddhism in Burma had progressively become identified with, and linked to, both patriotism as a concept and nationalism as a movement as Buddhists and Marxists worked in collaboration, especially within the University of Rangoon. That trend was partly a response to the destruction of indigenous culture and the exploitation of resources and the rural population by the British banks when the world rice market collapsed during the 1930s. But it was also a response to the oppressive administration by the arrogant Christian British who could only impose their will in Burma by brute force. It was therefore only natural that the constitutional changes in India and Burma should lead to a build up of pressure for independence in Burma, but it also had a destabilizing effect in neighbouring Siam (Thailand).¹⁴⁵ The British must have anticipated those pressures. However they failed to fully appreciate that by severing Buddhist Burma from India they would leave a gap in interfaith relationships within India which would highlight and encourage the confrontation between Hindu and Muslim communities.

When the Imperial Conference opened on May 19 attention was focused on the situations in Europe and the Far East. It was clear that Britain's authority at the conference tables of Europe in both a political and military sense depended on the support it received from members of the Commonwealth. In their confidential briefings for the Commonwealth delegations, the Chiefs of the Imperial General Staff made it clear that Britain's defeat in a continental war would mean the destruction of the fabric of the Commonwealth which could not continue to exist without the political, financial and military strength of the United Kingdom. Without Britain the dominions were isolated and unable to defend themselves and, like the colonies, they would each be subject to pressure from either the victors in the war or their near neighbours. In the circumstances Britain had to commit itself to the defence of France and the Low Countries and

would expect help from the dominions.¹⁴⁶ Britain's effort and expenditure would therefore be concentrated on home defence and it could not defend the countries of the Commonwealth.

Dominion leaders had made their views quite clear on the question of territorial settlements and the effects of the Treaty of Versailles, in March the previous year when Germany marched into the Rhineland. Mr. R.G. Casey, Australia, had said that the shackles had to be lifted from Germany and that France had to accept the situation in the Rhineland. Mr. Vincent Massey, Canada, expressed much the same view. The South African Prime Minister, General Hertzog, had gone further, saying that the Union would feel compelled to withhold its support if Britain took military action against Germany and that Britain had to decide between hegemony with France and leadership of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The dominion leaders were just as forthright at the time of the Imperial Conference. Hertzog said he had never changed his opinion that "the unholy work of Versailles must be undone." He said that Britain should be free (to negotiate) in respect of Eastern Europe, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Danzig, Memel, etc., that peace in Europe can be assured if Britain approaches Germany in the same spirit of cooperation that it had shown France since 1919, and that Britain's attitude towards Germany was "far too much one of cold, repelling indifference" compared with its attitude to France. And very bluntly he told the conference that if war came because the powers were unwilling to rectify Versailles, South Africa could not be expected to take part in it. Canada advocated some form of territorial appeasement and its Prime Minister, Mr. Mackenzie King, who is said to have been opposed to the concept of the Commonwealth and deeply suspicious of being tied to Britain's purpose, said Canada dreaded being committed by the conference "to some obligation arising out of the situation in Europe."

The only dominion which gave unqualified support to Britain was New Zealand which declared that if Great Britain was at war it would be at war also. Mr. Casey's comments reflected Australia's fear that Germany might demand the return of the mandated territory of New Guinea, and he was sympathetic to the incorporation of Austria and the Sudetenland into the Reich.¹⁴⁷ However it was his Prime Minister, Joseph Lyons, who raised the most embarrassing issues. He was not satisfied by Britain's assurance that Singapore would be protected by the promised 'relief armada' sailing unhindered through the Mediterranean and the Suez. He therefore proposed either a rapprochement with Japan or, a Four Power Pacific Defence Pact which would include the one power with the means to withstand Japanese aggression swiftly: the United States. Both suggestions were squashed by Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden. Either course would have been tantamount to an admission that Britain could no longer defend its empire unaided.¹⁴⁸ In fact Britain's position was so parlous that the conspiracy of silence just had to continue, even at the expense of major foreign policy and defence considerations. Self interest on the part of a number of the key players coupled with their inability to understand the script was about to lock the world into the full drama of the trouble in the triangle.

CHAPTER 21

NO. WE MUSTN'T RISK AN EMPIRE

CHAMBERLAIN TAKES OFFICE

The completion of the British Imperial Conference provided an opportunity for a smooth transition from one government to another. Stanley Baldwin stepped down as Prime Minister on May 28, 1937, and was succeeded by the man who had been the most influential minister in the government for several years anyway, Neville Chamberlain. Chamberlain immediately set about consolidating the Downing Street press office as his personal fiefdom. Cockett quotes James Margach as saying that from the moment he entered Number 10 he sought to manipulate the press into supporting his policy of appeasing the dictators.¹ But worse still: the more the Foreign Office sought to modify or to expose his policy the more he bypassed both it and his Foreign Secretary and determined Britain's foreign policy himself, without consultation. He was soon exploring ways of shifting both Vansittart and Leeper to powerless positions, and he developed a relationship with Steward such that Steward either used his own initiative (or developed a sixth sense) about when to pass on the PM's views on sensitive matters to persons whose contacts and information flow should have been through diplomatic channels, or he received informal instructions from the PM to do so.

In the meantime, in his last weeks at the Treasury, Chamberlain had set in motion a comprehensive review of Britain's defence program aimed at bringing it fully into line with his financial and foreign policy views. His instructions were that the 'rising burden of defence liabilities' were to be 'correlated' with the whole of Britain's available imperial resources. Britain's policy was to make peace not war, and rearmament should proceed in a manner consonant with maintaining the strategic advantage of long term financial and economic stability.² The government realized from its diplomatic contacts, that a territorial showdown was imminent in a general sense, both in Europe and in the Far East. What it did not realize was that Hitler had a four-year plan and that during 1937 he was gradually increasing his pressure on Austria, Czechoslovakia and the Balkans as he sought to maintain the tempo of that plan. Nor did it appear to fully realize the seriousness of the convergence of its problems in Europe, the Middle East and the Far East.

The special trade committee which Eden had persuaded Chamberlain to agree to, certainly sought to make them more aware of it. On June 7 the committee advised the government that

the Far East constituted the exposed flank of Britain's strategic position, that a friendly Japan was the best way to remedy this weakness and that a trade remedy would react at once on the strength of Britain's position in Europe. It said that after years of mistrust Japan was adopting more moderate policies in China and "showing a desire for good relations with the United kingdom." It would be "a serious blunder" if Britain missed the opportunity to clear away one of the points of constant friction by refusing trade concessions which it might ultimately be compelled to grant, and any trade sacrifices by the industries of Lancashire "would be more than compensated by the larger advantages which we contemplate."

From that point the thrust of Chamberlain's initiative was directly challenged by Eden and the Foreign Office. On the European front, despite the failure of the "Gentlemen's Agreement", Italy was not yet considered a probable enemy for the purposes of defence planning. But with the Peel Report due to be handed down within a month and the fragility of Britain's relations with Japan and China, the possibility of a renewed Arab revolt highlighted the need to reconsider that status. In a submission to Cabinet on June 15, Eden put a new case for Mediterranean rearmament. It built on his view that the Mediterranean was an arterial road and that entry to it, transit and exit from it were of vital interest to Britain and it noted that Italy's expansionist tendencies had become irreconcilable with Britain's control of the artery. It then argued that although Italy would probably not start a single handed war with Britain there was a considerable danger that if conflict developed with Germany or Japan, or if the Arab revolt in Palestine was renewed, an opportunistic Mussolini may exploit Britain's weakness through blackmail or force. And while it was acknowledged that Hitler was not yet ready for a showdown in Europe it was argued that if Britain and France became entangled in a crisis in the Mediterranean Hitler might seize the opportunity to "embark on adventures likely to precipitate a general conflict". "It is surely in just such a conjunction of circumstances", it said, "that the danger of war with Germany is most readily found". Italy must therefore be counted a probable enemy and provisions made on the basis of that formula.³

Two days later, on June 17, Cabinet actually discussed the possibility of reopening negotiations to end extra-territoriality in China if Nanking raised the issue. If a decision to do so had been taken it would have changed the relations between China, Japan and Britain very radically indeed, but the Cabinet Foreign Policy Committee (which had met the previous day) had brought a recommendation to reject the special trade committee's recommendations. It said concessions should only be made "if other colonial powers reciprocated" on the matter of an open door policy.^{4 5} Thus a 'serious blunder' was made and the opportunity to dramatically improve Anglo Japanese-Chinese relations through cooperation in China's development by such means as the railway loans which it had sought was lost. However, as events would eventually show, much worse was to come.

In early July the Foreign Secretary found himself supported by the India Office and the Colonial Office, both of whom were anxious over Italy's policies in the Middle East and Red

Sea region. It was left to Chamberlain to provide the decisive reply at a meeting of the Committee for Imperial Defence on July 5. In the Prime Minister's view, Italy would attack Britain only if it were sure of German support. He acknowledged, however, the conjunction between a possible crisis in Europe and Britain's problems in the Middle East: "If Germany were contemplating hostile action or became engaged in hostilities against us, there was little doubt Italy would join in and take the opportunity to fish in troubled waters." The ideal, he continued, was no doubt to be prepared to fight Germany or Italy or Japan, either separately or in combination. However, that "was a counsel of perfection which it was impossible to follow." Defence and foreign policy had to be correlated because each influenced the other. Britain's policy should be directed towards a settlement with Germany, and if this were done Italy would be unlikely to attack. In other words it was a plan to provide for war in one theatre only. But the pace of events in all of the regions critical to Britain was quickening. Two days later, on July 7, 1937, the report of the Peel Commission, recommending the Partition of Palestine, was finally published in London and triggered a new round of violence in Palestine.

PEEL AND THE PARTITION OF PALESTINE

The publication of the report, carrying the hallmarks of Professor Coupland's influence (chapter 20), coincided with the eruption of the 'Sino-Japanese controversy' with the clashes at Peking and added to the government's woes. Peel's work had been made extremely difficult because the Zionist Organization had lobbied strongly but the Palestinian Arabs refused to cooperate fully with him until Britain stopped Jewish migration, which it refused to do, and they gave no evidence to the commission until the late stages of its investigation. The Palestinian Arabs were particularly upset because a large degree of independence had been granted to – or won by – a number of Arab kingdoms while they, the Palestinians, were being refused self-determination and were losing rights and a stake in their own land as a result of policies and decisions by a foreign power, Britain, which were the result of a long history of colonial greed and arrogance. The beneficiaries of those decisions were a relatively small number of predominantly European settlers who showed 'formidable drive and capacity' and who were driven on by a fanatical belief in their God-given right to be there and the need to escape from oppression in their former homelands.⁶

The situation was thus unbelievably complex. Although no one understood it at the time, there could be no long-term solution without a comprehensive review of Britain's colonial and foreign policies. That could only be carried out within the framework of a total review of international relations and Christian Europe's self-understanding carried out by all of the imperial powers working together. But such a review was not on the agenda as far as any of the European colonial powers were concerned – except for Hitler, and he had his own agenda. Lord Peel and the British Government therefore had to do a patch-up job to camouflage the cracks as best they could with the resources at their disposal and within the constraints of the rapidly deteriorating international situation.

The Peel Commission's main recommendation was that Palestine be partitioned into a Jewish state and an Arab region which would be linked to Transjordan, plus a small British enclave covering Jerusalem, Bethlehem and a corridor to the Mediterranean. Its recommendations also included plans for an exchange of population and territory, and annual payments from the Jewish state to the Arab state to compensate for an imbalance in resources and fertility between the two regions.⁷ Publication of the Peel Plan triggered an immediate return to violence.

There had been so much politicking going on around the preparation of the Peel Report that, even though it was not known to the general public, the thrust of the commission's proposals became known to the German authorities in June, about a month before they were published. This gave them ample time to consider and crystallize their position, especially in the light of Dohle's submission and the consistent Arab approaches through Grobba, and the German Foreign Minister, Konstantin von Neurath, was able to issue a special note to German legations in the Middle East as soon as the Peel Report was published.⁸ He pointed out that:

*The formation of a Jewish state or a Jewish led political structure under a British mandate is not in Germany's interest, since a Palestine State would not absorb world Jewry, but would create an additional position of power under international law for international Jewry, somewhat like the Vatican state for political Catholicism or Moscow for the Comintern ... Germany therefore has an interest in strengthening the Arab world as a counterweight against such a possible increase in power for world Jewry.*⁹

However official German government opposition to a Jewish State being established under the British mandate in Palestine and the strengthening of the Arab position did not necessarily imply a reduction in Jewish migration from Germany. German Jewish migration into the mandated territory continued and von Neurath's stand illustrated very clearly the basis of Vatican opposition to the establishment of a State of Israel: the international and legal recognition of temporal authority for the body corporate of Judaism, the faith which, in the Vatican's view, had been superseded by Catholic Christianity and had no right to any such recognition. But at the immediate practical level von Neurath ensured more formal links and close collaboration between the Arabs and the Nazi regime. The Mufti of Jerusalem was still doing his best to make people change direction and, as Britain's resistance to change increased, his opposition to Britain's plans for Palestine naturally became more trenchant, and vice versa. He was steadily forced into alliance with the pro-Nazi groups in the Middle East, and he therefore had immediate discussions with the German Consul General and later arranged for a representative to visit Berlin.

VATICAN REACTION

It must be assumed that the Vatican Secretariat of State was also kept well informed on the preparation of the Peel Report through its very efficient network in the United Kingdom. Regardless of the pathetic protestation by the Holy Office nine years earlier, at the time that it suppressed the Friends of Israel, that the Apostolic See "condemns in the highest degree hatred

against the people formerly chosen by God, the hatred that is commonly designated today under the name of 'anti-Semitism'," (chapter 17, p. 31L), highly provocative anti-Semitic reporting in the Jesuit-controlled press in Italy had continued over the years and reached new intensity at this time. Britain was being discouraged from any action which favoured world Jewry and Hitler was being encouraged to maintain his racial ambitions.

In September, 1936, while Britain and France were wavering over the question of whether to enter into a five power pact involving the Soviet Union in order to isolate Germany, *La Civiltà Cattolica* published articles purporting to demonstrate that "the Synagogue," or "Jewish intruders," were the levers of power behind Russia, world subversion and the Communist International. Jewish dispersion in the modern world, their control of money, preponderance in socialism and communism were said to constitute a "grave and permanent peril for society." Soviet terrorism was the shortest route to the "supreme Judaic ideal" of transforming the world into a single corporation through a five year plan which would make the work of all creatures flourish, before Israel, aided by a few puppets, would provide the dictatorial board of directors. Coming through a ghastly jumble of references to Divine Providence and perpetual plans, and to three solutions which had been offered previously – assimilation, Zionism and 'special legal status for Jews,' which meant the ghetto – the broad message was 'have nothing to do with Russia or the Jews in a push against Hitler.'¹⁰

Many other publications, both church and secular, followed the lead of *La Civiltà Cattolica*, which maintained that 'leadership' and developed that theme with linked articles in three issues at fortnightly intervals, the first on May 28, 1937, the day that Chamberlain took office, and the others on June 11 and 23 – in the weeks preceding the publication of the Peel Report. That series was even more disturbing. Referring to a book published in 1922 and "the clear and illuminating exposition of the illustrious English Catholic writer" Hilaire Belloc, the author noted that their dominating spirit and revolutionary tendency made Jews a disruptive element and that Judaism was "a foreign body that irritates and provokes the reactions of the organism it has contaminated."¹¹ Then, giving a lead to Hitler which bears a remarkable similarity to the operations against Muslim Albanians proposed by Professor Vosa Cubrilovic at the Serbian Cultural Club three months earlier (chapter 20, p. 748), he wrote:

The whole question consists in finding the most appropriate way of getting rid of the irritation and re-establishing, on a durable basis, the social organism's equilibrium and tranquillity. There are only two possible solutions: elimination or segregation. Elimination can be achieved in three ways: in a clearly hostile manner, through destruction; in a hostile but less cruel manner, through expulsion; in an amicable and kindly manner, through absorption. The first two ways are contrary to Christian charity and natural law. The third has proven impossible, historically. Segregation ... [or recognition] ... can be achieved in a hostile or amicable manner. In a hostile manner, without taking the foreign element into account, but considering only the contaminated organism and its interests. This manner is not in accord with charity, and moreover does not eliminate the frictions that provoke the irritation. The amicable

solution takes the segregated element fully into account, and seeks to serve the interests of both parties. ...¹²

'Recognition', the author said, was a term which Belloc had chosen to avoid the demeaning implications behind either 'ghetto' or 'segregation'. However it meant the same thing, just with a tone of civility and charity, and it was considered "the only practical and efficacious means of resolving the Jewish question." It had to be "adapted to our time" and brought about, in effect, through the pressure of the dominant community and "not through officially decreed legislation." A purely political solution was not possible, he said, since this "inevitably gives rise either to anti-Semitism, which is more or less violent according to the differing interests of each nation, or to the disruptive ascendancy of Judaism." However, "politics will be able to bring about a solution – if not a definitive solution, at least a provisional one – to the Jewish question, more quickly, more broadly, and more durably, in the degree to which it is inspired by Christian charity and prudence." Charity, linked with prayer for conversion would produce rapprochement and more numerous conversions, while prudence was necessary "to eliminate any danger for Christians" from disruptive Jewish dominance, either materialistic-financial or revolutionary. [Emphasis added.] And in a pathetic bid to establish that neither he nor the Catholic Church was preaching anti-Semitism, the author wrote: "Any form of anti-Semitism is condemned by the church, and we must recognize that it is not accepted by the majority of civilized nations, which, even if they do not say so explicitly, still preserve many principles of Christian civilization which they have inherited from preceding generations." ¹³ One assumes that he was referring to non-concordat nations rather than trying to describe, or explain, the amorphous Christian gel!

FROM POLITICS TO ECUMENISM

While the British government, through the report of the Peel Commission, was seeking to resolve, or at least to divert attention from the consequences of religious discord by political means, and while the Vatican was doing its damndest to encourage Hitler to eliminate one of the parties to the discord by political means, another body was being formed in a bid to resolve it by alternative means. Delegates from around the world gathered for a relatively small meeting at Westfield College, Hampstead, from July 8–10, 1937. There were only 35 people present but, as representatives of most branches of the ecumenical movement, they were expected to make a decision of far-reaching importance which would greatly influence not only the tone and decisions of two major ecumenical conferences which were to follow, but also the future direction of the church world wide. They were expected to recommend the establishment of a World Council of Churches.

As expected, the Westfield Committee did resolve that a draft constitution for a World Council of Churches should be drawn up by representatives from the 'Life and Work' and 'Faith and Order' conferences jointly and that the council, when established, should carry out the programs of those two bodies and act as a coordinating body for the whole of the ecumenical

movement. In turn the basic proposals of the Westfield Committee were adopted by both the Life and Work Conference which met at Oxford from July 12–26, and the Faith and Order Conference at Edinburgh from August 3–18. They were to be followed in December, 1938, by the International Missionary Conference at Tambaram, India. Together the three conferences involved the main thrusts of the ecumenical movement which had been going along in parallel for some forty years.¹⁴ The first two appointed seven representatives to meet as a Committee of Fourteen to draft a constitution for a World Council of Churches, but when that committee met in London immediately after the Edinburgh Conference, the world situation was very tense. And it was not only Hitler's conduct, the political situation and relations with the Roman Catholic Church which they had to consider. The theological debates within the church-at-large had gradually intensified during the previous ten years as well. Karl Barth's *Doctrine of the Word of God* had been in circulation in German for several years and in English for about two years. Possibly the outstanding contribution to Christian thinking since Paul wrote his letter to the church at Rome, the work had sent another surge of Barthian controversy through the great halls of theology. The Committee of Fourteen therefore had to wrestle with the question of what constituted basic Christian belief and, consequently, which churches would be eligible for membership of the World Council of Churches. It therefore decided to consult even more widely with the churches through a special Advisory Conference which would meet at Utrecht in May, 1938.

Until Barth, the answer to those questions, within the mainstream non-Catholic churches anyway, would have been fairly straight forward. Those who accepted the Nicene Creed with its Trinitarian statement were Christians and those who did not were heretics and one step worse than Jews. But Barth had introduced both clarification and confusion. He had raised doubts about the validity of the Doctrine of the Trinity, saying there was no basis for it in the Gospels, but he had then backed away from issuing a full blooded challenge, declared that he had no option except to take it as his starting point if he wanted to be considered a Christian, and proceeded to write the most complex justification and explanation of the Doctrine of the Word of God which the world had seen to that time. The answer was therefore no longer as simple as 'yes' or 'no'. In the circumstances it is not surprising that for some of the churches and their representatives the concept of a world body which would speak as "the voice of non-Roman Christendom" offered a way to avoid a definition, either supportive of, or rejecting that definition. But to others it suggested a 'super-church', the loss of constitutional independence, and the acceptance of an agreed statement of beliefs which they simply could not acknowledge. The outcome, after very vigorous debate, was therefore agreement that the World Council of Churches would not be a 'super-church'; that it would not have constitutional authority over its member churches; that its authority would be dependent upon the wisdom which it could demonstrate; and that in line with established Trinitarian belief it would be "a fellowship of Churches which accept our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour."

In fact the conferences and committees had no real choice. Debate on the issue at Edinburgh had been very lively with the majority insisting that the only Christian belief was Trinitarian

belief. "Strong emphasis was laid on the guarantee concerning the basis, and it was urged that the Trinitarian basis should be maintained as the basis of all work in the field of Faith and Order." ¹⁵ Therefore if the committee had resolved otherwise, the movement to establish the World Council of Churches would have been thrown into disarray and a world council may not have come into being for many years. The world situation was so critical and the need for a body which could act for, support and coordinate the work of the Orthodox, Reformed and Protestant wing of the world church was so urgent that the Council simply had to be established. It was a giant leap forward and theological reassessment and refinement would simply have to wait.

The flash of inspiration which could have followed the decision to proceed was unfortunately dampened by several things. There were the storm clouds of persecution hanging over both the church as a whole and Jews in Germany. There was the Vatican's opposition to the ecumenical movement and the tensions which that caused for the Orthodox and Conformist churches who saw themselves as something of a bridge between the Catholic and Protestant wings, and there was the gnawing fear that another major war was likely. But while those things were very depressing they were equally a series of challenges, and the churches knew that if they were going to do anything about them, then they would be better able to do it in cooperation. Accordingly a provisional committee for the World Council of churches was established. Of course the theological debates continued, somewhat muted, while Hitler attended to some much more immediate practical matters. He had gone to Rome where it was the pope's turn to make himself conspicuous by his absence,¹⁶ to build on the pact which had been negotiated during the previous few months with Mussolini and which split the Four Power Pact of 1933 neatly down the middle. And although the world didn't stand still and wait while the "separated broken pieces" of the church got themselves together in some sort of unity, they had Pastor Martin Niemöller, who had been arrested immediately before the Oxford Conference, as a symbol both of Christian resistance to Nazism and for the Ecumenical Movement. He was not brought to a show trial until February, 1938.

SINO-JAPANESE CLASH

On the same day that the Peel Report was published, July 7, 1937, and as the Oxford group was preparing to meet to set up the World Council of Churches, Japanese and Chinese forces clashed on the outskirts of Peking. Within days the incidents between Japan and China worsened, not by decisions of the respective governments but because of the decisions of local commanders. When the Japanese commander launched a major attack, full scale war developed. Western interests supporting China came under attack, and it became apparent that British insecurity in the Mediterranean could be a grave handicap in dealing with the 'China crisis'. On July 12 Eden warned the Japanese ambassador that an escalation of the fighting would undermine chances of an Anglo-Japanese settlement and, next day, he requested US collaboration in a joint approach to Japan to advise it not to move troops into North China. His

request was rejected. The US was “determined to avoid joint action” and it was supporting Chiang Kai-Shek. On July 16 Britain’s ambassador, Knatchbull-Hugessen, proposed that Japan should withdraw its forces from Shanghai and that the European powers and the United States, with rights in the International Settlement, should take responsibility for protecting Japanese commercial and diplomatic interests and civilians. Whether the US would have agreed to that degree of joint action is problematical. It was not put to the test. Chiang Kai-Shek declared on July 17 that he would not agree to any further infringement of China’s territorial integrity or sovereignty. When, in the absence of a declaration of war, the United States did not invoke its Neutrality Act the situation was complicated considerably. It adopted a policy of non-intervention in what was still euphemistically called “the Sino-Japanese controversy” in order to minimize international concern within the framework of the conspiracy of silence. In fact the ‘controversy’ was, by that time, open war in which Japan was blockading the Chinese coast, invading the mainland and gradually pushing Chiang Kai-shek backwards into Central China.

On July 21, Japan rejected the proposal on the grounds that the forces of the other powers were too few for the task. On the 23rd, China accepted the proposal then, on the 24th, Knatchbull-Hugessen was seriously injured in a Japanese naval air attack when he drove through the war zone “without having had the sense to inform the Japanese military authorities in advance.”¹⁷ While the Soviet press exercised “remarkable moderation”, the US press was critical of Japan but restrained, Germany was careful not to antagonize either trading partner, and Italy lost no opportunity to encourage Japan, but the British media attacked Japan with “dangerous emotionalism” and promoted the view that China was more interested in peace than Japan.¹⁸ The Times carried what has been described as an hysterically anti-Japanese editorial which antagonized the Japanese government greatly because, like other foreign governments, it saw the Times as the voice of the British government.¹⁹

If Japan had agreed to the British proposal it would have been, in effect, accepting a greater role for the European powers and the United States in Asian affairs and this would have been a total contradiction of its efforts to remove their influence and to eliminate Western exploitation. On the other hand Chiang Kai-Shek required greater support from Britain and the United States unless he was prepared to either accept Japan’s plans for regional economic cooperation and evict the European powers and the United States, which would have weakened his position in relation to the Chinese Communist Party, or cooperate more fully with the Communists and accept a full scale war to push Japan out of continental Asia. Chiang Kai-Shek could not have known that the British cabinet had already discussed the possibility of relinquishing its extra-territorial rights in China because it could no longer defend them and confront either Germany or Italy in Europe at the same time that vital resources were diverted to secure the Middle East. If he had known that, he may have made a different decision. He would have been well advised to make a different decision. But he was already so dependent upon British and United States support that without that knowledge he could not act on either of his other alternatives.

While Chiang Kai-Shek sought to hold Britain’s support, the Twentieth Congress of the World Zionist Organization meeting in Zurich from August 3–16, considered and rejected the

Peel Partition Plan and asked the Jewish Agency Executive to ascertain Britain's terms for the establishment of a full Jewish State.²⁰ At first sight that may appear unexpected in view of the discussions between Weizmann and Coupland six months earlier. But in fact it was straight forward logic. It is most unlikely that the British cabinet knew the content of the Weizmann-Coupland discussions. Ministers would have only received the recommendations which flowed from them. In the circumstances the Zionist leaders were justifiably confident that they could maintain a position of disharmony with the Arab Palestinians and their goal of a Jewish state would be granted. They wanted that goal on the most favourable terms possible. Why should they agree to the first offer which was placed on the table? They were no different to any of the powers, great or small, which were trying to negotiate territorial advantage, and they had learned very well from their British mentors.

Japanese forces reached the perimeter of Shanghai on August 9 while the Zionist Congress was still in session. Roosevelt still chose not to invoke the Neutrality Act in order to avoid cutting off American arms sales to China which the US was favouring. Naturally the arms and strategic materials sales to Japan, including petroleum, also continued. The United States was therefore, in fact, fuelling the conflict and any intention to favour China by leaving access to arms open was undermined because China did not have sufficient funds or trade credit to buy what it needed to repulse Japan's venture into war games.²¹ In doing so, whether by intent or not, United States policy was further aggravating the crisis in which Britain was embroiled because of its own policies. The bombardment of Shanghai began in mid August and the Japanese accidentally bombed Britain's Christian missions which were, naturally, integrated into its commercial community in the International Territory. But the British press did not report it as an accident: it was portrayed as a deliberate attack on Britain's Christian institutions and that made it reason enough for reprisals or disciplinary intervention. Many people in Britain again began to stir from the gripping interlude (or was it the dream world?) of royal religious and moral misdemeanor, pomp and circumstance, to the reality of the world around them and to wonder what those nasty Japanese were up to.

Perhaps the Japanese had forgotten the lesson of 1868 that they could not have trade with Britain without having Christian missions as well. If the French had swooped on DaNang in Indo China in 1858 when Tu-Duc was said to be breaking up a Christian mission, and if Britain had pounded the Japanese Shogunate into submission and into the history books in 1863 when Christian missions (non-British at that) were being persecuted at Kagoshima, (chapter 15, pp. 14–16), what was the British government waiting for now? Had it forgotten its missionary commitment? The Japanese certainly had not forgotten that they were not allowed to trade in competition with the successors of those deeply committed British Christian administrators. Perhaps the British government was distracted by other matters. Like holding an empire together!

The pace of action continued to accelerate. In quick succession China sought League of Nations intervention in 'the Sino-Japanese incident', the denial of credit and munitions, and the

imposition of sanctions against Japan; Japan and Germany were drawn closer together as a result, and Craigie warned Eden of his fears that Hitler would take full advantage of it. On September 8 Chamberlain raised in cabinet the question of some movement of naval forces to the Far East in view of the war in China, the destruction of British assets and the threat to its nationals. The dogmatic pursuit of his 'plan for war in one theatre' was now, very quickly, driving him to desperate lengths and about that time he determined that the next step towards achieving dialogue with Hitler and thereby reaching a settlement with Germany was to establish some points of personal contact between Downing Street and Berlin. This is illustrated by a letter he wrote to his sister Hilda on September 12. He wrote that he was resolved to embark upon a 'double policy of rearmament and better relations with Germany and Italy which will carry us safely through ...', the only obstacle being the Foreign Office, which he was afraid would not 'play up'. The FO had no imagination and no courage to pursue a settlement with Germany, he told her.²²

ARAB REACTION

But while Chamberlain contemplated splitting the Royal Navy, delegations of leaders from several Arab countries met with the Arab Higher Committee at Bloudan, near Damascus, Syria, in early September, and also formally rejected the Peel Plan. They treated the continuation of the mandate and the suggestion of any alienation of Palestinian land with contempt. The Arab Rebellion was then renewed with great ferocity, the British District Commissioner in Galilee was murdered and, in retaliation, the Arab Higher Committee was dissolved and the Grand Mufti was stripped of his non-religious duties. This further inflamed the situation. The Grand Mufti fled to Lebanon and supported the continuing Arab revolt against British authority from there²³ ... and two other dignitaries visited the region about the same time. The director of the Jewish Department of Germany's Security Service (SD), Herbert Hagen, and one of his expert staff, Adolf Eichmann, visited Palestine and Egypt to study Zionism and the political situation. At the end of his visit report Eichmann concluded that the Third Reich should not step up emigration of Jews to Palestine because "as far as the Reich is concerned, the creation of an independent state by the Jews in Palestine should be impeded."²⁴ It is noteworthy that he did not recommend that emigration be discontinued and it is reasonable to assume that his reason was that it would have conflicted with Hitler's policy of removing them from Germany as quickly as possible. However, because of its lack of understanding of the fundamental causes of the crisis, Britain further aggravated the overall situation and helped Eichmann's ultimate cause along by supplying arms to Zionist colonies for defence against Arab attacks and this period saw the rise of the organized Zionist guerrilla and para-military groups which later turned violently against the British administration as well. Britain could barely prevent a total collapse of its mandatory authority and civil war, and its position was gradually becoming untenable.

On September 23, Eden pressed for cabinet support and aid for China which he believed was fighting "Britain's war." However cabinet had before it a response from the Chiefs of Staff and

the Admiralty, to Chamberlain's proposal of September 8, and a recommendation that the Royal Navy should not be split, with half of it going to the Far East. Their advice was that to divide the Royal Navy between the Eastern and Western hemispheres by sending two battleships to Singapore "was more likely to encourage the revisionist powers than to deter them."²⁵ Accordingly, no specific initiatives were taken. Two days later, on September 25, Craigie pressed for support for a Japanese peace proposal which involved the declaration of a neutral zone in China south of Peking and Tientsin; a friendly Chinese regime in North China with Japan having the right to station 5,000 troops there; economic concessions including the lowering of Chinese import duties; cooperation against Communism; autonomy for Inner Mongolia; and de facto recognition of Manchukuo as an area of Japanese influence. In view of the extent of Japanese victories to that stage, European and American reluctance to intervene to support China directly, and the need to loosen the ties between Germany and Japan, Chamberlain supported the proposal and persuaded a reluctant Eden to forward the Japanese proposals to the Chinese on September 29. Chiang Kai-Shek dismissed it as unacceptable. The situation in the Middle East was an ingredient in both recommendations.

During this period the deepening crisis in Palestine provided the stimulus for steps within the Muslim world community to recover the cohesion which had been lost as a result of the British-French carve up of the Arab region of the Middle East and the abolition of the Ottoman Caliphate. In West Asia and the Middle East two groupings were emerging more or less on a regional basis and the first of these was set up under the Saadebad Pact while the Peel debate was raging. Its members were Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan which, together, formed a continuous chain from the Bosphorus to India along the southern flank of the Soviet Union. That development must have given Britain's strategists much cause for concern. At the same time, *Mein Kampf* was having a strong impact in the Arab world and it became very clear to the British government in the final quarter of 1937 that support for Hitler was increasing among the Muslim communities of North Africa and the Middle East. If war broke out and they supported him, he could well gain control of Britain's oil supplies.

Thus, at one level, the Arab revolt "constituted a troublesome policing operation for the War Office and an unpleasant political dilemma for the Cabinet." But: "seen against the darkening background of world politics, however, the revolt was a strategic complication of the first order." Palestine's role in Middle Eastern and imperial strategy was vital. First, it was intended to serve as a buffer and reserve for the defence of Egypt and the Suez. Second, it was the route for Britain's air communications with India and the Far East and the overland route linking Egypt with Britain's bases in Iraq. Third, in contingency planning for the closing of the Mediterranean and Red Sea Routes, it was the terminus of the alternative reinforcement route from India via the Persian Gulf. And fourth, the port of Haifa was not only the Mediterranean terminus of the oil pipeline bringing supplies from the oil fields of Iraq and Iran, it was also a potential base for light naval forces operating in the East Mediterranean. None of these things could be considered secure while the revolt continued. In addition to that, the sheer number of troops needed to deal with the revolt was seriously weakening Britain's capacity to field an

expeditionary force to France. Within a year of the Peel Plan being published, Palestine would become “a crippling liability for an imperial power already badly over-extended and under duress” instead of providing the strategic depth and reserve for the defence of the Middle East nexus which those who drafted the Balfour Declaration had anticipated.²⁶

The consequences of the Christian Western World's self-understanding, based on that of the church, the policies pursued throughout the amorphous Christian gel and the parody of *Mein Kampf* were combining to drag the Western powers, and Britain in particular, deeper and deeper into a quagmire of confusion. The result was that almost any actions which Western powers took to stabilize affairs in Asia – from their point of view anyway – strengthened the hands of either Japan, Hitler's Germany, or Russia and international Communism. But the Western Christian sense of indignation and superiority became even more inflated, especially when Japan's atrocities became fodder for another round of propaganda. The Archbishop of Canterbury contributed to the controversy when he insisted, against the protests of the Ambassador Craigie in Japan, on addressing an anti-Japanese meeting in the Royal Albert Hall on October 5.²⁷ No Christian powers would commit the sort of atrocities which Japan had committed in China. Would they? On the same day that the Archbishop spoke out, Roosevelt publicly called for aggressor nations to be “quarantined.” He was just ahead of a call by the League of Nations Advisory Committee for League members to do nothing to hinder China in the war pending a meeting of members of the Nine Power Treaty. So Eden worked for Anglo-American cooperation in the Far East and for sanctions against Japan which China wanted, but Chamberlain was in contrary mood. He told cabinet on October 6 that he could imagine nothing “more suicidal than to pick a quarrel with Japan at the present moment.” He said that with the European situation so serious, if Britain “were to become involved in the Far East the temptation to the Dictator States to take action in Eastern Europe or Spain, might be irresistible.”²⁸

An invitation received in early October for Lord Halifax to attend an international sporting exhibition in Berlin provided the opportunity for the personal contact between Downing Street and Hitler which Chamberlain was working towards. Eden accepted the proposal but Vansittart argued strongly against it. Hitler, who, as we have already seen, also wanted an Anglo-German understanding, asked that the planned diplomatic discussions be kept secret, and Goebbels asked the new British Ambassador, Sir Neville Henderson, to see that the British press was kept quiet. But on the day that Henderson met Goebbels to discuss details of the Halifax visit the *Evening Standard* reported details of an offer by Hitler that he would make no colonial demands for ten years if he was given a free hand in Eastern Europe – basically the same proposal which Ribbentrop had relayed to Churchill in May. The *Evening Standard's* source was the Foreign Office. Sparks flew in both countries over the publication. Then on October 11, before a final decision on the proposed Halifax visit had been made, the Duke and Duchess of Windsor arrived in Berlin, against the wishes of the Foreign Office, for private meetings over two weeks with Göring, Hess, Himmler, Goebbels and Hitler at the Berghof.²⁹ At that time Leeper gave the

press a note to the effect that the proposed Halifax visit was also an informal private initiative and did not mean any change in foreign policy.

When an interdepartmental meeting was convened to discuss sanctions against Japan on October 13 there was a "virtual solid wall of disapproval" from each of the Admiralty, Treasury and the War Office. In practice, League sponsored sanctions meant unilateral British sanctions because Britain was the League's only significant naval power. In addition to that, both the Chiefs of Staff and the Committee of Imperial Defence (CID) were opposed to any action "which would result in a diversion of our limited resources from our main objective which is the security of this country against German aggression."³⁰ (Emphasis added.) Apparently unconvinced, Eden pressed on to persuade the British Cabinet and the Nine Power meeting in Brussels on November 3 to impose sanctions, but he was undermined by technical advice that sanctions would take between one and two years to have any serious effect on Japan's war effort and strong naval opposition to Hong Kong being used as a base at which to assemble aircraft for China. Then when Italy joined Germany and Japan in the Anti-Comintern Pact on November 6, his position was virtually derailed by the knowledge that further action against Japan by Britain would actually lift Japan out of diplomatic isolation by encouraging closer ties with the Axis Powers. Mussolini's decision that Italy should join Germany and Japan in the Anti-Comintern Pact, (the result of persuasion by Ribbentrop), greatly enhanced both Hitler's and Mussolini's positions, and Britain's was further weakened. Although it was presented as a strengthening of alliances to inhibit Soviet Communist influence, all of the power brokers recognized that the German plan, well understood by Mussolini, was to increase pressure on Austria. Mussolini's aims were to strengthen Italy's "development ... concentrating its interest in the Mediterranean and the colonies" (of Africa and the Middle East) and to rid himself of the distraction of "mounting guard over Austrian independence", especially if the Austrians in "German State Number two" no longer wanted it.³¹

The British press dutifully repeated Hitler's words that the pact was intended to safeguard Western Civilization against Bolshevism even though Western Civilization was clearly the last thing Japan wanted to protect. In fact what Ribbentrop described as "the alliance of the aggressive nations against the satisfied countries" clearly contained the seeds of "global cooperation between the three signatories (which posed) an alarming possibility for Britain and France with their empires as well as the USSR," and helped to strengthen the impression that in less than five years Germany had become the most powerful country in Europe under Hitler, the most successful leader.³² Craigie introduced another dimension to that understanding of Anti-Comintern cooperation when he advised London by telegram on November 13, that Germany might undermine Britain's prestige in China by offering to mediate between it and Japan.³³

Then, ignoring Leeper's 'advice' that no special significance should be attached to Halifax' visit to Germany, the Times and the Daily Telegraph ran exaggerated reports on November 15 based on direct briefings from Downing Street, and next day the Daily Telegraph published a leader indicating the new directions the government might take in foreign policy that was 'inspired' by Chamberlain himself. Anthony Eden was 'infuriated' at both Chamberlain's view

of the whole matter and about not being consulted on what the government's view was on such a basic matter. He was also distressed at the way in which Chamberlain was using the Times and the Daily Telegraph so blatantly for his own advantage.³⁴

When the matter of German intervention in the Sino-Japanese crisis was before cabinet on November 17, Chamberlain, influenced by Craigie's advice that Britain would be of little use as a friend "even to China" if its influence in Tokyo sank to zero, suggested that Britain and the United States should try to mediate jointly in a bid to shut Germany out, and discussions were quickly arranged.³⁵ On the same day, Steward briefed Dr. Hesse at the German Embassy in London on Chamberlain's anger at the Evening Standard report and on his view that rapprochement would be slow because of the nature of the English.

HALIFAX AND HITLER

Lord Halifax then arrived on November 19 for his 'private visit to the sporting exhibition' – and proceeded directly to the Berghof for discussions with Hitler.³⁶ The dictator was quite open. He told Halifax he wanted 'close union' between Germany and Austria, a solution to the problem of Germans in the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia, recognition of Germany's economic interests in south eastern Europe, and resolution of the future of Danzig and the Polish Corridor.³⁷ And from Halifax he learned that Chamberlain was anxious for an Anglo-German settlement, that cabinet to cabinet discussions could be a starting point, that Britain wanted "a general European settlement" and that to get it the government would make concessions on colonies and on Eastern Europe.³⁸

Halifax' meeting with Hitler was critical. It put Hitler in a more powerful position than ever. He knew that Britain was desperate for an Anglo-German accord that would take pressure off its management of empire, so he showed no immediate interest in such an accord. He had previously proposed one but he no longer needed to go begging for it. He knew that he could have a few colonies back if he asked for them later, so he did not need to ask for them at the moment. And he also knew that he could demand the Austrian Anschluss and Czechoslovakia on his terms and get them. Britain would not go to war over either issue – at least not under a Chamberlain-Halifax government. It had totally undermined its European allies and the more quickly Hitler moved the more territory he could take. He moved very quickly.

At that meeting Halifax noted Hitler's absurd sensitivity to adverse press comment, that he distrusted democratic methods as inefficient, blundering and unsuited to the hard world, that democracy paralyzed a nation's capacity to face facts, and that it fed on distortions from a free-booting and licentious press which undermined international relations. In view of that, on the morning of November 21, before keeping an appointment with Goebbels, Halifax issued a call to the press corps to create the right atmosphere for discussions between Britain and Germany. He was somewhat shaken to be told by Goebbels when they met that a primary pre-condition for settlement with Germany was the cessation of British press attacks on Hitler.³⁹ From the time of that visit to Berlin by Lord Halifax to initiate a new Chamberlain-British policy towards

Germany, Chamberlain had to move quickly, too. He became determined to rewrite the Treaty of Versailles to gain 'lasting peace' with Germany – or at least to gain time to resolve the crises affecting Britain's ability to hold its empire – through 'appeasement' which was a new term for giving away other people and their territory. He did not have any options left. He had totally exposed his hand.

But there was another visitor in Berlin about the same time as Halifax. The Mufti's representative, a Syrian Arab Nationalist, Sa'id 'Abd al-Fattah al-Imam, was pressing on German officials an Arab proposal which included demands for German propaganda, political and financial support for the Arab independence movement in exchange for Arab efforts to develop trade with Germany, the development of a pro-German atmosphere in the Arab World, cooperation in the struggle against the spread of Communism, and the continuation of violence to unsettle the French-occupied Arab regions. Al-Imam did not get an immediate favourable response from the Germans. They were happy to take advantage of Arab Nationalism, but they were constrained by Hitler's policy of avoiding a rupture with Britain while he helped sustain Italy's 'free hand' in the Mediterranean and North African region ... and while he encouraged Germany's Jews to quit their homes and go to Palestine. They had to wait for Hitler to decide a policy direction.

Chamberlain knew that his policy of appeasement was contrary to Britain's commitment to both the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations, and that it now involved major dangers, especially if the British public learned of the reversal of their country's policy 'prematurely'. He needed people around him who were of like mind and he needed close control over the press. Secrecy over his manoeuvring was essential. The gulf between Vansittart and the Foreign Office on one hand, and Chamberlain and Ambassador Henderson on the other, had become unbridgeable, and a divided press would become the battleground for efforts by the Foreign Office to make the public aware of the dangers involved in dealing with Hitler in the way that Chamberlain had chosen. Accordingly, on December 1, Chamberlain gained Cabinet's agreement that Vansittart would be replaced by the more agreeable Sir Alexander Cadogan. Vansittart was to be given the new powerless and staffless post of Chief Diplomatic Adviser.⁴⁰ However Chamberlain had not moved swiftly enough for his purpose. On December 2 and 3 the Daily Telegraph published two reports by Victor Gordon-Lennox on German colonial claims. Ambassador Henderson complained to Lord Halifax who wrote to Eden (his successor as Foreign Secretary) about the adverse reaction in Germany, pressing him to 'come as near as possible to wringing Gordon-Lennox' neck.'⁴¹ The authority of FOND to issue information directly to the media was immediately restricted and from December 7 members of the government took a new approach with intense pressure being exerted directly on journalists and cartoonists. Notable targets were Victor Gordon-Lennox and Low of the Evening Standard.

Both Washington and Tokyo were reluctant to take up Chamberlain's proposal for joint Anglo-US mediation in the Sino-Japanese 'controversy' and nothing had come of it when the crisis deepened on December 12. Japanese artillery and bombers, acting without authority from their superiors, attacked two British and one US gunboats. It was a symbol of British and US impotence in the face of

Japanese determination, and it came on the same day that Nanking fell to the Japanese at the end of a six-week block-buster campaign which has been described as one of history's most brutal orgies of sadism and brutality.⁴² China's ill-matched coalition of rulers had already been forced to move their capital to Chongqing and Peiping (Peking) had also fallen. Proposals to send part of the British fleet to Singapore and for a joint naval blockade were then raised again and discussed in Washington and London, but the British Foreign Office preferred to put the emphasis on negotiations supported by a show of strength.

At the beginning of December, (about the time that cabinet agreed to move Vansittart), Eden was approached by Germany's ambassador Ribbentrop on the question of colonies. Eden made it clear that it could not be considered by Britain in isolation and had to be discussed in the context of a general European settlement with the aim of "an increased sense of international security and enhanced prospects for the preservation of peace". It would be quite impossible for His Majesty's Government to contemplate the cession of colonial territory unless they received some counterpart, he said. But he did not dispute Ribbentrop's assertion that his Government considered that Germany had a right to colonies and that it would be a matter of regret if that question "became embedded in a number of other political questions which had been impossible to settle in the past".⁴³ The coincidence of attitude among all the European Christian powers to their "right" to have colonies was indeed quite remarkable.

During the weeks following the Eden-Ribbentrop talks there were numerous discussions in cabinet and among ministers about what colonial concessions should be made to Hitler. African territories held by both Belgium and Portugal were discussed as well as those held by Britain. Eden makes it quite clear in his memoirs that there was disagreement between him and Prime Minister Chamberlain over the issue. He reports telling fellow ministers that "in the circumstances we should be very careful indeed in what we said to Germany, and give her no possible excuse for insinuating that we were trying to effect a colonial settlement at the expense of other powers interested in tropical Africa."⁴⁴ He told cabinet that according to discussions between Lord Halifax and Hitler, it was for Britain to take the next concrete step if it wanted a general settlement with Germany. And he quotes Chamberlain as telling French ministers that he did not think that it would be possible to mobilize opinion in England in support of forcible intervention against Germany on behalf of Czechoslovakia, but that there would be support for any attempt to bring about 'a reasonable and peaceful settlement' between Germany and Czechoslovakia.⁴⁵

Eden was reflecting the attitudes across the Empire which were changing perceptibly as a result of the progressive weakening of Britain's position. The colonies which were dominated by their indigenous communities, plus the dominions of South Africa and Canada with their mixed European heritage, were looking for maximum independence in determining the structure of their economies and the course of their foreign policies, and even the ending of imperial ties. The other two white settler-dominated dominions, Australia and New Zealand, were developing strange blends of isolationism and imperialism. The only one which offered

anything like unequivocal support for Britain on the basis of collective security was still New Zealand and it did so out of fear of the consequences of its geographic isolation.

Later, after World War II erupted, Britain and its allies did all they could to paint Germany as a territorial aggressor and to show its policies to be the product of some unique kind of Hitlerism. They conveniently forgot what good company he had been in only a couple of years earlier and how many national and dominion leaders, eager to give away other people and their land to protect their own positions of privilege, had pressed for him to be allowed to use exactly the same 'bully-boy' tactics adopted by the Western Alliance previously. The parody of *Mein Kampf* continued to unfold.

PEEL PLAN 'NOT BINDING'

The situation had actually become so critical in Britain's three major regions of security interest that the role of the British army had been under review for some time and the Government had been forced to totally re-evaluate Britain's position in the Middle East because of a growing realization in Whitehall of the weakness of Britain's position. Now, with the rejection of the Peel Plan the fact was driven home to other observers that the crisis in the Middle East constituted a direct threat not only to Britain's imperial position but to the stability of the entire Western world. Thus in mid December 1937, with an Arab fireball in Palestine being the last thing the British government could afford, it announced – a mere five months after its release – that it was not bound by the Peel partition plan but it could not announce any alternative proposal. Then on December 22 cabinet noted that any continental commitment for the army virtually had to be eliminated, being ranked at the bottom of the review's priorities. The Secretary to both cabinet and the CID had even advised that after providing for the military requirements of the empire, the additional provision made previously to equip the Expeditionary Force for service on the Continent should be cancelled.⁴⁶ The army's share of the defence budget was therefore drastically pared and, almost by default, imperial defence was now defined as its essential role.⁴⁷ (Emphasis added.) The matter of sanctions against Japan was also raised again and, on December 28, the head of the Industrial Intelligence Centre was ordered to put aside a memorandum he was preparing on the use of economic pressure against Germany and to concentrate instead on Japan.⁴⁸

Japan had established puppet governments in the occupied provinces; those innocent Christian missions had been bombed; rivers had been blockaded; and the League of Nations had declared Japan to be the aggressor. Naturally there was no mention of Western provocation, involvement or duplicity. Western sympathies shifted in favour of China and its propagandists filed the details ready for the day they might be needed. But on the same day that the economic action plan was ordered, Cadogan prepared a minute in which he noted the legitimacy of Japan's grievances and difficulties and that Britain should not be blind to them even though Japan had sought to remedy them the wrong way. He wrote: "we should be wrong in thinking

that a mere return to the status quo (if that were possible) would be a solution of the Far Eastern problem.”⁴⁹

According to Cockett, as Chamberlain gained confidence in his role as Prime Minister some of his briefings were so patently contrary to all other existing evidence that many civil servants were at a loss to understand why the lobby journalists were prepared to transcribe what he had to say without any independent evaluation or critique of the veracity of his comments. He was also very careful to court three or four ‘true-blue Lobby correspondents’ from Conservative papers whom he would honour with private meetings and extra information. He became increasingly aggressive towards the journalists and openly manipulative, refusing to answer off-the-cuff questions and insisting that any question should be submitted four hours in advance if the journalist were to expect a reply. James Margach records that any dissent was greeted with ‘a cold arrogance and intolerance’, and journalists who expressed suspicions about Hitler’s or Mussolini’s intentions that differed from Chamberlain’s own views would be answered with the stock reprise that ‘he was surprised that such an experienced journalist was susceptible to Jewish-Communist propaganda.’ Chamberlain is said to have had a special relationship with W.W. Hadley, the editor, the Sunday Times, who was by far the most consistent and extravagant in his praise of the PM’s actions and policies. Contrary to normal practice, Conservative Party officials also briefed the lobby, and the party’s Director General, Sir Robert Topping, hosted selected journalists at the St. Stephen’s Club.⁵⁰

When Chamberlain used Steward and Ball to set the tone of political reporting on a daily basis, plus personal contacts between himself and Lord Kemsley (the Sunday Times, Daily Sketch and several provincial papers), and between his inner cabinet of Sir John Simon, Sir Samuel Hoare and Lord Halifax and other press proprietors (“press barons”) to influence editorial policy, the conspiracy had reached top gear. As already noted, the most influential individual contacts were between Hoare and Lord Beaverbrook and Halifax and Geoffrey Dawson. Chamberlain confided in and trusted Kemsley, but Lord Astor was also one of his keen admirers. However, Lord Astor entertained ministers, newspaper proprietors and editors at Cliveden at weekend gatherings which took on a sinister aspect as politics became more partisan. The participants became labelled as ‘the Cliveden set’ and they were widely believed to be actively plotting the appeasement process. Lord Camrose (brother of Lord Kemsley) and Lord Beaverbrook were the only press barons to maintain a personal friendship with Winston Churchill, the arch opponent of appeasement, while he was out of office.⁵¹

Along with Britain’s other ills, the Spanish Civil War dragged on and, like the Sino Japanese “controversy” it had to be represented to the public at large as a domestic squabble and a non-event as far as Britain was concerned. But, irrespective of bland reports of cabinet discussions and press statements, the British government knew that there were some international crises which it was unquestionably directly related to. With the prospect of war with Germany looming larger every day, it had to put its own house in order or face the possibility of significant domestic groups in Britain forming fifth column relationships with Hitler. Of major importance in this regard was the prospect of a hostile Ireland or even an alliance between

Ireland and Germany. In addition to the perceived need to 'guide' public opinion or relations with Germany there was thus another consideration behind the new arrangements Chamberlain had put in place. The government could not afford to antagonize the Vatican by opposing its interests in Spain while it completed delicate negotiations in Ireland.

IRISH INDEPENDENCE

Then on December 29, 1937, the proclamation of the sovereign, independent, democratic state of Eire forced Britain to begin negotiations over the use of Irish ports and military bases. Complete reconciliation was hardly possible but, as the price of Irish neutrality in the event of war with Germany and the outlawing of the Irish Republican Army by the government of Eire, Britain renounced all rights to the naval use of Queenstown and Berehaven and the base at Lough Swilly. Winston Churchill, still languishing on the back benches, blasted the government for agreeing to those demands because it weakened Britain's ability to control Atlantic shipping routes.⁵² It therefore appears that the government was influenced more by the need to placate the Vatican and to minimize the risk of a deal between Ireland and Germany.

[The roots of that decision went back to the first world war. Sinn Fein's Easter uprising against conscription for British war service in 1916 had been discussed in advance by an envoy for the Provisional Irish Government, Count Plunkett, and Pope Benedict XV who "conferred His Apostolic Benediction on the men who were facing death for Ireland's liberty".⁵³ The British government was very conscious that Irish sentiment was still much the same two decades after the execution of the republican leader, Roger Casement. Casement had been executed for treason when he returned in a German U-boat to lead the uprising following his attempts to enlist Germany's aid for the Irish cause. Those two factors made a potentially explosive situation but, although the British government had made a series of concessions in response to acute pressure, it was not prepared to allow the secession of a white, Christian community, in what the world had been taught was British home territory. To do so would generate even more pressure for the dismantling of its empire of non-white, non-Christian possessions. The uprisings from 1916 to 1920 had won for the Irish Free State something akin to dominion status in 1922. The continued civil war then led to the abolition of the oath of loyalty to the crown in 1933 and the termination of annual payments to Britain. Coincidentally a customs war was necessary to achieve the British-Irish Trade Agreement and parity with the dominions under the Commonwealth Preference scheme.]

A 'GENERAL SETTLEMENT;' WITH OTHER PEOPLE'S TERRITORIES

Such was the complex situation when Eden, having accepted the principle of Chamberlain's appeasement policy, took a paper to cabinet on January 1, 1938, under the title 'The next steps towards a general settlement with Germany'. Referring to the Halifax/Hitler discussions he noted that Hitler expected Britain to take the next step by putting forward some 'concrete

proposals'. His proposal included the offer to Germany of territories in Africa then held by Belgium and Portugal, plus concessions to Sudetan Germans in Czechoslovakia.

By this means Hitler would be bribed out of his plans for the annexation of Czechoslovakia (and the seizure of Vitkowitz) with gifts of other countries' colonies in Africa and concessions for Sudetan Germans in Czechoslovakia.⁵⁴ Eden's memoirs do not clarify whether this was on his or Chamberlain's initiative, but in the absence of clarification on this point it can be assumed that at least one key British minister expected that either Belgium, Portugal or France could be coerced into paying the price for the maintenance of Britain's empire and its industrial interests in Europe intact by virtue of the strength of an alliance between Britain and Germany.^{55 56} However, coercing other countries into handing Hitler pieces of their empires was hardly a strategy which would win international friends and influence people – favourably anyway – and cabinet had to take account of the thrust of the Chiefs of Staff report for December. It noted: "Without overlooking the assistance we could hope to obtain from France and possibly other allies, we cannot foresee the time when our defence forces will be strong enough to safeguard our trade, territory and vital interests against Germany, Italy and Japan at the same time...(and)... they could not exaggerate the importance from the point of view of Imperial Defence of any political or international action which could be taken to reduce the number of our potential enemies and to gain the support of potential allies." ⁵⁷ (Emphasis added.)

Even the sobering impact of that report was apparently not enough for the proposal to be rejected out of hand, or, if it was, it was revived only a few weeks later by Chamberlain in the Cabinet Foreign Affairs Committee.⁵⁸ On Thursday, January 27, he proposed as a move towards a general appeasement of European tensions "an entirely new chapter in the history of African colonial development". He proposed that Hitler's Germany would become one of the African Colonial powers by being given certain territories to administer⁵⁹ and the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office were required to prepare a paper for the committee's consideration. Next day Sir Alexander Cadogan noted in his diary having discussions with Wilson (Treasury) and Parkinson (Colonial Office) about preparing a paper for the Cabinet Foreign Policy Committee on colonial cessions to Germany. He then noted "A bit hard on us, but I must make it go!", and that C.W. Baxter was to represent the FO in discussions with the Colonial Office.⁶⁰

On the following Monday, January 31, Cadogan took the "excellent" first draft of the FO-CO paper on African colonial cessions to a "long talk" with Chamberlain, Halifax, Eden, Sir Horace Wilson, Vansittart and Sir Neville Henderson which he noted ran until 6.45 pm. It was to be his last conference with Eden present as a minister for quite some time. Eden formally resigned next day. Cadogan noted in his diary that the indication of the difficulties and complexities of a 'reshuffle' brought the PM to the idea that we had better 'do the big thing' and give back Tanganyika, subject perhaps to frontier adjustments. He also noted that he believed "this is right" and "Van must have squirmed!"

The pages of the Times during the following few months indicate the nature of the conspiracy of silence as the British government tried to represent, and to handle, each of the crises around the empire as if they were isolated incidents. It was trying desperately to defuse Hitler and to avoid the whole lot merging into an uncontrollable conflagration. In particular, cabinet members went to great lengths in their speeches in parliament to avoid discussing the development of a crisis in Europe, the crisis in the Middle East, the Sino-Japanese War, and the complex conflicts of interest which passed as the neutrality of the United States. Double talk, the use of expressions which were meaningful only to those close to the play, and innuendo camouflaged the fact that Britain was in deep trouble. Noteworthy in that respect was Eden's resignation speech on February 1, sections of which he included in the second volume of his memoirs. That speech was also noteworthy for the accuracy of a couple of his statements of philosophy which serve to further illustrate the double standards which the countries of Europe tried to camouflage in projecting their self-images, in their historical misrepresentations of the colonial era, and in the conduct of the Great War.

*Propaganda against this country ... is rife throughout the world. I am myself pledged to this House not to open conversations until this hostile propaganda ceases ... (and) recent months, recent weeks, recent days have seen the successive violation of international agreements and attempts to secure political decisions by forcible means. We are in the presence of the progressive deterioration of respect for international obligations. It is quite impossible to judge these things in a vacuum ... It is the traditional method of diplomacy to prepare for conversations before they are formally opened. It is seldom right to depart from that method, which has been tested by time and experience. It is certainly never right to do so because one party to the negotiations intimates that it is 'now or never'. Agreements that are worthwhile are never made on the basis of a threat. Nor in the past has this country been willing to negotiate in such conditions ...*⁶¹

Similarly, writing in his memoirs Eden stated that he, personally, had not wished "to align all democracies against all dictatorships, with some of which we (Britain) enjoyed friendly relations. But ... (he continued)... the cleavage already existed, not of our creating; it was between those who kept their word and upheld international law and those who used their words to cloak their next aggression, those who had growing appetites and those who had not."⁶² He would have been more accurate if he had said that the cleavage was between those who had growing appetites and those whose appetites had already been satisfied and who were then intent on keeping control of the larder. Eden's attitude to relations with Germany must be viewed in the light of British and French policies and actions during the European colonial era, the Christian reconstruction of Asia and Africa, and the Balfour Declaration and its consequences in which he was already a key actor. He seems to have totally disregarded the fact that Germany had been stripped of its remaining overseas colonies only twenty years earlier. On that basis we are left to conclude his historical perspectives were as distorted by his European-Christian heritage and self-misunderstanding as were the pope's when he issued *Divini Redemptoris* in March 1937.

A CLASSIC ENGLISH BACKGROUND

In fact, Eden was a classic example of a product of the European Christian imperial philosophy and, whether he was conscious of it or not, he was a part of the effort to prop it up and to maintain the existing international system of relationships. Although he regarded himself as left-of-centre in the Conservative Party it would have been extraordinary if he reflected anything other than traditional imperial attitudes and preconceptions in his dealings with the rest of the world.

Born into a wealthy, landed and titled family in 1897, Anthony Eden was eight years younger than Hitler. His forebears included a penal reformer who had established the National Bank of Ireland; an economist-sociologist whose book *The State of the Poor* had been praised by Karl Marx; the last governor of the colony of Maryland; a governor-general of India; diplomats; members of parliament; bishops and counts of the Holy Roman Empire. From Sandroyd school where he won prizes for history and French he went to Eton, then enlisted at the age of eighteen to serve in the Great War. Commissioned three months later, he was awarded the Military Cross and appointed an adjutant at nineteen. He saw service at Ypres, Passchendaele and then La Fere, in the same inhuman, degrading, totally pointless action with its shocking casualties in which Hitler was gassed – probably only a few paces away in the opposing trenches.

Demobilized at twenty-two, Eden entered Christ Church College, Oxford, and gained first class honors after studying Persian, Arabic language, reading Zoroastrian religious works, Persian history and the Qur'an. He decided against a career in the Foreign Office and turned to a career in parliament instead. Within a year, after failing to gain a Liberal held seat which went to a Labour candidate instead, he had gained the safe Conservative seat of Warwick and Leamington in a by-election, well supported by a string of aristocratic connections by birth and by marriage. Then within three years he was in a position to develop more influence on Britain's Foreign Office than if he had served as a civil servant for many more years. He was appointed Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Foreign Secretary. Highly regarded by his colleagues, Eden was appointed Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for the Foreign Office, with junior ministerial rank, in September 1931 and his sights were set squarely on the post of Foreign Secretary. He was finally appointed to it in December 1935 after short periods as Lord Privy Seal and Minister without portfolio for League of Nations Affairs.⁶³

The day after Eden's resignation, Wednesday, February 2, the heads of Treasury, the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office met again with Vansittart, Henderson, Baxter and Eastwood to review the second draft of the plan for an African trade-off with Hitler under the heading 'a new regime in the African Colonies.'

Cabinet must have indeed been very desperate to avoid any action which would affect the delicate balance in the Middle East and thus threaten its hold on that region and its relations with the Asian members of the Commonwealth, for it to have even considered arrangements with other colonial powers in Africa which would have required those powers to surrender territory. Any such arrangements would necessarily have involved either (1) political, military

or commercial power to enforce those proposals which would have automatically ended any alliances and stretched Britain's resources more thinly; or (2) concessions or guarantees, or both, from Britain to encourage those powers to make such concessions; or (3) a weakening of existing relationships with those countries with a further heavy tilt in influence in favour of Hitler in Europe and possibly an expanded Axis Alliance against Britain; or (4) an open admission to the world of the indefensible position Britain was in, with the distinct possibility of wavering colonies, Middle East mandated territories – or even the dominions – refusing support or rebelling; and (5) unpredictable responses from the United States, Japan, China and the Soviet Union. Such an African colonial adventure, or “a new regime” was therefore totally untenable.

In fact cabinet was so desperate to prevent any adverse public comment on these and related issues that about this time the Lord Chamberlain imposed censorship of the performing arts to ensure that remarks either offensive or encouraging to Hitler and Germany were not presented in public. Lord Rothermere instructed his newspapers to lend their full support to ‘the only person (Chamberlain) who could save the peace’, and a whispering campaign was begun against Eden who, like the former permanent head of the FO, was becoming isolated from his cabinet colleagues.⁶⁴

But the ‘return of Tanganyika’ as ‘the big thing’, as Chamberlain had mused, was certainly not a quick-fix solution. The surrender of even one important territory to a dictator – one of Japan's partners in the Anti-Comintern Pact – would have been a massive encouragement for Japan to press much harder for the decolonization of Asia and the elimination of International Territories and Extra-territorial Rights. It would also have weakened Britain's strategic position in Africa and the Indian Ocean significantly. The antagonistic response from the other African colonies to Britain's acquiescence in Italy's annexation of Abyssinia had already shown that such a gesture was not likely to be limited to the ‘voluntary’ surrender of one colony. The depth of antagonism generated within the non-white, non-European-Christian world by the trading of non-European countries and their people by, and between, white Christian-European powers was not understood by those white Christian-European powers. In addition, the Italian Abyssinian adventure had previously led to one resignation from the British Cabinet, that of Foreign Minister Samuel Hoare in December 1935.⁶⁵ The Italian-Spanish adventure and Chamberlain's bid to appease both Mussolini and Hitler, aggravated by the disagreements over whether sanctions should be imposed against Japan, had now to lead to another.

The British Cabinet would have assumed that Hitler and his advisers were reflecting on Germany's territorial “rights” at least as much as they were, and they also would have known that debate was raging between various German agencies which had differing views about the Transfer Agreement and German Jewish immigration. They could have expected him to apply more pressure to Britain in that region, to destabilize it, and to use that as a lever to force Britain to meet his other demands. However it is unlikely that, given Hitler's attitude to Jews and his opposition to a Jewish state, they would have anticipated his reaffirmation in January of Germany's commitment to the Ha'avara Transfer Agreement and Jewish emigration from

Germany to Palestine. He was confident of the failure of Britain's partition plan for Palestine, he expected Britain to abandon the idea of a Jewish state, and he was perfectly happy to apply more pressure on both parties by that move. Thus, throughout 1938 and until the eventual outbreak of war, the Gestapo and other agencies continued to cooperate with, assist and encourage Zionist agents in Germany and Austria to speed up the emigration of German Jews to Palestine and to secure their entry to that territory by both legal and illegal means.⁶⁶ After all, the Western Christian powers had left him little option. They didn't oppose his policy of forcing the Jews to leave Germany, they wouldn't provide homes elsewhere, and Britain had promised them a national home. He would stop sending them there if Britain provided an alternative home or accommodated his other demands. Britain had made its bed and it had to lie on it.

Cabinet actually devoted a lot of time and energy to the proposal for colonial concessions in Africa over the next few weeks but, as we shall see shortly, they need not have worried about it and they may have been better advised to put the same effort into developing alternative proposals to defuse world tension. When the plan was put to Hitler he paid scant attention to it, and all it did was confirm the perilously weak position that Britain was in. In any case Hitler was not interested in a long line of communication to foreign colonies which he neither understood nor cared for. His plans required the resources and industrial production of Czechoslovakia, including the massive munitions complexes of Skoda, at Pilsen, and Vitkowitz. He wasn't interested in a tradeoff of land in Africa.⁶⁷

However the importance of this episode does not lie in the fact that the British government failed in its bid to trade other people's African colonies for a breathing space to enable it to prop up its own interests in other areas. It lies in the fact that senior British ministers, as contemporaries of Hitler, could even consider such a proposal. Although it was only one incident in the buildup towards World War II, it shows clearly that Britain had not recognized the parody of *Mein Kampf*. Hitler was aping, in a somewhat exaggerated fashion, the imperial conduct and attitudes of Britain and other powers in the great amorphous Christian gel and he was demonstrating and exposing the consequences of such conduct for all to see. But even in such circumstances key British ministers could still concede that it was the right of a European power – Christian by virtue of either its particular heritage or its papal concordat but brutal by virtue of its heritage and its self misunderstanding – to claim colonies and to reduce subject races to units of commercial productivity and profit for its own citizens. And such colonies – land, resources and people together – could still be bartered or ceded as a means of making “a kind of peaceful contribution” to the international outlook, seen from Christian Europe's point of view, at least.

ANGLO-AMERICAN COOPERATION?

Naturally, to the dominant British mind, such imperial privileges were not to be accorded to a non-Christian, non-European country like Japan. With Britain's interests in the Far East coming under greater and greater threat, Eden was leading a push for naval action against Japan, to

draw the United States into Anglo-American cooperation in that sphere, and to re-establish 'white race authority' in the Far East.⁶⁸ To achieve this and to retain Britain's position as a world power, as already noted, he advocated the dispatch of the main fleet to Singapore on several occasions in cabinet and to cabinet colleagues between November 1937 and January 1938. Eden aimed for "an Anglo-American hegemony based on a monopoly of the world's sea power, raw materials and commerce, and thought that, after England had resolved its differences with Germany, peace based on the status quo could be imposed in the Far East and in the Mediterranean, if necessary by an overwhelming show of force."⁶⁹

At that point Hitler was not able to mount, or even to threaten, a frontal assault on the formidable fortifications of Czechoslovakia so, on that particular point, Britain need not have been in a rush. Hitler had to bide his time and wait for either Britain or Austria to crack to gain an easy way in. He had already been assured that Britain would acquiesce in his moves east or southeast provided they had some sort of seal of legality.^{70 71 72} He didn't have to wait long, and his personal authority was increasing rapidly. On February 4, 1938, the cabinet of the Third Reich approved his emergency action in taking personal command of the armed forces and adopted his reorganization of the Wehrmacht. The cabinet was never convened again. Hitler had achieved absolute power in Germany. But he realized that his detractors in the army were waiting for him to make a slip so he stepped up the pressure on both Austria and the army – with a helping hand from Britain.

Italy had accords with both Austria and Germany, and it had agreements with both France and Britain for the support of Austrian independence. Its influence on the future of Austria and in determining Hitler's ability to act on his expansionist policy was therefore important. But because its resources were stretched with military forces occupying or at war in two countries – Abyssinia and Spain – and because of the conflicts of interest exposed by its presence in Spain in support of the Fascists, it was not in a strong bargaining position. However the British Cabinet was having difficulty deciding the circumstances in which it should open discussions with Mussolini. Chamberlain and Foreign Secretary Eden were expressing different views. Then, from February 9, while cabinet was discussing that issue and the related issue of possible colonial concessions in Africa, Sir Joseph Ball, at Chamberlain's initiative, manipulated a press campaign favourable to Italy in order to assist Chamberlain to run his own foreign policy without proper consultation with Eden or the Foreign Office. Tension between the PM and his Foreign Secretary increased.

That move coincided with cabinet's consideration, on February 10, of proposals to restructure Britain's military forces into a system of Imperial Strategic Reserves placed at key locations in the empire, including Palestine and Egypt. Hore-Belisha, the minister responsible, advised cabinet that "because of the special difficulties of the Mediterranean passage [to India and the Far East] it is desirable to locate part of the Imperial Strategic Reserve, as well as its sources of supply, east of the Mediterranean passage."⁷³ However, before that meeting Eden had been advised by Craigie that Britain should adopt a more neutral stance in the Sino-Japanese war in order to avoid further undermining its position in Europe through a

strengthening of links between Japan and the Axis powers in retaliation for Britain's support of China. In a telegram dated February 9, which was probably intended for an interdepartmental meeting which Eden had convened for February 11, Craigie said it would be most unwise to take any step to encourage Chiang Kai-Shek to prolong resistance and "we should watch carefully for any sign that Nationalist Government might be prepared to make peace on terms which leave China temporarily weakened, it is true, but capable of ultimate resuscitation." However, Far East experts in the Foreign Office were convinced, more than ever, that a clash between British and Japanese interests was inevitable, that rapprochement was impossible, that Britain's Far East policy should therefore be support for China and resistance to Japan and, by implication, preparation for war in that theatre,⁷⁴ so it is doubtful whether it had any impact at that cabinet meeting.

It appears to have had little more influence at Eden's meeting to consider Far East options next day because, apart from a decision (in sharp contrast to that of the US) that neither side would be supplied with arms, decisions were made to continue support for China. It was decided that Britain should finance a road to link China and Burma, and that the Hong Kong Shanghai Banking Corporation should be pressed to provide extensive loans on a commercial basis which the Treasury would not agree to provide. Craigie advised strongly against it, but discussions continued.⁷⁵

AN ULTIMATUM TO AUSTRIA

All attention was certainly focussed on Europe again next day, February 12, when Hitler summoned Austria's Chancellor, Dr Schuschnigg, to the Berghof for a conference, blasted him for not cooperating in the previous agreement and for fortifying the border against Germany, and issued an ultimatum which required, among other things, the appointment of Nazis to the key cabinet posts of defence and the interior within three days.⁷⁶ The British cabinet learned immediately of the ultimatum which Hitler had 'bullied' Austria's Chancellor Schuschnigg into signing in Berlin and it added to the confusion. On February 14, recognizing what Craigie had said and doubting the wisdom of basing Britain's Far East policy on support for China, Chamberlain told his colleagues that "he would not like it thought for a moment that all chances of appeasement with Japan had slipped away."⁷⁷ And, on the assumption that Hitler's ultimatum was basically reaffirmation of the 1936 agreement, Cadogan noted that "(We) should not say to Hitler 'If we give you colonies, you must do something about Austria and Czechoslovakia.' He will say 'I have done it about Austria.'" His diary notes confirm that cabinet did not have any plan to restrain Hitler, nor the means to do so, that his Assistant Under-Secretary Sargent was 'violently opposed to dropping Austria', and that Henderson could be left to handle discussions with Hitler.

Hitler's threatened invasion was averted when Austria's President Miklas promptly agreed, under protest, to the Nazi cabinet appointments. Cadogan noted on February 15: "What is the good of brandishing Austria under Hitler's nose when we can't do anything about it? ... As I

say, I shouldn't mind if Austria were gleichgeschaltet." [In the absence of other information about the course of discussions on African colonies, except a note for March 3, it appears that Henderson had been authorized to canvas 'a new colonial regime' with Hitler as an alternative to the Anschluss.] That night full details of the ultimatum and the circumstances in which it had been signed were cabled to London by the British legation in Vienna⁷⁸ and next day, February 16, Cadogan noted that the French wanted to make a joint protest in Berlin, but that would be 'folly' and 'we are riding them off.' He was well aware that cabinet then had before it a memorandum from Hore-Belisha on the role of the army related to the strategic proposals already discussed. The army's primary function at home was agreed to be anti-aircraft defence, but it was well short of the anticipated requirements for anti-aircraft guns, searchlights and troops. Hore-Belisha advised that at least two additional Territorial divisions should be converted if this role requirement was to be met, but the costs made it impossible. Lack of preparedness and equipment meant that only two regular divisions and a mobile division could be sent overseas after about three weeks preparation, and these could be reinforced by a maximum of two further divisions after about forty days. But in addition, these forces were equipped only for an Eastern theatre and their reserves would not be on the scale required for Continental warfare.⁷⁹

In the light of that, cabinet authorized Eden to tell the French that the most Britain could send to the Continent 'in certain circumstances' was two regular divisions and one mobile division, (compared with five divisions which Italy already had across the border in Spain), and that France should be left with no illusions about the likelihood or extent of British support on land. The benefits to Austria of Baron Louis' Vitkowitz transfer scheme were plainly wishful thinking. The financial market managers were plainly aware of it even if the general public was not, and next day, February 17, when the Nazi appointments became known, there was such a massive outflow of currency that the Austrian schilling collapsed on Europe's capital markets. The collapse was so dramatic that the Austrian currency was no longer quoted on Swiss and London exchanges. When it met that day to formally determine Britain's revised military strategy the Committee of Imperial Defence was probably not surprised by Admiral Chatfield's admission that it was largely "a question of balancing risks" between the three global theatres and that the Chiefs of Staff had concluded after their Mediterranean Appreciation review that the unstable situation in the Middle East demanded military measures. He said that building the land and air defences in Egypt up to self-sufficiency for a sixty-day period would involve "some denuding of home defences" but the services were now willing to take that risk.⁸⁰

The Middle East was now recognized to be the critical factor in Britain's ability to hold its empire together. So critical that home and continental defences had to be cut to the point at which Britain was quite unable to deter Hitler from any adventures he cared to undertake. While Eden wanted to take a somewhat firmer line with Hitler, short of committing troops which he knew was impossible, Chamberlain was determined to press on with appeasement. Coming together with his manipulation of the press through Ball and their disagreements over Far East policy, this resulted in the resignations of Eden, his Under Secretary (Lord Cranbourne) and his

Parliamentary Secretary, on February 20, and added to Britain's embarrassment in its already weak position.⁸¹

In his speech to the Commons next day to explain his resignation Eden referred to the fundamental issue of European stability and said he did not believe that progress could be made in European appeasement if Britain allowed the impression to gain currency abroad that it yielded to constant pressure. Progress depends above all on the temper of the nation which must find expression in a firm spirit which, he said, he was confident Britain had, and not to give voice to it is "fair neither to this country nor to the world."⁸² During the debate which followed Churchill asked the Commons: "What price shall we all have to pay for this? No one can compute it. Small countries in Europe will take their cue to move to the side of power and resolution. ... I predict that the day will come when, at some point or other, you will have to make a stand, and I pray God, when that day comes, that we may not find, through an unwise policy, that we have to make that stand alone." The Evening Standard, one of Lord Beaverbrook's papers, opposed Churchill's call for collective action and promptly cancelled his contract for fortnightly articles.

Try as it would to isolate, in the public mind, the issue of Palestine from Hitler and the crisis in Europe, the government could not isolate them in fact. Thus, in the context of the crisis in cabinet over the Foreign Secretary's resignation and discussions concerning 'a new regime for Africa' which was being proposed to Hitler, the government quietly announced the appointment of another Commission to reconsider the partition plan for Palestine. For two months the government had seemed paralyzed, but those critical cabinet discussions about a new colonial regime in Africa as an alternative to Hitler's plan for Austria forced it to take action. The four-person commission, led by Sir John Woodhead, prepared to visit Palestine immediately, but conditions were so disrupted that they had to defer it in the hope of some improvement.

In Austria, Schuschnigg faced intense criticism from both Catholics and Jews for having bowed to Hitler's ultimatum without calling for allied support or putting up a fight. Jews began to emigrate in droves. Hitler was infuriated that Austria's Jews were escaping his net and undermining his strategy and on February 20, the day of Eden's resignation, in a speech broadcast throughout Germany and Austria, he launched a vitriolic and inspiring attack on Austria in general and its Jews in particular. He said his co-racial "German minority" in Austria was "subjected to continuous suffering because of their sympathy and unity with the whole German race and its ideology".⁸³ This was intended to provide the veneer of legality which he needed to avoid British intervention when he invaded his homeland. He had learned his propaganda lessons from Britain and its Great War allies very well indeed.

Lord Halifax, who was working hand in hand with Chamberlain on appeasement and whose discussions with Hitler exactly three months earlier had been so pivotal in strengthening the dictator's hand, was appointed Foreign Secretary in succession to Eden on February 21. He immediately arranged uninhibited access to himself for Dawson, and thereafter the Times editor and the British Foreign Secretary met virtually daily.⁸⁴ However the Daily Telegraph, owned by

Lord Camrose and opposed to the policy of appeasement, had agreed to provide an alternative press platform for Churchill after he was shut out by Beaverbrook,⁸⁵ and on February 24 the Manchester Guardian noted in a leader that government influence on the press, which presented a curiously distorted picture and preserved a unity of silence, could hardly be bettered in a totalitarian state. Ambassador Henderson immediately called for a propaganda truce in the British press to enable negotiations to continue towards a satisfactory conclusion following the Halifax visit, and he complained of vilification of Germany led by the Manchester Guardian and the News Chronicle which Germany (Goebbels?) complained were "Jewish newspapers with journalists connected in one way or another with Soviet Bolshevism."⁸⁶ A few days later, on February 28, Halifax summoned Leeper to discuss steps to 'moderate' the BBC and the press, then, on Leeper's advice, he saw John Reith at the BBC personally. The BBC cancelled scheduled programmes on Hitler's colonial claims and Halifax authorized Henderson to tell Hitler that the BBC had been muzzled.⁸⁷ It was better than a birthday present. Chamberlain, Halifax and Henderson had given Hitler the all clear or the signal for 'full steam ahead.'

On March 2 Chamberlain made what Shirer described as 'an astounding speech' to the Commons in which he implied that the Austro-German agreement of February 12 had been freely made between statesmen of two countries, one renouncing its independence in favour of the other in the interests of good relations between them.⁸⁸ On March 3, Henderson reported that 'Hitler paid scant attention to the proposal about a new colonial regime in Africa, or to the mild warnings about Central Europe.'⁸⁹ Then on March 8, Cadogan talked to representatives of the British press about freedom of the press, responsibility, ungarded criticism of the heads of state of other countries, and 'needless provocation'. The Commonwealth Prime Ministers were advised of these 'confidential conversations' and of Britain's desire to improve the atmosphere and to facilitate conversations with the German government. Pressure was applied to the dominions to do the same. Hitler was also desirous of the same. Was that an act of appeasement or an act of wonderful supportive cooperation?

THE ANSCHLUSS

Schuschnigg had taken the steps Hitler had demanded but now, with the Nazis boasting openly that they would be in power within a few weeks, he decided that he could play the legality game, too. On Wednesday, March 9, in a bid to forestall Hitler he announced that a plebiscite would be held on Sunday, March 13. Both he and Hitler expected that it would demonstrate to the world that most Austrians wanted to remain independent. Clearly Hitler could not allow it to go ahead. He was more confident than ever that Britain would not intervene because its cabinet was in the throes of trauma induced by the resignation of Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden on the same evening, February 20, that he had broadcast his scathing attack on Austria.^{90 91 92} But his confidence was reinforced by the fact that Seyss-Inquart, a right wing lawyer who appeared to have no political affiliations at that stage, had briefed him, prior to Schuschnigg's visit, on proposals which he, as a confidant of the Austrian Chancellor had helped devise to forestall a

German annexation in the absence of British and French intervention. Hitler was therefore taking only a small gamble by demanding more than he knew Schuschnigg had already decided to yield.⁹³ Next morning, Thursday, March 10, to the amazement of his generals, he ordered that the army be ready to invade Austria on Saturday, March 12, and sent an emissary to advise Schuschnigg of his action. On Friday, 11, he demanded that the plebiscite be cancelled, that Schuschnigg resign immediately and that Dr Seyss-Inquart be appointed to succeed him. The news was cabled to Downing Street by the British legation in Vienna while Foreign Minister Ribbentrop was actually lunching with Chamberlain and Halifax. Hitler was quite right. Britain protested, but when Schuschnigg needed help from Italy, Britain and France none of them responded. Schuschnigg resigned immediately to enable the appointment of Seyss-Inquart who told Hitler that there was no longer any need to intervene, but the Fuhrer was taking no chances. German tanks rolled across the border at daybreak on Saturday March 12, 1938, with Hitler calling for the total incorporation of Austria in Germany – the Anschluss. On that day, even before Hitler and Himmler had arrived in Vienna, the Times reported that: “After a day of indescribable nervous tension, the Austria of Dollfuss and Schuschnigg – the Catholic-Fascist Austria that by force suppressed Parliament and the powerful working class movement four years ago, collapsed tonight under the threat of force.”

Schuschnigg was placed under house arrest as soon as German troops reached Vienna. Baron Louis de Rothschild's passport was confiscated next morning, March 13. But Schuschnigg, a devout Catholic, was faring even worse than the Jews against whom the main thrust of Hitler's wrath was being directed. His offence was that he had collaborated with the Rothschilds to transfer ownership of Vitkowitz to British ownership. After quite some time kept virtually sleepless under house arrest Dr Schuschnigg was imprisoned in a tiny room at the Hotel Metropole which had been commandeered as the SS headquarters. He was forced to carry out appropriate tasks dreamed up by the Gestapo, and he was required to use a single towel to clean the quarters, washbasins, slop buckets and latrines of the SS troops guarding him, as well as for personal use. But after his first couple of weeks of forced labour there was no such treatment for his friend, Austria's most famous Jew and Hitler's prize prisoner, Baron Louis de Rothschild.

Chamberlain addressed the Commons on March 14 and his description of Hitler's *fait accompli* was soon music in the dictator's ears. “The hard fact is that nothing could have arrested what actually has happened [in Austria] unless this country and other countries had been prepared to use force,” Chamberlain said. When read together with his rejection of Russia's proposal for a conference within the League of Nations to consider means of ensuring that there could be no more German aggression, the British Prime Minister's statement amounted to an invitation for Hitler to press on – as long as he pressed on towards the east.⁹⁴ Chamberlain knew the reality of Britain's weak position with even greater certainty as a result of Hitler's occupation of Austria. In fact by the time the Nazis had comfortably settled Baron Louis de Rothschild into a suite adjoining that of deposed Austrian Chancellor Schuschnigg in Vienna's Hotel Metropole for a very long stay, Japan was pursuing Chiang Kai-shek in a massive sweep across north and central China, boosted further by Mussolini's Italy having

joined the Comintern Pact. Chamberlain could not afford to have people connecting each of Britain's troubles – Europe, the Middle East and China – or expressing critical views of Britain's manoeuvring.

Churchill responded to Chamberlain's address the same day, giving a much more frank and chilling assessment than that of the prime minister. He told the house that Vienna was the centre of communications, river and rail links for the countries of southeastern Europe, and especially for Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia, (the Little Entente), which provided the main military deterrent to Hitler's expansion. Rumania had the oil, Yugoslavia the minerals and raw materials, and Czechoslovakia had the manufacturing capacity to supply the munitions for the large armies of the other two. By gaining control of Vienna, Hitler had driven a wedge into the Little Entente and he could henceforward strangle trade to and from Czechoslovakia at will because he already had control of its trade route to the rest of the world, through Hamburg.⁹⁵ Unfortunately, like everyone else, Churchill talked only of the economic rights and life of Czechoslovakia and its treaty partners with no mention of Britain's interests. But the politicians, financiers and industrialists knew what he was talking about even if the public did not. If Hitler controlled the Rothschild iron and steel mills of Vitkowitz, Britain would lose access to them as well as to Rumania and its oil, and Yugoslavia and the Balkan states would be greatly weakened. If he controlled Pilsen and the Skoda munitions works as well, the advantage lurched even more strongly in his favour and the threat to the Jewish community lurched with it.

Chamberlain took immediate and urgent steps to tighten his hold on the British press and the Foreign Office News Department. But some people had privileges. Leo Kennedy, chief foreign affairs leader writer for the Times, was in Prague that day, March 15, and he was shown a despatch by Basil Newton of the British Embassy advising the government against making any promise of support for Czechoslovakia because it had become unworkable and its strategic position was hopeless. The Austrian and German armies were now integrated as one under German command, and they were facing the lightly defended flank behind its heavy defences. The country could now only make the best terms with Hitler that it could. Kennedy, a mere staff member of the Times with no diplomatic status, saw President Benes and told him that a British guarantee, which he wanted, was unlikely unless he had first made a resolute attempt to reach an agreement with Germany. Naturally Kennedy reported that the Austrian Anschluss had made the plight of Czechoslovakia hopeless.

The London Times which had, together with other British papers, condemned Hitler's march into Austria, soon modified its approach and adopted the Chamberlain line. Its leader noted that "Herr Hitler has enjoyed two days of triumphal progress from the Austrian frontier" and much "public jubilation". It did query why, if such jubilation was spontaneous, it was necessary to surround the welcome with all the "paraphernalia of tanks ... and marching infantry," but apart from that it appeared to ignore the reports and assessments of its own journalists and correspondents in Europe and continued placating Hitler, fostering the submissive 'appeasement line' which Chamberlain and Halifax had been pursuing.

On March 16, Cadogan advised the government against giving any guarantee to Czechoslovakia. He noted in his diary: 'We must not precipitate a conflict now – we shall be smashed.' ... (then) Go hard with Italy. Rearm, above all in the air. But can the government weather the next few months on a policy of apparent inactivity? There are all sorts of intrigues afoot.' Of course those involved were not keen to disclose their interests or to debate the motives, or intrigues, behind any moves they might take either in collaboration with Hitler's Germany or against it. They were faced with the long-established dilemma which became even greater with the Capitalism-Communism confrontation after the Second World War. Put simply: if the public won't support an action for its real purpose, it is necessary to find a justification which they can be persuaded to support. So the Marquis of Londonderry told the House of Lords that day (while the government was considering the issue of intervention in Czechoslovakia) that there would be no lack of support for the government in peace initiatives "but what the country would require was a moral basis." He added that Britain had to take an interest in what was happening in Central Europe and even further afield. "On the basis of an Anglo-German friendship and understanding, brought about by those conversations which were at present practically in being, we might be able to develop something on which we could base that period in the future of peace, for which we all so longed," he said.⁹⁶

Next day, March 17, Britain received a proposal from Russia for a multi-power conference to explore ways of preventing further German aggression. Then on March 18, the Times reported, very briefly, that "the palace of Baron Louis de Rothschild (who is himself under arrest) on the Prinz Eugenstrasse, (Vienna), was ransacked for papers last night (March 17) by SS men. A strong SS guard is now stationed outside".⁹⁷ But there were a number of facts which would have put the matter in an understandable context and to which the report made no reference. These included the fact that the Anschluss had been ordered on March 11; that the Chancellor, who had been forced out of office by Hitler was placed under house arrest the next day; that Baron Louis had been held temporarily and his passport had been confiscated but he was allowed to go home; that he then eluded arrest that evening only to be arrested on March 13, the day that Himmler and Von Ribbentrop arrived in Vienna; ⁹⁸ and that Hitler arrived in Vienna by road on the following day, Monday, March 14, 1938, after a triumphant and nostalgic stopover at his birthplace.

A COMMONWEALTH BREAK-UP?

On March 20, while the foreign affairs debate continued, Secretary for the Dominions Malcolm MacDonald told the Foreign Policy committee that if Britain found itself engaged in a European War to prevent Germans living in the Sudeten districts of Czechoslovakia from being re-united with Germany "on this issue the British Commonwealth might well break in pieces."⁹⁹ [A year later, in the context of debate on military conscription immediately after Hitler had occupied Ostrava and seized Vitkowitz, Sir Oswald Mosley, leader of the British Union of Fascists, tried to bring the background to that particular issue into the open. Addressing a 1939 May Day

march he said that all the democratic parties were then in the service of international finance. Compulsory military training was not necessary because no country was threatening Britain and it therefore had nothing to fear. "It was being imposed because those who had capital – about 300 million pounds Sterling – invested in Eastern European countries feared for its safety", he said. The Fascists then carried a resolution declaring "We will fight for Britain but for no other country".¹⁰⁰ Then next day, March 21, cabinet considered a strategic assessment from the Chiefs of Staff who noted that Britain could not provide military assistance for Czechoslovakia even if it wanted to. The COS report detailed the forces available and said that neither Britain nor France could render any direct assistance to Czechoslovakia on land and the only method of rendering even indirect assistance would be by staging offensive operations directly against Germany. They thought the French were unlikely to mount an effective attack on Germany, and if Italy and Japan joined in a general war the British empire would face 'the gravest danger'. They were indeed very blunt. In the event of a general war with Germany, Italy and Japan all involved, the British Empire would be threatened simultaneously in Western Europe, the Mediterranean and the Far East by 'an immense aggregate of armed strength' and would be in grave danger. Referring to the disposition of an under-strength navy the chiefs advised that the fleet would be unable to defend 'home waters' and both the Far East and the Mediterranean concurrently. Britain could not maintain an adequate fleet in the Mediterranean, and the Italians would enjoy undisputed control of the Eastern Mediterranean so that 'our position in Egypt, Palestine and the Middle East would become critical,' with control of the Eastern Mediterranean region falling to Italy.¹⁰¹ The effect of the COS report on cabinet was dramatic. Then, after cabinet had agreed that Czechoslovakia 'is not worth the bones of a single British Grenadier,' Chamberlain formally rejected the Russian proposal for a multi-power conference in the Commons on March 24.¹⁰²

But who was going to expose such double standards, conflicts of interest and the misinterpretation of history? Not the press. Nor the majority of Members of Parliament. Following the Anschluss, support in cabinet for Chamberlain's policy of appeasement strengthened, and they received strong encouragement from the Catholic bishops in Austria. On March 27 a declaration by the bishops was read in all churches in Austria. It "joyfully acknowledged that the National Socialist movement had done and is still doing eminent work in ... national and economic construction as well as in ... social policy, for the Reich and the German nation ..." The bishops, it said, were also convinced that the movement "has averted the danger of an all-destroying atheistic Bolshevism." As if that was not enough to curry favour with Hitler they said: "For the future, the bishops confer their heartiest blessing on this activity, and they will instruct the faithful to this effect. On the day of the plebiscite, it goes without saying that for us it is a national duty, as Germans, to vote for the German Reich, and we also expect all believing Christians to demonstrate that they know what they owe to their nation."¹⁰³

The pace of world events was hectic and the pattern of events in the Middle East was confusing to all except the best informed authorities. Unfortunately that pattern of events was deliberately concealed from the world-at-large by those authorities just at the time when the

development of the telegraph, radio and mass-produced newspapers had made it possible for the public to be well informed. The self-interest of those in positions of authority in the Christian West took precedence over world peace. The British general public, being deliberately kept ill-informed, simply 'turned off' and regarded the conflict in the Middle East as a local squabble between people they neither understood nor had any real regard for. They had no means of knowing that it was one of the most critical factors in the security of their empire.

For a couple of critical weeks while Hitler's bandwagon had been gathering such support, both in Britain and Europe, and with widespread public apathy in Britain as well, it looked as if the strength of opposition to appeasement in the British parliament might fall correspondingly, but for a quite different reason. Winston Churchill, whose life style and approach to staffing his office and household meant that he stumbled from one financial crisis to another, had been hit by a crisis of major proportions. There had been a further slump in some sections of the New York stock market coinciding with – and precipitated by – Hitler's march into Austria, and the value of Churchill's investments in that market had been wiped out. His account with his London stockbrokers was then eighteen thousand pounds in debit and they were demanding payment. Their demand was aggravated by the fact that Lord Beaverbrook, who believed the Jewish community in England was financing the 'Bring back Winston' campaign, had severed Churchill's newspaper writing contract at the same time. Virtually insolvent, Churchill advised his associates that he would have to sell Chartwell, leave politics and concentrate on writing full time to maintain a living. He immediately placed an advertisement with *The Times* for publication on April 2, only 21 days after Hitler's march, offering Chartwell for sale at twenty thousand pounds. But a few days before it was due to appear, Sir Henry Strakosch, a Jew born in Moravia, Czechoslovakia, a millionaire with gold mining interests and chairman of the Union Corporation Ltd, agreed to pay Churchill's debts. Chartwell was withdrawn from the market and Churchill's vigorous leadership of the anti-appeasement campaign from a seat in parliament continued.¹⁰⁴

Just at that time, Hitler was eager to take full advantage of the encouragement he received from the Catholic bishops and Chamberlain's post-Anschluss 'invitation' to press on while he was in full flight with his four year plan which included the concurrent expulsion of Jews from territories already under his control and the expansion of those territories. Accordingly, on March 28–29, he met the Sudeten leader, Henlein, in Berlin. His aim: to prepare a strategy to provoke violence in the Sudetenland which would provide a pretext for Germany to intervene in Czechoslovakia's affairs. The Jewish question was usually sufficient provocation and although Chamberlain's government was doing all it could to keep it out of the public eye, authorities in the Vatican did not see it as a matter of concern. Quite the reverse. In an editorial on April 2, hot on the heels of the Austrian bishops' declaration, *Civiltà Cattolica* maintained that the idea of a Jewish State in Palestine was utterly erroneous. The sole dominion of Jews in the region and even their peaceful coexistence with Arabs had been shown to be completely impossible, the Vatican paper said, and the only correct thing for the Jews to do was to drop all their claims to Palestine and, if possible, to leave the country again.¹⁰⁵

A few days later, after discussions between the Reich Minister for Church Affairs and the Austrian Minister for the Interior, and with Eichmann already in Vienna to organize the emigration of the country's 200,000 Jews, the legal status of Jewish communities was abrogated and 'the Aryanization' of Jewish properties began. [Within six months of the Anschluss about 25 percent of Jews resident in Austria, (50,000), had been forced out and more than 80 percent of Jewish owned businesses had been Aryanized or simply closed.¹⁰⁶] Thus, regardless of the steps the British government took in an effort to isolate the situation in Europe from that in the Middle East, it could not prevent 'fallout' from the crisis in Palestine affecting other areas. Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, chief of German Counter Intelligence, met the Mufti secretly in Beirut¹⁰⁷ and limited financial and military help was agreed to.

Sympathy for the Palestinian Arabs within the wider Islamic world was further undermining Britain's grip on affairs in India. Following the 1937 elections Nehru, leading the Hindus, and Jinnah, leading the Muslims, worked to maintain cooperation and cohesion for a time but just when the situation in Europe had reached crisis with Hitler's annexation of Austria, that cooperation was wrecked by a pro-Nazi Congressman, Bose, and pressure for the partition of India grew to an alarming level. With the Hindu community declaring its neutrality towards the affairs in Europe, Muslim opposition to British policy in Palestine was further diminishing its capacity to raise troops to reinforce its meagre Imperial forces.

CABINET WARNED ON MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

Advice to cabinet was that British and Commonwealth interests in the Middle East and Far East were 'scarcely inferior to those in Europe' and that only in the most desperate circumstances could relief be sought by 'conscious abandonment' of the region and there would then be 'dire consequences.'¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, anti-colonial feeling was so acute in so many countries that to admit or to draw attention to Britain's parlous position prior to the outbreak of hostilities might be sufficient to cause many countries to either withhold support for Britain or to join the Axis camp in order to bring down the structures of colonialism. The immediate problem was that if it were to avoid a total loss of Arab support Britain had no option other than to restrict the Zionist aspirations which it had done so much to generate barely twenty years earlier in order to get control of the oil fields and shipping routes which were now more vital than ever. However the consequences of any Anti-Zionist action were daunting and, for the Christian Capitalists of Europe, potentially catastrophic. To begin with, it would legitimize Hitler's Anti-Jewish measures and aggravate the effects of anti-Semitism which the Vatican's Jesuit press had been promoting so eagerly. From a humanitarian viewpoint that was simply not acceptable. From an economic viewpoint it would be disastrous for Britain because of the sudden outflow of Jewish-controlled capital which had to be expected. It was Britain's turn to fear a fallout with the House of Rothschild.

Then there was the fundamental political factor. If the threat to Germany's Jews became any greater¹⁰⁹ and if Britain closed the gateway to Palestine at the same time, the Zionist Organization

might possibly reverse its stand on BiraBidzhan. That would then legitimize Soviet Russia's Bolshevik regime and world Communism so that both Capitalism and Christianity would face a bigger internal threat than ever before. Britain again ran short of options. It had to compensate for the restriction of Zionist aspirations in Palestine with suitable domestic policies and this meant, essentially, a bigger role for Britain's Jewish community in financial and political affairs and provision of staging posts for Jewish refugees wanting to leave Germany. Britain also had to continue its policy of appeasement towards Hitler, which essentially meant "accommodating" his territorial demands towards the east and saying naught in criticism of his domestic policies – including his Anti-Semitism – while it tried to unravel the Middle Eastern web. If it actively opposed Hitler's policy on the Jewish question it had to be prepared to accept an unrestricted flow of migrants, not just refugees in transit, either into Britain or into Palestine. It couldn't accept mass migration for domestic reasons and the Zionist Organization didn't want it either. It wanted Palestine. The circle got tighter and tighter.

The Vatican was well aware that the Woodhead Commission had not yet left for Palestine and that the Nazi regime had set up an Office of Jewish Emigration in Austria some two weeks earlier, immediately after the occupation. Train loads of Jews desperate to leave the country had been turned back at the border. They were stripped of their possessions, forced to vacate their homes, to live in cramped, squalid conditions in communes in the former homes of wealthy Jews, and they were personally degraded in an orgy of sadism which made events in Germany up to that time seem like a trial run in anti-Semitism. The *Civiltà Cattolica* editorial was therefore a clear message to the British government that it should drop the Woodhead Commission. But in the circumstances, read widely in church circles in Catholic Austria and Czechoslovakia, it also served to harden the attitudes of those communities against any plan to assist Jews to leave their countries and reinforced support for the measures which the Nazi regime was enforcing.

The pace of defensive politicking was quickening everywhere. Hitler held a plebiscite in Austria on April 10, like the one he wouldn't let Schuschnigg conduct a month earlier. The vote in favour of the incorporation of Austria in Germany was 99.75 per cent in Austria and 99.08 percent in greater Germany.¹¹⁰ Presumably that satisfied the show of legality which Lord Halifax had discussed with him. It also showed very clearly that Austria's Catholic population had taken the advice of their bishops very much to heart. In a sense that was surprising, but it illustrated the nature of the parody of *Mein Kampf* and the extent of the contradictions which the church was forced to live out as it struggled to use its concordat with Hitler to prop up its own authority and its self-understanding, while he exploited the authority with which the concordat blessed him to undermine and to rein-in Catholic Action and Catholic education. Thus, on April 13, referring to "the grave persecution that is raging, as everyone knows, against the Catholic Church in Germany," the secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities, of which Pius XI was prefect, addressed a letter to the rectors of all Catholic universities throughout the world. He said "the Holy Father's principal source of distress is the fact that in order to carry out such a great injustice, the most impudent calumnies have been invoked, and the most pernicious doctrines have been spread all about, falsely presented as

scientific, with the goal of perverting minds and drawing them away from true religion.” [Emphasis added.] He then urged “other universities and Catholic faculties to make use of biology, history, philosophy, apologetics, legal and moral studies as weapons for refuting firmly and competently” a series of “untenable assertions.” ¹¹¹

The “untenable assertions” included four of a generally racist thrust. These were: that “the humblest humans” were closer to animal species than to “the most elevated” humans; that it was necessary, proper and permissible “to preserve and cultivate the vigour of the blood and the purity of the race” by all means; that blood was the principle source and seat of the character and intellectual and moral character of a race; and that the essential goal of education was to develop the characteristics and love of race. These were among the propositions which had been widely promoted and accepted for two or three generations on both sides of the Atlantic, and wherever else European-Christian colonies had been planted. These were followed by four, numbered 5–8, which appear to have been aimed quite specifically at three of the great modern-age challenges to the church’s doctrine, self-understanding and conduct – two at National Socialism, then one each at evolutionary theory and Marxism, in that order. These were: “5. Religion is subject to the law of race and must be adapted to it. 6. The primary source and supreme rule of all legal order is racial instinct. 7. There exists only the Cosmos, or the Universe, which is a living being; all things, including man, are only diverse forms of the universal living being, growing through the course of the ages. 8. Each man exists only through the State and for the State (and) everything he possesses by right proceeds solely from a concession by the State.”¹¹² Thus, although that letter was reported as a “Syllabus against racism”, ¹¹³ the circumstances of the time show it to be merely another defensive action by the Vatican in the face of the steady stream of challenges to (and attacks against) “true (Catholic) religion.” It was certainly not a specific or intentional statement against anti-Semitism and no government would have found any reason to hesitate in placing further restraints on the Jewish community.

THE ANGLO-ITALIAN AGREEMENT

The Anglo-Italian agreement on Abyssinia and Spain was reached on April 16, and on April 21, being eager to take full advantage of such favourable circumstances, Hitler instructed General Keitel, the head of the German Higher Command, to draw up a plan for a blitzkrieg attack on Czechoslovakia with a view to carrying it out promptly. It was to be such as to enable a decisive victory within four days of a surprise attack on Czechoslovakia being ordered. He received the final draft on May 20.¹¹⁴ While Stalin was not aware of that instruction he was another who had taken good note of Chamberlain’s address and he did not like it. He knew that if Czechoslovakia also fell there would be virtually no buffer between Russia and German forces.

Writing years later in *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, after describing looting, forced labour and the jailing of tens of thousands of Jews, historian William L. Shirer, wrote simply that “Baron Louis de Rothschild himself was later able to buy his way out of Vienna by turning

over his steel mills to the Hermann Göring Works. Then, as if to suggest that there was nothing special about the baron's case, he added that perhaps half of the city's 180,000 Jews managed to purchase their freedom to emigrate by handing over what they owned to the Nazis by the time the war started.¹¹⁵ However the sequence of events shows that the situation was not that simple. The transfer of Vitkowitz to British ownership had further enmeshed the affairs of the House of Rothschild, Britain, its troubles in Palestine, Czechoslovakia and Germany before Hitler's parody ultimately engulfed the whole world.

Vitkowitz was, as strategists in each camp knew very well, a key piece in Hitler's four year plan. If he could gain control of it without military action he would be in a remarkably strong position. But there were no government statements on the matter from either camp and no informed newspaper comments which would produce an informed public until after the fall of Czechoslovakia. The nearest thing to public acknowledgment of its importance was Churchill's statement to the Commons on March 14, the day Hitler arrived in Vienna.

With exaggerated apology, Baron Louis declined a kind offer from Göring of his freedom in return for the transfer of Vitkowitz to the Third Reich plus, it seems, a personal gift of 40,000 pounds Sterling.¹¹⁶ Vitkowitz was no longer his to give away, he said. Baron Louis' counter offer was that he would assign all of his Austrian assets to the Third Reich in return for his freedom, but both he and the Nazis knew that was a bit of a joke. They already had control of his Austrian assets and no one was likely to come running to his aid. Mussolini, irritated by the ineffective Anglo-French inspired sanctions imposed against Italy because of his Abyssinian adventure, had barely hesitated to acknowledge Hitler's right to Austria, a treaty ally of Italy, and the London Times had given a clear indication of Britain's position, as already noted. However the Nazis also knew that in the light of the baron's actions they could only get control of Vitkowitz by either occupying Czechoslovakia (or at least threatening to) or by negotiating with Britain and the House of Rothschild.

Hitler tried the carrot-and-stick approach to Czechoslovakia – mainly the big stick – with President Benes coming under intense diplomatic and propaganda pressure even while Hitler was still in Vienna. They both knew that Britain would have to declare its hand very quickly. Even if it did acquiesce in Hitler's territorial expansion into southeastern Europe it had many important financial and commercial interests in central Europe and these could not be treated separately from the Jewish question or, therefore, the Palestine question.

However, only two days after calling for a blitzkrieg plan, Hitler was given reason to think very carefully when, on April 23, Russia again declared its attitude towards Hitler's expansion with a guarded undertaking of support for Czechoslovakia. That warning was followed by the announcement of an agreement for Britain to vacate its Irish bases, just four months after the proclamation of the republic and then, very promptly, by the banning of the IRA. At that point the British and French governments both came under increased pressure to reconsider their positions on Czechoslovakia. Göring was taking action to force Jews within Germany and Austria to surrender all of their assets, whether within those countries or elsewhere – especially

in Czechoslovakia. His mechanism was a Decree for the Registration of Jewish Property which was issued on April 26, 1938.

On April 29–30 Anglo-French talks were held in London and the French ministers were left with no illusions about the lack of British armed power to back up either French or British interests. According to Lord Avon (Anthony Eden) the prime minister refused to commit Britain to the despatch of an army to the continent and admitted that the tiny force which might be sent would not be fully mechanized. Lord Halifax told the French that in Britain's military situation "it would be impossible to preserve the Czech state if Germany decided "to take hostile steps" Mr. Chamberlain then said, according to the official record of the meeting, that he doubted very much whether Herr Hitler really desired to destroy the Czech state, or, rather, a Czech state. He said he also doubted whether at the present moment he wished to bring about the 'Anschluss' of the Sudeten districts with Germany. He thought that the reason Herr Henlein had not demanded the Anschluss, "which was desired by his own followers", was that he had received advice from Berlin not to do so.¹¹⁷

France's Premier M. Daladier replied that if Germany was allowed to achieve a new (territorial) success every few months, increasing both its material and political strength with each advance, countries which were then hesitating would feel compelled to submit to the hegemony of Germany and it would then turn west "as we had been warned in *Mein Kampf*". He didn't need to say that in such an event it would not be an alliance of Britain, France and Germany forcing Belgium or Portugal to hand over their colonies in Africa: it would be an alliance of Germany and other countries forcing the dismantling of the British and French empires. However, following those talks both governments were at pains to reassure Hitler, separately, that they were putting pressure on the Czechs to reach agreement with Henlein.¹¹⁸

WOODHEAD IN PALESTINE

Coinciding with those talks, Sir John Woodhead and his fellow commissioners had finally arrived in Palestine. They had the benefit, no doubt, of the Chiefs of Staff briefing which had been prepared for cabinet on March 21, which showed that in the event of a general war with Germany, Italy and Japan all involved, the British Empire would be threatened simultaneously in Western Europe, the Mediterranean and the Far East by 'an immense aggregate of armed strength' and it would be in grave danger. They would have also known of the measures which Göring was taking to encourage Austrian and Czechoslovak Jews to either quit their homeland or their assets, or both. They were therefore painfully aware of how critical their task was in Britain's bid to retain control of the Middle East and to avoid any development which might precipitate Italian or German intervention. The Woodhead Commission actually faced an Arab boycott even more effective than that against the Peel Commission and during three and a half months in Palestine it was able to take evidence from few people except Britons and Jews. It therefore had little chance of meeting the government's instructions to provide recommendations for acceptable boundaries for a Jewish state and an Arab state, and it began its

work in a context which was quite different to that at the time that it was appointed. Consideration of the offer of African colonies to distract Hitler from Austria was off the agenda. Austria was long gone! Czechoslovakia was about to go, too.

Hitler could be confident that neither Britain nor France would intervene, or even object, if he marched into Czechoslovakia, but he wanted to be sure of the support of his only professed ally, Italy, and he was a trifle concerned because of the recent Anglo-Italian accord which had eased tension between them. On May 2 he set out with a massive entourage of hundreds of officials, diplomats and service officers in a cavalcade of trains for an eight-day state visit to Italy.¹¹⁹ He took advantage of the quiet travel time to prepare his will! He had no need to spend it drafting an address in reply to a speech of welcome from his concordat partner, the pope. Vatican-Third Reich relations were so strained that Pius XI chose to spend a few days at his summer residence, Castelgandolfo, on the outskirts of Rome. But, either to keep up a facade of diplomacy or to emphasize the point, *Osservatore Romano* reported that this was not a matter of “petty diplomacy” but for the good of the Holy Father’s health “because the air at Castelgandolfo does him good, whereas the air here harms him.”¹²⁰

Next day, May 3, the new German ambassador in London, Herbert von Dirksen, was able to report to Berlin that Halifax had told him of the *démarche* which the British government was about to make in Prague “which would aim at inducing Benes to show the utmost measure of accommodation to the Sudetan Germans.”¹²¹ That *démarche* had not even been issued two days later when, on May 5, Tony (A.G.) Rothschild, a partner in N.M. Rothschild & Sons, called on Cadogan to discuss German offers to buy the Witkowice Works (Vitkowitz) in Czechoslovakia. Cadogan noted in his diary: “This significant. If they are prepared to pay \$ or pounds for it, it don’t (sic) look as if they are going to march in and take it. Talked to Strang about it: must see Hankey (Secretary to both Cabinet and the Committee of Imperial Defence), as Admiralty have placed large orders.” His diary note for the following day, May 6, indicates that he discussed the matter with Hankey who, “was not very disturbed.”

Every government was being about as honest as every other government. In Moscow that day Stalin assured Benes in private that the Soviet Union was ready to assist him militarily “even if France does not do so and even if Poland and Romania refuse to permit Soviet troops to pass in transit to Czechoslovakia.” But in Prague the Soviet Charge d’affaires told the American ambassador a rather different story: the Soviet Union definitely would not supply Czechoslovakia with any military aid until France also did so because Poland and Romania would not allow passage for the Red Army.¹²² Next day, May 7, Britain and France jointly issued their *démarche*. Hitler, Ribbentrop and Göring should have been delighted! Until that day Mussolini had rebuffed Hitler’s attempts to discuss Czechoslovakia and it was only after that announcement that the atmosphere began to thaw. Hitler had demonstrated that he was well and truly on top of Britain and France in the initiative stakes. He was therefore able to deliver an extremely effective speech at a state banquet that evening and to confirm that Italy was welcome to retain control of the South Tyrol. The British-French timing could not have been better – from the Führer’s point of view. Subsequently Mussolini indicated that the

Czechoslovakian question was of no importance to him and he “would look the other way,” and Count Ciano accepted a draft treaty from Ribbentrop, having already noted that the Duce intended to make a pact with Hitler “because he has a thousand and one reasons for not trusting the Western Democracies.”¹²³

Two days after that banquet speech, on May 9, (the final day of Hitler’s state visit to Rome), when Tony Rothschild called again, Cadogan noted: “Gave him to see we didn’t like idea of German control of Witkowice (Vitkowitz). New Court (headquarters of Rothschild and Sons) not inclined to it either, but he will let me hear further what his cousins think.”¹²⁴

China was also interested in money matters at that time, but it wanted to borrow more from Britain, not pay to purchase an arms and munitions business. Under pressure from Eden’s committee the HSBC had agreed to a loan of two million pounds but it would go no further, and the government was asked to provide another fifteen million pounds which could be secured against exports of wolfram and antimony (crucial in munitions manufacture) in an agreement which would keep them out of Germany’s hands, plus other aid. Halifax supported the request, telling the Chancellor, Sir John Simon, on May 9, that as the government was embarking on expenditure of two milliards of pounds in preparation for war and “here, for an infinitesimal fraction of that sum, we may be able, at no risk to ourselves, to preserve our vital interests in the Far East.”¹²⁵ But treasury officials had been “deeply impressed” by Craigie’s warnings and had moved away from their early enthusiasm for loans, agreeing that “to induce Japanese anger could have very dangerous consequences, particularly in the light of tensions in Europe over the Sudeten issue.”¹²⁶ (Emphasis added.) When Craigie was advised of the discussions he responded vehemently, telling Halifax, next day, May 10, that the proposal was blatantly political, that it would compromise Britain’s neutrality in the Sino-Japanese war, and that there could be an “overwhelming outburst of fury against Great Britain” if the loan was granted. He advised that “whereas in a World War the attitude of China would not be a determining factor, the reverse is true of Japan. Any breach in our relationship with Japan which is of such a character as to bring her irrevocably under German domination is bound, sooner or later, to act upon our defensive position in Europe.”¹²⁷ Discussions still continued.

A WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

And while the leaders of the great powers politicked over the future of Czechoslovakia, Germany’s Lebensraum and China’s provinces, and while the British government desperately sought to isolate and camouflage the three conflicts which were about to congeal into one and tear its empire apart, the leaders of the Ecumenical Movement who had been appointed to establish a World Council of Churches met as an Advisory Committee at Utrecht, Holland, from May 9–12. Their main purpose was to get a constitution and structure in place so that staff could be appointed and the council could begin work, and they were eager to do so. However, although a basis for membership of the council had been agreed at the series of conferences in July and August of the previous year (see above, this chapter, pp. 3–4) that issue would not go

away and a great deal of the committee's time was occupied in debating it all over again. Should the Trinitarian basis adopted from the Faith and Order Conference be retained, or should another basis be formulated?

The chairman, Anglican Archbishop William Temple of York, said that although support for the proposed basis had come from many sides, "some churches had issued warnings against its adoption, since they could not conscientiously accept it." He said that whatever basis the council adopted, "it could not act as an ecclesiastical court with power to decide whether a church could be regarded as coming within the terms of its invitation." Each church had to decide whether it was able to collaborate on the basis which it adopted, he said. The secretary of the Faith and Order Movement, Canon Hodgson, said it had no wish to impose its standard on the whole council, and it "would be satisfied if its own work could be conducted on the basis which it had adopted from the beginning." But such a compromise clearly implied that even if they shared one umbrella, two bodies would continue to operate side by side. Temple therefore proposed that the Trinitarian basis be adopted "but that it was necessary to keep the door open for cooperation in some form with bodies which could not accept it." Thus the Utrecht committee adopted as the basis of membership, subject to confirmation at the first Assembly of the WCC, that: "The World Council of Churches is a fellowship of Churches which accept our Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour."¹²⁸

A provisional committee for the World Council of Churches was formally established and it began work immediately, on May 13, 1938, but the basis still to be accepted by two of the three bodies: the continuation committee of Faith and Order which was due to meet in Switzerland from August 29 to September 1, and the International Missionary Council which was due to meet at Tambaram, India, in December. The provisional committee had to anticipate that in due course each of the merging bodies would agree to proceed on the draft basis but this meant that the door was effectively closed to any groups or churches which were not happy with it and any systematic review of Trinitarian theology under the Council's sponsorship became highly unlikely, or virtually impossible except under enormous external pressure. The Reformed churches were about to move forward again, but not with another big leap, just careful step by careful step, and the opportunity for a thorough review of Messianic theology which had been fumbled at the time of the Reformation was about to be fumbled again. However, while Hitler was preparing for his Sudeten sabre dance the Provisional Committee of the WCC appointed key staff and prepared for the organizational mergers and the programs which lay ahead. It followed "the increasingly serious development of the Church conflict in Germany with intense concern" and sought to express its belief in "the spiritual unity of all those who are in Christ, irrespective of race, nation, or sex." Its confrontation with the leaders of Hitler's Protestant wing, the Reich Church, assumed much the nature of the division within the German Catholic Church over the Vatican's Reich Concordat. Reich Church leaders soon issued a declaration which condemned "every supranational or international Church structure, whether in the form of Roman Catholicism or of World Protestantism, as a political distortion of Christianity" and added anti-Semitic pronouncements for good measure.¹²⁹

Within days of the British-French démarche urging Benes to show “the utmost measure of accommodation to the Sudetan Germans”, and without an agreement having been reached for the sale of Witkowice to Germany, the Sudeten sabre dance started in earnest. Reports reached London of German troop movements on the Czech border from May 20 while, ominously, Hitler was in Rome consolidating his relationship with Mussolini. President Benes appealed to London and Paris for guarantees but, bowing to the government’s wishes, no papers published them.¹³⁰ London’s answer was still ‘no’,¹³¹ and, at least for the moment, Britain had called Hitler’s bluff. But time was on his side.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA BECOMES A ‘MORAL ISSUE’

The main purpose of Hitler’s visit to Rome (where he exchanged snubs with the pope) was to finalize the Pact of Steel under which Germany and Italy were committed to wage war in common. This would strengthen Italy’s bargaining power with France over control of colonies in North Africa, and, Hitler hoped, persuade Mussolini to support anti-Semitic policies in Italy along the lines of those already in effect in Germany, and, in particular, to open an Office for Jewish Affairs. Czechoslovakia claimed, quite correctly, that Hitler was planning a surprise attack and called up reservists to man the border. Next day, May 21, Hitler obligingly confirmed it by announcing that because of the oppression of Sudetan Germans and government non-cooperation in preventing it, he intended to smash Czechoslovakia by military means.

Hitler had handed the British government the moral justification which it needed either to intervene directly to protect British interests or to do so indirectly through appeasement by forcing Czechoslovakia to make territorial concessions. From that point onwards all the public posturing and propaganda by both Britain and Germany was on the “moral issue” of self-determination for people in an area of limited value to Hitler¹³², like Africa, when the real issue was control of strategic resources of steel and munitions. Chamberlain had already said that Britain was sympathetic to the plight of the Sudeten Germans who were not getting fair treatment from the Czechoslovaks and had compared it, somewhat extravagantly, with racial oppression in South Africa.¹³³ The Australian Foreign Minister, William Hughes, told parliament he hoped British negotiations in Prague would lead to a peaceful solution, then two months later, in July, after making a visit to Germany, the Attorney General, Robert Menzies, advised the British Government to urge Czechoslovakia “to make the most liberal concessions it could offer.”¹³⁴

Britain’s politicians were not prepared to explain the motives or the real interests which determined their policies, their decisions and their responses to the actions of other countries. They appeared to be competing with each other to conceal their motives and they justified every move with cliché-ridden double-talk and hypocritical double standards. Morality was apparently a matter of perception. A few illustrations.

If another country wanted to grab a piece of territory or trade and resources its leaders were power hungry expansionists, as in the cases of Mussolini and the Japanese generals. But in

Germany's case it was different. Hitler was reuniting people on humanitarian and racial grounds and, just incidentally, he was providing a buffer between Russia's unruly Communists and Britain's faithful, hardworking Christian monarchists.

If another country mounted a naval blockade against British shipping it was interfering with free trade and it was a threat to peace, as in the case of Japan blockading China's ports. But when Britain discussed sanctions and a naval blockade of Japan with the United States it was protecting vital interests and preserving peace.¹³⁵

If indigenous or minority communities rebelled against another power they were an oppressed race struggling for self-determination, such as in the case of the Sudeten Germans. But if they were Burmese or Indians rebelling against British colonial rule, they were subversive elements, ungrateful to Britain for taking up the white man's burden of civilizing and Christianizing their pathetic heathen hordes. And if they were either Jews or Arabs rebelling against British rule in Palestine, they were, according to the British Minister in Cairo, Charles Bateman, "each as loathsome as the other." They were, he said, involved in a quarrel in Palestine that brought nothing but abuse from 'both sides and which was like an incurable disease for which the only possible treatment was opium to reduce the pain.¹³⁶

After his visit to Rome and his declaration of a military solution to the Czechoslovakian crisis, Hitler continued sabre rattling on Czechoslovakia's borders to put pressure on President Benes and while the British Government floundered around looking for the pain killer, he progressively stepped up the tempo. On May 28, he took the next major step and issued orders to his army commanders and Foreign Office advisers to be ready to invade Czechoslovakia by October 1, 1938,¹³⁷ and stepped up his propaganda campaign against Czechoslovakia, stirring up the Sudetens as much as he could. Dr. Schuschnigg was transferred – that day¹³⁸ – from house arrest to SS headquarters in Vienna's Hotel Metropole and at or about the same time Baron Louis de Rothschild was taken there from his prison cell to become a guest in the room next to his friend. But while the deposed chancellor was subjected to his particular form of special treatment the baron was given a comfortable suite of furniture, a radio and plenty of time to talk with his family and their advisers about the generous terms for his freedom – presumably all within ear shot of the happenings in the room next door so that he would be in no doubt about the fate which might be in store for either one or both of them. But he was no longer just a prize prisoner under threat. He was a prize prisoner, an international negotiator and a political hostage all packaged as one, and after changes in the German higher command it was Himmler with whom he was negotiating personally.¹³⁹

The House of Rothschild and the British government were caught. If they paid the ransom demand and gave Hitler Vitkowitz in return for Baron Louis' release it would change the balance of power in Europe. The capacity of the Little Entente to resist Hitler's demands would be undermined. The Jewish community in central and south eastern Europe would then be in greater danger and domestic tensions in each country in the region would undermine national stability as Hitler's Nazis whipped up dissent, just as they had in Austria. But if they held out,

Hitler's wrath against Jews in general would be enormous, the likelihood of his invading Czechoslovakia would increase and unless Britain and France were prepared to intervene to stop him, which they were not,¹⁴⁰ the Little Entente was at even greater risk.

On or about the same day, May 28, and just three weeks after Hitler's triumphant state dinner in Rome, a commission of the Nazis' Racial Policy Office was discreetly set up in Milan to help the Italian Fascists write the racial laws which would be progressively imposed "for the defence of the Italian race."¹⁴¹ Hitler had everything running for him and continued appeasement was the only course open to Britain while it sought some way out of the maze. Hitler was now supporting the Arab cause against a Jewish state while he was facilitating Jewish settlement in Palestine by emigration – and increasing the pressure on Jews to emigrate from every country in which he had any influence. Britain could not agree to Zionist demands for immediate large-scale settlement in Balfour's "national home". Any hope for relief through large scale resettlement therefore lay with a change of heart by the countries with which the Jews of the German-speaking countries were ethnically related: namely the adjacent countries of Europe and the European-settler dominated countries of the White Western Christian world. There appeared to be some hope of this when, under pressure from the Jewish community of the US, Roosevelt agreed to US sponsorship of an international conference and, with agreement from France, it was planned to be held at Evian in France from July 6 to 14.

When the British Cabinet Foreign Policy Committee met on June 1 the two money matters, the Sudeten/Vitkowitz issue and the loans to China, were still running in parallel and Craigie's telegram of May 10 became the centrepiece of an argument between the Foreign Secretary and the Chancellor. Halifax rejected the contention that China would lose the Sino-Japanese war if it ran its course and that Japan might be provoked to military action by the loan. He said Japan also wanted credits from the London market and it would therefore not block a loan to China. In contrast, Simon and his advisers "were in full agreement with Craigie." No decisions were reached.¹⁴²

But Chamberlain was still keeping his own counsel and on the same day he gave a restricted press briefing which resulted directly in a series of related Times editorials. In the first of them, on June 3, the Times declared that the "rigid application of the principle of self-determination everywhere is obviously impractical" but the Sudeten Germans had an undoubted case, and if the Czech government granted plebiscites to them and to the Polish and Hungarian minorities as well, Czechoslovakia might, in the long run, have an homogenous and contented people. The FO issued an immediate denial that the Times represented government policy, but on June 9 Dr Hesse reported to Berlin that the editorial was based on Chamberlain's briefing of June 1 and that he had not disavowed any part of it. Then on June 14 the Times declared that it would be the bankruptcy of European statesmanship if the question of the future of something over three million German Czech subjects was allowed to plunge a continent into devastating war. It called for a plebiscite of the Sudetan Germans. More music to Hitler's ears. Only a few days later, on June 18, concerned at the turn of events in Czechoslovakia and the impact of the China loans affair, the Treasury Secretary, Sir Warren Fisher, wrote to both Simon and Chamberlain. He told

them very bluntly that if Britain was prepared to support China financially in her resistance to Japanese aggression it must face the consequences. Britain must recognize, he said, "that we shall earn the undying hostility of Japan who sooner or later – perhaps at a time when we are at death-grips with Germany – will take her revenge. Thus to risk our country's security, indeed survival, would be nothing short of a crime, equaled only by the folly of it, as nothing that has been suggested in the way of financial assistance can be effective. ... I sincerely trust that the government will have nothing to do with this dangerous – and in the long run possibly suicidal – nonsense."¹⁴³

At this point the deteriorating situation in Europe and the inflammatory material which his own press was publishing on one hand, and the establishment of the provisional committee of the WCC on the other hand appear to have combined to prompt Pope Pius XI to think more deeply and more sympathetically on the Jewish question. His pronouncements over the next few months suggest that he experienced a sickening feeling of guilt at the Vatican's influence in the long-running and deepening crisis. Surely this would be hardly surprising in view of the Vatican's relationship with the Rothschild family over an extended period. There are also indications that although the Secretary of State, Cardinal Pacelli, remained his adviser and a confidant, the pope was drifting away from the policy and philosophy of heavy reliance on concordats to consolidate the church's influence and that he recognized the close relationship between that reliance on concordats and the prevailing political and social anti-Semitism. Hitler's orders to prepare for an invasion of Czechoslovakia were unknown to the world at large, of course. But in view of the chaplaincy commitments which flowed from the Reich Concordat there was a point at which the Vatican, or its go-between officials in Germany, would have, of necessity, been taken into confidence by German Army Command. The point at which such confidence was shared is unclear, but it must be assumed that the 'confidence' reached Pacelli reasonably early. We may never know whether that 'confidence' was then shared with Pope Pius XI, and whether that shared knowledge contributed to their drifting apart on the operation of the Reich Concordat and the related matter of the Jewish question.

But also just at the time, John LaFarge, an American Jesuit priest and active campaigner against racism in the United States, happened to be in Europe on a working holiday. He was exploring the church, studying social issues and meeting editors of religious journals, during May-June 1938, after attending the International Eucharistic Congress in Budapest. A remarkably progressive theologian, LaFarge had founded the Catholic Interracial Council in New York four years earlier and had written *Interracial Justice* in which he argued that the Catholic Church should see the achievement of racial equality as a crucial goal in the twentieth century. When he arrived in Rome on June 5 he was struck by two things. One was the amount of anti-Semitic material, translated from German, which was available in bookstores. The other was the admirable social, economic and architectural achievements of Fascism in the face of greater squalor than he had ever seen in the poorest Negro sections of the south.¹⁴⁴

THE JEWISH QUESTION: PIUS XI SAYS 'IT'S TIME TO CHANGE'

One of LaFarge's appointments in Rome, was a meeting with the Superior General of the Jesuit order, Fr. Wladimir Ledochowski, the obsessively anti-Communist administrator who had been given responsibility for the preparation of *Divini Redemptoris*, including the selection of a team of theologians to write it. That encyclical had been published three months earlier, together with Mit Brennender Sorge (see above, chapter 18). Another appointment was to attend a general audience with Pope Pius XI at Castelgandolfo. However an additional appointment was arranged unexpectedly a few days later. LaFarge received a summons to return to Castelgandolfo on June 22 for a private audience with the pope whose mind was on the Jewish question. Although not much of the substance of their discussion is known, the pope's growing sympathy for the Jewish position and his concern at the direction of Vatican press influence are quite clear.¹⁴⁵ Pius XI told the American that he had read *Interracial Justice* and considered it the best thing written on the topic. LaFarge quotes the pope as saying that he was looking for a man to write on the topic and God had sent LaFarge to him.¹⁴⁶ He was to draft an encyclical to be called *Humani Generis Unitas*, (The Unity of the Human Race), focussed on Nazi racism and anti-Semitism. He was to have considerable freedom in the drafting of the encyclical, being instructed to "say simply what you would say if you were pope," to say it very thoroughly, from the standpoint of science and study, and not to be discouraged by obstacles.¹⁴⁷ Pius XI then made it clear that this was a new initiative and that he had not yet discussed it with Fr. Ledochowski. He would write, he said, asking the superior general to give LaFarge every facility. "Properly I should have first taken this up with Fr. Ledochowski before speaking to you, but I imagine it will be all right," he said,¹⁴⁸ then: "People say that the Roman pontiff's secret is a fool's secret. Perhaps. But it need not be like that. And this is a true secret that We are telling you."¹⁴⁹

But while the pope was shifting ground in one direction, many of the people beneath him in the Vatican, and Mussolini, were shifting ground in the other direction. The influence of Mussolini's closer relationship with Hitler, Italy's growing dependence on Germany, and the presence of the Nazis' Racial Policy Office was beginning to show with a distinct hardening of heart by Mussolini and he was very happy to find himself in step with the Jesuit-controlled press. On June 24, only two days after the meeting between Pius XI and LaFarge, *La Civiltà Cattolica* published a review of a book by a "non-Catholic German" refugee in Switzerland in which the reviewer reminded readers of "the Jews' continual persecution of Christians, particularly the Catholic Church, and their alliance with Freemasons, socialists, and other anti-Christian groups."¹⁵⁰

Subsequently, after Pius XI had advised Ledochowski of his meeting with LaFarge, the young American Jesuit and his Superior General met for an hour and a half on June 27. It is reasonable to assume that they discussed that book review and other recent reporting by *La Civiltà Cattolica* in the context of LaFarge's personal papal brief, but, whether they did or not, the superior general named two principle collaborators with whom LaFarge was to work.

LaFarge says that this was at his own request, but it can be assumed also that his “request” was prompted by the thrust of his awe-inspiring conversation with his superior general. The effect was to dampen the papal injunction for frankness and spontaneity, with Ledochowski urging caution “since the matter is such that if it were known, every government in Europe would have people in 24 hours at the Vatican, urging the expression of their ideas.” At that stage Pacelli had not been advised of the proposed encyclical. LaFarge named five other persons who were “in on this” and Pacelli was not one of them. The persons LaFarge was to collaborate with were Fr. Gustav Gundlach, from Germany, and Fr. Gustave Desburquois from France.

Gundlach was more traditional than LaFarge in his attitudes. Although he had condemned ethnic and racist anti-Semitism as ‘unchristian’ in an article published eight years earlier, he condoned state “anti-Jewishness” as a moral and legal means of combating “dangerous influences of Jewish ethnicity in the ambit of economics, politics, press, theatre, cinema, science, and the arts.”¹⁵¹ Such views were essentially supportive of all the Nuremberg Laws and therefore his appointment to the group to draft the encyclical – not a decision of the pope – does not appear to be consistent with the pope’s intention in commissioning the encyclical. Similarly, Desburquois, the editor of the journal *Action populaire* which he had helped to establish 35 years earlier, was the person who had been summoned to Rome as a matter of urgency in February to review the draft of *Divini Redemptoris* and to ensure that it was not limited to a simple condemnation of Communism. In 1938 he was regarded as a somewhat progressive social activist and organizer of seminars who had considerable influence on Catholic employers, labour unions and youth movements. He wanted a rationalization of the free-market capitalism which had been “supplanted by a dictatorship of a few powerful leaders and managers of enterprises and capital, having control over the life of nations” so that it was “inspired by the Christian spirit of concord and charity” and avoided transformation into “violent Communism.”¹⁵² However he had previously worked on the drafting of *Quadragesimo Anno*, the mid-Depression encyclical on Reconstruction of the Social Order, which offered little relief for the disadvantaged and certainly no encouragement for non-Christians.

LaFarge deferred his return to the United States, moved to Paris, and under very difficult circumstances, with numerous obstacles placed in his way, worked, mainly with Gundlach, on a conglomeration of versions of the text in French, English and German. They were not strictly three translations because as the work progressed they differed significantly in form and content. The task of research and getting anything like an agreed text was going to take several months. So: even without Pacelli’s ‘moderating influence’ it is clear that Ledochowski was well able to nobble LaFarge by assuming editorial authority for the planned encyclical and by sandwiching the pope’s chosen writer between two powerful figures of more ‘traditional’ views, thereby circumventing the pope’s intention. However, Pius XI had taken a vital first step towards a serious re-examination of the Jewish question within the Vatican hierarchy and as the three drafters worked together they developed a close understanding and greater commonality of view than might have been expected. LaFarge’s collaborators became very supportive of the

whole project, jealous of the independence which the pope had intended, and very concerned at efforts to delay the project and to divert the thrust of their writing. Perhaps the parody of *Mein Kampf* was about to trigger a reassessment of the trouble in the triangle. Perhaps. Certainly the politicians of the Vatican and Europe's governments were not standing still and waiting for them to make a pronouncement.

However as he set off from Rome LaFarge cannot have known of cabinet discussions in London which were about to complicate his task considerably. On June 28, ten days after Fisher's blunt warning about the impact of Britain's China-Japan policies, and with Chamberlain, Halifax and Simon unable to agree on the matter, (Chamberlain noted that "if we were to become embroiled in the Far East, Germany might seize the opportunity to do something in Czechoslovakia or Italy or in Libya"), it was referred to a full cabinet meeting on July 1, at which a decision was again deferred pending further consultations with the US ambassador, Craigie, and the consortium of bankers which the Foreign Office still hoped would provide the funds, even if under government guarantee.¹⁵³

THE EVIAN CONFERENCE

By this time, while Craigie's talks got under way, while LaFarge set about his writing, and while the Woodhead Commission was still in Palestine the Arab rebellion had erupted again with the onset of the northern summer. Britain had had eighteen battalions of its very thin army tied down in peace keeping missions ever since mid 1936 but now, in early July 1938, it dispatched two additional battalions from Egypt to Palestine at the urgent request of the Colonial Office to suppress the renewed rebellion. Such was the situation when thirty countries from Europe and the Americas, plus Australia making 31 nations, met on President Roosevelt's initiative, at Evian in France for eight days from July 6 to arrange an emigration program which would relieve Europe's Jews of the threat of impending German invasion and oppression. Britain insisted that Weizmann, previously its golden-haired wonder boy, should not be allowed to speak and it demanded that Palestine should not be discussed. The United States accepted that demand with only token argument. The administration was certainly not yet ready to strut the Zionist stage. That demand illustrates as clearly as anything that although the British government had come to realize the centrality of Palestine to its Imperial security, it still failed to grasp the centrality of Palestine to the trouble in the triangle, or even to understand the concept of the triangle. That being the case, Evian was not the place to start understanding it or unraveling it. The parody of *Mein Kampf* just had to be worked through and then, perhaps, people could stand back and see the whole picture in perspective. Perhaps.

On the other hand the Zionists were no less dogmatic. They displayed a reluctance to accept mass emigration from Europe unless unrestricted migration to a Jewish state of Palestine was a part of the deal. One of their main justifications for a Jewish National Home in Palestine would have lost its validity if Europe's oppressed Jews had all been freely offered homes in other countries. But they need not have worried. The countries of the Christian Western World did not

fling open their gates to unrestricted Jewish migration. Most of them agreed to quotas only marginally higher than their ordinary migration programs would have allowed.^{154 155} In fact the Swiss Federal Police Chief, Dr. Heinrich Rothmund, complained that as a consequence of a wave of between three and four thousand Jewish refugees fleeing from Austria to Switzerland in the wake of the Anschluss it had been necessary for the government to require entry visas for all persons carrying Austrian passports.

While the delegates debated, the Nazi agencies continued to 'assist' as many German Jews into Palestine as they could squeeze through Britain's migration defences and, as if to help the conference along a bit, they also kept a steady flow of new regulations going to press. These included the exclusion of Jews from selected commercial positions and the use of prescribed given names for purposes of quick identification – and humiliation.¹⁵⁶ However, because of manipulation for political purposes by people on both sides of the Jewish refugee fence, Evian was really little more than another step towards the establishment of the State of Israel, even though it did produce some tangible results. Australia agreed to receive 15,000 immigrants¹⁵⁷ and several Latin American countries increased their quotas. In addition a permanent Inter-governmental Committee was set up to work in cooperation with the League of Nations and it succeeded in getting an agreement, which would have required Hitler's concurrence for it to work effectively, for refugees to take a small proportion of their capital with them out of Nazi-controlled countries.¹⁵⁸ Other proposals were rejected on the grounds that they were "interference in an internal German problem." In fact, the Intergovernmental Committee – if it was a serious attempt to solve the Jewish refugee crisis – was virtually doomed to failure from the start. It was presided over by a representative of the Palestine Mandatory power, Earl Winterton, and as Britain refused to discuss additional legal migration to Palestine this was an insurmountable obstacle. Winterton, it is said, "was known for his negative attitude towards the Jews and his pro-Arab stand on the Palestine issue."¹⁵⁹

However the result of by far the greatest significance was the decision by the United States to resume admission of refugees from Czechoslovakia, Austria and Germany. None had been admitted since 1933 under the eugenics-based race restrictions which Hitler had so eagerly taken as a pattern.¹⁶⁰ More indications that his parody, *Mein Kampf*, was already beginning to take effect. Zionist Organizations in the United States had gained the support of a number of high-ranking public figures, including Justices, senators and congressmen. The government was gradually responding to intense pressure from them and had taken the first step which would very quickly lead to it assuming the mantle of principal sponsor of the Jewish national home concept which Britain was shedding as hurriedly as it could.

President Roosevelt had ridden into the White House and then stayed there with the strong political support of minority ethnic groups for his new deal. Throughout his presidency from 1933 to 1945 between 85 and 90 percent of the Jewish vote was cast for him and candidates supporting him.¹⁶¹ In spite of the prevailing atmosphere of anti-Semitism he responded in the usual way – with senior political appointments – and Jews gained unprecedented prominence with a series of appointments to the Supreme Court and cabinet, and with support for election as

governors and mayors in numerous states and towns. No doubt the Jewish community was grateful but, as the refugee crisis deepened, it looked for a new deal in that respect too. Its political appointees were then critically placed, both to respond to Zionist pressure and to pass it on up the ladder to where the buck is supposed to stop.

THE BANK SUGGESTS COOPERATE WITH THE JAPANESE

Back in London, while politicians and migration officials had their talkfest in Evian, the consortium of bankers noted its disapproval for the China loan proposal, for different reasons, and its view was echoed by the Bank of England in a letter to the Treasury on July 8. The Bank said the funds proposed were not enough to shore up the Chinese position and a Japanese victory in East Asia might not be so catastrophic from Britain's point of view anyway. (Emphasis added.) This was because although Chinese trade would then be exploited mainly for Japan's benefit, it did not necessarily mean the exclusion of British business "unless – as may be necessary – it was found impossible ... to recognize the new state of affairs," [a thinly veiled allusion to a Japanese-German war coalition], and it seems that "Japan cannot hope adequately to finance the trade and development of China unaided."¹⁶² Thus it was clear: the Bank of England anticipated some form of ongoing Anglo-Japanese financial collaboration, provided that it did not further antagonize Japan at that point.

THE JESUIT PRESS SUGGESTS SEGREGATE THE JEWS

And on the same day, July 8, *La Civiltà Cattolica* aggravated interfaith relations in Europe by following its June 24 book review with a long study of "the question of the Jews in Hungary," in which the writer said the "supremacy" of Jews had become particularly "disastrous for the religious, moral, and social life of the Hungarian people" and it was therefore not a question of proposing a theory of "segregation." It was now a matter of "approving its concrete application in a country represented as being 'the most solid and indestructible fortress of Christianity'." [Emphasis added.] Even if they did have all the goodwill in the world, what chance did the negotiators at Evian have of producing other concrete proposals? Then, conditioned by *La Civiltà Cattolica* the Italian public would have thought it quite natural a week later when, on July 14, a group of university professors made public a Manifesto of the Italian Race, a ten point summary of Italian Fascism's new position on the question of race under the title *Dichiarazione della Razza*.

The manifesto is presumed to have been vetted by Mussolini personally and it was published under the auspices of the minister of popular culture. Its authors purported to show that there were great races and small races, with some "minor systemic groups" as well, and that "contemporary Italy" was of the same great Aryan stream as Germany – with some accountable variations. They discounted the historic tidal ebb and flow of invaders, refugees and migrants across Europe, and through Italy in particular: it was a "myth," they said, that there had been a "significant influx" of people in historical times, and any influence of Africans, Orientals,

Semites, Arabs, Hamites, or anyone else was of no consequence since the Lombard invasion. Race was, they said, a purely biological concept; it was time for Italians to proclaim that they were racists; that they were of the Aryano-Nordic orientation; that differences between them and French, Germans, Greeks or Turks was “not solely because they have a different language and a different history, but also because the racial constitution of these people is different.” Then came the crunch. “Jews do not belong to the Italian race,” they said, adding with equal disregard for history that “Jews represent the only population that has never been assimilated in Italy, because it is constituted by non-European racial elements which differ absolutely from the elements from which Italians descend.” Union was admissible only within the circle of European races, they said, and “the purely European character of Italians is altered by crossing with any extra-European race that bears a civilization different from the ancient civilization of the Aryans.”¹⁶³

The new Manifesto of the Italian Race was published on the first page on every daily newspaper in Italy on July 15, 1938, the same day that editors would have had available for publication the recommendations of the Evian Conference which had closed the previous day, plus reports of some of the concrete actions which the countries represented had agreed to take. The Manifesto was indeed a remarkable document. It is another illustration that the parody of *Mein Kampf* was in full swing. Its misrepresentation of history paralleled that of the Vatican over a very long period, and its timing and content offered the world a clear indication of what lay ahead. However very few people were making the connections between each situation and the next. Certainly Britain's cabinet was still trying to isolate each situation and they had finally resolved the matter of Britain's China-Japan finance crisis only two days earlier, on July 13. Knowing that the United States would not take any parallel action and that Craigie still believed caution was the best option, (even though he had come to accept the proposal for an economic blockade of Japan provided that he had six weeks for prior discussions with Japan), cabinet decided not to proceed with the loans.¹⁶⁴ The decision might weaken Britain's hold on future trade with China and undermine its long term Extra-Territorial Rights, but cabinet thought it might also make Palestine and Suez less critical to the outcome of the crisis in the Far East and relieve the pressure in both Europe and the Middle East.

Thus: Britain continued its protestations of neutrality in the Sino-Japanese war; the United States continued to do likewise (and to profit from the adventures of both counties); Japan continued to discriminate against the Western Christian enclaves which were intimately linked into the Chinese industrial and commercial structures in a manner which was basic to the whole conflict; Craigie set about an intensive round of economic policy discussions in Japan; Italy stepped up its anti-Jewish rhetoric; and the continuing conspiracy of silence was so effective that the British public knew nothing of what was going on, except that those nasty Japanese were trying to push its Christian missions out of China. And to think that this was to be, in John Mott's words, “the Christian Century.” Surely that was still sufficient justification for a war There was little optimism in London that Craigie could achieve anything, a slate of five conditions which Japan should meet was prepared and he was to advise Japan that the Anglo-

Japanese Commercial Treaty of 1911 could be revoked if these were not met. Even Craigie was not greatly optimistic. It shows the atmosphere in which the talks took place that he could complain that the British Foreign Office was “unimaginative and conservative” and note only that “the prospect of a re-established friendship ... would afford the best hope visible today of weaning Japan from her foolish policy of armed imperialism.” How did he and the British Government think they had floundered, or blundered, into the situation they were in if it was not for the consequences of Britain’s armed imperialism over a very, very long period? Another illustration of “one rule for us and a different rule for them.”

THE IMPACT OF EVIAN

However, although it quickly receded into the background, the Evian Conference appears to have had wider effects than simply a nibbling away at the edges of the reserve of refugees building up in Europe. It influenced both Pius XI and Hitler.

Firstly, Pius XI. Evian can be given part of the credit, along with Mussolini’s agreement to establish an office for Jewish affairs and the publication of the Manifesto of the Italian Race, for some unusually dramatic action by Pius XI. The manifesto proclaiming the Aryan origins of the Italian race had called for the removal of the Jewish population from its midst.¹⁶⁵ That was no more than the Jesuit-controlled press had been doing – in fact it was less – but enough was enough! On July 15, immediately both the Manifesto and the decisions of the Evian Conference were generally available, and in line with his secret instructions for the writing of *Humani Generis Unitas*, the pope vigorously condemned anti-Semitism during an audience for the general chapter of the Sisters of Our Lady of the Cenacle. He referred to an “unpublished document” (the encyclical was then at a very early stage of preparation) concerning “the great question which is currently being debated throughout the world under the name of nationalism ... exaggerated in every way ... which presents an obstacle to the saving of souls, which puts up barriers between peoples, which is contrary not only to the law of God but also to faith itself, to the Credo itself ...” He then referred to the universality of the Catholic creed and contrasted it with the manifesto which had been published “this same day” and “is henceforth a ... form of apostasy.” It was, he said, “no longer merely one or another false idea, it is the whole spirit of the doctrine that is contrary to the faith of Christ.”¹⁶⁶ Pius XI also issued a directive for the Jesuit-controlled press to change direction. Its anti-Semitic campaign stopped abruptly – temporarily – two days later.

Secondly: Hitler. On July 18, he sent his personal adjutant, Capt. Wiedemann, to London with an instruction to tell Lord Halifax that “if there is no satisfactory solution in the near future, I will simply have to solve (the Sudeten question) by force”.¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ Work began immediately on the expansion of the existing concentration camps in Dachau, Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen in anticipation of a big influx of inmates and some of the Jewish prisoners already in custody were told that the new inmates would also be Jews.¹⁶⁹ Whether Halifax was told of the camp expansion program is not clear. But it was a remarkable tactical move, putting

the House of Rothschild and Britain under greater pressure to forfeit control of Vitkowitz while giving Britain an alternative over which to negotiate if, together with Czechoslovakia, they would not give way on the major issue. Hitler couldn't lose. He would get territory first, by negotiation, (including all of Czechoslovakia's heavy forward defence positions which were still important even though he could outflank them through Austria), then the Czechs would have no means of stopping him from taking the munitions as well. The high probability was that he would win quite quickly on both counts. When Lord Halifax agreed that much could be settled before Hitler's deadline it strengthened the Fuhrer's position greatly, so he applied even more pressure.

But Pius XI was growing more disturbed and he followed his spontaneous address in audience on July 15 with a more considered address to 150 ecclesiastical assistants to the Italian youth movement and Catholic Action on July 21. But while he was very forthright in confronting the question of racism, he still made no direct reference to either Jews or anti-Semitism. He said the spirit which dictated racism and nationalism was "something particularly detestable" with a spirit of separatism and exaggerated nationalism which, "precisely because it is not Christian, ... is ultimately not even human ..." ¹⁷⁰

A MISSION TO PRAGUE

Coinciding with that address, the Daily Herald reported, very simply, that Captain Weidemann, a close friend of Hitler, had made a secret visit to London and had discussions with Halifax at the Foreign Office. However the Manchester Guardian withheld publication of reports from Voigt of German conscription of recruits and of Czech independence being of "vital interest" to Britain because "it looked extremely threatening" and because it was contrary to the government's line on plebiscites.¹⁷¹ Then Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain announced in the House of Commons on July 26 that Lord Runciman, President of the Board of Trade, would go to Prague on August 3 to act as an intermediary between the Czechoslovak government and its Sudeten German minority.¹⁷² The conspiracy of silence left most people wondering why he had been chosen for the task. Although behind-the-scenes negotiations had been in progress from the moment Baron Louis de Rothschild declined to give his blessing for Hitler to take control of Vitkowitz this was the first publicly disclosed move in the game of chess in which Europe was the board, the people of Czechoslovakia were the pawns and the Munich partition plan was a pause for regrouping. Perhaps it was a stalemate before Hitler was left to call Britain's bluff and walk in to claim the prize six months later.

Two days before his announcement to the Commons, on July 24, Chamberlain had instructed the FO not to issue any information on Lord Runciman's negotiations and "mediation" between the Czechoslovakian Government and Germany, and he centralized news flow through Steward at Number 10 Downing Street. At that point, even before Chamberlain advised parliament and although the British press was muzzled, Steward advised the German Embassy that "the British Government was prepared to demand far-reaching sacrifices from Czechoslovakia if only

Germany would adhere to peaceful methods in settling the Czech question.” He also said that “he knew for a certainty that Chamberlain had an intense desire to start conversations on the Czech question ... and the British Government had no interest whatever in Czechoslovakia, other than that the affair should not end in Germany’s using force.”¹⁷³ That ill-considered action – that bungle – that outright lie – was even more devastating than the Halifax-Hitler conversations on November 19, 1937, in the politicking before the Anschluss. Hitler was assured of his next major annexation and relieved of the need to consider any serious negotiations.

The pope’s hands were tied by his concordat with Hitler, and they both knew it, but as the pope’s concern increased so did his determination to inhibit Hitler’s expansionism. He took up the theme of universalism in Catholicism and tried to contrast it with nationalism and racism again on July 28 in an address to two hundred seminarians from the Urban Pontifical College of Propaganda. “Within the human species, there exists a single great human race, universal, catholic, a single great and universal human family, with diverse internal variations,” he said. “Thus the human species is a single race, universal, ‘catholic’, (and) one may therefore wonder how it happens that, unfortunately, Italy needed to imitate Germany. ... Anyone who strikes a blow against Catholic Action strikes a blow against catholic life (and) anyone who strikes Catholic Action strikes the pope.” Then, casting his words beyond his immediate audience, he said: “Be very careful; I advise you not to strike Catholic Action; I urge you not to do it, I beg you not to do it for your own good, because anyone who strikes Catholic Action strikes the pope, and anyone who strikes the pope dies. ... That is true, and history has demonstrated its truth. ...”¹⁷⁴ That declaration may have raised Mussolini’s pulse rate just a trifle although it is doubtful if it bothered Hitler one iota. However what it certainly did was give the world a clear indication of the self-understanding of the Catholic Church and, in particular, that of the pope as the sole representative on earth of the Messiah, the second person of the Triune God.

But Pius XI did not stop at that. He told the seminarians from thirty seven nations that they were all sons of the same mother and of the same family, and that “Propaganda is the true, just, and healthy practice of a racism that corresponds to human dignity and human reality; for human reality is to be men and not wild beasts (and) human dignity is to be a single great family, the human species, the human race ...” Then: “... all men are called to the same light of truth, of good, of Christian charity; all are called to be in their own country, in the nationality peculiar to each of them, in their particular race, the propagators of this great idea which is magnificently maternal and human even before it is Christian ...”¹⁷⁵ In that scenario he did not leave much of a role for Jews – or anyone else other than Catholic Christians for that matter!

Even though he could not bring himself to publicly tackle the Jewish question head-on at that stage, his series of addresses should have left the church in no doubt that the pope had changed direction. However his health was failing, and in anticipation of a change in the papacy the politicking within the Vatican was intensifying, together with efforts to circumvent the revised approach to the Jewish question which he was struggling with. This is quite apparent from the way in which *La Civiltà Cattolica* sought to modify or qualify the pope’s remarks to the

Propaganda seminarians when they were reported, together with the full text of Italy's race manifesto, on July 29. Its unsigned report noted "the remarkable divergence" between Germany's racism and the "theses which are proposed by the Italian 'group of fascist scholars'," and said that this confirmed that Italian Fascism "does not wish to be confused with Nazism or German racism, which is intrinsically and explicitly materialistic and anti-Christian." Then "we cannot and must not minimize or conceal" the important point made by "the scholars" that "the question of racism in Italy must be discussed ... without philosophical or religious intentions" and without "introducing into Italy German theories of racism." "Legitimate fears" have been aroused on the part of "right-thinking people" and "(although) the document we have published in its entirety ... affirms the desire to discuss racism 'from a purely biological point of view' it nevertheless speaks of a 'physical and especially psychological model of the human race,' and disapproves of the 'crossing with any extra-European race that bears a civilization different from the ancient civilization of the Aryans'." Sprinkled liberally with gobbledegook about "conceptual precision and rigorous terminology" which could give the impression that "the authors" wanted to introduce German racism into Italy, the *La Civiltà cattolica* article ended with the condescending note that "we therefore understand all the seriousness of the words of warning uttered by the Holy Father which we have cited above."¹⁷⁶ *Osservatore Romano* published the pope's remarks in the normal way and for the Jesuit press to then seek to reduce their impact and to represent the manifesto in a favourable light was quite extraordinary indeed. It illustrates the extent of the manoeuvring which was underway in the Vatican and the fact that the ailing pope had moved way ahead of the hierarchy which was supposed to do the bidding of the sole representative on earth of the Messiah, the second person of the Triune God.

Up to this time the Sudetens in Czechoslovakia had generally not been demanding either partition or incorporation into Germany. They had been agitating for a better deal and they were about to simply be used by Hitler as a Nazi power base from which to undermine the capacity of President Eduard Benes and his government to resist his demands. It was a re-run of Austria with Konrad Henlein taking the role of Dr Seyss-Inquart as Hitler's mouthpiece. It was Britain, not Hitler or Henlein, who actually introduced the plan to partition Czechoslovakia. Chamberlain had let it be known to British correspondents, prominent political figures and diplomats as early as June 1 that Czechoslovakia was not a viable state, that Britain would not oppose self-determination for its minorities and that plebiscites might be a suitable way of arranging it. The Times took up his theme with almost indecent haste.¹⁷⁷ Hitler and Henlein simply stage-managed the prompting in much the same way that Britain had carried out its Balfour Declaration leaflet drop during the Great War and waited for the response. The British government hoped that partition would publicly satisfy Hitler's long-standing demands for the reunification of all German speaking communities and thereby undermine his capacity to justify and gain public sympathy for a grab of British interests in Czechoslovakia.

Britain did not have the military capacity to stop Hitler if he pressed his demands to the point of invasion, so it simply continued the old imperial trick: if you have to make concessions, give

away a colony or force someone else to concede territory. It was still aiming for a bought peace with someone else paying the price, but with a piece of Europe instead of a piece of Africa.

Chamberlain's policy of appeasement had always been the subject of dispute and it would ultimately bring down his government, and become the butt of increasing criticism, as the world became embroiled in another major war. However in retrospect it was he who had been painted into a corner by the accumulated consequences of the self misunderstanding and actions of the amorphous Christian gel in general and of imperial Britain in particular. World War II was not a consequence of his policy of appeasement. The policy of appeasement had become a necessity because of the deepening trouble in the triangle and there was no way of avoiding it unless the trouble in the triangle was first fully understood. There was neither the time nor the will for the world to work through that as Chamberlain used Czechoslovakia to buy as much time as he could to enable Britain to retain its hold on its Empire. He didn't understand the parody. Neither did anyone else. It just had to be acted out.

RENEWED ARAB REBELLION

The additional two battalions of troops despatched to Palestine from Egypt in July proved insufficient to suppress the renewed Arab rebellion. In line with the understanding between Canaris and the Grand Mufti, weapons began reaching the Arabs in Palestine via Saudi Arabia and Iraq in August and Britain's troubles were steadily being compounded. The Jews in Palestine were receiving aid from Jewish organizations in the United States and the Arabs were receiving aid from Germany. Both were intent on undermining Britain's Middle East policy which had been spawned by self interest at the expense of both groups. The British military command requested a full division from Britain but the War Office refused. Such a commitment would have jeopardized the possibility of the dispatch of the first contingent of a field force to France. The War Office undertook instead to gather units equivalent to a division from India. Lt. Gen. Sir Henry Pownall, then Deputy Secretary to the Committee for Imperial Defence, reflected the general lack of understanding of how the crisis had come about when he agonized over the need to "despatch the half of our meagre land forces to carry out a role of internal security – and internal security in the sense of preventing Arabs and Jews slitting each others throats. If as seems likely Germany (and perhaps Italy) are at the back of this trouble to a large extent then surely it is playing into Germany's hands to despatch forces there ..." ¹⁷⁸ It was actually at about that time that the funds and arms which Canaris had promised the Mufti at their meeting in April began to arrive in Palestine via the neighbouring countries. It was becoming clearer and clearer that, as a consequences of the Balfour Declaration, Palestine had become "a crippling liability for an imperial power already badly extended and under duress" and Britain's global predicament was entering a new phase. ¹⁷⁹

And in spite of La Civilita cattolica's bid to show otherwise, Italian policy was drawing closer and closer to that of Germany, and with each announced shift in policy, the Axis capacity to intervene more directly in North Africa and the Middle East increased. On August 4, Italians

learned from their newspapers that foreign students “of Jewish race” would no longer be admitted into any educational institutions.¹⁸⁰ On the same day China, being pushed back further and further, suggested that joint Anglo-American mediation in the Sino-Japanese war could bring a solution to the Far East crisis. However it appeared that China was looking for an assurance of Anglo-American ‘assistance’ in the event that mediation was rejected by Japan, and Craigie told London, on August 12, that Japan was unlikely to agree to any sort of peace talks until it had captured Hankow, after which the Yangtse River could be reopened for trade.¹⁸¹

So: while the press and the governments of Europe continued their conspiracy of silence with selective reporting of Lord Runciman’s visit to Prague, those who had growing appetites waited for those who controlled the larder to drop the keys to the Vitkowitz cupboards into their laps, and Craigie’s talks in Tokyo dragged on with little progress. At the same time, July-August, 1938, the politicians and military planners in each of Germany, Italy, Britain, France and the United States watched with keen interest for the outcome of a brief clash between Japan and Russia for control of an obscure but strategic hill on the Soviet-Korean border. The small unit of the Imperial Japanese Army quickly showed its superiority over the larger unit of the Soviet Far Eastern Army, but the Japanese government then agreed to an armistice favourable to Russia in order to avoid the incident spiraling into a wider conflict. Whitehall took this to mean that if Britain had maintained a tougher attitude to Japan in the Sino-Japanese War it might not necessarily have led to the backlash which Craigie and others had feared.¹⁸²

And not everything was flowing smoothly for Hitler. His military commanders were unsure how much of his sabre rattling was bluff and how close he was prepared to go towards war. Some of them feared that if he did go to war over Czechoslovakia its allies would intervene and Germany would be crushed. They determined to stop him, organized towards a coup in the event of him ordering an invasion, and sent secret emissaries to brief and to seek help from the British government. Ewald von Kleist-Schmenzin actually met the chief diplomatic adviser to Lord Halifax, Sir Robert Vansittart, on August 18 but when Chamberlain received a report of the plot and Hitler’s plans he rejected it as unrealistic and pressed on with appeasement at other people’s expense.¹⁸³ Next day Kleist-Schmenzin also approached Winston Churchill who was not, then, a member of the government, and was given a letter which, although it had no official standing, was intended to encourage the plotters. The letter shows the extent of the gulf between Churchill and Chamberlain in their attitudes to Hitler and that Churchill either misjudged or deliberately misrepresented the government’s position in his effort to support the plotters’ peace initiative. It reads, in part, “I am sure that the crossing of the frontier of Czechoslovakia by German armies or aviation in force will bring about renewal of the World War”.^{184 185}

Naturally the Czechoslovak government was not at all impressed by Britain’s efforts to force it to cede its defensive fringe territory, with a population of three and a half million people, to Germany, nor with its Pro-Nazi propaganda that the Benes government was maltreating the Sudeten Germans. Britain’s action encouraged other ethnic groups in Czechoslovakia’s composite community to press for self-determination; it undermined the economic stability of

the nation; it threatened the defensive capacity of the Little Entente; and it forced each of those countries to consider closer ties with the Soviet Union. But Britain's options were disappearing before its eyes with every move which either Hitler or the British government took, and as Chamberlain floundered around to buy time he really had little option but to paint Czechoslovakia into the badman's corner if he was to hold Britain's empire intact.

If Britain tried any preemptive action against Hitler it had to succeed absolutely at the first attempt and Chamberlain had already admitted to the French government that Britain did not have the capacity to mount an effective military action. [The fact that it could not send a division of troops to quell the rebellion in Palestine in August had made that painfully clear.] But such an action would automatically break Britain's tenuous grip on the Middle East with its oil supplies as the Arabs sided with Hitler, their ally in their efforts to prevent a Zionist takeover of Palestine. If the Middle East were lost then the Indian subcontinent would be lost too. It would be lost either because of Britain's inability to hold it militarily or by deliberate political decision of its leaders to reject British rule and an upsurge of the rebellious activities of the past decade. Furthermore, because Italy would be with Germany, North and East Africa would also be forfeited. Then there was the problem of the Far East. Japan would take full advantage of British and French preoccupation with Hitler to relieve them of Hong Kong and all of their Southeast Asian possessions, using its Anti-Comintern Pact with Hitler as the justification.

America's position was uncertain and an alliance with Communist Russia was both politically unacceptable and strategically unwise in view of Japan's position in China and, again, the Anti Comintern Pact. But finally there was the problem of the hostages in Vienna, the likelihood of Hitler liquidating them if Britain swooped on him and the incalculable consequences of Hitler's "final solution" being thrust so violently onto world centre stage if he were to do so. That was a factor which Britain could not afford to have injected into the volatile Jewish question in Palestine, irrespective of whether or not they were prepared to let Hitler have his resources prize of Vitkowitz, and he knew it. He must be given credit for a much better grasp of the situation in 1938 than his subordinates. It doesn't really matter whether we credit that grasp to intuition, inspiration or an intimate understanding of the personal and political relationships involved. Those relationships were flowing firmly in his favour. All he had to do was keep the pressure on Britain and the keys to the larder at Vitkowitz, and therefore to much of Europe as well, would fall into his lap.

BRITISH PRESSURE ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA

After the diplomatic farce of Lord Runciman's first "invitation" to Prague, maps of Czechoslovakia were published every few days showing the latest Nazi territorial claims and counter proposals by either Britain or the Commission of Ambassadors appointed to determine both Czechoslovakia's new boundaries and the sequence in which Hitler was to occupy the ceded territories. But while his supposed friend, Chamberlain, flew shuttle between England and Germany and carved up his country over his head, President Benes steadfastly refused to

cede any territory. What was happening was not what Baron Louis de Rothschild had led him to expect would result from greater direct British capital interest in Czechoslovakia. If he wasn't going to get military protection the least he expected was concessions from Britain and the House of Rothschild to enable him to protect the integrity of his country. But after each additional Nazi claim was published the pressure from Britain for President Benes to accept the proposals current at that time increased, with Chamberlain saying that Britain could not accept any responsibility for the fate of Czechoslovakia if Benes would not compromise on the question of self-determination for Sudeten Germans.¹⁸⁶ In any case it could not, it did not intend to try, and Hitler knew that even if Benes did not.

The only way to avoid a conflict of frightening proportions and to move towards an era of community well being and stability was for the key players involved to work systematically through a range of interlinked issues which were being exposed more clearly than ever by the harsh flood light of the parody of *Mein Kampf*: ethnic, interfaith and socio-economic exploitation and conflict. The world was in desperate need of a revised approach to each of these issues but the initiative for a revised approach could only come from within one of the communities involved at the seat of the trouble: Europe. The power brokers of the political and economic systems of the dominant Western countries had no interest at all in revising the system from which they benefited greatly and they were in deep seated conflict with those who wanted to revise it – the National Socialists of Germany, the Fascists of Italy and Spain, the Communists of the Soviet Union, and the non-Western Japanese. Therefore the initiative could only come from somewhere within the totality of the church which was supposed to understand basic issues of human relations and to be able to reflect the will of God as conveyed in the Gospels. And, in turn, the principal part of that church – the Roman Catholic Church with its monolithic structures, its dominant role in the affairs of Europe, and its claim to be the sole representative on earth of the Triune God – was the logical source of the initiative.

However the Roman Catholic Church could not possibly fulfill that role. It was so dogmatically, politically and structurally tied to the powers, the policies and the structures which had to be reviewed, and it was so bitterly antagonistic to each of those who were pushing for the review – except for Hitler and Mussolini to whom it was just as tightly tied by its concordats – that it was totally incapable of either recognizing the task or taking the initiative. This meant the task had to fall to the alternative international body of the church, the World Council of churches which was just then being established from the Reformed, Protestant and Orthodox branches of the church. Could it be established in time? And would it have the will and the capacity to take the necessary initiatives? The world was about to find out. The Life and Work Movement had already committed itself to accept, somewhat reluctantly, the theological basis which Faith and Order required and in doing so enabled the establishment of the Provisional Committee of the WCC. So: while Britain's WASPs (White Anglo-Saxon Protestants) determined the fate of Czechoslovakia on the basis of total imperial self interest, the members of the Continuation Committee of the Faith and Order Movement met in an atmosphere of crisis at Clarens, Switzerland, for three days from August 29 to September 1.

They had the awesome responsibility of deciding whether to adopt the draft constitution of the WCC and therefore, in effect, whether the council could become a unified force capable of taking such an initiative. They probably didn't think of their role in such terms but, in an historical context, that was it. They resolved that with some minor modifications the draft constitution met their requirements and it could therefore be sent to all churches which had been recognized by either the Faith and Order or Life and Work Movements with an invitation to join the new council.

Similarly, it is most unlikely that members of the British Cabinet gave either the meeting in Clarens or a stinging article in *Il Regime fascista* any more than a cursory nod when they were recalled for a special crisis session on August 30 to consider the failure of the Runciman mission to persuade Hitler to accept a plebiscite for the Sudetan Germans. Italy's fascist newspaper noted that morning that: We confess that in both planning and execution. Fascism is far inferior to the rigor of *La Civiltà Cattolica* (and) modern states and societies, including the healthiest and most courageous nations in Europe, Italy and Germany, still have much to learn from the Fathers of the Society of Jesus."¹⁸⁷ The ministers knew that Hitler's demands for the immediate secession of the Sudeten lands to Germany would soon be backed up by military force. He had already said so. Halifax told cabinet that Churchill had proposed a joint note from several powers to Germany but he advised against it because the other powers "would probably ask embarrassing questions" of Britain's intentions concerning Czechoslovakia. Chamberlain added that the policy of "an immediate declaration or threat might well result in disunity, in this country, and in the Empire" and war was not a prospect which the Defence Ministers would view with great confidence. The press was not told of that meeting – except that Chamberlain and Halifax personally briefed their unofficial mouthpiece, Dawson – and next day, August 31, the *Times* reported that "there appears to be no reason to doubt Herr Hitler's own declaration of peaceful aims." Beaverbrook's *Daily Express* followed suit with a banner headline: 'There will be no European War'. Who was trying to mislead who, and why?

That day Ledochowski wrote the first of two letters on consecutive days to LaFarge, who was desperately trying to finish *Humani Generis Unitas* so that he could deliver it to Rome in time to board a ship for the United States on September 24. In the first, he encouraged LaFarge to go home earlier and discouraged him from visiting Rome. In the second, dated September 1, he said: "Good news! I am authorized to inform you that you may, after finishing your work, leave immediately for America. Please be so good as to deliver your work to Fr. Desbuquois and ask him to send it to me by a secure route. Later, on the basis of the comments we receive, we will make the necessary revisions."¹⁸⁸ By whom was he authorized? Ledochowski, as head of the Jesuit order, could surely give LaFarge any instructions which related to his work for the order, but Pope Pius XI had personally given LaFarge his instructions relating to the encyclical. Was Ledochowski implying that he had discussed the matter with the pope? If he were not, then he could surely have issued instructions on his own authority without implying delegated authority from anyone. LaFarge therefore had good reason to ponder the fate of the anti-racist encyclical. Could Ledochowski be about to water down the thrust of his work to take the

pressure off both Mussolini and Hitler? The Italian ministerial council issued a decree, that very day, that non-Aryan foreigners resident in Italy, the empire and its colonial possessions since January 1, 1919, must leave within six months and those who had acquired Italian citizenship during that time would be stripped of it. They followed it next day with a further decree that teachers and academics of "non-Aryan race" would be struck from the rolls six weeks later. LaFarge expressed his concerns in a letter to his immediate superior in New York, Fr. Talbot, on September 18 and subsequently ignored the letter from Ledochowski.¹⁸⁹

RUSSIA'S THREE-POWER PLAN

The Soviet Union certainly did not share the Times confidence about Hitler's peaceful intentions or his alliance with Italy. It was anxious to examine with Britain and France various means of defending Czechoslovakia against German attack. On September 2, while the Italian government was organizing the expulsion of its Jews, the Soviet ambassador, Ivan Maisky, drove to Chartwell to tell Churchill that the Soviet Government wished to invoke Article II of the League of Nations Covenant, under which the League Powers were obliged to consult together if war was imminent. Churchill sent Halifax an account of the Russian Ambassador's approach, encouraging the government to take up the proposal. But as it was actively encouraging Hitler to go east, it certainly did not want to interfere with the Anti-Comintern Pact between Germany, Japan and Italy, and cabinet did not want to get involved with the big Communist power, it declined to respond and Halifax advised Churchill of that on September 5.

That evening, having issued instructions that if Harold Nicolson strayed too close to the facts in his live-to-air BBC broadcast on Czechoslovakia he was to be faded, Halifax dined with Dawson to 'consider' a Times editorial which would gauge public reaction to the Runciman report. The result was a notorious editorial on September 6 stating that "It might be worthwhile for the Czechoslovak government to consider whether they should exclude altogether the project, which has found favour in some quarters, of making Czechoslovakia a more homogenous state by the secession of that fringe of alien populations who are contiguous to the nation with which they are unified by race." It then returned to its theme of plebiscites for all of Czechoslovakia's minorities and, in effect, called for the dismemberment of the nation. And to help make the cut-up appear respectable on the well-trodden ground of race it added "...there was satisfaction that in London and other capitals there was a growing volume of opinion that after all that has happened Sudeten Germans and Czechs cannot be expected to continue living together in the same country."¹⁹⁰ [Emphasis added.] The Times had thus surrendered its independence and placed itself at the disposal of Chamberlain and Halifax to circumvent not only the Foreign Office but also large sections of his own cabinet and the Conservative Party. In doing so it had helped to highlight the absolute hypocrisy of Britain's policies in India and in many other countries. But it also provided a precedent, or a justification, for territorial realignment and changes of governance wherever communities of mixed ethnic background found themselves living together for whatever reason, whether historic population movements

or contemporary pressures – especially Palestine. The Foreign Office immediately issued a denial that the Times editorial reflected government policy and told the government that it was a calamity. Then when Maisky called to express his concern Halifax simply referred him to the FO's denial.

Later that day, in Rome, Pius XI met “pilgrims” in a touring party organized by Belgian Catholic Radio. In his address he dealt with the international crisis. The nature of his address raises the possibility that he was aware of the Times report when he improvised a portion of it. Whether he was or not we might never know. However he focused on the prayer used “at the most solemn moment in the (Catholic) Mass, after the Consecration, when the divine Victim is actually offered.” He referred to “... Abel's sacrifice, the Adamic age; Abraham's sacrifice, the age of Israel's religion and its prodigious history; Melchizedek's sacrifice, the anticipation of the Christian religion and its age.” The “awe-inspiring text” moved him irresistibly, he said. “Note that Abraham is called our patriarch, our ancestor. Anti-Semitism is not compatible with the thought and the sublime realization expressed in this text. It is a deplorable movement, a movement in which we, as Christians, must have no part.” Then, unable to control his emotions, he wept as he read from Paul's letter to the Galatians. “The promises were made to Abraham and his offspring,” he said, and “the text does not say, as St. Paul remarks, ‘to his offsprings, referring to many, but to his offspring, referring to one, which is Christ.’ The promises are realized in Christ and by Christ, in us who are parts of his mystical body. By Christ and in Christ, we are the spiritual offspring of Abraham. No, it is not possible for Christians to take part in anti-Semitism. We recognize that anyone has the right to defend himself, to take steps to protect himself against anything that threatens his legitimate interests. But anti-Semitism is inadmissible. We are spiritually Semites.”¹⁹¹ The pope did not specifically refer to the expanding range of so-called ‘defensive’ legislation discriminating against Jews in Italy and elsewhere under Nazi pressure; this was the last time he spoke publicly and so directly on the issue, and, significantly, although the complete text was published in the Vatican documentary service and in Belgium, the Catholic press in Italy did not quote his remarks at all. They had “no official character.” In other countries press quotations were usually limited to the words: “We are spiritually Semites.”¹⁹² Clearly the pope was out of step with the prevailing tone within the Vatican. Just how far out of step would become apparent from an article published in *La Civiltà cattolica* two weeks later.

BRITAIN'S PERILOUS POSITION

In Washington that same day, the acting head of the British mission made an extraordinary admission to officials of the State Department about Britain's weakened position, in a bid to justify its pressure on Czechoslovakia. It was becoming clearer, he said, that the dominions were becoming isolationist, and there would be no sense in “fighting a war which would break the British Empire” while trying to ensure the safety of the United Kingdom.¹⁹³

Then in mid-September Britain admitted being unable to supply aircraft and replacement parts for the Australian air force and thus pushed Australia further towards dependence on the US and away from the Imperial Preference Scheme.¹⁹⁴ That admission had widespread repercussions because Australia and New Zealand were already fearful that Britain would not be able to defend Singapore, thus exposing them to the possibility of an invasion by Japan. The new situation, coupled with the British Government's unwillingness to commit battleships to the defence of the region because depletion of the Mediterranean fleet, would, they feared, encourage Mussolini to further adventures. That fear led the future Prime Minister, Robert Menzies, to plead with Chamberlain to persuade France to surrender Tunis and Djibouti to Italy "to keep Mussolini quiet."¹⁹⁵ Coming after his call for Czechoslovakia to be forced to make territorial concessions so that Australia might not be required to surrender New Guinea back to Germany, that plea demonstrated that Australia was adopting the worst of European colonial attitudes towards buying peace by trading other people and their territory as pawns. 'Independence' and 'self determination' were simply terms to be mouthed for one's own convenience, not principles to be acted upon.

But at this point a bit of a delay in Benes' acceptance of the proposals for disemboweling Czechoslovakia didn't really bother Hitler. He had a lot of unlikely 'friends' pushing his case for him. At each stage of the play the border of the areas to be ceded crept closer and closer to Ostrava and his strategic objective, Vitkowitz. He was being portrayed by Chamberlain and his press lackeys, who would later turn on him with the strongest of invectives, as a tolerant leader whose legitimate claims were being rejected and who was naturally getting irritable as the Czechs tested his patience. Up to that time Chamberlain had been successful in keeping the issues of Hitler's annexations and the future of Palestine quite separate in the public mind through his conspiracy of silence, but the events of mid-September brought them together so violently that it is quite amazing that he could continue with that policy.

TWIN DECISIONS: PALESTINE AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

According to Lord Bethell, the Colonial Secretary, Malcolm MacDonald, "was in regular contact with Weizmann, Ben Gurion, Elliott, Baffy Dugdale and other Zionists",¹⁹⁶ and they were well briefed on government policy and decisions. In view of the circumstances it would be remarkable if a member of the House of Rothschild was not either regularly a part of the group or briefed by them. MacDonald told the group on September 15 that he still favoured the partition of Palestine. But on that day Chamberlain decided to fly to Berlin to see Hitler. It was a sudden decision taken because it seemed that war might be avoided if Britain and France abandoned their pledges to Czechoslovakia. Next day, September 16, the day that Chamberlain met Hitler for their first personal meeting on the Czech crisis, Beaverbrook wrote to Halifax to assure him that "the newspapers" were all anxious to help him and the Prime Minister but they needed "guidance". He therefore suggested the delegation of a minister "authorized to have direct contact with the newspaper proprietors individually and personally ... as

great benefits would flow from the decision.” Beaverbrook also contacted the PM and suggested that Hoare be the minister assigned. Hoare began daily briefings immediately.

Two days later Chamberlain’s inner cabinet and the French met to consider Czechoslovakia and decided to tell Benes to cede the Sudetenland to Germany. The level of secrecy which the proprietors had agreed to meant that the public was not aware of the pressure placed on Benes, neither were the majority of politicians, and it was generally assumed that the Czech government was a willing participant in the dismembering of its own country.¹⁹⁷ Then on September 19, four days after his previous meeting with them, MacDonald spent the evening with Weizmann, Ben Gurion and Baffy Dugdale, briefing them on the situation. Lord Bethell quotes Dugdale as saying at the end of the evening: “They are going to sell the Jews also, give up partition, for fear of the Arabs and the Germans and the Italians ... We are all stunned. Ben Gurion’s first reaction and mine was that the Jews will fight, physically, rather than go back to the mandate as it will be. Chaim (Weizmann) said nothing much.”^{198 199} Weizmann was probably reflecting on his discussions with Coupland and the need to maintain disharmony between Jews and Arabs in order to achieve their objective.

This is very clear confirmation that the decision to renege on the promise of the partition of Palestine to provide for a Jewish State – that is, to renege on the Balfour Declaration – was taken in desperation in the heat of negotiations with Hitler in the ‘Munich Round’. It was intended to placate Hitler, to reduce the likelihood of further rebellion in Palestine, and to reduce the prospects of even closer relations between Hitler and the Arab countries. The motive was to enable Britain to maintain control over the channels of communication with its empire to the east and to maintain control over the resources of the region. It was effectively the same motive as that which led Britain to issue the Balfour Declaration a mere twenty one years earlier. There was only a slight difference. The first decision was to gain control of the focal point of the trouble in the triangle. The second was to maintain control. But in order to maintain the conspiracy of silence which was necessary to isolate the crisis in Europe from the crisis in the Middle East the decision could not be announced immediately.

In fact both Hitler and Mussolini – and Chamberlain and his appeasers also – were getting very strong encouragement from the Jesuit press in Italy. On September 22, *La Civiltà Cattolica* carried an article by one of its editors, Fr. Enrico Rosa, which purported to refute Il Regime fascista’s attack on it by defending the “truth” of an article published in 1890 which had been turned against the church. The real effect, and one must presume the real intention also, of his ‘defence’ was to defend a segregationist solution to “the Jewish problem.” He claimed that the contemporary church, like its predecessors, absolutely insisted on “showing justice and charity towards Jews ... while at the same time being convinced that they will not do the same toward us.” He noted the persecutions which the Jews “have unleashed or promoted in the past, in concert with the freemasons, to whom they have lent powerful support, as well as with other subversive and anti-Christian groups, particularly from the ‘great’ French Revolution up to our own time.” In yet another pathetic misrepresentation of reality he said the church has never and

will never act towards them in the same way, and its actions were “only to prevent them from doing harm, and to protect others from their omnipotence, and that for the common good, particularly the moral and religious good, as well as for the salvation of the Jews themselves.” He then quoted large slabs of the earlier article,²⁰⁰ “conceding” that it said: “If the Jews are on our soil, they have not come to it innocently, but rather in order to take it away from us Christians, or to plot against our faith,” since ultimately “they are an enemy whose goal is to appropriate our land and deprive us of heaven.” But a remedy such as “expulsion of Jews as foreigners” ... would not be possible in a generalized way, especially if it had to be applied in all civilized countries; “indeed it would contravene God’s plan,” which requires the preservation of Israel, even though it is dispersed, as a “concrete argument for the truth of Christianity.”

Rosa also quoted from his predecessor’s articles that: “... the popes have always kindly authorized residence in their city, and this wandering people, even though it could have abstained from going there ... (has described Rome as) ... the paradise of the Jews.” Then later: “And yet neither the Church nor any Catholic leader of the people or Catholic government – that is, those who have had to suffer most because of the Jews – have, currently or over the past fifty years, taken any violent measure of reprisal or combat against the Jews, in spite of their omnipotence. These violent measures have been carried out, just recently, by Protestant and Nazi Germany, and earlier, by Czarist Russia, and then by communist and internationalist Russia, whose revolution nevertheless owed a great deal to the Jews, as is well known and as our periodical has shown.” And the punch line: “But whatever might be its defects of style and form, they do not affect the power of the reasoning, nor, consequently, the value of the conclusions.” [Emphasis added.] As if to further justify those conclusions, in the second part of his article Rosa attributed the “anti-Catholic trend” of the Risorgimento (chapter 15) and the “degeneration of its initial inspiration, which was fundamentally Christian in origin” to the role played by the Jews.²⁰¹

Rosa was attempting to ‘white wash’ the brutal and degrading conduct of the Roman Catholic Church over many centuries, as already traced, and to deflect responsibility onto the Protestant and Orthodox churches and powers of Europe and Russia. Certainly he was right that the focus of anti-Jewish brutality had shifted from Catholic Europe to Orthodox Russia during the fifty years which he covered in that claim, from 1188 forward. However that period included the publication of the article which he was defending (1890); the entire Dreyfus Affair (1894–1906); the election and conduct of Karl Lueger, the head of the anti-Semitic Christian Social Party, as mayor of Vienna (1897); the Vatican’s vigorous efforts to prevent a British Zionist mandate in Palestine (from 1918); the deliberate inciting of anti-Semitic policies by the spreading of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion and the publication of blatantly anti-Semitic material in the Catholic press from that date; the Vatican’s collaboration in Nazi anti-Jewish programs during and after negotiations for the Reich Concordat (from 1933); Poland’s pogroms and anti-Jewish legislation (1936–37); and Romanian and Italian anti-Jewish legislation (1938). But in addition, the effect of his writing was to implicate the entire Christian church in the basic

anti-Semitic policies which the other wings had inherited from the Catholic Church, and he showed pride rather than remorse in the efforts of the Jesuit press to 'expose' the misconduct of the Jewish community which, in his view, deserved and precipitated such retaliatory treatment. This was hardly the response which Pius XI was entitled to expect following his instruction in July that the Jesuit press was to cease its anti-Semitic raving. But, even worse, it was in total contradiction of both the thrust of the pope's address to the Belgian pilgrims on September 6 and his instructions to LaFarge on the preparation of an anti-racism encyclical. Rosa and those with whom he was collaborating in the Vatican were treating the pope's new direction on the Jewish question with contempt. The weight of opinion and self-understanding within the Vatican was demonstrating a momentum, or inertia, of its own.

However, at this point Chamberlain's conspiracy of silence began to crack as some of the British newspaper proprietors personally realized – assisted (it is reasonable to assume) by either Hoare or some of the people at MacDonald's briefing – that Hitler's demands were unrealistic and on September 23 Halifax cabled to Chamberlain who was in Germany for further talks with Hitler that public opinion was hardening, that Hitler was expected to make concessions, and that there could be no more demands without war. In spite of that a further demand – the 'Godesberg Ultimatum' – was received two days later, on September 25, just six days before Hitler's invasion deadline of October 1. Chamberlain promptly transmitted it to Benes with, it seems, an assumption that the Czech president would accept it. It greatly increased the area to be ceded by October 1 and introduced the idea of a plebiscite, to be held before November 25, to determine the fate of additional areas, including Vitkowitz. This brought the Foreign Office into open conflict with Chamberlain. Leeper released a communiqué, with Halifax' approval, saying that Russia may join the Anglo-French Alliance in defence of Czechoslovakia if Germany invaded. In view of Chamberlain's previous rejection of Russian overtures for a joint approach the release was seen as treasonable by the PM's office. Pressure was increased for the removal of Leeper and the closure of the news department ... and the Times did not publish the release.

MUNICH: THE LAST ACT

Next evening, September 26, Hitler addressed a crowd packed into the Berlin Sportspalast. In a sustained, vitriolic attack on President Benes – the "betrayers of civilization" and traitors, the tyrants, the aggressors, the enemies of the German people and "the tools of foreign perfidy" – he told the world that the fate of Czechoslovakia was already sealed but that Britain and France might understand him or even sympathize with him. LaFarge, having ignored Ledochowski's instructions and travelled to Rome to deliver the draft of *Humani Generis Unitas*, listened to the broadcast speech together with Ledochowski and all of the clergy at the general curia of the Jesuits. LaFarge was horrified. His bones "quaked" at the terrific rumbling roar of "Sieg Heil!" from the audience as the passion in Hitler's voice died down and rose again, "but Father General's attentive face and eager form remained

impassive.” The speech over, Ledochowski rose abruptly to leave, but turned and said to the clergy: “Don’t worry, there will be no war.”²⁰²

The Czechoslovak Government continued to resist. The British cabinet held a series of crisis meetings, and the fleet was mobilized on September 27. Next day Hitler invited the leaders of Britain, France and Italy to discuss with him a solution to the problem. They met on September 29 in a torrid conference, hastily arranged in Munich, lacking organization, in which there were constant interruptions, and at which no minutes were recorded. Agreement was reached in the early hours of the morning of September 30. Hitler and Mussolini then departed and left the British and French leaders to hand Czechoslovakia the Munich Agreement, *fait accompli*, later that morning.²⁰³ Hitler had made one or two concessions but he got basically what he wanted: German troops occupied the Sudetenland on October 1, the day that LaFarge left Rome for the US after delivering the draft anti-racism encyclical which Pius XI regarded as a top priority. Hitler was supremely confident that the plebiscite areas would be in his hands by the end of November and he was content to allow an international force to occupy them until the plebiscites. Shocked, President Benes could only accede to the arrangement and resign a few days later. The British government agreed to some cash advances to soften the blow and to help the Czech Government through a few of its problems. The Zionist leaders determined to push for Palestine with even greater vigour. If their people were to be forced to leave Czechoslovakia then the least they could expect was a home in Palestine if the rest of the world didn’t want them, and Evian had made that quite clear several months earlier.

In fact, as Churchill pointed out in his memoirs, Hitler had reason to be well satisfied with Munich. It had saved him from the need to decide whether to order an invasion of Czechoslovakia for which his own generals maintained the German army was not prepared and, in doing so, it cut the ground from under the feet of the group of military and churchmen who would have attempted a coup if he had ordered an invasion. Hitler’s judgement had been vindicated and the German general staff were abashed. The best they could do was recognize that his leadership was being very beneficial for Germany and, as patriots longing to see the Fatherland regain a place in the sun, fall in behind him. The coup conspiracy was abandoned – for the time being at least. Hitler – a product of the amorphous Christian gel and a self-proclaimed servant of the Lord at the centre of the trouble in the triangle – was undisputed political and military master of Germany.²⁰⁴

The British Government was caught on the back foot. Its conspiracy of silence, just a little weakened, camouflaged the fact that Palestine had become basic to every strand of Britain’s foreign policy. The government could not shout it from the rooftop. The consequences for an imperial power which did so, with half a dozen competitors baying at its heels and with its major subject peoples pressing for relief, would be swift and catastrophic. To admit such an Achilles’ heel would be to invite every other power to raise an arrow in readiness. And to admit such a thing would also invite the question “how did we get into this mess?”. The answer would automatically lead back to the Balfour Declaration and people would start to pry into motives and causes. Eventually they wouldn’t be satisfied with the set piece answer that Britain had

shown its gratitude to Dr Weizmann for his development of synthetic acetone, even if most people had accepted that story without question for twenty years.²⁰⁵ Where would it all stop? Everyone who had been involved in the decision would come under scrutiny: politicians, business interests and even the church.

From Britain's point of view, the less that people knew, the easier it was to maintain national security, and the high level of ignorance was therefore running in Britain's favour. Only the best informed people close to the centre of government action or the manipulation in the Middle East realized how delicately balanced Britain's situation was. Even among those there were many who did not grasp the full implications. Britain's Ambassador to Egypt, Miles Lampson, illustrated this when he wrote to the Foreign Office that unless Jewish immigration ceased Britain might soon have to take on the Arabs as well as the Italians and Germans. "What would our position then be in the Middle East? ... Can't the Jews themselves realize that it is suicidal for Jewry to weaken Great Britain so perilously in the face of the obvious dangers that threaten? One would have thought that a man of Weizmann's intelligence would have seen that quick enough. It's such an obvious truth".²⁰⁶

Perhaps Weizmann could see the perils for both Britain and European Jewry with equal clarity. Perhaps that's why he was making almost superhuman efforts, in conjunction with American Jewry, to entice the US government into a firm anti-Nazi policy. He certainly was not ignorant. He was among the best informed people and, in the same way that he had actually helped draft the Balfour Declaration during the Great War, he was as close to the centre of the action as it was possible to get. Lloyd George had given a clear indication of his influence when he told the Palestine Royal Commission in 1937 that "The Zionist leaders gave us a definite promise that if the Allies committed themselves in giving facilities for the establishment of a national home for the Jews in Palestine, they would do their best to rally Jewish sentiment and support throughout the world to the Allied cause. They kept their word."²⁰⁷ Weizmann's position had not changed.

The fact that people did not grasp was that by using Zionist aspirations to serve its own ends, Britain had put the Jewish community into the position in which its people had a definite, identifiable, conflict of national interests. They owed allegiance to their country of birth or residence. But from the moment of the Balfour Declaration they also owed allegiance to Britain as the sponsor of a National Homeland. If they lived in a country which did not support the concept of a Jewish National Homeland, or in a country which was in conflict with Britain, then their conflict of interest became more real and of personal consequence. With their allegiances being tugged in two directions they could be accused of being a fifth column – like the Catholics in Indochina at the time of Napoleon III or like other people who retain dual nationality.

SO: WHAT OF THE CHURCHES?

The church – in toto – which had provided the theological and doctrinal basis for the White Christian Western self-understanding, and which had underpinned the British Imperial self-understanding as well, was so fragmented, in such disarray, so uncertain and so dependent upon the states to which its fragments were now attached that it was in no position to influence constructively either the course of events over-all, or the conduct of the states to which they clung. On one hand the reigning pope, Pius XI, had reconsidered his position and had moved quite decisively to dampen the deeply entrenched anti-Semitism emanating from the Vatican, but he was in failing health, he was losing his grip on affairs very quickly, and he could not carry the Vatican hierarchy with him. On the other hand the Ecumenical Movement had reached a critical stage in its evolution but it had not reached the stage at which its institutional ‘face’, the embryonic World Council of Churches, could exercise any real influence because it had neither the cohesion, the confidence or the resources.

As Hitler gained confidence in his new alliance with Mussolini – and in the fact that they both enjoyed concordats with the Vatican – and as he began to rattle his colonial sabres more loudly the noise was enough to awaken the great Christian leaders in Britain and France who dashed off to Munich to find out what it was all about. Those great Christian leaders then went home waving pieces of paper to show that they were still masters of the technique of giving away other people and their country to protect their own interests. In order to ensure and to maintain a powerful buffer between themselves and Bolshevik Russia, and also on the understanding that Hitler would keep his colonial eyes turned east, (as he had suggested would be necessary in *Mein Kampf*), they agreed to the Sudetan land of Czechoslovakia being ceded to Germany without a plebiscite or even a quick reference to the League of Nations. They couldn't afford to refer the crisis to the League of Nations. The questions raised would have been too embarrassing and the responses very unpalatable.

Thus, at the time of Munich, the amorphous Christian gel was looking decidedly sloppy and the prime ingredients of racial misunderstanding, religious misunderstanding, and political and economic influence made the Jewish question ever more confused as Baron Louis de Rothschild played cat and mouse with his Nazi jailers and the parody of *Mein Kampf* came into play in earnest.

The conspiracy of silence on Britain's dire predicament because of her conflict of interests in the Middle East and the manipulation of the question of ethnic language and identity in Czechoslovakia were such that the British public generally could not see the Munich Agreement as either a surrender to force or a desperate bid to avoid a crisis of major proportions for the empire. It was presented as “a triumph of morality.”²⁰⁸ It has been described as “a triumph for all that was best and most enlightened in British life and for those who preached equal justice,” and it has been justified as redressing the offence caused by the World War I settlement at Versailles under which three million Germans were subjected to Czech rule, and not “merely a triumph for selfish or cynical British statesmen.”²⁰⁹ Several members of the Commons as well

as the Lords, and even the head of the Foreign Office, Sir Alexander Cadogan, said the public would support the government's decisions if it had a moral position to justify it.²¹⁰ What he could have said was that they would support the government if they were prevented from knowing any better, and if they could be persuaded that it was in their interests to do so.

Over the years many and varied assessments have been argued about the significance of Munich for the course of WWII. Some have said it enabled a desperately under-prepared Britain to buy time to build up its capacity to wage war against Hitler – primarily by building up its air force between September 1938 and the outbreak of war in 1939. Others have claimed, however, that just as Britain had time to prepare, so did Hitler. Moreover, allowing Hitler to get Czechoslovakia without a fight, the Munich negotiators enabled him to avoid using his own forces, still developing, against what was, at the time, Europe's second largest and best equipped standing army.²¹¹ In spite of being able to out flank the forward Czech defences by moving through Austria, Germany would definitely not have found a full scale invasion of Czechoslovakia an easy job, and Hitler's Generals knew that very well. Its Skoda munitions factories at Pilsen were the best in all of Europe, and in league with the Little Entente it could have held out for quite some time. At the very least it would have meant significant losses for the German armed forces and a serious setback to Hitler's long term plans. In addition, Britain and France could have opened a front in the West, thus dividing Germany's forces. Poland would very likely have joined in as well. At that stage, moreover, Russia had not been taken out of the picture by its pact with Germany, and it would also have been likely to support the allies.

As it was, handing Czechoslovakia to Hitler meant he was free to pick off Poland a year later. If he had been confronted at Munich, the pact with Russia would not have eventuated. Poland would not have been divided between Germany and Russia, and Hitler could not have launched his successful offensive against the West untroubled by the possibility of a second front in the East. Moreover million's of Poland's Jews would not have come under Hitler's control. In this respect, Munich played a significant part in paving the way for the Holocaust.

However, this ignores the existence of the other threats to Britain's interests: Japan and Italy. War in Europe in 1938 could well have encouraged attacks from both quarters. The threat from these quarters in 1938 was essentially no different than it was a year later when war in Europe did break out. Some commentators have said it may have been worse. The situation in Europe certainly was. What had changed was the situation in the Middle East. This is a factor that is usually ignored by commentators on Munich. In September 1938, during the height of the Munich negotiations, the Arab Revolt in Palestine was also at its height. Desperate pleas were being forwarded to London for reinforcement of the Palestine Garrison to quell the rebellion and to stabilise the situation. Britain's continued hold on the region, crucial to its plans for Imperial Defence, was under real threat if war broke out. It is no coincidence that the Peel Plan for partition was quietly abandoned, without an immediate announcement being made, during Munich. With the partition plan officially still on the table, the likelihood was that a declaration of war against Germany over Czechoslovakia would have aggravated hostility within the Arab states towards Britain. As it was, two of those states, Syria and Iraq, rose against Britain in

1940/41 and attempted to ally themselves with Germany. Britain stopped them only by the skin of her teeth.

Certainly others factors changed in the intervening period. Public opinion, so carefully manipulated by Chamberlain prior to Munich, soon turned against the policy of appeasement when Hitler's subsequent actions in dismembering Czechoslovakia revealed his true intentions. When Poland's turn came, it was, for many, a case of 'thus far and no further.' Britain could not be seen to abandon yet another ally in its hour of need without perhaps irreparable damage to her international reputation and standing. Nevertheless, even Chamberlain's declaration of support for Poland and the eventually declaration of war against Germany was not made without considerable political pressure, and he struggled until the very last to find a way short of war to save the situation for Britain.

In the final analysis, therefore, the question of Palestine was one among many factors affecting the decisions of the time. Yet it was a crucial one. Its significance cannot be ignored. The fact must be faced that it was possibly the vital factor which determined Chamberlain's decision to force Czechoslovakia's fate at Munich. If Palestine had not been an issue, if the British Government had felt just a little bit less uncomfortable about the security of its Empire, the decision at Munich could have been different. As it was, the decision was on a knife edge. Historians have revealed that the British Cabinet almost forced a confrontation with Hitler on the issue, in spite of Chamberlain's manipulative policies. If Britain had felt confident enough in her empire's security to confront Hitler at Munich instead of buckling under pressure, events that led to the Holocaust would surely have taken a very different course.

There is no certainty, however, that the Holocaust could have been avoided. The path to it would simply have been different. To avoid it required Britain, as one of the key players in the parody of *Mein Kampf*, to recognize the consequences of the long-standing policies and actions it had pursued on the basis of its Christian self-understanding, then to change direction substantially. That was not likely to happen in the circumstances because it could only happen if the church understood the nature of the trouble in the triangle and recognized the validity of prophecy transmitted through its two partners in the triangle subsequent to the dawning of the Christian Era and as a consequence of the self-understanding and actions of the church and its amorphous Christian gel which we have traced. And that brings us back to the point we have noted previously. The church's self-understanding was so deeply entrenched that it could not grasp the reality of the triangle and yet the acceptance of that reality was a prerequisite to a change in the attitudes and policies of the powers in the amorphous Christian gel. It has become clear from subsequent events that only substantial external pressure would lead to the reassessment and the understanding of the reality which was required.

Therefore, whether there is a primary causal connection between events in Palestine and the Munich decision is, in another sense, irrelevant. The matter calls for serious reflection in the light of the Qur'anic Night Journey and the church's ongoing reluctance to recognize the divinely inspired ministry of the Prophet Muhammad. Prophecy is itself evidence of a power

that affirms God's influence on events in ways beyond the normal course of temporal cause and effect. Who is to place a limit on God's power? The validity of revealed prophecy does not rely on evidence or the demonstration of cause and effect in its fulfilment. The church has never sought to demonstrate a cause and effect relationship between Hebrew prophecy of the coming of a Messiah and the birth of Jesus of Nazareth. It simply accepts that such prophecy was divinely inspired. Neither does the fact that a prophecy remains unfulfilled over a long period make it invalid. The validity of prophecy revealed during the peak of the Hebrew Prophetic Era was usually recognized within a short period or a few generations and observers were able to relate recorded prophecy to particular historical events. But the relatively prompt fulfillment and recognition of prophecy during that phase of human history serves only to demonstrate the reality of divine revelation and divinely inspired prophecy. No more. No less. It certainly does not define or delineate prophecy nor determine through whom God may or will transmit or reveal any truth. To suggest that it does, merely shows that we do not grasp that Divine Authority is absolute and limitless, and is a presumptuous attempt to prescribe God within the limits of our own comprehension.

Christians anticipate Christ's return on the basis of prophecy and they anticipate an era of great consequence from their reading of the Revelation of John. In expressing that belief and that anticipation they are stating their belief that prophecy may remain unfulfilled over a long period and yet eventually be fulfilled and confirmed. They therefore have no basis on which to claim that a prophecy transmitted through another channel with which they are uncomfortable (because it challenges their belief) is not valid and divinely inspired. If a prophecy is dependent upon a particular condition, as in the case of the Night Journey, and that condition never occurs, then the prophecy will remain unfulfilled for eternity.

Regardless of that, Christians will look for evidence of the validity of prophecy, and where it involves a matter of judgement of their own conduct they will be reluctant to accept its validity until they have irrefutable evidence. Therefore those Christians who have been taught and have accepted as fact that Muhammad could not have been a divinely inspired Prophet because he was within a rogue stream outside the approved faith are bound to look for some validation of his role as a true Messenger of God and of the key Qur'anic prophetic pronouncements. In the seventh century, while the Jews were a stateless and dispersed people, the Prophet noted that twice they had transgressed as a people, and twice they had been scourged, and then made the incredible pronouncement that if they again transgressed, as a people, they would be scourged a third time. In Palestine, in the first half of the 20th century, 1300 years after Mohammed's prophetic pronouncement, the Jewish people, as represented by Zionism, had transgressed against the majority population of Palestine – their neighbours – as a result of the pressure which they had been placed under by the church, but at the time of Munich they had not yet suffered the full impact of the scourging. Therefore those Christians and their church saw no reason to give the matter a second thought. It is of no significance in an understanding of the validity of the prophecy that the majority of the neighbours were followers of the third stream of faith, Islam, which had grown around the mission of the Prophet. In a practical sense it may

have acted as a distraction from seeking to understand it, because many Christians would have reacted like the British Minister in Cairo, Charles Bateman, who wrote that the Arab Muslims and the Jews were "each as loathsome as the other," quarreling in Palestine in a manner that brought nothing but abuse from 'both sides and which was like an incurable disease for which the only possible treatment was opium to reduce the pain.²¹² It was hardly an atmosphere in which to think seriously about prophecy. It may have been easier for Christians to relate to the situation if the people living in the area had been either totally irreligious or if Christians for whom they felt sympathy were in the majority. However, the religious background of the people would have made no real difference. They would have been simply 'the neighbours.' The prophecy still stood.

And then there was that other matter of unfulfilled prophecy. Maimonides' expectation that the state of Israel would be reestablished in association with a war of Gog and Magog. But few Christians wanted to talk about that either. It was another embarrassment. Another challenge. The Jews had been cast out and only existed to confirm the role of the church. The church said so. In any case, Britons might ask: "What did that have to do with Munich?" The two issues were not connected. Were they? Surely not. Neither the British government nor the church talked about them in the same breath. Surely they would have, if there was any connection."

The policy of appeasement was naturally strengthening Hitler's hand. It was also contributing to Britain's inability to reach an accord with Russia over the containment of Germany, and it therefore encouraged an accord between Russia and Germany. That in turn would release Hitler's attention and energy for other enterprises, but in so doing it would force the Jewish community (as opposed to the Zionist Organization) into greater dependence on Britain. That dependence would relieve the pressure on Britain from the Zionist Organization, at least for the time being, and it would tend to further submerge the basic challenge behind the Balfour Declaration in a morass of complex relationships and vested interests. No one had anticipated the complex interaction which had been triggered by the conflicts of interest to which the world was subjected because of Britain's manipulation of the Balfour Declaration. But the plot was still unfolding and it would become more involved. The Zionist Organization had said "It's time for Jerusalem now!" But Britain had said "No! We mustn't risk an empire!" And the Jewish community was not the only one which was transgressing against its neighbours. Britain and the other European colonial powers had been transgressing against their neighbours – against both the Jewish community and the people of the colonies – for a very long time. Now Britain, which had sponsored the Balfour Declaration out of self-interest, was sponsoring another major transgression against more of its neighbours out of continuing self-interest: the people of Czechoslovakia. The parody of *Mein Kampf* was in full flight. The question was: how long could the trouble in the triangle be held in check, and how long could the Zionist demands generated by the misconduct of the amorphous gel of the Christian West be suppressed? After Munich there was not long to wait to find the answers. The Scourge was on the prowl.

Volume III

NO. WE MUSTN'T RISK AN EMPIRE

Part 5

THERE MUST BE A FINAL SOLUTION

CHAPTER 22

GOG AND MAGOG GO TO WAR

After Munich, Europe puddled its way towards Christmas 1938 through a quagmire of shattered human and community relationships. Baron Louis de Rothschild whiled away the tedious hours of his political imprisonment in Vienna lecturing his twenty-four “Grenadier Guards” on geology and botany,¹ and the British government spearheaded efforts to find new ways to appease or to contain Hitler and to hold together its strife-torn empire. However correspondence and personal exchanges between ministers, described by numerous historians and people such as Eden and Churchill who were directly involved, make it perfectly clear that not all members of the British cabinet fully understood the gravity of Britain’s situation. This ‘softness’ within cabinet, coupled with the public’s sense of indifference because of the continuing program of selective information release, meant that preparation for a war which was becoming more probable by the day was not pursued as vigorously as it could have been.

Central to the government’s adjusted approach to the crisis was a belief that as long as most people remained ill-informed on the crises in both the Middle East and the Far East, and on the dire threat to Britain’s ability to hold the British Empire together, it was much easier to persuade fence-sitting governments in Europe, the Americas and even the Commonwealth that Hitler was a threat to Christendom world wide. They could then be enticed to support Britain, the bastion of all that was honourable in the civilized, Christian world, in its efforts to stop him. To most people of European heritage, whether Catholic, Protestant or Orthodox Christians, those two terms still meant basically the same thing. And there was an almost unspoken assumption that in the circumstances the mainstream Protestant population would not notice, and would not mind, if it was necessary for Britain to become a little more accommodating towards the Vatican. So, as the conspiracy of silence, deception and manipulation which had become vital to the survival of Britain as an imperial power continued, the concept of fighting to maintain civilized Christian values became even more critical in its propaganda armoury than it had been during the Great War. This was especially so in view of uncertainty about the level of support which the white settler-dominated dominions might be prepared to provide. The support, or at least the cooperation of a number of Catholic-dominated countries instead of antagonistic neutrality could well become critical to Britain’s survival if all-out war could not be avoided.

One very important question was: could that strategy work again in the circumstances in which the church’s credibility was already in question and in which there was very strong anti-Christian sentiment in non-European countries, including important members of the

Commonwealth? The cooperation of Jews, Hindus, Muslims and Buddhists was going to be crucial in the coming war effort and support for the maintenance of Christian domination and privilege was not a line which they would respond favourably to. Then there were the Vatican's concordats with both Hitler and Mussolini to be considered. A very big shadow hung over them. What the Pope might do to maintain the Vatican's privileges and influence if and when hostilities broke out was unpredictable. In view of the degree of cooperation and consultation between senior Nazis, the German bishops and the Vatican, and in particular their advance knowledge of Hitler's plans to attack both Czechoslovakia and Poland, Britain's reserve towards the Vatican was well justified. In addition there was the fact that the people of both Germany and Italy were staunchly Christian and that their ultimate leader was a man who, in spite of his attacks on it and the measures taken by the church hierarchy – for a time – to ban membership of the Nazi Party, was still recognized as having the status of a communicant member of the Catholic Church. He saw himself as a prophet, and insisted that he was about to complete the key task in which the church had failed. But Britain could not expose the absolute hypocrisy and power-hungry self interest of the Vatican. To attempt to do so would have simply driven the Vatican and the world wide Catholic community into deeper collaboration with Hitler. Therefore Britain could only remain quiet and acknowledge the claims of the Vatican that it was being strictly neutral!

As always, the British government was having great difficulty presenting its handling of the crises in Europe, the Far East and the Middle East as if they were in separate compartments. However the frenetic activity in Munich and the Sudetenland from September 23 to October 1 had totally overshadowed the collapse of the Anglo-Japanese negotiations in Tokyo on September 22, just as the final Munich round was getting under way. Craigie and his counterpart, General Ugaki, had made little progress over the previous few weeks as the Sudeten problem escalated to the brink of war and "Japan stood transfixed, not wishing to make any commitment for the future until the course of events in Europe had become clearer." There was "a palpable lack of enthusiasm for negotiation" on both sides and Britain's "last determined effort to curb the activities and policies of the Japanese military in China" had ground to a halt.²

So the British government floundered on in league with its compliant press barons. Beaverbrook's *Daily Express* ran a streamer which he later admitted was 'inspired' by the government, saying 'Britain will not be involved in a European War this year or next year either'. *Reynolds News*, the paper of the Cooperative Movement, was the only British newspaper to denounce the *Munich Agreement*, and on October 4, in a move which carries all the hallmarks of reprisal for further leaked information which could have assisted that denunciation, Leeper was shifted from his post as head of FOND to the Propaganda Department.³ Several of the major proprietors then progressed from simply manipulating news in collaboration with Chamberlain and Hoare to openly promoting the prime minister through schemes such as offering readers photographs of the great PM and Mrs. Chamberlain.⁴

Beaverbrook favoured pressure being put on Belgium, France and Portugal for them to 'rationalize' their African colonies in Germany's favour by merging them into commercial

groups with controlling shares being held by Germany, as did Australia's Robert Menzies, but when Halifax learned that a series of articles on such a scheme was planned for the *Daily Express* he asked Hoare to intervene to stop it, fearful of an anti-British backlash in those countries. Perhaps it had dawned on him at last that people don't like being traded like chattels. As the Chiefs of Staff had told the government twelve months earlier, Britain had to make friends around the world, not enemies, if it was to safeguard its trade, territory and vital interests against Germany, Italy and Japan all at the same time. In fact Beaverbrook had become so enthusiastic in his support of German appeasement that when King Carol of Rumania was about to visit London, Halifax wrote to Beaverbrook to ask that his papers not publish derogatory stories during the royal visit about the king having sacked a pro-Fascist government because of its anti-Semitic policies and that he was ruling under a near-dictatorial constitution.⁵

Actually it could be that Britain's cash advances to Benes did help to buy a bit of time for those chattel-trading discussions, because there was still one last dice to be rolled before Czechoslovakia would have to declare everything lost. Clause six of the *Munich agreement* provided for the new boundaries to be finally determined in negotiation by an international commission of representatives of the four signing powers, Germany, Britain, France and Italy, plus Czechoslovakia, the country which was being dismembered. The commission very promptly did a bit of juggling, substituted a few other pockets of territory for the key Vitkowitz region, and, with the German representatives unexpectedly concurring, announced that the Munich plebiscites would no longer be necessary.

THE POLITICS OF RACE AND TERRITORY

Hitler was not at all amused. But because all the posturing had been about the race question and the incorporation of areas with significant populations of ethnic Germans into their homeland he had to accept the rezoning – temporarily. Three days later, October 4, in a speech at Saarbruchen he launched into a vitriolic attack on both the Jews in Vienna, without making a direct reference to his special guest in the Hotel Metropole, and the British in Palestine who were lecturing Germany like governesses about how she treated people within her borders.⁶ He took full advantage of powerful speeches by the 'warmongering, malevolent trio' of Churchill, Eden and Cooper, which were critical of Chamberlain and Munich, and gave notice that there were still matters to be settled in Czechoslovakia. His immigration controllers began working on one such matter immediately – making sure that there were *fewer* people within Germany's borders. Three thousand Jews in the Sudetenland which had been ceded to Germany were rounded up and trucked to the new border with Czechoslovakia and unceremoniously dumped, destitute, in the hands of Czech officials.⁷ It was a mere prelude to the real action which would follow quite quickly.

At the time of Munich, in spite of five years of oppression and all the 'encouragement' Hitler had offered for them to migrate, only about one third of the Jews in Germany (between 150,000 and 170,000, of whom about 20,000 were Jews of Polish nationality who had returned to

Poland, out of a total of 500,000) had taken the hint and moved. They were desperately waiting for Britain to open the gates of Jerusalem, and Evian had established fairly well that there were not many other places for them to go.⁸ If there had been, it is reasonable to assume that *either* Hitler would have agreed to allow some time for the processes of their resettlement instead of trucking the Czechoslovakian Jews to the border, *or* the permanent committee set up by the Evian Conference would have been ready and prepared to greet them at the border on behalf of the host countries with transport and travel arranged to their new homes, or at least temporary accommodation. This is well demonstrated by the flying visit by Hitler's personal adjutant, Capt. Wiedemann, to London within days of the failure of the Evian conference with an instruction to tell Lord Halifax that "if there is no satisfactory solution in the near future, I will simply have to solve (the Sudeten question) by force."^{9 10} At that point work began *immediately* on the expansion of the existing concentration camps in Dachau, Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen in anticipation of a big influx of inmates and some of the Jewish prisoners already in custody were told that the new inmates would also be Jews.¹¹ In fact some gates were actually being closed in their faces, such as the gates to Switzerland.

In August the Swiss authorities, pursuing the complaints by their police chief, Rothmund, at Evian about the influx of Jewish refugees from Austria following the Anschluss, had threatened to rescind the right of free entry to Switzerland for all persons carrying German passports if the flow of refugees did not cease. Switzerland's visa requirements were tightened in line with discussions which had been initiated by Switzerland in April, only a few weeks after the *Anschlusss*, on March 12, and the Reich Central Office for Jewish Emigration was set up at the direction of Adolf Eichmann. Its function was to coordinate the coercive activities of the organizational and technical bodies already set up to accelerate and enforce Jewish migration, and the Property Traffic Office which had the job of Aryanization and liquidation of Jewish owned businesses. But Rothmund hinted to the German Consul that Switzerland might drop its visa requirements "if there were a distinct mark on the passports borne by Jews." Germany's need to keep the Swiss gates open to Aryan Germans was such that an agreement to that effect was signed while Rothmund was in Berlin at the end of September, at about the same time that Chamberlain was signing the *other* agreement, in Munich, and, on October 5, immediately following Hitler's carefully timed attack on the Jews of Vienna, all Reich passports held by Jews were declared invalid and recalled. New ones were issued, carrying the letter 'J' prominently in red to satisfy the Swiss requirements.¹²

The Times then let its guard drop and showed its glee at the Czechoslovakian border changes with a rare reference to resources which gave an indication that humanitarian concern for racially diverse communities was not the sole motivation behind all the manoeuvring. Quoting its Berlin correspondent's report of October 6, it said that it had been pointed out on the German side that the agreement reached proves that Germany does not intend to pursue a policy of "economic imperialism" towards Czechoslovakia. "The valuable coal fields around Mährisch-Ostrau are excluded from the German zone, as is Pilsen and the important industrial centre of Taus, on the western frontier," it said.

In Rome, it appears that Ledochowski now took direct action to ‘finalize’ the fate of the pope’s planned encyclical against racism and anti-Semitism. On October 8 he sent what has been described as an abridged version in French of the working drafts to an adviser for an “expert opinion.”¹³ But that “abridged version” carried the annotation by LaFarge himself that it was the “Authentic and complete (French) text.”¹⁴ He had prepared it after his hurried arrival in Rome to make the complete composite work “presentable.” The adviser to whom it was referred was Fr. Enrico Rosa, an editor at *La Civiltà cattolica*, whose article directly contradicting the pope’s views had been published only two weeks before, on September 22, just as the Anglo-Japanese talks collapsed and the final Munich round began. (See chapter 21 for details) Rosa, also of the Jesuit Order, was regarded as an anti-modernist opinion leader who supported the traditional attitudes and values of the Vatican and, in particular, a segregationist solution to the Jewish Question. That solution has been characterized as “permissible anti-Semitism.” In that article he had “conceded” – or in reality he had promoted the idea – that “if the Jews are on our soil, they have not come to it innocently, but rather in order to take it away from us Christians, or to plot against our faith,” since ultimately “*they are an enemy whose goal is to appropriate our land and deprive us of heaven.*” And as if to deliberately goad Hitler into proving that it was possible, he had noted that a remedy such as “*expulsion of Jews as foreigners*” ... would not be possible in a generalized way, especially if it had to be applied in all *civilized* countries. “Indeed,” he noted, “it would contravene God’s plan,” which requires the preservation of Israel, even though it is dispersed, as a “*concrete argument for the truth of Christianity.*” [Emphasis added.]¹⁵ Few statements could have been contrived to inflame Hitler’s messianic passion and determination any more than that.

Rosa had already been ill for some time and he soon became “gravely ill” so that it is actually very unlikely that he would have been able to consider the draft at all, let alone do any serious editing.¹⁶ Suspicion therefore deepened among those involved in the drafting that Ledochowski was yielding to temptation “to sabotage, through dilatory action, for tactical and diplomatic reasons,” the pope’s intentions and that the encyclical, if it were ever published, would bear little resemblance to the appointed authors’ draft.¹⁷ Rosa had established very clearly that his sympathies lay in exactly the opposite direction.

Certainly not everyone regarded the *Munich Agreement* with the enthusiasm of *The Times*, or, one can assume, Ledochowski. Churchill, Eden and the anti-appeasement lobby were being proved correct very quickly. Britain’s vulnerability was exposed for everyone to see and it was as if the wolves were baying at the scent of blood. The oppressed were eager to break their shackles, and competitors were eager to take advantage of demonstrated weakness. The *Economist* was soon able to note a sudden increase in contempt for British authority, reporting that a new boldness and aggressiveness on the part of the Arabs of Palestine was due to their belief that they can negotiate with the British Empire as equals, and that Japan’s swoop on Southern China reflected its confidence that the Western Powers need not be seriously considered.¹⁸ The black nations of Africa generally saw the situation in much the same light, except that its colonies felt bound to express support for Britain, and except also that Italy’s

successful move into Abyssinia was more relevant to them than Czechoslovakia. Nationalists in Sierra Leone reflected this when they declared that Britain had stepped down from the pedestal of justice and equity when it recognized Italian sovereignty over Abyssinia¹⁹. Those in Nigeria and other countries saw Britain as dithering, impotent and with waning power, and they contrasted its willingness to send troops to Palestine to protect the Jews with its “callous abandonment of the Abyssinians to bombs and mustard gas.” But they were angered by public debate over the possible bartering of Britain’s African colonies as part of a ‘bargain’ with Germany²⁰ and this was possibly an even more critical factor in the long term.

Within a few weeks of Munich, Anglo-Japanese relations suffered substantial deterioration. Japan, encouraged by Germany’s success, showed none of the reserve which observers had noted at the time of the Soviet-Japanese clash on the Korean border, captured Hankow, 800 kilometres inland from Shanghai on the Yangtse River and extended the Sino-Japanese war to South China. It quickly captured Canton, adjacent to Hong Kong and was able to directly threaten Britain’s sea-borne trade and commercial and strategic bases both in China and South East Asia. At the same time, at the political and diplomatic level it became more strident in its bid for a New Order in East Asia. The Foreign Office concluded that Britain was losing its influence over China because of its lack of direct assistance and that it was alienated from Japan because of its continuing adherence to the Nine Power Treaty. It recommended that the government take a firm decision on whether it was to support China or not. Halifax responded on October 14 with a minute that more must be done to aid China.

On the same day, at a meeting dealing with the Aryanization of Jewish businesses in territories of the Reich, Goering remarked that “if the need arises we will have to establish ghettos in the big cities.”²¹ He was, one can assume, referring to a completely new scheme and not the expansion of the concentration camps which was already in hand. Some mention was also made of a plan to set up Jewish work brigades. Also about that date the Italian government stepped up its anti-Semitic activities, showing a hardening of heart by Mussolini, and a commission of the Nazis’ Racial Policy Office was established in Milan.

In such an atmosphere Gundlach wrote to LaFrage on October 16 expressing concern that Ledochowski was attempting to sabotage publication of the anti-racism encyclical and urged him to write directly to the pope, through the Apostolic Delegate in Washington. The pope should be told, he said, of the action which had been taken and that the original draft of the encyclical and the method proposed for its publication ‘in fact reflect real and urgent needs.’²²

Another decision prompted by the Munich manoeuvres was for the Arab and other Muslim countries to hold an inter-parliamentary congress in Cairo, in October, “for the defence of Palestine.” This was a weightier meeting than the previous similar congress at Bloudan following the publication of the *Peel Report* in July, 1937, and the British government took note that it held a more serious threat of Arab-Axis collaboration than it had previously recognized. Being increasingly concerned about the imbalance of forces potentially aligned against it in the

event of war, the Chamberlain government decided to reduce the pressure in both Europe and the Middle East by whatever means it could.

And Sir Neville Henderson confirmed in a conversation with Sir Alexander Cadogan on October 20 that he had “put Goering up to objecting to our guarantee of Czechoslovakia.”²³ Greatly buoyed by that virtual guarantee of non-intervention by the British government, with or without the help of its lackey press barons, Hitler decided that there was no need to hesitate. On October 21 he ordered planning for the liquidation of the rump of Czechoslovakia.²⁴ Only three days later, on October 24, Ribbentrop told the Polish Ambassador, in effect, that it was his turn. Germany wanted Danzig returned, a corridor to East Prussia for a double-track railway and a super highway. It also wanted Poland to join the *Anti-Comintern Pact* against Russia in return for a guarantee of Poland’s frontiers under treaty for ten to twenty years.²⁵

That day, October 24, was to prove quite dramatic because, concerning the Middle East, Chamberlain’s Cabinet Sub-committee on Palestine took the decision to renege on the proposal for the partition of Palestine to establish a Jewish state. But, because the government knew very well the drama which would follow the announcement of that decision, it was to remain ‘under wraps’ for some days until a White Paper was ready for release. It also decided that a round table conference would be held in the New Year involving a wide range of Arab and Jewish delegations, both Zionist and non-Zionist.²⁶ And, concerning the Far East: the government knew that its forces may soon be needed elsewhere and they could no longer be confident of the safety of the non-military residents. Just as the government was planning to evacuate its land forces and civilians from China to avoid them being trapped as Japan rolled the Kuomintang backwards, the Foreign Office received an urgent plea from the ambassador in China. It asked that British banks contribute three million pounds to a stabilization fund to prop up the Chinese currency.

What ever it did, the British government was compounding its troubles. Without formal knowledge that Hitler had issued the order to deal with the rump of Czechoslovakia, (although he naturally would have guessed it because Goering was very unlikely to ignore his personal advice), Henderson gave the Cliveden Set, including Dawson, some ‘inside advice’ on October 26. He told them that Britain must not stand in the way of Germany absorbing Austria, that Germany would have to be given some West African colonies, that Britain should not stand in the way of Germany’s economic and political dominance in Eastern Europe, and that the only hope for Czechoslovakia rested on some form of devolution. Dawson dutifully echoed that in an editorial on October 28, giving Hitler confirmation of Britain’s blessing for the orders he had just given – a blessing which he probably had not expected quite so quickly.

From that time the Cliveden Set became a real political force for further appeasement.²⁷ However that tilt by the proprietors caused further disillusionment among a number of diplomatic and other senior journalists who resigned to set up, or to write for, private newsletters. These provided information for the public which was otherwise being suppressed and an alternative interpretation of the official news which was being released. They included

Gordon-Lennox, *Whitehall News Letter*; Voigt and Grieve, *The Arrow*; and Commander King-Hall, *News Letter*; added to Claud Cockburn's *The Week*, which was already in circulation.²⁸ In spite of such a backlash Beaverbrook wrote to Halifax to confirm that "my newspapers will do anything to help you in your difficult negotiations with the central European countries, or indeed in any direction. Besides, I am in agreement with your policy and I can give you the strongest support."²⁹

A COMPLICATION IN THE EAST

The unexpected announcement on November 3 by the Japanese prime minister of the grouping of Japan, the occupied regions of China, and Manchukuo into one political, economic and cultural block under the New Order in East Asia then sent tremors through Whitehall and marked a milestone in Britain's relations with both Japan and China. It was clear that if Japan achieved *either* victory over China *or* a negotiated settlement of their disputes without occupation, all Extra-Territorial Rights which the colonial powers had imposed on China would be expunged. The need for Britain to support China in the war as the means of protecting its own interests therefore became more critical, but it also had to be prepared to concede such rights to enable China to negotiate from a position of greater strength – unless Britain was prepared for total war with Japan. If Britain did not provide that support, China would have to turn to Russia for an alliance against Japan and the consequences were potentially just as serious. If China retained its independence or achieved victory over Japan in an alliance with Russia it was likely to require the Nationalist government to adopt an anti-Western position. In that case Britain's commercial privileges and Extra-Territorial Rights would still be lost and the Soviet Union would be in an excellent position to extend its influence into South East Asia.

The implications were perfectly clear to Chaing Kai-Shek and on November 6 he warned the new British ambassador, Clark Kerr, that because Britain had not more fully supported China after the fall of Canton its standing in China was falling dangerously low. He also warned that unless China received greater Western assistance he had only two options: to seek a negotiated peace with Japan or to rely completely on the Soviet Union, which had already provided substantial military assistance, advisers and munitions, for support.³⁰ Britain was in a near no-win take-it-or-leave-it situation – unless it had the benefit of some sort of divine intervention very promptly. It had no army available to move in, and if it sent a substantial naval force to China, or even to Singapore, it would leave itself totally vulnerable in the Mediterranean – and that meant each of the Middle East and Europe and, indeed, the home front. Craigie reassessed the circumstances, realized that his moderating line was now obsolete, and sought talks on the New Order in East Asia with the new Japanese Foreign Minister, Arita Hachiro.

Then both Hitler and the British government took deliberate decisions which, although they were driven by different motives, fuelled Zionist efforts and helped to draw the United States into the approaching conflict. Hitler's decision came first, before Craigie had even had his first talks with Arita. Provoked by the failure of the Evian Conference and the palpable lack of

interest in the White Christian Western countries in the future of the Jews, Hitler put more pressure on firstly, the Jews, to leave Germany and the areas on which his interest was focussed, and, secondly, other governments, to accept the Jews. His mechanism was the fantastic destruction of Goebbels' Kristallnacht, (Crystal Night), November 9.

Following the dumping of the three thousand Sudeten Jews at the feet of Czechoslovak officials in the first week of October, the Reich authorities took steps to accelerate the return of remaining Polish Jews to Poland. However, the Polish government, unable or unwilling to resettle many thousands more returnees in so short a time, had decreed that the passports of all of its citizens resident abroad should be renewed. It then deliberately delayed processing the passports of Jews as the deadline fixed for the renewal of passports, October 31, approached. This manoeuvre would have had the effect of depriving them of their citizenship while they were abroad and would have made them stateless persons. That would have then been Poland's justification for refusing their return, especially from annexed Austria. Hitler was rather displeased by this additional manoeuvre to avoid relieving him of his Jews. Therefore, when negotiations between the German Foreign Ministry and the Polish government broke down, the Gestapo, acting as Alien Police, were directed to round up Polish Jewish families and 'escort' them to the Polish border. Some 17,000 people were rounded up, transported in sealed railway cars to the border and expelled into a Polish no-man's-land.

Being either unable, or unwilling, to cope with the situation, the Polish authorities tried to force the deportees back across the border into Germany. Some 8,000 were forced to find shelter in such places as warehouses, stables and the border railway station. Very soon, under pressure from Jewish community and welfare organizations which were providing food, blankets and other essentials for the horde of people, the Polish government relented and admitted most of the deportees. However, among the deported families who were dumped in no-man's-land was one named Grynszpan, whose seventeen-year-old son, Hershel, was living in Paris. Distressed at the expulsion and treatment of his family and their community, Hershel visited the German Embassy on November 7 and shot the third secretary, Ernst vom Rath. He died two days later. In a reprisal reminiscent of the numerous episodes in which the colonial powers of Europe had exploited individual attacks on their worthy Christian officials in Asia over a long period in order to justify oppression and slaughter, to enforce trade treaties and for territorial conquest, the Nazis seized the opportunity to swoop on Jewish communities across Germany. A country-wide pogrom to end all pogroms, preceded by a burst of propaganda about the 1936 murder of the head of the Swiss Nazi party by a Jewish medical student from Yugoslavia, was authorized by Goebbels, apparently with Hitler's consent, on the evening of November 9, the day vom Rath died.³¹

By the time the night had passed all of the major Nazi organizations of terror in Germany – the party branches, the SA, the State Police and the SD, alerted by teleprinter and phone – were involved and the terror continued throughout November 10. Almost all of Germany's 600 synagogues, some of which were ancient national monuments, were systematically attacked. The main synagogues in Munich and Nuremberg had already been destroyed a few weeks

earlier, but on the Crystal Night alone, 76 were completely destroyed and another 191 were set ablaze. The Nazis had prepared well for the event. They had simply been waiting for a trigger. Pre-arranged lists were used to target influential Jewish figures and about 7,500 Jewish-owned businesses were destroyed or looted with losses estimated at RM 10 million. Murders were reported to number 91, and the mass exodus of refugees was soon in full swing. Within about six months half of Germany's remaining Jewish community had fled their homeland and about 30,000 were herded into the concentration camps in Dachau, Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen which had already been enlarged to receive them following the failure of the Evian Conference. (Chapter 21, p. 27.) In addition, in "retribution" for the Paris murder Hitler imposed a community fine of one billion marks on Germany's Jews. Property to about that value was wantonly destroyed and a lot more was sequestered to be assigned to Aryans. Orders for the pogrom to be carried out in Austria reached Vienna a little late, so the major atrocities, including the destruction of 42 synagogues, occurred there on November 10. Over a short period some 7,800 Jews were arrested in Vienna alone, more than 4,000 shops in that city were closed and almost 2,000 apartments were forcibly vacated. Suicides and murders ran into many hundreds.³²

And the German exercise was well coordinated with the Italian government through the commission of the Nazis' Racial Policy Office which had been set up six months earlier, in Milan, as an outcome of Hitler's state visit. (See chapter 21) On November 10 the Council of Ministers recapitulated, or confirmed, the measures which had been announced during that period and next day, November 11, it promulgated new laws which took effect immediately. Marriages between Italians and "non-Aryan" foreigners were forbidden or, if they had already taken place they were officially annulled, along with their civil effects, and erased from official records; the official records of Italian citizens who "belong to the Jewish race" had to carry a notation to that effect; Jews were excluded from military service; they were prohibited from owning large tracts of land or large industrial enterprises; they could not employ servants belonging to the "Aryan race"; remaining Jewish teachers were dismissed from their posts at all three levels, from institutes and academies of science, letters, and arts; the registration of Jewish students was forbidden in establishments attended by 'Aryan' Italian students – except that exemption was provided for students "of Jewish race but Catholic confession," who were allowed to attend elementary and secondary schools run by ecclesiastical authorities; and, in accordance with the policy which was now confirmed, foreign Jews who had taken up residence in the kingdom or its colonial dependencies since January 1, 1919, were expelled, irrespective of whether they had been naturalized after that date. All these and later decrees were reported without comment in the "Cronaca contemporanea" in *La Civiltà cattolica* over a period of months.³³ Of course Jews were barred from cinemas and public places as well – to avoid cultural contamination. Fr. Rosa should have been very happy indeed. The policy of generalized isolation, separation and expulsion which he said in his article of September 22 was not possible was being planned and implemented with great enthusiasm. Italy's Fascist authorities must have been equally pleased to have his article as a guideline.

The reaction from the Catholic hierarchy in Italy, Germany and France was generally muted but it would not be correct to say that they hardly batted an eyelid. Immediately, on November 11, the Archbishop of Milan, Cardinal Ildefonse Schuster, preached against the banning of “the descendants of Abraham” from Imperial territory. He did not refer to them as Jews but by the selective use of a reading from Paul’s letter to the Corinthians as those who “have cut Christ to pieces.” His main concern was that the laws might impinge on the church which, he said, “does not engage in politics or in the social economy,” by causing racial divisions within it. “Christ cannot be divided,” he said.³⁴ Then on November 14, although he refrained from any public comment, Pius XI wrote to both the king and “the head of government”³⁵ and that fact was given wide publicity in the Catholic press. But the thrust of the pope’s complaints – consistent with the opposition which he faced in pursuing his campaign against anti-Semitism and reflecting that opposition – was that the prohibition of marriage between “Aryans” and “non-Aryans” was contrary to canon law and therefore to the Lateran accords. The contradiction was that although the Catholic Church had long *imposed* a ban on marriage between Catholics and both “the *unbaptized*,” whether Protestants, Jews, Muslims or pagans, and also between Catholics and those *baptized into other Christian churches*, it provided for dispensation to remove that “impediment” if the spouse agreed in advance that children could be baptized and educated as Catholics. The new Italian laws did not allow for that dispensation. This was a dreadful failure to acknowledge the church’s authority!³⁶ In a similar vein, Cardinal Van Roey of Mechlin objected to the racist doctrine of the purity of blood because it contradicted the “well-founded” Catholic doctrine that the economy of our salvation rests on the “essential element” of *the redeeming and unifying blood of the covenant shed superabundantly by Christ for the fundamental unity of the human race*.³⁷

What chance did the Jews have? The overall silence of the church hierarchy, certainly partly due to demoralization and fear of similar treatment, was taken by jubilant Nazis as either support for or, at least, acquiescence in their policies. The key public dissenter, the Catholic provost of Berlin, was imprisoned for a time before going to his death.^{38 39} When Pastor Marc Boegner asked the German Bishop Heckel, (an unexpected arrival in Basle for a meeting of the Inter-Church Aid Committee which was being held prior to the International Missionary Conference at Tambaram), about the situation of the church in Germany he gave the impression that Berlin was the most Christian city in Europe. Only 0.2 percent of children, either Protestant or Catholic, had given up religious instruction during the past four years!⁴⁰

In Tokyo, Craigie noted the events in Europe nervously as he waited for his first discussion with Japanese Foreign Minister Arita about the New Order for East Asia. When they met on November 16 Arita told him that Japan’s action was simply a response to the formation of other closed economic blocs of which the British Empire was one. Craigie went off to ponder his task of trying to help the British government isolate the Far East from its series of crises in each of which its imperial trading policy was enmeshed. It was virtually an impossible task and the pace of events showed how tightly the web was woven.

Britain made its next decision on the Jewish question, helping to draw the United States ever closer to direct involvement in the approaching conflict, on November 22. It was to discourage Europe's Jews from leaving home and thus to force them to find other help in confronting Hitler. Immediately after Crystal Night Chamberlain had agreed to meet a delegation of distinguished Jews to discuss a request for a loan for refugee assistance and entry visas for "a limited number of children and teenagers who would undergo agricultural training and eventually settle elsewhere." 'Elsewhere' was, hopefully, Palestine. The Prime Minister was told that five million pounds had already been raised for the purpose – close to one third of the amount in England. He said he saw no possibility of influencing German policy (on unconditional emigration) and feared that any intervention would only worsen the plight of Germany's Jews, but he agreed to give the matter of the children and teenagers "sympathetic consideration."⁴¹ He referred it to Colonial Secretary Malcolm McDonald who, adopting the same rationale, then refused the formal request in the name of the Jewish Agency for special immigration certificates for ten thousand children. When McDonald took the matter to cabinet for final decision, ministers knew that refusal would become a matter of continuing oppression for many of the children. But on the other hand they knew that approval might undermine the slim remaining hopes for a settlement of the Palestine question. They also knew that it might even cost Britain control of Palestine which had become crucial to its ability to hold on to its empire and to keep open the sea lanes to the Far East.⁴² Their decision was made. The Empire came first. And in any case, they had already decided about five weeks earlier, during 'the Munich round', that there would be no Jewish state for them to go to. That decision had been confirmed on October 24 by a cabinet sub-committee but it would remain 'under wraps' for just a few more days until a White Paper was ready for release.

Pressure on the United States government was stepped up rapidly by the World Zionist Organization and its affiliates. The US was about to assume the role of chief sponsor of Zionism which Britain was rejecting. Britain still hoped to hold its Empire together. But how? It was running out of the means to maintain its colonial rule because of the reaction against its divide-by-faith and rule policies. Its self-understanding as the principal imperial power of the White Christian West was catching up with it.

Like Hitler, Beaverbrook was also finding the political climate to his liking. He made the first of three secret annual payments, each of two thousand pounds sterling, 'to help Sir Samuel Hoare [Chamberlain's special intermediary with the press] to stay in politics.' By coincidence it was the same day that cabinet made its fateful decision against the admission of ten thousand Jewish children who otherwise would have left Germany with Hitler's blessing. Next day, November 23, Chamberlain lied to parliament when responding to a question about the extent to which advice had recently been tendered either officially or unofficially to newspaper proprietors on the attitudes which they should take on the subject of foreign policy. He said that no such advice had been tendered either officially or unofficially. But, responding 'out of gratitude for such support', Hoare pressed Chamberlain to find a place in cabinet for Beaverbrook who was soon in intimate contact with the inner circles of government.⁴³

Hitler was making sure that his subordinates kept his secrets, too. On November 24, dissatisfied with Poland's response to Ribbentrop's 'advice' a month earlier, he issued a secret directive for the Wehrmacht to make preparations for the surprise military occupation of Danzig.⁴⁴ It was to be an action which was short of a full war with Poland, to take advantage of the favourable political climate.

That day, at his second meeting with Arita and on very weak ground, Craigie sought to refute Japan's claim that the British Empire was a closed economic bloc by presenting a case prepared by the embassy's Commercial Counsellor, Sir George Sansom. This claimed that it was Britain's policy of liberal access to the autonomous separate parts of its empire which had enabled Japan to enjoy increased exports to the empire during the 1930s and that it also enjoyed "the same free access to raw materials in the British Empire as is enjoyed by members of the Empire."⁴⁵ Very weak ground indeed, but they agreed to talk again.

Two days later, on November 26, the British government tabled its post-Peel/post-Woodhead White Paper in Parliament, announcing that the partition of Palestine was a dead issue and that a Round Table Conference with the Jews and Arabs would be held in London in February. Rosa and his friends in the Jesuit press should have been delighted. A home for the Jews in Palestine was the last thing they wanted. But perhaps Rosa did not learn of that decision. He died that day after a long illness. The decision not to proceed with partition had actually been formalized by the Cabinet Sub-committee on Palestine on October 24 – a month after MacDonald had briefed the Jewish leadership group on it at the time of 'the Munich round'⁴⁶ and whether Henderson was aware of that when he spoke to the Cliveden Set is not clear. It is reasonable to assume that because of his central position in the Anglo-German negotiations that he was, but the conspiracy of silence prevented him from referring to it.

Those negotiations included the proposed *Schacht Plan* which was based on the same idea as the Ha'avara (Transfer Agreement) that Jews would be permitted to leave Germany in return for the granting of preferences to German exports. The plan carried the name of the president of the Reichsbank, one of the few senior German officials who had consistently shown support for the Jewish business community and sympathy for Jewish aspirations. Immediately after Crystal Night, and knowing that the Evian Inter-governmental Committee's proposals had been rejected, Schacht began to work on a new plan. He contacted the heads of the committee and then presented his own new proposal on a visit to London. It can be assumed that he was already working on it at the time that Chamberlain, MacDonald and cabinet rejected the approach from the Jewish Agency for the admission of 10,000 children and teenagers on November 22. (Chapter 21, p. 29.)

Schacht hoped to ease tension between Germany and the countries which were being pressed to host Jewish refugees, notably Britain and the United States, by enabling both them and Germany to improve their foreign currency balances, by courtesy of the worldwide Jewish community. He proposed the establishment of a fund of RM 1.5billion (the equivalent of US \$600 million at that time) to finance the resettlement of 150,000 able-bodied Jews from the

Reich and Austria within three years. They were to be joined in their new homelands by 250,000 dependents and each family would receive a settling loan of RM 10,000 from the fund. Their property and assets in Germany would be invested in a trust fund, one quarter of which would be considered collateral for the loan and would help finance German exports. Three quarters of the fund would supposedly provide for those Jews who could not emigrate and who were being squeezed out of employment by the steady flow of restrictive regulations – until the rest of the world would take them, too. In reality that would have been a contribution to the German treasury.⁴⁷

The politicking and negotiations all around the globe were getting more and more intense and the intrigue in the British cabinet was getting more and more murky. Sir John Ball was tapping the telephones of Anthony Eden and the anti-appeasement group⁴⁸ from about that time and relaying information to Chamberlain, but MI5 had some well placed contacts too. On November 28 Sir Alexander Cadogan was told that Steward had briefed Hesse at the German Embassy on critical Whitehall and cabinet discussions. These included the action taken against Leeper and the Foreign Office News Department; the resistance to the *Munich Agreement* in the FO; efforts taken to sabotage the Munich peace plan and to commit Britain to warlike actions against Germany because of bitter feelings towards it in that office; Chamberlain's circumventing of the FO; and that the final satisfactory outcome of Munich had been "exclusively due to Chamberlain" who had ignored the provisions of the British Constitution and customary cabinet usage to get his way (by leaking information to the press barons).

Cadogan was deeply shocked, but he hesitated to brief Lord Halifax on the situation, fearing that he might resign from cabinet. However he did so and Halifax took the matter up with Chamberlain on the evening of November 29. His rationale was that the Prime Minister should understand the damage which had been done and that, if he had not directly or indirectly authorized the exchange, he would at least know that it had taken place.^{49 50} It is ironical, to say the least, that only that day *The Times* had published another leader based on a direct Halifax/Dawson briefing. It set out the main German grievances and expressed hope for a settlement of the territorial questions, bringing delight in Berlin and concern in Prague.⁵¹

When cabinet met next day, November 30, probably in a very tense atmosphere, the Far East was again high on its agenda, along side Germany. Cabinet had advice from the Foreign Office to the effect that China's currency stabilization fund proposal was less likely to lead to a clash with Japan than the loan proposals previously considered, and equally strong advice from Treasury rejecting that view. Cabinet decided that nothing could be done until Craigie had again reported and the United States had been consulted.⁵² Four days later, on December 4, Craigie advised the Foreign Office that he had proposed to the US ambassador in Tokyo that the three Western Powers, Britain, France and the United States, should jointly provide currency loans to China and announce the abrogation of their commercial treaties with Japan. Whether that proposal was made with the knowledge that the US was considering a unilateral loan is not clear from material available, but on December 11, the Foreign Office learned that Roosevelt was considering a \$20 million credit to China. This put more pressure on Britain to do likewise,

regardless of what it thought of Craigie's proposal, and to consider again the impositions of sanctions against Japan. Such increased commitments to China would clearly make confrontation with Japan much more likely and make it even more difficult to isolate the Far East from the European and Middle East theatres. The spotlight was back on the prospect of dividing the Royal Navy, and in doing so, undermining Britain's position in the Mediterranean.

Not being aware of those talks, and being unimpressed by the case which Craigie had put in mid November, Arita responded, on December 12, by noting very bluntly that quotas and preferences did exist within the British Empire, that it was ridiculous and hypocritical to pretend that it did not constitute an economic bloc, and that in times of crisis Britain tightened its ranks and excluded foreign trade. It was as if he was writing a script for President Roosevelt.⁵³ That round of talks ended. On December 14 the British cabinet received advice that "it might be necessary to make some further concessions [to the Jewish Agency] in order to avoid a violent conflict with the Jews in Palestine."⁵⁴ The *Schacht Plan* was under consideration and the Jewish Agency wished the government to take up the financial commitments which would be involved. Then on December 21 the US formally announced its credits to China. The demands on the British treasury were becoming greater and greater.

A SCIENTIFIC DISTRACTION

Britain was stumbling from one crisis to another but the scientific world had other matters on its mind. It had been electrified in the dying weeks of 1938 by the news that Otto Hahn and Fritz Strassman had split the nucleus of a uranium atom. The developments made possible by the controlled release of massive amounts of energy were exciting both in terms of human services and commerce. Remarkable progress had already been made in understanding and adapting the principles of nuclear physics for the benefit of mankind since Antoine Becquerel discovered the phenomenon of radio activity and reported his work in 1896, only a year after Wilhelm Rontgen discovered X-rays. Scientists talked about the prospects of eventually producing massive amounts of power for industrial purposes by nuclear fission, of propelling passenger liners across the Atlantic with only a fist full of fuel and of sending rockets on travel through space, but such ideas were generally written off as stuff for science fiction or, at best, as many years away. They talked about the possibility of harnessing the explosive power for use in mining if questions of radio activity could be resolved and they were well aware of its destructive power, but they didn't normally talk about it.

However the papal *Oath Against the Errors of Modernism* in 1910 and policies akin to a ban on scientific investigations a few years later were intended to prevent such developments. Generally the scientific community ignored the pope, and after the Great War they were only interested in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. But after the achievements of Hahn and Strassman the production of bombs of mind-boggling destructiveness lurched abruptly from the realms of science fiction to the politicians' forward orders books. It was only a question of time, of money to develop them, and who could fill the orders first. And because the Vatican had

sought to prevent the study of physical sciences, the professionals working in the scientific community were predominantly either agnostic or atheist, driven into those positions by the dogmatic self-misunderstanding of the church, or Jewish.

There were a number of prominent philosophers and scientists who had risen to prominence during the inter-war period who were keen to keep the world's sights on peace and whose influence had been clouded by antagonism towards them by the long-established alliance of the church and the conservative establishment. They included Lord Bertrand Russell, the brilliant British lecturer in mathematics and philosophy who lost his university post and spent six months in prison for his anti-war stand in 1918. His trenchant criticism of the church ought to have been seen as reason enough for it to act on Karl Barth's call for a rethink. In 1927 he said that fear was the basis of contemporary religion. "...fear of the mysterious, fear of defeat, fear of death. Fear is the parent of cruelty, and therefore it is no wonder if cruelty and religion have gone hand-in-hand... In this world we can now begin a little to understand things, and a little to master them by help of science, which has forced its way step by step against the Christian religion, against the churches, and against the opposition of all the old precepts. Science can help us to get over this craven fear in which mankind has lived for so many generations." Russell believed that science and "our own hearts" made it unnecessary to look for "imaginary supports" or "to invent allies in the sky" and that people could look to their own efforts "to make this world a fit place to live in, instead of the sort of place that the churches in all these centuries have made it."

Lord Russell said that a good world needs knowledge, kindness and courage. "It does not need a regretful hankering after the past, or a fettering of the free intelligence by the words uttered long ago by ignorant men." Turning his sights onto the Vatican's rules for marriage and sexual conduct he had illustrated the tensions people were forced to live under by using the example of an inexperienced girl married to a syphilitic man. According to the Catholic Church, he said, "'This is an indissoluble sacrament. You must stay together for life.' And no steps of any sort must be taken by that woman to prevent herself from giving birth to syphilitic children." That was, he said, "fiendish cruelty, and nobody whose natural sympathies have not been warped by dogma, or whose moral nature was not absolutely dead to all sense of suffering, could maintain that it is right and proper that that state of things should continue."⁵⁵ What he could have added was that, according to the dogma of the day, the personal conditions of each of the husband, the wife and the children were the consequences of God's judgement for their personal sins which could only be relieved or offset by continuing doses of the church's sacraments.

The church did not like that sort of exposure but its reaction only reached its peak when Lord Russell was appointed to a teaching post in New York in 1940 and his considerable influence could have become a factor in keeping the United States out of the war. The Episcopalian Bishop Manning led the attack against the appointment of "a recognized propagandist against both religion and morality ... who specifically defends adultery." Then the Jesuit weekly, 'America', followed, describing Lord Russell as "a desiccated, divorced and decadent advocate

of sexual promiscuity ... who is now indoctrinating the students at the University of California ... in his libertarian rules for loose living in matters of sex and promiscuous love and vagrant marriage ... this corrupting individual ...”⁵⁶

But as easy as it may have been to discredit a pacifist philosopher, it was much more difficult to discredit the world’s leading pacifist scientist, at least outside of Germany, anyway. He was a German-born Jewish mathematical physicist, the Nobel Prizewinner Albert Einstein. It was Einstein’s recognition of the relationships between energy, mass, gravity, space and time, (with his famous statement that $E = MC^2$), which had provided the vital key with which other scientists were able to unlock the secrets of the atom. And in any case by the time Hahn and Strassman split their atoms, those who were looking for military power, with or without an alliance against Germany, had no need to discredit Einstein on account of his pacifism. Hitler had very obligingly converted him, temporarily, into a first class militarist who wanted an atom bomb developed as a matter of the highest priority so that an end could be put to the Fuhrer before he could put his final solution into effect.

Germany had been pre-eminent in scientific research and development since before the Great War and, largely because of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute and its refusal to bow to Vatican policy, it still held a dominant position after the war. This was in spite of restrictions which the allies imposed as part of the peace settlement and the expropriation of many of its patents. Research in nuclear physics was also in progress in other countries but Germany was the undisputed leader in the field. Furthermore, in the absence of Christians entering the field, Jews had become so pre-eminent in nuclear physics that Hitler disparagingly labelled it “Jewish science,” a fact which must have pleased the Vatican no end. Such was their pre-eminence that thirteen Nobel Prizes for physics were awarded to Jews between 1901 and 1959, or one every four or five years. Four of those prizes, in 1921, 22, 25 and 38, were awarded to workers who later had a direct role in the development of the atomic bomb.

This concentration of effort and influence in a vital new field of science was neither a slip of fate nor a coincidence. It was the result of the interaction of several factors already discussed and it was yet another manifestation of the trouble in the triangle. The Vatican’s policy on scientific development and the Jewish question had become so intimately entangled in the affairs of the white Christian Western World that the tangled web even influenced where and by whom the atom bomb would be developed. The way in which churchmen had interpreted the Biblical creation story (after canonizing the selections which suited them) led to differences in emphasis between Christian and Jewish attitudes to investigation and research. These had become important as early as the medieval period when the best the church could do was “preserve” existing written concepts through its monks and monasteries while both Jewish and Muslim scholars pressed on with important developments in medicine. Then the church actively and vigorously suppressed scientific enquiry in the period leading up to the Reformation, while its deliberately oppressive policies forced the Jewish community to turn more and more to education as an aid in its struggle to survive. Next came the church’s negative response to

Darwin and the Christian community's destructive reaction, coupled with the final destruction of the ghetto and the release of a flood of Jewish academic initiatives.

Finally came the papal efforts to suppress scientific investigation, to warp scientific thinking to fit the Vatican's existing teaching and selfunderstanding and to restrict scholars as much as possible to the humanities in which it had a better chance to influence their attitudes and decisions – just as the secrets of the atom were being uncovered. The gap between the Jewish and Christian communities in matters of scientific initiative were therefore enormous and the concentration of nuclear physics research capacity among Jewish scientists in Germany when Hitler came to power was indeed remarkable. There can be no doubt that if Hitler's sole aim had been German aggrandisement through imperial expansion backed by military capacity he had the scientific expertise within German-speaking Europe to convert that aim to reality.

However the parody of *Mein Kampf* came into play. The measures which he took to discredit Jewry and everything Jewish as he moved to achieve, through his final solution, what the church had failed to achieve – the elimination of Judaism in all but an historical sense – brought chain reactions which made it impossible for him to achieve either aim. His early measures drove the cream of his scientists out of Germany so that he was left with Germany's second-tier scientists to help achieve his goals. Then those who left Germany were united by a common determination to see that his final solution could not succeed. They were prepared to reject their ties with the country of their birth and to throw their weight into the destruction of Hitler's Third Reich. By the time World War II was declared virtually all of Germany's key Jewish scientists were working in other countries.

But the trouble in the triangle was simmering steadily and Jewish scientists fleeing before Hitler's rage didn't automatically head for the shores of his arch protester, Britain. A few went there and a few went to Scandinavia but the majority went to the United States. They were not welcome, politically, in Britain because of its troubles over Palestine and they were not eager to appear to be supporting its Palestine policies. Neither were they universally welcome, politically, in the United States which was still hung up over its race and religion biased migration laws sponsored by the eugenicists. But at least they were much sought after in university circles where the vision of America was dominated by the benefits of the Wayland-style Protestant Work ethic rather than by eugenics. Information from any source was proper if it helped towards that vision

The dilemmas and the paradox of Albert Einstein's life show just how complex the trouble in the triangle had become. He was born at Ulm on the Danube in March 1879 during the crazy period when Bismarck, having floundered from the height of success to the depth of political uncertainty, was trying to change religious boats in midstream. His anti-Vatican Kulturkampf, set in motion in 1870, had run out of steam by 1878 when he encouraged Adolf Stocker to set up his anti-Semitic Christian Socialist Workingmen's Union. He then signed his concordat with Pope Leo XIII in 1880, received the infamous petition with 255,000 signatures which called for

the disenfranchisement of Jews in April 1881, (when Albert was just two years old), and accepted his Vatican knighthood in 1882.

In 1880 the Einstein family moved to Munich after the failure of the small electrical and engineering workshop which Albert's father had operated. No doubt Stocker's C.S.W.U. was a factor in the failure, even though the Einstein's were not strict in their religious observance, and Albert was enrolled at a local Catholic elementary school from the age of five to ten. It does not seem to have bothered him when a teaching sister displayed a nail like the ones from the crucifixion, to discredit the deicidal Jews, nor when the Dreyfus affair caught the limelight in his middle teens. In quick succession his father's business failed a second time (in 1894); the family moved to Milan; Albert was expelled from school for being "a disruptive influence"; he failed a university entrance exam but gained admission to the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in 1895; and he formally renounced his German nationality in 1896. He applied for Swiss citizenship three or four years later and it was granted in 1901.

Einstein's mathematical brilliance was soon recognized, he was advised to change courses, he gained a diploma and went on to gain his MD in 1905 with a series of three papers which included his Special Theory of Relativity. He wanted to teach but had to take a job as an examiner in the Swiss patents office. However with an unusually probing mind he continued to produce such papers that he was appointed Extraordinary Professor of Theoretical Physics in Prague in 1911, and returned to the Polytechnic as professor of physics in 1912. His fame had spread so rapidly that in 1913 he was appointed to the new post of Director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Research Institute for Physics which was being built in Berlin, even though he detested the spirit and the policies of the emperor and his empire. Although fame was his, domestic happiness was not and when he moved to Berlin the next year he and his wife, married since 1903, separated.

His separation may have led to other issues coming to the fore in his thinking, too. Seeing Berlin's scientific establishment devoting itself to war with hardly a murmur of dissent, Einstein was driven towards a commitment to each of internationalism, pacifism and socialism. He joined the peace movement Bund Neues Vaterland, and reacted in the same way as Karl Barth when the Manifesto of the Ninety Three was published in August 1914. The strain of the conflict between his deep personal commitment to peace, and holding a senior post funded by a military foundation soon showed and he suffered a break down in health in 1917. Then in 1919, with the scars of the Great War showing clearly, he adopted the Zionist cause. He reached a divorce settlement with his wife which he later paid from his Nobel prize money, and he married a cousin, Elsa. When he came to realize that the conduct of the Allies had been as rotten as that of imperial Germany, making it impossible for the republican government to function, he signed a call for "a peace that does not conceal another war."

Einstein, made increasingly aware of his Jewishness during the war, became torn by anti-Semitism in the early 1920's. He had already rejected overtures to use his mass-energy equation to develop explosives, and he became labelled as an intellectual left-wing pacifist Jew. He

joined the Republic League; he toured the United States with Weizmann to raise funds on behalf of Keren Hayesod; and he agreed to join the League of Nations International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation. However he resigned in view of threats against him (which were coupled with the rising tide of anti-Semitism) and his anger at the French occupation of the Ruhr. After being honoured with the Nobel Prize for physics he rejoined the League of Nations Commission for a while, only to resign again in protest at the decisions of the League's "disarmament conference."

Drawcard and money-spinner for Zionism that he was, Einstein was certainly not its unqualified asset. He was an enigma. He was an embarrassment to Weizmann at times and his forthright views on religion drew more wrath from Christian churchmen than the most pious traditional Jews with whom they felt at home in debate by comparison. His Zionism was based on an intense awareness of Jewish culture, a dedication to the preservation of its people and a deep respect for its intellectual tradition. But his feelings for Judaism as a faith apparently went little beyond kindly tolerance and the belief that it did no more harm to people than other institutionalized revealed religions. While many of his colleagues saw assimilation as an answer to the problem of survival for Jews, and some of them crossed the baptismal barrier into the church, Einstein stayed with Zionism but against Jewish nationalism. While Weizmann saw a Jewish national home in a political sense, Einstein saw in it only a cultural focal point and he didn't draw back from saying so on the same platform. He understood the position of non-Jewish residents in Palestine and insisted that the first priority of the Zionist movement should be an understanding and agreement with the Arabs.

When Cardinal O'Connell of Boston accused him of being an atheist whose theories cloaked the ghastly apparition of atheism with befogged speculation which produced universal doubt about God and His creation, Einstein responded that he believed in Spinoza's God. God is manifest in all of nature, he said, and belief in a future life is not necessary for ethical behaviour in this one. And Protestant America was rather put out when he said that personal commercial sponsorship was corrupt and was to be rejected absolutely.

In Germany he had to contend with the Nazi propaganda book "One hundred authors against Einstein," published in 1929, as anti-Semitism gathered pace. Then in America he had to contend with the reaction to his view that there were three states of religious development: religion based on fear, religion based on morality, and cosmic religion with neither dogmas nor God made in man's image. That view had been given front page treatment by the *New York Times Magazine* in November 1930, only weeks before he sailed for his second lecture tour of the United States. It concerned him that his views may be seen as un-American or subversive because an impersonal God, a deterministic universe, a churchless religion, disregard of money and material gains, world government, pacifism and socialism were all generally lumped together and thought of in that way. In fact the belief which underpinned his whole theology was that a rational God stands at the heart of all things and there is therefore no place for discontinuity or chance in the equations of nature. He rejected the notion of a God playing dice with the universe.

Einstein stood firmly with his pacifism in spite of steadily mounting attacks on him by Nazis and anti-Semites on both sides of the Atlantic. He remitted his autograph income to Berlin for the relief of the poor and continued to attack the misuse of science, at least until Hitler came to power on January 30, 1933. In March, less than three months later, his house was ransacked, his bank accounts were confiscated and his books were burned or marked “translated from the Hebrew” while he was still overseas. He began to realize what Hitler’s crony, Kube, had meant when he told the Prussian Diet that “when we clean house the exodus of the Children of Israel will be a child’s game in comparison.” His pacifism rapidly gave way to pragmatism. In July he confirmed that he would never return to Germany and renounced his rights as a German citizen for the second time. He announced that the European situation made pacifism inadequate and that he would save Europe from Hitler with fire bombs, poison gas and bacteria if necessary.

From that point Einstein threw his enormous prestige and personal efforts into the campaign to get a better deal for Jews both within and beyond the British Empire with greater vigour than ever. He visited British Government leaders in July 1933 and a few weeks later told the world that “every sword that is drawn against Germany is now a sword of peace.” A German group promptly put a price of 1,000 pounds Sterling on his head. In January 1934 he was a guest of President Roosevelt overnight at the White House, in March, Congress resolved to grant him the character and privileges of a citizen of the United States, just a day before his name was published in a list of thirty six people deprived of German nationality, and in 1936 the transformation was completed when he took formal United States citizenship.^{57 58 59 60 61 62}

Our awareness of the universe in which we live, and our capacity to exploit the matter of which the universe is composed are much greater because of the work of Albert Einstein. But his work should not only be viewed in that manner. His contribution towards our eventual understanding of creation, and therefore our understanding of humanity’s relationship with God and with every other human being, is no less important. It stands as a beacon in the stormy passage towards that wider understanding. This made his presence a stimulus to the work of those around him and inspired others to want to work within his shadow. It was no idle platitude when one writer compared the impact of Einstein’s move from Berlin to the United States with that of a reigning pope deserting the Vatican for the New World. And it was therefore natural that when refugee Jewish scientists recognized that the Hahn-Strassman achievement in splitting the atom could be used either by Hitler to achieve his final solution or by another power to prevent him from achieving it, they turned to Einstein for help. They asked him to approach the US President with a request that he authorize and finance the development of an atomic bomb as a matter of the highest priority. Their initial approach to the US Navy had already been rejected.

It does not appear to have occurred to Hitler that his capacity to achieve his aims had been greatly undermined when he forced his Jewish physicists out of Germany, but there can be little doubt that the United States could not have produced the atom bomb during World War II without that same group of people. Nor could it have achieved its temporary world dominance in both the arms race and the world economic and social scene.

The welcome which the German Jewish physicists received in America, the decision-in-principle which Roosevelt made to take advantage of their skills to develop atomic bombs (even though the United States had not entered the war against Germany at that time) and the actions which the president took which eventually led the United States to assume the role of principal sponsor of Zionism were important factors in edging the nation into the war and therefore in Hitler's defeat.

Later, after the threat of the final solution had subsided and the whole world became aware of the horrors of the atomic bomb several of the key figures in its development adopted or reverted to pacifism and became strong opponents of the further development of nuclear weapons. But it was too late. The United States liked the idea of being able to stay on top of the economic and political dunghill by virtue of nuclear superiority, and Israel needed its military umbrella. Subsequently Albert Einstein declined nomination for the office of president of Israel. It was a strange twist to the continuing saga of the trouble in the triangle that a new parody – contemporary Zionism in the State of Israel – should grab centre stage from *Mein Kampf* so smoothly and without most of the people of the amorphous Christian gel realizing that their own conduct had been the basic cause of both of them.

CONFUSION, CHANGE, CONFRONT MISSIONARIES AT TAMBARAM

Against that background of excitement in the scientific world and tension in the political world – but being just as ignorant of the details as the rest of the world due to the conspiracy of silence – Christian missionaries and churchmen gathered late in December 1938 for two weeks for the International Missionary Conference at Tambaram, India. The IMC was the third main thrust of the Ecumenical Movement which had been involved in negotiations towards the establishment of the World Council of Churches, but it was organized quite differently to its sister movements because of the purpose of its programs. Its members were the missionary societies in each country and they accepted that “the International Missionary Council has no meaning except in so far as it is a constant reminder of the Christian obligation to the evangelization of the world” and that within the structure of the new world body “the distinctive service and organization of the IMC should be maintained.”⁶³ The ecumenical movement therefore took a strong step forward when the conference resolved that the IMC should set up a joint working group with the provisional committee of the W.C.C. But it wasn't sitting on its hands waiting for union with the other movements, and its 400 delegates, working in sixteen sections, developed a number of new policies and took a number of initiatives. It could never be claimed that they were unanimous on all issues but they made a valiant effort to make Christianity relevant to the battered, bruised world in which they lived and worked, and, due to the initiative of John R. Mott, the conference was a remarkably representative gathering. Half of the delegates were from the younger churches, as opposed to the older churches of Europe, and half were below the age of 35. Mainstream Protestant mission agencies predominated, but churchmen with views as diverse as Anglo-Catholics, Quakers, high Lutherans and Baptists gathered and

worked in amicable fellowship. It was also due to Mott's initiative that the WCC subsequently made a strong effort to take full advantage of "the spiritual gifts which the younger churches were now in a position to offer,"⁶⁴ to involve indigenous churches of countries on all continents, and to avoid reliance on the theologians and hierarchies of the old established churches of Europe.

Vigorous participation by delegates from the African and Latin American continents helped the conference to a shared appreciation of the impact of division between the churches. There were divisions which resulted from different origins in cause, time and place and, as a consequence, different emphasis in their theological understanding. There were differences between those of the 'old world' of Europe and the 'new world' of Africa and Asia, and in this context it was always hard to classify the Americas, North and South, because of their 'melting pot' environment. There were differences resulting from the cultural and philosophical traditions and heritage of countries in which 'young' churches had been planted, such as India and China. And there were differences because each 'young' church tended to have closer links with its parent church in Europe than with neighbouring churches whose links were with other countries or churches in Europe. Those links all led to differences in the mission fields, to separatism – even isolation and antagonism – based on differences in liturgy, organization, status and authority of the clergy, welfare and school building programs, the nature of the evangelical message, and, of course, relations with colonial agencies, diplomats and commercial operations. These issues were encapsulated in a statement by the Co-operation and Unity section of the conference which noted that it was "abundantly clear that the divisions of Christendom were seen in their worst light in the mission fields." There was "disgraceful competition, wasteful overlapping ... (and) ... disunion is both a stumbling block to the faithful and a mockery to those without." This required "honest study of those things in which the churches have differences (and) a widespread teaching of the common church membership in things that make for union ..." It also called for "venturesome sacrifice on the part of all."⁶⁵

The major issue of concern to the delegates at Tambaram were Japan's invasion of China. Although the conspiracy of silence orchestrated from Downing Street ensured that they knew little about the way in which Britain was digging an ever-deeper whole for itself, they were painfully aware of the crisis to their north. Their conference had originally been planned for Hangchow, in China, and the venue had to be changed to Tambaram because of the Japanese invasion. However, in spite of the strain which this caused in relations between Japanese and Chinese delegates they all participated fully in worship and discussion at the conference.⁶⁶ In addition there was the Civil War in Spain; continuing depression in the United States; and Italy's colonial adventure in Ethiopia to which the Vatican had given qualified support – although in a less blatant manner than with Muslim Libya a generation earlier. Pius XI had issued a declaration that wars of conquest were unjust, but the church had made no clear-cut protest. In fact, as already noted, it had sought to take advantage of the adventure to extend papal authority over the Ethiopian Church, as ancient as the papacy itself, which had never previously succumbed. (See chapter 20)⁶⁷ When seen together with all those issues the Jewish

question seemed relatively minor. Europe's Jews were not allowed to claim Palestine – the Vatican said so – but Europe's Christians were welcome to countries like Libya and Ethiopia.

Noting that “confusion and change (were) fundamental features” of the time, they recognized that behind them “there is the deeper fact that the dominating social and economic order throughout the world has been organized in such a way that it is difficult for man with his fellowmen to realize the Christian meaning of community where the stewardship of natural resources and the worth of each individual can be realized.”⁶⁸ That showed a remarkable shift in attitude from the churches' absolute resistance to change when Karl Marx had first thrown out his challenge three generations earlier. It drew into focus the consequences of earlier Protestant theologians having thrown their full prestige and influence behind the unrestrained expansion of the Capitalist system in spite of that challenge from Marx. Together with another statement from the conference, it also highlighted the failure of the European Christian reconstruction of the non-European world. An indigenous Church, whether young or old and whether in the East or the West, was, according to the conference, one which was rooted in obedience to Christ and spontaneously used forms of thought and modes of action natural and familiar in its own environment. Such churches, it said, arose in response to Christ's own call.⁶⁹ So much for fixed liturgies tied to evolved doctrine and dogma with “bread and wine in a yams and coconut community.”⁷⁰

The conference also helped to move the churches forward in their self-understanding. No claim was made implying that the church was the exclusive representative of God on earth endowed with all of God's authority. The preface to its report indicated that the church's work of priestly, pastoral and prophetic ministry was *animated by the life of the risen and ascended Christ* who is at once the great High Priest, the Chief Shepherd of Souls, and the eternal word of God. This *ministry is committed to the church as a function of the whole body of Christ* and “from the time of the Apostles there have been special orders and ministries of the church, given by God, for the perfecting of the saints unto the work of ministering, unto the building up of the Body of Christ.”⁷¹

That was another strong breath of fresh air, but unfortunately not much progress had been made on the interfaith issue since the 1928 Jerusalem conference. Non-Christian faiths were acknowledged as having “values of deep religious experience” but it was noted that “Christians are not agreed ... whether ... as total systems of thought and life (they) may be regarded as in some sense or to some degree manifesting God's revelation.”⁷² And there had been quite a lot of pain and debate before the conference reached even that position. To assist missionary agencies and churches to think through the issues of working together rather than in competition in a multi-faith environment, Professor Hendrick Kraemer, a specialist in comparative religion, had been commissioned to write a book, *The Christian Message in a non-Christian World*, for study by delegates before the conference. Kraemer maintained that Christianity was the product of “Biblical realism” while other religions were the products of a human “religious approach.”⁷³ Such a statement may have reasonably described those faiths which were founded and evolved without contact with the Biblical or the Messianic experience. However it was an unfortunate

reflection on both Judaism, the primary source of the Bible and the community from which the early Christians broke away, and Islam, the inspiration for which was certainly Biblical and Messianic, and it tended to polarize opinion in the manner just noted. The delegates and their agencies were no closer to agreement on a common Messianic understanding. They simply proceeded on the basis of “expectant evangelism” and “mutual trust and common loyalty to Christ.”⁷⁴

Hitler’s parody could never be far from delegate’s minds, even if they didn’t think of it that way, but occasionally it intruded directly into debate, such as when the life of the church was under scrutiny. The German delegation called for “distinct orders of sex and family, nation and race (which) in the period of transition between Christ’s resurrection and his Second Advent” should not be dissolved.⁷⁵ It was an ill-disguised attempt to steer the conference into de facto recognition of Hitler’s Jewish program, and both the parody and the facts of life on which it was based show clearly in the *rejection* of that call and the adoption of “the new order” to which the conference believed mankind was called through the Gospel. Because *each* human being is a person for whom Christ died there cannot properly be discrimination on account of race, culture, social status or sex, it said. On that basis mankind is one and the unit of cooperation must be the human race. There were under-developed classes and races, it said, but *every person has infinite possibilities. There are none permanently superior or inferior. All men do not have the same abilities but they should have equality of opportunity. And since economic means can purchase opportunity, there can be no equality of opportunity without a redistribution of the world’s economic goods.*⁷⁶ [Emphasis added.] Marx would have been proud of the church. Perhaps if it had been pushing that line ever since urbanization became general across Europe, Marx may never have had to throw down his challenge. Perhaps ‘Munich’ may never have happened. Perhaps ...

But back to the major issue of concern to the delegates: China. They knew that by the time Britain’s Prime Minister Chamberlain had flown to Munich to placate Hitler with the gift of a few pieces of Czechoslovakia, China was effectively divided into three areas of influence. A puppet regime controlled one area on behalf of Japan; Chiang Kai-shek controlled so-called “free China” from his new headquarters at Chungking; and the vast poverty-stricken hinterland was being organized by the Chinese Communist Party. But in addition there was “independent” Manchuria which had been the subject of the dispute trumped up to launch Japan’s bid for an empire which, it hoped, would free it from Western Christian domination and influence. *That* was a matter of real concern.

New Year’s Day 1939 came and passed, but it was a working holiday for Craigie. He proposed that the Western Powers should unite in refusing to purchase any more gold from Japan, warning that the question was no longer merely one of protecting particular trade or investments in China but of “preventing, while there is time, the formation in East Asia of a valid and economic entity which may have serious repercussions on credit of every category of power.”⁷⁷ In one simple sentence he proved all of Japan’s complaints about European trading and political policy in Asia to be correct and, in particular, Arita’s view of British practice and

intentions to keep Asia in economic bondage. Britain could have its economic bloc, but Asia and Japan were not to be permitted the same privilege.

Roosevelt opened his New Year preparing for his State of the Union address on January 4. He had already shown his sympathies for Hitler's opponents during the closing months of 1938 when he willingly cooperated with a French mission which sought discussions on the purchase of aircraft and supporting equipment and then designated Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau Jr. to coordinate aid to the Western Allies.⁷⁸ However he was in a dilemma. He was 'locked in' by the *Neutrality Act* and by the strength of public opinion, and any aid was supposed to be strictly within the letter of the law. He now made a tentative move to change the situation and used his State of the Union address to show his impatience with the existing *Neutrality Act* which, he said, might be of aid to an aggressor. He suggested that there were methods "short of War" which could make it clear that America would not stop with a mere verbal condemnation of such nations.

But in the West, Schacht's plan to provide a 'soft landing' for Germany's remaining Jews had struck opposition on all fronts and this made settlement of the Jewish Question 'short of war' less and less likely. The plan ran counter to revived plans for a boycott of German goods which were again gathering momentum. Jewish communities feared it would aggravate widespread anti-Semitic claims of a worldwide financial network under Jewish control and they therefore sought to have their governments implement the plan instead of Jewish community organizations or the Jewish Agency. But not even the expulsion of the Polish Jews or Crystal Night had been enough to soften the hearts of Western Christian governments, and apart from not wanting to help the Jews or to be seen to pander to them, those governments would do nothing which appeared to strengthen Germany's economy or give it a trade advantage. Germany's Jews objected to it as "an ill-disguised plunder of Jewish property." And finally, the German government: it was divided between those who were prepared to support the scheme (including, for a time, both Hitler and Goering) and those who opposed anything which appeared to give Jews an advantage or raise their influence in the international arena, such as Ribbentrop.

Schacht was removed from his position as president of the Reichsbank on January 20, 1939. [Goering subsequently turned against the *Schacht Plan* also but, in spite of that, negotiations continued through the Inter-governmental Committee, somewhat sporadically, until a charter was actually drawn up and published in July. By that stage it was being overtaken by events and nothing ever came of it.⁷⁹] Next day, January 21, with the *Schacht Plan* apparently scrapped, Hitler announced that he could not guarantee the security of Czechoslovakia any longer *unless all Jews were expelled*. He told the Czech foreign minister that "This vermin must be destroyed. The Jews are our sworn enemies and at the end of this year there will not be a Jew left in Germany." The day of reckoning had come, he said, and they were not going to get away with what they had done in November 1918. *On the same day*, after he had personally "ordered that it be transmitted without delay," the draft encyclical against racism and anti-Semitism was finally delivered to the ailing pontiff, Pius XI.⁸⁰

In the United States confidence in its seemingly unassailable national security – smug security – on the basis of its grand isolation, its extraordinary resources and its neutrality was beginning to weaken. Unease began to surface, at least among the well informed, as a result of the ease with which Japan was able to challenge China. And although the ‘unification’ of Germany and Austria appeared logical and there was widespread support for Hitler’s philosophy and his ambitions for his people, the expansion of Nazi Germany was of steadily growing concern. The pressure which Hitler was exerting on Czechoslovakia, the Munich crisis and the ease with which he violated the *Munich Agreement* without any real opposition from the other signatories convinced Roosevelt that neutrality could prove dangerous. It had become quite apparent that in the event of a war with Germany, the Western European democracies would have to buy arms and borrow large sums of money from the United States if they were to survive. If they could not, and if they did not survive, then the US would have to contend with an entire continent under despotic totalitarian government. The problem was how and when arms and adequate funds could be arranged.⁸¹

Then, on January 23, 1939, the issue of America’s relations with the European powers and arms supplies became more real in the public mind when an American bomber crashed on a test flight with French Air Ministry officials on board and Roosevelt had to state publicly that he had personally given permission for the sale of the aircraft.⁸²

By that time the refugee dilemma had become very acute indeed. Hoards of refugees from the occupied territories, including thousands of Jews, were banked up on the border of what remained of Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak government simply refused to admit them. It took the view that as Britain and France had forced it into its predicament they should help solve its problems. Czechoslovakia would allow its former citizens transit if other countries would provide them with visas. But as already noted, none would, in substantial numbers. Britain agreed to advance a loan of 10 million pounds Sterling to Czechoslovakia, basically to assist it in resettlement within Czechoslovakia of refugees from the areas surrendered to Germany and for associated costs, but *not* for settlement in Britain or Palestine. On January 24, Hermann Goering, to whom Hitler had delegated responsibility for the Jewish program, instructed Reinhard Heydrich to take all measures necessary for the enforced emigration of all Jews from Germany.⁸³

A German Foreign Ministry circular to all diplomatic and consular missions made the policy of total expulsion official and not just a point in Hitler’s debating armoury. “The ultimate aim of Germany’s Jewish policy is the emigration of all Jews living on German territories,” it said. The resistance of other countries such as America, France, Holland and Norway to accept even the 100,000 Jews who had left Germany since 1933 had grown to a ground swell of anti-Semitism with nations hermetically sealing their borders and this confirmed the validity of shipping out Jews en masse. The goal of German policy, it continued, “will be an international solution of the Jewish question in the future, not dictated by false sympathy for the ‘Jewish religious minority which has been expelled,’ but by the mature realization by all peoples of the danger which the Jews represent for the racial preservation of the nations.”⁸⁴ It could well have been compiled

from the pages of the Jesuit press, from eugenics handbooks, or from a selection of both, with United States immigration laws and Britain's program for Palestine used as its models. As a first step thousands were promptly rounded up and incarcerated in concentration camps at Dachau, Buchenwald and Mauthausen.

In what can only be interpreted as a desperation bid to soften the impact of further expulsions from the occupied territories into the rump of Czechoslovakia, a joint Anglo-French programme of 16 million pounds Sterling financial assistance for Czechoslovakia was agreed to (presumably additional to 10 million pounds Sterling which had already been provided) but it was not immediately put into effect.⁸⁵

THE ANTI-COMINTERN PACT ADAPTS TO NEW NEEDS

As 1938 drew to a close Ribbentrop sought to broaden the three-power pact between Germany, Japan and Italy from its Anti-Comintern focus to a military alliance directed against any fourth power. Italy approved of the proposal but Japan was cautious. It advised its partners that certain imports essential for its operations in the Sino-Japanese war might be prejudiced by the conclusion of such a pact and that "in this respect, Japan's relations with England and America are necessarily different to those of Germany and Italy at the present time." The interception of a telegram with that advice from Arita to Japan's ambassador in Germany by Britain's 'Blue Jacket' diplomatic intelligence decrypting service on January 26, 1939, strengthened Britain's hand considerably. A second telegram was intercepted three days later, indicating that Japanese ministers planned to provide their own draft treaty rather than the draft prepared by Ribbentrop and that this would be carried to Europe by a special envoy in the latter half of February.⁸⁶ Britain's efforts turned to driving a wedge between Japan and its two European treaty partners.

Then, with the German Foreign Ministry circular hardly out of the diplomatic mail bag, Hitler again vented his spleen against world Jewry in general, against the Jews of Vienna and against Jewish international financiers in particular in his infamous speech to the Reichstag on January 30. He referred to his previous 'prophecies' that he would take over the leadership of the state and settle the Jewish problem at which the Jews laughter was "uproarious" and then said: "... but I think that for some time now they have been laughing out of the other side of their face. Today I will once again be a prophet: if the international Jewish financiers in and outside Europe should again succeed in plunging the nations into a world war, the result will not be the Bolshevization of the globe and thus the victory for Jewry but the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe."⁸⁷

The "gloomy apprehensions" triggered by Hitler's prophecies and the rapidly deteriorating world situation did not prevent the provisional committee of the WCC from meeting in an atmosphere of goodwill and fraternal understanding in the room in which Louis XIV had been born at St. Germain-en-Laye, Paris, over the next few days.⁸⁸ It decided that "in spite of the political tension and the menace of war" it would plan for the first assembly of the World Council in August 1941 and, in response to the decisions taken at Tambaram a few weeks

earlier, it established a joint committee of the WCC and the IMC. It also resolved to keep the Vatican informed of progress in establishing the World Council and to invite cooperation and consultation in matters of common interest.⁸⁹ That decision was certainly not taken lightly because many Protestant churches regarded the Church of Rome as having departed so far from the Gospel that it deserved only “resolute and uncompromising opposition” and they objected to any approaches to the Vatican by the Ecumenical Movement. However Archbishop Temple proceeded to draft a letter of invitation to be addressed to the Vatican Secretary of State.

Chamberlain visited Mussolini in Rome early in February during preparations for the opening of the Round Table Conference on Palestine. No doubt the Jewish question and the PM’s bid to get the Duce’s support for Britain’s Palestine policy were high on their agenda and we can assume that British officials accompanying the PM also called on the Vatican. The British press contingent which travelled with the PM was accorded lavish hospitality which encouraged the spate of pro-Mussolini publicity which both the dictator and Chamberlain were looking for.⁹⁰ However not everyone would have been impressed and Hitler’s Crystal Night and Italy’s new anti-Jewish regulations were still a vivid memory for many of the participants when some of the world’s leading physicists met for the Fifth Washington Conference of Theoretical Physics at the same time that Chamberlain, having returned from Rome, was welcoming delegates to that emergency Round Table Conference on February 7.

During the night of February 9 Pope Pius XI died after what has been described as a prolonged period of suspended animation in the Vatican. During the final stages of his illness he got “only what others want him to get” and although he was supposed to be still in “good psychological condition” in spite of a series of heart attacks, the last of which was the cause of death, he was not able to do much on his own.⁹¹ It was in such circumstances that the draft encyclical *Humani Generis Unitas* had finally reached him nineteen days earlier when he was apparently in no condition to do any serious work on it, even if he had been eager to do so. Strangely enough, the draft encyclical, and the text of an address which had been prepared for Pius XI to deliver to the Italian bishops next day to mark the tenth anniversary of the Lateran accords, “disappeared” from the pope’s desk almost immediately, in circumstances of intrigue.⁹² The tactics which had been used to delay publication of Pius’ planned encyclical against racism and anti-Semitism had proved effective. When the draft was rediscovered some years later, Vatican authorities were very evasive in explaining its disappearance. They said only that the texts were “transmitted to Pius XI by the then Superior General of the Society of Jesus, W. Ledochowski, *at the end of 1938 or the beginning of 1939*” and that they “cannot be considered a true pontifical document, but at most the draft, requiring many revisions and redevelopments, of a future encyclical.”⁹³ Exactly *when* the draft reached the pope’s desk remained a matter of conjecture until the note from Fr. Abbott was disclosed. However the matter of *how* it reached his desk is still a matter of conjecture. As already noted, Fr. Rosa, to whom Ledochowski had referred it, had died on November 26, the day the British government announced that the partition of Israel would not proceed, some ten weeks before Abbott said it arrived on the pope’s desk. In all probability Rosa had not read it either and he certainly did not deliver it to

the pope. Who was holding it from the time of Rosa's death to its delivery to the ailing pope, and why?

To suggest that clumsy presentation or the need for further revision justified the subsequent decision not to complete and publish the encyclical begs the question. When the church's leadership on the Jewish Question was needed more desperately than ever before, it was pigeon-holed in the Vatican. The unpublished draft was certainly not without its blemishes and the influence of the co-authors whom Ledochowski had nominated to muzzle LaFarge is quite clear, but the fact that the pope had ordered the preparation of *Humani Generis Unitas* was an enormous leap forward. The publication of an appropriate encyclical at that critical time *could* have been a restraining influence on Hitler and it certainly would have strengthened the opposition against him. But those who were either opposed to softening the Vatican line on Jews and Judaism or who considered that to raise the issue of anti-Semitism "could put 'peace' in danger" had won the day.⁹⁴ Their idea of "peace" was security for the re-established papal state and Vatican self-understanding. Their fear was that to raise the Jewish Question at a time when the Italian government had adopted a hard line in cooperation with Hitler, and so soon after the "Roman Question" had been resolved in favour of the Roman Catholic Church, would undermine relations between the Vatican and the governments of both countries and prejudice not only the two concordats but the *Lateran Treaty* as well. Of course they should not have worried. It was, after all, Pius XI himself who had said, when the *Lateran Treaty* was signed: "We are persuaded that We have given God back to Italy, and Italy to God," and that future dangers to the sovereignty of the papal state could only be hypothetical and "(such dangers) are certainly never more unlikely than today." (See chapter 17)

However the *Hidden Encyclical*⁹⁵ is of such importance that it must be considered closely. From close examination of the authors' styles and the thrust of their previous writings it has been suggested that the first 76 paragraphs of the 179 paragraph work were "inspired by Gundlach" and that the balance "probably resulted from discussions and compromises among the three writers" and it is difficult to establish what contribution was made by the third writer, Desbuquois.⁹⁶ The signs of compromise, or even conflict of views, are quite clear in the later sections. This suggests that although it was LaFarge who was instructed by Pius XI to prepare the encyclical, with free rein to express progressive views, it was Gundlach, probably strongly influenced by Ledochowski, whose approach dominated the completed draft. In fact Passelecq & Suchecky say that the work was "written in a speculative, theoretical, and laborious style that more resembled Gundlach's manner of thinking than LaFarge's"⁹⁷ and this is supported by the statement attributed to the person appointed to translate the draft into Latin, Fr. Heinrich Bacht, S.J., that "Gundlach wrote the larger part of the draft, whereas LaFarge wrote most of the key sections on racism and anti-Semitism."⁹⁸

THE HIDDEN ENCYCLICAL

The opening paragraphs of *Humani Generis Unitas* are an unusually bold, frank and direct confrontation of the philosophies, policies and practices of not only Hitler and Mussolini but also Britain, the United States, each of the European imperial powers and their colonial settlers and administrations, the Communist powers, and much of the non-European world as well.

The unity of the human race has been forgotten, so to speak, because of the disorder in contemporary social life, in relationships among individuals as well as in relations among groups and nations. This disorder is found in factual reality, but it is still more evident in people's minds. That this is so is clearly shown by the variety of remedies proposed for curing the illness.

In one place we find rigid doctrinaires proclaiming the sovereign value of the unity of the nation, in another a leader rousing people's souls by an intoxicating appeal to the unity of the race; whereas Eastern Europe throws out to the whole world the promise, tinged with terror and blood, of a new humanity in the unity of the proletariat.

To the often incompatible demands of these various collectivities – nation, race and class – we must add the obligations imposed, in the name of the unity of the state, on the political community proper.

However the breadth of its generalities concealed the fact that without it being intended as such, that paragraph was a sweeping contradiction of the teachings of the Catholic Church ever since it adopted the Athanasian Creed (see chapters 2 & 3); all of the teachings of each of the churches which subsequently flowed from that creed; and the destructive attitudes and policies which resulted when those teachings merged with a misunderstanding of the work of Darwin, the evolving Protestant work ethic and the social policies of both the Colonial era and the industrial revolution in the nineteenth century to form the amorphous Christian gel. (See chapter 15). It was dynamite!

The writer(s) proclaimed that “the church has a duty to speak to the world” without realizing that its ‘speaking’ was fundamental to the crises noted in clause 1, then claimed that “her purpose is to remind so-called purely human wisdom, which has gone astray, of God's Wisdom” and “she does not engage in ‘politics’”! Its teaching mission and its ‘continual intervention in matters that concern social life’ were a sacred pastoral responsibility entrusted by “her divine Founder,” subject only to the rules of the Gospel “of which the Church is the guardian and interpreter,” and these responsibilities concerned “not only the immediate or mediate content of Christian revelation, but also everything required to enlighten and direct consciences in everyday life.” She was “a supernatural society of souls (which) provides the world with an example of a unique community: the most unified, most ample, most durable social reality on earth.” That was a plug for authority that went well beyond the limits of any concordat and made absolutely no allowance for any social teaching role of any other faith, especially Judaism which the church claimed – in spite of its demonstrated greater ‘durability’ – was superseded by Christian revelation.⁹⁹

Then there was a remarkable admission that the church was responsible for the nature of the amorphous Christian gel in an arrogant statement which was intended to show the superiority of the West over the rest of the world. “Whether or not they are aware of it, *civilized peoples in the West* still live by the teaching and principles with which the Church, acting like a true mother, endowed them in the past; and in turn they *have transmitted this teaching and these principles to other peoples all over the world*. Thus *the Church is fully justified* – not only by her nature and proper function, but also *by her actions in history – in considering herself the true principle of life for human society ...*” [Emphasis added.] ¹⁰⁰ Having claimed that authority and that level of influence the Vatican could never again distance itself from the crises caused by the conduct of the amorphous Christian gel once that clause was in the public arena, whether by deliberate announcement or, as happened, by default. That clause simply encapsulated what the church had been claiming in various ways throughout its sordid history.

This was followed by an analysis of the nature of human society which attempted to put the blame on everyone else for the disunity in the church and in society. In particular it offset “the conclusions of sound philosophy and the teachings of Christian Revelation” against “the erroneous theses of materialist or positivist philosophy,” which, in the circumstances of the day and in the light of much material published by the church press, would have been interpreted as an attack on Jewish influence and Marxism jointly. That led into a statement that *the state* “is in fact the institution best suited to resort to external constraint in the interest of order, and moreover this preserves its God-given spiritual and moral character.” Although that statement sat very uncomfortably alongside criticism of various forms of “the state,” the Communist Soviet authorities would have agreed with the first part of it, up to the point about its spiritual and moral character being “God-given,” and Hitler would have agreed with every word of it. The specific reference to *Christian Revelation* guiding man’s drive towards unity rather than the totality of Biblical Revelation had the effect of *excluding* Jewish Revelation at the very time that the Vatican was defending the study of the Old Testament in German schools against Nazi attacks because it was a means of showing that Christianity was the successor to Judaism. ¹⁰¹ Hitler would have been delighted!

He might not have been so delighted at the use of the story of the Tower of Babel to illustrate the point that a profession of nationality through a single language expressed only “a deceptive unity” but his smile would have returned when he read that “humanity can remain united only insofar as it takes its inspiration from the Holy Spirit, obeys its laws, and determines its goals and the hierarchy of its values in accord with it.”¹⁰² That was a distinct compliment to Hitler and Mussolini for having concluded concordats.

There was a similar thrust in the next few clauses which referred to the monotonous uniformity and depersonalization of human life with ordinary man in constant danger of being caught up and carried away by blind mass movements without a will of his own, with his enthusiasm for a cause raised or his opposition to it inflamed by incessant and insistent propaganda from the press, radio, movies and public meetings. These things were set against “the energy and material resources that are spent today on educating young people and adults in

order to make them worthy of being called men.” We are left to assume that church meetings and services were in some way different to other public meetings and that they were purely educational, with absolutely no component of propaganda. But even if he lacks a full education “the true Christian stands as straight and strong as a tower” with faith, in union with God, with the Spirit of Truth and Order, solidity of character and calm assurance of the soul. And if the evolutionary factors (discussed earlier in the encyclical) were all to come together “the values we admire in rare men who bear the plain stamp of the Christian ... would then be every man’s lot ...”¹⁰³ Those clauses were clearly intended to establish that the only solution to the world’s problems was “true Christianity” in cahoots with appropriate governments. Those who wished could read the criticisms as applying to the excesses of totalitarian government while those who wished could read them as applying to the excesses of Capitalism, but in any case there was no place for Jews.

Then came an attack on all of the “desperate, not to say fierce efforts” at maintaining the genuine unity within humanity, except through the Catholic Church, since the Great War. The language of attack encompassed Western-style cooperation through systems such as the League of Nations, Communism, National Socialism and Fascism, and even the Ecumenical Movement. Efforts to put these various incompatible formulae into practice, it said, “inevitably further increased the division among men and within humanity ... and drove men into different, violently opposed camps ... minimizing that (concrete) unity by opposing it to other concrete realities, for example race, nation, or class ...” The unity of the human race is known through both reason and Divine Revelation, with “human nature identical in all men and in all times ... founded on the supernatural truth of the Redemption, just as it is presupposed by the very fact of original sin, and found in the supernatural relation of all men to their Redeemer, Jesus Christ.” But it was “slipping towards an interior rupture.”¹⁰⁴

There was some discussion that the essential duty of the state was to ensure the equality of rights for all citizens without exception; economic collectivism, with condemnation of any system of communal occupation of land such as Kibbutim or the numerous systems of land tenure in non-Western countries which did not recognize that absolute private ownership of land was “founded on natural law”; and invasive foreign policies which imperil the unity of the human race. Special reference to the deprivation of human liberty under Marxism which was “utterly incapable of establishing any form of human unity” followed, of course. There was the usual underlying arrogant assumption of the correctness of imposing the values of the amorphous Christian gel on the entire world and a note that “affirmation of human personality ... is as old as the creation of man, as old as the redemptive mystery of the redemptive sacrifice on Golgotha, and therefore as old as the supernatural link uniting human personality with the One God in Three Persons, through the Sacrament of Baptism.” In that fantastic compression of the human time capsule there was, yet again, the implicit exclusion of the Jews from both the unity of humanity and redemption because of their rejection of the church’s interpretation of the Christian experience and their association with Marxism.¹⁰⁵

The author(s) of *Humani Generis Unitas* then turned to the question of authority. The dignity of the human person was established, they said, by the fact that “human authority in itself is derived from God (and) by assigning it this lofty origin, one strongly emphasizes the dignity of the human person.” They skirted around the church’s well trodden definition of the divine right of kings, saying that human authority entails relationships of subordination between one man and another, spiritual and moral, and that these relationships can be grasped “only in the exercise of God’s own authority, communicated by God to man.” However the legitimacy or illegitimacy of any action taken by a sovereign power on the basis of that authority could not be established on the basis of the common good of the social system “but must be solidly based on their full accord with Divine moral law” – as conveyed and interpreted by the sole representative of the Triune God on earth, of course. They then criticized the measures which had been introduced in Italy progressively during July to September in much the manner of the Jesuit press attacks on the ‘*Manifesto of the Italian Race*’ in August 1938. (See chapter 21). In particular they referred to “the sanctity of home and hearth” being violated when “the freedom to marry, to educate children, and even the practice of conjugal rights is limited, *with no authorization* and in direct connection with the interests of the national, racial, or proletarian collectivity,” thus depriving individuals of the right to decide in accord with their consciences and in contradiction of “the immutable truth that all human authority proceeds from God.”¹⁰⁶ [Emphasis added.] Their main concern, consistent with the long running Roman theme, was the authority of the Vatican.

That theme continued: “*we Christians are still more firmly convinced* that true unity among men can only come from the spirit, inspired by the uncreated Spirit whose Divine Person has been poured ‘into the hearts’ in ‘mysterious fullness,’ and who *at the birth of the Church made all Christians ‘of one heart and mind,’* achieving the miracle of *making it once again possible* for all the representatives of the most diverse peoples to communicate in a single and unique language. This Spirit is the spirit of unity, since He Himself is the love of the triune God in all its fullness. *Wherever He is poured forth, there unity is poured forth ... (and) a unity of (humanity) is possible only by virtue of the spirit that produces it.*” Then, in a radical contradiction of the obligatory Oath Against the Errors of Modernism which Pius X had imposed in 1910 and which was still very much in force (chapter 16) they drew on science to confirm the Old Testament teaching of human unity from the point of creation. However they then highlighted the division from the time of Christ by referring to the “unifying stream of bodily life – the blood stream ... in which all men are plunged ... by virtue of a formal decree of God ... (because of which) ... the melancholy heritage of original sin would not be passed down through the generations.” Moreover, *deliverance from the bonds of original sin could be accomplished only through the Redeemer, Jesus Christ ...* and “what was not assumed by Him was not healed.” However it was “*sad to observe* that there are men who still want to be Christians, at least in name, who do not admit this mystery of the blood ... (and who) ... *grossly exaggerate* the role of accidental and in any case very superficial accidents of blood and blood relationships in the formation of social groups larger than the family.” In opposition to the

Catholic faith “they absolutely reject the unity of the human race and *seek to erect insurmountable barriers* between the different communities of blood and race.”¹⁰⁷ [Emphasis added.] In those lines lay a massive challenge to – or a vigorous repudiation of – the Jewish people, coupled with a provocative reference to the Reformers who reject Catholic teaching on transubstantiation, and tempered by a less vigorous repudiation of Nazi philosophy. Nazi attitudes were simply a matter of mere ‘sadness.’ The world was to be told that the Jews could not be delivered from the bonds of original sin, so what did it really matter if the Nazis did build an insurmountable barrier between them and the redeemed? But that was not all. Those lines also imply that rejection of the church’s doctrine equates to the rejection of the unity of humanity: a totally insupportable position.

If Pius XI was looking for a genuinely new direction in race and interfaith relations – and there is every reason to believe that he was – he would have been deeply disappointed by what he read. It is fair to conclude that he was deeply disturbed by the re-presentation of exactly the same line that the Vatican had been peddling for a very long time and even during the months since he issued his instruction for the Jesuit press to cease its attacks on the Jewish community. His instructions to LaFarge had been totally circumvented. In his situation, to whom could he turn? Those around him who were supposed to be supporting him were clearly on a completely different wave length. It is therefore also reasonable to conclude that the reason it was on his desk when he died three weeks after it was finally delivered to him was *not* that he had yet to read and consider it, but that he *would not* order its publication in the form in which he received it and he was not then in a position to rework it himself or to order its revision by those around him. This was hardly the prescription which a doctor would write for an elderly patient struggling in the middle of a series of heart attacks. The world would simply have to struggle on with no change in the dominant Christian attitudes towards the Jewish question and the Nazi-Fascist policies. The parody of *Mein Kampf* was certainly not being understood.

But we have not yet considered all of the draft encyclical and there is much worse to come. That first portion was apparently the sole work of Gundlach. The larger portion – the portion dealing with practical issues – is considered to be the merged work of both LaFarge and Gundlach with possible contributions from Desbuquois also. It begins with a distinct change of style and there are signs of a struggle to accommodate the first portion and the actual position being adopted by the Vatican, to what Pius XI had asked of LaFarge. It was certainly a struggle.

The ‘merged’ portion opens with a statement that *God entered human history* “when the fullness of time was realized” through the incarnation of His Son when God became man and entered the temporal life of men living together, not as a stranger but as a member of the family. It was another rejection of the Jews and reinforced the concept of change at the time of Christ. It then proceeds to lament the contemporary condition of church-state relations. The church “finds herself here in accord with all types of society (and) both internally and positively, with nations” since by their nature “they are all rooted in history, in tradition, in the temporality of our social life,” they said. “If there are state-systems that call themselves Catholic because they are based on *a dynasty or a crown anointed by the church*, this is the result of *a historical*

encounter with the Church that was not merely a positive fact, as in the case of other nations, but also a religious fact.” That statement was true as far as it went, but it was an understatement amounting to misrepresentation of the gross politicking for power and authority by the church during that ‘historical encounter.’ Then: “in the view of the Church and of these states *history was and is above all, since the incarnation of the Son of God, the history of God and of the work of His grace.*” No one could say the church was trying to conceal its self-understanding and its claim to be the sole representative of the triune God on earth in succession to the failed and rejected Jews. And: “*what a lamentable decline resulted from the misuse or waste of special graces given to the community*, when this consciousness (of a magnificent, profound, and fruitful unity) on the state’s part evaporated, and *the state’s Catholicism became merely a political formula used by the rulers.*”¹⁰⁸ [Emphasis added.] That was a pathetic claim to make about the effect of the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire and an equally pathetic admission about the nature of the Vatican’s concordats.

After stating the “natural right” of “the human person” to use the external goods of the earth the authors qualified that right by a statement which would have warmed the heart of every Western Christian Capitalist: “the exercise of this right must be constrained by the institution of private property.” Then there was a restatement of the church’s position on the waste of war, personal squander, and labour and work before a return to church-state authority in civil matters. Christ, “The *Man-God himself* consented to enter” the *sanctified matrimonial community* and then raised the marriage contract between man and woman “to the dignity of a sacrament.” Pursuing the church’s claim that the state held only subordinate authority in such matters, they said “its authority also proceeds from God, and that person who holds that authority is acting as a ‘servant of God’ ... (and) ... it is naturally also not the fault of the Church, if the majority of present-day states rarely or never agree to recognize overtly the religious character of the state’s constitution, or even completely deny it.” And concerning “the domain of the state’s activity, salvation must first be sought in this direction: the Church must return to her essential functions (and) ... she will ensure the proper development of the social organizations that are constituted, ... not derived from the state, to govern themselves, and normally must be recognized by public law.”¹⁰⁹

Then the draft turned to Realpolitik. Concerning the threat of a breakdown in relations between stronger and weaker states it said: “We, who through Our God-given office are the father of all men, do not wish and must not allow this to happen.” It proposed the establishment of a Court of Justice which would make internationally binding decisions on the basis of principles laid down by “eminent Church doctors such as Saint Augustine, Saint Thomas Aquinas, and Saint Robert Bellarmine,¹¹⁰ and great theologians such as Francis of Vitoria¹¹¹ and Francis Suarez”¹¹² to give visible expression to the fraternal unity of peoples.¹¹³ That proposal can be seen as an attempt to establish a system of international mediation and judgement such as was set up a few years later and, if that was the case, it was indeed a far-sighted initiative which would do the Vatican much credit at the same time that it actually weakened its capacity to intervene directly with governments and to exercise coercive influence over them. On the

other hand it can also be seen as a bid to intervene directly in current political crises and controversies and because that passage is soon followed by: “Christians must not allow themselves to fall into the kind of humanitarianism found in all the possible forms of an internationalism that mixes and confuses all sorts of things and peoples,” it must, unfortunately, be taken to refer to Germany and Czechoslovakia, and as a bid to intervene directly to influence the pathetic defensive and self-interested Munich negotiations in which Britain and France were engaged at the time that it was drafted. If *that* was the case, then considering the writings of the ‘eminent Church doctors and great theologians’ whose work was to guide it, and the Vatican’s concordat with Germany, Hitler would have been delighted and it would have augured badly for both Czechoslovakia and the Jewish community.

We can assume that it was drafted and redrafted during August-September 1938 and that it was completed before LaFarge arrived in Rome to deliver the final draft towards the end of September. We know that LaFarge listened in horror to Hitler’s broadcast on September 26, together with his Jesuit colleagues in Rome; that Chamberlain had flown to Munich on September 29 after the mobilization of the fleet for his torrid meeting with Hitler; that the *Munich Agreement* was signed on September 30; and that Hitler occupied the Sudetenland on October 1 – the same day that LaFarge left Rome for New York. [See chapter 21, p. 45.] We *do not* know and – unless relevant documents come to light from sources such as the Vatican archives – we seem to have no way of knowing whether LaFarge made any additions or amendments to these key clauses after his arrival in Rome while he was making the final draft of ‘the Authentic and complete (French) text’ presentable for delivery to Ledochowski, and, in particular, whether he made any changes between listening to Hitler on the 26th and leaving for America on the 1st.

However that passage is qualified immediately: “The reason [why Christians must not fall into humanitarianism that mixes and confuses all sorts of people] is that *humanity assuredly constitutes a genuine unity*, but a unity within a self-ordered plurality ... (and) ... humanity finds its origin and mode of development ... *in the Holy Spirit, which cannot produce, approve, and sanctify a social life in which there is neither order nor unity in plurality.*” This passage has a substantially different thrust to the first portion of the encyclical and the passages immediately before it, especially when read together with the passage which followed: “Saint Augustine calls upon the Holy Spirit to establish the foundation of relationships within humanity, among persons and among groups ... (and) ... exclaims: ‘it is certain that we are not obliged to provide all things to everyone, *but we are obliged to love everyone, and injustice toward anyone is unacceptable.*’”¹¹⁴ [Emphasis added.] That is the thrust of LaFarge’s earlier work which caught the attention of Pius XI and led him to commission the American to write an encyclical against racism and anti-Semitism and it is an excellent illustration of the confusion in the second portion of the encyclical.

After that flash of inspiration the writers moved back to provocative statements about the formation of groups, the processes of “particularization, separation (and) differentiation” which were understood because “unaided reason declares it and Christian revelation teaches it very

firmly.” They then set out criteria which define, firstly, “the falsity of human groupings” and, secondly, “a justifiable group.” A *false group*, they said, “by the way it is established and its members bonded, suppresses and destroys the inviolable source of humanity itself ... pursues goals and proclaims values that contradict objective goals ... claims for its own advantage, an extensive totality (and) because of its own goal and the value it attributes to itself ... makes a mockery of the fundamental structure of humanity ...” It can be argued that this description of a false group was intended to relate to later clauses which dealt with the manipulated absorption of one population into another – especially the piecemeal absorption of Czechoslovakia into Germany – but if that is the case the choice of words was most unfortunate because the “doctrinal points” listed bore a remarkable similarity to points which had been used over a very long period to describe the Jewish community. A *justifiable group*, on the other hand, “will bear fruit for humanity as a whole ... (show) fecundity ... by a certain characteristic vigour ... consistency and solidity ... realizes the general objective goals of humanity (and) simply by living in accord with its own essence ... supports and gives life to the internal edifice of humanity, namely its genuine unity in its genuine plurality.”¹¹⁵ Then: “there is no special rule of private morals for any people ... every result proceeding from man (must) be measured by this rule: Does it put God’s stamp still more deeply on the world, the stamp of the God of justice and love?” If the answer for a group’s actions was ‘no’ then “it is therefore blasphemous when by such cases peoples and their leaders claim that their successes are proof of Divine benediction, as if success were a sign of particular favor.”¹¹⁶ It may also be argued that this passage dealing with a justifiable group was intended to challenge Hitler’s messianic self-understanding but if that was the case the words were equally ill-chosen because that statement also, unfortunately, resembles a restatement of the church’s attitude to Jews.

So we come to the clauses dealing with the concepts of territorial nationality, nationalism and “Volk” which Hitler was exploiting to absorb regions with a minority German-speaking population into the Third Reich. Here the authors of the encyclical had to tread very carefully because the questions of language and state, religion and state, and culture and state run in parallel, are intertwined and they related directly to the *Risorgimento* and the “Roman Question.” [See chapter 15, pp. 21, 37.] Hitler’s language and culture push carried a definite threat to the continued existence of the Vatican State. They therefore sought to distinguish between a nation and a state and to define what these terms may encompass. They said the nation is “a large association of men who have common *memories* and whom a common *tradition*, particularly with regard to *spiritual culture*, has shaped and continues to shape.” But territorial nationality referred to “an association of men more or less conscious of what they have in common, insofar and inasmuch as they were *born on the same soil and are consequently permanently marked by the same personal characteristics*.” With such questionable statements they were floundering and they sought to isolate several considerations. They noted, among other things, that: “it would therefore be false to consider in advance as unnatural the fact that human groups belonging to different territorial nationalities may be brought together in one state, or that members of the same territorial nationality may live in

different states.” And, they said, it would be equally false for one state which was represented by members of its territorial nationality in another state to claim any kind of sovereign power over those people in the other state, or for those people to “seek political union” with another state. Talking of the bonds between nations and states they said: “Belonging to a given state is in and of itself distinct from belonging to a nation.” They were recognizing the tidal waves of migration, invasion and refugee movements which had shaped Europe and other regions, but they were deep into politics rather than the human rights of population dynamics. On one hand their statements could be read as justifying Hitler’s claims and on the other hand they could be read as justifying Czechoslovakia’s defence against his claims, while the Nazis in Czechoslovakia were definitely being told *not* to seek integration with Germany or to secede to form a separate state. However that required a defence of the Vatican’s position as a religion-based nation-state so we read: “... the solution of the ‘Roman Question’ was made possible only by *abandoning* this false idea of the nation, which would necessarily have entailed the maintenance of *the integrity of the state*, and returning to the true idea of the state, which is based on history.”¹¹⁷ [Emphasis added.] Indeed that would have been music to Hitler’s and Chamberlain’s ears.

Then: the questions of state, race and religion. “The nation has the right to fully develop its own nature, that is, to be intensively totalitarian; but *it does not by itself have the exclusive right to control the legal order or the state, and still less the Church*; it does not have the right to be *exclusively* totalitarian. For in that case we would have nationalism.” Put simply, the Vatican wanted to share in the exercise of totalitarianism, and Hitler’s policies had highlighted the contradiction in its self-understanding and actions: imposing itself on the state. It was being forced, yet again, to justify its demands as a religious institution for temporal power. People had to be free, according to the authors, to fulfill “their obligations to *the divine moral order*.” Christ himself had done this, they said, when he taught the people of the Old Testament. It “caused the Messiah [sic] to weep over Jerusalem; it is in perfect accord with the feelings of the Church which, as a visible, historical society, cannot avoid encountering nations in a positive manner on the terrain of history.” The authors then referred back to their criteria for false and legitimate groups and concluded that “racism denies, practically if not theoretically, that there are objective goals and values common to humanity as a whole,” noting that racism’s moral teaching – “the strength of the race and the purity of its blood must be preserved ... (and) ... any means that serves this end is ... good and legitimate” – had only recently been condemned.¹¹⁸ But then they set out to separate race and religion and, in doing so, justified discrimination against Jews on virtually the same basis that the Jesuit press had done for years, saying: “Although the unity of the whole of human culture is important to Catholic faith and to morality, let us limit ourselves here to considering only the relations between race and religion.” Then: “religion is based on the relation between the human person and a personal Being distinct from man, and on which man totally depends ... there is one God for all men and for all races ... (and) ... *The Christian religion, the only true religion*, is thereby fundamentally adapted to all and *ordained for all races*.” No one can change it in any way and “the loss of its *objective*

and obligatory character would cause *religion* to lose completely its characteristic of *universality*.” And because it based its claim to authority on its own interpretation of Matthew 28:19–20, that all power over heaven and earth had been given to Christ, the Church “puts no people or group under any constraint in order to impose on it anything *contrary to its true nature*.” [Emphasis added.]¹¹⁹ At least it was not denying that it had put, and still put, people under constraints. It had simply written off as untrue and irrelevant all other religions – Judaism in particular but all others – whether they had evolved before or after Christianity.

The draft then noted that there was *no basis* in either biology or theology, “in the sense of divine election or rejection,” for racism and that it was destructive because it “erects barriers between superior, inferior, and indigenous races” measured on the basis of “the outward manifestations of their cultural life” but which are attributed to “invariable differences in blood.” And although it failed to recognize the historic role of the church and its doctrines in the development of those attitudes it clearly identified a vital factor, saying: “If the colonizing nations, urged on by political ambitions and the thirst for material gain, neglect their duty to raise the cultural level of certain human groups by means of beneficent political, social, and economic measures, and ... even keep the colonized peoples at this inferior level, then they are violating the elementary principles of Christian morality and natural law.” It called on “men of goodwill” to put an end to “all unmistakably defamatory and discriminatory distinctions in public life” and noted that it was “a fearful insult to a race” to “systematically prohibit” marriage between races. Special reference was reserved for “certain parts of the American continent” where the “unleashing of the basest human instincts in the so-called lynch law” occurs in circumstances in which the idea of a fixed distinction between inferior and superior races has been kept alive by “the artificial nurturing of prejudices.” However some of the gloss was stripped from that statement by the note that the races will observe “actual, even if not unchangeable and rigidly normative” *unwritten matrimonial impediments* in their own interests.¹²⁰

But the question of anti-Semitism, or religious separation, was different.

The authors canvas the question of whether the contemporary debate about racism is really a debate about religion and note that “many subdivisions of a single race are judged and treated differently by the same men at the same time” and “the struggle for racial purity ends by being uniquely the struggle against the Jews.” They then claimed that persecution against the Jews, which had been carried out *since antiquity*, “have been *censured by the Holy See on more than one occasion*, but especially when they have worn the mantle of Christianity.” They were quite right. One occasion was in 1928 when the ecclesiastical Friends of Israel Association was suppressed, with ulterior motives. [See chapter 17, pp. 17–32.] A second was still fresh in their minds: Pius XI’s attempt to eliminate anti-Semitism within the church, of which the writing of *Humani Generis Unitas* was to be the centrepiece. They then noted that the flagrant denial of human rights had sent many thousands of Jews wandering as helpless persons from frontier to frontier as “a burden to humanity and themselves.”¹²¹ Then came the crowning statement.

But however unjust and pitiless, this campaign against the Jew has at least this advantage, if one can put it so, over racial strife, that it recalls the true nature, the authentic basis of the social separation of the Jews from the rest of humanity. This basis is directly religious in character. Essentially, the so-called Jewish question is not one of race, or nation, or territorial nationality, or citizenship in the state. It is a question of religion and, since the coming of Christ, a question of Christianity.¹²²

This was followed by a concise explanation or restatement of the church's attitude to the Jews. They were the only people in the history of the human race who "had a calling, properly so called." They were chosen by Almighty God to prepare the way for His Only-Begotten Son, Jesus Christ. "His mission and his teaching were the completion of the historic mission and teaching of Israel; His birth, life, sufferings, death, and resurrection from the dead were the fulfillment of Israel's types and prophecies." But the Saviour "was rejected by that people, violently repudiated, and condemned as a criminal by the highest tribunals of the Jewish nation, in collusion with the pagan authorities who had held the Jewish people in bondage. Ultimately the Saviour was put to death." Then: "Through the sufferings and death of the Saviour, the work of the Redemption was wrought for all humanity; the sins of the world were taken away; the doors of Heaven were opened ..." man was restored, but "... blinded by a vision of material domination and gain, the Israelites lost what they themselves had sought."¹²³ And:

Moreover, by a mysterious Providence of God, this unhappy people, destroyers of their own nation, whose misguided leaders had called down upon their own heads a Divine malediction, doomed, as it were, to perpetually wander over the face of the earth, were nonetheless never allowed to perish, but have been preserved through the ages into our own time. No natural reason appears to be forthcoming to explain this age-long persistence, the indestructible coherence of the Jewish people.¹²⁴

Then: a few more clauses of theological discussion, including statements that Israel has incurred the wrath of God; hastened evangelization and conversion of the gentiles; remains the chosen people because Israel's election has never been revoked; and it may yet share in the redemption made available by its own rejection. And another remarkable misrepresentation of history: "... we find a historic enmity of the Jewish people to Christianity, creating a perpetual tension between Jew and Gentile which the passage of time has never diminished, even though from time to time its manifestations have been mitigated." This is followed by a barely disguised attempt to justify discrimination and enforced isolation. The Church's ardent hopes for Jewish salvation "do not blind her to the spiritual dangers to which contact with Jews can expose souls, or make her unaware of the need to safeguard her children against spiritual contagion ... (and) ... so long must the Church use every effort to see that the effects of this (persisting) unbelief and hostility are not to rebound to the ruin of the faith and morals of her own members." And the facts that anti-Semitism involving persecution is pitifully inadequate, utterly unfit for the Church's task, and defeats its own purpose by producing only greater obstacles to cope with, "clearly demonstrate the need for energetic measures to preserve both the faith and morals of her members and society itself against the corrupting influence of error

...” To show that the Church had always understood this, there was then a quotation from the Holy Office decree of March 25, 1928 – out of context with the purpose of the decree – on the suppression of the Friends of Israel Association. There was then an acknowledgment that injustice incites injustice, persecution leads to vengeance, resentment leads to manipulation of public opinion and common hatred for the Christian faith.¹²⁵

As significant as they were, even those admissions and acknowledgments would hardly seem to be the justification which Pius XI was looking for to encourage a change in policy on racism and anti-Semitism or to provide a basis for a new policy. The encyclical could be expected to include some positive initiatives. However it noted that anti-Semitism attempts to embarrass the Church by giving her two alternatives: *either join the anti-Semites and be associated with their campaigns of vilification and hatred, or become involved in political machinations and struggles in her legitimate defence of the Christian principles of justice and humanity.* The Church’s answer to this challenge was “unequivocal and unchanging.” The Church desires only the salvation of souls and:

*Her sole care is that the custody of truth committed to her care be preserved intact and that her children be preserved against error and sin; that the principles of life taught by her Saviour be carried out in their integrity; and that through her beneficent action upon earth as many souls as possible may be brought to their eternal home in Heaven.*¹²⁶

That was a very blunt statement that the Roman Catholic Church would perpetuate the teachings and attitudes already set out above. Moreover:

*Her concern is not with political victories and triumphs, not with the alignments of states and the devices of politicians; hence she is in no wise concerned with the problems concerning the Jewish people that lie within those purely profane spheres. Thoroughly aware that the great diversity of circumstances in which Jews of different countries find themselves gives rise to very different problems in the practical order, the Church leaves to the powers concerned the solution of these problems. She insists only that no solution is the true solution if it contradicts the very demanding laws of justice and charity.*¹²⁷

That was an equally blunt statement that Hitler and Mussolini could carry on as they had been going because nothing which they had done so far contradicted the justice and charity which the Church believed was the due of the Jews on the basis of their history and Divine malediction. After all, the authors said, “the position of the Jewish people is unique” and occupies a singular and painful place in history. It was a paradox involving special Providence, the rejection of that Providence, and the injection of “a stumbling block of contradiction into the history of all peoples,” yet it was still “the object of a mysterious preservation by the same Providence of God.” The bitterness of Christian reproach and Jewish response over the spiritual issues show how difficult it will be to reach a solution and: “Both sound reason and Christian Faith bid us to look to a spiritual means, not to violence, force, or brutally coercive measures.” The authors noted that the hour and the manner of “the return of the Jewish people as a whole to their Father’s house in the Church of Christ remains God’s secret” but they looked forward to

the day when, again, “Jew and Gentile will be united in their Father’s house” and they invoked “the all-powerful intercession of the Holy Mother of God, herself a daughter of Israel,” towards that end.¹²⁸

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF *HUMANI GENERIS UNITAS*

The authors of the encyclical didn’t have a crystal ball any more than Maimonides did. Those final quotations indicate that they did not recognize what either Maimonides or Muhammad had written. They had missed each of the triggers which had helped raise the curtain on the *Night Journey*. They could not have picked them anyway because the church did not recognize the *Night Journey* as legitimate. But neither did they recognize the parody of *Mein Kampf* in which they were involved and through which both the *Night Journey* and the prophetic understanding of Maimonides, coupling the return of the Jewish people to Israel with the unfolding of the Messianic Age would, in due course, be understood.

If it had been published, *Humani Generis Unitas* could not have had the effect which Pius XI was looking for when he commissioned it. The thrust of the document was against racism, quite clearly, and against violent treatment of Jews in a muted manner. But against anti-Semitism? No. In fact it restated, consolidated and provided a statement confirming and justifying the Vatican’s long-standing anti-Semitic policies and practices more concisely than probably any previous single pontifical document. Those who were either opposed to softening the Vatican line on Jews and Judaism or who considered that to raise the issue of anti-Semitism could put the future of the Vatican State in danger had won the day. Actually it never became a pontifical document. It was not approved and authorized for publication by Pius XI or by anyone else. And that is just as well. It certainly would not have been a restraining influence on Hitler and clearly it was not the intention of those who dominated its preparation and determined its thrust that it should be. LaFarge and Pius XI had been derailed in no uncertain manner.

There can be no doubt that although he commissioned it, Pope Pius XI certainly would not have published it. If it had been published, Hitler and Mussolini would have been confirmed in their policies. They would have had a papal blessing for all that they had done and unexpected encouragement and support to press on with the isolation, oppression and expulsion of the Jews. The draft encyclical said, very clearly indeed – and in spite of Pius XI’s statements in July-August 1938 after he had commissioned the encyclical – that the Vatican would not intervene to influence policies of government and that the Jews were only getting what they deserved. This means that the *Lateran Treaty* would have been safe. The future of the Vatican State would have therefore been secure also. This means that the “Roman Question” would not have been forced back onto the agenda and, with it, the role and self-understanding of the Roman Catholic Church and the theology which underpinned them.

However the encyclical would have thrown Britain, France and the United States into chaos. Each of them had been criticized, along with the Nazis and the Communists, for some aspects of racial, social and economic policy but those were minor matters compared with the Jewish

question. On one hand they would have been confirmed in their negative attitudes and their lack of interest in doing anything spontaneous to help the Jews – consistent with their responses to the Evian conference, while on the other hand they would have come under intense pressure from Jewish and Zionist organizations who would have known immediately on its publication that their people would be subjected to greater oppression. What effect might it have had in Czechoslovakia in the wake of the *Munich Agreement* where, at the time it was completed, Hitler was only about to occupy the Sudetenland? Or in Poland? The Jewish communities would also have known that very few governments in the Christian West with significant Catholic populations and faced with such dramatic theological justification for Hitler's policies would have had the political will to help. And what of Britain's Palestine policy, the Round Table Conference, and Britain's relations with the Arabs? When the Zionists stepped up their pressure for settlement the Arabs would naturally have turned to Hitler and Mussolini for additional support. The implications for British defence policy in the Middle East and the Far East were very serious. So what of Japan's reaction to the strengthening of Hitler's position and the weakening of Britain's, the future of Craigie's negotiations in Japan, and the effect on Sino-Japanese relations? The Soviet Union's frontiers were still open to Jews and the Birobidzhan autonomous region project was still open. Would the Jewish populations in Central Europe have overcome their reserve and migrated there? If they did, what would have been the impact on Anglo-Soviet and Soviet-American relations? And how would the Protestant and Orthodox Churches, and the Ecumenical Movement on its way to the establishment of the World Council of Churches have responded?

The implications which would have flowed from the publication of *Humani Generis Unitas* are very far reaching indeed. This draws our attention to the question: why did Ledochowski, and whoever else was involved, withhold the document from the pope? They must have realized that he would reject it as inconsistent with the commission which he had given LaFarge and with his public statements shortly afterwards. If they were happy with it, were they trying to avoid amending it by holding it until the election of a successor who might approve it? It was widely expected that Pacelli would be that successor. According to all available published statements Pacelli was not aware of the drafting or completion of the document. But is that plausible? In the circumstances it is simply not believable. If they were not happy with it, what aspect concerned them? Ledochowski referred it to Rosa for 'expert opinion' two days after Hitler's Swiss-inspired direction that all Jews must carry marked passports and in the wake of his most vitriolic attack on the Jews of Austria. Why Rosa? Ledochowski knew that the document was a faithful reflection of what Rosa had written for *La Civiltà cattolica* only a few weeks before.

Did Ledochowski want the encyclical strengthened, to be even more aggressive towards the Jews? Or was he, perhaps, concerned that Hitler was taking full advantage of the high profile support of the Catholic press, that what he was doing would be followed by even more rigorous regulations and oppression, that this was no longer acceptable and that the Catholic press had over-stepped the mark? Was he hoping that it would be modified to be *less* antagonistic to the

Jews and therefore less provocative and less encouraging to Hitler? Did he realize that the Vatican was ‘selling its soul’ in its bid to avoid the reopening of the Roman Question? Did he fear that the Roman Catholic Church’s frankness on the Jewish question might inspire competitors in the Ecumenical Movement to further reconsideration of that question and, as a consequence, the wider theological issues which flowed from it? Was he fearful of the possibility of an anti-Catholic backlash in those countries which were implicitly criticized in the encyclical? Or, more likely, did he realize the immediate international political complications which would flow from its publication? If that is the case, was he waiting for those complications to be eliminated by further political manoeuvring and the passage of time? Or was he hoping that the encyclical could be reworked to avoid the Vatican being accused of precipitating such complications? If any of these later considerations were involved in his thinking it is quite inconceivable that he would take any action without consulting his close colleague and hierarchical superior, the Cardinal Secretary of State Pacelli.

In due course we may have some answers to those questions because pressure is growing for the Vatican to open its archives of the period of the Holocaust for joint study by Catholic and Jewish scholars.¹²⁹ However the encyclical was *not* published, so Britain, Europe and the world puddled on as they were going, oblivious to the way in which their crises were very nearly compounded. The question therefore is: what do we learn from the aborted preparation of the *Hidden Encyclical*? First: although Pope Pius XI had changed direction on the issue of anti-Semitism the dominant Vatican hierarchy had not. Second: the church was totally oblivious to the fact that *Mein Kampf* was a parody of the amorphous Christian gel and the church on which it was based and around which it had congealed, and that it was a warning signal that the *Night Journey* was about to become reality. Third: that as the world was being drawn relentlessly into a major war there was a desperate need for a reassessment of the self-understanding of the church, its relations with its partners in the triangle of Semitic Messianic faiths, and the fundamental theology which underpinned its self-understanding, its teaching and the conduct of the amorphous Christian gel. Fourth: the church’s corporate attitude was such that reassessment could not and would not take place until the world had experienced the *Night Journey* and had awoken, in due course, to the realization of the reality of Maimonides’ understanding of the way in which the Messianic Age would unfold with interaction between those three Abrahamic faiths. Fifth: *Humani Generis Unitas* is a time capsule of the Roman Catholic Church’s attitudes and policy on the Jewish question at the time that it was completed, late-September 1938, right at the time of Munich and the occupation of the Sudetenland. But time capsules can be time bombs. In this regard, some observations made to one of the co-authors of *The Hidden Encyclical*, Georges Passelecq, by the Rector of St. Anselm Pontifical College in Rome, Fr. Ambroise Watelet, O.S.B., in 1976 in a letter in connection with their research for that work are especially significant. Fr. Watelet wrote, in part,:

The draft encyclical is not primarily concerned with the Jews, but rather with the general problem of racism. That said, there is a dossier on the matter in the Vatican archives, but it is still in the secret part of the archives, and thus not accessible through the ordinary avenues.

... A final consideration: Father Graham thinks that so far as this draft encyclical is concerned, the Vatican would probably not wish to draw attention to the publications on the Jews at this moment of tension in the Near East. [Emphasis added.] ¹³⁰

In addition there is the observation made by Fr. Gordon Zahn that “it is unwise to make too much of the ‘intrigue’ which delayed and finally prevented” the appearance of *Humani Generis Unitas*. So: Pius XI was dead and so was the project to produce an encyclical against racism and anti-Semitism. On October 31, in a letter which was mainly concerned with the first encyclical of Pius XII, LaFarge was advised by Fr. Vincent McCormick, the rector of the Gregorian University who was responsible for the American meeting Pius XI in June 1938 (chapter 21, p. 32) that: “Your document came through without difficulty and is *resting in our archives*.”¹³¹ [Emphasis added.] But the disappearance of the secret draft encyclical was not the only consequence of the illness and death of Pius XI. By coincidence, Archbishop Temple’s letter inviting cooperation with the World Council of Churches and addressed to the Vatican Secretary of State was dated and ready for posting on February 10.¹³² The secretary of state to whom the letter was addressed was Pacelli who had become the dominant figure in the Vatican. He was then pre-occupied, waiting – not so much in the wings but in centre stage – for the conclave to elect a new pope. As a result, Temple’s letter sat, unattended to for five months.

PAPAL POMP: CAMOUFLAGE FOR HITLER’S SUPPLY PROBLEM

However the Vatican was not the only body which was suppressing information and the conspiracy of silence was so effective that very few of the people to whom Hitler’s prophetic outburst on January 30 was directed would have realized that the immediate cause of his outburst was his irritating little supply problem. His ‘guest’ in the Hotel Metropole, Baron Louis de Rothschild, in league with the British government, still wouldn’t let him play coal miner-steel miller at Vitkowitz. Even if they had known, it is questionable whether it would have altered their response. The knowledge of Britain’s critically weak bargaining position simply bolstered their will to gain US support. And there was little point in turning to the churches for support or intervention. Those in Germany were firmly under Hitler’s thumb, the vast majority of the world’s Christians couldn’t have cared less, and somewhere in the Vatican was the draft of *Humani Generis Unitas* which would have sent shock waves down their spines if they had known about it. In the overall view of the churches the Jews were an irrelevancy and their troubles were all their own fault. Let them sink or swim. In fact it was the church’s responsibility that there was no wider understanding. Trouble in the triangle? What triangle?

During the next couple of months both the refugees and Hitler took steps to solve their problems but the refugees had less success than Hitler. Two of them, the Italian-born Nobel prize winner Enrico Fermi and Hungarian-born Leo Szilard, tried to interest both the US Army and the US Navy in the development of atomic weapons but they couldn’t even raise support for their research.¹³³ Himmler, as intermediary for Hitler, at least got Baron Louis talking money. He would agree to hand over Vitkowitz, on behalf of the British owners of course, for

three million pounds Sterling, but only after he was safely out of Austria.¹³⁴ The selling price was a real bargain at about one third of the real value.¹³⁵

Hitler knew that it was only a matter of time before he would have control of vital parts of Czechoslovakia, including his strategic prize, Vitkowitz which he would not really need to pay for if he was able to occupy the country first. He had been outwitted at Munich when he agreed to a commission to fix the boundaries of regions to be ceded to Germany on the basis of ethnic community interests and thereby lost the chance of a plebiscite. But he had read history, so he knew the rules for the game divide-and-rule very well. In fact he had refined some techniques a bit as he gained experience playing Britain and France. They had been happy to respond to ethnic manoeuvring when it suited them in the western region so they could not decry similar moves in the eastern region. Czechoslovakia could be dismembered piecemeal and he would take his share, including Vitkowitz. The strategy worked.

As with the Rhineland, Hitler's generals had warned him of the dangers of trying to fight his way into Czechoslovakia and of having to defend his occupation against counter attack, and the plot to depose him if he ordered a frontal invasion has already been noted. He was well aware of the capacity of the Catholic hierarchy to stir up opposition, even to the point of calling for military intervention. But he was also well aware of the value of headline-grabbing pomp and religious ceremony as a distraction from other matters, right across Catholic central Europe. On this occasion his judgement was again spot on.

While Britain's Round Table Conference on Palestine was in session, and also on February 10, Japanese forces occupied Hainan Island, adjacent to the border between China and French Indo China, and considerably extended Japan's influence and reach into South East Asia. Pope Pius XI died the same day and a conclave to elect his successor was called for three weeks later. Taking full advantage of that distraction and the absence of the Catholic hierarchy for the election and enthronement of the new pope in Rome, and while Chamberlain waited for his Round Table Conference to produce some results, Hitler stepped up his massive campaign of propaganda and political manipulation in Slovakia against the Central Czech Government in Prague and formalized his plans to expel all Jews from his territory.

The level of intrigue during the Round Table Conference as the Zionists and the Arab supporters of the Palestinian cause jockeyed for position at Britain's expense almost defies imagination. According to Aarons and Loftus, Jack Philby, one time British intelligence agent, retained by oil companies and King Ibn Saud, lunched in secret with Weizmann, Ben-Gurion and a foreign affairs official for Ibn Saud, Fuad Hamza, and sought to arrange a deal under which substantial Jewish immigration into Palestine would be arranged if the Zionists would support the country coming under Saudi domination. The proposal was not pursued after it was somehow leaked to the press.¹³⁶ But at the same time, Germany's special emissary in Iraq, Grobba, visited Saudi Arabia to improve Germany's relations with King Ibn Saud who was expected to remain neutral if a war erupted, while Ribbentrop tried to strengthen the three-power alliance. Then, when Ibn Saud, concerned at Italy's unconcealed ambitions in the Gulf

Regions, expelled the Italian Air Mission, Grobba recommended to the Berlin Foreign Office that Germany should pay more attention to Arab policy. Diplomatic relations were promptly established and Grobba was accredited to Jedda as well as Baghdad.¹³⁷

During that period, while that finance and property wrangling was reaching a climax, Hitler's position strengthened enormously and Britain's weakened correspondingly. Britain and France each recognized Franco's government on February 27, but Hitler again outmanoeuvred them to gain both Franco's Spain, and Hungary as partners in the *Anti-Comintern Pact* and began applying increased pressure to gain concessions from Poland. Together with Italy and Japan (which had demanded and secured recognition of its puppet regime in Manchuria two years before as its price for signing the pact to isolate the Soviet Union) the signatories to the pact now formed a formidable group, even if somewhat disparate.

When the pontifical conclave opened in Rome on March 2, Cardinal Pacelli was elected pope the same day. His election was contrary to prevailing Vatican protocol, but it had been widely expected and some observers say it was a matter of logic in the circumstances, given that Pacelli had worked so closely with the late pope in all of the major diplomatic and political ventures of recent years and in spite of the weakening of the ties between them over the Jewish question. In fact Pius XI had been grooming Pacelli as his successor for some years, (see chapter 20), and in view of the dominant role he had played in the negotiation of a number of concordats – especially the Reich Concordat – there could have been a significant drop in the level of international acceptance of the Vatican as a political force if he had not been elected.

Next day, March 3, in an intimately linked domain of diplomacy and politics, Ambassador Kennedy reported to the White House that Britain and France were no longer powerful enough to maintain the balance of power and the United States must face up to the possibility of a totalitarian-dominated Europe. He warned that the burden of rearmament for the US would be heavy and "civil liberties would have to be sharply restricted in the interest of national security. America, alone in a jealous and hostile world, would find that the effort and cost of maintaining 'splendid isolation' would be such as to bring about the destruction of all those values which the isolation policy had been designed to preserve."¹³⁸

Then, with indecent haste following his election as pope, Pius XII conferred with the cardinals from Germany and Austria who had come to Rome for the conclave and penned a letter of apostolic blessing to "the illustrious Herr Adolf Hitler, Fuhrer and Chancellor of the German Reich!" Dated at St. Peter's on March 6, it was surely one of the first communications made by Pius XII. He had not yet been formally enthroned as pontiff. Preparations for that great pageant were still in progress. He wrote:

"Here at the beginning of our pontificate we wish to assure you that we remain devoted to the spiritual welfare of the German people entrusted to your leadership. For them we implore God the almighty to grant them that true felicity which springs from religion. We recall with great pleasure the many years we spent in Germany as Apostolic Nuncio, when we did all in our power to establish harmonious relations between Church and State. Now that the responsibilities of our pastoral function have increased our opportunities, how much more

*ardently do we pray to reach that goal. May the prosperity of the German people and their progress in every domain come, with God's help to fruition."*¹³⁹

What other encouragement did Hitler need? Pius XII had the concurrence of his cardinals that he should pursue détente with Hitler and that, in this spirit, Rome should seek an understanding with Germany and refrain from statements of an unfavourable and condemnatory kind. As faithful instruments of the Vatican, *L'Osservatore Romano* and Vatican Radio were very willing to comply and to "modify their manner of reporting German news."

On March 7, while Hitler was no doubt gloating over the blessing he had received from Pius XII and while the Round Table Conference was still struggling with major disagreements, Chamberlain undertook a programme of public brain washing through his compliant press barons without consulting either his Foreign Secretary or the Foreign Office. It was a transparent bid to further camouflage Britain's military unpreparedness in the face of the crisis in Europe, to lull the British public into acceptance of appeasement, and to patch over the cracks in the Commonwealth. In a speech to guests at a Conservative dinner he said there was no crisis on the horizon, the Russian danger was receding, and the dangers of war with Germany were getting less every day. He followed that with advice to the lobby, on March 9, that the Spanish 'affair' would soon be over, that the Franco-Italian problems could then be tackled, and that disarmament could follow.¹⁴⁰

On the same day, with its authority being eroded as a consequence of all the campaigns around it, the Czechoslovak Central Government played into Hitler's hand by dismissing the Slovak provincial government. Hitler immediately recognized it and transferred his guarantee to it. He had to act quickly to avoid either Russia or Britain acting on their separate guarantees to Czechoslovakia – if either of them had the will to do so. He need not have worried, but he had to have a pretext to "respond" to an internal appeal for German intervention. It was, after all, "to the spiritual welfare of the German people" that Pius XII said he remained devoted. Not the Czechs.

Cadogan noted on March 10 that the 'ridiculous rainbow stories' in the press were much too optimistic and 'dangerous', encouraging Germany to more adventures. Having traced them to the PM's lobby briefing he noted that the PM should not do this, or he should at least consult the Foreign Secretary first. Halifax admonished Chamberlain in a personal letter which brought an apology for the error in his method, but no repentance for the content of his statements. One more day and he could file intelligence reports that Hitler had ordered the invasion of Czechoslovakia, and four more days and he could note that Moravska Ostrava and Vitkowitz had been occupied because, on the 10th, Hitler cancelled a planned visit to Vienna and it took him only four days to engineer the kind of crisis he needed.

The Soviet Union was being squeezed in an ever more invidious position. It had been rebuffed by the Western powers in its proposals for a system of collective security against Germany, and, in response, had rebuffed Britain's overtures to improve Anglo-Soviet relations in the wake of Munich. Italy had proceeded to join the *Anti-Comintern Pact* and the Soviet

Union feared direct exposure to Germany if Poland succumbed as well as Czechoslovakia. The Soviets were therefore ready to consider both a renewal of the non-aggression pact which they signed with Poland seven years earlier and to extend a recently signed trade agreement with Germany to include the purchase of arms.

Stalin vented his feelings when he addressed the Eighteenth Party Congress, also on March 10, saying that a new imperialist war had begun with “a redivision of the world, of spheres of influence and colonies, by military action.” Using words similar to those which Ribbentrop used in conversation with Mussolini when Italy joined the *Anti-Comintern Pact*, he said that two blocs of imperialist powers had formed. In one were three aggressive states united by the *Anti-Comintern Pact*, and in the other, “a group of non-aggressive states, primarily Britain and France.” Then, after referring to the unquestionable economic and military strength of Britain and France he turned to their motives for rejecting his proposals for collective security or collective resistance and for taking up a policy of non-intervention or neutrality. “The policy of non-intervention means conniving at aggression, giving free rein to war,” he said. It was a dangerous game aimed at having all the belligerents sink into the mire of war, weakened and exhausted, and of “encouraging the Germans to march east, promising them easy pickings and prompting them: ‘Just start war on the Bolsheviks and everything will be all right’.”¹⁴¹

It was a remarkable and frank assessment, except that Stalin does not seem to have realized just how weak Britain’s position was. If he had realized, then given the circumstances and the history of Western Capitalist policies concerning Soviet Russia, he could be expected to have taken full advantage of it. That suggests that Chamberlain’s policy of concealment and misrepresentation of information had been remarkably effective in preventing foreign governments from exploiting Britain’s critical position even if it had, at the same time, lulled the British people into a false sense of security

How could Hitler’s Czechoslovakian coup be so swift and unopposed?

While Hitler was engineering a crisis, the Catholic hierarchy and the faithful of Europe were still busy celebrating the election of Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli and preparing for his enthronement as Pope Pius XII on March 12. No doubt Hitler was celebrating it, too! He knew the nature of the man extremely well indeed. During their negotiations he had learned the Vatican’s method of operation very well. He knew its susceptibilities and its strengths, what was important to its self-understanding, and the level of control it exercised over the Catholic Church in countries beyond Italy. He had outwitted Pacelli to achieve his objectives and to harness the whole of the Christian church in Germany and not only the Catholic Church. He knew that the church had to remain a compliant ally or suffer the consequences, and he knew very well that it would be a very useful ally, even if a reluctant one, in his struggle against Communism – at least as long as Pacelli, now Pius XII, remained pope. And he knew that as long as he dangled a carrot or two under the new pope’s nose to offset the restrictions and repression which he intended to maintain against the church, the Vatican would favour him in any of its peace endeavours with the Western democracies.

Therefore, even though Hitler did not countenance extravagance, and he expected those around him to be very sober and reasonably frugal in their conduct, he would have had no objection to the fantastic extravagance of the papal enthronement and celebrations which Pius XII had ordered. It would be a distraction from the realities of international affairs and the fact that he not only had troops moving on the Czechoslovak border but he was mobilizing forty divisions of troops: it would do him no harm at all for the pope to achieve a higher international profile – and to amplify the Christian message in relation to the Jews – and in addition he would benefit from reflected glory because of his precious concordat. Pacelli had decreed that no expense should be spared in the enthronement. This was to be a coronation like no other. There would be nothing humble like palm branches and donkeys. The pope was to be “borne aloft by a bevy of white-gloved Black Nobility on the *sedia gestatoria*, the traditional papal sedan,” fanned by ceremonial feathers, with foreign royalty, ambassadors and other representatives of governments spread before him in splendour befitting and demonstrating the authority which the Catholic Church claimed for “the father of princes and of kings, the ruler of the world, the Vicar on Earth of our Saviour Jesus Christ” and “the supreme arbiter of moral values.” It was to be performed in the open air in front of 40,000 invited ticket holders with such elevated pomp and ceremony that one million persons were expected to gather around St. Peters or the route leading to the spectacle. And the entire spectacle was to be staged, broadcast and filmed “not so much to bring the Pope among the people as to distance him and elevate him, to amaze the world,” not by the humility of the occasion but in what could be described as “the apotheosis of triumphalism.”¹⁴²

On Tuesday March 14 Hitler’s puppet, Tiso, responded to his order to declare Slovakia independent and it took only an extra day of ultimatums and intimidation to extract a declaration from President Hacha to the effect that he confidently laid the fate of the Czech people and their country in the hands of the Fuhrer of the German Reich. Hacha arrived in Berlin shortly after midnight on the morning of March 15 for talks and Hitler told him that the German army was under orders to occupy Czechoslovakia at 6 a.m. that morning to “protect” the German speaking minorities if he didn’t sign the declaration. Hacha knew that resistance was pointless. In fact elite troops of Hitler’s bodyguard division had already occupied Vitkowitz and Ostrava at dusk the previous evening, March 14, while Hacha was travelling by train to meet the Fuhrer and while papal fanfares still echoed around the continent. He was taking no chances that Poland, encouraged by the church or Britain and France, might stake a claim to Vitkowitz on the basis of its Polish ethnic minority before he had legalized his own invasion. By the time most of the cardinals arrived home Czechoslovakia was no more.¹⁴³ But He need not have worried. He had the pope’s blessing and the Poles did not.

That afternoon Chamberlain addressed the Commons, concluding with a statement that he would go on with his policy of appeasement. Cadogan simply noted “Fatal!”¹⁴⁴ and Hitler must have felt satisfied that he need not waste any more time in haggling with Baron Louis or with the president of the Board of Trade, Lord Runciman, and that he had his stranglehold on the future of the Little Entente. But the friends of Hitler’s hostage still had a card worth playing,

perhaps. There was a lot of Czech money, gold and of course securities such as the Vitkowitz shares deposited in Britain or with British banks and they must have been worth a trick or two. However the Fuhrer wanted all of that plus a hefty ransom for the release of his prize guest, and he held by far the stronger hand. He established a 'protectorate' over Bohemia and Moravia on March 16. Then Rumania received its ultimatum on March 17 and immediately sought an indication of how Britain would respond if it was invaded.

Next day (only a week after Stalin's scathing attack on Britain and France) Chamberlain reversed his position and at a special cabinet meeting he proposed an approach to Russia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece and Rumania to consider joint action. The reasoning was simple. If Hitler gained control of Rumania's oil fields it would offset British sanctions and give Germany access to the Mediterranean through a friendly Bulgaria. Cabinet feared that Italy might take advantage of disarray within the western bloc to occupy Albania or to make territorial claims on France. In either case Britain's access to its critical Middle East oil supplies would become very brittle and its balancing act with the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine would become even more critical. Anglo-Soviet talks began almost immediately.

Construction of a refinery at Haifa with a capacity of one million tons of oil per year had begun some twelve months earlier by arrangement between the Iraq Petroleum Company, Anglo Iranian Oil Company, Shell and the British Government, and the refinery was scheduled to go into production in a few months time. Provided Mediterranean naval superiority was maintained it would then provide a reasonable degree of security for Britain's strategic oil supplies. If access to Rumania's supplies was lost then Britain's reliance on either its share of Middle East supplies and Mediterranean naval superiority, or good will and continuing supplies from the United States, became more critical. Several days of frantic diplomatic activity followed. Poland's reluctance to cede Danzig and the corridor meant that alternatives had to be considered.

In the middle of that turmoil (on March 20) Sir Alexander Cadogan made a personal diary entry in which he noted that Britain was not ready for war and made an oblique reference to the continuing conspiracy of silence. He wrote: "These are awful days. The crisis is worse, really, than last September, but the public don't know it. It's more critical, more imminent, and more acute. And I'm afraid we have reached the cross-roads. I always said that, as long as Hitler could pretend he was incorporating Germans in the Reich, we could pretend that he had a case. If he proceeded to gobble up other nationalities, that would be the time to call 'Halt!'. That time has come, and I must stick to my principle, because on the whole, I think it right. I don't believe that he can gobble all Europe, or at least I don't believe that, if it does, it will do him much good. But we must have a moral position, and we will lose it if we don't do something now."

But Rumania had not received a reply from Britain when Hitler (spurred on by Britain's rejection of a prior call by Russia for four-power talks aimed at checking his expansionism) issued Poland with territorial demands on March 21. Urgent talks between Britain and France then brought an understanding on March 22 that they could jointly guarantee a Polish-

Rumanian Mutual Guarantee Pact if one was entered into. However the French Foreign Minister, Bonnet, admitted that if war erupted and France could not rely on British help for the first eighteen months the consequences might be 'profound and irretrievable'. He begged for the introduction of conscription in Britain.¹⁴⁵

On the same day, March 22, just one week after Hitler occupied Vitkowitz, the British Government rushed an urgent bill through the House of Commons to block any cash or property transfers to Czechoslovakia except for certain specified government transactions. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir John Simon, told parliament that the bill was necessary to validate what the Bank of England, the joint stock banks "and other financial institutions" had already been doing at the request of the government. Those institutions, he said, "were naturally entitled to have from parliament the authority which would make their action unchallengeable and to be offered adequate indemnity if there was any case in which they could be held responsible," he said. What he did not say was that Britain wanted to minimize Germany's opportunities to commandeer funds which might be, or which might have already been, channelled to Czechoslovakia as part of the trade off for the enforced surrender of territory and that it wanted Czechoslovakia to pay any ransom out of money already provided. [However, at about the same time, the government did agree to renew a loan of 500,000 pounds to the Jewish Agency for Jewish emigration which had been granted earlier but could no longer be utilized because the Germans had already seized control of the banks in Czechoslovakia.¹⁴⁶]

With even more refugees arriving at the border of the remnant of Czechoslovakia after Germany occupied all of Bohemia and Moravia, including Vitkowitz and Ostrava, the Chancellor put a Bill to the Commons on the same day to implement the Anglo-French loan of sixteen million pounds sterling for a refugee re-settlement program which had been agreed to in January. He made a short speech in the best of gobble-de-gook which reads rather like a cover-up for the payment of ransom money. At that time, in the middle of the conspiracy of silence, few readers would have had any idea what it really meant. The *Times* report of it read in part:

"There had already been withdrawn out of the fund of Sterling 10,000,000 pounds with which the House was familiar a sum of Stg. 3,250,000 pounds. He was not sure that he had ever made it plain to the House that that 3,250,000 pounds which passed from the Bank of England to Czechoslovakia by Germany was composed in part of drawings from the free gift of 4,000,000 pounds directly to assist refugees, and in part from the other account which was in the nature of a loan, and which the former Czechoslovak Government had undertaken to repay. It appeared to him that so far as the amount was in the nature of a part payment of a loan they would be entitled to regard that amount as the amount to be recovered. On the other hand, so far as the sum of 4,000,000 pounds was to help refugees and could be devoted to that purpose, it ought to continue to be devoted to it."

In responding to the chancellor an opposition spokesman, Mr. Pethick Lawrence, said he was normally strongly opposed to hasty legislation but as this was a special matter and speedy action had to be taken he would support it. But he urged caution, saying that in this matter it was of supreme importance that the House should address itself to three questions. First of all

there was the question whether the Bill did in fact achieve the purpose for which it was designed; secondly, whether by inadvertence it achieved other purposes which might be undesirable; and, thirdly, whether it carried as a consequence developments in the future which might have been entirely unforeseen.

Then came his key lines. *So far as he could judge the Bill did achieve the main purpose which the Government had in view, which had nothing whatever to do with the Government loan and gift of 10,000,000 pounds to Czechoslovakia.*

Mr Lawrence said it was quite impossible to disguise the fact that this Bill and the action which it was intended to implement could not be regarded with favour by the Government of the German Reich. It was obviously designed to prevent the Reich from taking undue advantage so far as this country was concerned of their military occupation of Czechoslovakia. It was therefore the duty of the Government and the House of Commons to make sure that they were prepared to meet such action as the Reich Government might take by way of retaliation. While it would be improper for them to ask the Government to explain in detail what they proposed to do in case the German Government retaliated, he hoped that the Government would tell the House that they had carefully considered the matter, and that they were in a position to act in such a way as to ensure that any retaliatory action would not be injurious to this country. (Cheers.) He recognized that this moratorium was desirable and even necessary. It was a very grave action and he asked for an assurance that the Government had contemplated all the consequences which might flow from it.¹⁴⁷

Very few readers would have been any wiser. What ‘undue advantages’? What ‘retaliatory action’? What ‘consequences’? The conspiracy of silence continued and so did the negotiations. But Hitler kept the pressure on. Next day, March 23, he annexed the Lithuanian territory of Memel on the well established premise of German ethnic unity.¹⁴⁸

Two important announcements were made on March 31. In the first, Japan advised that the Spratly Islands, strategically placed in the South China Sea, (midway between Indo China and Borneo to the north and south, and between the Philippines and Malaya to the East and West), were being brought under the administration of Formosa. This caught Whitehall on the wrong foot because, only two days before, the Admiralty had rejected a Foreign Office proposal to place a naval squadron at Singapore and had confirmed its commitment to the Mediterranean, saying that the limited number of capital ships available made it impossible to station any battleships in the East until 1942! Whitehall’s reaction therefore was that Japan was being prompted by Germany and Italy to stake a claim in that critical area in order to force Britain and France to divert scarce resources to East Asia. In the second, Chamberlain announced Britain’s partial guarantee to Poland. Its borders were not guaranteed, only its independence, and this left open the question of whether Britain was committed to military support from the moment that German action began against Poland or only when its existence was threatened. It also left open the questions of territorial claims of the nature of piecemeal demands made against Czechoslovakia (notably the largely German-speaking Polish Corridor), the protection of ethnic

minorities and refugees, and the possibility of intervention by Russia on one side or the other.¹⁴⁹
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Other questions of territorial claims were to come tumbling out in quick succession. Mussolini invaded Albania on Good Friday, April 7, and two days later, in his first official homily as pope on Easter Sunday Pius XII made it clear that he was not interested in such matters. In the framework of his catch cry that “the Pope is working for peace” there would be no more attempts by the Vatican to call the Fascists and the Nazis to order.¹⁵¹ Next day, on April 10, in a bid to discourage Hitler, Chamberlain announced a guarantee of Poland’s independence. But the Fuhrer received encouragement from another quarter the same day when the pope sent a telegram of congratulations to Franco on his assuming absolute power in Spain. The Vatican’s alliance with Fascism was complete. Every right-wing dictator in Europe had the backing of a papal blessing, a concordat, or both.

Over the next few weeks there was a flurry of activity. France banned the export of minerals from Indo-China to Japan and, on April 17, urged Britain to ban exports of zinc and iron ore from Malaya, but after consulting the US and learning that there was no support for trade restrictions of any type against Japan, Britain eventually declined – six weeks later in an atmosphere poisoned with other tensions. Britain also declined Chiang Kai-Shek’s proposals of Anglo-Chinese cooperation in the case of war in Europe, knowing that it would certainly precipitate Japanese cooperation with the Axis powers and preferring Japanese abstention rather than Chinese participation.¹⁵² Himmler paid a personal visit to Baron Louis. Mosley made his powerful speech against intervention to protect capital investments in Europe. A Czech plebiscite showed that 97.4 percent of the population did *not* favour incorporation into Germany, but Britain acknowledged German authority over Bohemia in spite of it, and the Bank of England repatriated six million pounds Sterling in gold to Czechoslovakia.

In mid April President Roosevelt sent both Hitler and Mussolini a thinly veiled threat of US intervention in a telegram which asked: “Are you willing to give assurance that your armed forces will not attack or invade the territory of the following independent nations?” He listed thirty-one countries, some of which were mandates or puppets of the major powers, such as Syria and Palestine, and some of which were major powers themselves, such as Britain, France and Russia. The benefit of a favourable response was to be American participation in worldwide “discussions” to relieve the world from “the crushing burden of armament” and to open up avenues of international trade. In other words the US would help dismantle the British imperial tariff preference system and cooperate with Germany and Italy in exploiting the resources of the rest of the world. Mussolini declined to recognize the message but Hitler took full advantage of it, ably aided and abetted by Archbishop Orsenigo, the papal nuncio in Berlin, who, at the express wish of Pius XII, opened a gala reception on April 20 to honour Hitler’s fiftieth birthday which was also the subject of prayers in Catholic churches throughout Germany.¹⁵³ On April 28, after making diplomatic inquiries of most of the thirty one countries other than the big three and Poland Hitler devoted one of the most important speeches of his career to his response to it at a specially convened session of the Reichstag. With a masterful selection of historical

notes he made a mockery of American efforts to play the chief international policeman and the arbiter of international ethics in succession to the European colonial powers. The two-hour speech was broadcast by hundreds of radio stations around the world. It was printed in English by the German embassy in Washington for mailing to tens of thousands of community decision makers and it was a personal humiliation for Roosevelt. Hitler thus boosted the confidence of his German audience and attracted sympathy from friends of Nazi Germany abroad in what W. L. Shirer described as probably his most brilliant oration which reached a new level in eloquence, craftiness, irony, sarcasm and hypocrisy. It was a worthy extension of the parody of '*Mein Kampf*'.

There was a blast for the iniquities of Versailles, admiration for Britain, and an attack for its distrust and its policy of encirclement; there was censure for the "mere inventions" of the international press, and the annulment of the Polish-German nonaggression pact which, he said, Poland had unilaterally infringed. Turning to Roosevelt's call for a conference, Hitler reminded him of his predecessor's role in setting up the League of Nations and America's subsequent rejection of it. North America's independence had not been achieved at the conference table, neither had a civil war settlement. And Germany after the Great War had been "subjected to even greater degradations than can ever have been inflicted on the chieftains of the Sioux tribes," he said., and Ireland regarded England and not Germany as a threat. The vast United States had enormous wealth and resources yet, in comparison, he was lifting a small state out of ruin to full employment, order and progress through education, he said. And taking up a theme dear to every American heart, Hitler said Providence had placed him in his role and he was concerned for the "justice, well-being, progress and peace of the whole community." Of the thirty-one countries which the president had listed, certain ones, such as Syria, were "not in possession of their freedom, but are occupied and consequently deprived of their rights by the military agents of democratic states" so they could not respond to his inquiries, he said.¹⁵⁴ But while Hitler directed that sharp attack at the Western presence in the Arab World in a general sense he reserved his most violent expressions for Britain's policies in Palestine and his speech had an electrifying impact on Arab opinion in general and on the Palestinians in particular.¹⁵⁵

All the manoeuvring had strengthened Hitler's claim to the Polish Danzig corridor between Germany and East Prussia¹⁵⁶ and with it the justification for annulling the non-aggression pact with Poland. He did it in the context of his Reichstag response to Roosevelt, on April 28. He also dismantled what was left of the Little Entente by negotiating a German-Rumanian trade agreement which effectively recognized the countries of the Danube valley and the Balkans as "the storehouse of Greater Germany" and gave him the control of Rumania's oil which he needed and which Britain feared so deeply. Having picked off, one by one, the countries which otherwise could have formed part of a strong encircling alliance against him, such as Russia had proposed, Hitler was easily able to gain nonaggression treaties with Estonia, Latvia and Denmark and move towards the confirmation of his *Pact of Steel* with Italy.

The balance of friendships, or at least the balance of alliances forged through fear, was shifting rapidly in favour of Hitler. Those who were well informed knew that if only one or two

more countries lined up with him, Britain could come under the same kind of pressure as Austria or Czechoslovakia. It could be forced to cede colonial territories to avoid a war. It might have to fight a small war on someone else's territory to avoid ceding some of its own territories and this would make it even harder to avoid fighting a much bigger war, with fewer and fewer allies. With what allies?

Hitler was having conspicuous communication successes but Britain had to admit to a mixed bag. Chamberlain complained of 'false' reports (another way of saying embarrassing) in the *News Chronicle*, Halifax saw Lord Camrose about critical leaders appearing in the *Daily Telegraph*, and for the second time the BBC was instructed to 'restrain' highly controversial reporting about the *Munich Agreement*. Then on May 3, a *Times* leader, again 'inspired' by sources in the PM's office without consultation with the Foreign Office, gave everyone, including Hitler, a clear message with its comment that the Polish Corridor and Danzig were not worth a war. If he occupied those areas Britain would not act on its guarantee to Poland.¹⁵⁷

Next day another Papal Note was circulated which prompted a cool reception from everyone – except Mussolini. Pius XII knew a great deal about Hitler's plans for Poland, and the national leaders thought they knew quite a lot about the pope's plans as well. His proposal, favouring Germany, was talks between Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Poland on questions threatening to bring on war. He suggested that in view of the injustices of Versailles, Poland might yield on the question of a corridor "under pressure from a Vatican sponsored international peace conference." At least Pius XII was being consistent with both the intention of the unpublished encyclical *Humani Generis Unitas* and his declared intention that there would be no more attempts to call the Nazis or the Fascists to order. He had already discussed his proposal with Mussolini and received an enthusiastic response but he told neither his nuncios of the other governments of this. He had also instructed Orsenigo to discuss the matter with Hitler. During their one-hour discussion Hitler – no doubt very pleased to have strong support from his friend, the pope – brushed aside the proposal. Danzig is a free town under the League of Nations, he said. There could be discussions and negotiations, but it was not inevitable that there would be war. Orsenigo persisted and raised Pius XII's crucial question. "Would an agreement from the Poles reduce the tension?" Hitler persisted too. He was not afraid of Poland but he did not want to attack it "unless forced by ill-advised Polish provocations," he said.¹⁵⁸

When the pope's proposal was considered by the British Foreign Office on May 5 it received a cool reception and was declared suspended on May 11. Vansittart argued that Russia should be included, but Cadogan thought this impractical, presumably because Britain had already rejected Russia's proposal for talks and because of antagonism between the Vatican and Russia. He was probably much more eager to see the results of cooperation in naval planning and exercises between Britain and the US which Roosevelt had just authorized. Whether the British and French responses would have been different – either more favourable or more antagonistic – if they had known of the Vatican approaches to Mussolini and Hitler is problematical. Hitler and Mussolini both declared that there was no threat to peace, but Stalin thought otherwise. Molotov was given responsibility for the Anglo-Soviet talks and insisted on a full-blown

political and military alliance. Perhaps that proposal was not consistent with the cooperation in naval planning and exercises between Britain and the US which Roosevelt had just authorized but in any case the Anglo-Soviet talks bogged down for some time amid British fears of the consequences if it agreed to make guarantees involving countries from the Black Sea to the Baltic, including those important oil wells, and Soviet suspicions about Britain's real motives.

On May 12, Baron Louis de Rothschild was told he could go free – just over seven weeks after those parliamentary non-debates. The 'sale' of Vitkowitz had finally been agreed, in principle, after much behind-the-scenes politicking, a combination of ransom and informal financial pressure exerted by international banks¹⁵⁹ aided by the British Government – and the German occupation of Czechoslovakia.¹⁶⁰ In fact during the ten weeks from March 7 when Chamberlain began his brain-washing exercise in the middle of the Round Table Conference, through the German occupation of Czechoslovakia, the seizure of Vitkowitz, the Commons debates over the manipulation by the Treasury and the Bank of England over 'refugee loans', to the completion of the deals on May 12, the conspiracy of silence had plumbed new depths. It did so with the full connivance of the British Opposition and in such a manner that Britain's parlous state was concealed from the world at large. But it was also concealed from the British public in such a manner that it could neither grasp the significance of the situation, nor understand how their country had got into it and make value judgements or political judgements about the way ahead.

THREATS ON TWO FRONTS CALL FOR A WHITE PAPER

Britain's motives for not pursuing Anglo-Russian or multi-lateral talks in Europe came under very close scrutiny soon enough when the British government released its White Paper on Palestine on May 17. The Arabs were soon much happier. The purchase of land by Jews in some areas was prohibited and restrictions on land transfers were applied in other areas. The Arabs were especially happy with the British Government's undertaking that Jewish settlement would remain restricted to 15,000 persons per year for five years and that after 1944 it would take place only with the approval of the Arab authorities and with the provision that they would share in government in proportion to their population. At first glance it appears that the British government had changed course from the philosophy reflected in its *Balfour Declaration* of 1917 but in the same way that the Declaration was a product of the imperial resources grab the White Paper was also. Britain was locked into the need to improve its relations with the Arabs of Palestine for many reasons but one was now becoming critical. Oil. The Haifa oil refinery, with a capacity of one million tons per year, had just commenced operations. It was not yet in full production but it would be vital to Britain's war effort – especially in the Mediterranean and the East with the loss of access to the Rumanian fields. Its security simply could not be guaranteed if the Arab rebellion continued. In the wake of the White Paper the Arab rebellion and the tempo of the running battle between the Arabs and the Jews fell dramatically.

Naturally the Zionist Organization and the international Jewish community objected strongly to those new restrictions. The Jewish Agency issued a statement describing the new policy as “a breach of faith and a surrender to Arab terrorism” which denied the Jewish people “the right to rebuild their national home in the ancestral country.” It “delivers Britain’s friends into the hands of those who are biting her and must lead to a complete breach between Jews and Arabs which will banish every prospect of peace in Palestine.” It was “a cruel blow, doubly cruel because it comes from the government of a great nation which has extended a helping hand to the Jews, and whose position must rest on foundations of moral authority and international good faith.” And finally: “The Jewish pioneers who ... have shown their strength in the upbuilding of a derelict country, will from now on display the same strength in defending Jewish immigration, the Jewish home and Jewish freedom.”¹⁶¹ There could hardly have been a more blunt warning of what lay ahead in due course. The Jewish Agency lobbied member governments in an effort to have the Council of the League of Nations reject the White Paper as being in conflict with the mandate. The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League decided unanimously that the White Paper was not in accordance with the mandate but only the Council had the authority to direct that it be withdrawn or to vary the mandate. It was due to meet in September 1939.

Hitler watched as Britain lurched from one problem to another. He was supremely confident. Confident but confused, and uncertain about just what course Britain might take. But he was so confident that he made three moves in quick succession. On May 20, taking advantage of the change in Soviet foreign policy direction, he instructed that the German ambassador in Moscow should seek to reopen the economic talks which had been broken off at the beginning of the year. Stalin’s response, relayed by Molotov, was that trade negotiations could proceed if the necessary ‘political basis’ had been established first. That prompted Hitler to think very carefully about Stalin’s capacity to manipulate concurrent German-Soviet and Anglo-Soviet talks.¹⁶² On May 22 the *Pact of Steel* with Italy which had been under negotiation for two weeks was signed. Then next day, May 23, Hitler summoned his fourteen principal armed services commanders to brief them on his firm decision to go to war, why he had to invade Poland, and why they had to be prepared to do battle with Britain and France as well. The die was cast. The only issue to be decided was the timing. Hitler’s military advisers told him that because of the expected weather pattern, August 25 was the latest date for an attack on Poland and he was confident that he could isolate each of Germany’s potential enemies by that date so that it did not have to do battle with Poland, Britain, France and Russia all at one time.¹⁶³ Everyone, including Hitler, knew that such a war would be unwinnable even with Italy and Japan as allies. A special planning group was to be set up within the High Command and absolute secrecy was required. Not even the General Staff or those allies, Italy and Japan, were to be advised.¹⁶⁴

Pius XII was “badly shaken” by the announcement of the *Pact of Steel*. He had withdrawn his peace conference proposal on May 10 on the purported grounds that there was no longer any danger of war but now, on June 4, he sought to negotiate directly and independently between Germany and Poland, telling Britain that it was making mediation more difficult because of its

guarantee to defend Poland. This prompted a senior Foreign Office adviser to speculate that the papacy had abdicated its moral authority, that the pope was morally impotent, and that there was “an element of self-seeking hubris” in his neutrality, while the Poles regarded him as a pro-German Italian.¹⁶⁵

In June Hitler gained another moral victory and a boost to his prestige when the US Senate blocked Roosevelt’s attempt to amend the *Neutrality Act* in a way which would have enabled him to place an embargo on exports to Germany and to give preferential treatment to Britain in arms supplies. And in a very hostile mood a number of Senators supported moves for the United States to force Britain to complete its Great War debt repayments, saying that if it didn’t do so the US should seize the West Indies to balance the account. American companies trading in competition with the British preferential tariff system were increasingly bitter about it because it had made America’s task harder as it lagged behind Europe in shaking off the Depression. Many of them were at least as eager as Hitler to take a bite out of Britain’s colonial possessions. But on the other hand US Army Chief of Staff General Malin Craig supported proposals to sell aircraft to the Allies as a means of stimulating and increasing the production potential of the American industry in view of increasing anxiety within the military establishment about the state of US preparedness.¹⁶⁶

Concurrent with the manoeuvring of May and June, British Foreign Office and diplomatic staff in China made a series of inept decisions without adequate consultation with other authorities which aggravated tensions between Britain and Japan, resulting in the Japanese commander at Tientsin (occupied North China) imposing a blockade against food going into the British Concession and searching all residents, men and women, moving through the barrier.¹⁶⁷ Eventually, on June 18, ‘seething with righteousness’, Craigie sent a long and damning critique of British policy which, he said, was letting Britain and Japan drift towards a long conflict. In marked contrast to the views he had expressed at New Year, he pressed for another round of talks rather than a continuation of the “open partisanship” in British policy which lead to picking quarrels and did “more credit to our heart than our head.” He was supported by Lord Runciman who warned Chamberlain that if Britain was to make effective use of its fleet it should look after Europe first and “when we are secure in this theatre we can later on deal with the Japanese Navy ... (and) ... to go to war with our present divided forces without the active cooperation of the USA would ... be disastrous, and I could not accept any responsibility for this course.”¹⁶⁸ Whitehall was still deeply divided over sanctions and a show of force when Craigie, without formal approval, contacted Arita who agreed to another round of talks.

In Europe at this time there was a stalemate for a few weeks while each party jockeyed for position, but Britain’s press barons were becoming convinced that Chamberlain was out of touch with the situation in Europe and that the government had to be strengthened by the return of Churchill to cabinet. Lord Astor arranged a meeting on June 30 with Lord Camrose, Eden and Harold Nicholson at which he confided to them that Halifax was also in favour of Churchill’s return. It was agreed that public pressure would be applied to Chamberlain through a rolling series of editorials. The series began on Sunday, July 2, and involved the Observer,

The Daily Telegraph, Manchester Guardian, Yorkshire Post, Daily Mirror, Evening News, The Star and the *News Chronicle*, but the Kemsley and Beaverbrook presses were conspicuous by their non-involvement in the campaign. Chamberlain turned defensive, called for an explanation from Lord Camrose who had previously been his firmest supporter, interpreted the change as some sort of 'sickness' among the press corps, and began an offensive campaign to discredit Churchill and his new supporters through The Truth.

Such manoeuvring tended to focus public attention on the dramatically deteriorating world situation and while most people, whether in the professions, academia, business or the churches were increasingly jittery and concerned they felt powerless to influence the situation and felt no option but to leave the thinking to their politicians. However the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches felt that it had to take some initiative and, in conjunction with the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, it convened a small conference of specialists in international affairs in Geneva early in July. Each of the participants were well known authorities in their own right but one was achieve world prominence within a few years. He was John Foster Dulles of the USA. The conference report became the basis of a statement which was sent to all member churches, world wide, calling their attention to the tasks of the church in time of war. A key extract from the conference report reads: "We believe that no decision secured by force of arms will be just and that out of the evil forces thereby set in motion, more evil is bound to come. We believe that decision by negotiation, conference, and methods of conciliation should always be an available alternative method. We believe that such procedures should be adopted free of the menace of force." And the statement of tasks read: true Christian prayer and preaching centred on the righteousness of the Kingdom; maintenance of brotherly relations between the churches in spite of propaganda; preparation of a just and lasting peace; counteracting hatred; and ministry to prisoners of war and refugees.¹⁶⁹

The second round of Craigie-Arita talks in Tokyo began, after some delays, on July 15 when Arita pressed for a formula which would provide for a general settlement of all of the matters of tension between Britain and Japan. These included Anglo-Japanese relations in China, the legal problems which resulted from the Tientsin drama, and economic policy. He proposed:

*The British Government fully recognize the actual situation in China, where hostilities on a large scale are in progress and note that, as long as that state of affairs continues to exist, the Japanese forces in China have special requirements for the purpose of safeguarding their own security and maintaining public order in the regions under their control, and they have to take the necessary steps in order to suppress or remove any such acts or causes as will obstruct them or benefit their enemy. The British Government, therefore, will refrain from all acts and measures which will interfere with the Japanese forces in attaining their above mentioned objects.*¹⁷⁰

It was a brief, direct and very simple formula. The major implication behind such a declaration, (refraining from *all* acts and measures which will interfere with the Japanese forces in attaining their objects) was that Britain would, in effect, withdraw *all* support from Chiang Kai-Shek, including financial support, allowing Japan to proceed with the war unhindered until

China was forced to negotiate an armistice. Any support at all would have allowed the diversion of funds to China's war effort and therefore interfered with Japan's aims. Interpreted that way, it went beyond what has been described as 'benevolent neutrality.' In fact such an agreement may not have been to China's disadvantage in the long run because, while it would have involved some loss of sovereignty in the short term within the Greater East Asian Sphere or the New Order for Asia, it would also have involved the establishment of an immense economic bloc which would have been to its advantage. At the same time, Chiang Kai-Shek, (or his successors if he were forced out of office), would have had the backing of Japan in bypassing, or suppressing, the Chinese Communist Party. A completely new set of relationships would have then evolved and, being no longer confronted by Britain in China, Japan would have had no compelling reason to continue its alliance with the Axis powers. How much serious consideration the Foreign Office and the British government gave to that aspect of the proposal is rather difficult to assess. They were more concerned with the immediate implication that it would mean the end of Extra-Territorial Rights for Britain, the European powers and the US in China, and the revision of all existing treaties and trade arrangements. That was what Britain really feared; the loss of its privileges and trade supremacy, and the loss of influence in other parts of Asia which would have assisted other efforts to escape from colonial subjugation, especially in India. And that was exactly what Japan was aiming for.

The wording was unacceptable to Britain but outright rejection would have aggravated the crisis and encouraged Japan to increase its war effort and collaborate more closely with Germany and Italy. Craigie therefore proposed to London that the wording of the formula be 'diluted' to make it innocuous, or at least to be seen to be accepting the Japanese position against China as far as possible while preserving Britain's "legitimate rights" in the region. Drafting began immediately.¹⁷¹

At that stage Whitehall officials began to share the US Chiefs of Staff anxiety about the state of US preparedness. After a visit to the US, made with Roosevelt's full support, Lord Riverdale advised the government that the US *could* meet Britain's requirements for the next two years provided that the United States was *not* at war, in which case its requirements would leave little surplus for sale to Britain, and provided that Britain's reserve of dollars held out.¹⁷² Craigie returned to Arita with Britain's revised draft agreement on July 19 and after two further days of discussions the final wording of the Arita-Craigie Agreement was agreed and the document was formally signed on July 24. The first sentence of the Japanese draft was retained and a new sentence was substituted for the second. It read:

*His Majesty's Government have no intention of countenancing any act or measures prejudicial to attainment of the above mentioned objects by Japanese forces and that they will take this opportunity to confirm their policy in this respect by making it plain to British authorities and British nationals in China that they should refrain from acts and measures.*¹⁷³

The subtleties of the English language may have been lost on the Japanese and differences in the way the two countries interpreted the agreement were soon apparent, but Craigie had

succeeded in securing a form of words which meant that British *officials in its concessions in China* were bound to exercise neutrality, but the *government in London* was not restricted in providing either direct or indirect assistance to Chiang Kai-Shek. In most countries the agreement was interpreted the way the Japanese read it, and most of the British press were critical of the apparent appeasement of Japan, but Whitehall was delighted. The situations in the Far East and in the Middle East had actually combined with Riverdale's report on US preparedness to prompt the government to accelerate its vexatious discussions with the Soviet Union also, and a *draft* treaty had actually been agreed in Moscow the pervious day, July 23.

However, on July 26, as part of Hitler's plan to neutralize the Soviet Union, Germany's chief economic negotiator, Karl Schnurre, having been briefed by Ribbentrop personally, hosted the Soviet negotiators at dinner and discussed the real prospect of a German-Soviet 'understanding'. Schnurre told them that the best England could offer Russia was participation in a European war and the hostility of Germany. On the other hand Germany could offer "neutrality and staying out of a possible European conflict and, if Moscow wished, a German-Russian understanding on mutual interests which would work out to the advantage of both countries." When questioned, Schnurre assured his guests that "a high-ranking German personage" would put forward similar views in discussion with "a high-ranking Soviet personage." He had noted only one condition: "*the possibility would be lost the moment the Soviet Union signed an agreement with Britain.*" German policy was directed against Britain, not Russia, he said, and in spite of their ideological differences Germany and the Soviet Union shared a common opposition to the capitalist democracies.¹⁷⁴

Being unaware of that dinner party, Halifax had told cabinet earlier that day that the Craigie-Arita Agreement lessened tensions and gained time to act on the government's policy of holding on and doing anything necessary "to extricate ourselves from a difficult position."¹⁷⁵ The government relaxed just a touch. But within hours it was shocked to learn of the momentous US announcement – made without prior consultation with London – that the United States would abrogate its 1911 Commercial Treaty with Japan in six months time.¹⁷⁶

At that point Lord Kemsley, one of the press barons to whom Chamberlain turned for support when the others deserted him, visited Hitler. At private talks on July 27 he belittled Churchill with vigour, doing all he could to persuade the Fuhrer that Britain was with Chamberlain in having no aggressive intentions towards Germany and in attaching "tremendous importance" to the documents signed by Hitler and Chamberlain at Munich.¹⁷⁷ But Kemsley, like Halifax, did not know of the previous day's German-Soviet discussions. Nor did he know that Craigie was already struggling with difficult negotiations in the next stage of the process of 'holding on and doing anything necessary for Britain to extricate itself from a difficult position' and that Craigie was reporting to Halifax on a deadlock with Japan over currency and silver trade while he 'exchanged' confidences with Hitler. Perhaps there was no exchange. It may have been all one way traffic.

Hitler had even more reason to be supremely confident and his special planning group was moving quickly. But for a couple of months he had appeared less sure of his moves, even though he had averted an attempted coup against him by the success of his Czechoslovakian adventure. There was a bit of a lull in the action. He was getting only qualified support from Italy and Hungary, so, with Russia very close at hand, Hitler had to tread warily over the Polish issue and he was jockeying very carefully for position. Britain and France had given Poland their pledge to maintain its territorial integrity a week after the Memel incident. But in view of the ease with which he had talked Britain out of Czechoslovakia, he had little to fear from those guarantees to Poland unless Britain confirmed a treaty with Russia or unless the United States intervened. However he knew Britain was still adopting an arms length posture towards Russia on political grounds while it sent delegations to talk trade and to seek economic cooperation.¹⁷⁸ If Hitler played his cards right and continued the way he was going at home, Britain could be out manoeuvred in the East and could be effectively isolated internationally. It would be dependent solely on the support of its dominions and colonies, several of whom were either pressing hard for independence or were under threat of annexation by other powers, and some of whom did not want to become involved in another war in Europe.

In July, as if he was trying to buy time so that pro-German sentiment could grow in the United States, or, perhaps, so that he could mend fences and develop a closer working arrangement with Britain, Hitler had even agreed to pay the three million pounds Sterling for Vitkowitz for which Baron Louis had pressed before the occupation of Czechoslovakia.¹⁷⁹ However it appears that he was really trying to buy time with which to outmanoeuvre Britain in their competition for an understanding with Russia. A contract was never signed, payment was never made, and Hitler's pact with Russia was about to catch Britain completely by surprise.¹⁸⁰

But even if the British government thought that there was still a chance of avoiding war the Jewish community had little doubt about the future. A little-known group called 'Focus for the Defence of Freedom and Peace' was urgently casting around for ways of strengthening the government's will to stand up to Hitler. It became their immediate aim to ensure that Churchill, a known supporter of Zionism, was again included in cabinet. Thousands of posters began appearing on advertising hoardings in London early in July with slogans such as 'Churchill must come back' and 'What price Churchill'. Editorials and readers' letters in most of the major papers debated the merits of his likely recall and scores of volunteers carried sandwich boards with the same thrust in front of the House of Commons. While Chamberlain suspected Soviet involvement in the campaign, which he found a distinct embarrassment, the controversial historical writer David Irving refers to strong circumstantial evidence that part of the finance for the campaign was provided from a \$US3 million fund raised by the American Jewish Committee in its bid to stop Hitler.¹⁸¹

When Germany occupied Czechoslovakia in mid-March, exports of uranium were promptly banned so that the refugee scientists had little doubt about the future either. Fermi, Szilard and others took the ban to mean that Hitler was pressing on with nuclear weapon development and they feared that he would apply pressure on Belgium to get control of the other major source of

supply in the Belgian Congo. Therefore when Szilard and Eugene Wigner, another Hungarian-born refugee from Nazism, called to see Einstein early in July, just when the debate on US neutrality, trade embargoes and seizure of the British West Indies was gaining momentum, well fuelled by Hitler's speech, they were equally as concerned to prevent the Congo falling under Hitler's control as they were to see work undertaken to develop an atomic bomb. Einstein was known to be on personally friendly terms with Queen Elizabeth of Belgium and they canvassed the idea that he should write to her. However it was agreed after several discussions involving a wider group of people that a letter to the US President was the most appropriate course. Accordingly Professor Albert Einstein, possibly the best known Jew, the most highly regarded theoretical physicist of the age, the onetime house guest of the president who had been honoured by congress, and the man whose pacifism had been rudely shattered by Hitler, addressed a letter to President Roosevelt on August 2, 1939.

It was a very pragmatic document, drafted with meticulous care in collaboration with those who suggested it and, like so much of the diplomatic and political manouvring involved in the trouble in the triangle, it carried no indication of the real motive behind it. It was pitched to highlight the advantages for the United States if it were the first to develop an atomic bomb and if it controlled the main source of uranium, and to set the president thinking about how disadvantageous it would be for the United States if another power were to develop nuclear capacity first. Those who helped to draft the letter were well aware that to promote the development of atomic weapons as a means of preventing Hitler from carrying out his anti-Semitic policy was potentially counter-productive. They could leave nothing to chance and the letter could not be left to take its course through the ordinary White House correspondence system. A personal confidant of the president, economist Alexander Sachs, was asked to deliver it personally at the first opportune time. However, because of the state of debate in the United States, Sachs decided it was not opportune to deliver the letter and he held it for a few weeks.¹⁸²
¹⁸³ By the time he took it to discuss with Roosevelt the amorphous gel and its international relationships were in even more turmoil.

The extent of that turmoil is reflected in a message considered at the close of the World Conference of Christian Youth in Amsterdam on the same day that Einstein drafted his letter to Roosevelt. "The nations and peoples of the world are drifting apart," it said. But reflecting a mood of optimism within the ecumenical movement that the churches might be able to exercise some influence, it continued: "the churches are coming together. There is a growing conviction of the essential togetherness of all Christians."¹⁸⁴ Unfortunately that optimism was misplaced because the conference churches were not aware of the machinations of the Vatican.

And there were other messages being considered that day, too. Halifax confessed that the position in the Far East was then "causing him more anxiety than the position in any other part of the world." He proposed to cabinet that Britain should use continued anti-British demonstrations in both Japan and occupied China as an excuse to break off the Anglo-Japanese talks, and that if it was decided that 'retaliation' was necessary, then Britain should also 'denounce' its commercial treaty with Japan. Chamberlain, and cabinet, did not agree and when

they sought Craigie's advice he dismissed the possibility of cooperation with the United States, saying that he hesitated to regard the actions of the current American administration seriously because they had "run away so often from their own initiatives" and he believed it would negotiate a new treaty with Japan well before its six months notice had expired. Considering the power play within the Japanese government he believed Britain's interests were best served by concessions to Japan and not confrontation.¹⁸⁵

For two weeks cabinet considered conflicting advice, the fact that the US was opposed to anything which weakened the Chinese currency, and French inability to cooperate. During that time Hitler's position strengthened substantially, partly due to procrastination by the British and French in sending a joint delegation to Moscow to progress the draft treaty. That delegation finally arrived in Moscow on August 11, ready for discussions next day. But unknown to them or their governments, on the day those talks began, August 12, just thirteen days before the weather-induced deadline for an invasion of Poland which Hitler had been working towards, Molotov authorized discussions with Germany on the basis of Schnurre's dinner party. Politicking and negotiations proceeded at break-neck speed.

About that time, in mid August, unknown to all the world except Hitler's key associates and the Vatican, Germany's Roman Catholic bishops received top secret instructions on where priests should report for military pastoral care in accordance with the secret annex to the Concordat, and they were promptly summoned to meet in conference. It can only be assumed, in the absence of information to the contrary, that the new pope, Pius XII, made no effort to inform either Britain or France of the secret German instructions to the bishops and the designated chaplains. If he had done so it would have certainly changed the course of allied decision making. It may have precipitated a decision by the United States to oppose Hitler's plan and, in so doing, it may have changed the course of history. The decision to honour the secret annex to the concordat therefore stands as one of the seminal decisions of the war and there can be few better illustrations of the consequences of the church's self-understanding. In honouring its ghastly secret – a consequence of its pathetic and grovelling hunt for a concordat with Hitler's regime – the Vatican ensured that Europe would continue along the path to war and the Holocaust. If there is any justification for its inaction it is the fact that unless a decision to advise Britain or France also led to Hitler being deposed and to his Reich government being promptly overthrown, it would almost certainly have prompted a terrifying onslaught against the Catholic Church. (See chapter 18 for the negotiations for the secret annex.)

With no knowledge of those instructions, on August 18, after Halifax insisted that concessions would get very little positive result in exchange for worsening relations with the United States and China, the Japanese government was advised of Britain's decision: no change.

However, parts of two messages by the pope may have been intended to alert the allies to imminent crisis without disclosing his or Hitler's secrets. If they were, they were much too subtle. The message certainly did not register. In the first, issued on August 19, Pius XII said

that the conflict which he was working hard to avoid would “by all forecasts surpass the previous one in destruction, in material and spiritual ruins” and the appeal to force would be “an unspeakable responsibility.”¹⁸⁶ However, even if the Allies missed the point it appears that the Fuhrer may have recognized it.

Hitler was becoming increasingly frustrated by Molotov’s resistance to cutting corners and his insistence that the economic treaty had to be finalized before a Non-Aggression Pact could be drafted. During the evening, following the publication of the pope’s first message, while Hitler waited nervously for word that the trade treaty had been signed, he relieved his feelings by ordering that 21 U-boats and two pocket battleships take up war stations in the Atlantic in readiness to attack British shipping. It is quite conceivable that he was irritated by that message which the pope had released. The German-Soviet trade treaty was finally signed on Moscow’s orders at 2am, after Hitler had given up waiting and gone to bed. That afternoon, Sunday, August 20, he wrote personally to Stalin, suggesting that a supplementary protocol and a pact should now be signed without delay. He said that Ribbentrop could fly to Moscow in two or three days time with full authority to draw up and sign both the protocol and the pact. Stalin agreed. On the same day Japan declared the Anglo-Japanese talks broken down and leaned further towards Germany. Then next day, August 21, with an unbridgeable gap between them over the question of Polish cooperation with Russian forces, the Anglo-French delegation met the Russian delegation in Moscow for the last time, without result.

GERMAN-SOVIET PACT BRINGS TURMOIL

It was also on August 21 that Hitler announced to his generals that a pact with Russia was about to be signed and the Soviet newsagency, Tass, broadcast that Ribbentrop was flying to Moscow to sign a Non-Aggression Pact. When “the sinister news broke upon the world like an explosion”¹⁸⁷ the British government turned its attention again to how it could pay for the arms which, quite clearly, it would have to negotiate with the United States in anticipation of a war with Germany. Over ten days from August 24 to September 3 the Treasury and the Bank of England rushed through regulations aimed at conserving US dollars, registering marketable securities and controlling all dealings in gold and foreign currencies. The Truman administration also took up the matter, ordering an assessment of Britain’s gold and dollar reserves, and stepping up its campaign to push amendments to the *Neutrality Act* through Congress. They were to face stiff opposition.¹⁸⁸

But the shock waves didn’t only affect the Western World and its church. They ran on through the Fascist regimes with which Hitler was linked in the *Anti-Comintern Pact* and they affected Japan more than any other country. The Japanese government had broken off its talks with Britain only the day before.

When Japan signed the *Anti-Comintern Pact* in 1936 a key reason for doing so was to gain Germany’s recognition of its puppet regime in Manchukuo (Manchuria) which it had set up in 1932 at China’s expense in the first stage of its own imperial expansion. That recognition was

very important to Japan's international standing because it had withdrawn from the League of Nations in March 1933, a month after the League had refused to recognize its authority in the region. It had confidently precipitated a clash with Russian forces two years earlier, disputing an area on the Amur River which formed the southern boundary of the Bira-Bidzran Jewish settlement, before it began its campaign in China. With a favourable outcome it had then pushed on to consolidate Japanese control over Manchukuo, to sweep southward towards Central China and to nibble away at Russia's border regions in which it was interested at the same time. Japan was confident that Russia did not have the capacity to resist it and to maintain a defensive shield facing Hitler at the same time. But subsequently Germany did not give Japan any support in its dispute with Mongolia and the Soviet Union over the Khalkin-Gol zone on the Soviet-Mongolia-Manchuria border. In the summer of 1939, while the web of intrigue was being woven in Europe, the Soviet Union supported the semi-Soviet state of Mongolia in that conflict and Japan made no effective territorial gain. Its Russian border campaign came adrift. Then in August, while Ribbentrop was putting the finishing touches to the German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact with Molotov – in complete contradiction to the *Anti-Comintern Pact* and without taking Japan into his confidence – Russia mounted a full scale attack on the Sixth Japanese (Kwangtung) Army which had been “the heart of the Japanese army faction campaigning for a military alliance with Germany.” According to Russian figures, Japan suffered 50,000 casualties in the four-month campaign compared with 9,000 Russian casualties.

The Japanese government faced a crisis and was looking to its principal treaty partner for support. It was therefore deeply angered and suffered an embarrassing diplomatic setback when Hitler announced the *German-Soviet Pact* on August 21. Japan's code of behaviour had been dishonored and it had been betrayed by its treaty partner. The sudden announcement caused bewilderment and anger, especially in the Imperial Japanese Army, and stunned the Japanese ruling groups who thought Hitler had sold out his ally to Russia in order to save his own skin.¹⁸⁹ Japan was in real trouble and it had to look for its best option in a bid to stabilize its own situation, recover its authority and move forward towards its objective of a strong Asian economic bloc relieved of European and American domination. It certainly could not increase the pressure on Britain in its Chinese Concessions in the manner which was expected following the breaking off of the Anglo-Japanese talks.

By causing Japan to pause and reconsider its international relationships which appeared to focus on China, but which really focussed beyond China on the European question, Hitler had, quite unintentionally, handed Britain a windfall opportunity. By failing to consult Japan on the Russian question he had demonstrated very clearly that his alliance with Japan was purely a matter of strategic convenience; that he had no real sympathy for it; and that he had even less understanding of Asia than the other European leaders. Of course he had never claimed to have any real love for Asians, for Africans or for anyone other than Aryans. His entire philosophy and his policy were based on an assumption of Aryan superiority which was not seriously challenged in the White Christian West and therefore it should have been no surprise to anyone that he could totally ignore the consequences of his actions for his first *Anti-Comintern Pact*

partner. Hitler was totally transparent. He did nothing to conceal the simplicity of his motives. He was still shouting them from the rooftops at every opportunity and *Mein Kampf* was being freely distributed in an ever growing list of languages – thirteen before the outbreak of war with Britain, plus another three during the war. But Britain was different. Together with the other White Western Christian powers it was, when it suited it, still justifying its presence as an imperial power in the non-European regions by its divinely imposed ‘responsibility’ to carry the white man’s burden of Christianizing the whole world. Its reward for lifting the rest of the world ‘up’ to Britain’s level of civilization and ethics was the commercial benefits of the task.

The world waited. Especially Britain. Japan could lean towards the Western Democracies in the hope of using their influence to solve the China Controversy, but in that case it would have to accept the continuation of some of the Extra-territorial Rights. On the other hand it could accept the shock of the *German-Soviet Pact*, rationalize its attitude towards Communism, and seek the support of both Germany and the Soviet Union in pushing the Western Powers out of the Asian region altogether. However Japan and the Soviet Union were still at war over a border dispute and Russia had its own options. It was not expected to convert the border incident into a full confrontation with Japan. But there was a distinct possibility that it might take advantage of its pact with Germany to look southward and attempt to push Britain out of China or even out of Asia altogether. If it did so, what would be Japan’s attitude to an Anglo-Soviet war in the region where it wanted a New Order for Asia? Then Britain itself. There were some foreign policy advisers who favoured appeasement towards Japan in the interests of stability in the Far East, but if this involved foregoing treaty privileges in China and forcing China into a peace settlement with Japan, it would alienate France and “irrevocably alienate Washington”¹⁹⁰ whose privileges would also then be forfeit. That would lead to a drop in the level of American assistance for the Allied war effort in Europe and possibly even tilt American public opinion in favour of Germany.

Thus, although there were dangers in which ever course it took, the initiative passed firmly to Britain – for a moment. At one stroke, by agreeing to negotiate a comprehensive treaty with Japan – under which it would relinquish the detested extra-territorial and trade rights in China which it had secured at the point of a barrel – it could have eliminated the crisis in the Far East, virtually locked the Soviet Union out of the region, reduced dramatically the significance of the Middle East and the Suez passage, and been able to concentrate on Hitler – without even having to withdraw its Christian missions from either China or Japan. It would have been concerned with only two theatres instead of three. However it would have to contend with Germany in a situation in which it had weakened its own alliances, possibly to the point at which it would have no allies in the war other than its far-flung dominions, while Germany would have uninhibited trade in raw materials with each of the Soviet Union, Japan and the United States. It would be in an unwinnable situation and it would have to make peace with Hitler.

Make peace with Hitler? How could it? The need to resolve the Jewish Question would make that impossible unless it was prepared to open Palestine as a lever on others to share in the resettlement of all Jews in the territories of the Reich. That was impossible – at least without

concurrent resolution of the trouble in the triangle and there was absolutely no hope of that in the short term. It would very quickly be involved in a conflagration in the Middle East which would spell the end of empire. In reality Britain had got itself into such a situation that even eliminating one potential theatre of war was not going to solve its crisis.

Even before the *German-Soviet Pact* was a fact of life, on August 22, while Ribbentrop was preparing to fly to Moscow, Hitler set the provisional date for the invasion of Poland as August 26. He briefed his commanders accordingly, but not all of them were happy. They were worried about resources and control of access routes. That had become an issue immediately Britain rejected Hitler's offer of a peace settlement in return for a free hand in Poland and it soon became apparent that if war broke out it would escalate because Hitler had to secure both his access to raw materials from neutral countries in Europe and his access to Atlantic shipping to prevent being encircled by the British-French alliance. There was therefore a new imperative behind his want for 'breathing space', *lebensraum*. However Hitler had given the matter more thought than the Allies gave him credit for. He told his commanders during the briefing: "Today's announcement of the non-Aggression Pact with Russia came as a bombshell ... The consequences cannot be foreseen ...(but) ... we need not be afraid of a blockade. The East will supply us with grain, cattle, coal, lead and zinc."¹⁹¹

Then, within an hour of Ribbentrop's arrival in Moscow he and Stalin began their first meeting to finalize their Pact. Their meeting was quite a bit like the Munich Conference at which Britain, France and Germany decided Czechoslovakia's fate behind its back. It was just that the parties and their target had changed. Germany and Russia were deciding the fourth partition of Poland behind its back and that matter was the only one which caused significant debate before the Pact and the secret protocol were signed. In the event of a "territorial and political transformation of Eastern Europe" Germany proposed that Poland would be divided into Soviet and German spheres of influence with the question of whether any portion should remain independent to be determined later. Germany also wanted Lithuania plus the region of Vilna, and the southern half of Latvia, and proposed that the northern half of Latvia, Finland and Estonia would be within the Soviet sphere. However Stalin wanted all of Latvia and Bessarabia, between Russia and Rumania. Ribbentrop was not interested in Bessarabia but he phoned Hitler to check on the partition of Latvia. Hitler agreed that Russia could have it. The pact was complete. It was not signed until next day, but without waiting for the signatures Hitler immediately directed that the attack on Poland should begin as planned three days later.

BRITAIN'S GUARANTEE TO POLAND

Britain was worried. Its immediate response when the *German-Soviet Pact* was announced was to throw up a smoke screen of determination, to say that its obligations to Poland were in no way affected, and for Parliament to approve partial mobilization. It had been common diplomatic talk that the pope was trying to pressure Poland into making concessions to hold the peace, so Britain now chose to use his intervention instead of opposing it. Halifax badgered him

to make a radio appeal condemning violence and recommending peace and, presumably responding to that approach, Pius XII went on world-wide radio to propose that as one “standing above all public disputes and passions” he could perhaps play a major role in preventing war.¹⁹² Next day, August 23, Chamberlain wrote personally to Hitler to say “... the German-Soviet Agreement cannot alter Great Britain’s obligation to Poland, which His Majesty’s Government ... are determined to fulfill” and that if necessary the government would “employ without delay all the forces at their command, and it is impossible to foresee the end of hostilities once engaged ...”¹⁹³ That brought a tirade of abuse from the Fuhrer for the British ambassador, Sir Neville Henderson, but that day, when Britain formally announced its mutual assistance pact with Poland, “confirming the guarantees already given,” was the only time his determination to meet his self-imposed deadline faltered.¹⁹⁴ He ordered a deferment while he continued negotiations with Britain through a Swedish intermediary, Birger Dahlerus.

Then, after his shouting match with Henderson, Hitler’s first conciliatory message was that he wanted “a move toward England which should be as decisive as the move towards Russia” and that he was “ready to conclude agreements with England which would not only guarantee the existence of the British Empire in all circumstances so far as Germany is concerned, but would also, if necessary, assure the British Empire of German assistance regardless of where such assistance should be necessary.”¹⁹⁵ In diplomatic parlance he had said that he would support Britain against a US push for the West Indies, against Japan’s push for Hong Kong and against Russian interest in the Persian Gulf region in return for a free hand in Poland. At the same time he stepped up the propaganda barrage against Poland for its anti-German atrocities, in the very familiar manner, and set his demands at such a level that Britain would eventually accept them while Poland would not, and a wedge would have been driven between them.

Next day, August 24, Craigie, seeing the opportunity to eliminate one of the three theatres of crisis and potential theatres of war, advised Halifax to renew the Anglo-Japanese talks and, on a broader scale, to push for a Sino-Japanese peace settlement. The immediate response of the Foreign Office was to support Craigie to some extent, authorizing him to make soundings on the trade questions, but telling him that the “peace talks were still too controversial.”¹⁹⁶ At the same time the so-called ‘moderates’ in the Imperial Japanese Army pushed for better relations with both Britain and the United States, and tentative moves were made to reopen talks with Britain. But British interests were determined not to let those rewards for carrying the white man’s burden slip through their fingers and even the trade talks soon proved a stumbling block.

THE BISHOPS TAKE A STAND

The German Catholic bishops were actually in conference from August 22–24, while Ribbentrop was in Moscow and the *German-Soviet Pact* was announced, and they apparently drafted their usual pastoral letter to go to all congregations in Germany, plus the occupied territories of Austria and Czechoslovakia, but they *did not* issue it immediately. It was issued a few days *after* war was declared. It read, in part:

*"In this decisive hour we encourage and admonish our Catholic soldiers, in obedience to the Fuhrer, to do their duty and to be ready to sacrifice their whole person. We appeal to the faithful to join in ardent prayers that God's providence may lead this war to blessed success and peace for fatherland and people."*¹⁹⁷

However on August 24, (the day the German bishops' conference closed), the pope issued another statement, the 'second message'. It appears to have been drafted as a response to Hitler's announcement of the pact between Germany and Russia which had, by then, become public knowledge, and it is reasonable to assume that it was drafted in collaboration with the Bishops' Conference.

Speaking over Radio Vatican, he said:

"Danger is imminent, but there is still time. Nothing is lost with peace. All may be lost by war. It is by the force of reason and not that of arms that justice advances. And empires which are not founded on justice are not blessed by God ... We make our appeal (to the strong and the powerful) through the blood of Christ whose strength, victorious over the world, was meekness in life and death."^{198 199}

There was still no indication of prior knowledge of the impending invasion of Poland, and the bishops' pastoral letter, already drafted, was withheld and released later, as if it were written after the invasion.

ZIONISTS MOVE INTO ACTION

The 21st Congress of the World Zionist Movement broke up prematurely on August 26 after a couple of days of intense discussions in the wake of the announcement of Hitler's deal with Stalin. Jewish diplomatic activity, both Zionist and non-Zionist, soon reached unprecedented proportions right around the world, but the Chamberlain government was feeling the heat more than any other.

In the absence of any strong reaction from the British, Hitler's hesitation had soon faded and, also on August 26, he issued the final order for the invasion to take place on September 1.²⁰⁰ In doing so, he showed clearly how little time he thought was needed for Britain to "do another Munich" or another Prague-type about-face, and that he was not really interested in anything less than his pact with Russia assured him of. He knew he was on the right track when he was woken that night to receive a message from Lord Halifax which reiterated Britain's desire to reach a peaceful settlement and stressed the need "to have a few days" to achieve it.²⁰¹

Dahlerus was sent back to London immediately with Hitler's six-point response, and a little after midday on Sunday, August 27, he was ushered into a most secret meeting to brief Prime Minister Chamberlain, Foreign Secretary Lord Halifax, Sir Horace Wilson and Sir Alexander Cadogan. He told them that Germany wanted a pact or an alliance with Britain; that Britain's part of the deal would be to help Germany obtain Danzig and the corridor, with Poland retaining the Baltic port of Gdynia, a corridor to it and a free harbour in Danzig; that Germany would

guarantee the new Polish frontiers; that Germany was to have her colonies or the equivalent of them returned; that guarantees were to be given for the protection of the German minority in Poland; and that for its part Germany would pledge to defend the British Empire.²⁰² The British government was in shock at virtually being handed an ultimatum.

Faced with such a situation, embroiled in frantic diplomatic activity and with the situation from Britain's point of view continuing to deteriorate by the hour, Chamberlain was exasperated that the press was not reflecting his 'unbounded optimism' and that it may antagonize Hitler. He therefore asked Hoare, through Halifax, to renew his regular contacts with the newspapers. Hoare met them on August 28 and on each of the next three days with the instructions that they should try to keep the tensions down and "get the Poles and the Germans to negotiate." However the press was no longer interested in being a manipulated presenter of Chamberlain's policy. The Times had changed direction so that it was "the most resolute and bellicose paper of all" and on September 1, the day that Hitler finally invaded Poland, only Beaverbrook was represented.²⁰³

On his return to Berlin, Dahlerus relayed the somewhat imprecise British reply to Hitler but it is apparent that the basis of the message was that Britain was willing in principle to come to an agreement with Germany, that it wanted negotiations opened with Poland immediately, and that it would negotiate on colonies but not until Germany demobilized.²⁰⁴ Applying more pressure, Hitler asked for the reply in writing and said it should indicate clearly that "the Poles have been strongly advised to immediately establish contact with Germany and negotiate." Halifax dutifully instructed Ambassador Kennard to see Polish foreign minister Beck "at once" on the afternoon of August 28 and to obtain his authority for Britain to tell Hitler "that Poland is ready to enter at once into direct discussions with Germany." Beck equally dutifully obliged and by 10.30 p.m. that evening Henderson had returned to Berlin and handed Hitler Britain's formal reply.²⁰⁵

Even before Henderson returned to Berlin, some time earlier that day, the Japanese ambassador had actually talked with Halifax. He suggested that as Japan had been double-crossed by Germany, and Britain by Russia, London and Tokyo ought to improve their mutual relations.²⁰⁶ But their talk was to little avail. The government of Prime minister Hiranuma had been in turmoil. It resigned that day and was replaced by one led by General Abe Nobuyuki. It received no spontaneous gestures of goodwill from Britain, and the talks which subsequently took place were of a very restricted nature.

The parody was in full swing and the Fuhrer's orders, sanctified by the papal concordat, the bishops' blessing and their appeal for prayers for the success of his war, would come thick and fast to test the church's credibility and to give it a chance to redeem itself by rejecting those orders. Even that would have required some understanding of the parody and the causes of the trouble in the triangle.

FOR POLAND: YET ANOTHER CARVE-UP

One thing Hitler had omitted to say about his pact with Stalin was that it had a protocol attached under which their two countries planned another partition of Poland. As noted above: “In the event of a territorial and political transformation of the territories belonging to the Polish State, the spheres of interest of both Germany and the USSR shall be bounded approximately by the line of the rivers Narew, Vistula and San,” it said. Whether any independent Polish State should be maintained at all was to be determined in the light of further political developments. ^{207 208}
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Hitler didn’t even take the pope into his confidence and yet it affected the Vatican’s interests in that vital buffer zone. But why should he mention it? Such a minor omission was quite consistent with the parody. When Britain and France signed the *Sykes-Picot Agreement* to partition the Ottoman Empire the world didn’t learn about it until after Lenin and the Bolsheviks had become responsible for the Tsar’s files. But after all, that was only Muslim Arab territory which Christian Europeans all believed they were fully entitled to. That was not the same as Christian European territory which nasty atheistic Communists and heretical Nazi Christians definitely were not entitled to. And there was another excellent precedent for secret protocols which was very dear to Hitler’s heart. It was the annex to the 1933 *Vatican Concordat* with Germany under which Roman Catholic priests would be assigned to military pastoral care duties in the event of Hitler waging war, and the pope had been perfectly happy to hold *that* in confidence. He expected to be handed control of religious affairs in Poland on a plate.

When the details of the pact and the partition of Poland later became known, the western allies cried “shame”! How dare Russia partition Poland in a bid to avoid war with Germany! What a dastardly act! The rest of the world was expected to believe that the partition of Czechoslovakia by Britain and France to avoid war with Germany was an heroic act of humanitarianism while Russia’s partition of Poland for the same reason was a brutal and inhuman act of self interest and empire building. In fact political morality had not changed one bit. Ribbentrop and Hitler were very happy. They had gained all they wanted and they did not expect a war. They did not expect Britain and France to honour their undertakings to Poland. Stalin also had reason to be happy. He was expanding the Soviet empire and he did not expect to be involved in a war. He could reasonably expect to remain aloof while the two imperialist and capitalist camps which he had referred to in his March speech – Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy on one hand and the Western democracies, Britain and France on the other hand – fought for their political lives in Europe.

Hitler was supremely confident of the success of his latest initiative. It was a major step in his march to reestablish the German empire and it was the focal point or the pivot on which his capacity to put into effect the key programmes of *Mein Kampf* hinged. He had prepared the ground with meticulous care with army, naval and critical civil authorities working to meet a deadline of August 25 ever since his special conference of May 23.²¹⁰ He knew he would have to fight his way this time and he had made it perfectly clear to his general staff that this would

not be a simple victory by bluff, manoeuvre and negotiation. There would be bloodshed. This was the Jewish heartland of Europe; the Poles knew perfectly well from the events of recent months and from *Mein Kampf* what policies would be pursued and they were expected to fight rather than back off.

Hitler's confidence in the outcome was quite well founded. He had Russia's assurance, underpinned by the secret Polish protocol, that it would not intervene. He was smugly encouraged that the backing of his Roman Catholic bishops would ensure continued domestic support for his program. And he was confident that Britain's imperial *insecurity* and worldwide conflicts of interest, centered on the Middle East, would result in it failing to honour its latest guarantee just as they had in the case of Czechoslovakia. The whirlwind round of diplomatic activity since he announced the *German-Soviet pact* clearly pointed in that direction.

Hitler knew that the Arabs of the Middle East would support him fully, so did Britain, and if Britain sent forces to help the Jews in Poland ward off Hitler it would have to be able to reinforce its position in Palestine and the neighbouring Arab states to avoid a spontaneous uprising, absolute turmoil, and the certain loss of Suez and the oil fields. In addition, the Zionist Movement wanted its own army defending its interests in Palestine, and certainly not more British troops. But if Britain were to be seen to delegate military authority to a Jewish force, it would be interpreted as the first step towards relinquishing sovereignty to the Zionists and that would be anathema to the Arabs. Even a joint military force would represent shared military authority and shared sovereignty. So Britain was in a serious bind over the Jewish question and Hitler knew it. But in spite of that he had sufficient confidence in the fundamental strength of Britain and its ability to control and direct its enormous empire that he was supremely confident that its government would find some spot tucked away somewhere to provide a home for his Jews, even though it didn't love them enough to go to war for them. What was the use of an empire if one could not exploit its space as well as its people and its resources? That assessment of Britain's imperial authority was to prove the start of Hitler's undoing. The British government was no longer able to impose its authority on its empire in that manner. It knew it was going to be dependent on the units of the empire for its very survival.

So: the British Government agreed that a settlement between Germany and Poland was the first step but it said that everything turned upon the nature of the settlement and how it was to be achieved. Britain did not want any advantage at the expense of the independence of a state to which a guarantee had been given, it said. Poland had agreed to direct discussions, and Britain hoped that Germany would agree to this course, with safeguards for Poland's essential interests and its cultural integrity – an alternative way of saying safety for its Jewish population – and with international guarantees to secure the settlement.²¹¹ It is hardly surprising from the tone of that note that when Henderson met Hitler next evening, August 29, the reply that he was handed was such that he described it as an ultimatum. Hitler agreed "to accept the British Government's offer of their good offices in securing the dispatch to Berlin of a Polish emissary with full powers," and he counted on the emissary to arrive next day, August 30. He continued: "The German Government will immediately draw up proposals for a solution acceptable to

themselves and will if possible, place these at the disposal of the British Government before the arrival of the Polish negotiator.”²¹²

While Henderson was delivering his note to Hitler in Berlin, Weizmann, in his capacity as President of the Jewish Agency for Palestine was delivering one to Chamberlain in London. It read:

Dear Mr. Prime Minister, In this hour of supreme crisis the consciousness that the Jews have a contribution to make to the defence of sacred values impels me to write this letter. I wish to confirm in the most explicit manner, the declarations which I and my colleagues have made during the last month, and especially in the last week, that the Jews stand by Great Britain and will fight on the side of the democracies.

Our urgent desire is to give effect to these declarations. We wish to do so in a way entirely consonant with the general scheme of British action, and therefore would place ourselves, in matters big and small, under the coordinating direction of his Majesty's Government.

*The Jewish Agency is ready to enter into immediate arrangements for utilizing Jewish man-power, technical ability, resources, &c. The Jewish Agency has recently had differences with the Mandatory Power. We would like these differences to give way before the greater and more pressing necessities of the time. We ask you to accept this declaration in the spirit in which it is made.*²¹³

And also at the same time there were frantic discussions taking place between a papal emissary, Fr. Venturi, and Mussolini, the pope's aim being to get the Duce to do what he could with Hitler to prevent war. Although he was no more eager for war than either the British or French, Mussolini was not eager to approach Hitler directly. He proposed instead that Pius XII should write personally to the Polish President urging him to announce that “Poland does not oppose the return of Danzig to Germany” and to link it with a proposal for negotiations with Germany towards “reciprocal rights for minorities.” The second clause was really a euphemism for ‘Poland will permit a bit more Jew bashing.’ Pius XII agreed, except that the note, sanctioned by him, was signed by the new Cardinal Secretary of State, Maglione, and despatched to the nuncio in Poland for delivery next day, August 30.²¹⁴

A series of meetings that day and the next, August 30 and 31, in both Berlin and London were a pure charade to enable Hitler to maintain the initiative while he waited for his armies to finalize preparation for the invasion on September 1 which he had no intention of stopping. Britain said it was impractical to arrange the meetings Hitler required and Germany said that as the Polish negotiator had not arrived the proposals drawn up as the basis of a settlement were out of date. But Britain continued to press Poland to negotiate, and Hitler kept up the barrage of propaganda against Polish atrocities and efforts to sabotage his peace proposals. Just after noon on August 31 he signed his Directive Number One for the conduct of the war. The attack was to commence at 4.45 a.m. next morning. The neutrality of Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg and Switzerland was to be scrupulously observed with no German forces crossing the western frontier without his express permission. Britain and France were to be isolated so that full

responsibility for the opening of any hostilities on that front could be shown to rest squarely on them.²¹⁵ And Pius XII issued a last appeal in favor of peace, begging the governments of Germany and Poland to do their utmost to avoid incidents and steps which could worsen the “present tension.”²¹⁶

But the situation was complicated and Britain’s crisis deepened even more that day when Japan suffered a national humiliation with the decisive defeat of the Kwangtung army by the Soviet army at the disputed Manchuria border region. The immediate effect was that Japan abandoned its Russian adventure and withdrew to regroup and bolster its defence against the possibility of a major Russian attack from another quarter. It also had to curtail its thrust against the Western enclaves in China and against the Kuomintang who, in spite of continuing conflict with the Chinese Communist forces, were receiving support from Russia. The fighting in the Far East stopped for the time being. However, the new government was immediately forced to begin negotiations for a formal agreement with the Soviet Union. It then appeared that Britain’s interests in China and South East Asia may soon be under direct threat from Russia by a southward thrust through China in which Russia could either work with the British-American ally, Chiang Kai-Shek, or bypass him and work with the Chinese Communist Party. At the same time one of Britain’s remote options for defusing the crisis in the Far East, an alliance with Japan which would lock in the Soviet Union, was clearly about to close.

THE ACTION BEGINS

Bombs began to fall on Poland at dawn on September 1. The German armour made rapid progress towards Warsaw from north, south and west but the Poles fought tenaciously and succeeded in destroying the Dirschau bridge over the Vistula before the German forces could cross it and swamp Warsaw. Hitler cabled Pius XII to thank him for his message of the previous day and to explain how Poland had forced him to act by a series of border violations and failing to send their emissary in time. The pope said nothing.²¹⁷ Chamberlain told the House that day that England’s only quarrel with the German people was that they allowed themselves to be governed by a Nazi government. Its methods must come to an end before there will be peace in Europe, he had said, explaining the note which had been sent to Hitler. But he did not order military intervention.

When neither Britain nor France intervened it looked as if Hitler was correct. Their mutual assistance pacts would *not* be honoured and he would achieve his aim without even having to call on international backing. He knew he would not get it from Italy because Mussolini had told him several days earlier that Italy would *not* join the war against Poland because its resources had been depleted by its adventures in Ethiopia and Spain.²¹⁸ Mussolini now promptly told both Britain and France that he would not go to war against them either. He tried desperately to set up a Munich-style conference and actually got Hitler to release him from his obligations under the *Pact of Steel*.²¹⁹

However Hitler did get the support he was looking for from another source. The German Evangelical Church issued a statement next day, September 2, 1939 which read:

Since yesterday our German people have been called on to fight for the land of their fathers in order that German blood may be reunited with German blood. The German Evangelical Church stands in true fellowship with the fate of the German people. The church has added to the weapons of steel her own invincible weapons from the Word of God: the assurance of faith that our people and each individual is in God's hand, and the power of prayer which strengthens us in days of good and evil. So we unite in this hour with our people in intercession for our Fuhrer and Reich, for all the armed forces, and for all who do their duty for the fatherland.²²⁰

Chamberlain was no doubt hoping that God was going to support Magog as well as Gog (or was it the other way round?) and that he would be favoured by a similar declaration from the churches in Britain. It would have made his government's decision a lot easier.

Still neither Britain nor France intervened and both governments even advised Mussolini, and therefore Hitler also, indirectly, that their messages to Hitler had been only warnings and not ultimatums. The Fuhrer was left to make the running as he wished. His understanding of Britain's critical imperial position had been far more acute than that of most observers. When he offered to protect the British Empire in return for a free hand in Poland he had in fact touched the most delicate nerve possible and he kept the needle there as long as possible to enable him to consolidate his position in Poland. His problems were Mussolini's desertion, a vigorously antagonistic world press reaction, and Poland's success in delaying his sweep on Warsaw. A message was relayed through ambassador Fritz Hesse by Ribbentrop, in Hitler's name, for the British government about 7.30 p.m. on September 2, to the effect that provided England agreed to act as mediator between Germany and Poland, and provided also that Germany received Danzig and a road through the corridor, Hitler was prepared to move out of Poland and to pay reparations. Quite clearly the expectation was that with Britain and Poland around a conference table with him, and with some of the heat taken out of world reaction, Hitler would have achieved a piecemeal Munich-style occupation and in doing so he would be able to negotiate arrangements for the deportation of his Jews to his satisfaction. Surely Britain would not want to press that issue to the point of war.

However Chamberlain was not available to receive that message by phone before he spoke to parliament that evening and it appears that Hitler may have misjudged one important factor. It was the Jewish question which he was so determined to solve. Earlier in the day Chamberlain had formally replied to Weizmann's letter of August 29. He wrote:

Dear Dr. Weizmann, I should like to express my warm appreciation of the contents of your letter of August 29, and of the spirit which prompted it.

It is true that differences of opinion exist between the Mandatory and the Jewish Agency as regards policy in Palestine, but I gladly accept the assurance contained in your letter.

I note with pleasure that in this time of extreme emergency, when those things which we hold dear are at stake, Britain can rely upon the wholehearted cooperation of the Jewish Agency. You will not expect me to say more at this stage than that your public spirited assurances are welcome and will be kept in mind.

The failure of the Evian conference, Britain's rejection of the plan to resettle ten thousand German Jewish children and youths; and the tangle which Britain had failed to unravel at its February Round Table conference, had apparently incensed Hitler so much that he either misjudged the situation or was lulled into a false sense of security from an assumption that the Jewish community's political clout was deserting it. Neither had he fully grasped the impact of his Crystal Night, his pact with Stalin and the determination to fight which fear of the future under his heel had generated throughout the Jewish community. He certainly should have realized when his troops followed his bombers across the Polish frontier the previous day that the direct political pressure on governments and individual members of parliament in Britain and the United States would become enormous. There were about thirty Jewish members in the House of Commons,²²¹ or one in twenty of the total of just over 600 MPs compared with one in 100 for the population of the United Kingdom at that time, and there were also several very influential titled members in the House of Lords.²²² That was quite a change from the days of Baron Lionel Rothschild's struggle to gain a seat in the Commons. There were many others who were active supporters of Zionism and who were in no mood for either another round of appeasement or another round of militant anti-Semitism. Thus the House was in a hostile mood, urging a declaration of war, when Chamberlain rose to speak that evening, September 2.

He told members that no reply had yet been received to the government's previous note and that unless a reply was received with a German assurance of withdrawal from Poland, the government would be bound to take action. If Hitler did agree to withdraw the British government would be "willing to regard the position as being the same as it was before the German forces crossed the Polish frontier."²²³ "...that is to say, the way would be open to discussions between the German and Polish governments of the matters at issue between them, on the understanding that the settlement arrived at was one that safeguarded the vital interests of Poland and was secured by an international guarantee."²²⁴ There was no mention of the term 'Jews' or of population resettlement. Chamberlain added that he was waiting for the French to clarify their position because the two governments had to act in concert.

The similarity between Ribbentrop's message and Chamberlain's statement to parliament the previous day indicates that Hitler had hit the nail on the head, but the British Prime Minister had not received the message and there was a real threat of mutiny among government back benches who were not prepared to wait forty eight hours for a French decision. Chamberlain phoned Daladier immediately he left the house and told him the situation was very grave. There had been an angry scene and if France insisted on another two days wait his government would find it "impossible" to hold the situation. He proposed an 8 a.m. ultimatum to expire at midday but neither he nor Lord Halifax could persuade the French, who would bear the brunt of an attack by Germany, to agree.

It was then that Hesse arrived to convey Hitler's message in person but he could see only Sir Horace Wilson who was visibly impressed but reluctant to present it to cabinet because the situation had changed drastically. Roosevelt had secretly promised to help Chamberlain if he declared war and Russia certainly would not fight on Germany's side. Hesse talked hard and apparently persuaded Wilson to relay the message but as he was pondering whether to do so he received a note, thought to be advice of Chamberlain's decision to issue an ultimatum without waiting for France. He read it, destroyed it, pondered again, then turned to Hesse and told him he could not forward the message to cabinet.²²⁵ The die had been cast.

The next fifteen hours must have been sheer hell for Chamberlain. He knew that if he did not declare war against Germany before the house sat in emergency session next day, Sunday September 3, his government would be thrown out of office. Britain would face political turmoil and the units of its empire would be exposed to hostile piecemeal action from several quarters at the very moment in its history when unity was more necessary than ever before. On the other hand, he knew that if he did declare war he was committing Britain and its empire to a programme which it could only carry out at the cost of aggravating tensions which already existed in several units of the empire. The complex relationships, treaties and tensions which were involved were even more likely to encourage hostile action from several quarters. Chamberlain believed that Britain was even less able to cope with that situation and therefore the fragmentation of the empire was even more likely.

Britain was perilously close to a no-win situation unless it had a strong and dependable ally in the struggle which lay ahead, irrespective of which decision Chamberlain took. All the evidence suggests that Chamberlain realized this more clearly than most of those around him, even if he was no more clear on how Britain had floundered into such a predicament. And there was still no certainty of an ally to secure its position. The treaty with Germany which the amorphous gel had forced on Russia left France at imminent risk. The Craigie-Arita formula was only a means of retreat without honour in the Far East. It was not a means of securing an ally. Italy didn't want to fight with Germany but it certainly could not fight against it. That left only the United States. There were no other major powers. Roosevelt had promised his personal support but there was no certainty that he could persuade Congress and the nation to back him. And the political and commercial conflicts of interest in America which the debate of recent months had brought to light suggested that if it did support Britain against Germany the price would be high.

During a night of frantic political and diplomatic activity, much of which was not recorded for posterity, Chamberlain in London had to tell France that his options had run out and that Britain would give Hitler a two-hour ultimatum next morning. Another of his decisions, taken with reluctance, was to reappoint Winston Churchill and Anthony Eden to posts in the ministry, with Churchill also in the War Cabinet.^{226 227}

In Berlin Hitler was furious when he learned at 2 a.m. on Sunday, September 3, of the fate of Hesse's approach to Wilson. Ribbentrop had to take the blame for both that and Mussolini's

decision to back away from war. Being in no mood to meet Henderson, Ribbentrop instructed Herr Schmidt of the foreign ministry to deputize for him and to accept the expected ultimatum at 9 a.m. Berlin time.²²⁸ However Ribbentrop was available two hours later, after a plan by Dahlerus, agreed to by Hitler, to arrange a meeting in London between Goering and the British government had been rejected at the British foreign office. He was quite ready to deliver the flat rejection and a defence of Germany's actions which he and Hitler had hurriedly prepared.²²⁹

GOG AND MAGOG AT WAR!

But within an hour Chamberlain had told the world, via BBC radio, that Gog and Magog were already at war. They were not his actual words but they convey the meaning of what he said. He had gained a temporary reprieve for his government but he had not been able to avoid the need for the amorphous Christian gel to act out the parody of *Mein Kampf* with Britain as a principal player. In all probability he had never read Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* or chapters eleven and twelve of the *Mishneh Torah*. It is also unlikely that he had read of Muhammad's *Night Journey* because it wasn't required reading for Christians although, as a Qur'anic Scholar, his new Dominions Secretary, Anthony Eden, could be expected to have some knowledge of it. And come to think of it, Chamberlain may not have read Barth's *Epistle to the Romans* either, because that sort of stuff was really only for the theologians!

Naturally very few people in Britain would admit to the Gog and Magog concept. It was quite proper to describe Hitler, Nazism and *Mein Kampf* as "a force of evil," at least after Britain was at war. But how could Britain and its allies with their peace-loving, Christian communities possibly be described as another "force of evil"? At least not unless you happened to have been born into a non-Christian community, or to have been born black, brown or yellow; physically or mentally handicapped; or at the bottom of the socioeconomic scale so that you had suffered discrimination or oppression at the hands of members of the amorphous Christian gel as they accumulated imperial wealth and power by virtue of their guns, your effort and your resources on their ritualistic, prejudice-studded sacramental path to salvation. Of course, according to their doctrines, even you could tread that path if you took part in an approved selection of their sacraments. Naturally you would accept the Gog and Magog concept if it could be shown that there was some direct link between what Hitler wrote in "*Mein Kampf*" and the policies and conduct of the amorphous Christian gel but there was no evidence of that ... was there?

The amorphous Christian gel's self-understanding and self delusion were so rock-solid that it would be quite a while before most people in the Western World would seriously consider any criticism of their historical conduct, let alone that of the current generation. And after all, the press had been telling them consistently that Hitler was 'the baddy' and everyone in the Western Alliance was among 'the goodies'. The press It was no wonder that as realization of the great conspiracy of silence dawned following the outbreak of war the reputation of the mainstream press fell to a new low. The circulation of those papers which opposed

appeasement, and the private newsletters which sprang up after Munich, had increased in circulation strongly at the expense of those which had followed the Chamberlain line, but public confidence in the independent press was shattered. The prompt establishment of the Ministry of Information and a Press and Censorship Office trampled whatever credibility the press had left in the rubble of war²³⁰ and made it even more difficult for the population at large to understand what was going on around them.

India, with its deepening gulf between Hindus and Muslims, provided a prime example of the consequences of Britain's colonial policies and its promotion and preferential support of Christianity, but people in the amorphous Christian gel simply could not understand it. They were puzzled, rather than very concerned, when the Viceroy's declaration of war on September 3, immediately after that by Chamberlain, divided the nation even more. The Congress Party, with its deeply held pacifism, had previously served formal warning that it would not fight in other people's wars and that it was for India to determine whether it would join in any war or not. Its members therefore boycotted the central legislature meeting following the Viceroy's declaration of war at which a Defence of India bill was approved, even though Congress condemned Nazism and Fascism. Then, when its call for immediate Indian independence was refused, all Congress members resigned from their official positions and the Muslim community celebrated with a day of thanksgiving for deliverance from Hindu tyranny.²³¹ The situation was in sharp contrast with that when Britain imposed its discriminatory Victorian divide-and-rule education policies and the change was somewhat surprising, especially in view of the close links between the Muslim communities of India and the Arab countries. Britain's new dependence on Muslim support to keep its grip on India meant that the British government had to tread very carefully indeed in both areas and in its dealings with the Zionist movement.

The French declaration that France would fulfill its obligations to Poland "which are known to the German government," followed the Viceroy's declaration and was fully six hours after the British declaration of war. The French government and the military leadership in particular had tried desperately to find a compromise with Hitler, still using Mussolini and his ministers as intermediaries, but in the circumstances it was impossible. The great reluctance of both governments to declare war and their failure to immediately send any support to Poland meant that the initiative remained firmly with Hitler – especially as the two Western powers continued to make peace overtures until the fall of Warsaw while, at the same time, they continued discussions with Russia in a bid to undermine the *German-Soviet pact*. These discussions may have helped delay the partition of Poland by a few days but they also contributed to further confusion in international relations.

Reports in *The Times* next day, September 4, of parliamentary speeches relating to the declaration of war show the way in which the government was forced to change tack. The Prime Minister's speech was reported under the heading: 'MR. CHAMBERLAIN'S DECLARATION: HITLERISM TO BE DESTROYED' referred to his statement on September 1, then quoted from the letter which Ambassador Henderson had been instructed to deliver to the Foreign Office two hours earlier.

... I informed you [on September 1] on the instructions of His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that unless the German Government was prepared to give His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom satisfactory assurances that the German Government had suspended all aggressive action against Poland and were prepared promptly to withdraw their forces from Polish territory his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom would, without hesitation, fulfil their obligations to Poland. Although this communication was made more than 24 hours ago no reply has been received, and German attacks upon Poland have been continued and intensified. ... [Emphasis added.]

The report then quoted directly from Chamberlain's speech. "...This is a sad day for all of us and to none is it sadder than to me. Everything that I have worked for, everything that I have believed in during my public life has crashed into ruins." That can only have been a reference to the concept of Britain's Empire. Then: "I trust I may live to see the day when Hitlerism has been destroyed and a liberated Europe has been re-established." That was Chamberlain's first parliamentary reference to 'Hitlerism' and his record over the previous three years suggests that his main interest in Europe was to see that the countries of the Continent and their colonies provided a buffer for Britain's imperial interests.²³²

Then Churchill. His established view of 'empire' in relation to the world was certainly no different to Chamberlain's, so he was somewhat flamboyant in his reference to 'saving the world'. But his attitude to Hitler was quite consistent. His ground had not shifted. Contradicting the tone of the government's letter to Hitler he said: "*This is not a question of fighting for Danzig or fighting for Poland. We are fighting to save the whole world from the pestilence of Nazi tyranny and in defence of all that is most sacred to man. This is no war for domination or aggrandisement or material gain; no war to shut any country* out of its sunlight and means of progress. [He should have said 'any Christian European country.'] It is a war, viewed in its inherent policy, to establish on impregnable rocks, the rights of the individual, and it is a war to establish and revive the stature of man.*"²³³

When it reported the reactions of the dominions the *Times* was remarkably measured. It had to be. The situation was very delicate indeed. Australia and New Zealand immediately declared war in support of Britain. Simple self interest and fear of their relationship with Japan forced them to. Canada's leaders declared their support for Britain and indicated that it was for parliament to decide the nation's action the next Thursday. On the other hand, as discussed above, India's British-appointed Governor General declared the country to be at war together with Britain and in doing so precipitated a constitutional crisis. South Africa was deeply divided, with the Prime Minister, General James Hertzog, calling for neutrality while the Deputy Prime Minister, General Jan Smuts, called for cooperation with Britain.

Hertzog, a nationalist and republican, had shown marked sympathy for Germany's cause and planned to keep South Africa neutral. He attempted to achieve that by extending the life of the Senate, thereby avoiding the public and parliamentary debate about the issue which would have been involved in an election, and by taking advantage of the fact that to declare war required parliamentary approval but to remain neutral did not. However he was forced to summon

parliament on September 2 to pass the legislation required to extend the life of the Senate and his cabinet immediately split over the issue of neutrality or war in support of Britain. He sought a dissolution of parliament but the British-appointed Governor General, Sir Patrick Duncan, said he would not grant it if someone else, such as his deputy, a former prime minister and leader of the pro-British South African Party, could form a majority government. The issue therefore had to be debated in parliament. Hertzog's motion that the country determine to be neutral, was defeated by a vote of 80 to 67. General Smuts gained the leadership, formed a new government sympathetic to Britain, and declared war on September 6.

Outside the Commonwealth, the Republic of Ireland declared its neutrality. Roosevelt also proclaimed American neutrality but said there was no place for profiteering at the expense of those at war, and indicated where his sympathy lay. He referred to American belief in "spiritual values" and said that the overwhelming masses of the American people sought "peace at home and the kind of peace in other lands which will not prejudice peace at home."²³⁴ And Japan's Prime Minister announced that Japan intended not to be involved in "the European war" and would concentrate its efforts on "a settlement of the China affair."²³⁵

But there was an organization which did not represent a country which also declared its position immediately, on September 3, and announced that it was joining the war: the Jewish Agency. In Jerusalem the Jewish Agency and the Vaad Leumi, together and in accord with Weizmann's letter to Chamberlain, announced that "Britain's war against Nazi Germany is our battle." They said that registration had begun of volunteer Jews and Jewesses aged 18 to 50 "for national service in the first place to the Jewish community, and, secondly to serve in the British Army in Palestine in any way they may be called on."²³⁶ Next day Lord Victor Rothschild broadcast to the world via the BBC that Jews would throw their full support into Britain's war effort, and on September 6 the *Times* published the exchange of letters between Dr. Weizmann and Chamberlain which the Jewish Agency had made available.

The League of Nations had been due to meet in September to consider the status of the Palestine mandate in the light of the British White Paper but as a consequence of the declaration of war it did not meet. Britain maintained that as mandatory authority it could vary the administration of the territory and that its decisions did not require the approval of the council, but the Jewish Agency for Palestine took the view that the White Paper must lapse because it involved a significant change in direction which had not been ratified by the international body. In the circumstances the dispute was shelved. Ben Gurion made his declaration of support for Britain's war effort and Jewish Palestine adopted a state of armistice with Britain.

Hitler then knew that he had pushed Britain just too far. He had laboured under the misapprehension that its government could use its empire to find a place in which to settle his Jews. Now it had given them what amounted to an assurance of security by honouring its guarantee to Poland instead of doing another 'Munich'. He would have to find alternative solutions. In one sense he had a free hand. He could do more or less what ever he wished, as long as his own people would carry it out. But if he acted too swiftly it might aggravate his own

problems by toughening the resolve of the Allies. Perhaps he should use a breathing space to explore his options. While he had them under his control they were always a bargaining chip and if he increased the pressure on them still further it might encourage them to press the Allies for alternatives, too, rather than suffer total degradation by staying where they were.

But Hitler's immediate concern was to counter foreign criticism that Germany was the only aggressor. He got a boost at home when the German Catholic bishops announced that:

In this decisive hour we encourage and admonish our Catholic soldiers, in obedience to the Fuhrer, to do their duty and to be ready to sacrifice their whole existence. We appeal to the faithful to join in ardent prayer that God's providence may lead this war to blessed success for Fatherland and people.²³⁷

That was a big help, but he wanted Russia to occupy its share of Poland, in terms of the secret protocol, as quickly as possible and a formal request that it do so was issued on September 5. However Russia was in no hurry for a number of reasons. The *German-Soviet Pact* had offended Marxist purists who believed that there should be no compromise with a Fascist regime, but the majority of Russia's people had accepted it as a way of staying out of western Europe's wars – especially in view of British and French efforts to force Hitler to take his colonial cut to the east. Quite apart from the fact that they were not aware of the protocol on Poland they did not like the idea of a simultaneous invasion. They were certainly eager to keep as much distance between German troops and their own borders as possible but equally certainly they did not want to be associated with Hitler's anti-Semitic antics in a simultaneous invasion of Poland. Such an association would be yet another threat to Stalin's efforts to succeed in non-Zionist Jewish resettlement and to develop a greater national cohesion through subordination of ethnic community interests to the national interest.^{238 239} But in addition there was the border argument with Japan at that very point – the Bira-Bidzhan Jewish settlement border area – and although it had defeated Japan in battle on August 31, there was as yet no agreement in place and Russia could not be confident that vigorously anti-Communist Japan would not regroup and try again.

The Russian response to Hitler's request was therefore to suggest a delay to a suitable time when it would issue a communiqué indicating that Russia's occupation of eastern Poland was to protect the population from German aggression. Naturally that was unacceptable. If Russia wanted any benefit from the pact it had to share the blame for the consequences or Germany would enjoy the benefits of occupying all of Poland.^{240 241} Then German troops reached the outskirts of Warsaw during the night of September 8–9 with greater ease than anyone expected. And while they could not break the Warsaw defences their advance to the east in the south of the country soon took them across the Vistula River and deep into the territory which was to be Russia's. Russia was under real pressure to make a decision and, unknown to the Western powers, horse trading between Germany and the Soviet Union took on greater urgency.

On September 11 US Ambassador Kennedy cabled a report to Roosevelt after a meeting with the King and Queen and the Lord Privy Seal, Sir Samuel Hoare. According to Kennedy, Hoare

expected that after Hitler “cleaned up Poland” he would propose to call the war off and come to some agreement with Britain and France. Kennedy quoted Hoare as saying that the British Government realized that to continue the war or even to maintain the government on a war footing meant “complete economic, financial and social collapse and nothing will be saved after the war is over.” Kennedy advised Roosevelt that the British Government as such certainly could not accept any agreement with Hitler “but there may be a point when the President himself may work out a plan for world peace” and be “the savior of the world.”²⁴²

Roosevelt wrote, the same day, to Chamberlain and Churchill and confirmed where his sympathies lay. He told Chamberlain that he hoped and believed the US would repeal the embargo against the shipment of arms within a month and that this was a definite part of his administration’s policy. His note to Churchill established close personal contact between them for the first time. Mr. Churchill (later Sir Winston) had been re-appointed to cabinet with the dual roles of First Lord of the Admiralty and a member of the War Cabinet after a long spell in the political wilderness because of the fiasco at the Dardanelles in the first world war. At the same time Roosevelt advised Kennedy, through the Secretary of State, that he saw no opportunity or occasion to initiate a peace plan and that the people of the US would not support any peace plan which made possible “a survival of a regime of force and aggression.”²⁴³

Also on September 11 the principal Jewish military group in Palestine, the National Military Organization (IZL) distributed leaflets in Tel Aviv advising that it was suspending its terror campaign in order to join Britain in the fight against Hitlerism,²⁴⁴ and the Hagana discontinued its terrorist attacks on British facilities – but the Stern Gang did not.

Next day, September 12, while Hitler waited for Stalin to reach a decision, serious top level discussions began in Berlin about how to administer occupied Poland. Field Marshall Keitel (head of Higher Command) told Admiral Canaris (head of Intelligence) that the fuhrer had decided on a purge aimed primarily at the aristocracy and the clergy, and that if the army was not willing to carry out the task it would have to agree to the SS and the Gestapo working alongside it. Over the next eight days a forum of Hitler and key advisers met to plan a system of administration and responsibility for operations.²⁴⁵

JAPAN’S TURN TO TALK TO RUSSIA

Stalin’s position was then strengthened on September 15 by the signing of the *Soviet-Japanese Agreement* which he had been waiting for.²⁴⁶ Stalin assured the Japanese that he preferred Hitler to Britain, which “grinds in the dust Hindus, Arabs, blacks in Africa and workers at home” and that he had nothing but contempt for France which had deserted Czechoslovakia in its hour of need.” And Hitler explained his pact with the Soviet Union to the Japanese by his need for security in the east while he concentrated on Britain and France in the west.²⁴⁷ The *Anti-Comintern Pact* was effectively dead. The Soviet Union was the big winner because its two fronts, west and east, were both protected by a pact or an agreement. It was relieved of the major distraction of Japan nibbling at its long south eastern border, and it could concentrate on

other things. After a final couple of days of politicking and indecision, during which Stalin clearly held the stronger hand and Hitler had to agree to negotiate further concessions to be sure that his pact would hold together, Soviet troops crossed the Polish frontier on September 17 and swept through to Brest Litovsk where they met the German forces next day. There were distinct benefits for Japan as well. Assured during its negotiations for the *Soviet-Japanese Agreement* that the Soviet Union had no designs on its territory, Japan was able to regroup, and, having had another change of government on August 28, throw everything it had at China's European enclaves – and in particular the British at Tientsin.

Three days after the meeting of the German and Soviet troops, September 20, Hitler's forum held its final meeting on the administration of the occupied Polish territories under Heinrich Himmler as Commissioner for the Consolidation of German Nationhood. One region would be annexed to the Reich and the other would be known as the Generalgouvernement and would be administered by the occupying forces with Hans Frank as head. The Polish elite, intelligentsia and Jews living in the annexed area would be either liquidated, imprisoned or expelled to the Generalgouvernement where the primitive Poles would be used as migrant labour while the Jews, still Hitler's potential bargaining chip, would be concentrated in ghettos within the cities to facilitate their surveillance, their use as a labour force and their eventual deportation. The first phase of his Lebensraum plan was about to be implemented: Germans would be immediately resettled in the annexed region as it was purged of its indigenous populations.²⁴⁸

Next day Heydrich issued more detailed orders on *The Problem of the Jews in the Occupied Areas* to the Einsatzgruppen commanders. Priority was to be given to purging certain areas; Jewish Councils, comprised of rabbis and people of influence and known as Judenrat, were to be established to administer the ghettos and other population concentrations; an assessment was to be made of Jewish owned businesses, their integration into a four year production plan and their Aryanization.²⁴⁹

While Hitler's main immediate interest was the Jewish question, Poland's population of 35 million was mainly Catholic, it had the benefit of Pilsudski's concordat, its army and its civilians had fought tenaciously with mounting casualties which were to reach 70,000 killed and 130,000 wounded in the five-week campaign, but up to this date, in contrast to his intervention before the German offensive began, Pius XII had resisted every call for him to make a statement. His 'neutrality,' or failure to denounce Hitler baffled the British and French but shocked the Poles. The Polish ambassador at the Vatican was so frustrated that the Holy See's services were not even announcing to the world what was happening that he prevailed on the Polish government to send the Polish Primate, Cardinal Hlond, to Rome to intercede personally with the pope. When he arrived on September 21 he was warmly received by Pius XII, but the pontiff still refused to speak on Poland's behalf. He simply agreed to give Hlond access to Vatican Radio, which was run by Ledochowski, to make his own broadcast.²⁵⁰ Various explanations have been offered for the pope's silence. The main ones being that he hoped by neutrality to be able to exercise a position as a super-negotiator, and that he feared the consequences for Catholics in Germany and the occupied regions of Poland and Czechoslovakia

if he were to denounce the invasion and the brutality. While both may have been part of his consideration they are not adequate in view of the fact that the Poles were appealing for him to speak up and they believed that Hitler could hardly make their plight any worse. It is therefore reasonable to conclude, in view of what we now know about the pressures which were brought to bear on the drafters of *Humani Generis Unitas*, that his major concern was fear that Hitler would apply pressure on Mussolini for the reopening of the Roman Question and that he saw the future of the Vatican State at risk.

Until the signing of the *Soviet-Japanese agreement* the United States had been happy to see Japan preoccupied with Russia but, like Britain and France, it now feared a pincer movement if Russia decided to dump Chiang Kai-shek and support only the Chinese Communist forces in a push southward. Similarly, like Britain, it had reason to fear a Russian push through Iran to the Persian Gulf as well. The Middle East was not yet central to its foreign policy as it was to Britain's, but the oil tycoons of the United States had reason to be well pleased with the events of the first half of 1939. They were very conscious of the legacy left by the earlier round of manoeuvring between Britain and Tsarist Russia. They certainly didn't want to be pushed out of the region by Russia coming in the back door, either on its own or in an alliance with Germany which had also been outmanoeuvred by Britain (and France) over its proposals for a Berlin-Baghdad-Basra railway. The wealthy, conservative industrialists and financiers of the US who had been competing with Hitler in the screaming match for the title of principal Communist hater because of the nasty Bolshevik policy of public ownership of natural resources, were just as shocked as Britain to find themselves facing an alliance between the two powers whose economic and political policies were at the opposing extreme ends of the recognized scale.

Britain had been stunned to find that what French Premier M. Daladier had foreshadowed in April was happening. Hitler was being relieved of the need to look east and could now look west. The buffer of potential alliances had been neatly dismantled. The entire fabric of Britain's Empire was now clearly at risk with its vital interests in the Middle East under triple threat from Germany, Russia and the United States, and with its Far Eastern interests under dual threat from Japan and Russia. The British government knew that on no account must anything which threatened its interests in the Far East divert it from its prime objective: the security of the British Isles. It could not protect its interests and possessions in the Yellow Sea from Japanese attack and the farthest point it could defend was Singapore. It was vital for that 'fortress' to hold out "until the Mediterranean was safe and the Italian fleet liquidated," and Japan was not expected to mount an early invasion of Singapore provided that it was adequately garrisoned and supplied with food and ammunition for at least six months.²⁵¹

Therefore, relying on a United States 'presence' in the region to act as a deterrent, it also advised all British subjects to evacuate Japan and Japanese-occupied areas of China. Japan, relieved of the restraining British opposition, was then able to concentrate on China. The United States eagerly moved to fill the void left by Britain, anticipating that it could succeed to the European powers' role of overlord of Asia, but Japan was not at all eager for it to do so. It ordered all Christian missionaries out of Korea and began a campaign of repression to rid the

region of all signs of those ghastly subversive religious institutions which had provided the excuse for European and American military intervention so often in the past. German businessmen were allowed to stay in Japanese-occupied China but they were expected to cut all links with Chiang Kai-shek and to back the Japanese position in return for Japanese support of the German and Italian positions in Europe.²⁵²

LORD ROTHSCHILD'S BROADCAST

Such was the atmosphere in which governments could reflect on Lord Victor Rothschild's broadcast to the world that Jews would throw their full support into Britain's war effort. Few people knew the extent to which the affairs of the House of Rothschild had been enmeshed in the manoeuvring which preceded the war and it is debatable whether it would have been helpful for the world to know because of the depths to which Anti-Semitic prejudice had fallen at the time. It may have helped to bring the pot to the boil more quickly so that the trouble in the triangle could have been worked through and possibly resolved without the enormous complications of the nuclear age. But because the conspiracy of silence was so effective the world did not know and the plot thickened as the parody ran its course. And of course that particular aspect of the conspiracy of silence, unlike that which related simply to economic policy matters, had been developed because of the depths to which religious bigotry had fallen so those directly involved were caught in a vicious circle.

The financial support of Europe's most influential Jewish family, prompted in part by recognition of its role in the Vitkowitz affair and the ransom of Baron Louis de Rothschild, was of considerable importance as the British government prepared for war. Perhaps it cannot be compared with the family's backing of certain European governments during the nineteenth century because of the great changes in financial and corporate structures since the Great War, but it was still important.^{253 254}

However it was the international political implications of Lord Rothschild's broadcast which were of far greater importance. As head of the English House of Rothschild he was accorded something like the status of lay head of the Jewish community in Britain and although the World Zionist Organization had become the focal point for political affairs, with a gulf developing between the Jewish communities east and west of the Atlantic over the implementation of Zionist policy, the name "Lord Rothschild" still aroused an emotional response in Jewish communities worldwide. But his authority did not rest solely on his name. He took an active interest in the Central British Fund for German Jewry and in December 1938, while his cousin Baron Louis was coming under intense pressure from Himmler to resolve the question of control of Vitkowitz, he was instrumental in setting up Lord Baldwin's Fund for German Refugees.^{255 256} His broadcast therefore took on the character of a rallying call for Jewish community support for Britain and its war effort throughout the empire and beyond. In particular it served notice to President Roosevelt and his administration that pressure for the United States to enter the war against Germany would increase sharply. It did. The Hollywood

film producers found neutrality increasingly difficult to justify. The Warner Brothers advised Roosevelt that they wanted to do all within their power, using the talking screen, “to show the American people the worthiness of the cause for which the free peoples of Europe are making such a tremendous sacrifice” and Nick Schenck offered to place his entire studio at the president’s disposal “in connection with the movie of national defence and foreign policy” in which he was interested.²⁵⁷

In Europe the inherent mistrust between the Communist and Nazi regimes came to the surface very quickly after the invasion of Poland and manouvring about which power should occupy which sections of Poland and the Baltic States began in earnest. Because of Russia’s late start Germany had occupied some provinces of Poland beyond the frontier agreed in the protocol. It had no option if the Polish defence was to be silenced but Hitler was prepared to vacate them. However they were home to a substantial population of zealously nationalistic Polish Jews, and Stalin was well aware that if Russia annexed those provinces it would aggravate its domestic problems. Notable among these was Jewish resettlement in the BiraBidzhan project which directly abutted the River Amur and two strategic islands which commanded the Vladivostok railway and which Japan had been contesting.²⁵⁸ In fact the resettlement of refugees from Eastern Europe in BiraBidzhan was specifically forbidden.²⁵⁹ If Stalin was not very careful, the issue of Zionism, which had been so divisive and which he had been at great pains to keep separate from the question of Judaism as a religion, would boil over again and Russia would be engulfed once more in the problem which he was perfectly happy to leave for the Western powers to sort out.

The consequences of his own decisions would soon prove that he could not stand aloof from the issue of Zionism but in the meantime Stalin was eager to try. He also wanted the best strategic buffer between Russia and Germany and the most secure access to the Baltic which he could achieve. He therefore took charge personally of frontier negotiations with Germany and forced Hitler to concede a little extra of Poland and to do a swap of Lithuania for the two provinces of Poland which he had already occupied. He gained the buffer which he wanted; he gained control of Germany’s main access routes to Rumanian oil and Ukrainian wheat so that Hitler had to bargain for them; and he gained his more secure access to the Baltic. But against that, he became embroiled in the issue of Zionism in a manner which he could not have anticipated.

While Hitler and Stalin were negotiating over Poland and the Baltic countries, the British government was agonizing over the consequences of the *Soviet-Japanese Agreement* and whether it was worth diluting economic warfare measures designed to cripple Germany for the sake of gaining Japan’s “benevolent neutrality” and thereby neutralizing the Far East as a third potential theatre of war. Whitehall knew that the struggle to retain British interests and investments in China now had to be considered within the wider task of ensuring that events in the region did not undermine the task of winning the war in Europe.²⁶⁰ The obvious approach was to work for a speedy end to the Sino-Japanese war so that Britain’s role in that war was no longer a major source of tension in Anglo-Japanese relations. But, as already noted, that

approach assumed that Britain would forfeit its privileges in China either as a positive initiative in that peace process or as a passive outcome, so there was great reluctance to adopt that approach. People seldom surrender a position of privilege, regardless of how it has been gained, without either a fight or substantial pressure – especially as communities or corporate bodies.

AN ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE?

However not everyone was taking that view. The Parliamentary Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs, R.A. Butler, circulated a memorandum in which he argued that the international situation, and especially confusion about Soviet motives, made it essential for Britain to rebuild its bridges with Japan. He maintained that, regardless of the recently signed agreement, Russia and Japan would remain enemies; it did not appear that there were the makings of a war between America and Japan because “the American interests in the Far East are insufficient to justify a major war”; and it would pay, in view of Britain’s interests in India and the Far East, to return to an Anglo-Japanese Alliance. He said Britain should not distrust everything Japan does for the sake of American opinion and “it is still possible to obtain American interest on our side in fighting dictators in the West, while improving our relations with Japan.”²⁶¹

Butler’s initiative coincided with growing concern within the Japanese government that following the outbreak of war between Britain and Germany, Japan’s access to raw materials from the British Empire may be restricted. A consular telegram to that effect was intercepted and decrypted on September 19, but instead of using that knowledge as a starting point for discussions to ease tensions in the Far East the British Foreign Office and Board of Trade sat on it as a piece of intelligence to use as a lever in the negotiations which they expected Japan would now seek. They did not have to wait long.

On September 22 Craigie was approached by a senior Japanese general with a proposal for direct talks between the Japanese Prime Minister, General Abe Nobuyuki, and Chiang Kai-Shek which he claimed had the support of the Japanese Foreign Office. Clearly if the Sino-Japanese war ended in a peace agreement reached on the initiative of Japan with Britain acting as an ‘honest broker’ there was less likelihood of the loss of all of its privileges.

Then, as expected, a proposal to reopen trade negotiations was received next day, September 23. Japan proposed that Britain would have continuing access to Japanese food stuffs and silk in return for Japanese access to British machinery and raw materials from the dominions and colonies. The Foreign Office agreed. The Ministry of Economic Warfare (MEW) showed little interest because its campaign against Germany was not likely to be affected.

That day the War Cabinet approved a new attempt to start talks with Japan. Trade negotiations began, but opposition soon came from a surprising source and there was no certainty that the British government would accept the role of an intermediary in Sino-Japanese peace talks. On September 28, (the day the Soviets and Germans resolved their differences over Poland), the Chiefs of Staff advised cabinet that because Italy’s ambitions were still unclear, there was a great necessity to prevent any extension of the [European] war to East Asia and that,

in their view, the best way of achieving this was to ensure that the war in China continued to act as a drain on Japan's resources. At the same time the Board of Trade turned luke warm, wanting the emphasis put on concessionary British exports to Japan and relaxation of restrictions on British trade with occupied China. In spite of those reservations, Whitehall talks continued, and the channels were kept open even though progress was dampened from October 6.^{262 263}

SEALING THE FATE OF POLAND'S JEWS

The Hitler-Stalin negotiations which had begun on September 5, when Hitler requested the Russian invasion, through the signing of the *Soviet-Japanese Agreement* on September 15, the Soviet invasion of Poland on the 17th and the occupation of Warsaw on the 27th were finally concluded with the signing of the revised pact on the same day, September 28, that the British cabinet decided to continue playing China and Japan against each other rather than making a bid for a peace settlement. The negotiations had peaked between the 19th, when Stalin let it be known he was no longer interested in a rump Polish state, and the 27th when Stalin offered Hitler two alternative partition plans, both of which favoured Russia, and forced him to make a choice. Hitler, outmanoeuvred, could not tell Stalin to "put up or shut up" because he could not risk wars with Russia, France and Britain all at once unless he was sure of superiority on both fronts. He had to silence the eastern front before he could tackle the west. He agreed to keep the territory in the south which his forces had already occupied and he gave Russia control of Lithuania.

In Stalin, Hitler had met his match as an opportunistic negotiator. He could not bluff Russia into agreeing to his schemes as he had bluffed Britain and France because of their insecurity and he was forced to deal with a somewhat greater population of Jews than he expected in his expanded occupied area: the Generalgouvernement. He wanted a free hand to deal with them and a guarantee from Stalin that he would not intervene in return for control of Lithuania. He pressed for, and Stalin agreed to, another secret protocol, to the revised partition plan. Stalin probably pondered the question: 'What harm could it do?' He couldn't stop Hitler anyway unless, unlike Britain and France, he was prepared to go to war over the issue. It read:

*"Both parties will tolerate in their territories no Polish agitation which affects the territories of the other party. They will suppress in their territories all beginnings of such agitation and inform each other concerning suitable measures for this purpose."*²⁶⁴

On September 29 Jack Philby appeared on the Middle East negotiating scene again, telling Professor Lewis Namier, a Zionist at Manchester University, in fairly plain terms that if Ibn Saud received financial support and armaments from other sources he would reject German overtures. By implication this was to relieve the pressure on the Jews in Europe and to help get Britain out of its crisis in the Middle East. Namier arranged a luncheon meeting at which Philby put to Weizmann and Moshe Shertok (Sharett), political secretary of the Jewish Agency, that in return for 20 million pounds Sterling "the whole of Palestine should be left to the Jews." Exactly where Philby's proposal originated is a matter of speculation.

However, from that point on two things were evident. First: if the Zionists and the Arabs accepted this blatantly British bribe proposal to enable the resettlement of Europe's oppressed Jews, the Vatican would have to dramatically revise its strategy to prevent the return of the Jews to a formal Jewish homeland in Palestine and to maintain its erroneous self-understanding. Second: that the Vatican would also have to change its strategy if it was to bring down Soviet Communism. The German and Russian dictators were at the extreme poles of political, economic and social philosophies but they represented the two major philosophical and external challenges to the church, to its doctrines, its selfunderstanding and the conduct of the enormous amorphous Christian gel of which it was the nucleus. The two dictators had been forced into an alliance which nobody expected – least of all themselves – by circumstances determined by the conduct of the same amorphous Christian gel while the world, without realizing it, witnessed and acted out the parody of *Mein Kampf*. They both recognized the consequences of Western Christian colonial policies and their countries had both suffered from them. A major distinction between them was that Hitler was determined to take maximum advantage from those policies while Stalin found them absolutely abhorrent and had set out as a young revolutionary determined to dismantle them. And yet there he was, responding to the trouble in the triangle by collaborating with Hitler in the most shameful colonial episode in history. It was the parody par excellence of European Christian colonialism. And when Stalin's negotiating success weakened Hitler's relative strength it even prepared the ground for another round of hostilities through bitterness and mistrust in exactly the same manner as any other exercise in colonialism.

Stalin's agreement to the additional secret protocol confirms that he knew of and was prepared to acquiesce in Hitler's plan to ruthlessly suppress the Jews of Poland but it is unreasonable to suppose from that that he knew of Hitler's death squad and gas chamber extermination plans. The Fuhrer's general plans for Poland's Jews had been shouted from the rooftops so effectively that Stalin's opposite numbers in the West knew at least as much as he did, and they were the reason for such intense pressure on the British, French and United States governments to go to war since the invasion on September 1st. While there is some evidence that Hitler talked Jewish extermination with Herr Heydrich during the negotiations with Russia,²⁶⁵ in the context of preparing for mass migrations, there does not appear to be any evidence that he let it slip to the Russians. This is supported by the fact that it was more than two years before he gave orders for gas chambers to be built and by then he had been at war with Russia for six months. But the political capital which Stalin was able to make out of the Jewish question during those months turned sour very quickly indeed. When the protocol became known he faced a torrent of abuse and propaganda to the effect that his anti-Semitism had contributed to the Holocaust. Zionist interests exploited it cleverly in the run up to the United Nations decision to partition another country – Palestine – and Capitalist interests then picked it up to exploit Jewish community feelings and support in their deepening confrontation with Communism. But that is jumping ahead again.

On September 30, two days after Hitler and Stalin reached agreement on the revised partition plan for Poland with its secret protocols, the Minister for Reich Ecclesiastical Affairs, Herr

Kerrl, sent a message to Cardinal Bertram that the entry of German troops into Warsaw was imminent and that a celebration would be appropriate. The Roman Catholic Church thereupon immediately, and dutifully, began a week of noon-hour bell ringing at all churches in Poland in “joyful celebration” and out of “grateful commemoration” of Hitler’s victory.²⁶⁶ Whether the justification for that display was the amnesty which Hitler declared a week after the invasion for churchmen who had spoken against Nazis, or whether it was the Vatican’s concordats with either the victor, Germany, or the vanquished, Poland, it helped to give public credibility to Hitler’s claims that Poland welcomed him. In turn, the welcome helped to support his claims that the state had been an artificial nonviable concoction of Germany’s enemies, and that he wanted peace.

So, as Germany’s offensive against Poland entered its second month and Hitler’s sanitation squads began rounding up Central and Eastern Europe’s Jews for deportation to labour camps, his argument with Britain and France progressively escalated into the second world war but Britain had great difficulty persuading those whom it needed as allies to support its case against Germany. Certainly the US administration was attempting to get changes through Congress to permit sales of armaments to Britain for cash, but it faced strong opposition. Senator William E. Borah, leading the opposition attack on October 2 mocked the proposal on the grounds that any country already experiencing financial problems and unable to pay even the interest on their World War I debts would be able to pay cash for additional arms for any length of time. He said that if the United States departed from its neutral stance and began supplying Britain for cash it would not have the heart [perhaps that should have been ‘gall’] to refuse continuity of supplies simply because Britain no longer had the ready cash. In other words, the United States would be underwriting Britain’s war without any guarantees. He scorned a ‘dollars and cents approach’ to “the salvation of the democracies” and in an apparent contradiction to his argument that the US should remain isolated and neutral he said: “We cannot stand up before the world and say, ‘We will help save democracy, we will help save our civilization,’ and in the next breath say, ‘We will do so only provided you pay cash’.”²⁶⁷

In other words, Borah and the isolationist lobby wanted the US to stand aloof, let the powers of Europe fight it out, and supply everyone who wanted arms and other strategic resources in a free trade environment. Was it a philosophy of the survival of the fittest, or dog-eat-dog? Hitler would have been delighted to hear the debate raging. He would have been especially delighted that nothing was said in anger about two arrangements between companies controlled by members of the Rockefeller family and some of Germany’s key war industries. In one, negotiated during 1939, the Chase National Bank secured \$25million for Germany and provided information to authorities in Berlin on ten thousand Nazi sympathizers in the United States. In another, Standard of New Jersey was shipping oil to the Nazis via Spain and continued to do so throughout the war except for a break of a few months.²⁶⁸

The main reason the Roosevelt administration made little effort to defend its policy in favor of the Western Democracies was that it knew very little about the financial structure of Britain and France or their ability to pay, and self interest was still the driving motive. Roosevelt

wanted no admission made that the legislation was intended to aid Britain and France against Germany and for its defence to be that it was the only way to establish true neutrality and to avoid America being dragged into war. On the other hand he left no doubt that while he wanted to favor the Western Allies on a cash'n'carry basis, and legislation could be introduced to enable government-to-government loans, American citizens should not be permitted (or required) to extend credits to belligerents.²⁶⁹ The prevailing public opinion was that the Western Allies had grown rich at the expense of the rest of the world, their empires represented bottomless pits of wealth, and they should therefore finance their own wars. In addition, belief that the allies could win was declining. Less than 30 percent of Americans favoured intervention to prevent a Hitler victory, and just as few people supported lending money to the countries opposing him.²⁷⁰

After he and Stalin had agreed how to partition Poland Hitler wasted no time in preparing orders for the administration of Germany's share. Dr Frank informed the army of them on October 3.

*Poland can only be administered by utilizing the country through means of ruthless exploitation, deportation of all supplies, raw materials, machines, factory installations, etc., which are important for the German war economy, availability of all workers for work within Germany, reduction of the entire Polish economy to absolute minimum necessary for bare existence of the population, closing of all educational institutions, especially technical schools and colleges in order to prevent the growth of the new Polish intelligentsia. Poland shall be treated as a colony. The Poles shall be the slaves of the Greater German Reich.*²⁷¹

What joys the church was helping the Poles celebrate! Warsaw was a city totally subjugated next day, October 4, when to the ominous sound of those joyfully pealing church bells, Hitler issued a special amnesty "to commemorate the victory concluding the battle imposed on us by Poland." But it was not an amnesty for the Jews. Its intent was that "actions carried out in the occupied Polish territories from September 1 until now, to express resentment of atrocities committed by the Poles, are not to be investigated as criminal acts." No one was to feel restrained in encouraging the Jews to migrate. But to what country? According to Philby it was about then, early October, that the Zionist leadership accepted the proposition of a 20 million pound payment for the opportunity of mass Jewish resettlement in Palestine. The occasion was a second luncheon at the Athenaeum at which Philby's son Kim, by then a well-established Soviet agent, was also present and was, one presumes, "feeding a great deal of intelligence to Moscow about his father's schemes."²⁷²

Hitler's staff were also acting on his orders to draw up plans to invade the West, but Britain and France continued their efforts to find an 'honourable' way to respond to his offers of peace, and Dahlerus made another shuttle between Berlin and London. Britain desperately needed the men of its dominions and colonies to fight its war for it to be able to keep its imperial grip but its dominions and colonies didn't necessarily want to send them to fight its wars again. But that was only a part of its continuing bind. If it didn't act to save the Jews of Poland either by a war

to stop Hitler, by further territorial appeasement, or by providing Palestine as a national home for the Jews in conjunction with mass resettlement elsewhere, then it would certainly face a war in the Middle East coupled with a series of conflicts around the world which, together, threatened its empire.

The majority of Jewish leaders, and in particular the Zionist leadership, understood Britain's immediate plight more clearly than most people in the Western World because they had lived with the deepening crisis so intimately. They therefore knew that there could be no "final solution" to the Jewish question – in their terms, not Hitler's – until Hitler was disposed of. This meant that although they were not prepared to reduce the pressure on Britain for refugee resettlement in Palestine, they realized that it could be counterproductive to push for a political and territorial settlement while Hitler survived and to restrict their pressure to Britain alone. American support became essential from which ever angle the situation was viewed but, because of attitudes already noted, a case for support against Hitler had to relate directly to American interests or to threats to those interests and not, solely anyway, to the fate of Europe's Jews.

At the same time that that debate was raging in the United States, Britain and France increased their efforts to suppress Arab agitation in Palestine and the Lebanon. As a result, early in October the Mufti, believing that the British and French authorities were planning his arrest, fled to Baghdad where the Iraqi government gave him honorific status as a minister and he was accepted as a key adviser on foreign policy.

So: back to Hitler. While the German Catholic press continued with its incredible defence of him and his conquest of Poland, he began to systematically eliminate the country's intelligentsia, including the church hierarchy, so that its capacity to rise and claim independence yet again and to provide a strategic buffer between Russia and the West would be crushed. The political murder rate increased sharply from the beginning of October. The Vatican, apart from a few press reports of German atrocities, sat on the fence.²⁷³ Continuing indecision in the West enabled Hitler to keep the initiative and on October 6 he made public his latest time-buying "peace proposal."

Hitler told the Reichstag that he had no further claims against France; that he wanted to bury forever the ancient enmity between them; that he had devoted much effort to developing Anglo-German understanding; and that "there can only be real peace in Europe and throughout the world if Germany and England come to an understanding." He also said that "Poland of the *Versailles Treaty* will never rise again," that the question of the re-establishment of a Polish state was not one to be solved by war in the west, and that it was exclusively a matter for Germany and Russia. Then he listed the problems to be resolved. These included the formation of a Polish State; the solution and settlement of the Jewish problem; colonies for Germany; revival of international trade; a peace guaranteed unconditionally with reduced armaments and controls on the use of aerial warfare, poison gas and submarines; and Europe's minority problems. And finally he proposed a conference of Europe's leading nations to determine the

fate of the Continent for many years to come, before the vigour of nations is sapped on the battlefields, warning that the rejection of his outstretched hand would result in another war from which the outcome would not be “another November 1918.”²⁷⁴

The British Government’s response was drafted on October 9 and referred to Commonwealth Prime Ministers for their urgent comments. Hitler did a bit of drafting that day, too. Without waiting for Chamberlain’s reply to his peace offer, he issued Directive No. 6 for his other ‘peace plan’ – the conduct of the war in the west – and briefed his staff for an invasion through Luxembourg, Belgium and Holland. He briefed his military chiefs next day, October 10, to prepare for an invasion on a date to be announced. Their general reaction was that Germany was not ready. It did not have the resources to replenish and build its naval and military strength to the required level, they told Hitler. Some of them believed that the French and British together could mount a counterattack which would be catastrophic for Germany, and the American question had not yet been resolved. Although public opinion now favoured him, the Roosevelt administration was still sitting on the fence ... and Hitler was determined. His determination, which some of his subordinates saw as irrational, coupled with their resistance to his dictatorship, his style, his social and racial policies, and his invasion plan to draw together a group of senior officers who were at Hitler’s briefing. They became probably the first organized ‘resistance group’ to plan for his overthrow or assassination.

That night rumours were spread in Berlin that Chamberlain had resigned and early next morning a broadcast on the Berlin radio wavelength announced that his government had fallen and that an armistice would be signed immediately. Even though it was soon proved to be false, it had done the trick. Public jubilation was near riotous and Hitler’s prestige, somewhat battered because of a generally adverse world reaction to his invasion of Poland, recovered accordingly. As far as the troops were concerned it would be a simple matter to open up a bit of breathing space to Germany’s west if Hitler had frightened Britain out of the war. The conspirators’ task was made more difficult.

Next day, October 11, Halifax received advice from Craigie that the work which the Foreign Office had done on a Sino-Japanese peace deal based on the prospects of talks between the Japanese prime minister and Chiang Kai-Shek were no longer relevant. The Japanese Foreign Minister was totally opposed to any talks with Chiang Kai-Shek and he had not been consulted before the proposal was put to Craigie.²⁷⁵ Those with vested interests in China could heave a (short) sigh of relief while the Chiefs of Staff took a look at the new scenario.

TIME TO TALK BOMBS

Such was the state of play around the world when Alexander Sachs decided the time was opportune to talk atomic weapons and took Albert Einstein’s letter to President Roosevelt that day. It can be assumed that in the circumstances Roosevelt, together with the Commonwealth prime ministers, had already sighted the draft of the British government’s reply to Hitler’s peace proposal, that he knew that when it was released next day the circumstances of the war would

change dramatically, and that he knew also that there was no prospect of Sino-Japanese peace talks. He would have known very well that it was only a matter of time before the United States would be involved directly as an ally of Britain and therefore as a formal opponent of Germany. But in his efforts to have his policy of opposition to Hitler accepted, Roosevelt was still struggling against a tide of isolationism which was running strongly in the United States and not everyone around him was swimming with him against the tide, or for the same reasons.

The ethnic mix in the US had become more complex since the Great War in spite of efforts to keep it "pure" by the racially discriminatory migration laws which Hitler had taken good note of, and many Americans believed that for their country to remain aloof from Europe's troubles was the only way for it to avoid destructive internal conflict. There was a similar eagerness to avoid conflict through debate about democracy versus Nazism and Fascism. And then there was the Jewish question. Most Christians were not eager to think through it and they were quite happy to let Hitler work it out with Britain and the Arabs. But, in addition, there was the question of trade. While it dominated the attitudes of corporate America and its conservative politicians, it did not dominate the media message. It came in two parts. One was the general policy issue. The other was a series of specific issues which brought some powerful corporate interests together.

Economic planning had been a burning issue right through the 1930's. The factors which had triggered the Depression were such that the US had sunk into a deeper trough than the rest of the world. It therefore had a longer climb towards recovery and more serious social problems to tackle. But the nature of the totally free enterprise system does not allow for rapid recovery from both economic sickness and social sickness at the same time. They are simply not compatible without a high level of government direction and supervision. In his "New Deal" Roosevelt had put heavy emphasis on social recovery and while this had brought strong support from the lower socio-economic groups, including the major identifiable ethnic groups, and therefore greater community stability than might otherwise have been the case, it slowed down economic recovery. This in turn encouraged major international financiers to invest their capital in those markets which were making a rapid economic-recovery, such as Japan, but which were highly inflationary. Japan had adopted these policies quite deliberately to shake off Western economic domination and to finance military development which was necessary in turn to help shake off Western political domination. Preferential investment abroad naturally slowed economic recovery in the United States relative to other countries still further.

During the 1932 election campaign which brought him to office Roosevelt had spelt out the policies he intended to follow quite clearly. He said:

Our task now is not discovery or exploitation of natural resources, or necessarily producing more goods. It is the soberer, less dramatic business of administering resources and plants already in hand, of seeking to reestablish foreign markets for our surplus production, of meeting the problem of under consumption, of adjusting production to consumption, of distributing wealth and products more equitably, of adapting existing economic organizations to the service of the people. The day of enlightened administration has come.

Later, as a well-established president, he confirmed that his administration would continue the “anticapitalist attitude” which he had been pursuing when he introduced his “Wealth Tax Act” of 1935. “Our revenue laws have operated in many ways to the unfair advantage of the few, and they have done little to prevent an unjust concentration of wealth and economic power,” he said. That act increased surtaxes to 73 percent of individual incomes over one million dollars; increased corporation tax to fifteen percent in certain cases; increased excess profits taxes; increased gift and inheritance taxes; and introduced both a capital stock tax and taxes on undistributed corporate profits.²⁷⁶ It had introduced new strategies in economic planning, ushered in a new phase in government economic supervision, and introduced new elements into the relationships between governments of democracies and their private financial and industrial institutions.

Together with the revival of large scale antitrust suits and the obtaining of consent decrees, the punitive attacks on American capitalism of the “New Deal” and Roosevelt’s statements had generated a climate of hostility and mistrust. The era when the wishes of the financial power brokers, quietly discussed behind closed doors, were more or less automatically translated into policies for which the government would provide some public justification, had passed. Henceforward the power brokers and not the governments would have to satisfy the public about the validity of economic policies. Because that change coincided with rapid improvements in the general level of education, rapid growth in mass communications and the consequent development of public awareness, the role and status of community and business leaders and others who sought to manipulate community and government attitudes and decisions also entered a new phase. Official and unofficial lobbyists and public relations people, either employed or retained by common-interest trade groups or by individual corporations were already an established part of the American scene. In response to the prevailing environment they began to appear everywhere like a rash. Very soon there was no area of human decision making which remained free of motivational study and manipulation. The practice which governments had used to conceal the real reasons for many economic, colonial, military and cultural actions – “if the real reason isn’t acceptable tell them one that is” – rapidly became common to every aspect of life. The sectional and self interest of those who had gained most from the development of the American Protestant Work Ethic was being defended and consolidated by means of concepts and institutions developed under the umbrella of that ethic.^{277 278 279}

With Europe plunging towards war and each country scrambling for the available international investment capital for armaments manufacture it became apparent to influential economists in the United States that its recovery was not possible until investment was restored. But investment would not be restored while Roosevelt’s domestic policies kept profitability so low compared with that in the warring countries which were competing for capital; while low cash flow due to low US employment levels kept stock levels high and current capital underutilized, and while foreign trade remained depressed.²⁸⁰ Thus, whether in response to the current facts of life and investor pressure or in response to Roosevelt’s philosophy, export trade

had to be boosted by positive decisions whenever possible. While it remained neutral it could capitalize on growing demand from each of the belligerents, especially in oil, agricultural products and military supplies. But immediately it became aligned with either Hitler or his opponents it had to put its money where its mouth was and cease trading with the block to which it was opposed. Import opportunities would be affected in the same way as exports. The business and finance lobbies, with a few exceptions based on the deeper issues of philosophy and human rights, pressed hard for unrestricted trade or, for public grandstanding, a policy of isolation from Europe's "internal" conflicts.

The most important specific case was that of the oil industry. The major oil companies, (notably the Standard group), had established subsidiaries in each of the warring countries and they were supplying twenty percent of the rest of the world's requirements from United States oil fields.²⁸¹ In addition they also controlled a significant proportion of current production from other countries, (notably in Latin America), their Saudi Arabian concessions had just come into production and they had gained additional concessions in the Middle East as well. The United States had not only developed the capacity to utilize oil at a greater rate than the rest of the world. It had also tightened the grip on world supplies which it had used so devastatingly in the Great War.

Although the US was totally self-sufficient the signs of its oil-dependence, which has since become critical, were already beginning to show. If the US aligned itself in the European war the first consequence would be loss of trade either by its own decision or by a maritime blockade of one belligerent group against the other. Depending on how the conflict ran, it may find itself linked into arguments about Middle East concessions as a spin-off from the row over Zionism and Palestine in the same way as Britain. If it entered the war on one side or the other its own oil supplies were more than adequate to fight a war and it could significantly affect supplies to those powers against which it fought. However it would certainly become embroiled in the politics of the Middle East and it had to be prepared to take military action to occupy the region in order to secure its concessions as well as political action. Naturally the oil companies pressed for military isolationism but they also pressed for political action to secure their concessions.

However the US administration was also in a bind over the petrochemicals industry. A legal and political battle which began in 1938 was gradually hotting up over links between US and German companies which greatly increased Hitler's capacity to wage war. It was not finally resolved until just prior to America's formal entry into the war.

In 1938 I.G. Farben, acting for the German government as Hitler accelerated industrial preparations for war, obtained tetraethyl lead, a key fuel additive, from the Ethyl Export Corporation which was jointly owned by Standard Oil of New Jersey and General Motors.^{282 283} As part of a deal it also received important scientific information from the Ethyl Gasoline Corporation, including the process for producing the additive. A plant jointly owned by I. G. Farben, Standard Oil of New Jersey and General Motors was then built in Germany to produce

it. About the same time, I. G. Farben had developed a patented process for producing synthetic rubber from petroleum and negotiations had also involved arrangements for Standard Oil of New Jersey to produce that under licence. However, with war imminent, and on instructions from the German government, I. G. Farben withheld licence authority and technical information under patent from its US partner. Legal proceedings and negotiations were still in progress when war was declared between Britain and Germany. When Alexander Sachs called on Roosevelt the issue was still unresolved with I. G. Farben being pressed to grant the licence and to release the information. America's neutrality was an important factor in those discussions. Standard was in turn trying to withhold related licences from its American competitors – and the US Navy – although it was still releasing information on its rubber research to I. G. Farben and exploring plans for a closer relationship, or even a merger, with a Japanese firm, Mitsui.²⁸⁴

The companies involved in this and similar situations were clearly in a position to add a lot of muscle to the campaign for American isolationism. However American isolationism equally clearly favoured Hitler and the countries collaborating with him and therefore, by changing the balance of power around the world, it was an indirect threat to the interests of the United States itself, especially if Britain were to be forced to negotiate a settlement with Germany. Both Germany and Russia would be free to rearrange alliances and concessions in the Middle East; both Russia and Japan would be free to do likewise in the Far East; the United States would be isolated in a very real sense, and at the same time it would be the only power to which the Jewish community could turn for relief from Hitler and for support in its struggle for Palestine as a national home.

Like Britain, the United States was fast running out of options. Logic and simple humanitarian values should have led the president and his administration into political intervention which would have stopped Hitler in his tracks at that stage without the need for military intervention. They didn't even have to feel comfortable with the concept of the United States being "the New Israel," established – according to its own political philosophers – to lead the world along the path of the Christian Gospel. The concept had been flaunted as the basis of American existence from its very earliest days and in every significant political development since. It would be dragged out again in due course when circumstances finally forced them to make a decision. In the mean time the commercial and ethnic conflicts of interest which had developed within the great amorphous gel forced them to procrastinate and led them to assist Hitler to strengthen his position. They also made it necessary for the government to grab every possible initiative to strengthen the capacity of the United States to protect its own legitimate interests, to maintain its position of privilege in relation to many other countries, and to enable it to fill the imperial vacuums which would be left as European powers were forced to vacate "possessions" in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East.

So when Roosevelt and Sachs sat down to talk on October 11, 1939, Sachs outlined the state of nuclear physics in the United States, Britain and Germany as he expanded on the points Einstein had made in his letter. The main thrust of the message, that he who first delivered an atomic bomb would win any war while his opponents had only conventional explosives, was

clear and unmistakable. But what followed from that was equally clear to Roosevelt. If one country gained nuclear capacity before all others its bargaining power – or coercion power – would be unassailable. Trade and territorial treaties would be determined almost at its whim and in confrontations over issues of political philosophy, such as Capitalism versus Communism, the initiative would be firmly in its hands, irrespective of the state of Europe after its war. If any moral justification was needed to back up the exercise the pope had already provided it in *Divini Redemptoris*. And as a little extra there was the potential for power generation and other peaceful industrial uses, (the technology for which would be largely a spin-off from the development of weapons), which would be of enormous benefit for mankind by enabling the gap between developed and underdeveloped nations to be bridged by limitless supplies of cheap energy.

It is not clear whether Sachs discussed with Roosevelt the real motive behind the approach to him – the need for a sledge hammer blow to stop Hitler before he implemented his final solution. However it would hardly have been necessary because the president had been kept very well informed on that issue. In addition the Jewish community was concerned about the backlash which increased every time it was seen to be pushing a preferential line. The Zionist organizations were therefore carefully tailoring their new initiatives to the total refugee problem on the basis that the only way to solve the Jewish problem was to solve the entire refugee problem by eliminating Hitler and Nazism.

Similarly it is not clear to what extent the two men discussed the possibility that German scientists might be working towards, or discussing the feasibility of the rapid development of nuclear weapons. It can be assumed that they were both conscious that there was likely to be parallel development taking place – competition – and that it could well be a case of ‘winner takes all’. However, given the great difficulty of communicating across the wartime barriers, it is unlikely that they knew that sixteen days earlier, on September 25, a group of German physicists had informed the military authorities at a meeting in Berlin of the possibility of using nuclear fission to produce a bomb of massive destructive power.²⁸⁵ However, having heard Sachs’ case Roosevelt called his secretary, General Edwin Watson, with the historic comment “Pa! This requires action.” Immediate steps were taken to establish the President’s Advisory Committee on Uranium.

BRITAIN’S DECISION FOR FULL SCALE WAR

Next day, October 12, as pre-arranged, Chamberlain announced Britain’s response to Hitler’s proposals for peace in an address to the Commons. He formally rejected both Hitler’s proposal for a peace conference in the terms of his Reichstag speech and his offer of peace in return for a free hand in Poland which Dahlerus had taken to London on September 28. Chamberlain said that the promises of the present German government could not be relied upon; if Hitler wanted peace he should show it by actions, not only words; that his vague and uncertain proposals

contained no suggestions to right the wrongs done to Czechoslovakia and Poland; and he asked for convincing proof from Hitler that he really wanted peace.²⁸⁶

The die was cast. There appeared to be no backing down by either side. An official German announcement on October 13 noted that by turning down the Fuhrer's peace offer Chamberlain had deliberately chosen war.²⁸⁷

The plot was about to be acted out. Gog and Magog had gone to their war. The Jewish question, or more correctly the trouble in the triangle, was at the heart of the smouldering crises out of which it grew. There had to be a final solution to it. The church had failed to find it, but Adolph Hitler was convinced that he had the answer and he was determined to put it into effect. But not everyone around the triangle would accept Hitler's solution, especially the Jewish community. With its recollections of Hadrian and Julius Severus, Peter the Hermit, Pope Urban II and the First Crusade, Aquinas, Pope Gregory IX and the Inquisition; Pascal, Ivan the Terrible, the Knights of Malta and their slave camps, the Venetian ghetto and its successors; and of course with its immediate memories of Bismarck, Alexander and Louis Dreyfus, it was just as determined that Hitler's "final solution" would not be put into effect.

So the escalation of the war could not be avoided and inevitably its scale, conduct and outcome would be greatly influenced by the trouble in the triangle. But no one wanted to talk about it. Least of all the church-at-large which had failed to understand the challenge of *Mein Kampf* just as it had failed to recognize the challenge of the *Balfour Declaration* and all the other challenges. Hitler was already starting to clear the decks for action. He wanted no trash in the way which would inhibit the efficiency of the nation's war effort or divert funds from the national defence budget. In mid October, he ordered that all "incurable patients" were to be disposed of in a program of organized euthanasia.

While Hitler was organizing his 'razor gang' to cut all unnecessary expense and having some difficulty securing resource supplies, Britain was having difficulty financing its war and faced strong opposition to the provision of credit in the US Congress. Similarly, in spite of its pact of convenience with Hitler, Russia could not afford to be isolated from warm water ports on the Baltic either by Germany moving north or by Britain occupying Scandinavia. Therefore after a pause while each party assessed its position, the action began to quicken. Russia made the first move. In mid-October it signed pacts of mutual assistance with two of its three small Baltic neighbors, Estonia and Latvia, and by the end of October Soviet air and ground forces were garrisoned in those countries, by agreement. Lithuania had also been garrisoned – without consent – as part of the *German-Soviet Border and Friendship Treaty* which had been signed at the end of September. Russia now had alternative warm water access, provided the passages from the North Sea to the Baltic through Scandinavia could be kept open.

Then Britain's strategic outlook changed dramatically on October 20, only a week after the government had rejected Hitler's peace conference proposal, and while the Anglo-Japanese talks were stalled. Craigie advised London that Germany was seeking supplies of Manchurian soya beans via the Trans-Siberian Railway through Soviet Russia. This, he said, raised the

prospect of other supplies being transported to Germany by the same route, and demonstrated the need for a broad trade agreement with Japan. The agreement should be negotiated in such a way that it did not prevent the stabilization of Anglo-Japanese relations. The basis should be that Japan would undertake not to export produce from Japan, Manchuria or China to enemies of Britain, and that it would prevent transit of produce from third countries to those enemies through its territory or on its vessels.²⁸⁸

Britain had been caught flat footed. Hitler had given the matter of vital supplies more thought than the Allies gave him credit for. As noted above, when he briefed his commanders on the imminent signing of the German-Soviet agreement on August 22, he told them Germany need not be afraid of a blockade. "The East will supply us with grain, cattle, coal, lead and zinc," he said. When the MEW realized that they were confronted with the start of a German scheme to circumvent Britain's blockade and to obtain rubber, nickel and tin from the Dutch East Indies, wolfram and antimony from China, copper from the United States and Japan, and vegetable oils from Manchukuo, it was galvanized into action. There were two options. The first was the imposition of a full naval blockade. That was totally out of the question. The protracted debates over division of the fleet to increase protection for its immediate interests in the Far East – and the Admiralty's blunt advice – had proven that. It did not even have the naval capacity to properly secure the regions which were of vital importance. If such a blockade was to be imposed it had to be in collaboration with all of its Allies. France? Strategically impossible. The United States? Politically impossible. The second option was to negotiate an agreement such as Craigie proposed.

After the few days which it took it to recover from the shock of Craigie's report the MEW promptly offered complete cooperation with the Foreign Office to get an appropriate agreement in place. But Treasury and the Board of Trade now realized that it meant complications for the currency markets. Sterling would fall in value against the US dollar and this would reduce Britain's capacity to buy war materials from the US even further.²⁸⁹ The ministries which had previously opposed Foreign Office proposals for sanctions because they would further antagonize Japan now wanted action which carried greater hazards. They wanted the trade agreement plan abandoned, and the blockade of Germany extended to include the seizure of German exports to cut its foreign exchange earnings and its ability to purchase imports. These would be justified as being retaliation for Germany's indiscriminate use of mines off Britain, and they played down the impact which these moves would have on relations with Germany's trading partners, including both Japan and the United States²⁹⁰ where some people were opposed to sanctions simply because it cut them out of the lucrative German market, and others had their minds on matters other than sanctions. These concerns were all complicated further by reports towards the end of October of a Russian troop buildup in the Chinese province of Singkiang which had been under Russian influence for some years. Whitehall was uncertain whether this indicated that the Soviet Union, with security assured on its western flank through its arrangements with Germany, was making a bid to prevent an expansion of Japanese influence, or whether there was an agreement between the Soviets and Japan to partition China.

On that western flank of Russia the Nazis were already planning how they would take advantage of the secret protocol to the agreement for the partition of Poland. On October 23 the director of the Reich Interior Ministry briefed the directors of other ministries on the Fuhrer's instructions regarding the treatment of Poles in both the annexed region and the Generalgouvernement when Hans Frank's civil administration replaced the military administration on October 26. On that day Frank promised the Poles in the Generalgouvernement, in which there were 1.5 million Jews making up 12 per cent of the population, that under a just rule everyone would earn his bread by work. There would be no room for political agitators, shady dealers and Jewish exploiters. Hard labour was being imposed on the Jews forthwith and, for that purpose, they would be concentrated in special battalions.²⁹¹ He had previously said: "Poland shall be treated like a colony. The Poles will become the slaves of the Greater German Empire."²⁹² On Himmler's orders resettlement was due to begin at the end of October.

Meanwhile, across the Atlantic in the 'New Israel', unknown even to the British, the President's very secret Advisory Committee on Uranium had met for the first time on October 21. It involved the three Hungarian refugees who had approached Einstein, (Szilard, Wigner and Teller), together with Sachs and a number of additional government nominees. The nuclear arms race was under way. At first the United States had the track to itself but only a few months later Britain lodged its entry, the MAUD Committee. This was established in response to a submission by two other Jewish emigrant physicists who had been repulsed by Hitler's Europe, Otto Frisch and Rudolph Peierls. Under the guidance of the head of Britain's Air Ministry Committee, Sir Henry Tizard, the MAUD Committee was soon coordinating work on atomic weapons development at several British universities and in major industries. Britain's basic motive for embarking on nuclear arms development was somewhat less complicated than that of the United States. Survival. In the unfolding circumstances it was perfectly clear that, unless it could entice the United States into the war as a full participant it was headed for defeat of disastrous proportions and the total disintegration of its empire.

Subsequently, after the United States entered the war, the development programs of the two countries were integrated and the big event reverted to a one-horse-race. In fact in May 1942 it became a case of 'no contest'. Unknown to the Allies, Hitler's Minister of War Production, Albert Speer, ordered that no further work should be done on atomic weapon development. It was then Hitler's wish that all available funds should be held for projects which could be completed to war production stage within six months.²⁹³ It is yet another aspect of the trouble in the triangle that the papacy and Hitler had unwittingly cooperated to thrust the initiative in nuclear weapons development firmly into the hands of a country which was, at the time, a non-belligerent. America. The papacy's contribution was its effort (which Kaiser Wilhelm had most firmly rejected) to suppress scientific research. Hitler's contribution was the reduction of Germany's corps of brilliant nuclear physicists to the status of highly antagonistic refugees.

But at that stage, the 'New Israel', from which Hitler had learned about legal euthanasia, was sitting on the fence with immense authority and influence and with links into each segment of

the triangle such that it could call a halt to the whole exercise if it had the will. However its leaders were unable to exercise decisive leadership. They were lost in a maze of conflicting sectional interests involving commercial intrigue and political manipulation on a grand scale. They were leading a nation which saw itself as the successor to Europe's decaying Christian imperial powers and therefore entitled to the privileges of world commercial and political superiority. In short their nation was no different to any other segment of the amorphous Christian gel. It remained neutral, taking commercial and political advantage of everyone else's trouble, trading with all the belligerents, and pushing ahead with the development of the Atom Bomb to ensure that – irrespective of how long the war continued and whether it became involved or not – it could sit astride the world's political and commercial dung hill when 'peace' was restored. However the demands of self interest were too great and the "New Israel" was about to topple – perhaps it had already toppled – from its neutral perch to fall into the camp of Gog. Or was it Magog? Very soon the issue would be brought to a head.

However many Jewish community leaders in the 'New Israel', and those in the film industry in particular, were using all the influence they could to persuade their fellow Americans that it was time to throw in their lot with Britain against Hitler's Germany. This antagonized many people, especially the conservative business end of the political spectrum, and contributed to sharply increased anti-Semitic hostility and isolationism since the outbreak of war. Ambassador Kennedy even quoted Chamberlain as saying that the "Americans and the world Jews had forced him into the war."²⁹⁴ Hitler agreed with him and blamed growing American hostility on the Jewish-controlled press and the Jews around President "Rosenfeld."²⁹⁵ At least he couldn't blame the Vatican which had been secretly exerting pressure on the Polish government, through Cardinal Hlond, to negotiate with Hitler.²⁹⁶

So almost no one wanted to talk in public about the trouble in the triangle. They were content to abuse 'the Jews'. Members of the Jewish community were certainly talking about it a lot in private and with carefully chosen politicians, but generally they were avoiding it from a very natural fear that to talk about it would intensify the anti-Semitism in which they were engulfed. Few Christians understood it or cared to talk about it except within the confines of their bigotted preconceptions. People of the non-messianic faiths were greatly disadvantaged by it, and very angry, seeing it as a burdensome peculiarity of European intrigue. Among the few who did want to talk about it were Muslim theologians and Arab leaders such as the Grand Mufti whose views of the triangle, of Palestine and of Jerusalem were quite different to those of the two older and more influential partners in the triangle. However their voices couldn't be heard. They were swamped by the shouting match around them. They were pawns in the power game, they were a serious impediment to Britain's plans and no one wanted to take their theology seriously. If they did they would have to recognize that man Muhammad as a divinely inspired prophet and if they did that, where would it end?

However there was actually one prominent person who wanted to talk about the trouble in the triangle. He didn't call it that because he wasn't prepared to recognize that there was a triangle. He was trying to suppress the concept, but he had finally decided to break his silence

GOG AND MAGOG GO TO WAR

and he insisted on having his say on interfaith affairs. It was Pope Pius XII. On October 28, 1939, the world was favoured with the first encyclical of his reign. *Summi Pontificatus*.

CHAPTER 23

A PAUSE TO REGROUP ... OR CAUSE FOR REFLECTION?

Fourteen years after volume one of the parody of the amorphous Christian gel of Western society, *Mein Kampf*, was published there was no sign of a basic change in the attitudes of the great European Christian powers. They still saw it as their right to subjugate other people and then to trade colonies or territories, complete with their people and resources, to protect their own interests. Their attitudes, being a consequence of their theology and their belief that the rest of the world existed for the benefit of Christian Europe, differed in that fundamental emphasis from the attitudes of other powers which sought territorial expansion either for living and productive space to cater for population growth, for additional resources or, in earlier eras, for wealth from tribute. Self determination was a concept of convenience which was trotted out to justify a European political or commercial position when ethnic community interest in a separate national identity happened to coincide with an economic or political interest which might otherwise be an embarrassment. That was so in the case of Munich.

The conspiracy of silence on Britain's dire predicament because of her conflict of interests in the Middle East and the manipulation of the question of ethnic language and identity in Czechoslovakia were such that the British public could not see the *Munich Agreement* as a surrender to force. Neither could they see it as a consequence of Western Christian Imperial self-understanding and conduct in which their country had been a key player for a very long time. It was presented as "a triumph of morality."¹ It has been described as "a triumph for all that was best and most enlightened in British life and for those who preached equal justice," and it has been justified as redressing the offence caused by the World War I settlement at Versailles under which three million Germans were subjected to Czech rule and not "merely a triumph for selfish or cynical British statesmen."² Several members of the Commons as well as the Lords, and even the head of the Foreign Office, Sir Alexander Cadogan, said the public would support the government's decisions if it had a moral position to justify it.³

In fact Great Britain was labouring to keep its grip on its empire. But at the same time the United States was providing a new twist to the old story as it moved to further undermine Britain's imperial position and prepared to build atomic bombs as an aid to achieving a position of world political and economic dominance for itself without colonial style possessions and

territorial occupation. And politicking was continuing in Britain, the United States, France, Italy and Soviet Russia to determine whether the Jewish community could be sold down the drain or whether the phoney war would develop into the real thing in order to prevent Hitler from implementing his 'final solution' to the Jewish question. Unfortunately there were very few signs to suggest that either the Christian Churches or their amorphous gel had recognized themselves in *Mein Kampf*.

Yes. There were a few. The most prominent was the *Barmen Confession* and the related Declarations issued in May 1934 around which one section of the German Resistance later developed. That Declaration was subsequently adopted by several churches in Germany as a basis for their postwar renewal and it has been described as the most significant Church document since the Reformation Confessions and Catechism.⁴ If it is considered in isolation and as a positive and constructive attempt to redirect the theology and the life of a group of churches at a critical time in history, then such a description may be valid. However there is no isolation and, unfortunately, some of the negative and inhibiting documents discussed in earlier sections greatly outrank it in significance because they contributed to the development of the situation in which *Mein Kampf* could be written and in which positive responses had to be made. In addition, the church constitution which Hitler approved in 1931 had not been drawn up solely to relate the church to *Mein Kampf* but in part as a reaction against the challenge of Karl Barth's earlier writings. Subsequently Karl Barth had also drafted the *Barmen Confession*. This means that each of the Reich church's constitution, the deluded and contemptible *Guiding Principles of the Faith Movement of German Christians* which were derived from much the same sources and influences as *Mein Kampf*, and the Synod of Barmen and its declarations were each related to the twin but diametrically opposed challenges to the church which were posed by both Barth and Hitler.

Then there was the ecumenical movement, spearheaded by the provisional World Council of Churches, but even though its key figures were very determined they faced enormous opposition and difficulties and the movement overall was still somewhat tentative. And although its leaders were acutely aware of events and theological conflicts in Germany the movement cannot be described as a response to *Mein Kampf*. The establishment of the World Council of Churches and *Mein Kampf* were, in fact, products of a common environment and their supporters were spurred on by the same trauma – the Great War – but they interpreted the situations in which they found themselves quite differently.

DARKNESS OVER THE EARTH

However, as if to confirm that the Church overall had failed to recognize in *Mein Kampf* a parody of itself, the new pope, Pius XII, who had been elected to that office six months before the declaration of war in a situation which resembled the distraction of Britain's abdication crisis, issued his eagerly awaited first encyclical letter almost two months after the official declaration of war. Liberally sprinkled with a selection of the long-standing descriptions of both

the Roman Catholic Church and its head which demonstrated their self assessment or self misunderstanding, that encyclical, *Summi Pontificatus*, was dated October 20, 1939, published by *L'Osservatore Romano* on October 28, and read in congregations on the Feast of Christ the King, October 29 when the whole human race was to be dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ. That was the feast which Pius XI had instituted, against a lot of opposition, to assist proselytizing among Poland's Jews or, in an alternative view, as an exercise in coercion or intimidation soon after Pilsudski's Vatican-supported dictatorship had set out on a campaign of oppression against Orthodox clergy in Ukrainian communities. (chapter 20) It is a pathetic reflection of the Vatican's relationship with the Nazi regime that *Summi Pontificatus* – known in English as '*Darkness over the Earth*' – was issued to be read on that feast day while the Roman Catholic Church was still helping Poles celebrate Hitler's magnificent victory. Even some of its own clergy were being harassed, but while Pius XII was distributing his encyclical, the first Polish ghetto was being established at Piotrkow to house Poland's Jews who were being systematically rounded up as well as those who were being deported from Austria and Czechoslovakia; orders were promulgated for Jews to wear a yellow Star of David; Hitler and Stalin were still negotiating the finer points of administration in the occupied territories; and the Vatican's concordat with Poland was in shreds as a result. But some of Hitler's colleagues were eager to put a stop to all the nonsense by alternative means. They were the group of high-ranking conspirators within the German Military High Command who had dabbled with the idea of a coup against the Fuhrer, or an assassination, and who were confirmed in their intention on October 27, when Hitler confirmed his order to invade the West and fixed the date for the invasion as November 12.

The conspirators probably studied *Summi Pontificatus*, like Governments of all complexions, for some indication of whether the pope was going to call his troops out either in support of Hitler or against him. Memories of the politicking for Catholic support in the Great War and of the contentious issue of papal claims to temporal authority and the papal states were very fresh, especially in view of the Vatican's support for Franco in Spain and for Irish independence. A repetition of that situation could have been catastrophic indeed. And no one wanted to face the consequences of another papal peace note like that of July 1917.

In fact Pius XII had already tried a similar initiative immediately he was elevated from Secretary of State to Pope. It culminated in his formal call on May 3, 1939, for a five-power conference of France, Italy, Germany, Poland, and Britain. Such a conference could, he said, resolve the differences between Italy and France on one hand and between Germany and Poland on the other.⁵ Hitler said it would serve no useful purpose and it was generally greeted by an embarrassed silence and regarded as either premature or pointless. It is reasonable to assume that the call was essentially that which Pius XII worked on as Secretary of State for Pius XI after his meeting with Chamberlain and Halifax only days before the late pope's death. The simplistic nature of the call, as well intentioned as it was, was reminiscent of the 1917 note and suggested that the pope was not as well informed on the real issues involved in the conflict as the world presumed. It also suggests that he was a victim of the complex conspiracies of silence

as well as a participant in them and it certainly confirmed that he did not recognize the parody of *Mein Kampf* and the nature of the trouble in the triangle.

When the scrutineers could find no such indications of support or opposition – except for the total isolation of Soviet Russia and further encouragement for Hitler to turn against both it and everything Jewish – there was jubilation in each of the five countries named, but certainly no reason for the conspirators to be jubilant. London's Foreign Office expressed its approval. France praised it and used it for propaganda, scattering tens of thousands of copies of it over Germany in the hope of causing an antagonistic response against Hitler, but Hitler was quite happy for *Summi Pontificatus* to be read in Germany and Poland, although an official interpretation, more complimentary to his stand point was “provided” and this was read in some congregations. In it the name ‘Germany’ was simply substituted for ‘Poland’ in a supportive passage, and Hitler certainly did not regard the encyclical as anti-Nazi or even as critical. Mussolini's Italy allowed the text to be published, and Poland's Cardinal Hlond expressed his gratitude. For practical purposes, (considering the near split between the Vatican and the Third Reich when Pius XI issued *Mit Brennender Sorge*), the letter could be represented as papal acceptance of, or even support for, Hitler's and Mussolini's actions.⁶ Of course both the Nazi government and the Vatican realized the depth of antagonism between them as a result of continuing property confiscation, imprisonments, executions and the withdrawal of ecclesiastical authority, and they were equally well aware that although each could cause the other a lot of trouble in the event of a break, it was Hitler who held the trump card. The pope could really only play for time and hope to reverse the Nazis' anti-church policies in due course after Hitler was out of the way. And yet this encyclical – his great opportunity to exert pressure on Hitler and to undermine his support – certainly did nothing to remove the Fuhrer from office. ‘Playing for time’ is a very political game, and the fact that governments on both sides of the political argument were prepared to use the encyclical for grossly political purposes leaves no room for doubt that politics was far more important than spiritual considerations in its preparation. This being the case we must look for a common thread in the attitudes of all of the parties, but of the pope and Hitler in particular, which made for such harmony. It was the Jewish question.

A close look at key extracts from *Summi Pontificatus*⁷ and the way in which it was prepared show it to be a mirror of the times and of the pope's response to the situation into which the church and the world had blundered, and a complete reversal of his predecessor's bid to offset racism and anti-Semitism. Pius XII could only see the world situation in terms of political advantage or disadvantage for the Roman Catholic Church which, in his view, was the exclusive representative of the triune God on earth. He would have justified his response on the grounds that the church needed to be politically strong to become numerically strong and to beat off – or to be completely freed from – competition from Jews and Judaism, Marx and Communism, and Reformers and the Ecumenical Movement. In turn its numerical strength was, in his view, the principal measure of its success in bringing mankind to salvation through acceptance of the Catholic Church's exclusive divine sacraments and its priestly temporal authority which was, in

his view, delegated directly by Christ. Whichever way we turn we cannot escape the consequences of the church's views of itself and its role as they permeated the political atmosphere throughout the world in 1939.

Work began on the drafting of *Summi Pontificatus* in July and it was largely the work of Fr. Gundlach⁸ whose contribution to *Humani Generis Unitas* had overshadowed that of LaFarge, but Pius XII was personally involved in the editing.⁹ It incorporated the central idea of Pius XI's *hidden encyclical* – the foundations of the unity of humanity – which is easily identified, but there was *no explicit reference to racism or anti-Semitism* and nothing from LaFarge's contribution to that work is identifiable.¹⁰ In other words it was only those aspects of the project which Pius XI had initiated which were pigeon-holed. Pius XII retained all the Christian triumphalism and questionable theology by means of which anti-Semitic and anti-Communist policies had long been justified.

He called for a new world order in which all nations recognized the kingdom of Christ, the “king of Kings and Lord of Lords”, and drew attention to recent “external” events which should be considered in “the light of eternity.”¹¹ Referring to his personal role as pope, Pius XII wrote: “It has pleased God in His inscrutable Providence to entrust to Us, through no merit of Our own, the rank of Supreme Bishop and the burdensome anxieties of that office ...” Evidence of unshaken loyalty towards the Roman Bishop had reached him from every side giving “... full recognition to *that quality of Head Priest and Supreme Shepherd which God's will has bestowed upon him ...*” and “We had begun to feel already the difficulty of sustaining the weight laid upon us by *the supreme power* God's will had entrusted to Us.” The section on the growth of secularism began with the expression: “Christ, who has made Us His Vicar ...” which had been popularized in the hunt for concordats. The expression was carried right through the encyclical but notably in the section on civil authorities and their relationship to the church.

Referring to the church he wrote of the “...abundant proof of the indivisible unity which reigns in the Catholic Church; a unity which may be compared to a wall or rampart, that attaches itself more surely and more closely to Blessed Peter's impregnable citadel, in proportion as the boastful power of Christ's enemies makes greater head.” Gracious memories (of that Catholic unity) “...sweetened for Us those first months of Our Pontificate, even while We had to undergo the labours, the anxieties, and the perils which grow like thorns about the path of Jesus Christ's mystical Bride.” And according to the self styled Vicar of Christ “The Catholic Church, the City of God, whose king is truth, whose law is charity, whose frontier is eternity, on the one hand teaching truths that cannot deceive and cannot diminish, on the other hand moved by her motherly love to laborious deeds of Christian charity, herself, a blessed vision of peace, towers above the waves of falsehood and of human ambition.”

Those “waves of falsehood and of human ambition had turned the world into a very sorry place in the pope's view and with that few people would disagree. However not everyone would apportion the blame in the manner that he did, nor agree with his vision of the church which

reads just like what it was – a blend of propaganda, politicking, another historical cover-up and self delusion on a grand scale.

Discussing the state of the world, Pius XII wrote:

Mankind, all through these years, has lacked both inspiration and guidance; it has been driven from its true course; it has allowed itself to become engulfed in worldly aims, and has grown weary and wretched in the pursuit of nothing else ... (and) ... The beginning of all the troubles which are driving this age of ours by a headlong course into spiritual bankruptcy and impotence for virtue, is the impious attempt to dethrone Christ. There are men who repudiate the law of truth which He has given us, who reject the commandments of that love, whose gentle breath inspires and invigorates all His leadership of us. The only means by which men can be brought back into the way of salvation are reverence for Christ on His royal throne, recognition of His kingly rights, and the restoration both of the individual and of society to the obedience which they owe to the law of Christian truth and charity ... (and) ... Even as We write these lines, Worshipful Brethren, the terrible news comes to Us that, in spite of all the prayers We offered to avert them, the fires of war have been lit.

That phrase is very important in considering the timing of the release of the encyclical. We know that first, the drafting of the encyclical began in July and was well in hand when the pope issued two statements a few days apart about the time of the German Catholic Bishops' Conference, and second the "fires of war" had been well and truly lit when Hitler invaded Poland on September 1, or perhaps even earlier, when the Catholic chaplains were called for their briefing in mid August in accordance with the secret annex to the *Reich concordat*, and third, *Summi Pontificatus* is dated Friday, October 20, several weeks after the partition of Poland, for public reading a week later, on the Feast of Christ the King, Sunday, October 29. That phrase therefore indicates that the preparation, editing and release of the rambling 46 page encyclical was carefully timed to ensure reading on a day which was highly provocative in interfaith relations: the Feast of Christ the King.

The pope continued:

...Our heart sickens, as a father's heart must, at the prospect of the harvest which will grow up from the dark seeds of violence and animosity, for which war is now tracing furrows in blood. And yet, as We think of the bitter troubles that are now brewing, and shudder at the thought of worse troubles to come, We feel it Our duty all the more to direct men's minds and hearts, where goodwill is still to be found amongst them, towards Him who alone can bring salvation to mankind. His hand, merciful and almighty, can check the raging of this tempest. His truth, His love, can enlighten the understanding and kindle the resolve of those many who are now tossed upon the waves of error, the tide of reckless self-love, the waves of animosity and strife. They must be brought back, they must be informed anew, to the holy pattern and spirit of Jesus Christ.

There was no mention of the term "Jew" or "Communist" and ambiguity prevailed, as usual, so that every non-Catholic was supposed to get a message. However, quite clearly, this is one of the passages in the encyclical which was aimed at Jews and at the Christians of Russia who had

succumbed to the anti-religious teachings of Marxism. In the case of the Jews, the encouragement was for Catholic proselytizing. In the case of Russia's Christians, the encouragement – or incitement – was for either another attempt at a religion-led counter revolution ('kindled and fanned by desire for heavenly things') or absorption in due course by courtesy of the *Reich Concordat* which would come into play when Hitler conquered Russia. Catholicization of Russia would follow the same pattern as the attempted Catholicization of Abyssinia following Mussolini's invasion of that country. (chapter 20) That passage was quite consistent with a number of other passages, such as the one which follows, which makes implied references to the Reich Church, Protestant churches generally, Nazism, Communism, Judaism and perhaps Islam as well, but few people would have been concerned about that. After all it didn't normally rate a mention and if it did it was called Arab politics in Palestine.

We see an immense multitude of our human brothers and sisters who have been blinded by error or charmed away by passion, or led into false paths by prejudice. They have wandered far from true faith in God and from belief in the saving Gospel of Jesus Christ. Who would not feel his heart glow with charity, who would not readily go out of his way to rescue them? We all belong to Christ's army, some holding rank among the priesthood, some among the faithful laity; all alike must feel impelled to mount guard more watchfully than before. We see the array of Christ's enemies growing ever more dangerously. We see the preachers of a lying doctrine at work. They either deny the saving truth and power of the Christian faith, or at least exclude it from all influence on human lives. Nay, their impiety goes so far, that they are not content merely to break the tables of God's law; they substitute another rule of life in its place, which utterly repudiates both the elements of morality set forth in the revelation on Sinai, and that divine influence which breathes upon us from Christ's Cross and from His sermon on the mount.

You will receive this Our first Encyclical Letter, Worshipful Brethren on the approaching feast of Christ the King"... "May the reign of Christ spread and flourish everywhere. The dedication of the human race to the Sacred Heart of Jesus Christ, which will be made on that day with solemn observance and with special devotion, ought to rally the faithful of all nations to the altar of their Eternal King"... "May (grace) be granted to those, too, who have no knowledge of a divine Redeemer, or have, to their cost, deserted Him. May countless millions of Christian folk offer their prayer to God on this Solemnity, that "the light which enlightens every man coming into the world" may mark out for us with its brightness the path of salvation, and that grace from above may kindle and fan the desire for heavenly things in the restless hearts of those who have gone astray; that this desire may force them back upon Him, who even now, from the bloodstained throne of His Cross, is their most eager advocate, ready to be "the way, the truth, and the life" for them as for us.

Then came the punch line, addressed to the clergy.

As you know, Worshipful Brethren, the reason why the principles of morality in general have long since been set aside in Europe is the defection of so many minds from Christian doctrine, of which Blessed Peter's See is the appointed guardian and teacher. As the centuries rolled over Europe, its nations were welded together by that doctrine, and it was the Christian spirit

which formed them. Ennobled by the Cross, humanized and civilized by its influence, they reached such a high level of statesmanship and of citizenship that they could pass on the lesson they had learned, in its various forms, to the other nations and countries of the world.

By means of that simple statement Pius XII confirmed that his historical perspective was no better than that of his predecessors and he joined them in perpetuating the myth by which European colonial policies had been justified for hundreds of years. The same idea appears in other passages of the encyclical. He continued:

Then a time came when many of the Christian Family separated themselves from the infallible teaching of the Church; and it was after that that they went, alas, even further, and rejected the very doctrine of our Saviour's divinity, which is the fountain and the focus of all Christian teaching. In doing this, they were hastening on a general deterioration and decline of the religious idea.

The Gospel tells us that when Christ our Lord was nailed to His Cross 'There was darkness over all the face of the earth.' It was a mournful parable of what has happened before now and continually happens, when men lose their faith in religion" ... "This goes so far, that the individual citizen, the life of the family, and the commonwealth as a whole are all removed from the kindly, wholesome influence of God and of His Church. Then, day by day, the symbols and the symptoms of those errors which corrupted the heathens of old, declare themselves more plainly and more lamentably. And all this in parts of the world where the light of Christian civilization has shone for centuries; 'Darkness came on when they nailed Jesus to His Cross.' [Emphasis added.]

So there we have it. The darkness over the earth was, according to Pius XII, the fault of the Jews, the Marxists and the reformers jointly. No wonder Hitler approved of the encyclical. The German resistance movement was based around groups of Protestant clergy at that stage and Hitler certainly agreed with the sentiment about both the Jews and the crucifixion of Christ, and the Marxists who had deserted the church, the failures of which he was about to correct. He had said so repeatedly.

The pope then proceeded to criticize certain actions of civil states, including interference with private enterprise (a reference to Communism); his own interpretation of racism (which could be interpreted in various ways as a reference to Hitler by those who wished to read that into it especially, to the United States or to the Jewish community but certainly not to the church); moral laxity; and states which tried to survive without links with the Vatican. The "natural law", based on the notion of God as almighty creator, father of us all, supreme and perfect law giver, wise and just rewarder of human conduct whose will was administered through the church by the Vicar of Christ through whom all earthly authority flowed to states and civil authorities, was being ignored. Some nations even "impiously endeavour to dissociate the civil authority from any connexion at all with the Divine Being ..." while the tendency to lose sight of "that kinship and love which ought to bind human beings to one another" was disastrously widespread.

According to Pius XII it was the neglect and repudiation of the religion and morality of the Roman Church which had led to such errors. There was absolutely no hint of any responsibility for racial bigotry on the part of the church but that would hardly be expected. For one thing it would have required an openness of mind and historical perception which he clearly did not have and, for another, such an admission would have been counter to the concept of papal infallibility which Pius XII was still expounding, even in *Summi Pontificatus*. In fact in an effort to counter criticism that the Church of Rome was a threat to civil authority and had “an enervating effect on her subjects” the pope wrote that “...the Church is as far removed as possible from any intention of that kind; that she stretches out her motherly arms to men, not asking to have dominion over them but, in every possible way, to be their servant. She does not seek to intrude herself into the position occupied, in a special and perfectly legitimate way, by secular authorities. Rather, she aids them in their mission, filled with the spirit and following in the steps of Him who “went about doing good.”

“The Church enjoins and preaches that obedience and respect should be paid to earthly powers, which derive from God their high mission ...” and “she inspires (her subjects) with noble ideals, she gives them strength of character, as long as they remain true to the utterance of conscience. It is not likely that she, who has given civilization to so many races and peoples, should be guilty of having retarded the course of human progress; mother-like, she welcomes it with joy.” “...the history of the last nineteen centuries well illustrates the truth of what Holy Scripture says, that the man who resists God can have no peace. Christ only is that “cornerstone” upon which civil society like the life of the individual man, must rest if it will rest secure ... (and) ... conflicts, national and international, are increasing the strength and vigour of her life, are winning her new triumphs, weaving fresh crowns for her. Whereas those other institutions which are not founded upon the doctrine of Jesus Christ, must sink sooner or later into the shifting sands which are their treacherous support.”

THE POPE'S 'FINAL SOLUTION'

Then we come to the pope's version of a simple 'final solution' to all the world's ills. Follow the marvelous example of Mussolini, sign a concordat with the Vicar of Christ the King and all will be well. Or at least the government will have the backing of the Catholic hierarchy and its subjects while it pleases them.

Italy has, since the Providential signing of the Lateran Treaty, held a place of honour among the states which have regularized relations with the Roman Bishop.” “The peace of Christ restored to Italy” by these undertakings has shone out like a happy dawn, holding out the promise of peace and brotherhood in church and state alike ...

...our present troubles may have the effect of opening many blind eyes, teaching men to give serious thought to the claims of Christ and the office of His church, and see them in their proper light; that all those who control the destinies of nations may give the Church freedom of action, enabling her to fashion and to establish a new order in the world, based on the interests of justice and of peace. The church cannot play her part as a peace maker, as long as obstacles are put in her way to hinder her in her divinely appointed mission...

...And We, as the Vicar on earth of Him who is hailed by the prophet as “the Prince of peace,” address Ourselves to the rulers of states and all those on whose activities the state in any way depends, urging them to let the Church enjoy at all times the full freedom which is her right; let her carry out her work of education, shew the truth to men’s minds, instill justice into their hearts, and give them the love of Jesus Christ to be their refreshment.

There are few who turn their eyes with a newly-awakened hope to the church, citadel of truth and love, and to this See of Blessed Peter. They aim at finding some machinery to control the storms which are now threatening to wreck civilization, and they realize with regret that human efforts have failed. They know that the Church can give back to them that unity of religious and moral outlook which, in earlier times, preserved peaceful relations between the peoples of the world. Many, on whom the destinies of nations depend, finding continual disappointment in the institutions which they formerly trusted, look back with wistful longing to that earlier unity ...

They see the indomitable firmness with which the Church, for nearly twenty centuries, has professed her faith and has ordered men’s lives according to Christ’s commandments. They see the closely knit ranks of the Catholic hierarchy, which, in allegiance to the Prince of the Apostles, teaches the truths of the Gospel, directs souls towards their sanctification, and, all the indulgences of its motherly heart towards the sinner, can still stand unmoved in the face of bitter persecution and of martyrdom itself, when the time comes to settle a controversy with the words: It is not lawful. [Emphasis added.]

The Peace of Christ maintained with the indomitable firmness of the close knit clergy included, of course, the thrust of the Fascist *Manifesto of the Italian Race* except to the extent that the Vatican had declared the coincidental Italian regulations on marriage to be in conflict with Catholic canon law. (chapter 21) Pius XII devoted the later pages of the encyclical to a call for concerted Catholic lay action in support of the church’s hierarchy in whatever country they lived whether it was Italy, Britain, the United States, Germany, Poland or elsewhere. It was the infamous “neutrality” philosophy which could have undermined papal ultramontaniam but which, when coupled with the sections aimed at civil governments, placed enormous bargaining power in the hands of Vatican-appointed diplomats in countries of the Western Alliance and propped up the anti-Semitic policies of Germany and Italy at the same time.

Somewhat surprisingly, the pope had even drawn praise from some Jewish commentators on the subject of racial policies because of his fundamentalist reference to all mankind being descended from the Biblical Adam and Eve and by his often quoted use of the words of “the Apostle of the Gentiles” to the effect that there is no distinction between Gentile or Jew, slave

or freeman. However they were no different to Western politicians. They were clutching at words with which to support their particular position and in the hope of relieving anti-Semitic pressure. Other statements in the encyclical actually gave them little more to be happy about than the section about darkness over the earth.

Bitter contentions are dividing the minds of men at this time and rending the unity of the human family. At this time, then, all Our children scattered throughout the world, shall have proof that the teaching, the practice, the mind of the Church is unchanged. She can never recede from the position taken by the Apostle of the Gentiles, when he wrote: "Clothe yourselves in the character of the new man, the man who is continually being renewed into a state of fuller knowledge, to correspond with the image of his Creator; with whom there is neither Gentile nor Jew, neither circumcision nor uncircumcision, no barbarian and Scythian, no slavery and freedom, but Christ is all things and in all things." "The very first page of Holy Scripture records ... that God crowned the work of creation which He had begun by making "man in His own image." The Bible further teaches... that the rest of the human race took its origin from the marriage of the first man with his partner. It describes to us, with vivid and significant wealth of detail, how mankind was divided into various nations or tribes, scattered throughout the different parts of the world. And how, even when His creatures were guilty of a wretched apostasy from their Creator, He would not abandon His fatherly care of them, but determined, in the decrees of His divine mercy, to unite them again to Himself at a later time, by a covenant of friendship... "The same Apostle of the Gentiles proves the unity of the human family from those links which bind us to Him who is the image of the invisible God, Jesus Christ, in whom "all things were made." He proves it from the fact of our common Redemption; telling us how Christ through His bitter Passion restored to us God's friendship, as it had been ours at first, and reconciled God to men: "there is only one God, and only one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus.

...And as nations become more civilized, they become more highly differentiated in their ways of life and of managing their affairs. That is no reason why they should renounce the unity of the human family. Rather, they should enrich that family by making their own contribution to its variety, according to their several endowments. They should exchange, mutually, the advantages they enjoy; and that is a thing that can only be done satisfactorily where a lively, burning charity unites us all in a common brotherhood, as sons of the same Father and men redeemed by the same divine blood.

The Church of Jesus Christ is the repository of His wisdom; she is certainly too wise to discourage or belittle those peculiarities and differences which mark out one nation from another. It is quite legitimate for nations to treat those differences as a sacred inheritance and guard them at all costs. The Church aims at unity, a unity determined and kept alive by that supernatural love which should be actuating everybody; she does not aim at a uniformity which would only be external in its effects, and would cramp the natural tendencies of the nations concerned. Every nation has its own genius, its own qualities, springing from the hidden roots of its being. The wise development, the encouragement within limits, of that genius, those qualities, does no harm, and if a nation cares to take precautions, to lay down rules, for that end, it has the Church's approval. She is mother enough to befriend such projects with her prayers, so long as all is done without prejudice to those duties which the common origin and the common destiny of the whole human race impose upon us.

Of course there were qualifications in between the key passages so that read without consideration for any particular environment it could appear to be a well balanced statement. That was exactly where the power of *Mein Kampf* lay, too. However, because of the policies and practices which the church had adopted on that very issue ever since it had been established as a community institution, *Summi Pontificatus* can only be read as an historical document set in the politics and crises of a world embroiled in war and unprecedented race bigotry. Considered in that light it is not a very nice document. There was absolutely no indication of remorse for the consequences of the church's self-understanding over nearly two thousand years. There was such a total lack of any understanding of those consequences that the first encyclical of the war between Gog and Magog (one of the major outcomes of that self-understanding) gave the clearest possible confirmation of the nature of *Mein Kampf* as a parody on the church just as it was being put into effect.

Summi Pontificatus gave each government the justification for continuing with whatever policies and practices it had already been pursuing but at the same time it gave each of them propaganda ammunition to throw at those which were adopting different attitudes towards the issue of race and the Jewish question in particular. It failed to recognize the very real effort which the Soviet government had made to sort out the mess which it had inherited and which had been greatly complicated by Britain's *Balfour Declaration*. It avoided a conflict of conscience or the need to face facts for Christians in Germany and it therefore made it easier for Hitler to shift gear from his programme of oppression and enslavement to his final solution. It also enabled the United States to continue racial segregation in its armed forces and to resist change to its immigration policy. But ultimately it became ammunition which Zionists could use to support their demands for Palestine; which each party could use in the struggle over the partition of India; and which South Africa could use in the development of its apartheid policy. In view of all of these considerations, and notably the fact that all confrontational criticism of governments was omitted and censures were directed only at Communists and Jews, there is a very clear indication of the relationship between the non-publication of *Humani Generis Unitas* and the publication of *Summi Pontificatus*. Until the Vatican opens its secret archives for examination the only conclusion which can be drawn is that the non-publication of *Humani*

Generis Unitas involved collusion between Ledochowski and Cardinal Secretary of State Pacelli prior to his election as pope and his adoption of the title Pius XII.

ANOTHER CONSPIRACY OF SILENCE

At that critical time in mankind's communal evolution when a strong lead from the Christian Church could have had an enormous impact on the direction of that evolution the church was again found wanting. The ecumenical movement was struggling to gather momentum. From an organizational point of view it was in no position to do very much at all and the denominational churches which were involved in it generally showed little will and little more understanding. Only the Vatican had the worldwide organization and the capacity to take decisive action and the best it could do was politic to gain maximum advantage from the dynamic situation. It was more firmly locked into that stance by the institutional and political scaffold with which it propped up its interlocking self-image and doctrines than it had ever been and it was determined that nothing or no one would knock away a leg of the scaffold. And because by its own widely proclaimed belief the most critical leg of the scaffold rested on the shaky, paper thin foundation of its *Lateran Treaty* with Mussolini, the politicking had to be stage-managed very carefully indeed.

It was so well stage managed, with the Vatican collaborating with major players on both sides of the conflict, that the pope's actions simply confirmed the thrust of the parody *Mein Kampf*. Pius had known since mid August, when his bishops received their chaplaincy orders, that Hitler was about to invade but, despite the church's protests that he worked to avoid it, there is no evidence of that. Much has been written in his defence about steps which he took to protect individual Jews, groups or whole communities after Rome had been occupied by the Nazis. But these were each circumstantial decisions which did nothing to offset everything which he said and wrote which incited or fomented anti-Semitic reactions. On the other hand his collaboration with the regime before and during the early part of the war is clearly illustrated by his actions, the concordats, these encyclicals and programs such as the church's bell ringing celebrations after the occupation of Poland.

Hitler could afford to allow the Roman Catholic church some continuing limited role and in doing so he would reap the benefit through avoiding both a strong domestic backlash and enormous papal pressure on both the United States and other neutral or friendly countries to enter the war against Germany. In fact he could not afford to liquidate the Catholic Church completely because if papal influence were to undermine Italy's war effort or even break the *Pact of Steel* the strategic balance would lurch heavily against Germany.

For his part the pope could not afford to make a strong attack on Nazism and, subsequently, on Hitler's Holocaust. Some observers have explained this simply in terms of the likely loss of clergy and property in Germany and have assumed the maintenance of the church's position elsewhere. Some commentators such as Rolf Hochhuth writing in *Der Stellvertreter* (*The Vicar* or *The Deputy*), have explored additional motivations such as financial interests in the

armaments industry and fanatical anti Communism.¹² Others have suggested continuing deep-seated anti-Semitism which was thinly disguised by humanitarian efforts to save a few Jews. Still others have suggested that the pope believed that a public protest would be useless in changing Hitler's policies but that it would cause a grave crisis of conscience among German Catholics. A grave "crisis of credibility", and therefore of faith, might be a better way of putting it because their infallible pope would be seen to be backing away from the position which he and the hierarchy had taken so dogmatically for a very long time. One authority, von Aretin, also suggests that Pius XII feared that a public protest would be fatal to his "neutrality."¹³

While none of these explanations are adequate in isolation, linked together they help to build a total picture. The situation had become more complex for the Vatican with every move which Hitler made, just as it had for imperial Britain, and the pope had to turn political hand springs if he and the church at large were to avoid the complete reassessment of their doctrines, theology and actions which the challenge of *Mein Kampf* called for.

The eventual entry of the United States into European Christendom's war was widely expected but it was by no means certain because of factors already outlined. If it did enter the war against Germany it would be largely because of pressure resulting from a reaction to Hitler's oppression of Jews and its policies could not be expected to be pro-Vatican. Against that, the eventual roles of Soviet Russia and Japan – both in firm alliance with Germany – were an unknown factor and an axis victory based on that alliance would be absolutely catastrophic for the Vatican. If Russia allowed any institutional Christian church it would be Orthodox and not Roman Catholic, especially in view of Pilsudski's Vatican-backed repression of the Orthodox Church little more than a decade earlier, and Japan was already stepping up its repression of the church at large in each of Japan, Korea and occupied China.

PLATITUDES, POWERS AND CONCORDATS

If the pope were to launch a strong attack against Nazism in those circumstances it could possibly result in the oppression or massacre of Catholic clergy in all axis occupied countries. However that was far from certain because Hitler knew that the quickest way to turn the entire Catholic world outside of the occupied territories – including the United States – against him was to unleash such an assault inside the occupied territories. On the other hand the political authority of the Vatican would be seriously undermined and the rebuilding of Catholicism would be a long drawn-out process based on clergy and support from countries opposed to Rome's ultramontanism. This pointed towards a further weakening of Vatican authority and towards greater pressure for the establishment of independent national Catholic churches. That would call into question yet again the theological justification for Vatican dominance, its opposition to the ecumenical movement, the doctrinal definition of the church as "the body of Christ" – its selfunderstanding – and ultimately the ghastly Jewish question. The Vatican therefore had to keep a foothold in Europe under Hitler. If that required it to reach some sort of accord with his shameful regime then in its view the means justified the end which was the

preservation of its temporal authority and its supposedly divinely inspired empire. After all, that was no more than Britain and France were trying to do and, in the Vatican's view anyway, their divinely inspired authority was subordinate to that of the divine representative of Christ.

Apart from considerations related to America's neutrality, an attack on any one of Europe's totalitarian regimes with which the Vatican had a concordat, (the pattern of which had been actively sponsored during the previous twenty years), might be read as an attack-in-principle on all of them and, notably, on Mussolini's brand of Fascism in Italy and Franco's in Spain. Mussolini's displeasure, if he were spurred on by Hitler, could even lead to the repeal of the *Lateran Treaty*. At one stroke the pope's hard-won temporal authority would be eliminated, all those unthinkable issues would be thrust onto world centre stage and the Jewish question would lift from the level of anti-Semitic oppression to the theological level which had threatened after the Great War. Neither the Vatican nor the Western Alliance could afford to justify their positions on Judaism, Palestine and Jerusalem under concurrent pressure from Hitler, Mussolini, the Soviet Union, Japan, the Jewish Community and the Muslim community.

Of course it would have been unrealistic to expect a papal attack on Fascism in 1939 in view of the domestic situation in Italy coupled with the intimate family and political links between the Vatican hierarchy and the Fascist establishment which had influenced the actions of the Vatican (and the responses of the Roman Catholic Church world wide) ever since the rise to national power of the Italian Fascists. And those links or relationships were basically little different to the links between the hierarchy and the imperial political and financial powers of the Roman Empire, the Holy Roman Empire and their successors. The influence of the Christian Democratic Movement, taking its rise from the struggle for the reunification of Italy – the *Risorgimento* – had ebbed and flowed with the political interests of the papacy for about eighty years and in the years after World War II it was to provide the bolster which would secure both the anti-Communist civil powers and the Ultramontanist religious powers against those who would have dismantled them. However in the late 1930s it was in a state of disarray because its domestic aspirations were in conflict with the papacy's international aspirations or, as R.A. Webster explains it:

*a Catholic social or political movement can endanger Church State agreements, in which case the movement is often ignored or deserted by the Church in order to gain a concordat or settlement. Thus the Church mourned neither the Italian Popular Party in 1926 nor the German Center Party in 1933, but came to agreements with the victorious Fascist and National Socialist regimes through conventional diplomatic channels. However in both cases the Church's position in negotiating with the dictators was greatly strengthened by her mass organization and following. On the other hand, when the political climate is right, Catholic movements can shape Church State relations to the advantage of the Church.*¹⁴

As the clouds of World War II gathered, those segments of the movement which supported Fascism were actively encouraged while those which opposed Fascism and the Vatican's links with it were gradually silenced. For example, Giorgio La Pira, professor of Roman Law at Florence University and a key contributor to the Dominican-published bimonthly *Principi*,

wrote that the destruction of Poland was a twofold crime. Firstly because the nations of Europe, grown up in the shadow of the church, each have individual personality and vocation regardless of whether they are great or small and, secondly, because Poland had been like a dike separating two non-Christian worlds. He went on to say that in contrast to the unjust destruction of Poland the possibility of a just war was still real. A crusade against the “new Turks” threatening Europe – the National Socialists and the Communists – would be just and Holy, he wrote. A war of that nature would put new life into Christendom and Our time, so tragic in so many aspects, is by now ripe for reconstituting around the See of Peter, that unity among the nations vainly sought elsewhere.¹⁵

La Pira had understood the Vatican and the historical buffer role of Poland quite clearly but like those around him he had not grasped the real challenges of Marx and Hitler. Within a few months of his Polish statement being published *Principi* had been silenced but La Pira managed to go to ground and he became a symbol of the resistance movement in Italy. In contrast the press of the Catholic University of Milan, led by Fathers Agostino Gemelli and Francesco Olgiatei which was constituted under the Vatican Concordat and sustained by its links with the clerico Fascists of Mussolini’s regime, flourished at least until 1943 when many of its professors became disenchanted with the regime and its policies. Until that time they had taught, written and preached along the lines that the Fascist system was a real application of Catholic social principles; that Fascist imperialism (in Albania, Ethiopia and North Africa) was in accordance with doctrines of living space and geopolitics; and that Fascist racial policies were justified by Catholic tradition.¹⁶ Mussolini’s propagandists took full advantage of an address by Gemelli at the University of Bologna on January 10 1939, (presumably aimed at the Arabs, Jews and Europeans meeting around Britain’s Round Table on Palestine at that time), about the decide people tragically unable to belong to Italy because of their blood and because of their religion.¹⁷

So: back to where we were. If Hitler and Mussolini were so happy with *Summi Pontificatus* it is surely surprising that the British and French also applauded it, but they did. They were so relieved that the pope had not openly pronounced in favour of the totalitarian Axis powers that they latched onto selected expressions in the encyclical, declared them to be statements of neutrality and, in an exercise best described as “I’ll scratch your back if you scratch mine”, lauded the pope for his stand on principles in a time of great difficulty. They took full advantage of the title given to the English translation, *Darkness over the Earth*, implying that it was a papal reference to Hitler’s regime and eagerly linked it with an attack on atheistic Communism which the West had forced into an uncomfortable alliance with Nazism and which certainly figured in a papal encyclical yet again, If they had not been able to point to papal neutrality, as a bare minimum, the powers of the Western alliance would have faced enormous difficulties raising armies, avoiding community conflict and maintaining effective neutrality among nonaligned countries in the Third World.

Any statement more critical of the Western Powers would have inflamed each of the Irish independence issue;¹⁸ the struggle for either India’s independence or partition; and the issue of

French-Canadian separation. It would have encouraged the Philippines to lean more heavily towards Japan – an influence which the Vatican was eager to avoid at all costs – and it would have led to Latin America assuming an even bigger role as a halfway house for embargo-breaking trade between the Western Alliance and Germany as well as a base for subversion and diplomatic intrigue. It would also have cast doubt on Britain's relations with South Africa where the prime minister's intended declaration of neutrality had led directly to a constitutional crisis and a change of government. chapter 22) With a slender majority in parliament and the possibility of a hostile majority in the electorate, the new Prime Minister, General Smuts, had to tread very carefully indeed until Mussolini's subsequent decision to honour his *Pact of Steel* with Hitler cast a shadow down the length of Africa.¹⁹ An antagonistic papal statement in advance of Mussolini's decision would have undermined General Smuts' position very seriously indeed. And because control of the South African ports which dominated the alternative naval route to the Persian Gulf, India, Australia and the Far East via the Cape of Good Hope was vital for both Britain and France, the stability of the Smuts government was equally important.

Of course other European countries also had an interest in the security of the Cape route – notably Holland which also partly depended on it for its links with the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) – but it had also become rapidly more important to the United States because of its oil concessions in the Middle East. Suddenly the US administration became just as interested in the stability of the South African government and in the pronouncements of anyone who might affect it. However that was not Roosevelt's only reason for taking a keen interest in the papal encyclical. His own country was just as deeply divided about the war in Europe as South Africa, and an antagonistic stance by the pope would have made a decision to enter the war against Hitler and his allies virtually impossible. America's strategic interests, already outlined, would then have been liable to more direct danger.

Britain and France therefore had good reason to be delighted with *Summi Pontificatus* and the pope's decision, in effect, that the response of the Roman Catholic church to the war should accord with local circumstances and, surprisingly, to leave it largely in the hands of the hierarchy in each country. It was a very risky decision because it was the nearest the papacy would ever come to voluntarily retracting its policy of Ultramontanism. If circumstances had developed differently, the power of the papacy could have been reduced to a shadow. As it was, the Vatican's moral authority was seen to be undermined at a time when it was more urgently required to take a lead in the interests of humanity-at-large than at any time in its checkered history. The policy and politics of Ultramontanism which it so valued as a means of imposing its iron will on populations throughout the world was now the factor which made it virtually impotent in major matters of moral leadership and led it to place ever increasing emphasis on adherence to doctrine, liturgy and social politics.

However the pope was a very experienced politician. He was well aware that the church's support was far more important to the countries of the Western Alliance than to the Axis powers. It was quite consistent with his self-understanding and with the historical stance of the

papacy, that the church should take every opportunity to strengthen its position in relation to earthly states and that their governments should pay for any favours from the church. Thus, behind his very risky decision and his neutral posture Pius XII had served clear notice that there would be some hard bargaining for the church's support from country to country and the quickest way to gain that support was to agree to a concordat. Pius XII was still vigorously pursuing the policy which he had administered as Secretary of State under Pius XI. This highlighted the dual aims behind his encyclical. One was to contribute directly and positively toward the development of a stable peace. The other was to strengthen the position of the Roman Catholic Church in relation to all of its competitors in the salvation business, including the Protestant and Orthodox churches, institutional Judaism, Islam, Communism, Nazism and Fascism, and all the pre-Messianic or, as the church still saw them, heathen religious movements.

Unfortunately the pope's decision also meant that Western leaders would be almost as dependent on religious grandstanding and propaganda to achieve public sympathy through manipulation as they had been during the Great War. As we review the relationships between the Vatican and national governments during and after the war years it is apparent that at least three motives influenced them, viz.: recognition that the Vatican could contribute to reconciliation and the peace process; self-preservation at a domestic level; the need to be aware of, to influence and, at times, to restrain the Vatican in its initiatives. One key Western leader who was especially familiar with religious relationships and manipulation because of his intimate involvement in Middle East affairs before, during and after the Great War was still active and waiting, eagerly, for a more important role. It was Winston Churchill.

Although the situation became extremely fluid until Hitler's determination to act out his parody inevitably forced a change from a phoney to a real war, with alliances and battle lines finally and firmly drawn, only two governments signed concordats while the war was in progress. They were both struggling to maintain their independence against strong pressure to enter the war from Hitler on one hand and the Western Alliance on the other because of the strategic importance of their positions. The first was Portugal, ruled by the semi-Fascist dictatorship of Dr. Salazar, which eventually agreed to allow British air bases in the Azores in 1943. It signed a concordat and a missionary accord in May 1940 in circumstances reminiscent of the country's designation as papal standard bearer to the New World in the bull *Romanus Pontifex* in 1454.²⁰ (chapter 9) The second was Spain whose vigorously Fascist dictator Franco needed a breathing space free of boat-rocking to be able to consolidate his position and to heal the scars left across the Spanish community by the bloody civil war. Countries on both sides of the battle lines were pressing him to return their favours which had helped him to power while the bitterly frustrated socialist republicans (who had held power briefly) certainly did not want to go to war against Russia which had helped them in their unsuccessful struggle to prevent Franco's military takeover. He accepted his 'convention' with the Vatican, (later converted to a concordat), in June 1941. In addition a number of governments either strengthened or

established diplomatic ties with the Vatican. One, of considerable significance, was Finland. We shall come to it very shortly.

ANGLING FOR THE UNITED STATES

However, even though Finland and countries like it were important, it was the United States which really counted if the pope was to secure the Vatican's post-war position and also have an effective input into the peace process and postwar reconstruction. As president of the Protestant-dominated self-styled "New Israel", Franklin Roosevelt led a country which had more at stake than was generally recognized and whose decisions were likely to determine the ultimate course of the war and the postwar balance of power between the competing ideologies and religions. But he also led a nation with a very independent-minded Catholic church and whose governments had consistently refused to accord official diplomatic recognition to the Vatican as a temporal power or to have direct dealings with it since 1868. He was therefore the big fish which the pope was more eager to hook than any other. His *New Deal* had undoubtedly helped the Roman Catholic community break its ghetto mentality and had reduced bitterness between the Christian denominations but, even so, he was not immune to papal pressure and very soon the pope would play his trump card.

In due course time and actions would soon tell whether the Vatican, with a more dominant role in the total Christian Church than at any time since the Reformation, was equal to the opportunity or whether its blinkers were still too tight. With the echoes of *Summi Pontificatus* reverberating around them the governments of the Western Alliance were high in their praise of Pius XII. The praise continued as he acted as a channel for communications between some sections of the German and Italian resistance and the Western powers; as he ordered large scale rescue programs and harboured thousands of Jews; and as he channelled an enormous amount of money into relief work. But praise gave way to criticism as the war rolled on; when he insisted on establishing diplomatic relations with Japan; when he opposed lend lease arrangements designed to secure an effective double front against Germany through cooperation between Russia and the West; when impending success in the war made it apparent that the West no longer needed to pander to amazing theological statements in order to secure the advantage of his support; and when his continued opposition to the establishment of the State of Israel became an embarrassment. Thus, although the prestige and political influence of the Vatican reached unexpected heights and the risk of undermining papal ultramontanism receded, the long term effect of *Summi Pontificatus* was that the Vatican's ability to exercise moral leadership in the things which would matter, plummeted.

Reviewing the pope's role and his silence on Jewish persecution in particular almost a generation after the end of the war, von Aretin said that Pius XII considered Soviet Russia to be the real danger to Europe and he had hopes of bringing about a peace settlement which would save the eastern European nations from Bolshevism. According to von Aretin Pius XII therefore avoided everything which might have caused a breach with Germany on the assumption that the

Nazi regime would eventually collapse but that Soviet occupation of central and eastern Europe would be irrevocable. But while Von Aretin then rejected Hochhuth's "primitive and one-sided condemnation" of the pope in *The Deputy* he said that his attitude was certainly open to the question whether "a course of action so exclusively determined by tactical considerations is appropriate for the representative of Christ on earth, however suitable it may seem for the administrative head of the Catholic Church." He then acknowledged that Pius XII may have failed when he was faced with responsibilities which were beyond the capacity of a single individual, adding:

... the attempts made by the Vatican after 1945 to conceal the truth weigh more heavily against the pope than his understandable human failure. At that time an open explanation of the reasons that lay behind his conduct would have been widely welcomed. But Pius XII never publicly voiced any regret or explanation, acting indeed as though there had never been any collaboration with fascism or any special consideration shown towards the Nazi regime.²¹ (Emphasis added.)

So the situation in 1939 was little different to that when the church set about codifying its selfunderstanding in the third century CE. One error was leading to another and another. Because of its misunderstanding of itself it still failed to understand the modern challenges of Marx, Darwin, Herzl, Barth or Hitler. The consequences of that failure were getting ever more serious and, at least for the time being, the tempo was so fast that no one was able to say "Stop! Let's make a fresh start!"

The diplomats, conspirators and everyone else who might be caught in the firing line were still scrutinizing *Summi Pontificatus* when, on November 1, Pius XII plucked the trump card from his sleeve and released a special encyclical to the United States. It was a mere three days after *Summi Pontificatus* had been read to the faithful on the feast of Christ the King. There can be no doubt that the two encyclicals were written in association. The special American encyclical, *Sertum Laetitiae*, called for special joint efforts for peace by the US and the Vatican so that "attempts with which the enemies secretly banded together seek to pull down the Scepter of Christ (may) be a spur to us to work in union for the establishment and advancement of His reign." But who were the "enemies secretly banded together"? The Soviet Union was certainly one. Could Hitler have been another when he already had a concordat with the Vatican and Pius XII was eager to take advantage of any German territorial expansion? From one point of view that hardly seems credible because Pius XII was doing all he could to take advantage of his concordat with Hitler. But Hitler had made no secret of his intention to harness and then diminish the power of the institutional church, and he had a fantastic agreement with Stalin, the leader of his arch enemy, the Communist Soviet Union, to carve up Catholic Poland – 'protected' by its concordat – at the same time that he expelled the Jews who were equally unwelcome to both the Third Reich and the Catholic Church. Was the pope angling for United States intervention to separate the two? And if so, how and with what consequential aims? There can be little doubt that Pius XII was desperate for some means to separate Germany and the Soviet Union, and to isolate and reduce the influence of Communism while encouraging the

socio-economic and political policies of National Socialism in the Third Reich – preferably without both Hitler and the Jews. There is a clearly implied reference to the Jews who had a ‘role’ in the affairs of both powers in the use of a quotation from the preface to the Mass of Christ the King: “No greater fortune can come to individuals, families, and nations than to obey the Author of human salvation, execute His commands, accept His reign, in which we are made free and rich in good works: ‘... a kingdom of truth and of life; a kingdom of holiness and of grace; a kingdom of justice, love and peace.’”

So: in *Sertum Laetitiae* we find confirmation of one of the reasons for the suppression of *Humani Generis Unitas*. Pius XII (Pacelli) wanted no criticism of race policies or relations in the United States which would prejudice the bid for closer relations with the United States which he had already set in motion while he was secretary of state. (chapter 20) The bulk of the encyclical was pitched with heavy emphasis on social issues. There were references which could be read as recognition of Roosevelt’s New Deal policies, but there was a very clear message that he should get closer to the church. He was reminded that a “ruinous and critical state of affairs was put right by the celebrated George Washington, famed for his courage and keen intelligence (and) a close friend of the Bishop of Baltimore.” Most noteworthy were calls for the restraint of unions which were to “act in such a manner that in their care for the interests of their class they violate no one’s rights”; the rejection of inter-denominational marriages which “are rarely happy and usually occasion grave loss to the Catholic Church.” It is quite remarkable, and consistent with the parody of *Mein Kampf*, that in one document (*Summi Pontificatus*) the pope should proclaim the right of the church to conduct mixed marriages of Catholics and Jews, and in the next document (*Sertum Laetitiae*) he should attack mixed marriages between people of different branches of the Christian church. His first stand was because Nazi and Fascist laws were undermining the authority of Catholic canon law and inhibiting proselytizing among Jews. His second was because marriages between Protestants and Catholics weakened the effectiveness of that same canon law. Then there was an attack on divorce which would have made both the Nazis and the Communists happy; the rejection of the teaching of evolution [“We raise our voice in strong ... complaint that in many schools ... Christ is often despised or ignored (and) the explanation of the universe and mankind is forced within the narrow limits of materialism or of rationalism”]; and a plug for financial assistance for Catholic charities, schools and universities including “the Pontifical College (in Rome) which receives for their ecclesiastical education students from the United States” to relieve the burden on “the generosity of the faithful upon whom they depend.” There was also another gibe at the Ecumenical Movement with an invitation for the separated brethren whom Mother Church laments to return to “this salutary union of thought and policy” because “*power must not be dissipated* through disunion but rather strengthened through harmony.”²² [Emphasis added.]

The German Military High Command – and especially the conspirators – would have had an attack of the jitters. Clearly the pope was jockeying for closer ties with the United States and he expected the US to play a higher profile role in future religious affairs as well as in political,

economic, social and military affairs. There was a real possibility that the pope was even saying 'join me, and let's use Hitler's Germany as a means of crushing Communism in the Soviet Union.' Many people read his words to mean exactly that. But from their point of view as German military commanders, the US had two main alternatives. On one hand it could act as a genuine peace negotiator and, at the same time, protect its trade links with every belligerent, including Germany which would therefore not be placed at a disadvantage in obtaining strategic supplies. On the other hand it could apply increased pressure on Germany by providing more direct support for the Allies who had then been at war against Germany for less than two months. If the US took the second course and sided with the Allies, Germany's chances of avoiding defeat under Hitler's misguided leadership were very much less. The temptation to remove him by a coup or by assassination *before* the United States had time to react therefore became greater. But perhaps it was possible that the United States might support a coup to topple Hitler – or even an assassination attempt. Against that, Hitler's prestige and authority were so great that Germany's best chance of negotiating an advantageous settlement, of achieving its war aims, and of continuing its amazing economic development through the industrial ties which Hitler's industrial sponsors had established in the United States lay with backing his leadership which was so openly admired by industrialists and right wing politicians in both Britain and the United States. The conspirators therefore faced real dilemmas. However Roosevelt also had his dilemmas and whether the German generals fully appreciated them is not easy to assess.

Roosevelt's dilemmas were complicated considerably by *Sertum Laetitiae* because if Russia were simply weakened and isolated by US interference in the treaty relationship between Germany and the Soviet Union, the international situation would certainly *not* be stabilized. If interference enticed the Soviet Union to join the Allies and thereby make Germany's task near-impossible by opening a second front (in an alliance resembling the French plan which Britain had rejected during pre-war manoeuvring) it would be contrary to the Vatican's wishes as it would strengthen the position of the Marxist government. That would also be unpopular with the American electorate. If Russia was simply left in a weakened, isolated position through interference, it would almost certainly seek an alliance with Japan and that would seriously prejudice Britain's position and threaten Germany. Thus any form of interference introduced a distinct possibility that Hitler may decide on a prompt invasion of Russia. He could be driven to striking first against Russia before the Allies and Russia were able to properly establish a second front, or he could be tempted by the opportunity to invade a weakened Russia to achieve his key territorial ambition of *Lebensraum* in the East.

On the domestic front Roosevelt had to satisfy an electorate with a very diverse ethnic complexion which was still struggling to recover from its economic depression and which was divided in its affinities with the Allies and Germany. He also had to satisfy the industrial free trade lobby with links on both sides of the European divide, especially with Germany's vigorous economy. His opposition to Hitler's social policies had led him to support the Allies but he was clearly out in front of the mob on such issues and there were well expressed limits

beyond which congress and the public did not wish him to go. In the prevailing atmosphere the electorate was more likely to support him if he was seen as acting to restrict international Communism.

At the same time Roosevelt did not want to be beholden to one religious community or another, but he could not afford to rebuff the pope's approach for a complex of reasons. First, he could not afford open opposition from the church to amendments to the *Neutrality Act* which were at a critical stage of Congressional consideration, or to trading arrangements for the supply of arms to Britain which were also nearing finality. Second, he could not take the risk of negative, contradictory or even antagonistic papal statements circulating to complicate the diverse pressures from European governments, the World Zionist Organization, America's industrialists, its Jewish community and its other ethnic groups as he tried to reach a decision on America's overall role in the war. This led to a third, positive, reason. Closer relations with the Vatican would help to muffle Irish Catholic criticism of his policy of support for Britain, and that was potentially the most important factor because it would influence the first two. However he could not afford to antagonize the Protestant churches which were generally more supportive of his policies by establishing formal diplomatic links with the Vatican. In addition he could not appoint an ambassador without congressional approval; nor could he allocate funds to support such an appointment without congressional approval, and he knew very well that, in the case of an appointment to the Vatican, Congress would oppose both proposals. He responded very carefully but very quickly. He was well able to because the matter had been on his mind for some months. He had been under gradually increasing pressure to re-establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican, so we can briefly review the hooks which had been baited and dangled in front of him before we look at his prompt response.

Ten days after Chamberlain publicly rejected Hitler's peace proposal of May 3, (chapter 22), Pius XII instructed the Apostolic Delegate in Washington, by telegram, to convey to Roosevelt a thinly veiled request that he join him (Pius XII) in another bid for a multi-power conference at a later date. Father Carroll was immediately despatched to talk to Under Secretary of State Sumner Wells, who relayed the message to Roosevelt the same day in rather simplistic terms. His message read, in part:

The Pope desired you to know that because of his belief that the peace of Europe was gravely endangered, he had on May 3 approached the governments of Great Britain, France, Poland, Germany and Italy and had enquired of them whether they believed the peace of Europe to be in imminent danger, and second, whether those governments believed a peace conference to be attended by the representatives of the five powers mentioned to settle outstanding problems would be feasible. The Vatican had been informed as a result of the approaches made that none of the five governments believed the situation to be precarious and that the general impression was that a conference of the type proposed would not at that time be expedient.

In conclusion, the Apostolic Delegate was instructed to let you know that if later on such a conference appeared to be expedient, the Pope would communicate with you before any final steps were taken.²³

No action appears to have been taken in response to that message, the reality of which was that the pope intended to try the same approach again, using the prestige and influence of the US president, when his own initiative and papal involvement were clearly unacceptable. However, ten weeks later, while Craigie and Arita were trying to negotiate general settlement of the crisis between Britain and Japan over territorial rights in China, and while Ribbentrop was wooing Russia's negotiators in a bid for a general settlement of German-Soviet relations, Congressman Celler pressed the administration very hard to establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican. Celler's long letter to Wells, which was promptly passed on to Roosevelt, shows strong evidence of a thorough briefing – perhaps even drafting – in the office of the Apostolic Delegate. It referred to the US Ambassador to Britain, Joseph Kennedy, having represented the US at the coronation of Pius XII and traced the historical relationship between the US and the Vatican. It noted the appointment of a Consul to the Papal Dominions in 1797 and the “somewhat hasty and ill-advised [and] ungenerous” action by Congress which responded to the Papal See's goodwill by refusing to continue funding the mission, thus leaving it “still existing, but without compensation” since 1867. It referred to international legal recognition for the temporal authority of the papacy as a basis for its worldwide diplomatic activity, and to “the great stake which religion must play in the preservation of democracy against the savage and merciless inroads of Fascism, Naziism and Communism ... ideologies [which] exclude the virtues of Christianity – faith, hope and charity, benevolence and brotherly love – those virtues which are the very basis of our moral code.” That was a quite remarkable statement in view of papal rejection of republican democracy in favour of Fascist models and the fact that the Vatican had concordats with the three principal Fascist countries – Italy, Spain and Poland – and Nazi Germany as well. Then there were a couple more out-of-context reference to Vatican policy, notably in relation to the Jews.

The Papacy has always placed a high value on Justice and charity in relations among men and among nations. The first Popes, for example, said nothing about anti-Semitism since they themselves, like their Master Christ, were Jews and subject to all the injustices (sic) heaped upon Jews. As early as the sixth century – in the year 538 – Pope Gregory the Great wrote: “We forbid you to molest the Jews or to lay upon them restrictions not imposed by the established laws; we further permit them to live as Romans and to dispose of their property as they will.”

That is a pathetic touch of fantasy and another incredible lapse of historic perspective in view of Augustine's devastating heresy hunting, the Christianization of Scandinavia, the ‘conversion’ of the Aztecs and the Incas, the slaughter of Jews in the first crusade, the *Flagellants* and the ghettos, the enforced conversions of the Inquisition, and the incitement to anti-Semitism through the distribution of the Protocols in the wake of the Dreyfus affair, and the articles by Fr. Rosa in *La Civiltà Cattolica* in September 1938, less than a year before. It did not sit very comfortably alongside Celler's injunction that the United States should grasp the hand of fellowship extended by Pope Pius XII, “a religious man of great erudition, wisdom and tolerance [and] a spiritual plenipotentiary of great influence, though he has none but moral

weapons to impress a world at arms” – and establish diplomatic relations with the Holy See because:

A representative of our country residing at the Holy See would do much to bring to the fore the fact that in our country we respect to the full the rights of religious freedom, as we do also those accompanying precious rights of freedom of the press, freedom of speech and freedom of assemblage.

A reinstatement of relations with the Holy See would dramatically serve to recall to the world that intolerance and religious hatred and bigotry cannot flourish here. It would enkindle in our hearts sympathy for the thousands of unfortunates who have been castigated, tortured and ruined because of a dictator's insane hate and venom.²⁴

Then Wells did a strange thing. On August 1 he sent Roosevelt a note with which he enclosed a letter which he had requested from US Ambassador Phillips, in Europe, dated July 19. He referred to an earlier discussion which he had with Hulls and wrote, in part:

Some weeks ago the Secretary and I were speaking of the advantage which might be gained by this Government if we had direct diplomatic relations with the Vatican. I think it is unquestionable that the Vatican has many sources of information, particularly with regard to what is actually going on in Germany, Italy, and Spain, which we do not possess, and it seemed to us that the question of whether it would be desirable for our government to obtain access to this information was of considerable importance.

Then next day, August 2, he sent Roosevelt a copy of Celler's letter and a few days later, on August 6, the president summoned him to discuss the issue. It does not appear that any action was taken as a result of that meeting, and the encouragement kept coming. On October 20 Hull forwarded two items to Roosevelt. One was a copy of a cable from the Vatican Secretariat of State to the Apostolic Delegate, dated October 10, advising that according to an unnamed source, Chinese officials “desire the Holy See to take steps to establish peace between China and Japan.” The second was a memorandum from the Secretariat of State dated October 12, on the general question of mediation between Japan and China. Hull sought the Roosevelt's authority to tell the Apostolic Delegate that the president very much appreciated that the communication had been brought to his attention, and that “it is our constant desire to make such contribution as may seem appropriate and be practicable toward the cause of peace among nations.”²⁵

Thus Roosevelt was well ‘conditioned’ when *Sertum Laetitiae*, was published on November 1. He knew exactly what was expected of him. He consulted Cardinal Spellman of New York. He did not consult the Apostolic Delegate in Washington. Spellman was Chaplain General to the Roman Catholic forces, with pastoral responsibility for 2,000,000 troops and 2,700 chaplains. But he was also a personal friend and confidant of the new pope. He had worked with him on the Roman Curia for several years and spent holidays with him, and, having accompanied the Pius XII on his month-long tour of the United States when he was still Cardinal Pacelli, Vatican Secretary of State, in 1936, he had arranged for him to lunch privately

with Roosevelt at Hyde Park on the day after his landslide reelection as president.²⁶ (Chapter 20) Spellman obligingly relayed a message to the pope, through the Apostolic Delegate in Washington, of course, that Roosevelt would nominate a representative to arrive at the Vatican within a month. The pope's gamble had paid off. First strike to *Sertum Laetitiae*, or one might say the first fruits of Europe's new war. He had achieved through the back door what the governments which were directly involved in the war had denied him – the opportunity to have direct input into the diplomatic and political manouvring of the war, to make peace initiatives, and to pick up a few more concordats in the process. And Roosevelt could relax a trifle, too. In spite of overwhelming public opposition to loans for Britain and France (assessed at 82 percent of those polled a few weeks later²⁷) which prevented him from introducing long range financing, he was able to sign the amendments to the Neutrality Act on November 4. These authorized the sale of arms to belligerents provided that they were purchased in the US and carried on foreign ships. The British government promptly established an office of the British Purchasing Commission in New York three days later.

But there were those procedural difficulties for Roosevelt to resolve first. The president was unable to make or fund a formal diplomatic appointment against the opposition of "certain diehard Protestants"²⁸ who believed the appointment was a violation of the separation of church and state. How to get around Congress? Perhaps a 'personal representative' might be the answer. Although such a person would not be officially accredited as a United States diplomatic representative he could be regarded as having the status of an ambassador. Roosevelt had to find a person in whom he had personal and political confidence, and who was of sufficient wealth that he was prepared to go to Rome, establish and maintain an office at his own expense and work without salary for the satisfaction (and personal influence) of being the president's personal representative in a highly sensitive position. Quite a task. Roosevelt was not able to announce an appointment within a month.

And in Germany the military conspirators, led by General Ludwig Beck who was working in close collaboration with Hans Oster of the Military Intelligence Office in Berlin, faced their own 'procedural difficulties' as they worked through their dilemma: how to conduct their coup against Hitler without triggering either a civil war in Germany or intervention by Britain and France, with or without the United States, which could seize the opportunity to take advantage of Germany's vulnerability while it was distracted by internal dispute. They did not want to forfeit the benefits of the *Munich Agreement* because to relinquish them in the political circumstances of the day would certainly lead to turmoil in Germany. From their understanding of *Summi Pontificatus*, the special American encyclical *Sertum Laetitiae* and the American response to it, they knew that Pius XII would be "the ideal go-between" for them to contact the Western governments, and several vital links in a chain of intrigue fell quickly and quietly into place. Oster knew the pope from his days as nuncio in Germany. He arranged for a Catholic lawyer in Bavaria who had been drafted into the Abwehr when Poland was invaded, Josef Müller, to contact the disgraced former chairman of the Centre Party, Ludwig Kaas, who was then administrator of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, to enable Müller to gain direct access to the

pope through an intermediary without going through the new secretary of state, Cardinal Maglione. The intermediary was a Jesuit priest who had been a personal assistant to Pius XII since his first appointment as a Vatican diplomat in Bavaria in 1920, Fr. Robert Leiber. The request the conspirators wished him to convey to the pope was that he seek guarantees from Chamberlain (via the British Minister in the Vatican, Osborne, and Lord Halifax) that Britain would agree to “an honourable peace between the democracies and Germany following the coup.” Leiber faithfully conveyed it to Pius XII on November 5. Next day, November 6, shocked at both the request and the prompt response, Leiber conveyed the pope’s agreement to Müller.²⁹

A tantalizing message with quite amazing implications was on its way to the conspirators immediately. It was obvious that if Hitler learned of it before the coup was carried out he would wreak havoc on the conspirators and on anyone associated with it. The *Reich concordat* would have been abrogated and the Catholic Church hierarchy would have tasted Hitler’s wrath. But in addition Mussolini would have seen it as a breach of neutrality. His relationship with Hitler was such that the *Lateran Treaty* and the Italian Concordat would have almost certainly gone the same way at the *Reich Concordat* and the future of the Vatican as a papal city-state would have been in peril – unless Pius XII had a water-tight guarantee of intervention from the Western democracies. It is indeed very problematic whether the Western democracies would have gone to war to rescue the pope and secure the future of the Vatican State, even in the light of Roosevelt’s prompt response to *Sertum Laetitiae*. Pius XII had made his decision without consulting Maglione, and Leiber faithfully maintained its confidentiality. Pius XII and his conspirators had to act on his decision in perilous isolation and the international situation – the plot of the parody of *Mein Kampf* – was so complex that every step they took complicated the world situation even further. And although the pope had indicated his agreement to act very promptly he did not act with the same promptness. Perhaps he was having second thoughts. The only solution was for the key players to recognize the parody; to then recognize the trouble in the triangle and the causes of it; and to begin a reassessment of the fundamental theology which was at the centre of it. Quite clearly, even if the pope had begun to doubt the wisdom of his decision, a fundamental reassessment was not about to begin and the parody simply had to be acted out.

MURKY WATERS: MORE PLANS, PLOTS AND PACTS

The complexities of the parody were such that everyone was facing their particular ‘procedural difficulties.’ While the conspirators waited for the pope’s reply, Himmler was facing his, in organizing the complex resettlement programs in the Generalgouvernement region in Poland which Stalin had forced Hitler to accept. It was apparent that the army did not see such programs as part of its responsibility and yet it had primary responsibility for securing the region. Therefore Himmler devised a system which he announced on November 7 as ‘the organization of the Gestapo in the Eastern Territories.’ The State Police were to deal with

political affairs alongside the Reich Commissioners and the civil administration, together with the Einsatzgruppen who were to be stationed in permanent garrisons after the combat phase ended to fulfill the security functions of the SD and, together, under the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF), they were to establish concentration camps and exercise all necessary control.³⁰ Hitler was aware – very much aware – of the army’s concerns and the fact that resistance to his policies could lead to attempts on his life, especially if the United States took up the pope’s challenge.

Next morning he told a friend, Frau Troost, who questioned the laxness of his personal security measures that “a man must have faith in Providence.” He always carried a pistol, he said, but even that would be useless. “If my end is decided, only this will protect me.” Then, putting his hand over his heart he said: “One must listen to an inner voice and believe in one’s fate. And I believe very deeply that destiny has selected me for the German nation. So long as I am needed by the people, so long as I am responsible for the life of the Reich, I shall live.” Hitler then pictured himself as another Christ, adding ... “And when I am no longer needed, after my mission is accomplished, then I shall be called away.”³¹ His view of his role as another Christ must have been along the lines of Jewish expectation of a king messiah – a powerful leader ushering in national salvation for his people – but with the church’s view of the fate of the Jews substituted for their communal salvation.

That evening, November 8, the military conspirators in Germany therefore found themselves facing even greater ‘procedural difficulties’ when a totally unrelated assassination attempt failed in Munich in dramatic circumstances. Hitler had *not* been told that a Swiss astrologer, Karl Ernst Krafft, had warned a few days earlier that he would be in danger of an assassination attempt between November 7 and 10, but his conversation with Frau Troost appears to have triggered a premonition that an attempt was about to be made on his life. He abruptly cut short a speech and left the hall in which he was addressing a rally ahead of schedule. Eight minutes later seven people were killed and 63 were injured when a bomb which had been planted in a festooned pillar on the speaker’s platform at the beginning of the meeting exploded. The officer-conspirators panicked and abandoned their immediate plans while Hitler made very good propaganda use of the incident. Next day, November 9, he blamed a conspiracy between the English, the Jews, Freemasons and his long standing political opponent Otto Strasser.³² He incited more hatred for England, bolstered his personal prestige and popularity, and undermined other resistance groups at the same time. And he was again aided and abetted by the Catholic Church. The Pope, who only two days before had become a party to the coup plot, immediately sent special personal congratulations on his escape. Cardinal Faulhaber who could not have been aware of the pope’s cynical double dealing, sent a telegram and issued instructions that a *Te Deum* be sung in the cathedral of Munich “to thank Divine Providence in the name of the Archdiocese for the Fuhrer’s fortunate escape,” and the Catholic press throughout the Reich piously declared that Hitler’s narrow escape was the miraculous working of Providence. They were hardly the actions or sentiments of a pope and a church hierarchy which – if one interpretation of *Sertum Laetitiae* was accepted – regarded Hitler or Germany as one of “*the*

enemies secretly banded together (who) seek to pull down the Scepter of Christ.” They were more the sentiments one would expect from a pope who saw Hitler as “*a spur to us to work in union for the establishment and advancement of His reign.*”

Those conflicting sentiments must have perplexed and confused the conspirators greatly. If the mission of Imperial Germany had been to exercise world domination as an expression of divine will – and so many senior theologians had declared it to be so – then surely the mission of the Third Reich, inspired by Hitler under divine protection and blessed with a papal concordat and special prayers for his safety, was at least on a par with it. Probably somewhat elevated. Hitler agreed wholeheartedly. While those messages of encouragement were still ringing in Hitler’s ears on November 9, and consistent with his outpouring of abuse against them, about 500 panic stricken Jewish families in the traditional Jewish heartland of the Generalgouvernement, Lublin, were given a few minutes to quit their homes, forfeiting everything they possessed. In like manner, about the same time, some 1,800 persons were rounded up in Chelm, 70 kilometres to the east, and marched towards the Bug River which formed the border with the Russian sector, presumably to be forced across it to Sokal, another centre with a concentration of Jews, in that sector. But the Russian authorities wanted nothing to do with them and turned them back. Many died in the cross fire which followed and only 400 reached Sokal.³³ The ‘resettlement program’ had begun and the Russians had made it perfectly clear that if Hitler wanted vacant Jewish land on which to resettle Aryan Germans from his crowded cities he had to find his own resettlement area. It was not going to be at Russia’s expense and Stalin had already made it clear that he was not interested in a rump independent Poland. He intended to keep the area which he had occupied. Hitler therefore had a real problem. He wanted the Jews of Czechoslovakia, Austria and elsewhere rounded up for transport to the Polish occupied territories and he also wanted the major population centres in that territory left free of Jews. Frank’s deputy, Artur Seyss-Inquart, was therefore instructed to undertake a survey of the Generalgouvernement.

On November 13 Halifax took a different approach to the problem of eliminating Hitler’s influence to both the military conspirators in Germany and the planners in Whitehall. He suggested to Cadogan that Britain should ‘take over Hitler’s *Anti-Comintern Pact*’ by joining Italy, Japan and Spain in an alliance against Germany. Cadogan was attracted to the idea and referred it to the ambassador in Rome, Sir Percy Loraine, “for development.” During Loraine’s ‘development discussions’, which would have presumably included both the Italian government and the Vatican, the concept was somehow changed to a Japanese-Anglo-Fascist Alliance against the Soviet Union which was more consistent with the intention of the *Anti-Comintern Pact*. The Vatican supported that idea, of course, because it was fully consistent with *Sertum Laetitiae* and contact was also made with the British ambassador in Spain, Sir Samuel Hoare.³⁴ Britain could not afford to ignore the Vatican’s advice unless it was prepared to face a deepening of the crisis in Ireland and a back-door entry for Hitler. Strike two to *Sertum Laetitiae*. But on November 22 Craigie confirmed that there was, in fact, an improvement in Soviet-Japanese relations which might lead to an end to the Sino-Japanese war and that

“Japanese foreign policy may fall into the hands of inexperienced extremists.” At the same time diplomatic advice from Moscow suggested that the partition of China was ‘under active consideration in the Kremlin.’³⁵ Probing and intrigue continued as Britain floundered from one crisis to another in Anglo-Chinese, Anglo-Japanese and Anglo-Soviet relations, and the Foreign Office assessment was that although a Soviet-Japanese rapprochement would be disastrous for Britain, as a means of promptly isolating Hitler’s Germany an expanded Anti-Comintern Alliance was a dead issue. However, one hand did not know what the other was doing in Whitehall and on November 24 the Board of Trade abandoned the proposal for an Anglo-Japanese trade agreement.

By this time Seyss-Inquart had completed his survey of the Polish Generalgouvernement and reported that the Lublin area may be suitable for the placement of large numbers of Jews. A plan to the effect that a semi-independent Jewish region or reservation would be established to house all of the Jews from the Greater Reich in the Lublin region was given some press publicity and, on November 25, it was announced that the region would lie between the Vistula and Sans Rivers to the west and the Bug River to the east, big enough to concentrate several million people.³⁶

The basic idea had been current since the Evian conference and there has naturally been speculation about why it was announced at that time. It has been suggested that the area was sufficiently remote and inhospitable, swampy and disease-ridden so that mass extermination programs could be conducted without attracting world attention. That idea is given some credibility by the appointment of an experienced Nazi ‘butcher’ from Austria, Odilo Globocnik, as SSPF to have responsibility for “the systematic organization of all matters pertaining to the Jews of the district of Lublin,”³⁷ and by a note which Hans Frank wrote in his diary about three weeks later. “We cannot shoot 2,500,000 Jews, neither can we poison them. We shall have to take steps, however, designed to extirpate them in some way – and this will be done.”³⁸ In many respects the region was reminiscent of the area proposed 40 years earlier for a Jewish settlement in Uganda, with little immediate prospect for a productive livelihood except through the self-help establishment of large scale housing compounds. However, although oppression, gruesome brutality and large scale murder were the order of the Nazi day and had provided the basis for Zionist negotiations with the governments of the West, planning for systematic extermination did not begin for another year. Neither was it anticipated. If an attempt at extermination, as opposed to intimidation and brutality with the aim of forced removal, had been anticipated, the politics of ‘the Jewish question’ would have previously taken on a different complexion and a different course.

In the circumstances it can therefore be concluded that Hitler had other, or additional, motives. *First*: he still clung to the hope that he could force Britain and its Allies – plus the United States – to relieve him of the need for any other action in a negotiated peace agreement. The greater the pressure he applied to the Jewish community in the expanded Reich the more likely it was that the Jewish community overall and the Zionist Movement in particular would accept such a plan. *Second*: while he waited for such a development he could begin to develop

his Lebensraum by putting the roundup into effect, thus making space for German resettlement, and also be prepared for mass emigration or deportation. *Third*: by holding out the prospect of a self-governing region for Jews he might satisfy Britain's demand that he recognize Poland's national interests and "cultural integrity" in an area which he had not annexed, only 'occupied', and which was therefore a potential rump Independent Poland for a peace settlement which enabled him to retain the balance of his territorial advances. *Fourth*: he would demonstrate that there were options to a Jewish national homeland in Palestine and thereby gain support in both Britain and the Arab countries by offering solutions to their crises. *Fifth*: by demonstrating his humility and humanity towards the Jews he would generate more sympathy around the world and wider acceptance of the legitimacy of Germany's claims. *Sixth*: if all else failed, he could certainly use it as a site to gather most of the Jews from the Greater Reich in one convenient area ready for mass slaughter. If Hitler's motives were limited to the first, second, and sixth in that cluster of linked motives, there would have been no point in providing press reports and seeking international publicity. Reporting and publicity only become relevant – indeed vital – when motives three, four and five come into play. This indicates that the prospect of a self-governing region in a rump independent Poland as an *alternative* to a national Jewish homeland in Palestine was the *real issue* behind the *Lublin plan*. That is supported by the fact that the reservation is described in contradictory terms as lying between the rivers Vistula, San, and Bug, which approximates the area of the Palestine mandate, or as an area of 300 to 400 square miles. If there was to be an ultimate population of three million that area would require a population density of between 7,500 and 10,000 per square mile which is that of a major industrial city. It can therefore be assumed that the information released was intended to encourage recognition and support internationally while avoiding a backlash from non-Jews within the region of the Generalgouvernement.

On November 27 Halifax told the War Cabinet that Britain should err on the side of caution and attempt to influence the international situation by agreeing to reopen wider talks with Japan over Tientsin, but without his knowledge the Orders in Council for the seizure of Japanese goods in line with the abandonment of Anglo-Japanese trade negotiations took effect that day! The seriousness with which Japan viewed the seizures was apparent when the Japanese ambassador immediately handed Halifax a vigorous note of protest. Not only had Britain seized Japanese goods worth 1.2 million pounds which were on ships in British ports in transit to Germany, it had also requisitioned machinery *in British factories* which had been built to fill orders which had been placed before the war and which was due for delivery to Japan. Anglo-Japanese relations plummeted and fears increased of a strengthening of the Soviet-Japanese agreement which would also enable supplies to reach Germany across the Soviet Union. Halifax was only able to restart talks with Japan against strong opposition in cabinet from Churchill when it was learned that the US, less offended at the new regulations than might have been the case, was negotiating with Japan for the reopening of the Yangtse River to commercial traffic.³⁹ It was then Japan's turn to apply strategic pressure. It would only agree to talk relaxation of

restrictions on British trade in occupied China in return for relaxation of Britain's restriction of trade with Germany.

Next day, November 28, orders were issued for the establishment of Jewish Councils, the Judenrat, in the Polish Generalgouvernement. In communities of up to 10,000 persons they were to have twelve members, while in larger communities, 24, all elected by the Jewish communities but subject to confirmation or change by the local municipal authorities. They were to be responsible to the German administration to ensure that its orders were carried out throughout the reservation but the clear implication was that they would have some level of self-government. So Hitler waited for Britain to respond and the 'twilight war' dragged on.^{40 41} Because of his swift victory in Poland and the security provided on his eastern front by the treaty with Russia, Hitler believed time was on his side and that he could throw all of his forces against Britain and France on a single western front and either force them to the negotiating table or defeat them and impose his will. Only Britain and France stood between him and the implementation of his final solution – or so he thought. There was an immediate distraction.

FINLAND: A PAWN IN THE POWER GAMES

Whitehall's planners had been well aware that access to the Atlantic via an ice free port – and the in-depth protection for Leningrad from action in the Gulf of Finland which went with it – were even more important to Russia than securing its treaty with Germany by facilitating supplies from the east. Finland was therefore caught in the cross-fire of Germany, Russia and the Western Alliance. It had a strong Protestant base but it took a very independent stance in both religious and secular affairs and, although the government was fearful of Communist influence among its peasantry it was eager to avoid being a pawn in the Great Powers' war games. Then the Soviet Union, knowing very well that Germany could turn against it, having no wish to be hemmed in and wanting to safeguard Leningrad, requested rights to a minor part of Finland's Karelian Isthmus, a naval base at Hanko (Hangö), and some islands in the Gulf of Finland, all within the framework of an existing non-aggression pact between them. But Finland, jealous of its neutrality, rejected the requests. Russia promptly renounced the pact on November 30 and marched in to acquire the facilities for itself.

Britain and Germany had already fought several quite major *naval* battles with heavy losses on both sides and Germany and Poland had been engaged in a brutal, bloody and destructive *military* war of major proportions and world wide ramifications. Russia's Finnish military adventure, which began a few days after the announcement of the *Lublin Plan*, was, by comparison, a minor affair. It was actually a sideshow, or a secondary action triggered by the consequences of the major war between Britain and France, and Germany. However Russia's Finnish adventure brought interesting reactions from every quarter and especially from the Vatican which apparently thought that Hitler's *brutal, bloody and destructive* invasion of Poland with 60,000 Polish troops and 25,000 civilians killed, hundreds of Jews and a few of its own priests murdered, and 911,000 prisoners taken (694,000 by the Germans and 217,000 by

the Russians)⁴² did not count as war. After all, the church had celebrated Hitler's 'great and glorious victory' over the Poles with a week of noon-hour bell ringing at all churches in Poland less than two months earlier in "joyful celebration" and out of "grateful commemoration" of Hitler's victory, (chapter 22), and the Pope had *not yet* condemned *any* Fascist or Nazi aggression, even though, for whatever reason, he had secretly agreed to be party to a plot to overthrow him more than three weeks earlier. However Pius XII now vigorously condemned the "unprovoked Soviet aggression" and put pressure on Mussolini to act against Russia. Mussolini there-upon urged Hitler *not* to abandon his anti-Semitic and anti-Bolshevist banner and *not* to invade the Western Alliance but to *break* his ties with Russia and to return to the struggle to demolish Bolshevism. If he did so it would bring into being an expanded version of the modified *Anti-Comintern Pact* proposal which had been mooted by Halifax, discussed by British diplomats in Italy and Spain and been blessed by the Vatican just two weeks before. How remarkable! How convenient! The British Government came under pressure from church groups which echoed the Vatican line – and many within the London establishment – to declare war on Red Russia which, they said, was the real enemy, *not* Hitler. And, similarly, the United States cut arms sales to Russia.

The short walk-over engagement which Russia expected did not materialize: not because of the capacity of the Finnish forces but because of aid from Britain, France and Italy. Each of them, acting as if they were in an alliance rather than suffering severely strained relations because of Italy's alliance with Germany, facilitated the movement of 'volunteers' to Helsinki, and Britain and France provided material aid. The Vatican, Western governments, and the very obliging media which had given the *Lublin Plan* only cursory coverage, took full advantage of a wonderful stream of propaganda material about the unequal struggle between the lovable, gentlemanly Finns and the dastardly, brutal Bolshevik Russians. The Council of the League of Nations was immediately convened to consider the crisis.

In view of the fact that Britain had initiated moves towards an expanded *Anti-Comintern Pact* in mid-November and that Mussolini made his approach to Hitler in response to pressure from the pope – also without being aware of the pope's agreement to facilitate a coup against Hitler three weeks earlier – it is inconceivable that Mussolini did not mention the pope's approaches to him and convey to Hitler the pope's support for his policies and actions – especially considering all the bell ringing in Warsaw. The two concordat holders shared almost all of their secrets, and this approach was hardly a secret at all. Surely the mask of neutrality had fallen from the papal face and *Summi Pontificatus* and *Sertum Laetitiae* could be seen for what they were: instruments of Vatican power politics. But who was in a position to make the exposure? Every government was trying to cover its dirty tracks, to conceal its double-crossing and conflicting treaty negotiations, and to avoid admitting that it was manipulating the religious factor in order to protect its commercial and political interests and influence. Especially Britain and the Vatican.

In fact the pope took the risk that his double dealing and dubious motives would be exposed immediately after Russia's invasion of Finland. On instructions from Pius XII, Kaas met

Osborne for lunch on December 1 to outline, in only very general terms, the conspiracy which was afoot. In return for such potentially world shattering intelligence Osborne gave Kaas only "equally vague encouragement."⁴³ Perhaps Whitehall took a little more encouragement from it, because Britain and then Japan both made some adjustments to their demands on each other during early December, the freeze in relations eased, and Whitehall was moving towards a formal trade agreement – "a beneficial economic deal" – within six months which could provide the basis of a Sino-Japanese peace agreement. On December 4 the War Cabinet decided that a settlement ought be pursued, but it was deemed wise to consult the US first. It was finding its support for the Finns against the Russians quite a help in easing the strain in its relations with Japan and on December 7 Chamberlain announced that Britain was selling 35 fighter aircraft to Finland. France was much more supportive. Its massive aid during the early stage of the campaign included 145 planes, 496 heavy (artillery) guns, 5,000 machine guns, 200,000 hand grenades, 400,000 rifles, and 20 million rounds of ammunition.⁴⁴ As a consequence Russia had to call on much increased force to overcome the bolstered Finnish resistance. In its response to Britain's enquiry about a trade-for-peace deal with Japan the US State Department advised, on December 9, that it saw "no acceptable peace in the near future" and that it was opposed to any concessions to Japan.⁴⁵

The League of Nations began its emergency meeting on the Finnish crisis in Geneva on December 11, and next day, December 12, Morgenthau advised Britain that Roosevelt was not happy with progress towards reopening the Yangtse. He proposed to proceed with the abrogation of its commercial treaty with Japan, and "wished in collaboration with Britain and France to introduce an embargo on the export of strategic ferro-alloys, such as molybdenum and nickel, to Germany, *the Soviet Union* and Japan."⁴⁶ This meant that *if Britain wanted to retain US support for its war in Europe it could no longer pursue reconciliation through a trade agreement with Japan*. To do so would put it "seriously out of step with the Americans" at a time when Morgenthau was (on instructions from Roosevelt) assessing Britain's ability to pay for war supplies, and US public opinion was opposed to lending money to either Britain or France. Strike three to *Sertum Laetitiae*. Next day, December 13, China advised that it was not happy with some aspects of Britain's proposed settlement of the Tientsin dispute, the Foreign Office was thrown "into a state of utter dismay" and Britain had to contemplate taking further restrictive measures against Japan.⁴⁷ The matter had to go to the War Cabinet and negotiations continued at diplomatic level while a brief was prepared for its meeting on January 23, 1940.

In the meantime Hitler was consolidating his authority and overcoming the hostility of his generals. A conference at the Chancellery on November 23, regarded by General Halder as "a day of crisis" because Hitler threatened to annihilate anyone who stood in his way, was a milestone in that process of consolidation, marking Hitler's "final, decisive triumph over the Army which, in the First World War, had shunted Emperor Wilhelm II aside and assumed supreme political as well as military authority in Germany."⁴⁸ Britain's relations with Soviet Russia continued to deteriorate because of its provision of arms for Finland and they reached crisis point when the Soviet Union was expelled from the League of Nations on December 14.

Its ambassador in Moscow reported that “the Soviets were more or less in a state of undeclared war against Britain.”

From Finland all eyes turned to the other Scandinavian countries which were major suppliers of iron ore for Germany, Norway and Sweden. Hitler planned ways to secure supplies while Britain set out to stop them. In a memorandum dated December 16, Churchill urged cabinet to break Norway’s neutrality by mining its coastal waters and to prepare to fight Germany on Norwegian soil in “a major offensive operation of war.” He also proposed the diversion of its iron ore supplies to Britain. He justified his proposed breach of international law on the grounds that the complete stoppage of supplies would be equal to a first class victory in the field and that it might even be “immediately decisive” in the war. He said that if Norway retaliated Britain could bring its entire industry to a standstill by embargoes but he did not expect retaliation because the people could suffer far worse if Germany occupied the country.

CHURCHILL’S JUSTIFICATION

Churchill also set out in his note to cabinet a virtual justification for the war and a blue print for five years of propaganda at home, in the dominions and in neutral countries. While it did not correspond very closely, except in one respect, with the factors which had actually forced Britain to war it cannot be said that Churchill was being inconsistent. He was an imperialist in the strict sense of the word but he aimed for consistency in foreign policy. When he drafted his memo he certainly had in mind the predicament of the Jews, among whom he had many personal friends, and the interests of *The Focus* which he had pursued quite strongly since the group was established in 1936. He was consistent in his support for the Zionist program and opposed the watering down of the government’s commitment to the *Balfour Declaration*, and he was trenchantly critical of appeasement and the *Munich Agreement*. Speaking in debate on the issue after the signing he told the House of Commons that Munich was “a total and unmitigated defeat”, adding: “This is only the beginning of the reckoning. This is only the first sip, the first foretaste of a bitter cup which will be proffered to us year by year unless, by a supreme recovery of moral health and martial vigour, we arise again and take our stand for freedom as in the olden times.”⁴⁹ One can therefore sense the emotion with which he composed his note on Norway for cabinet.

The final tribunal is our own conscience. We are fighting to re-establish the reign of law and to protect the liberties of small countries. Our defeat would mean an age of barbaric violence, and would be fatal not only to ourselves, but to the independent life of every small country in Europe. Acting in the name of the Covenant, and as virtual mandatories of the League and all it stands for, we have a right, and indeed are bound in duty, to abrogate for a space some of the conventions of the very laws we seek to consolidate and reaffirm. Small nations must not tie our hands when we are fighting for their rights and freedom. The letter of the law must not in supreme urgency obstruct those who are charged with its prosecution and enforcement. It would not be right or rational that the Aggressor Power should gain one set

*of advantages by tearing up all laws, and another set by sheltering behind the innate respect for law of its opponents. Humanity, rather than legality, must be our guide.*⁵⁰

In view of the situation in Scandinavia, and in a move which was presumably an extension of the initiative suggested by Halifax in mid-November, the Chiefs of Staff were asked on December 22 to prepare a memorandum on the contingencies which might lead to a war with the Soviet Union.⁵¹

THE CATCH

That evening, almost two months after *Sertum Laetitiae* and with a long delay since he advised the Vatican of his intention, Roosevelt contacted his friend Myron C. Taylor by phone and asked him to act as Special Representative of the President to the Vatican. It was just two days before Pius XII was due to announce the new relationship between the Vatican and the US president in his Christmas address, complete with his five point peace plan, on December 24. Apparently the delay resulted in part from the pope's reluctance to accept a 'personal representative' in place of an ambassador – a position which would have been more consistent with his political aspirations and which would have brought greater prestige for the Vatican. However Taylor, a wealthy, right wing businessman and retired president of US Steel had led the US delegation to the Evian Conference the year before – and he kept an autographed portrait of Mussolini in his office.⁵² Perfect for the job.

About the time that Pius XII delivered his Christmas message, the first of six centres specially designed to satisfy Hitler's mid-October order for the disposal of all "incurable patients" began operating. Naturally it took a while for the operatives to develop the level of efficiency Hitler demanded and in the early stages the victims were shot individually. In due course gas chambers and poison showers were introduced and these were soon adapted and refined for other programs as well. But in this first 'trial program' the total number of ill, criminal and incapacitated persons "processed" in nine months has been estimated at nearly 100,000. The program was simply an extension of the sterilization programs which Hitler had adapted from the United States. The fate of patients in mental hospitals was determined by their doctors who were required to complete questionnaires on those in their care. This was a traumatic responsibility for the doctors concerned, but it was also another direct challenge to the churches. It obliged them to weigh their commitment to Gospel teaching on the care and support of one's fellows against their commitment to support their 'national interest' irrespective of questions of morality.

With the world crisis continuing to deepen, Kaas met Osborne again on January 8, 1940, and, although he refused to divulge the name of the Vatican's contacts, he indicated that the German military coup plot "was still in the air." Then on January 12 Pius XII took the plunge and summoned Osborne for a personal audience. He told the British minister that he had been visited by a representative of certain German army chiefs and that he had "reliable information that a violent offensive was planned by Germany in the west in February" but that "the

offensive might not occur if these army chiefs overthrew Hitler.” They could only do this, the pope said, “on the understanding that Britain would guarantee an honourable peace for Germany.” When Osborne expressed scepticism and said that the French would have to be informed, in secret, Pius XII replied that “having thus salved his conscience, he would not even expect any answer.”⁵³ He was no longer showing the near-spontaneous or impulsive want to intervene which he had at the time of Müller’s visit five weeks earlier, suggesting that he had indeed thought through some of the implications of the situation. Osborne seems to have responded in like manner, sending his report to Halifax in writing by diplomatic pouch and not by urgent coded cable, and noting that he found the whole thing “hopelessly vague” and reminiscent of the catastrophic Venloo affair in Holland. He said the pope relayed the communication “purely for information,” not wishing to endorse or recommend it and with the comment that “perhaps, after all, it is not worth proceeding with the matter and he would therefore ask me to regard his communication to me as not having been made.” Osborne also reported that the pope’s “spontaneous offer, after my expressions of scepticism, to cancel his communication to me shows that he does not relish being used as a channel and that he has little expectation of any result.”⁵⁴ There was certainly nothing in the pope’s communication to suggest that he had changed his attitude significantly towards either Hitler’s leadership, his social policies, or his expansionist ambitions, and therefore it confirmed that his only real argument with Hitler was over his manipulation of the church, his failure to adhere to the details of the *Reich Concordat*, and his oppression of anti-Nazi clergy.

Although Churchill, chafing at the bit for a bigger role in the conduct of the war, was personally ambivalent towards the church he was also playing the religion game along with the best of players. He tried to enthuse cabinet by predicating Britain’s role in the war on the long-established self-understanding that Britain, as the leading proponent of Protestant Christianity, was endowed with all the rights and authorities of the world’s policeman and teacher of morality all rolled into one entity because the other countries of Europe had defaulted on their share of the responsibility. Perhaps he was influenced by the decision of the leaders of the Scandinavian churches to declare in favour of mediation between Britain and Germany as hostile powers, and by Bishop Berggrav’s visit to statesmen in Berlin and London for this purpose.

With the world in such a mess it was bound to help strengthen the scaffold which propped up the amorphous Christian gel to some extent when Pius XII announced his peace proposal, *Five Points for Peace*, and the new relationship between the Vatican and the United States with his Christmas message, provided that Italy remained neutral. But if Italy entered the war, and especially if the United States also entered and was part of an opposing alliance, both the *Lateran Treaty* and the scaffold were in real danger. When Taylor arrived in Rome in January to set up his officially unofficial mission, (his assistant, Harold H. Tittman, and his staff were on detached duty from the State Department⁵⁵), he was therefore the channel for communications of far greater importance than the world at large could grasp. Running through Roosevelt’s letter to Pius XII advising of Taylor’s appointment there was a definite assumption that the

response to his support for the Vatican would be a papal move away from neutrality towards support for the Western Alliance. He wrote:

*In these present moments no spiritual leader, no civil leader can move forward on a specific plan to terminate destruction and build anew. Yet the time for that will surely come. It is, therefore, my thought that though no given action or given time may now be prophesied, it is well that we encourage a closer association between those in every part of the world, those in religion and those in government who have a common cause.*⁵⁶

However although the pope's address when he formally received Taylor contained words which were publicized by the American Government as an indication that he intended to respond in like manner (quite apart from obvious relief that he had gained a major objective) his comments were actually just as ambiguous as in *Summi Pontificatus*. He said that the establishment of the US mission was "an exemplary act of fraternal and hearty solidarity between the Old and the New World in defence against *the chilling breath of aggressive and deadly godless and anti-Christian tendencies*" which threatened to dry up the sources of civilization. He foresaw only a "slight probability of immediate success so long as *the present state of the opposing forces* remains essentially unchanged" even though he was apparently hopeful for the longer term future.⁵⁷ There was no public debate about the pope's motives at the time, naturally, because of the censorship imposed in Europe and the fact that the feuding parties had not resolved who was playing for Gog and who for Magog, but during the years following the war the matter was debated at length. Was the pope referring to Nazi Germany as having "*the chilling breath of aggressive and deadly godless and anti-Christian tendencies*" or was he referring to Communist Soviet Russia?

Most books which were published on the subject did no more than throw up a smoke screen behind which the Vatican could avoid damaging disclosures. However, in view of the fact that Germany and Russia were then *in alliance* against Britain and France, that they were *not* then opposed to each other, and that the Vatican saw itself as the *only* force in opposition to Communist Russia, the conclusion already noted, that the Vatican simply wanted the United States to commit itself *against* Soviet Russia, is impossible to sidestep. If that meant forcing Britain and France to negotiate a settlement with Hitler which would end the war in the west and enable Hitler to thrust eastward, how wonderful it would be! That conclusion is totally consistent with *Sertum Laetitia* and with the 'conversion' of the Halifax plan under Vatican influence. After all, Hitler's *Anti-Comintern Pact* had signatories who were also recipients of Vatican Concordats, including his protector state, Italy, which had not yet made its final decision on whether to join Gog or Magog, or either of them for that matter, in spite of its twin alliances with Germany. So, while Roosevelt aimed to prevent the Vatican from rocking the boat, Pius XII aimed to eliminate Communism and to reinforce the scaffold which propped up the amorphous Christian gel in more ways than one. This is what commentators friendly to the Vatican, or who have not explored other implications behind the encyclicals, have referred to *ad nauseam* as the pope's 'neutrality' throughout World War II. It is better interpreted as 'taking advantage of the war to strengthen the power of the papacy.'

The Roman Catholic Church in the United States enjoyed a degree of independence from the Vatican which few other national Catholic churches had been able to achieve and it was administered through a more broadly based conciliar or collegiate system with the National Catholic Welfare Conference having an important role. There were, therefore, many American Catholics who were no more interested in the establishment of formal links between their government and the Vatican than the Protestant community, even though they wanted a greater say in national policy making for their church.⁵⁸

The growth of independence in the Catholic church in the United States had corresponded with, and been influenced by, the development of the American Protestant Work Ethic. This had led to Leo XIII's condemnation of the "American Heresy" or of the weakening of doctrinal "purity" and contemplation with more emphasis on practical virtues in 1899. That controversy contributed to the decision in 1908 to remove the church in the US from control of the Vatican's Sacred Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples (the Propaganda) in 1908 and it was still raging when Pius X introduced the Oath Against Modernism in 1910. The growth of Catholic missionary enterprises in the US during the next few years was very rapid and the National Catholic War Council was established in 1917 as an advisory and coordinating agency of American bishops for education, communications, immigration, social action, legislation, youth and lay organization. The term "Welfare" was substituted for "War" in its title a few years later, but its responsibilities remained the same and it had many achievements to its credit and significant national influence by the time Pius XII made his bid for closer Vatican links with the governments. [In 1966 the role of America's Catholic bishops was further strengthened in relation to the Vatican by the establishment of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops with pastoral and juridical authority for the church in the US. The N.C.W.C. was renamed the United States Catholic Conference at the same time.]^{59 60}

When Taylor took up his new appointment, Roosevelt gave him a brief to investigate every possibility for an early end of hostilities and to open discussions with the pope on the issues of freedom of religion, reduction of armaments, freedom of trade and freedom of information.⁶¹ The four discussion points could perhaps be paraphrased as "to open negotiations through the pope of the Jewish question, rearrangement of production; how to trade with both warring groups at once; and access to the Vatican's diplomatic and intelligence systems."^{62 63} In any case the Vatican and the White House were soon working as partners in a tacit alliance with the aim of keeping Italy out of the war. And the Taylor mission was doing all it could to "integrate" the efforts of the pope and the president or to line the pope up behind the president and US policy.

However there was little more enthusiasm within the British government for intervention by churches, of whatever hue, than there was within other governments. When Halifax read Osborne's report of his audience with the pope to the war cabinet on January 17 it simply agreed "that the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs should take suitable steps to inform the French Government of the communication which had been made by His Holiness the Pope to Mr. Osborne."⁶⁴ An opportunity of enormous significance had been rejected. If the British

government had taken up that opportunity the course of the parody would have been altered dramatically. The war would have continued for a time, no doubt, while the Western democracies and the totalitarian states worked out a more or less acceptable relationship, and the trouble in the triangle would have not been spontaneously resolved. But there would have been an opportunity to at least *recognize* the basis of the triangle and to move towards understanding it and dismantling it. However the British government's mistrust towards the Vatican, and the Vatican's determination to sustain and expand its system of concordats in association with totalitarian governments ensured that the parody would continue. The governments of the amorphous Christian gel and their churches would continue to take decisions and to pursue policies based on their spurious self-understandings which contradicted the principles and beliefs which they asserted, compounded the problems which they were supposed to be solving, and further undermined human relationships. These things would drag the world deeper and deeper into conflict and expose them to ridicule and retaliation in due course as the trouble in the triangle moved towards its climax.

Some members of the interim World Council of Churches also sought direct intervention by the Council as the peak body for Reformed and Protestant Churches, and the matter was discussed at the meeting of the Administrative Committee near Apeldoorn, Holland, at about that time, late in January. The Scandinavian representatives wished to discuss further steps towards mediation which might be taken by churches. However there was no agreement about whether such intervention in international affairs was a proper aspect of the WCC's role. In fact there was considerable difference of opinion. Some members of the committee believed that the urgent task of the Church was to work for mediation, and that a pronouncement concerning the basic issues at stake in the conflict would jeopardize action for peace. Others believed that a definite statement should be made condemning aggression and the suppression of freedom. A number of draft statements were submitted to the committee and rejected, and it was decided to continue discussion by correspondence. But outside the formal administrative committee meeting, being frustrated at the rejection of their case, Archbishop Temple and the four other British participants drew up and signed a statement concerning the conditions under which, in their opinion, negotiations could be opened. Like the papal peace proposals a few weeks before it, it was published in the British press.

While the tension continued to mount in Europe, the New Year certainly did not lessen Britain's worries in the Far East. Late in December, without waiting for a cabinet decision, the governor of the Straits Settlements had refused export permits for tin from Malaya unless a guarantee was given that the shipments were not for re-export to Germany,⁶⁵ and the crisis deepened dramatically during January when a British naval vessel intercepted a Japanese merchant ship 35 miles from the Japanese coast and arrested 13 German officers and eight technical ratings. They had been stranded in the neutral US and were returning to Germany via Japan and the Trans-Siberian railway. On January 23, 1940, the day the War cabinet was due to consider the crisis, Craigie learned that the Admiralty was planning to intercept another Japanese merchant vessel and, having faced a strong protest from Japan's Vice-Minister for

Foreign Affairs only the day before, he sent Whitehall a telegram with a strong warning that another such incident could lead to war.⁶⁶ His warning was heeded, the Admiralty was “restrained from further actions,” and cabinet sat down to consider Britain’s finances and joint advice from the Foreign Office and the Ministry for Economic Warfare.

BRITAIN’S FINANCIAL CRISIS

The brutal fact was that at the planned rate of spending Britain and the entire Sterling area would have an adverse trade balance of 800 million pounds for the first year of the war and that Britain would run out of dollars within two years.⁶⁷ The joint ministries’ advice was that the course of the war could not be foreseen, that Britain was fighting for its life, and “*it is clear that the Allies cannot afford to reject any friendly approach from the President of the United States nor fail to examine to the full the potentialities of the joint control of raw materials which Mr. Roosevelt has tentatively outlined.*”⁶⁸ Eden said it was unfortunate that the US wanted to take a hard line with Japan just when Britain was moving to improve relations between them, but cabinet agreed to propose a joint British-French delegation to Washington and, as an interim measure, to restrict the sale of strategic ferro-alloys to Japan. *Anglo-Japanese trade relations were thus set on collision course*⁶⁹ with the growing prospect of war while Britain continued its efforts to get a more favourable finance and trade deal in place with the United States for arms and munitions to enable it to continue to fight its existing war with Germany.

At that time Roosevelt was steadily working the nation into an anti-German mode in spite of a number of constraints. These included the papal overture; the Vatican’s pressure for the United States to make an assault on Soviet Communism a higher priority than the defeat of Hitler; the strong pro-German sentiment in some influential sections of the US; and deep divisions within Congress which required him to maintain the appearance of neutrality. It was not strictly a pro-British mode, reflecting its early history, and it was certainly not a show of support for the concept of empire. Its history actually contributed to anti-British feeling and the US was eager to assume the world dominance which the decadent European powers had enjoyed for too long. It was eager to extend its trade, its influence and its control of resources at the expense of Britain and its Imperial Preference trade arrangements, especially in the Middle East. Similarly the anti-German emphasis was not a simple response to Hitler’s social policies and anti-Semitism. It was much more involved than that and, as already noted, Hitler had drawn heavily on legislation and writings from the US in framing his ‘new philosophy.’ It was basically fear that a German victory would isolate the US and weaken its position.

If the war continued and if Germany’s alliance with Japan and its non-aggression pact with Russia both held, the US would be shut out of any role in the Middle East, in other Muslim countries, in East and South East Asia, and in the Pacific. However a victory for the European Allies without United States involvement would tend to strengthen the European Colonial influence in each of these spheres with the same result: no major role for the United States. Furthermore the Jewish authorities were also painfully aware of the situation. They knew that a

German victory, with or without Russia, left them with very few options except to find a way into the United States, even recognizing the stringent anti-Semitic migration laws which it still had in place. But a victory for a British-French alliance without American involvement would have much the same effect. In either case the European powers' relations with the Arab countries would mean the end of plans for a Jewish National Home in Palestine. At the same time the British and French Governments knew that if Germany dominated Europe they would be hard pressed to defeat her without either Russian or American involvement, or both.

Thus, unless there was a speedily negotiated peace it was inevitable that the United States would be drawn into the war through a combination of self interest, British and French appeals for help and pressure from the international Jewish community. It was only a matter of time. A negotiated settlement would have required territorial concessions – certainly involving the loss or partial loss of control of the Middle East – and resettlement of the entire Jewish population from German controlled territories into other countries. The combination of domestic resistance in Britain and France, the attitude of the Vatican and the virtual failure of the Evian Conference made it quite clear that such a resettlement plan would not work even if the Jewish community was prepared to accept it, and there would have to be a lot of hard talking to persuade the US to relax its migration restrictions.

However during the few weeks that it took Germany to break the Polish army and to secure most of the country there was an expectation, or a forlorn hope perhaps, in some sections of the British Government that Hitler would be prepared to pause after gaining his Polish prize and that a truce could be arranged on the basis of “another Munich.” This was the thrust of the report which Joseph Kennedy had cabled to Roosevelt on September 11, 1939. Kennedy told Roosevelt that the British Government could not accept any agreement with Hitler “but there may be a point when the President himself may work out a plan for world peace” and be “the savior of the world” and he implied that Britain would have to pay any price to avoid “complete economic, financial and social collapse (from which) nothing will be saved after the war is over.”⁷⁰ (chapter 22) It is reasonable to assume that the Vatican's assessment was very similar. It could see benefits from both Hitler's strengthened position and the weakened position or defeat of the Soviet Union, and very large pickings from the self-interest, vacillation and intervention of the United States as it also sought to take advantage of the complex situations in each of Europe, the Middle East and the Far East.

Then in February the Vatican's diplomats, like those of other governments, were hard pressed to keep abreast of all the hurried negotiations in Europe and in Asia as the principal powers jockeyed for position. As the military encounter between Finland and the Soviet Union ran into its third month the Soviet negotiators were especially busy. Finland gradually succumbed to a mauling and opened negotiations towards a peace treaty while the Soviet Union was also engaged in trade talks with Germany which were designed to strengthen its position and hold the Germans at bay. Russia's main demand on Finland was for an area of Karelian to allow it access to ports on both the Baltic and the Barents seas. Without that access to ice-free harbours, as British and American “intervention” had shown when Russia was trying to opt out of the

Great War, Russia's position in relation to the other power blocks was substantially weakened. The Soviet Union did not want a repeat of the 1918 "intervention", but in view of the attitude of the Vatican and the British, the pressure which was being applied to the United States, and the uncertainty of its alliance with Germany, it had to prepare for it.

As those negotiations were getting under way, and in spite of having been firmly rebuffed by Britain after his meeting with Osborne just a month before, Pius XII summoned Osborne for an urgent audience on February 7 in circumstances of penny-spy-thriller intrigue. He sent an under-cover agent in the dead of night to tell the British minister that he should arrive at noon, not dress formally, and tell no one that he was going to see the pope. Osborne was able to report to Halifax the same day that the pope had been approached again by the German military conspirators who he refused to name, saying only that one was a well known general; that Hitler's offensive in the west which had been planned for February had been postponed due to inclement weather; that the organizers sought an undertaking that following a coup Germany would not be dismembered in the event of a British-French invasion and an armistice; and that they gave an undertaking that Germany would be established as a democratic, conservative, moderate, decentralized and federalized nation within the Munich frontiers.⁷¹ Nine days later, on February 16, Osborne took Lord Halifax's wife and son to meet the pope and in his report he told Halifax that Pius XII had drawn him aside to say that the conspirators had confirmed their intention to change the government. He noted that his own reply had been to the effect that if they wanted a change they should get on with it, but even with a change of government he didn't see how Britain could make peace "so long as the German military machine remained intact."⁷² That report crossed in the mail with a three page reply from Halifax, dated February 17, in which the sentiments were essentially the same as in the government's response on January 23. If any progress was to be made the British government must first broach the subject with the French government and this could only be done on the basis of a definite program submitted and authoritatively vouched for. In other words names were required and not just "ideas emanating from undisclosed sources."⁷³ Müller shuttled between Rome and Berlin; the conspirators waited for Britain's guarantee; Britain waited to learn who they were; rumours circulated that Kaas was a Nazi spy planted in the Vatican; and Halifax learned that King George VI had already been alerted to a plot to dispose of Hitler.⁷⁴ The mistrust and intrigue continued. Nothing had changed.

While Britain procrastinated the Soviet Union was strengthening its position in the west, but at the expense of its improved relations with Japan. Rumours reached London that Japan was about to propose an anti-Soviet joint front with Britain and France in Asia – a counterpart for the expanded *Anti-Comintern Pact* which Britain had proposed in November – and Craigie advised Whitehall that Japan would be a natural ally because of its concern with Soviet expansion. This was in spite of the fact that a new German-Soviet trade agreement had been signed on February 16, that Germany was building an extensive network of suppliers in East Asia, including Japan, and that vital commodities would be transported via the Trans-Siberian Railway.

Since the start of the war, and especially as a consequence of Britain's machinations in the Far East during the early part of the northern winter, officials in Washington had become even more conscious of the fact that US and British interests in the Far East did not correspond, in much the manner that the joint ministries report to the British cabinet had shown on January 23. It was therefore decided to establish a special naval intelligence unit to intercept Japanese government communications and special arrangements were made for selected military and diplomatic intelligence to be channelled directly, and secretly, to Roosevelt. Key persons in the new system were Lt. Commander Arthur McCollum who was appointed head of the Far East desk of naval intelligence with responsibility to personally convey urgent items to the president, and Lt. Commander Joseph Rochefort who became head of Station H (HYPO) at Pearl Harbour. The first of those urgent items were delivered to Roosevelt by seaplane on February 23 while he was on an eighteen-day fishing trip aboard the cruiser USS *Tuscaloosa* off the Pacific coast of Panama. They showed that Japan was applying diplomatic pressure to obtain oil export rights in Portuguese Timor, portion of an island in the Dutch East Indies, and that military advisers were being sent to Bolivia which had vast reserves of tin which Japan needed for its military-industrial complex. That new system became vital to the US administration's ability to monitor Japan's response to the mass of international manipulation targeted at it and to join the manipulation game.⁷⁵

During the Finnish-Russian negotiations for an armistice the pope called for reparations for the states whose equality of rights had been destroyed, attacked or threatened. It was a typically vague diplomatic call which could be interpreted in any number of ways. Was "reparations" to be read as restoration of pre-conflict status; as payments to governments or individuals for losses and injuries suffered but with recognition of the new political situation assumed; or as some sort of negotiations through third parties whose interests were also involved, such as Britain or the Vatican, to ensure continuity of commercial or ecclesiastical interests such as concordats? Church historians are generally just as vague on that point as the pope's call had been. Clearly he was preoccupied with the future of the Roman Catholic church in Poland ⁷⁶ but the Vatican had concordats with each of Austria and Czechoslovakia which had already been absorbed by Germany, and also with Lithuania and Latvia which had been forced into mutual defence agreements with Russia by Hitler's deal with Stalin. Therefore because both Estonia, (with its three-way mix of Protestant, Orthodox and Catholic communities), and Finland had been forced into much the same situation as Latvia and Lithuania, any talk of reparations would have to apply equally to them.

Of course talk of reparations would certainly not apply to any displaced Jews. In fact quite the reverse. Britain, having snubbed German overtures about the Lublin Jewish Reservation plan, was still having to placate the Arabs in Palestine so that the crisis in the Middle East did not flare up to complicate its troubles even more, and in February additional restrictions on land transfers in Palestine were announced in accordance with the White Paper. These things naturally combined to further stimulated Zionist activity in the US and pressure on Roosevelt to intervene directly against Germany. But to do so was inconsistent with the implications of

Sertum Laetitiae, with the pope's 'encouragement' for Mussolini to support Hitler and to oppose Russia, and with Mussolini's subsequent urging for Hitler to continue his anti-Semitic policies and to turn against Russia. Roosevelt therefore had many issues to consider in his balancing-act decisions.

Russia, having gained the concessions which it had demanded in negotiations with Finland, was on the brink of having secure and unrestricted access between the Atlantic to its west and the Pacific and Japan to its east. Security of supplies for Germany, Russia and Japan from anywhere in the world was therefore virtually assured and, if the alliance between the three nations recovered and blossomed, and if the United States did not intervene, Britain and France were in very deep trouble indeed. The Chiefs of Staff assessment, provided for cabinet on March 8, was that Russia's most likely move would be to threaten Britain's grip on India by an advance into Afghanistan. In that event, they said, "the extent to which Japanese action might cause us embarrassment would depend on the attitude of the United States" although, on the other hand, Japan, being disturbed by Russia's invasion of Finland, might try to strengthen its position in relation to Russia by a compromise arrangement with Britain, and there had been some Japanese diplomatic approaches to the effect that "Britain and Japan had a common enemy in Russia."⁷⁷

THE VATICAN'S TARGET: COMMUNISM

In fact by that date Craigie was already urging the government to use the Russian factor as a means of developing "more fruitful Anglo-Japanese collaboration" and units of Whitehall were working on a plan for the joint Anglo-French bombing of the Baku oil field to cripple the Russian economy and reduce oil sales to Germany. That would have required Japanese cooperation in full scale war against Russia and some Foreign Office officials feared that Japan's price for such cooperation would be the end of British support for China, that this would have disastrous consequences for Britain's relations with the United States, and that "the issue could not be properly addressed until war had actually broken out between Britain and Russia."⁷⁸ There was an implied assumption that this would happen and that it was necessary to broaden the war in that way in order to draw other nations in and, in so doing, improve Britain's chances of survival. Clearly there was confusion in Whitehall, but there was also a lack of honesty, openness and trust between each of the Western Powers, including the Vatican, in discussing their motives with each other and with their publics. Intrigue was the standard practice of the day and the world would have to suffer as a consequence.

But regardless of the attitude of the US administration to Britain's relations with Japan and China, was it possible for the US to continue to scout around the fringes of the play? The existence of a power block of such enormity as Germany-Russia-Japan placed its own economic and political security at risk. The simplest way to prevent the alliance from blossoming was, according to the Vatican, to pluck Russia out from between the other two. But how? The Vatican's aim was to destroy the Soviet Union and Communism. On March 11

Ribbentrop visited Mussolini in a bid to draw Italy into the war immediately and while he was in Rome he also called on Pius XII. He avoided any discussion about peace initiatives; countered the pope's criticism of Nazi attacks on Catholics and church property with claims that "the clergy has not yet understood that it is not their business to meddle in politics;" deflected a request that he sanction a Vatican envoy to Poland; sought to dissuade the pope from criticizing the Nazi regime; and was more frank than many Western leaders when, in response to a question from Pius XII, he said he believed in God but he was "not addicted to any church."⁷⁹

Certainly the Vatican was not at all interested in a move to befriend Russia at the expense of Hitler's Germany and it was therefore very concerned when the Finnish-Russian Treaty of Moscow was signed on March 12 and Russia's position was strengthened enormously. Finland ceded ten percent of its territory which it might have retained if it had agreed to Russia's demands for 'rights' in November: the Karelian Peninsula with access to the Barents Sea, and a wedge in the southeast on the Gulf of Finland including the city of Vyborg. It also leased the peninsula of Hanko to the Soviet Union for 30 years. Roosevelt was equally concerned and, with Britain pressing for a relaxation of US Neutrality restrictions on the supply of military and other supplies, he had a showdown at the White House with senior generals in the War Department over their resistance to cooperate in his aid program. He was irritated because Congress would not agree to appropriate massive funds to boost military production and preparedness but he also faced deliberate obstruction. In one incident the head of the Army Air Force, General Arnold, supported by the Assistant Secretary for War, Louis Johnson, refused to release classified data on aircraft engines and superchargers. Roosevelt, in very angry mood, ordered Arnold to "toe the line or resign" and instructed Johnson to announce publicly his support for the British aid Liaison Committee.

Two days later, on March 14, the British cabinet adopted a recommendation from the MEW (subject to French agreement) that a total blockade of Russia's Pacific port of Vladivostok should be imposed by the Royal Navy in cooperation with Japan and the United States. Japan would be coerced into cooperation by temporarily rationing its supplies of imperial raw materials with a promise of advantageous quotas "if it complied with British economic warfare policy." It was a dramatic turning point in world affairs. It was to be one of those beacons around which the ships of state must wallow in a storm before heading off on another bearing into uncharted waters. Up until this point the British government had still clung to the belief that it could represent Europe and the Far East as two separate situations which could be treated in grand isolation, with the Middle East as a third which, while it desperately sought to camouflage the fact, complicated each of the others. However there was no longer any prospect of that. All three were intimately and inextricably entwined. They could not possibly be disentangled. But few people understood that there had been a change of bearing and still no one was prepared to recognize that the situation had its roots in the history and self-understanding of the amorphous Christian gel. The chain which held the beacon in place was the Vatican's pressure for the United States to become involved in the war in Europe in order to

destroy Soviet Communism as a political and economic force and a challenge to its authority and self-understanding: *Sertum Laetitia*. Another one would be added within a few months.

Hitler could see that the Western Powers were battering down the hatches for a long haul and that brute force, not negotiation, was going to determine the outcome of his war with Britain and its Allies. He or Himmler had decided that the plan for a self-governing Jewish region based on Lublin was going to serve no purpose. Reports of brutality in the region were getting more space in the foreign press than the plan itself and it was obvious that a self governing Jewish region in a rump independent Poland could not compete with Zionist ambition to have a national homeland in Palestine for the attention of Western governments. On March 23, with Himmler's support, Goering directed that it be cancelled. There would be no distinction between the treatment of Jews in Lublin or anywhere else. Their lives would simply get tougher and tougher while the search continued for alternatives to neutralize the impact of Jews within Europe.⁸⁰

On March 28, with the US not yet consulted but with Japan quite eager for trade talks, the Anglo-French Supreme War Council agreed to the plan with some adjustments to Japan's benefit. However it was not implemented. Treasury found that the changing trade balances would actually depress the value of Sterling and make the purchase of arms from the US even more difficult and this was more critical than blocking supplies to Russia and Germany.⁸¹ But perhaps the United States had an alternative to propping Britain up with one hand and trying to pluck Russia out of its alliance with the other. If Britain could talk to Japan, why couldn't the United States do so? Secretary of State Hull had actually opened discussions with Japan's Ambassador Nomura while those British plans were being hatched, and Britain was not advised.⁸² And some people thought Britain was doing too much talking. On March 30 Pius XII again spoke to Osborne about the conspiracy to topple Hitler which seemed to be running out of steam because of the mutual lack of trust and foresight between the parties. He was upset by having learned that Britain was fielding peace feelers from other sources also, and apparently took Osborne to task about the "leakiness" of the British system which had helped to place the Holy See "in fruitless jeopardy."⁸³

Early in April, about the same time that Generalgouvernement district commanders were officially told of Goering's direction that the *Lublin Reservation Plan* had been rescinded, the General Secretary of the WCC submitted a new proposal for international mediation to members of its Administrative Committee. But just then, following Roosevelt's confrontation with his military planners, the US signed extensive new aircraft contracts with Britain and France which brought their total cash commitment to the US to about a thousand million dollars. This meant that Britain lurched towards a far bigger trade deficit than Treasury had anticipated in January but, as a consequence and after several months of delay, the British Cabinet was able to authorize a blockade of the Norwegian iron ore port of Narvik. Mine laying began on April 8 and by the time WCC members were able to respond to the mediation proposal 'the real war' had erupted well and truly. A completely different situation faced the council. It had real difficulty maintaining contact and operations through its normal cross-

border committees. It was in no position to propose international mediation or much else at all. The churches, other than the politically powerful Vatican, had been sidelined. Any proposals they might make were virtually meaningless. WCC staff had to be retrenched, plans for a first assembly in 1941 had to be cancelled, and the Protestant churches faced the prospect that their council may disintegrate completely.⁸⁴ The Council's crisis was, of course, simply an indicator of far greater crisis which it was then increasingly difficult for the world to avoid.

If Britain's intention in imposing the blockade was to prevent massive escalation of the war it had left its decision too late. German land occupation of Denmark was accomplished in just one day, April 9, and the naval invasion of Norway began the same day. Britain lost the initiative because the ease with which Germany overwhelmed Denmark tended to exaggerate Germany's military capacity and this had repercussions on both sides of the battle line, in neutral countries as well as belligerents. Hitler's prestige and the morale of the German people rose again as they had after, firstly, the Austrian Anschluss and, secondly, the piecemeal incorporation of Czechoslovakia after Munich. The British public began to realize just how parlous their defences were. Broken international relationships could no longer be mended by a bit of tinkering at the edges or political manipulation. The neutral countries of Europe became even more amenable to the idea of negotiated agreements with Germany in preference to a brutal mauling; and across the Atlantic Roosevelt faced an even stronger anti-credit isolationist lobby as he frantically searched for ways to help Britain.

The fall of Denmark also served to convince many people in the US that increased support for Britain amounted to throwing good money after bad, and, with the British government reluctant to run down its dollar and gold reserves, Roosevelt personally raised the suggestion that British holdings in Latin America, including the Argentine railways, should be sold to American interests to raise funds for arms. Then, later in April, a senior administration official, Breckinridge Long, concluded that credit would have to be extended to Britain by the next session of Congress, if not sooner, and in the *American White Paper* (which was thought to reflect administration thinking) the authors Alsop and Kintner wrote that Britain would have no dollars or convertible assets left within two and a half years. At that time, they said, the United States "would have to choose between credit, gifts of supplies, or a German victory."⁸⁵

However it was not only European and American governments which took an interest in the ease with which Germany had overwhelmed Denmark and moved against Norway. In Japan it was assumed that Holland would be the next country to fall to Germany and this raised questions about the status and the future of the Dutch East Indies. It also accentuated the competition between the United States and Japan for economic and political dominance in the region. Thus, on April 17, the US administration declared that any change in the status of the Dutch colonies would endanger stability in the Pacific region.⁸⁶

By this time Whitehall had ditched the proposal for an Anglo-Japanese anti-Soviet alliance as unworkable; the start of the Norwegian campaign led to a shortage of heavy bombers in the Middle East and forced the postponement of the Anglo-French attack on Baku – meaning a

decision for war against Russia was deferred; on April 24 the War Office rejected a plan for a lower level of Anglo-Japanese technical and intelligence cooperation; the option of using joint action against Russia as a means to overcome Anglo-Japanese antagonism was thus blocked, and Britain stumbled on with the existing trade curbs which Japan bitterly resented. That situation threatened the strategic balance in the Western Pacific and in the East Asia/South East Asia regions, and alarm bells began to ring in Washington where the administration was eager that nothing should weaken the capacity of the United States to move into those regions before the Japanese in the event of the continued weakening of the British presence. The decision was taken to strengthen the mid-Pacific US naval presence at the expense of the principal fleet, CINCUS, which was divided between bases on the US West and East Coasts, but, because that decision was contrary to the advice of the Commander-in-Chief US Fleet, Admiral Richardson, it had to be put into effect surreptitiously. The major part of the West Coast Fleet was then on exercises in mid-Pacific with the small Hawaiian Detachment and its return to the West Coast was deferred temporarily. Secretary of State Welles simply told Richardson he expected a "diplomatic disaster" if the fleet returned to the US East Coast.⁸⁷

Three weeks after the Nazi occupation of Denmark the battle of Norway was virtually over. King Haakon VII and his cabinet were evacuated on April 29, and the leader of the Norwegian Fascist Party, Vidkun Quisling, assumed control of a puppet government. In the public mind, the intensity of the action in Scandinavia overshadowed other events for a time but during those critical few months the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) in France had been progressively strengthened to ten divisions. Russia and Germany had signed a trade pact and, as a consequence of that, Germany also secured a commercial treaty with Iran under which oil was to be supplied via Russia to circumvent the partial British blockade of German ports.

About that time German plans to establish a major reservation to house tens of thousands of Jews in pathetic labour camp conditions in the Lublin district were officially shelved and a hunt began for an alternative plan to export them. In Poland the two million Jews in the German occupied zone were required to wear a yellow Star of David as a badge of shame and a special level of food rations was introduced for them. In a classic grading of human worth they were to get about one half of the allocation for a Polish Christian or one quarter of that for a Teuton. In introducing such a grading system Hitler and his Nazi colleagues were doing no more than aping the great Christian colonial powers yet again. They had organized the peoples of their colonies according to such grading systems many times before. Why should Germany under Hitler do any different? Hand in hand with these measures there was, of course, bestiality, brutality and local outbreaks of butchery on a frightening scale.⁸⁸ Still no different. It was simply a repeat of the well-tried systems of the Inquisition, the Flagellants, the Crusades and the pogroms of more recent generations. Hitler was confident that no one would object. The West didn't remember much about the Armenian Massacres, but he remembered the failure of Evian, the voyage of the *St. Louis*, and Britain's continuing efforts to keep Europe's Jews out of Palestine. He had no reason to fear that they would generate any more support now.

A CHANGE OF LEADERSHIP

By the beginning of May the debacle in Norway, with Hitler expelling the last of the British forces, and having 136 divisions of German troops massed along the frontiers with Holland, Belgium and France, led to demands for a full debate on the conduct of the war in the House of Commons. The debate was set for May 7 at a time when the government was very conscious of the Vatican's role in the war and may have begun to regret that it had rebuffed the pope's advice about a coup conspiracy. Four days before the debate, on May 3, Pius XII learned from Müller that Germany was about to invade Holland and Belgium. He immediately advised London through Osborne, Paris through the French ambassador, and the papal nuncios in The Hague and Brussels by cipher. Those messages were intercepted by Italian intelligence so that when Pius XII also told Prince Umberto of Hitler's plans on May 6 the government already knew, and because the Vatican had been the source of the critical leak its credibility with Mussolini was in tatters. Some observers say that action left Mussolini no option but to enter the war in alliance with Hitler.⁸⁹ Should it, perhaps, have restored the British government's confidence in its dealings with the Vatican to some extent? It certainly added to the confusion over the role and the intentions of the Vatican, especially as the debate coincided with another significant development: the signing of a new concordat, linked with a new missionary accord, between the Vatican and Portugal. These superseded the conventions which had been signed in 1928 and ensured that Portugal, Spain, Italy, Germany and the remnant of Poland were all on the same politico-religious wavelength with the Vatican eager to strengthen the ties that bind. France was the missing link which would provide a continuous chain of like-minded governments straight through the heart of Europe.

The start of the Commons debate on May 7 coincided with a meeting at which the Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs formally advised the Japanese Ambassador that Britain was ready to begin contraband control negotiations to block the Pacific trade approach to Russia and Germany. Then in Washington that afternoon Richardson was *ordered* to issue a press release stating that he had asked that the US fleet remain in Hawaii. The *fact* was that he had objected to holding it there for five reasons: lack of fundamental training facilities, large-scale ammunition and fuel supplies, and support craft such as tugs and repair ships; problems of morale when men were to be kept away from their families; and lack of overhaul facilities including dry docks and machine shops. In short, Pearl Harbour was designed only for a detachment and not a major fleet.⁹⁰ However those matters were hardly noticed as the debate soon developed into a bitter censure motion for which the vote was to be taken next day, May 8. The government survived, but with so many defections and abstentions that its defeat was only a matter of time.

For three days the wheels of British Government ground exceedingly slow while Chamberlain waited for the German invasion of the low countries and consulted his colleagues on whether to remain in office. At the same time Hitler consulted his High Command on when to strike. He had already postponed the invasion on successive days from May 5 to 8 and he finally set an

absolute deadline, irrespective of the weather, for May 10. The same day had also been set for the first stage of the Anglo-Japanese trade talks at which Britain was to provide an *aide-memoire* as the basis of contraband control discussions set for May 14. It proved a momentous day indeed. The world woke to the news that Hitler had invaded the low countries at dawn. By the end of the day Britons had a new Prime Minister, while Hitler had an opponent whose sense of destiny was no less strong than his own. Winston Churchill, the overwhelming choice of the British people but certainly not the first choice of either his predecessor or his king, was commissioned to form a government at six o'clock that evening. Immediate pressure had been applied to persuade Pius XII to issue a condemnation of "this violent breach of international law" and to use his influence to prevent Italy from entering the war, and Tardini drafted a papal note. But the pope refused to sign it on the grounds that it might aggravate the Germans. Instead he sent cables of sympathy and affection to the sovereigns of Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg which satisfied no one, drew criticism from London and Paris and incurred the wrath of Berlin and Rome to the extent that a mob of Fascist youth attacked his car screaming "Death to the Pope." He thereupon closed the summer palace at Castel Gandolfo and did not venture onto the streets again until the overthrow of Mussolini. He was also severely criticized in some quarters for action inconsistent with the prayers of the church in Germany.⁹¹

Churchill was under no illusions about the gravity of his responsibility. Immediately before going to the palace he had talked with ministers of the Dutch Government who had flown from Amsterdam that afternoon, shocked that their country's neutrality had been brushed aside, to appeal for British assistance. After making key appointments to his government that night he went to bed at 3 AM next morning conscious of a profound sense of relief. "At last I had the authority to give directions over the whole scene," he wrote later. "I felt as if I was walking with destiny, and that all my past life had been but a preparation for this hour and for this trial. Ten years in the political wilderness had freed me from ordinary party antagonisms. My warnings over the last six years had been so numerous, so detailed, and were now so terribly vindicated, that no one could gainsay me. I could not be reproached either for making the war or with want of preparation for it."^{92 93 94}

As Prime Minister, Churchill wasted no time in consolidating and exercising his new authority. He did not appoint a separate Defence Minister. He held the post himself. He excluded the three service ministers, the First Lord of the Admiralty and the Secretaries of State for War and Air, from the War Cabinet. He took personal responsibility for "supervision and direction of the Chiefs of Staff Committee", and he formed a War Cabinet of himself plus the Labour Leader, Clement Attlee, and the leaders of the former government, Chamberlain and Halifax, whose authority was greatly weakened and very much a matter of his inclination, and a Minister without Portfolio, Arthur Greenwood. The War Cabinet was to make "the major decisions", except that "in larger questions or if there were any differences of view" Churchill called a meeting of his War Cabinet Defence Committee in which the three service ministers replaced Halifax and Greenwood, and the Chiefs of Staff attended.⁹⁵

By these measures, and by calling Cabinet Defence Committee meetings less and less frequently, Churchill assumed personal authority only marginally less than his arch enemy, Hitler. The Commons could call him to task – if it dared – and he had no statutory power to over-rule the Chiefs of Staff Committee on matters of strategic advice,⁹⁶ except that he was, (wearing his defence hat), also supervising and directing them. Armed with that level of authority, on his first day as Prime Minister, May 11, he ordered the occupation of the Danish dependency of Iceland to prevent the Germans from taking advantage of the strategically important base. For that decision he did not even call a War Cabinet meeting. In fact he sent a message to Chamberlain that: “I do not think there is any necessity for a Cabinet today ...I should be very glad however if you and Edward [Halifax] would come to the Admiralty War Room at 12.30 p.m., so that we could look at the maps and talk things over.” He added a series of ‘things’ relating to the battles raging in Europe, but he made no mention of Iceland. Apparently he did not consider the occupation of another country to be ‘a major decision’ and certainly not ‘a larger question or subject to any differences of view.’

A MATTER OF PRIVILEGE

Winston Churchill enjoyed all the privileges of the British aristocracy, being the elder son of Lord Randolph and an eighth generation descendant of the first Duke of Marlborough who received both his title and the gift of Blenheim Palace, where Winston was born, in recognition of his military services for Britain. Born on November 30, 1874, he was Hitler’s elder by 15 years. He was educated at Harrow, one of England’s best known public schools, where his rather precocious and arrogant responses to both students and masters demonstrated his belief that he was born to rule and did not win him many school friends. Although he had a remarkable memory, a clear mind and a gift for the use of language he was not regarded as a brilliant student. From Harrow he “scraped into” the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, at the third attempt as a cavalry cadet and was commissioned at the age of 21.⁹⁷ He first observed active operations in Cuba in 1895 while on leave from his regiment when the Spanish army sought to put down guerrillas. Then followed seven months of rather undistinguished service in punitive actions on the North West Frontier in India during the anti- British uprisings of 1897 and, after some string-pulling to gain a posting against the wishes of the commander, a time in the Sudan.

Churchill resigned his commission to enter politics and succeeded at the second attempt – via the adventurous life of a war correspondent for the London *Morning Post*. He sailed for South Africa with the forces which were to break Pretoria’s ultimatum to the British Government. Contrary to War Office directions that serving officers were not to act as war correspondents, he rejoined the army as an unpaid officer, continued to write, risked a court martial by cycling in plain clothes behind the Boer lines in Johannesburg, was taken prisoner by the Boers and escaped! On returning to England in 1900 he stood again as a Conservative candidate and was

elected to the House of Commons but changed his allegiance to the Liberal Party in 1904 because of disagreement with government tariff and immigration policy.

Churchill's first parliamentary office was Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies to which he was appointed in 1905 at the age of 31. Then from 1908 he served in succession as President of the Board of Trade, Home Secretary and First Lord of the Admiralty. During his term at the Admiralty, which was controversial from the start, he directed that the navy convert to oil power and thus made the Middle East even more critical than it had been in Britain's affairs but it was his sponsorship of the abortive Gallipoli campaign in a bid to end Germany's Berlin to Baghdad plans which led to him being dropped from cabinet when a wartime coalition was formed in 1915. In very controversial circumstances (again) he insisted on returning to active service with the army and fought in France until late 1916 when he resumed his parliamentary duties and was appointed Minister for Munitions in July 1917. Then, as Secretary of State for War from January 1919, he actively promoted Britain's anti-Bolshevik adventures in Russia, going to Paris in February that year to demand of a meeting of Foreign Ministers – on his own initiative – that all the Allies intervene immediately! In his next post, a second spell as Under-Secretary for the Colonies, he precipitated a crisis in Britain's relations with both Turkey and the dominions by very indiscreet handling of the Turkish-Greek conflict.⁹⁸ But he played a leading part in disentangling the web of intrigue and distrust which Britain's conflicting promises and treaties had left in the Middle East, although the arrangements which he put in place became ingredients for later stages of the trouble in the triangle, and he was also involved in the establishment of the Irish Free State.

After being defeated in the 1922 elections Churchill changed parties again, campaigning unsuccessfully as an independent anti-socialist or Constitutionalist in March 1924 before being invited to rejoin the Conservative Party for the elections in October. Much to the irritation of some senior ministers he was immediately appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. He remained head of treasury until the Conservative government was defeated in 1929 but when the party returned to power in 1931 he had to carry much of the blame for Britain's plight because of his decision to reintroduce the 1914 gold standard and he was left on the backbench. He was not recalled to cabinet until Chamberlain very reluctantly offered him the Admiralty again on the outbreak of war.

It was during his years in the wilderness that Churchill's personal friendship with a number of Jewish colleagues and financiers developed into an intimate working relationship through *The Focus* or the Anti-Nazi Council.⁹⁹ It was also during that period that his personal friendship with a number of prominent Jewish families and his commitment to Zionism, which his conduct from the beginning of his political career through World War I and the 1920s had shown was already strong and consistent, became even deeper. In 1904, aged 29 a very young MP, he attacked the Aliens Bill, warning of its danger in the hands of an intolerant or anti-Semitic Home Secretary and saying that it would appeal to "insular prejudice against foreigners, to racial prejudice against Jews, and to labour prejudice against competition."¹⁰⁰ Two years later, while on holiday in the Moravian province of Austria-Hungary (later Czechoslovakia) all three

of his hosts were prominent Jewish families, Cassel, Rothschild and de Forest, which, according to Gilbert, revived a jibe which had been made against his father that 'he only had Jewish friends.'¹⁰¹ Then in an article in the *Illustrated Sunday Herald* early in 1920 Churchill described Zionism as "an inspiring movement." However when he set down his personal view of the *Balfour Declaration* which shows quite clearly that he did not understand the relationship between the three Messianic faiths any better than Balfour or other members of the British Government. He wrote: "If, as may well happen there should be created in our own lifetime, by the banks of the Jordan, a Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown, which might comprise three or four millions of Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial; and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire."

Within a year, in his role as Colonial secretary, he had taken steps to set up the Kingdoms of Transjordan and Iraq, to buy the support of Transjordan with grants "to guarantee that there would be no anti-Zionist disturbances, and to ride slipshod over the opposition of the Arabs in Palestine in his bid to establish a National Home for Jews in the area. He refused the various requests of an Arab delegation, including that an elected Palestinian Government be set up, and expounded the standard Zionist claim to Palestine on the basis that the Jews had been intimately and profoundly associated with it for more than three thousand years. He then met a Jewish deputation and wished it success in overcoming the serious difficulties in its path. He told them that: "If I did not believe that you were animated by the very highest spirit of justice and idealism, and that your work would in fact confer blessings on the whole country, I should not have the high hopes I have that eventually your work will be accomplished."¹⁰²

Churchill was introduced to the British counterpart of the Anti-Nazi Council (ANC) at a luncheon in his honour in London on May 19, 1936, a few weeks after Rex Leeper called on him at Chartwell on Vansittart's initiative. (chapter 25) The ANC had evolved in New York from the work of a number of Jewish civic and business leaders as a response to Hitler's anti-Semitic policies during 1933 and 1934. By 1936 the group in London had informally adopted the name '*The Focus*' and Churchill had become its key 'asset' around whom many of its activities revolved. Although it has only become generally known in recent years, his relationship with *The Focus* was clearly an important factor in the development of Churchill's policies and decisions during the years remaining before the war and on his direction of the war.

¹⁰³

Another consistent theme ran through Churchill's speeches, writing and decisions during his terms of office in both trade and colonial affairs. It was his unrelenting belief in Britain's rights as an imperial power. While he conceded that some improvements should be made in the lot of the masses, he insisted that the government should not throw away the nation's conquests and inheritance with both hands by granting self government or independence, and that it had every right to control the administration and resources of the colonies and to operate an imperial trade preference system. This attitude to the colonies carried through his views on race relations as well, and was *not* consistent with his attitude towards Jews and Zionism. He was opposed to

Indian sailors joining the British navy and argued that “theoretical” racial equality would cause great inconvenience in practice.¹⁰⁴ His attitude to the colonies and colored communities is very well illustrated by his infamous remarks during the Round Table Conference on the future of India in London in 1931. The first session had taken place with representatives of all of the major religious and ethnic groups except the Indian National Congress which had boycotted it because of the imprisonment of its leaders. In adjourning the first session Prime Minister MacDonald ordered the release of political prisoners in India and instructed the Viceroy to enter into new conversations with Mahatma Gandhi. Churchill, on the Opposition benches, said he was “nauseated to see Mr. Gandhi, an Inner Temple lawyer, now become a seditious fakir of a type well known in the East, striding half-naked up the steps of the viceregal palace while he was still organizing and conducting a defiant campaign of civil disobedience, to parley on equal terms with the representatives of the King-Emperor.”

However, perhaps the clearest illustration of his cynical manipulation of religious communities and their beliefs comes from the cabinet records of February 1940, well into the war and only weeks before he became Prime Minister, when he opposed any attempt at religious reconciliation in India. He told cabinet that he “regarded the Hindu-Muslim feud as the bulwark of British rule in India.” By refusing to consider constitutional change in India on the basis that it must be “to the detriment of matters touching the final life and safety of the State” if such an immense issue as India were put to cabinet at that time, he killed any prospect for reconciliation and guaranteed that the eventual settlement would be shaped by great violence.

Churchill’s personal philosophy was neither Christian nor mainstream monotheist. He held that there was a place for institutional religion as the basis for community ethics [or for subjugation and violence] but, as C.E.M. Joad puts it, he treated religion “not as a channel of man’s communication with another order of reality, but as a form of institution within a society designed to justify the society’s proceedings to its members.”¹⁰⁵ This may be interpreted as a rejection of theism, but that interpretation would not be consistent with his profound sense of personal destiny. His acceptance of the concept of predestination clearly implies his recognition of a power bringing influence to bear on ‘destiny’ and in speeches and letters he invoked the name of God on numerous occasions. He was an enigma. A manipulative enigma. While he rejected the church’s self-understanding as a representative of God or an intermediary between humanity and God, he played on the possible fate of the church to very good effect and as if he was a deeply committed believer. And his experience of inter-faith manipulation and the conduct of the Vatican during World War I show through a somewhat cynical statement in his essay ‘Shall we commit suicide?’ that “Religion, having discreetly avoided conflict on the fundamental issues, offered its encouragement and consolations through all its forms impartially to all its combatants.”

When the task of drafting the terms of the British mandate in Palestine fell to Churchill his fundamental philosophy, his attitude to the church, his very wide travels and experience, and his knowledge of history – generally from a European perspective – interacted so that he readily

embraced the thrust of the *Balfour Declaration* and contemporary Zionism. However, as in his dealings with India, his tolerance and understanding deserted him badly in his dealings with the Arab communities during the critical 1930's. Testifying before the Peel Commission in 1937 he called for all of Palestine to be turned over to the Jews, denied that this would involve injustice to the Arabs and said the injustice was committed by those who "live in the country (and) leave it to be desert for thousands of years." Commenting on Moorish achievements in Spain he said he was glad they were thrown out. All Arabs were "wastrels and inferior" and he looked forward to the day when Britain had no further duties to the Arab minority in Palestine. All that from the architect of the modern kingdoms of the Arabian Peninsula! However after some reflection he regretted his words and asked that the Commissioners strike them from the official record.¹⁰⁶

Immovable support for the person of the monarch went hand in hand with Churchill's fundamental imperialism and the abdication crisis of 1936 added greatly to his woes. The evidence of King Edward VIII's sympathy for Germany, including MI5 telephone taps of his conversations with the German Embassy,¹⁰⁷ which the government did not wish to discuss publicly made it imperative, in its view, that he should be forced to abdicate and the issue of his planned marriage to a divorcee made the resolution of the matter very simple. However Churchill didn't see it that way. He was certainly against divorce, saying simply that it shouldn't be allowed. This illustrated the contradiction in his attitude to religious matters. He could recognize the role of the church as the instrument for the determination of community conduct and morals while rejecting its theology. But his personal friendship with Edward and his insistence that the person of the monarch was paramount took precedence over the issue of divorce and the moral authority of the church. He urged the king to fight the government's decision to force him out. He fought it personally with great emotion in the House of Commons and he helped the deposed king draft his abdication speech.¹⁰⁸ In doing so he temporarily lost the support of both the general public (which was not aware of the politics behind the government's action and its manipulation of the church and which therefore saw it as a simple issue of morality) and the majority of MPs. The impact was such that Churchill and his advisers thought it unlikely that he would ever be offered another post.

Also at a personal level, Churchill played the American stock exchange, relying largely on the advice of his well-placed friends which did not save him from major losses either in the stock market crash of 1929 or in 1938. He saw nothing wrong in accepting substantial fees for handling an oil company's dealings with the government and he also accepted substantial benefits from other corporations as well as from *The Focus* for making sponsored lecture tours in the United States.¹⁰⁹ But perhaps the most questionable financial arrangement he entered into was that with Sir Henry Strakosch in March 1938 under which Sir Henry covered his massive stock crash debt and enabled him to avoid the sale of Chartwell and to stay in politics at the peak of the appeasement crisis, immediately after Hitler walked into Czechoslovakia and imprisoned both Chancellor Schuschnigg and Baron Louis de Rothschild. (chapter 21) In this respect he appears to have placed himself in an even more questionable position than Sir

Samuel Hoare when he accepted the financial support from Lord Beaverbrook which enabled him to stay in parliament and support Chamberlain in his appeasement policy. However it appears that neither legal nor political action was initiated against either of them, although a generation later any of those conflicts of interest would have been sufficient to justify legal action or for a minister to be stripped of his portfolio.

Thus Churchill sat on the back benches, biding his time while Britain and Europe floundered around, dragging the whole world towards it war. And when Britain finally called for a new leader to guide it through the enormous challenge which lay ahead he was ready to respond. He was of aristocratic heritage but he had not assumed his high office as a right of birth. He had faced the people and been elected. He was experienced in both domestic and colonial affairs, in economic management and in military affairs. He had made mistakes, accepted the consequences and, with the aid of a few powerful friends, regained the confidence of the nation at large. He was a dedicated royalist and a committed imperialist but he had the common touch. He was a professional soldier whose bravery was beyond question. He certainly had his share of blemishes but he also had enormous strength of personal character and he was not a lackey of the church. He was the communicator par excellence. In other words he was the archetype of British leaders and he had come along at the right time to lead Britain and its empire in their time of crisis. He understood the pride, the aspirations – and the fears – of the British people very well indeed.

Churchill captured and harnessed the mood of the nation exceptionally well when he asked the House of Commons for a vote of confidence on Monday, May 13, 1940. And he didn't gild the lily. He was extremely frank in telling parliament and the people what his aim was: to maintain the empire. He played up the personal danger and invoked the name of God for a war against "a monstrous tyranny, never surpassed in the dark, lamentable catalogue of human crime." That was actually quite an exaggeration because up to that time, before the 'final solution' decrees were put into effect – Hitler's crimes had certainly been no worse than the 'purifying' efforts of the Holy Roman Empire carried out in the name of its Messiah-God, or even the excesses of Tsarist Russia. Then he turned directly to the aim of the war.

You ask, What is our aim? I can answer in one word: Victory – victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror; victory however hard and long the road may be; for without victory there is no survival. Let that be realized: no survival for the British Empire; no survival for all that the British Empire has stood for, no survival for the urge and impulse of the ages, that mankind will move forward towards its goal.¹¹⁰

They were powerfully emotive words. In fact much of mankind was perfectly happy to "move forward towards its goal" without Britain riding on its shoulders. But with a unanimous vote of confidence from the House of Commons and being supremely confident of his ability to do so, Churchill was ready, willing and able to lead Magog in its battle against Gog. Or was it the other way around? It did not really matter. However it did matter that central to the conduct of that war was the fact that 'the Jewish Question' was a determining factor in the

understanding and policies of the paramount leader of each of the two opposing camps. Both were Christian in their upbringing and religious affiliations. But one was a rabid anti-Semite and the other was a firmly committed Zionist. The paramount leaders of the two great powers which were scouting around the fringes but had not yet fallen into either camp, the United States and the Soviet Union, were both opposed to the aims of the Zionists but they were not anti-Jewish. They each had their own agenda for the 'Jewish Question.' One was an avowed atheist who had made provision for an autonomous Jewish region. The other maintained his Christian links but insisted on freedom of religion and, in due course, proclaimed it to be one of four fundamental human freedoms. And like the leaders of the two 'camps' they both took full advantage of the church when it suited their political purposes.

Then there was the leader of the third power which, while not directly involved in the conflict in Europe, was intimately interested in its outcome and was being jockeyed into position by its military leaders to take advantage of the conflict to begin the process of decolonization in Asia: His Imperial Majesty the Emperor Hirohito. Widely travelled, a marine biologist by profession, Emperor Hirohito was regarded by the devout followers of Shinto Buddhism as Heaven-descended, divine and sacred, and pre-eminent above all his subjects in accordance with the teachings which had been developed upon the establishment of the Meiji Constitution about 70 years before in the wake of the humiliation of Japan by the Western powers. He held supreme authority under that constitution but in practice his authority was approximately the same as that of the constitutional British monarch and the exercise of real power was a matter of contest between the prime minister of the day, Admiral Mitsumasa Yonai, and Japan's military leaders. While Churchill sought to consolidate his power in Britain, Japan's military leaders were gradually wresting power from Prime Minister Yonai and concealing the fact behind a cloak of Imperial authority.

CHURCHILL'S APPEAL FOR HELP

The Allies had misjudged Germany's strategic plan for the invasion of Western Europe and Britain and the German forces broke through or moved around the allied lines with amazing speed. Between Chamberlain's decision to resign on the morning of Friday, May 10, after German forces launched their simultaneous dawn invasions of France and the two neutral states, Holland and Belgium, and Churchill's vote of confidence speech on the morning of Monday, May 13, much of Holland and Belgium had been overrun, Queen Wilhemina of the Netherlands had personally phoned King George VI to appeal for British air support and had then been evacuated by British destroyer to England. The world assumed that the surrender of Holland was imminent, that Dutch control of its colonies would be virtually void, and that the future of the wealth-producing Dutch East Indies would be a matter of negotiation – or dispute.

The atmosphere was therefore rather sensitive when British and Japanese negotiators met in London next day, May 14, to discuss Britain's proposal for an economic agreement with Japan and the *aide memoire* which was to provide the basis of a "contraband" embargo against

Russia. The Japanese provided a list of raw materials which they wished to continue importing from the British Empire and the friendly atmosphere encouraged the British to think that Anglo-Japanese relations may be turning for the better. However next day, May 15, when Holland was totally overrun, there was a surge of belief in Japan that alignment with Germany was the way forward, that the government should seek to take advantage of the power vacuum which was developing in South East Asia, and that the terms for Japan's cooperation in any contraband embargo against Russia should be much more favourable. That belief was strengthened by Mussolini's declaration, not linked to a date, that he intended to take up arms on the side of Hitler and which triggered a great burst of activity – and apprehension. Diplomats accredited to the Vatican by countries “unfriendly to Italy” began to move inside the city-state boundaries; the Vatican made arrangements to transfer gold bars worth \$US7,665,000 to the United States so that it would have cash available in case Italy blockaded it; and *L'Osservatore Romano* agreed to publish only official war communiqués without comment to avoid a ban on sales outside the Vatican.¹¹¹

That afternoon, prior to Holland's formal surrender that evening but anticipating the early occupation of all of western Europe, Churchill wrote to Roosevelt. He told the president that Britain expected to be attacked “in the near future” because “the small countries are simply smashed up, one by one, like matchwood” and that “if necessary, we shall continue the war alone” It had thus come to Churchill's turn to appeal directly to a foreign power for military intervention and, in that letter, the first written to Roosevelt in his capacity as prime minister, he asked for immediate assistance on a grand scale. He sought: the loan of “forty of fifty of your old destroyers”; several hundred of the latest types of aircraft; anti-aircraft equipment and ammunition; approval to purchase steel and other materials in the United States; the visit of a United States naval squadron to Irish ports [to prevent Hitler from establishing a base in collaboration with Irish dissidents]; and assistance “to keep the Japanese quiet in the Pacific, using Singapore in any way convenient.”¹¹² The Americans, including Secretary of State Cordell Hull, still believed that Britain's imperial reserves were not at serious risk and it could pay cash for everything, and the British believed that America was using the wartime situation to challenge their overseas trading position, so it had become necessary for increasingly frank discussions between senior officials in both governments for several months. But the point had now been reached that there was no purpose to be served by trying to camouflage Britain's inability to finance a major war. Churchill therefore threw in one very telling sentence. “We shall go on paying dollars for as long as we can, but I should like to feel reasonably sure that when we can pay no more, you will give us the stuff all the same,” he wrote.¹¹³ That was hardly a request that would encourage Roosevelt to believe that Britain had a lasting grip on the Far East and he immediately ordered that the fleet remain in Hawaiian waters.¹¹⁴

Next day, May 16, Churchill wrote to Mussolini in an effort to persuade him not to act on his *Pact of Steel* with Hitler, to remain neutral, and to consider the likely intervention of the United States. He tried to gloss over and distance himself from the British government's very recent efforts to restrict Italy's influence in the Mediterranean, with which the British Chiefs of Staff

were vitally concerned, and its grab for colonies within reach of home in the North African region. Notwithstanding his own attitude to the church's theology, and like many national leaders before him, he also sought to take advantage of the European 'Christian club' concept, or the political implications of the Vatican's world wide reach. He would have known that this could be a dangerous ploy because Mussolini had been a vigorous opponent of the church's theology and the Vatican's power – until it suited him to take advantage of it in his negotiations for its political support through the *Lateran Treaty* and *Roman Concordat*. Churchill wrote, in part:

*Is it too late to stop a river of blood from flowing between the British and the Italian peoples? We can no doubt inflict grievous injuries upon one another and maul each other cruelly, and darken the Mediterranean with our strife. If you so decree, it must be so; but I declare that I have never been the enemy of Italian greatness, nor ever at heart the foe of the Italian lawgiver. [and] ... I believe with some assurance that we shall be aided in increasing measure by the United States, and indeed by all the Americas. ... Down the ages and above all other calls comes the cry that the joint heirs of Latin and Christian civilization must not be ranged against one another in mortal strife.*¹¹⁵

Unknown to Churchill, in view of the impending defeat of France Mussolini had already decided three days earlier to declare war on both France and Britain within a month and in his reply to the British PM on May 18, Mussolini was somewhat more frank than Churchill. He told him: "... you are certainly aware of grave reasons of an historical and contingent character which have ranged our two countries in opposite camps" and reminded him of the sanctions organized by Britain against Italy in 1935 when it was "engaged in securing for herself a small space in the African sun without causing the slightest injury to your interests and territories or those of others."

Given that their personal resistance to the theology and authority of the church ran in parallel, the similarity between Mussolini's and Churchill's adherence to the European 'Christian club' concept and the belief in Christian Europe's right to possess and exploit the rest of the world which that note indicates is quite remarkable. It illustrates again how deeply ingrained the self-understanding of the church had become throughout the communities which it dominated, in spite of people's doubts about its theology. The amorphous gel of Western Christianity could not be easily unscrambled into its components, especially after the "new relationship" between the Vatican and the United States which had been sealed with the arrival of the President's personal representative only a few months earlier and which antagonized the Duce greatly. Mussolini went on to remind Churchill of the "real and actual state of servitude in which Italy finds herself in her own sea" and closed with the blunt warning that "If it was to honour your signature that your government declared war on Germany, you will understand that the same sense of honour and respect for engagements assumed in the *Italian-German Treaty* guides Italian policy today and tomorrow in the face of any event whatsoever."¹¹⁶

Churchill also received Roosevelt's reply that day. The news was very mixed. He was personally very supportive of Churchill and his policy. He would facilitate 'to the utmost' the

requests for material purchases, but there could be no destroyers without Congress approval, and on the question of discouraging Japan he could only refer to the concentration of US naval force in Pearl Harbour.

A DIFFERENT KIND OF PAUSE

During the few days of hectic politicking following the capitulation of Holland, the German forces had pushed on relentlessly. The widespread expectation in the United States was that Germany would sweep through the balance of Western Europe very quickly and that Britain could not hold out for more than a few weeks. Roosevelt therefore sought an assurance from Britain, in discussion with Lord Lothian that in the event of a British defeat, or negotiated peace, the fleet would be kept out of Hitler's reach by sending it to the United States. At about the same time, on the afternoon of May 19, the possibility that it would be necessary to evacuate the entire BEF from France and Belgium was raised by Lord Gort with the War Office but the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Field Marshall Lord Ironside, disagreed with his assessment and Gort was ordered to adhere to the existing plan to push south.

That evening, at the suggestion of Chamberlain,¹¹⁷ Churchill broadcast to the nation for the first time as prime minister. Drawing on all his powers of persuasion and rhetoric he distracted people from those aspects of Hitler's policies which many had accepted and even admired; swept away the atmosphere of depression which had engulfed the nation; lifted the national morale to new heights; and inspired people throughout the Commonwealth and the United States with a vision of the purpose of the war which no one had anticipated. After referring to the present time as one of the most awe-striking periods in their history and "beyond doubt the most sublime," he said the British and French, together, "have advanced to rescue not only Europe but mankind from the foulest and most soul destroying tyranny which has ever darkened and stained the pages of history." Gathered behind their armies and fleets were "a group of shattered states and bludgeoned races: the Czechs, the Poles, the Norwegians, the Danes, the Dutch, the Belgians – upon all of whom the long night of barbarism will descend, unbroken even by a star of hope, unless we conquer, as conquer we must; as conquer we shall."¹¹⁸

With this broadcast, coming only six days after his vote of confidence speech in the Commons in which he had set a similar tone, Churchill changed the international perception of Hitler substantially. The Fuhrer was no longer the most dynamic leader in Europe with the most effective economic and social policies, putting into effect what the church had failed to do, lifting his country out of humiliation and degradation by the bootstraps, and just somewhat over-ambitious in correcting the evils of the Treaty of Versailles. He was barbarism personified, he was the foulest tyrant in history and he would drag the whole world to the depths of degradation if he was not stopped. It did not seem to matter that Churchill's flamboyant, exaggerated description did not sit comfortably with history; that his representation of history was just as flawed as the popes'; and that the papacy, in consort with its Western Christian power brokers, had perpetrated dastardly abuses of humanity on a far greater scale than had

Hitler, *at that stage*. His listeners did not know, nor could they know, that their own governments had deliberately concealed or suppressed details of many of the crimes against humanity which he had been responsible for. Nor could they understand that the policies and actions of their own governments – and the fact that they refused to change those policies and practices – had provided both the provocation and the pattern for those which he had implemented. All that mattered was that the new British Prime Minister had given them the justification for their war and it was their moral responsibility to put their backs into it for the benefit of humanity. Even those who were opposed to his policies were inspired. It was a part of the parody which had to be worked through that, very soon – because of the Western Christian World’s refusal to rethink its attitudes, policies and practices, and because they had agreed to put their backs into the war for the benefit of humanity – Hitler would conform to the description of him which Churchill had etched in their minds.

Churchill’s reference to ‘the Fleet’ in his broadcast was especially significant. He had received Lothian’s report prior to his broadcast in the evening and Roosevelt was clearly intended to get a message as well as the British public. Then, in a note transmitted on May 20 which the War Cabinet “pondered over” but did not amend, Churchill declined to give the assurance Roosevelt had sought. He said that his government intended “to fight on to the end in this island ... (and) ... in no conceivable circumstances will we consent to surrender.” But he went on to say, very bluntly, that if his government fell in the process “and others came in to parley amid the ruins, you must not be blind to the fact that the sole remaining bargaining counter with Germany would be the Fleet, and *if this country was left by the United States to its fate** no one would have the right to blame those then responsible if they made the best terms they could for the surviving inhabitants. ... Evidently I could not answer for my successors, who in utter despair and helplessness might well have to accommodate themselves to the German will.” He closed a very sobering note saying: “However, there is happily no need at present to dwell upon such ideas.”¹¹⁹ [*Emphasis added.]

The broadcast also had another effect in America. It enabled elements in the administration who were favourably disposed to Britain to capitalize on American fear and self-interest in order to marshal public opinion by promoting a *Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies*.¹²⁰ However, Churchill’s rhetoric didn’t slow the German armies, and with the situation continuing to deteriorate and the prospect of a massive military defeat, the matter of evacuation was discussed by the British War Cabinet for the first time on May 20, and precautionary planning was authorized.¹²¹ Then, on May 21 the German spearhead reached the estuary of the River Somme on the English Channel about 100 kilometres south of the Franco-Belgian border, and the French, Belgium and British forces were split in two. Hitler celebrated the rapid German advance with his generals at the estuary of the Somme that day with the announcement that “the British can have their peace as soon as they return our colonies to us,” and at the same time he approved a temporary pause in the south while the German forces there regrouped.¹²² About 400,000 Allied troops were caught in a wedge straddling northern France, coastal Belgium and a sliver of southern Holland, about 50 kilometres wide and 200 kilometres long

but the German command was not aware of the enormity of the prize within their grasp because their intelligence reports estimated the number of trapped Allied troops at about 100,000.¹²³ The strategy was that the German offensive in that theatre would be concentrated towards Paris while the armies to the north would crush the Allied forces along the coast. By then cabinet had accepted the assessment that the prospects for a breakout were bleak and the Allied situation was so very critical that at 10 o'clock on the evening of May 23 Churchill called on the king and advised him that if the French-authored plan for a break-out towards Paris did not succeed it would be necessary that the BEF be ordered back to England.¹²⁴ Then, quite unexpectedly, on May 24, when the Belgian front was near the point of collapse and ten French divisions and nine British divisions were caught between that failing front and German panzer divisions in the south – facing the prospect of being pummeled into total defeat – Hitler ordered a halt to the panzer push from the south.

The transmission of that order was intercepted by British intelligence, and commanders, doubting at first that it was genuine, could not believe their good fortune. Next day, May 25, Lord Gort, commanding the BEF, concluded that a break-out was not achievable and took the decision to withdraw from the existing French-authored plan to push south, against the panzers. He decided to plug the gaps in the northern perimeter and to secure an area at the coast to facilitate an attempt at mass evacuation. Preparation began immediately. At the same time the British and French governments jointly contacted Roosevelt with an appeal for him to intervene personally with Mussolini in a bid to avoid Italy joining Germany in the war at that critical stage. They asked the president to tell Mussolini that they both understood Italy to have territorial grievances against them in the Mediterranean; they were “disposed to consider at once any reasonable claims”; the Allies would admit Italy to the Peace Conference with status equal to that of any belligerent; and that Roosevelt had been invited to see that any agreement reached was carried out. Roosevelt transmitted their message immediately and was promptly “repulsed ... in the most abrupt manner.”

Next day, May 26, Gort's decision was confirmed by the War Office and the gathering of an armada began immediately with the aim of evacuating the trapped BEF, the French forces and some others through a beach head at Dunkirk. At the same time, at a meeting in London, French Premier Reynaud suggested that concessions on Gibraltar and Suez be offered by Britain to Italy immediately, saying France was prepared to make “similar concessions about Tunis.” The pace of the game ‘beggar my neighbour’, otherwise called ‘give away other people and their resources,’ had not slackened. Neither had the rules changed. It was simply France's move. It was now suggesting that Britain should be the one whose territory was given away preferentially. Churchill flatly rejected the move. Gibraltar and Suez were both of absolute strategic importance to Britain's ability to hold its empire together and they were not negotiable. But he was still not prepared to admit their importance or the fragility of Britain's position. He said the government's inability to “show any favour to these ideas ... was not because it was wrong to examine them or because it did not seem worth while at (that) moment to pay a heavy price to keep Italy out of the war ... (and) ... one cannot easily make a bargain at the last gasp.”

Britain could not offer anything “which Mussolini could not take for himself or be given by Hitler if we were defeated.”¹²⁵

At that stage, “at the darkest moment before the Dunkirk Deliverance,” Churchill sought a report from the Chiefs of Staff on whether Britain could hold out against a German invasion in the event of a French withdrawal to neutrality and Belgian capitulation “after assisting the BEF to reach the coast.” The final paragraph of the COS report stated: “... our conclusion is that *prima facie* Germany has most of the cards; but the real test is whether the morale of our fighting personnel and civil population will counterbalance the numerical and material advantages which Germany enjoys. We believe it will.” Churchill used that report to obtain agreement for the course which he was determined on – the evacuation of the BEF and continuation of the war without negotiations – from the four members of his War Cabinet “and the few other ministers who saw it.” He did not convene a meeting of the full cabinet.¹²⁶ The evacuation was therefore pursued immediately.

When Hitler realized, on May 26, that a mass evacuation was being attempted and that Churchill was not about to seek an armistice he ordered that the panzer assault recommence, that the artillery barrage be intensified, and that every effort be concentrated on preventing the evacuation. However those days of quiet had been critical and the BEF was able to keep a sufficient gap open to enable the mass march of troops to the coast. Boarding began on May 27 using a total of 861 vessels of all types from cruisers to tugs and fishing vessels. From that day, the push towards Paris took second place. Action on the Somme River front was put on hold, and the ground advance towards Paris did not recommence until after the Dunkirk evacuation had been completed. The position of the encircled British and French forces became even more critical on the morning of the May 28 when the Belgian army surrendered, releasing more German forces to concentrate on the fleeing allies. But, with the Germans unable to halt the evacuation and with little purpose in further aerial bombardment of Dunkirk, Hitler’s attention returned to Paris. Air bombardment began on June 3 and Hitler gave the order to advance towards the French capital next day, June 4, the day on which the evacuation was completed.

Churchill addressed parliament that afternoon. He gloried in the success of the evacuation, relating the impact of the air force to a victory; he implied some form of divine intervention by using expressions such as “this deliverance”, but he did not gloat. “Wars are not won by evacuations” he said. He knew that there was still dissent among his ministers in spite of the fact that he had gained approval from his War Cabinet for his decisions, and he knew that the majority of the population would have welcomed a negotiated settlement. He therefore used the occasion to steel the national will. After outlining the evacuation operation, the role of the air force, Hitler’s reputed plan for the invasion of Britain, and the need for well organized home defence to relieve the ‘Expeditionary Force’ he turned to the broad international picture and appealed directly, but very subtly, to the people of the United States. A key passage read:

Even though large tracts of Europe and many old and famous States have fallen or may fall into the grip of the Gestapo and all the odious apparatus of Nazi rule, we shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end. We shall fight in France, we shall fight in the seas and oceans,

*we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air; we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be. We shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing-grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender; and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this Island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God's good time, the New World, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the Old.*¹²⁷

It was a masterly performance. A touch of history, an emotional tug for a bit of human rights sympathy, a play on the American religious self-understanding, and a play on fear of real isolation. It came just at the right time to influence public opinion in favor of continued support for Britain and to offset the stream of contrary advice which Roosevelt was receiving from key officials in the administration. The President had already used devious means, such as having the United States Steel Corporation buy 'surplus' equipment from the US Army which, Congress had said, could be sold only for the defence of the Western Hemisphere (or the continents of the Americas) and re-sell it to Britain at the same price.¹²⁸

Belgium formally capitulated next morning, June 5, as some 143 divisions of German ground forces pushed southward from the Somme along a front 140 miles wide, (225 kilometre), towards Paris. The push proceeded relentlessly and their armed superiority was such that it seemed to matter little that they faced 103 divisions of French and British troops.

Mussolini formally declared Italy to be at war in alliance with Germany on June 10, and in doing so he evoked an immediate response from Roosevelt. That evening, at a graduation function at the University of Virginia, the president publicly confronted the pro-German and pro-Italian groups who were backing the isolationists for the first time. He attacked Mussolini's decision and firmly committed the United States to a program of aid to the Allies. He said those who believed that the US could survive as "a lone island in a world dominated by the philosophy of force" were deluded. He condemned the 'jackal-like' attack on France by Mussolini saying: "the hand that held the dagger has stuck it into the back of his neighbour." He said, without naming 'the opponents': "We will extend to the opponents of force the material resources of this nation." This is taken as an oblique reference to an appeal which he had received from Australia's Prime Minister, Robert Menzies, that America's financial and material resources be made available to Britain and France, to which he had already relied favourably. He closed by saying that America's own defences would be prepared with full speed ahead.¹²⁹ In view of the ethnic composition of the American population Roosevelt's action had involved a definite political risk. This illustrates that he had reached the point at which he assessed the prospects for an Axis victory and the threats to the economic and political interests of the United States as justifying such a risk. However he was not prepared to move too far out in front of the pack. Next day he denied that his speech meant any change to the 'cash and carry' arms sales policy or the introduction of large scale credit.

Roosevelt's caution was justified by the stream of gratuitous advice which he and Churchill had received during the previous few days. The chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations

Committee, Senator Key Pittman, publicly advised Churchill to abandon the British Isles because its forces “obviously were unable to defend them and American aid would be wasted.” Breckinridge Long said that Hitler would win within weeks and it would be “foolhardy to antagonize the Germans until the United States was in a position to resist their military power.” Admiral Stark and General Marshall, who had authorized a massive transfer of ‘redundant stock’ in line with Roosevelt’s policy on the day of Churchill’s broadcast, both advised the president that he should make “no further commitments for furnishing materials to the Allies” since their planners also believed Britain would be defeated within weeks.

Next day, June 11, Churchill flew to France to talk with the French government which had left Paris to set up headquarters at Tours, while Italy’s first battle strike extended the war into Africa. From bases in Libya and Eritrea Italian bombing raids were carried out on Suez (Egypt) and Port Sudan. In a bid to show its own public and the world that it was not down and out and that it was a power to be reckoned with, the British government retaliated the same day with pre-planned bombing raids from Kenya against a base in Eritrea and from England, across France, to Genoa and Turin. The prompt retaliation may have boosted morale in the West to some extent but it had little impact in Tokyo. Craigie was summoned to the Foreign Ministry immediately to be told that in view of Italy’s entry into the war, Britain should withdraw its remaining gun boats and troops from China in order to avoid any clash with the Italian garrison in Shanghai. Whitehall treated the matter with disdain.¹³⁰

On June 12 the French suffered heavy losses and advised the German command that in order to avoid the destruction of Paris its army would vacate the city and permit the German army unimpeded entry. Such news reaching Tokyo strengthened the determination of the Japanese government to extract more trade and territorial concessions from both France and Britain if it was to cooperate in the embargo against Russia. Having already forced France to block supplies of military goods to China through French Indo-China, Japan now concluded a treaty with Thailand, only two days after Italy entered the war, and it was in a position to insist on access to Vichy-French controlled facilities in Northern Indo-China. Similarly, the *Craigie-Arita Agreement*, under which Britain had acknowledged Japan’s position in China the year before, had done little except indicate Britain’s military impotence in the East. It did not offset the damage done by its note of January 1939 linking it to US opposition to any Japanese expansion. Japan had continued to campaign under the slogan that “unless Japan peels off the thick skin of the British for all Orientals to see, eternal peace will not dawn in Eastern Asia.”¹³¹ One of its peeling mechanisms had been to restrict the divisive activities of the churches and their missions through requiring the amalgamation of all of the Protestant bodies, and those churches which refused to merge, including the Anglican Church, were dissolved.

Although the British negotiators were hamstrung by the American insistence that ferro-alloys were not to be supplied to Japan, and in spite of the demand to remove Britain’s forces only two days earlier, Undersecretary Butler was still optimistic that an agreement could be achieved. However the mood in Whitehall changed on June 13 when the MEW received advice from

Tokyo that their demands were far too wide and there was “no hope” that the embargo would be discussed.¹³²

Churchill was in touch with Reynaud again that day in a bid to persuade the French government, by then near the end of organized resistance, not to “enter into a separate peace with Germany.” The government was deeply divided but Reynaud agreed to make a direct appeal to Roosevelt “to declare war if you can, but in any event to send us every form of help short of an expeditionary force.”¹³³ Roosevelt’s response was, in effect, a rejection of the appeal but he instructed his military planners to assume that Britain would still be actively resisting Germany in six months time with neither the United States nor the Soviet Union having entered the war,¹³⁴ and he advised the British and French that the US government was doing “everything in its power to make available to the Allied governments the material they so urgently require, and our efforts to do still more are being redoubled.”¹³⁵ Cordell Hull refused to allow the statement to be published from fear of a political backlash in the US. One of the things the administration had agreed upon was a system of joint financing of military plant expansion under which the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) could advance the money required for factories to be built to supply the equipment which each of the United States, Britain and France needed and that the Allies would only pay back to the RFC in proportion to the goods produced which they actually purchased.¹³⁶ Although it fell well short of what Britain and France hoped for, it was, in fact, a major step for the president to approve as leader of a non-belligerent power, especially in view of US Neutrality Laws.

AN ANGLO-FRENCH UNION?

German troops entered Paris on June 14 and, in the absence of an undertaking from the United States that it would intervene, the Deputy Prime Minister of France, Marshall Petain, threatened to resign if the French Government did not seek a separate peace to prevent the total occupation of France. The British Government then made a desperation bid to keep France in the war with an offer of a complete Anglo-French political and economic merger with “the indissoluble union of our two peoples and of our two empires.” Sir Alexander Cadogan noted in his diary that it was Neville Chamberlain, the former Prime Minister, who “brought up” the proposal “which he [Chamberlain] didn’t think much of”¹³⁷ and although Churchill was at pains in his memoirs to disclaim responsibility for originating the idea and to show that his first reaction was unfavourable, some authors credit the pursuit of the proposal primarily to him.

Churchill later wrote that on June 14 a group of British and French officials (whose names he listed) had “evolved the outline of a declaration for a Franco-British Union with the object ... of giving M. Reynaud some new fact of a vivid and stimulating nature with which to carry the majority of his cabinet into the move to Africa and the continuance of the war.” Having noted “the overpowering importance of making sure of the French fleet” he wrote that he first heard of “a definite plan” at a luncheon on June 15 with Lord Halifax, the French Ambassador M. Charles Corbin, Sir Robert Vansittart “and one or two others.” Such wording does not exclude

the possibility that he had instructed the officials to develop a proposal or that he was at least aware of earlier discussions. It may be, therefore, that Chamberlain raised the matter in cabinet either at the request of Churchill, or prompted by a submission which he was aware of, or on his own initiative. In any case there was minimal discussion of the proposal in cabinet and although it was approved it was deeply divisive. When Churchill transmitted the declaration next day he attached a simple note that he was writing "in accordance with cabinet's wishes," but he then pursued the matter with vigour. He told the French Government: "We cannot measure the various forms of tribulation which will fall upon our peoples in the near future. We are sure that the ordeal by fire will only fuse them together into one unconquerable whole." The British cabinet had agreed that under the Franco-British Union there would be a single War Cabinet, joint organs of defence, foreign, financial and economic policies, and dual citizenship. Reynaud supported the proposal but the debate in his cabinet was so acrimonious that it was not put to the vote. He resigned and Marshall Petain formed a government.

The fact that Churchill, the archetypal British Imperialist whose every move, whether personal or political, was aimed at maintaining and strengthening the British Empire, could offer to sacrifice imperial independence, basically in order to secure the French fleet in an effort to maintain some level of shared imperial operations and benefits, illustrates that Britain's plight was desperate indeed. However he went on to write: "We shall never turn from the conflict until France stands safe and erect in all her grandeur, until the wronged and enslaved states and peoples have been liberated, and *until civilization is freed from the nightmare of Nazidom.*" [Emphasis added.]

The sentiment in those final few words was the sentiment which had provided the basis for not only Churchill's many speeches and addresses on behalf of *The Focus*, but also his vote of confidence address to the House of Commons one month earlier, his broadcast to the nation, and his address to the Commons on June 4. In that one brief but consistent expression Prime Minister Churchill had tied the fate of the British Empire to Hitler's pursuit of his final solution. The sentiment and the decision were clearly Churchill's. The decision had been brewing for some time but it was taken without specific public debate for the purpose, without parliamentary debate and with a minimum of cabinet consultation. It is therefore very tempting, and it may be justifiable on the basis of the evidence available, to say that Churchill was personally and politically beholden to *The Focus* and that he was therefore locked into the decision which he took. But that is too simplistic and it does no justice to the integrity of either Churchill or the Jewish community. The consequences of the church's self misunderstanding, centuries of anti-Semitism and, specifically, the cynical manipulation and exploitation of the Jewish community by means of the *Balfour Declaration* in pursuit of Britain's imperial interests were coming home to roost. Churchill's personal stand on the Jewish question was well known and he had never sought to conceal his commitment to Zionism but in the weeks and months which followed that bid he had to work hard to maintain consensus in cabinet and it therefore fell to him to maintain the support of the British public, together with the dominions and colonies, and to secure the involvement of the United States.

Even if the cabinets had both reached majority decisions to implement the union which Churchill proposed it is very doubtful whether it could have been sustained because of dissent in both countries. Marshall Petain said that it was a scheme to place France in tutelage, to carry off her empire and to reduce her to the status of a dominion. And because he expected Britain to be defeated within three weeks, having its neck “wrung like a chicken”, he said it amounted to “fusion with a corpse.”¹³⁸ Similarly, in Britain Lord Hankey declared that he would resist to the uttermost in his power “any sacrifice of our nationality or any permanent fusion with France.”¹³⁹ National pride and ethnic sensitivity, bias and insularity ran just as deep on both sides of the battle lines.

Cordell Hull’s advice to Roosevelt that his supportive statement of the 13th should not be published proved politically astute. While Churchill, Halifax and Corbin were at lunch on June 15, the US Congress was in the act of rebuffing Roosevelt for his strong policy stand and for the fact that he had already authorized substantial sales of arms to Britain and France. It showed clearly that while some people, like Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, were prepared to “support a resolution right now declaring war against both Germany and Italy”¹⁴⁰ an isolationist atmosphere still prevailed. Congress approved a resolution for the sale of surplus US coast and anti-aircraft defence equipment to Latin American countries which were also to be permitted to build warships in US naval shipyards. But it prohibited those countries from transferring out of the hemisphere (of the Americas) any of the goods so purchased or built.¹⁴¹ It was more concerned at the possibility that Germany and Italy might join forces with the ultra-right wing regimes in the Argentine and Uruguay and foment an anti-American movement among the five million or so people of German, Italian and Japanese descent in the central and southern Americas than it was about the immediate fate of Western Europe and Britain.¹⁴² And there was also a strong feeling in Congress that Britain would either be defeated or seeking an armistice within weeks and there was little to be gained by permitting further supplies to be shipped there. They were only echoing Hitler’s confidence. His confidence was so great that on that day he had ordered partial demobilization of the Reich Army, from 160 divisions to 120, a move which he had foreshadowed in May. It was hardly the action of a supreme commander who anticipated the need for the military occupation of Britain by sea-borne invasion.

In the meantime, while German troops were marching into Paris, the Soviet government issued an ultimatum to Lithuania requiring that Soviet troops be permitted to occupy the country. With no option, the government complied. Latvia and Estonia were subjected to the same treatment on June 16. Those actions undermined even further any will which the French government had to continue resistance. With the balance of its army facing a rout, the Petain government opened negotiations with Germany on June 18. Churchill and the British government were under even greater pressure to do likewise, but there was a ray of hope, and some relief, next day when an agreement was signed with Japan resolving the Tientsin territorial and trade dispute which had brought the two countries to the brink of war a year earlier. However the relief proved short lived. The knowledge that France had sought an armistice with Germany made its impotence in the East even more obvious than Britain’s and

Japan was learning very quickly how to leapfrog one piece at a time. Demands for the French to close Indo-China's borders with China were delivered to the French Ambassador the same day, June 19, and Britain's relief was immediately offset by a similar demand. The Director of Intelligence of the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) delivered the government's demand that Britain immediately close both the Burma/China and Hong Kong frontiers, and withdraw its forces from Shanghai. In reporting those demands, the British Military Attache in Tokyo told Whitehall that the situation was critical; there was nothing to stop Japan from seizing any or all of French Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies or Hong Kong; the United States was in no condition to prevent Japan from taking any action it wishes in the Western Pacific; and immediate compliance with its demands "is the only thing that may yet avert a declaration of war by Japan against Britain."¹⁴³

The Foreign Office reaction was to instruct Craigie to 'play for time' and to warn Japan of the economic consequences of siding with 'the unreliable Germans', but he responded with a five point plan to defuse the crisis. He proposed: British assistance to settle the Sino-Japanese crisis linked to Japanese undertakings to remain neutral in the war in Europe and to respect the status quo in South East Asia and the Pacific; financial and economic assistance from the United States and Commonwealth countries immediately and following the ending of the Sino-Japanese war; no re-export of supplies to Russia or Germany; and questions of settlements and concessions in China to be dealt with when peace was restored to Europe and China.¹⁴⁴ Craigie then battled to keep the talks alive while Churchill and his new government, which had regarded the threat to British interests in East Asia as "an inconvenience that had to be neutralized by whatever resources were available, including appeasement,"¹⁴⁵ began to focus in two directions at once. They focussed very quickly when the French authorities in Indo-China bowed to pressure and closed the border with China while the Petain government was still negotiating an armistice with Germany. The reconstruction of colonial Asia appeared imminent and both the US and Japan were eager to be involved in the action. To Japan, Germany appeared to be the partner of the future. Germany's new order in Europe would be matched by a co-prosperity sphere in East Asia under Japan's leadership.

The Franco-German armistice was signed on June 22 and, on June 25, Whitehall asked the Roosevelt administration two questions. Would the United States support Britain militarily if it refused Japan's demands? If the answer was 'no', would it agree to joint Anglo-American mediation in the Sino-Japanese war? Whitehall was on tenterhooks for a few days while it waited for the US response in case news leaked out about British talk of mediation between China and Japan. If it did, China might be pushed into the Soviet camp and British interests would be at serious risk. The Soviet Union would be antagonized by the threat of encirclement just when the Foreign Office was working to improve Anglo-Soviet relations in the European theatre, and although the FO "had no desire for Anglo-Soviet collaboration in East Asia", it certainly did not want to precipitate a Soviet push southward.¹⁴⁶ In addition Japan's relations with both of its neighbours would be compromised and it could be expected to increase its pressure for Britain to quit Asia altogether. Its double-handed poker game was going against

Britain on all sides of the table. The American response was received on June 28, the same day that the contraband control negotiations with Japan broke down and the plan for a Japanese-supported trade embargo against Russia had to be abandoned.¹⁴⁷ Secretary of State Hull would give no guarantee of US support. He said Britain should only give way on the Burma Road closure under *force majeure*, and while he did not object to Sino-Japanese peace discussions "Britain should not expect joint or parallel action by the United States." Britain was to fend for itself in its colonial adventures in East Asia,¹⁴⁸ and, at least for the time being, it had to in Europe as well. It seemed as if all the world was against it, but no one in government or in the churches had any explanation for how or why that situation had come about, and the government felt obliged to continue the conspiracy of silence because the release of any information, disclosure and debate could only weaken Britain's position still further.

Over the next few days Britain floundered from one decision to another and what ever it did – troop movements or refusal to move, border restrictions, or trading changes – antagonized one or more of China, Japan and Russia. However, by that time, although less than six percent of Americans favoured a declaration of war against the Axis, and less than 30 percent believed that Britain could win the war, public opinion in the US had swung heavily in favour of more economic assistance for Britain. It had risen from less than 20 percent in March, to almost 80 percent,¹⁴⁹ and much of the credit for that dramatic change is given to Churchill and his speech in the Commons on June 4.

Churchill was therefore determined to fight on and to avoid giving ground in compromise negotiations, and he succeeded in dragging his government with him in a decision to do so. Hitler was still equally determined to get Germany's *Lebensraum* and to rid of his Jews, but he had to change his methods because any further 'negotiated' emigration was quite out of the question. In August a plan was presented to him for the transportation of all Jews in occupied territories to the French Island of Madagascar. Whether the Nazis really expected to be able to continue their policy of expulsion and forced emigration in this way is uncertain. They could hardly expect to run the gauntlet of the British navy with full immigrant liners all the way around Europe and Africa, let alone protect them as they returned as freight-carrying vessels to Germany. They would have been very easy targets. And in any case Germany could hardly afford to release the resources for such a venture – unless it could find an alternative use for a Jewish ghetto settlement, such as a means of blackmailing Jewish communities in the United States and elsewhere. [See also, chapter 24, the Fugu Plan and Tripartite Pact negotiations, pp. 18–26.] Therefore these schemes were, in effect, a part of the 'think tank' and negotiating processes, and part of the continuing psychological or public relations battle to get the Allies to the armistice negotiating table, which the Nazi authorities went through before finally arriving at the alternative of death camps. In that sense they failed miserably.

The Great Powers pondered their options and manoeuvred for advantage and while they did so the pincers closed relentlessly on Finland's strategic frontier area which could be of interest to any number of parties. Its people found themselves totally isolated following the German occupation of Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and finally France.

They struggled to prevent *either* further Russian territorial claims *or* action by Britain to blockade its harbours. Depending on which alliances were forged or broken Finland could become a battleground in the war between Britain and the German-Italian Axis *or*, if circumstances changed, between Germany and Russia, *or* between a Western Alliance (with or without Germany) and Russia. In due course, in 1941, they would find themselves cooperating, necessarily but unwillingly, with an Alliance of Germany and Italy. But Finland desperately needed allies, or at least someone who had the ear of one or more of the warring parties. In such circumstances the overtures from the Vatican sounded heartwarming indeed! Diplomatic relations were established between them in 1942.

In the meantime it was not long before unforeseen consequences of the 'alliance' between the US and the Vatican began to show. It quite quickly undermined, or perhaps superseded, the intimate relationship between influential Fascists and the Vatican and, even though the United States was still in non-combatant mode, it was necessary for the presidential mission to be relocated within Vatican City instead of in the suburbs of Rome when Italy entered the war. A little later it was actually withdrawn, only to be re-established and enlarged when Germany invaded Russia twelve months later, on June 22, 1941 and greatly complicated the political situation for the Western Alliance and relations between the US and the Vatican. Subsequently, when the Allies invaded North Africa in November, 1942, (the decision to do so having been taken in January), and there was an increase in Allied activity in Northern Italy with obvious collusion from the church, Mussolini accused the Vatican of being little more than a listening post for the Western Alliance. He banned Taylor (who had conveniently returned to Washington six weeks before the invasion) from returning to the Vatican via Italy and contemplated revoking the *Lateran Treaty*. Cardinal Spellman then paid a special visit to the Vatican as personal messenger from Roosevelt to the pope. In spite of vigorous denials by the Vatican the indications are overwhelming that the transfer of the papal seat from Rome to the western hemisphere was considered at that time.

Pius XII was painfully aware of the implications for the church's doctrines, operations, political influence and its policy of Ultramontanism if the papacy and the headquarters of the Roman Catholic Church were to move to the US, or anywhere else in the Western hemisphere, and he resisted all pressure from both Mussolini and the United States. He insisted on staying put even though his presence complicated Allied strategy in Southern Europe and Mussolini could not force him out without some arrangement which gave the appearance of papal agreement or he would have had a nation-wide rebellion. By that stage it would have been quite impossible for the pope to shift his seat to Jerusalem – the only other city which would have been acceptable in terms of the self-understanding of the papacy – because the Jewish claim to it was becoming well entrenched in the United States. Quite apart from that, the complications for Britain's relations with the World Zionist Organization, the Jewish Agency and the Muslim Arab countries would have made its position in the Middle East impossible and the overall effect on the Allied war effort would have been catastrophic. Rome simply had to be protected so that the pope could stay there. Thus the United States – the bastion of evangelical

Protestantism – informally assumed the role of guarantor to the papacy which Austria had filled when earlier popes had been at loggerheads with Italian rulers over the future of the Papal States.

However a gradual but distinct shift occurred in the way in which the Roman Catholic Church presented itself. Its officials and spokespersons increasingly used the term ‘Catholic Church’ and ‘Mother Church’, and avoided using ‘Roman Catholic Church.’ The rise of the Ecumenical Movement which was undoubtedly world wide in character, gave them the opportunity and the incentive to place the emphasis on the competitive term ‘catholic’, meaning world wide, rather than the somewhat restrictive term ‘Holy Roman Church’ with the implication that it was ‘of and anchored in Rome.’ This enabled it to minimize the potential impact of a move away from Rome by the papacy if the circumstances of war changed so that it was impossible for it to stay put. In due course this would require it to distance itself from the decrees of the first Vatican Council seventy years earlier. Those decrees – issued within the memory of elderly Catholics everywhere – had stated categorically that: “The Holy Roman Church enjoys supreme and full primacy and pre-eminence over the whole Catholic Church ...” and “... none can doubt ... that the Holy and Most Blessed Peter ... received the keys of the kingdom from our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Redeemer of mankind, and lives, presides, and judges, to this day and always, in his successors the Bishops of the Holy See of Rome, which was founded by him and consecrated by his blood.”¹⁵⁰

Other words must have come back to haunt Pius XII also: his own pathetic praise for Mussolini in his hunt for concordats in *Summi Pontificatus* as well as those of his predecessor, Pius XI. In answer to a question from a foreign diplomat about whether he was seeking guarantors to the *Lateran Treaty*, Pius XI had said the need for such guarantors would never be less than in Mussolini’s era. If he had time to reflect on the history of the church he may also have noticed that it was pressure of political circumstances and not religious tolerance or enlightened understanding which had forced both Mussolini and the United States to change their attitudes to denominational issues. They were no different to either nineteenth century Britain when it was forced to enfranchise both Jews and Catholics or Bismarck when he dropped his Kulturkampf in favour of his anti-Semitic program in the same era.

Hitler’s decision to attack the west had reinforced existing resistance movements within Germany, some of which had been in existence since he came to power in 1933, and triggered a series of new moves against him. An important one which later involved repeated assassination attempts was formed by senior officers of the German High Command. Another involved influential clergy from the Confessional wing of the Reich Evangelical Church, and a third was based among workers linked to the Communist Party and other left wing organizations. Links were soon established through Vatican channels with the British authorities and, for a time, Pius XII agreed to act as an intermediary. This is surprising in view of his having urged Hitler, with Mussolini, to turn and wage war against the Soviet Union. As the networks of resistance became progressively intertwined they provided contacts for Allied intelligence operations, assisted in the shelter and rescue of service persons, prisoners of war and Jews, and helped to

undermine the effectiveness of the German domestic war effort through industrial disruption and sabotage, although the effectiveness of disruptive activities of that nature is debatable.¹⁵¹

But it was not only the Jews who were to suffer. Those areas of Poland which were to be fully integrated into the Reich to provide breathing space – the parcels of land for every scion of the people of the Reich to till with their own hands – were to be cleared of everyone who failed the test of Germanic racial purity.¹⁵² The Polish leadership elite including the clergy, the nobility and the intelligentsia were to be exterminated and non-Teutonic Poles were to provide labour for German controlled industry. On the other hand blond Polish children of Teutonic appearance were considered especially desirable. They were to be sent to Germany for ideological indoctrination. And a steady stream of ‘racially pure’ Germans which eventually totalled half a million persons was brought from Germany to establish German peasant colonies.¹⁵³ While some senior German army officers were opposed to the Polish ‘reclamation’ program their opposition was quickly overcome through political indoctrination programs and by ensuring that the ‘special duty units’ worked apart from the army but kept the army informed of their programs.

The world seems to have been mesmerized by the action in Europe and while Poland was being devastated there was an air of unreality about the war. This resulted from the fact that few countries had wanted to stand up to Hitler for one or more reasons. They either had sympathy for his efforts to correct the readily perceived and skillfully manipulated wrongs of Versailles, they concurred with his Jewish program or they were reluctant to talk about territorial concessions. But the unreality was compounded by the continuing conspiracy of silence.

Naturally the level of trust between members of the British Government and the Jewish authorities was very variable and relationships were severely strained. Immediately after the outbreak of war the government rejected a proposal by the Jewish Agency that an army be recruited from Jews in Palestine and around the world to fight in the British Army under a Jewish flag. However the threat of the final solution encouraged voluntary enlistment by Jews both in Palestine and overseas in Allied armies in numbers quite out of proportion to their representation in their communities in spite of that rejection. The Jewish Agency received 130,000 registrations for military service from both men and women of service age in Palestine. That would have provided a formidable force but Britain feared the consequences of such a force being available to the Jewish Agency to throw against either the British authorities or the Arabs when the future of Palestine was to be determined after the war with Hitler. It therefore mounted a deliberate campaign to discourage Jewish enlistment from Palestine but in spite of that 30,000 out of the 130,000 still served in the British Army.^{154 155 156 157}

In the United States the Jewish community had been galvanized into action by the invasion of Poland even though it was deeply divided on the question of Zionism and whether this required an exclusively Jewish State. The Zionist Organization of America took the initiative to establish the American Zionist Emergency Council and under the influential leadership of Rabbi Wise and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver the council set out to mobilize US Jewish, Congressional

and public support for the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine when hostilities ceased. There was deep seated antagonism to overcome from the “violently neutral” population and the proposal was opposed by the State Department, the War Department and influential diplomats until 1945 as being prejudicial to the war effort. But various Zionist groups were successful in raising funds, arranging secret shipments of arms to the Hagana and recruiting volunteers to navigate ships with illegal immigrants from Europe across the Mediterranean to Palestine to circumvent the quotas set under Britain’s White Paper. The United Jewish Appeal which was organized to help fund settlement in Palestine raised \$US3.5 million in 1940 and grew rapidly so that in 1947 it raised \$US50 million. Naturally there were difficulties. Until the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941 the Zionists were under regular attack for trying to draw the United States into the war against Hitler for their own ends and many prominent Jewish leaders would not speak out for fear of having their American patriotism questioned.^{158 159}

There were a number of considerations behind Britain’s decision to declare war once Hitler invaded Poland, but three stand out. First, there was the question of empire. The Reich had grown so big so suddenly as a renewed imperial power in the heart of Europe that Hitler, left unimpeded, was not likely to stop there and with the resources available he would have been able to dictate terms anywhere in the world – especially in the Middle East – and Britain’s empire was therefore at further risk. Second, British investors held enormous interests in Poland and they expected their government to recover them, especially as part of the country was in socialist hands. Third, the Jewish lobby would not rest until the government took steps to prevent the final solution.

PROPAGANDA AND PUBLIC OPINION

Unfortunately the government was unable – or at least unwilling – to discuss the problems of the empire frankly and openly. In the post-depression atmosphere the nation may have objected to a war over a bit of foreign investment, especially if it was known to be controlled by Jews. Apathy towards the Jewish question and acceptance of Hitler’s final solution were so deep seated that the government may not have carried the public with it on that basis and it is very doubtful whether it had the strength of commitment to do so. The Jewish question was so sensitive that the British censor banned any media reference to the existence of the Jewish Agency’s recruiting office and any news items which reflected favourably on Jewish involvement in the war effort were suppressed. Even ministerial answers to questions in the House of Commons were censored to prevent the publication of any reference to Palestine.¹⁶⁰ The world was therefore forced into another propaganda slanging match to enable the great powers to fight over power without having to admit it to their people who were carrying the main burden of funding the war through taxation (although their country’s reserves were also being exhausted), and through deaths, casualties and massive social dislocation.

Hitler had ordered the establishment of a Ministry of People’s Enlightenment and Propaganda as soon as he came to power and a presidential decree was signed on March

12,1933. In the meantime the Nazi Party had operated a major unit with that purpose at its Munich headquarters and the two bodies apparently worked in parallel. The party unit employed about 14,000 people in 1934 while the ministry was set up with only 350 staff and it had not reached Minister Goebbels' limit of 1,000 by April 1939.¹⁶¹ Officially the ministry was to undertake all tasks of national mental indoctrination, of promotion of state, culture and economy, and public instruction about these tasks both at home and abroad. In fact its main functions were propaganda campaigns against Communism, against the Jews and the churches, and in favour of racial purity plus, of course, censorship. All that had to be set in a context in which people would believe that Hitler was achieving for them what he had promised in 1933 and in which they would accept war in due course. Hitler talked peace, not war, but incited indignation over injustices inflicted on Germany and Germans by others and emphasized German national strength and unity.¹⁶²

The British decision to establish a Ministry of Information was taken by the Committee of Imperial Defence in July 1936 after twelve months study against a background of "an emergency" and with the expectation that war time censorship would be required with a system for issuing news as well as for controlling it. During the protracted negotiations to get the ministry fully operational there was debate between units of the civil service, the British Broadcasting Corporation and politicians about whether the same people should prepare and release both propaganda and genuine news. Propaganda had to relate to government policy whereas newsworthy matters may occur without regard for government policy and they may well come into conflict. There was also some dispute over whether the Minister for Information was to conduct political warfare or merely service other ministries.¹⁶³ As the early years of the war went against Britain the ministry was progressively reorganized to ensure more effective production and delivery of propaganda both at home and overseas with special emphasis on allied and neutral countries. A number of early slips had either depressed morale at home or boosted German morale.

The techniques of public opinion polling to assess current public attitudes and how to influence them which had been developed and exploited in the United States were relatively new to Britain, having been introduced only in the late 1930's, but immediately war was declared the ministry retained consultants to report on public reactions. Postal censorship was also used in part for the same purpose.¹⁶⁴ Subsequently the National Institute of Economic and Social Research was asked to carry out such work to avoid an adverse response to the ministry making commercial arrangements in the matter. Surveys provided the basis for decisions on such matters as industrial working conditions, consumer supplies, public transport and, of course, the justification for continuing the war – all physical and psychological factors which influenced good war morale which was defined as "conduct and behavior indicating that [the public was] prepared to go through with the war to final victory, whatever the cost to the individual or group."

As a result of the conspiracy of silence during the 1930's the British public's understanding of Britain's situation was very poor and the born-to-rule philosophy and interests of the

conservative elite and the financial controllers of British domestic and overseas enterprises left no room for rapid change in that respect. In September 1938 there was widespread acceptance of Hitler's "new philosophies" and belief that the concessions required – of other people such as the Austrians, the Czechoslovakians and the Poles – were justified to preserve 'peace.' However the surveys a year later showed a gradual drift away from that position and the majority were moving towards the conclusion that Hitler must be stopped and that this could only be done by force. Just before hostilities broke out only 34 percent of those surveyed still thought that anything was better than war and by the end of September 89 percent said Britain should fight until Hitlerism disappeared. In fact in spite of Chamberlain's conspiracy of silence which did not have the benefit of legal recognition at all, 77 percent disapproved of further peace talks with Germany.

Conservatives saw Hitler as a menace to Britain's power, Liberals believed he was a threat to freedom and Labor saw him as a threat to social democracy.¹⁶⁵ But the individual pieces of Hitler's new philosophy still had such wide support and were being implemented in one country or another that a propaganda campaign on the basis of his platforms would have been divisive and counter productive. The British Government had locked itself into accepting the basic thrust of Hitler's ethnic policy by proposing and arguing for the partition of Czechoslovakia on the basis of ethnic community of interest. Then when it gave the government of President Benes a guarantee of intervention on the basis of 'so far and no further' few people in Britain queried why it had been given or whether it could be acted upon. It couldn't any more than the later Polish guarantee. At that stage Britain did not have the aircraft capacity to intervene effectively either in Germany, Czechoslovakia or Poland and it was to be a long time in coming. (Chamberlain's admission, chapter 25) The propaganda attack therefore had to be on 'Hitlerism' in a general sense. A wedge had to be driven between the German people and their leaders while the threat to traditional values and to Christianity had to be played up at home, in the dominions and in neutral countries. Churchill was expert at capturing the mood and the expectations of the British people and once he was back in government the propaganda machine took full advantage of his inspiring speeches. Chamberlain's speech on the declaration of war, as pathetic as it was, actually set the pattern which was to be maintained. "We have no quarrel with the German people," he said.

Changing circumstances and the propaganda machine both had their impact as public attitudes evolved so that when a survey was taken in June, 1941, 46 percent of Britons said they were fighting for freedom, liberty and democracy; 14 percent to stop Fascism, Hitlerism and aggression; 8 percent "because it's them or us"; 5 percent for "our existence." Only 7 percent looked to the future in the sense of saying they were fighting for a better world and a mere 4 percent saw the war as 'an imperialist and capitalist racket.'¹⁶⁶ However in the circumstances that 4 percent was very significant and it certainly would have risen if the government had not suppressed two papers which questioned the national war motive (the *Daily Worker* and *The Week*) from January 1941 to August 1942 and threatened others with similar action. In addition

special measures were taken to circumvent the independence of the BBC broadcasting service to ensure that it followed the official line.

Italy actually opened the propaganda broadcasting war when it beamed anti-British programs into the Middle East in the Arabic language in 1937 but Britain reacted quickly and had services operating in Arabic, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Italian and French before the declaration of war. Programs for the overseas services were produced and transmitted from secret locations to avoid compromising the BBC and to minimize the need for those involved to justify what they were doing and saying, and to make it easier to devise and produce 'black' propaganda. Censorship went so far that while Members of Parliament were permitted to discuss the foreign broadcasts in the House of Commons they were not permitted to refer to the policies behind the programs or to see the scripts (until late in the war).

The Ministry of Information also undertook regular leaflet drops over Germany. At the peak of the program in 1943, 50 versions in 10 languages were being produced and dropped over Europe either by the Royal Air Force or by balloons. The Pope's encyclical *Summi Pontificatus* of October 20, 1939 was even among them but, as Hitler found it quite to his liking, it served little purpose. In fact as circumstances unfolded there was much less value to be gained in Europe in the propaganda stakes from the issue of religious affiliation than had been the case in the first world war. The Allies could not play up Hitler's final solution to the Jewish question unless they were prepared to accept enormous numbers of Jewish refugees and they had been hell-bent on demonstrating that they were not. In fact Churchill's speeches played skillfully on the general threat to Christendom, not Judaism, but he also had to be very careful how he played the Christian game. He could not denigrate Islam because it would have been the quickest way to consolidate links between Hitler's regime and Muslim countries throughout the world. And he had to be very careful how he handled the question of fascism and Christianity in the face of the Vatican's concordats with each of the Fascist governments and its love-hate relationships with both Germany and Italy. A key issue, as in the previous war, was how to avoid antagonistic statements being issued by the Vatican. Certainly if the Pope left Rome he would lose the *Lateran Treaty* and his temporal rule over Vatican City which went with it, with the distinct possibility that the papacy would never return to Rome.

The British authorities were clearly in a bind. Information on German atrocities against Jews and others was being provided by resistance workers and other sources on a continuous basis and if it was not used either in operational planning or to influence public attitudes in both Allied and Axis countries the Jewish community had good reason to be concerned and to develop closer links with the United States. The policy was therefore adopted of releasing statements on terrorism and crimes against humanity on a strictly factual basis in two ways: the publication of official war documents and the release of news bulletins on individual situations. Nothing was released through propaganda channels. It appears that from October 1939 to December 1942 the British Government issued one White Paper, the Stationary Office two 'notes', the Polish Ministry of Information in exile one statement on German methods in

Poland, and the United Nations office one detailed statement on war crimes. It also appears that only a limited number of major events were covered as news.¹⁶⁷

From time to time the British Political Warfare Executive also called the attention of news media to selected aspects of German war crimes. Not less than 11 such calls were issued and sometimes these were supported with information annexes but there was always a direction that the emphasis was to be on cold authenticated facts “without any appearance of mounting an atrocity campaign.”¹⁶⁸ The Ministry acknowledged that between the wars the Allies had earned a bad reputation for their exaggerated and fabricated stories about German atrocities in the first world war and the same criticism applied to their treatment of the Bolshevik revolution. The German propaganda authorities naturally took full advantage of this to undermine the credibility and the acceptance of British reports of German war crimes in the second world war and this actually enabled them to boost the effectiveness and the volume of their anti-Semitic propaganda.¹⁶⁹

In addition to adopting a subdued approach to the Jewish question Britain also had to play down its attacks on Communism as a philosophy, the Soviet system and its leaders. The Allies all knew – just as well as Hitler and Stalin – that the non-aggression pact between Germany and the Soviet Union was a matter of mutual convenience. It could not last. The question was simply which party would break the treaty. Britain desperately needed Russia to open a second front against Hitler, so the propaganda line was softened to: “the Communist system is not for us, but the Russian people are fine.” It was not until Japan entered the war that all stops could be pulled out and the well tried issues of racism and religion could again be trotted out to provide the basis of Allied propaganda. It enabled the Allies to conceal, at least from their own people for a couple of generations, that it was basically their policies and conduct which precipitated the war and plunged the world into such an abyss.

Even within its dominions and the United States (on which Britain was very soon to be dependent for its survival) the Ministry of Information had to be very careful indeed. The British Government was deeply conscious that much of the isolationism in the US was based on the widely held belief that Jewish pressure and foreign propaganda were the basis of the nation’s decision to enter the first world war. That belief was being force fed by commercial interests – in particular the oil and motor industries – which were opposed to any trade embargoes. Britain therefore could do nothing which would ‘prove’ the isolationist case. It could only liaise closely with the president and those in the US administration who were sympathetic, provide information on request and wait for the inevitable decision.

On the other hand Hitler faced a similar dilemma. He knew the inevitability of US intervention and while he wanted to delay it as long as possible he could not be seen to be courting the isolationists. Britain gave him his best break when it rejected his peace offer. He had fabricated incidents to justify his attack on Poland, he was able to instruct his media people to highlight the guilt of Britain’s leaders and he insisted that France should be spared adverse publicity in order to drive a wedge between the two allies. Subsequently the German media was

instructed to mark September 3 as the outbreak of war – the date of Chamberlain’s declaration – and not September 1 when Germany took its “police action” in response to Polish “provocation.”¹⁷⁰

South Africa had served notice on Britain that it would not go to war against Germany on the ethnic integration issue. In Britain, too, there was strong feeling within the Labor movement that Nazism was a result of the Allies’ heavy handed treatment of Germany after World War I and that war could have been avoided. But Europe was caught up in its war. The principal belligerents had locked themselves in so that it was bound to spread and few people really understood what it was about. There is a widely held belief, although it is most unfortunate, that a government cannot conduct a war to the maximum benefit of the nation if all the people know all the facts and nothing but the facts. As a result, selective and partial reporting and manipulation of what is presented (and how) is a fact of life. As the second world war gathered pace and ferocity the propaganda war accelerated too. Changing relationships, successes, dangers and the conduct and characteristics of allies and enemies became the stuff of propaganda. Granted, there was an enormous volume of facts and news to be processed and disseminated and the fundamental issue of the fate of the Jewish people had to take its place alongside all the rest. But it is very reasonable to ask whether the Jewish question and its importance in the war were treated by Britain and her allies as thoroughly or as openly as it should have been. The clear indication is that it was not. It was not simply because Britain and its relationships were all tied up in knots. The conspiracy of silence and the cover up of national motives continued. Truth was, as always, the first casualty. Tensions were brought to the surface all around the world. Cohesion was achieved in some communities at the price of dissent among others.

But we have jumped ahead a bit. When France withdrew on June 22, Churchill was determined to fight on and he succeeded in dragging his government with him in a decision to do so. Britain declared its position and waited for Hitler to make his next move, but there were a lot of other players, and while some were becoming impatient for their moves, others were more reluctant. There is no doubt that the intensity of anti-Semitism in Europe, the apathy towards the matter in the non-European world, and the deep-seated fear of a general war were such that if Britain had accepted the opportunity for an ‘honorable’ peace after the fall of France, the British public would have accepted it. The people of the British Commonwealth would have accepted it, and the whole world would have understood and accepted it – and then set out to exploit it ... and the trouble in the triangle would have rolled on. It would have followed a somewhat different course, but it would not have been physically, technically or philosophically possible to eliminate Judaism and to circumvent the trouble in the triangle, irrespective of the final extent of Hitler’s temporal authority.

It was indeed a remarkable situation and totally consistent with the nature of the parody of *Mein Kampf*. When Britain had the opportunity to ensure a change of government in Germany through recognition of the key group of conspirators and by courtesy of Pius XII it treated them with disdain. A settlement on the basis which the conspirators proposed would have provided

for almost all of the expectations of the amorphous Christian gel, except for the elimination of the challenge of Communist influence flowing from the Soviet Union. Neither would it have solved challenges of the Jewish Question as it was manifest in Zionist expectations, or the colonial question as it was manifest in the challenge of Japan's co-prosperity sphere. These would have remained to be worked through in more settled times when people could consider the overall challenge to the church and Western Christian self-understanding of the trouble in the triangle. But perhaps that concept of "more settled times" after the world returned to the status quo – white Western Christian superiority – was a part of the problem. No group, no government, has ever surrendered a position of privilege until it has been faced with a challenge supported by overwhelming or potentially overwhelming force. The negotiation of equity by groups with greatly unequal power rarely, if ever, occurs. The world simply had to work through the parody completely. Was it a pause to regroup ... or cause for reflection?

CHAPTER 24

CAUSE FOR REFLECTION

On June 22 1940 Britain stood alone. Desperately alone. Pathetically alone. The great white Christian power which dominated the most extensive empire the world had ever known was losing its grip. It was struggling to avoid defeat in a war in Europe which its people neither understood nor wanted; it faced the prospect of a second war, in Asia, which threatened to strip it of its colonies and dominions in that region; and it was embroiled in a crisis in the Middle East which, if it could not be contained, had the potential to make it impossible for it to avoid defeat in both wars. It was running out of friends and allies. It was even running out of a list of like-minded imperial European Christian powers which were either prepared to help it prop up its position of power and privilege or which were in a position to do so.

The thinkers in Britain were only very slowly coming to realize that the conflicts of interest and deep antagonisms which it had generated over a long period by its policies and actions as a Christian imperial power – especially during the current generation – had made its position untenable. And, unfortunately, the churches were not among the thinkers. Their self-understanding was such that they perceived themselves to be essential to the solution, not basic to the problem. Britain's lines of communication to the component parts of its far flung empire were becoming indefensible. Instead of being able to defend its imperial interests, or instead of even being able to impose its will in its colonies, it was becoming dependent upon the goodwill of those colonies and dominions. In fact the goodwill had largely run out and Britain was dependent on the ability of the relatively small numbers of dominions which were dominated by English settlers to come to its aid. Very few people thought seriously that Hitler could be restrained unless the United States dropped its neutrality and fought in an alliance with Britain against Germany, but they had not thought through, or could not think through, the implications of Britain's weak position. They simply could not comprehend that such a mighty God-fearing world wide empire could be brought to its knees so easily, and because of the conspiracy of silence which had become necessary to prop up Britain's position it was a long time before the reality of the situation became apparent.

THE WAR GAMES: PLAYERS' AIMS

There was no country which had actually welcomed the thought of war or which wanted to go to war. Not even Hitler. He had expected that he could get his way without going to war. In spite

of all the propaganda to the contrary from both sides of the conflict, Germany was not prepared for general war and Hitler knew it. His advisers kept telling him so. But Britain had played into his hands at every turn, with disarming naïvety at times, so that he believed the risk was worth taking to achieve his aims.

So Britain now stood alone. But was there any need for it to do so? What would have been the consequences if Churchill had opted for an armistice instead of the evacuation of Dunkirk? To be able to reflect on these questions it is necessary to first reflect on the situation of each major player and its war aims. The ones to consider are Germany, Russia, Japan, the United States, the Zionists, the Arabs, the Vatican and Britain. Hitler, as the central figure, provides a starting point. What were his aims, reduced to their simplest form? And what were the corresponding aims and motives of the other principal players?

Hitler's aims were quite definite. They were to regain a place in the sun for Germany by the adoption of economic and social policies based on the growth of capital, but different to those adopted as a result of its defeat in World War I; to obtain "breathing space" by an expansion of territory in Central and Eastern Europe, beginning with the integration into the Reich of all German speaking regions of Europe; to eliminate all Jewish influence within Germany, and subsequently beyond, in accordance with its much-promoted aim which the Christian Church had failed to carry out; and at the same time to eliminate Communism which Hitler saw as the antithesis of his ideal society and a consequence of Jewish influence. A secondary aim was to harness the church in such a way that it became an instrument to impose the social and economic ideals of National Socialism and to help achieve his main aims. It was *not* among Hitler's aims to bring down the British Empire. In fact he saw cooperation with a continuing and strong British Empire as important to achieving his long term aims.

There was certainly nothing secret about Hitler's aims. He had been shouting them from the rooftops since he wrote *Mein Kampf* while in prison. And the high level of public support for them both in Germany and in Western countries abroad was common knowledge. He had clashed with the Reformed Churches and even with the Vatican at times but people as high ranking as the former King Edward and the former British Prime Minister Lloyd George had supported his policies publicly and shared confidences with him. Lloyd George, PM at the close of the Great War and one of the architects of the discredited *Treaty of Versailles*, described Hitler to his daughter as "a very great man" and admitted to him during their meeting in 1936 that Britain had been about to sue for peace at times but Germany did so first and thus suffered the ignominy of total defeat¹ But in addition, Pope Pius XII, in his former capacity as Vatican Secretary of State, had been very eager to take full advantage of Hitler's rise to power and had actively helped him into office and into dictatorship. He could have hoped for no better credentials in pursuing his aims than that.

Soviet Russia's aims were, first and foremost, to avoid being subjugated by Hitler! Then having survived, it also wanted to regain a place in the sun; to develop a viable economic and social structure based on the rule of the proletariat, radically different from the Capitalist system

of the Christian Western countries; to encourage the overthrow of the Capitalist system which, before Hitler, had sought to prevent its establishment; to do this through the International Comintern by revolution if the ballot box failed; and to minimize the influence of all religion. Similarly, its aims were widely promoted and well understood, with a growing base of support among labour movements and in the academic sector of the Western World.

Japan's aims were, likewise, to gain a place in the sun by throwing off the American and European domination of its economy; to build a strong economy based on a zone of Asian Cooperation; to eliminate Western colonial influence in Asia and in doing so to achieve a position of regional leadership; and to expel from the region the Christian Church which had assisted in, and which was the epitome of, Western interference and subjugation of the people. Its aims were well known and understood in Asia, but its regional leadership aspirations were disputed by the giant of the region, China, and they were being exploited by America and the European powers. Antagonism towards it, fuelled by ignorance and fear, was being deliberately generated in the European colonies and dominions, and in turn Japan found it advantageous to harness those same factors in order to pursue its aims.

The United States was playing a waiting game. Alongside the long-established powers of Europe and Asia it was the muscle-bound adolescent, vigorous, resource rich, agitated and rearing to go somewhere. It aimed to be – and it believed itself to be already – “the New Israel”, fulfilling theology, encouraging religious observance and representing everything which should have been great and noble about the Western Christian World; providing the outstanding example of economic and social development through its home-grown version of the Protestant Work Ethic linked to virtually unbridled Capitalism (on which its social reformer president was intent on placing a bridle); aspiring to a position of world economic and political leadership; and aiming to fill a pseudo-colonial power role in Asia at the expense of Japan in the event of the expected collapse of European influence in the region. Thus, unlike Germany, the United States *did* aim to bring down the British Empire by forcing Britain to dismantle the Imperial Preference Trade System and by sponsoring independence or self determination for its dominions and colonies to assist it to muscle-in on their resources and trade which Britain had locked up. But the rearing, muscle-bound adolescent could not decide which direction to take first, or whether to sit back and wait, taking advantage of every situation as it unfolded, to enable it to pick up the crumbs – and other peoples' resources.

The Zionists' aim was to enable the Jewish community to escape from the oppression of life under the church and the anti-Semitic Christian powers of Europe and, in doing so, to fulfill their prophetic mission by returning en masse to re-establish the State of Israel within Palestine as the National Home for Jews – in accord with the undertaking made to them by Britain in the *Balfour Declaration*.

The Arabs of Palestine and the surrounding region simply aimed to protect their rights in their long-held homeland which was of equal historical and religious significance to them as to the Jews, to do so in accord with the undertakings made to them by Britain *prior* to the *Balfour*

Declaration; to eliminate Britain's oppressive colonial influence and, in doing so, to maintain the thrust of Islam's prophetic role.

But because of the nature of the conflicting or double-crossing commitments which Britain had made during World War I, and because of the policies which it had subsequently found it expedient to follow, the aims of the Zionists and the Arabs were not compatible. They could only be pursued concurrently by each of them frustrating Britain's policies and interests at every turn – unless a plan could be found to accommodate the aims of both communities or unless Britain simply withdrew and left the Zionists and the Arabs to resolve the matter themselves. In the circumstances neither option was available. It naturally became an Arab war aim to prevent the establishment of a Zionist State in Palestine. A British withdrawal would simply have left both parties reaching for an alliance to enable them to step up their struggle and Britain would have been a loser from several points of view. It would have lost control of the Eastern Mediterranean, the Suez Canal and the oil resources of the region. But in addition it would have indicated to every colony that it had lost its will and its capacity to hold on to any of them. This would have led to a struggle of enormous proportions for control of the eastern Mediterranean which would have reshaped Europe yet again, probably leaving Hitler's Germany as undisputed master of the region, and Britain would have suffered a total break with the Jewish community and an outflow of capital of enormous proportions. As it was, several Arab countries did forge alliances with Hitler.

The only other alternative (to a joint accommodation plan or British withdrawal) was for either the Palestinian Arabs or the Zionists to modify their aims and their territorial claims, forfeiting Palestine, including Jerusalem, to the other. As we have noted, the Palestinian Arab community was comprised of two sub-communities: Muslims and Christians. The Palestinian Muslims could not have withdrawn, even if incentives were offered for the local community to migrate elsewhere, because under the concept of *dar al-Islam* the Palestinians are the custodians of Jerusalem's holy places in the name of the entire Nation of Islam and agreement for such a withdrawal would have been unthinkable. Similarly the links between the various churches and diplomatic representation of European powers were still such that for the Palestinian Christians to withdraw was equally unthinkable. They were a mix of adherents to nationalistic Orthodox and Protestant churches as well as some which were in communion with Rome.

THE VATICAN FACTOR

Then there was the Vatican factor and the church's fundamental Christian self-understanding. It is clear from the encyclicals of the years 1936–1940 which we have examined, (*Mit Brennender Sorge*, *Summi Pontificatus*, *Sertum Laetitiae* and the unpublished draft of *Humani Generis Unitas*), that the Vatican clung to the idea that it was the sole contemporary body authorized by Christ to interpret and to impose divine law in association with *other* appropriate states and temporal authorities and that the reigning pope was the designated successor of Christ and therefore the designated and sole representative on earth of the Triune God. Nothing was to

stand in the way of the exercise of that authority. Nothing. Certainly not the establishment of a state linked by statute to the practice of Judaism. The circumstances of the time provided both the justification and the opportunity to extend and to consolidate that authority and to do so in association with whom ever the reigning pope might bless with a concordat. Several rulers who shared the Vatican's totalitarian philosophy were so blessed but the principal ones were Mussolini and Hitler. Mussolini's importance lay in the fact that he was the exemplary signatory to the *Lateran Treaty* and, as such, he held the security of the Papal State in the palm of his hand and could, if he wished, reopen the ghastly Roman Question all over again. He must therefore rank first. Hitler's importance lay in two facts: his expansionist course promised the opportunity for additional concordats as he extended his power; and he was the person philosophically most nearly aligned with the Jewish policy of the Vatican and therefore most likely to reduce the influence of the Jewish community to the point at which it was seen to remain only to confirm that it had been succeeded in God's plan by the Church. Hitler therefore must rank very close behind Mussolini.

The Vatican's principal war aims can therefore be summarized as: to secure and extend its temporal authority in association with like-minded totalitarian powers and others which would enter into concordats; to eliminate the philosophical and political challenge of atheistic Communism by encouraging alliances which would ensure the defeat of the Soviet Union; to prevent the establishment of a state linked to Judaism; and to reduce the presence and influence of Jews to the level of significance which it saw as divinely ordained. If these things could be achieved while maintaining peace or international stability at the same time, so much the better. Thus, if the Arab communities in Palestine moved to withdraw from Jerusalem and to allow the Zionists control of the Holy City, either spontaneously or under pressure from Britain, it is absolutely certain that there would have been a re-run of the intrigue of the post World War I period and the negotiations for the Palestine mandate. The greatest threat to the Vatican's self-understanding came not from the Ecumenical Movement and the Protestants or Reformers, not even from atheistic Marxist Communism, but from the idea of Jewish religious authorities having temporal authority and international recognition and influence through a Zionist State. If that idea took root it would challenge the church's claim to a uniquely divine status as God's exclusive earthly institution and the popes' claim to be the successors to Peter, and therefore to Christ as well, and this would reopen the debate over the most fundamental theological question of all: God and the Trinity. Pressure from the Vatican with its concordats, its enormous army of clergy and its highly disciplined people on both sides of the Axis/Western Alliance divide, would be unbearable. From this it is clear that the Vatican's war aims were most likely to be achieved – in fact could only be achieved – if Hitler's philosophy and influence came through the war intact. A devastating war in which National Socialism was shattered was therefore the last thing the Vatican wanted to see. If Hitler could be removed to placate the Western powers while his philosophy remained intact, that would be fine. This was the driving motive behind all of the papal peace initiatives prior to June 1940 and it remained a factor long afterwards.

This meant that if there was going to be a peace initiative in the Middle East it would have to come from the Zionist Movement withdrawing its claims to a National Home for Jews centred on Jerusalem in Palestine. In the circumstances of 1940 the prospects for such an initiative were nil. Zionist leaders had said very clearly and very firmly that their claims to Palestine stood and would be pursued relentlessly. Continued Zionist support for Britain was conditional upon Britain's continued support for Zionism. But although Zionist policies were determining the position of both the Jewish community and Britain, there was certainly no unanimity within the total Jewish community, nor even within the Zionist lobbies and among their diverse groups of supporters. To appreciate this we must briefly go back ten or fifteen years to the period when Hitler and the Nazis were beginning to make their presence felt, and move forward again. Those years show that there was, relatively, more thinking being done within the Jewish community on Hitler's possible impact than within any of the other groups involved and this contributed to the great diversity of views within that community.

According to the 1925 German census which was conducted shortly after Hitler's release from prison and about the time that volume one of *Mein Kampf* was published, the country's population of 65 million included less than one percent of Jews: 564,379, or about 0.9 per cent. Spread over about 3,000 locations they were organized into 1,800 Kehillot, or bodies corporate, to manage their community affairs and a Central Welfare Organization of German Jews was responsible for coordinating community services. In 1926 this was officially recognized by the government in order to help improve coordination, the provision of services and liaison with aid and international organizations. All Kehillot also related loosely to a broadly representative body, the Central Union of German Citizens of the Jewish Faith (the CV), which had been established in 1893, the year before the Dreyfus Affair burst in Paris, to fight anti-Semitism and to strengthen and protect the community's civic and social status. The CV had an actual membership of 60,000 or 12 percent of the Jewish population, and was the largest Jewish organization in the Weimar Republic. But in addition there was a Zionist group, the ZVfD, which claimed about two percent membership and whose members saw themselves as equally loyal German patriots, although they saw Germany as part of the Diaspora.²

In 1931, with the Nazis growing in parliamentary influence and with their communities subject to increasing anti-Semitic propaganda and physical attacks, the CV and the ZVfD, together, approached Prime Minister Heinrich Brüning for a public affirmation of the rights of Jews. They were rebuffed. The following year a new umbrella organization was set up to represent Jewish federated associations but this proved rather ineffectual, and with attacks on private property and the desecration of synagogues and graveyards worsening, and with violence forcing families from their homes, villages and small towns, the CV submitted a comprehensive 'white paper' to President Hindenburg seeking decisive action. The only outcome was a generalized and noncommittal statement denouncing assaults on German citizens and their political and religious rights.³ With the Jewish population in steady decline due to a low birthrate, a high deaths:births ratio, intermarriage and emigration from the Kehillah – it had fallen by about ten percent since the 1925 census – it was as if there was a general

expectation that Jews would gradually disappear altogether and even a barely concealed wish within the church, the Nazi Party and even the government to help them on their way.

The situation deteriorated rapidly upon Hitler's appointment as Chancellor on January 30, 1933. Even *on that day* measures were taken to begin the closure of Jewish schools. But there is always someone available to respond to a challenge and also on that day Recha Freier set up an Aid to Jewish Youth Society which later became known as Youth Aliyah. The CV acted quickly, organizing a three-pronged Joint Defence Campaign with legal actions through the courts against Nazi boycotts, acts of terror and incitement to violence; educational and public relations programs; and direct electoral opposition to Hitler.

Beyond Germany's borders the general attitude was one of apathy. The world had its own economic and social crises to work through and in any case it was rather tired of hearing about the Jewish question. However moves were quickly underway in some quarters to apply pressure on Hitler through media campaigns and anti-German trade boycotts. Within weeks of his appointment as Chancellor one Boycott Committee was established in the United States and another in Poland, and an informal boycott network sprung up in Britain. The American Jewish Congress was involved. The American Jewish Committee and B'nai B'rith were not. Neither was the British Board of Deputies. Then on March 27 a mass anti-Nazi rally was led by Stephen Wise in Madison Square Garden, New York. Many of those who stayed away from such ventures did so because they feared a prompt backlash from Hitler against the Jewish community in Germany, not because of a lack of concern for his policies or what he had already done. It did not take Hitler long to prove them right. The backlash came on April 1. A strategy had been decided on March 28, the day after the Madison Square Garden rally, and announced in Nazi Party newspaper advertisements on March 29 with banner headlines '*Let Jewry Know Against Whom It Has Declared War.*' It was a nationwide boycott against all Jewish businesses and professional offices to be imposed by every branch of the Nazi Party stationing members at the entrances to their stores and offices. (See earlier reference, chapter 18, for more detail.) Neither action can be described as a great success. They both simply served to raise the fear and hatred levels and in the 'tit for tat' exchanges which inevitably follow in such situations Hitler was in a much stronger position to torment his subjects.⁴

The differing emphasis which Zionist leaders placed on Palestine, emigration to other countries, and the rights of German 'domestic Jews' also complicated their relationships with the German authorities once Hitler was in power. Chaim Arlosoroff of the Jewish Agency's political office in Palestine opposed the boycott in his bid to negotiate more visas for travel to Palestine under the Transfer Agreement (over which the Zionist Organization was divided anyway), while Chaim Weizmann maintained that a flood of settlers was not sustainable and that Jews must have the right to stay in Germany as well as to emigrate. At the same time Franz Bernheim led a campaign to the Council of the League of Nations to obtain a ruling that the Jews of Upper Silesia were not subject to Germany's Nuremberg Laws under complicated arrangements which were part of the 1922 Geneva Agreement which had granted the region to Germany. Hitler, in a bid to raise his international acceptance level, agreed to waive the

regulations for the term of the Geneva Agreement.⁵ Bernheim and his coreligionists thus won a somewhat pyrrhic victory. When the Geneva Agreement expired in 1937 the Nazis turned the screws on Upper Silesia and later, when the Final Solution was being put into effect, they paid special attention to the region. These issues all meant that the CV (until it was dissolved by the Nazis in 1938⁶) and the Zionist Organization were seen to be running several streams of campaigns with the German authorities: for equality within Germany; for visas to emigrate to Palestine (with and without the Transfer Agreement); for visas to emigrate to other countries; and legal battles in the courts – all with the aid of sophisticated political campaigns, publicity and boycotts overseas.⁷ In turn this meant that the whole Jewish community was open to accusations of playing one authority off against another, of being divided among themselves, of wanting everything in their favor, and of not knowing what their real aims were while their government simply wanted them to stop arguing and to quit the country. So we come to Britain and its war aims.

BRITAIN'S DILEMMA

It was Britain which took the initiative to declare war against Germany when Hitler pursued his expansionist policy in spite of the fact that three of its major settler-dominated dominions (Australia, South Africa and Canada) preferred to see the smaller Central European countries making 'concessions' to Germany – a euphemism for being subjugated by Germany – rather than support a war in Europe. And it is not clear whether the dominions took the stand they did out of an acceptance of the validity of Germany's claims that German speaking people had been unfairly treated under the *Treaty of Versailles* or out of veiled support for his social and economic policies. However it is clear that at least one of them, Australia, was fearful of being isolated, unprotected and exposed to Japan if Britain fragmented its defence forces by taking action against Germany in Europe. When Hitler moved against the smaller Western European countries it was to protect his supplies and communications lines or to move against those of Britain and not to occupy them as part of his expansion plan. And it was Britain which became more and more isolated and exposed every time Hitler occupied another country or when Britain proposed trading the colonies of other countries for a bit more war preparation time. Thus it becomes evident that it was Britain whose opposition to his policies Hitler had to counter if he was to succeed in implementing those policies.

On that basis it would be reasonable to expect that Britain would have had clearly defined war aims to state when it chose to declare war, to involve a great many other nations which otherwise would have remained neutral in a war which they did not want to fight, to insist on continuing the war when every country, almost without exception, expected it to seek "an understanding" with Hitler which would not have involved heavy territorial loss, and when it had to appeal to the world beyond Europe for support to continue a war which, then, could only lead to quite dramatic domestic loss and international trauma.

But Britain did not have clearly defined war aims which it could justify to the world on the basis of either the moral strength of its own policies or the moral depravity of Hitler's policies. On many occasions the Foreign Office and Cabinet, either as a whole or as groups of ministers, grappled with the issue of war aims and how to present them to the world but they were unable to determine an acceptable statement. The only statements which resembled war aims were devised much later, in collaboration with allies. The first and most notable was the *Atlantic Charter* which was followed by statements after summit meetings such as the Teheran and Yalta Conferences. At the time when it really needed a statement of war aims to encourage cohesion within Britain and to justify appeals for collaboration and sacrifice by the dominions, colonies and other countries, the government was forced to rely on stirring statements by the new Prime Minister – in particular his speech in the Commons on May 19 and his broadcast, on June 4, already discussed. (See chapter 23, pp. 29–30.)

Britain was unable to state cohesive war aims for several reasons. Basically the world was so divided that it could not say anything which would gain general support. Whatever it said was just as likely to antagonize its potential allies as to encourage their support, or to expose it to charges of hypocrisy because of its own conduct. It could not say to the world “we are going to war in a bid to preserve our position of imperial privilege and to retain control of overseas resources.” That was in fact the nearest thing to truth. It was what Churchill had told the Commons and the nation in his vote of confidence speech on May 12, [see above, chapter 23, p. 26] but it was one thing to say it to Britain and quite another thing to say it to the world. The British government was totally distracted by the perceived need to retain Britain's position of privilege and influence but, as an argument for war that was not acceptable either to its colonies or to the United States which was intent on undermining that position. It could not even make less comprehensive statements such as “we are going to war to protect our present Capitalist system of trading and to preserve the gold standard.” And even though it had officially declared war to honour its partial guarantee to Poland it could not say it was going to war to preserve the integrity of Poland because it had told Hitler he was welcome to Danzig and the Corridor and it had to be prepared to go to war with the Soviet Union as well as Germany because the Soviet Union had also occupied half of the country. It could not rely on general criticism of Hitler's social program because he had copied various pieces of it from other countries of Europe and the United States and had gained quite widespread support as a result. The issue of support for small self-governing countries and self determination for others was out of the question because on one hand it had already encouraged Hitler into Austria and Czechoslovakia as part of its much vaunted appeasement policy and on the other hand it was not prepared to grant such privileges to the smaller countries of its own empire. Just a touch of hypocrisy, plus the fact that it was resisting pressure from the United States to apply those principles to its own empire.

On September 23, 1939, when Halifax asked Cadogan to prepare a brief on Britain's war aims he first noted in his diary that ‘evacuate Poland’ was not acceptable, then wrote: “I suppose the cry is ‘Abolish Hitlerism.’ What if Hitler hands over to Goering!”⁸ In other words, it might be possible to denounce a person but it was not possible to debate his policies.

Certainly, as the Cabinet Committee on the Refugee Problem would confirm at two meetings during the next ten days, it was not possible to make an issue out of the rescue of refugees. The first of those meetings was held on September 25 to determine what instructions should be given to Lord Winterton, Britain's representative on the Inter-Governmental Committee for Refugees (I.G.C.) which had been set up at the Evian Conference. Chaired by Colonial Secretary MacDonald and attended by representatives of all major ministries, the committee resolved that:

as a matter of principle it would be impossible for H.M.G. to assist in any way the exodus of the nationals of a country with which it was at war, and that H.M.G. could not differentiate between refugees and other German nationals. This would apply to territories under German control as well as to Germany proper.

The second meeting, on October 3, decided how that principle would be put into practice. Firstly, if the I.G.C. (and that really meant the United States) intended to continue to negotiate with the German Government for the emigration of German Jews, (which the German Government was keen to achieve), the British Representative would withdraw from the Committee. Secondly, only Jews from outside of enemy or enemy occupied territory would be eligible for the 75,000 certificates to be issued over five years under the White Paper for immigration or refugee admission into Palestine. Among the reasons for those decisions were Colonial Office fears that the Germans could circumvent the blockade and "relieve themselves of so many useless mouths", and that the Jewish Agency may cooperate with the German Government on organizing the "expulsion" of Jews from Poland in order to break Britain's White Paper limit on admissions to Palestine.⁹

Only four days later, on Saturday, October 7, Cadogan was called to the War Cabinet for a war aims discussion in the context of a reply to Hitler's peace address to the Reichstag the previous day. He noted that his advice was to say 'we won't make peace with Hitler.' "Get rid of Hitler. ... Remove him, and there will be such disunity in Germany that they can't win." This, he said, should be coupled with an assurance that "we don't want to dictate a peace." But the Prime Minister, Chamberlain, hesitated at that, and Cabinet knew that the French would not agree, aiming for the re-partitioning of Germany, and the discussion was 'not very useful.' War aims or peace aims should connote three things: what forced us reluctantly to take up arms; what our immediate object may be in righting wrongs; and what we may conceive and aim at as a better order in Europe and the world, he said. Then, showing the frustration he was feeling, Cadogan's diary note indicates that nothing could be resolved without knowing how the warring parties would be grouped, how long the war was likely to last and what the condition of Europe might be at the end of it.¹⁰

Into that super-charged atmosphere were tossed, first, *Summi Pontificatus* on October 29, 1939, and, second, *Sertum Laetitiae*, the special encyclical for America, on November 1. (See chapter 23.) They were hardly documents designed to make it easy for Britain to express the motives behind its declaration of war.

Then on May 26, 1940, the new British cabinet, under Churchill, again discussed a statement of war aims. It was the day that Hitler ordered the resumption of the attack on Dunkirk in an effort to thwart the British evacuation when Hitler realized that Britain was not about to sue for peace terms. And it was after President Roosevelt had asked for the British fleet to be ordered to sail to North America on the assumption that Britain faced total defeat and he feared that Hitler could turn the British fleet against the United States, but it was still almost a month before the fall of France. Halifax stated his view that Britain had to face reality, that it had no hope of imposing complete defeat on Germany and that it should therefore consider any proposal which would reasonably safeguard the independence of the empire, provided that the liberty and independence of Britain itself was assured.¹¹ Kilzer reports that Halifax then asked Churchill directly, whether, as Prime Minister, if Britain could get out of the war with its sovereignty assured, and only that, he would agree to such terms. He then quotes Churchill as saying ‘yes’, he would be thankful for Britain to get out of its present difficulties on such terms, provided that it could retain the essential elements of its strength, “even at the loss of some territory”, but he did not expect Hitler to be so considerate.¹² Thus the British government knew, and accepted in principle, that major changes were inevitable, that it was dealing with a problem of ‘damage control’ and that it could not say that it was at war to protect the integrity of the empire. It desperately needed the support of the empire for its own survival. In fact it desperately needed the support of *any* country which would act in concert with it.

Britain had stumbled into that situation as a consequence of its previous conduct but there is nothing available to us to indicate that the government realized what had happened. Its strategists seem to have only stumbled onto the realization that Britain’s situation was such that the only means available to it to secure allies was to demonstrate that it was in a country’s *self-interest* to act in concert with Britain. This is the reason that it was also stumbling – perhaps floundering or blundering – from one exercise in manipulation to another and from one half-hearted and insecure alliance to another with countries with which it shared no common bonds. Churchill showed some awareness of that when he wrote in *The Gathering Storm*: “The disasters which had occurred in Poland and the Baltic States made me all the more anxious to keep Italy out of the war and *to build up by every possible means some common interest between us.*”¹³ Could it, then, fall back to the well tried motivator – or propaganda strategy – from the Crusades, the Reformation, the early Colonial Era or the Great War? Religion: Christianity, or the Jewish question? Could it, once again, try to make a virtue of its religiosity?

A statement that ‘we are at war to save Christianity, or to carry the Gospel into new lands’, was not acceptable. To begin with, the church had not recovered from the drubbing which it suffered because of its contradictory conduct in World War I. (See above, chapter 20.) Then there was concern about what direction the Vatican might take, especially because of its concordats with Hitler and Mussolini. But the Foreign Office was very conscious of antagonism towards the churches in Asia, of the extent to which Britain would be dependent upon military forces from non-Christian countries, and of the need to avoid antagonizing the governments and people of the critical Muslim Middle East and North Africa. Support for the church and

Christianity was therefore virtually a non-issue except to be dribbled out quietly in the WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) settler dominated communities in the dominions of Australia, New Zealand, and perhaps Canada and South Africa, or as a subversive exercise in Catholic Poland.

What, then, about the Jews? Deep-seated anti-Semitism was widespread but not everyone who had been subjected to anti-Semitic propaganda – and that was virtually everyone in the Western Christian World – had developed hard line anti-Jewish attitudes or tendencies. Would the community respond to appeals for support on humanitarian grounds and ignore sectarian issues? Attitudes are still very difficult to survey and to quantify fifty years after the war, so such research would have been more difficult and less reliable in the late 1930s. However it is reasonable to believe that a relatively small proportion of people in most Christian countries outside of Hitler's immediate sphere of influence would have gone as far as to physically or verbally abuse Jews or even to deliberately snub them. But most people could not avoid being influenced to some extent. They were probably at the point of thinking that "where there is smoke there must be fire" and if some people hate "them" so much, and if the church pours so much vitriol on them, then there must be some valid reason. Therefore, while they may not have taken part in anti-Semitic activities many people would simply keep their distance, perhaps to avoid being 'labelled' by association, and they would certainly not have responded to appeals to go to war to help save the Jews. An attitude of "they got themselves into this mess, they can get out of it" would also have been common, along with sheer disinterest and apathy. Certainly at the domestic level the British Government could not have said: "We are going to war to save the Jews. We will invite mass immigration and you will soon have more Jewish neighbours." Public support would have been nil.

Pressure had begun to mount for the detention and deportation of 'foreign aliens' from Britain even before war was formally declared and immediately the declaration was made tribunals were appointed to register and classify all persons of non-British citizenship. They were classified as either refugees from Nazi oppression or non-refugees and they were placed in one of three categories: 'A', to be interned as a possible security risk; 'B', free but subject to restrictions; 'C' free and unrestricted. Of 73,400 persons registered, 55,500 were classed as refugees and a total of 64,000 were placed in category 'C', free and unrestricted. A disproportionate number of those registered were professionally qualified: 27 per cent of the men and 17 per cent of the women.¹⁴ And of course 80 percent of the refugees were Jewish.¹⁵

CHURCHILL'S DILEMMA

Then the blitzkrieg struck against Holland, Belgium and France on May 11, 1940, the day on which Churchill effectively took office and began to appoint the ministers for his new government. Senior military authorities advised the Home Secretary that in view of the imminent risk of invasion every male "enemy alien" between 16 years and 70 should be removed forthwith from the coastal strip. In an immediate roundup of Germans and Austrians,

other than those declared invalid and infirm, 2,200 men were ‘temporarily’ interned. A high proportion of them were Jews who had moved to Britain to avoid persecution under the Nazi regime. They included staff members from both Cambridge University and the London School of Economics as well as men from many other professions. Two days later the net was cast wider and another 2,200 German and Austrian males – all those in category ‘B’ – were interned as well. The roundup was melodramatic, ludicrous and arbitrary, with many distinguished and dedicated anti-Nazi scientists and doctors held under very rigorous conditions.¹⁶

In accordance with the well established conspiracy of silence the term ‘Jew’ was never used in public to describe those who were being rounded up. It would have been very embarrassing indeed to have done so. Only weeks before, Hitler had abandoned a plan to locate three million Jews in reservations in a semi-independent region of Lublin, central Poland, which had been announced in November 1939. (Chapter 23, p. 23) That plan could have proceeded and even been improved through negotiation if Britain had given its ‘nod’ to Hitler that he could annex all of Poland, Czechoslovakia-style, and not only the Danzig Corridor, if there had been agreement to ‘cultural autonomy’ in a ‘rump state’ in Central Poland: in that semi-independent Lublin region. Conditions in Lublin at the time have been described as “intolerable” with masses of deportees in disease ridden forced labour conditions.¹⁷ In other words they were consistent with the circumstances in which the scheme had been devised, but that need not have been the case. However Britain could not give the nod which Hitler wanted unless the Zionist Organization did so also, and that was inconceivable unless Britain also gave its nod to Jewish settlement in Palestine and that was inconceivable because ... Britain was locked in yet again by its self-inflicted crisis in the Middle East.

When the Lublin region scheme was abandoned construction began on the walls which would become the Warsaw Ghetto and Hitler’s version of the roundup continued unabated. The best that can be said for the British version is that it was quite a bit less degrading and without the murderous brutality of Hitler’s version. But the seriousness with which the problem of the ‘aliens’ in Britain was viewed is shown by a paragraph in a memo from Churchill to General Ismay, head of the military wing of the war cabinet secretariat, on May 18.

*Everything must be done to carry out the recommendations for the control of aliens put forward by the Committee and minuted by me on another paper. Action should also be taken against Communists and Fascists, and very considerable numbers should be put in protective or preventive internment, including the leaders. These measures must, of course, be brought before the Cabinet before action.*¹⁸

The initial decision had been taken on May 11. Churchill did not re-appoint the Home Secretary and minister for Home Security, Sir John Anderson, to those posts until the next day, May 12.¹⁹ This means that the decision to proceed with the roundup was taken by the minister in a ‘caretaker’ role. Whether Churchill would have approved of it in the drag-net manner in which it was carried out is problematical. He would certainly have been more conscious than most people that the roundup would ensnare many strenuously anti-Nazi Jews. He insisted that

British nationals who were members of antagonistic political groups were to be included in the roundup as well as aliens. And he also insisted that further measures were to be “brought before the Cabinet”, which meant him, rather than just to the minister. The roundup then ran hand in hand with a campaign that has been characterized as ‘the enemy in our midst: the invisible fifth column’ and which appeared to be well orchestrated from official quarters and designed to set the British public against aliens and refugees as well as to justify the internment program. The popular press ran unsubstantiated reports of refugees turned spies and saboteurs, and direct appeals for the public to spy on all aliens. ‘Aliens’ became the scapegoats in a campaign to suppress both the undercurrent of support for Hitler which had underpinned the policy of appeasement, to suppress any continued support for peace negotiations and to recruit Local Defence Volunteers.

At the level of propaganda directed overseas, the problem was even greater. Firstly, the failure of the Evian Conference and the attitudes demonstrated there made it quite apparent that there would be no support for a war effort which was intended to relieve the Jews from oppression. Secondly, there had to be some consistency in Britain’s policy and, in view of the decisions made by the government in September-October, the world would see it as an act of hypocrisy if Britain immediately made the rescue of refugees an aspect of its war aims. In any case, at the time of the fall of France it was not a question of saving the Jews from genocide. Germany’s policy was still based on isolation, oppression, disenfranchisement and, as much as possible, forced emigration. Systematic execution and slaughter had not commenced. And if the British Government could not hope for support for a war to relieve the Jews of oppression it had less hope of support for a program of mass immigration unless it was prepared to provide a lead by either opening its own gates or those of Palestine. It knew that it could not open the gates of Palestine because if it did so the country would soon be aflame from end to end, the entire Middle East would be in turmoil and firmly in Hitler’s camp, the war would be unwinnable and the empire would disintegrate.

In fact Britain saw its position in the Middle East as so critical that it was building even higher barriers to force Europe’s Jews to stay where they were. After the Cabinet Refugee Committee meetings noted above, foreign governments had been advised that they should “institute strict watch of their frontiers against such persons” [Jews trying to break the British embargo], and when Russia occupied the Baltic countries in mid-1940 the Colonial Office asked the Foreign Office to support a policy that Russia should be considered an ‘enemy country’ for purposes of Jewish immigration policy, even though it was, in fact, still neutral. British diplomatic efforts were therefore concentrated on keeping almost the entire Jewish population of Europe where they were for the next three years and there was much talk about the possibility of German agents getting through the net under the guise of Jewish refugees. The Colonial Office had already used that argument in February 1940 in an unsuccessful bid to persuade the Board of the Admiralty to intercept and divert vessels known to be carrying illegal immigrants so that they could be interned without the glare of Jewish and world scrutiny when the vessels arrived at their planned destinations.²⁰ In addition, when the Palestine censors

intercepted correspondence which suggested that the German authorities were trying to ‘export’ more Jews by omitting the letter ‘J’ from their passports, the British Ambassador in Belgrade was instructed to ask Yugoslavia to ensure that when transit visas were granted to Jews from other countries their passports were labelled with the letter ‘J’ and that they complied with all British requirements for admission to Palestine.²¹

Thus neither the current treatment of the Jews in Germany nor their possible fate were acceptable issues for either a British statement of war aims or a propaganda campaign and that aspect of the conspiracy of silence had to continue. But the British were obligated to the Jews. They had made a promise which the Zionists were determined to hold them to, and the person who had become the key player, Winston Churchill, had confirmed Britain’s obligation in parliament in July 1937, two years before he was invited back into government. Churchill said:

*It is a delusion to suppose that this [Balfour Declaration] was a mere act of crusading enthusiasm or quixotic philanthropy. On the contrary, it was a measure taken ... in due need of the war with the object of promoting the general victory of the Allies, for which we expected and received valued and important assistance.*²²

Pursuing the same issue, a former President of the Zionist Organization of America, Emanuel Neumann, wrote:

*Britain, hard pressed in the struggle with Germany, was anxious to gain the whole-hearted support of the Jewish people: in Russia on the one hand, and in America on the other. The non-Jewish world regarded the Jews a power to reckon with and even exaggerated Jewish influence in unity. Britain’s need of Jewish support furnished Zionist diplomacy the element of strength and bargaining power which it required to back its moral appeal.*²³

And as Alfred M. Lilienthal points out:

*It was felt that the support of American Jewry at this stage [the critical phase of World War I in 1917] could make a substantial difference to the Allied cause. It was also hoped that the British move would lessen world Jewish hostility toward Russia, and give those Jews who had been active in overthrowing the Czar’s regime a real incentive to keep Russia in the war on the Allied side.*²⁴ *[Another practical consideration was that] the Suez Canal needed a protective base in a nearby territory where “important elements would not only be bound to Britain by every interest but would command the support of world Jewry.”*²⁵

By the time of the fall of France in June, 1940, many people would have believed that Britain’s obligation had been recognized and well discharged, especially in view of the interpretation which Mr. Balfour gave the British Cabinet in 1917 at the time that the Declaration was being debated. His understanding was that:

*... some form of British-American or other protectorate under which full facilities would be given to the Jews to work out their own salvation and to build up by means of education, agriculture and industry a real centre of national culture and focus of national life. It does not necessarily involve the early establishment of an independent Jewish State, which was a matter for gradual development in accordance with the ordinary laws of political evolution.*²⁶

That understanding is complemented by three things. Firstly, the memorandum to Cabinet by Balfour's successor, Lord Curzon, on October 26, 1917, in which he said that the administration [of Palestine] "cannot be Jewish, but should secure to the Jews, but not to the Jews alone, equal civil and religious rights with other elements in the population."²⁷ Secondly, the Churchill White Paper of June, 1922, with statements that: "It is contemplated that the status of all citizens of Palestine in the eyes of the law shall be Palestinian, and it has never been intended that they or any section of them should possess any other juridical status." Further: the Jewish community in Palestine should be able to increase its number by immigration, but such an increase is not to "exceed whatever may be the economic capacity of the country at the time to absorb new arrivals."²⁸ Thirdly, advice to the House of Lords by the Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Devonshire, in June 1923, that while the intention from the beginning had been to make a national home for the Jews, "every provision has been made to prevent it from becoming in any sense of the word a Jewish state or a state under Jewish domination."²⁹

However, while many people would have regarded Britain's obligation to the Jews as having been discharged it is apparent that the Zionist Organization did not. Neither did Churchill. The address quoted above was referred to in connection with the tabling of the Peel Commission Report, shortly after Churchill testified before the Commission and called (in somewhat intemperate language) for all of Palestine to be handed over to the Jews.

The possibility cannot be ignored that in the circumstances at the time, with widespread expectation that Britain would seek a peace settlement with Germany, Churchill, in his new capacity as Prime Minister at the time of the fall of France, was having great difficulty distinguishing between a number of factors. One was Britain's national obligations to the Jews in terms of the *Balfour Declaration*. Another was his deeply held beliefs and genuine commitment to Zionism. And a third was his personal obligations to those members of the Jewish community whose political and financial support had enabled him to continue in parliament and to return to high office. (See above, chapter 23, pp. 24–25.) Whatever may have been his final line of reasoning, the available evidence points heavily to the conclusion that the decision to continue the war after the fall of France was essentially taken by Churchill who bulldozed it through Cabinet.

However the question must be considered: would Churchill have forced that decision upon the government if circumstances had been different? If the countries of the White Western Christian World had opened their arms – or at least their gates – to the Jews of Europe who were their historic kith and kin in every sense except religion, would he have made a different decision?

The bulk of the *positive* external pressure in support of that decision appears to have come from the Zionist lobby which insisted that Hitler had to be eliminated in order to relieve the Jewish community of the oppression which his regime was imposing. It is clear that they intended to fight, and to fight hard, for both a National Homeland in Palestine and freedom from oppression in Europe. But if they could not have a National Home on the basis of their

definition of that homeland, they would insist on every effort being made to ensure that they could live in peace and freedom in the countries of Europe which were their homelands. They could not countenance the idea of a peace settlement in which Hitler could remain to impose his oppressive policies in Central and Eastern Europe or anywhere at all. But the *negative* pressure in support of that decision was the fact that Evian failed because the countries of the White Western Christian World had refused to open their arms or their gates.

The Jewish community in general knew the nature of the beast who was opposed to them and whom they were opposing. They realized that the level of oppression could only get worse if general war continued and they had reason to anticipate an attempt at genocide. But it was by no means certain that such a program would be implemented because 'The Final Solution' had not been devised at that stage, it would not be devised and implemented for another year until Hitler had exhausted all attempts to reach an accommodation with Britain, and there was always the possibility that he could be removed or eliminated at any time. They were not to know that by their action in pressing for a continuation of hostilities they were contributing to a worsening of the situation on an unbelievable scale. At that time, although the Zionist Movement had rallied a great deal of support within the Jewish community for its policy of insistence on Palestine or nothing, there was still deep division within the world wide Jewish community on whether that was the correct (or best) policy to pursue.

Thus, if *either* the Western Christian World had made Europe's Jews welcome (or at least been prepared to accept them) *or* if they had anticipated the path that anti-Semitism and Hitler would take, it is probable that they would have accepted mass resettlement elsewhere and would not have insisted on Palestine. This would have meant that even Churchill would have been free to negotiate with Hitler, knowing full well that the Jewish community was safe and that the Fuhrer did not wish to bring down the British Empire. The armistice negotiations would then have focussed on other socio-economic and political issues in a totally different environment. It would not have, and it could not have, solved 'the Jewish Question' or the trouble in the triangle, but the Holocaust would have been circumvented at that point and there may have been sufficient incentive for the church to rethink its role in the crisis and its theology and the process of unraveling the trouble in the triangle may have been initiated. And if, as happened anyway, the church proved itself unable to begin that rethink, the situation would have simply continued to degenerate until the trouble in the triangle reached 'critical mass.'

But the church and the Western Christian World did not go down that track. They, and Hitler together, continued to pursue policies and decisions which compounded the crisis. Neither they nor the Jewish community grasped the nature of the trouble in the triangle any more clearly than the bulk of their Muslim colleagues. No one had bothered to take the relationship between the prophetic roles of Maimonides, Muhammad and the Messiah seriously. Each of the religious communities in the triangle, and especially the church, was committed to the correctness of its particular understanding and it was too late for a rethink. The situation was far too volatile. The plot of the Qur'anic *Night Journey* had to be played right out. And the primary responsibility rests *not* with either the Jewish or Muslim communities but with the Christian church and its

adherents whose forbears caused the problem and whose subsequent actions had compounded it.

Or was it too late? Britain stood alone while the world slid into a twelve month pause for reflection before Hitler would try to implement his ‘final solution.’ We can now follow events to see how that pause was spent and whether the implementation of ‘the final solution’ – the Holocaust – could have been avoided. But before we do, there are those two questions to reflect on. Was there any need for Britain to stand alone? What would have been the consequences if Churchill had opted for an armistice instead of the evacuation of Dunkirk?

As we ponder those questions it is important to keep it in mind, that religion and the church were a consideration in the war aims of each of the major players: Germany, Russia, Japan, the United States, the Zionists, the Arabs and Britain. To those can be added the Vatican as the principal church player, and Italy as the presumed chief protector of the Vatican since Pope Pius XI and Mussolini had, in the words of the pope, “given God back to Italy and Italy back to God” through their *Lateran Treaty* of February 1929 and the *Vatican Concordat* (See above, chapter 20, p. 25.) However, it is regrettable that religion and the church were a factor in all of those war aims not because of the *good* things that the church had done during its long history or because the world was enjoying the fruits of the Messianic Era, but because of the *destructive* things which it had done and the consequences of its self-understanding. Thus, although we have now noted that the decision to continue the war after the fall of France was essentially determined on the basis of Zionism, we have also noted in previous chapters that the development of modern Zionism is a consequence of the church’s self-understanding and the abuse of its position and it therefore follows that it is with *the church* and not with the Zionist or Jewish communities that the final responsibility for the decision must rest.

At the time that the decision was made to evacuate the BEF, May 26, 1940, Hitler had gained control of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland (half of which he had conceded to the Soviet Union under their treaty), Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium and a sliver of France equal to four percent of its land mass. Italy, Hitler’s principal treaty partner, had designs on Yugoslavia for its resources,³⁰ the French Alps and Provence, Gibraltar and a slice of Spain to go with it as well as North Africa, but it had not yet entered the war and acquired any territory. Hitler’s other European treaty partner, the Soviet Union, in addition to its half of Poland, had taken three small bites out of Finland – with great difficulty! His Asian treaty partner, Japan, was taking full advantage of China’s weakened position with Britain’s partial withdrawal to consolidate its position on the Asian mainland after the serious setback which it suffered when the *German-Soviet Non-aggression Pact* was signed.

HITLER’S PAUSE

Hitler certainly expected Britain to sue for peace even though its prime minister was determined to carry on. He expected either that the cabinet would over-rule Churchill or that the government would fall and Churchill’s successor would propose an armistice. Is that, perhaps,

why he ordered the pause in the battle at Dunkirk which actually provided the ‘window of opportunity’ which the Allies needed to take the steps towards an armistice? Was he expecting that they would sue for peace rather than use it to secure the evacuation?

Controversy raged about Hitler’s reasons for ordering that halt. At about the same time he foreshadowed, in conversation with his generals, the partial demobilization of the Reich Army. There is no doubt that Hitler knew of the parlous state of Britain’s defences and finances as indicated by Churchill’s letter to Roosevelt, even though he did not know the precise details, or about the letter. Therefore, irrespective of whether the intelligence reports available to German command had been accurate, and irrespective of whether he had been determined to knock Britain out of the war instead of negotiating a settlement *or* had wanted to put himself in the strongest possible negotiating position, he would have been expected to order his forces to press home their advantage without delay. The key question, then, is: why did Hitler, supported by General Rundstedt and Goering, order a halt to the panzer advance three days after the Somme River celebration? Other German generals were shocked and objected violently to the decision just when they were poised for a knock-out blow. Hitler knew that Labor leader and cabinet member Clement Attlee had publicly proposed peace discussions in November 1939, that the British government was still divided on the issue of a separate peace in spite of their dynamic new leader, and that the public was naturally very dispirited. His chances of a knock-out blow would probably never be as good again if he let this opportunity pass.

Some commentators suggest that the order to halt was consistent with Hitler’s want to encourage armistice negotiations, his admiration for things British (other than Churchill!), his want to have the British empire continue as a partner empire, and his expectation that a reprieve for a major part of the Allied forces would ensure that Britain agreed to give him a free hand in Europe.³¹ However Shirer believed from his investigations that the order resulted basically from tactical considerations raised by both Rundstedt and Goering,³² although he also notes that historian Liddell Hart attributes the other view (the want to encourage an armistice) to General Blumentritt.³³ Historian Martin Gilbert supports the tactical considerations view, saying that the order was first issued by Rundstedt on his own authority on the evening of May 23 to reduce German casualties in view of Goering’s confidence that the air force could play a decisive role in the battle, and that Hitler simply confirmed the order next day.³⁴ But in his memoirs Churchill cites statements by General Halder in which he attributed the order to Hitler personally, and said the Fuhrer intervened out of fear that the armoured formations could not handle the terrain and should not be sacrificed.³⁵

Hitler was not expecting, nor planning, to fight a full scale war indefinitely. This is shown quite clearly by his conversations with Mussolini and Count Ciano in Munich on June 18 when they met to discuss the French armistice. Ciano noted that Hitler clearly wanted “to act quickly to end it all ... (he) is now the gambler, who has made a big scoop and would like to get up from the table, risking nothing more. Today he speaks with a reserve and a perspicacity which, after such a victory, are really astonishing.”³⁶ If he had been planning a protracted war Hitler would certainly not have foreshadowed partial demobilization. It is therefore probable that

tactical considerations coincided with his want to bring Britain to the negotiating table and encouraged him, or provided the justification for him to issue the order to pause. But nothing was further from Churchill's mind than negotiation. He had consistently said there should be no deal involving either the return of Germany's colonies or a free hand for Hitler to do as he wished with the people of Europe. He was determined that Britain would fight to retain its empire intact, former German colonies and all ... and to ensure that Hitler could not impose his 'social policies' on Britain, Europe or the world.

This conclusion explains Churchill's extremely careful and consistent choice of words for his key speeches to parliament and his broadcast. He did not talk of 'anti-Semitism' or 'Jews' at all. He talked of Czechs and Poles and Danes and Dutch, of "wronged and enslaved states and peoples" – but he did not talk of Jews. He used terms such as 'the odious apparatus of Nazi rule', 'monstrous tyranny', 'the lamentable catalogue of human crime', 'shattered states and bludgeoned races', 'the foulest and most soul destroying tyranny', '*the nightmare of Nazidom*', and, 'the long night of barbarism ... unbroken even by a star of hope.' His play on words was excellent. Was it the Christian symbol, the Christmas star, or was it the Jewish symbol, the Star of David, to which he was alluding? And there was 'no survival for all that the British Empire has stood for.' But he did not talk of anti-Semitism or oppression of Jews. He talked of the need 'to rescue ... mankind', 'in God's good time', of 'rescue and liberation', 'a miracle of deliverance', and 'mankind moving forward towards its goal.' But he did not talk about the need to rescue the Jews.

Churchill was using Chamberlain's 'conspiracy of silence' technique with even greater effectiveness. He knew just as well as any of the appeasement negotiators and any of those who had been struggling to draft a statement of war aims that to say "we have got to save the Jews" or "we are doing this in response to Jewish demands" would have invoked a negative response. While the *subject* of their conspiracies of silence was the same, 'the Jewish Question', Chamberlain and Churchill had quite different *aims*. The aim of Chamberlain's concealment was to *avoid* Britain having to fight a war. The aim of Churchill's concealment was to ensure that it *continued* to fight a war. However whichever of two basic decisions Britain took, whether to continue its war with Germany or to negotiate a peace settlement, its decision had very important implications for many countries in and adjacent to Europe and, where colonies of European powers were involved, countries well beyond Europe.

In the first case, '*the armistice or knock-out option*,' (a decision by Britain to negotiate an armistice from a position of near-defeat for both its own and France's forces at Dunkirk), other countries would have had to decide whether to recognize Hitler as virtual master of non-Soviet Europe. If they wanted to have an argument with Hitler, or oppose his policies and his demands or resist the demands of his treaty partner, Mussolini, they would have had to do so without the possibility of treaty intervention by Britain, France, or the United States which was firmly committed to staying out of a European war. The only possible substantial treaty partner for the smaller countries was the Soviet Union and in view of the fact that Germany already had a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union the negotiation of such treaties would have been very

complex indeed. They therefore would have had to consider what concessions they were prepared to make to Hitler to retain national independence or, similarly, what concessions they were prepared to make to the Soviet Union if they decided to seek Soviet support. However the Soviet Union had no one to turn to, except to do what Britain had been doing and to regard its smaller neighbours adjoining Germany as ‘buffer states.’ It had to fend for itself.

But in the second case, *‘the drawn out war option,’* (a decision by Britain to continue the war) the decision carried a completely different set of implications for countries around the world. It became necessary for other countries – allies (even including France), enemies, dominions and colonies alike – to consider their positions very carefully. They had to assess what each of the belligerents, Britain, France and Germany, might do to protect their positions, where and how they might strike against their opponent(s), what they might do to ensure supplies of the vast resources they would now require to fight their war, and what they might do to prevent their opponent(s) from gaining access to such supplies. Then they had to consider three broad issues. The first was whether they were directly or indirectly threatened by one or more of the belligerents and their own defence requirements and, in the case of France (and Britain), whether it could depend on the unqualified support of its colonies. The second was the nature and extent of their obligations to other countries, either under treaties, imperial decisions or by virtue of ethnic or other relationships, and whether to cooperate fully under those obligations. The third was their opportunities, either commercial or political, and, if they were so inclined, whether to take advantage of another country’s weakness.

Depending on how they assessed those matters, each country then had to determine whether to align itself with one belligerent or another, or whether to declare neutrality. For some countries the final decision was easy. For others it was difficult and painful. Thus, we are now able to consider, briefly, some of the probable consequences if Britain had withdrawn or was knocked out at that point, before we consider what actually happened as a consequence of its decision to fight on.

The war could have stopped at Dunkirk *either* because the German armies continued to a knock-out blow against the French and British armies instead of pausing, *or* if the British government had opted for an armistice on May 26, 1940, instead of commencing the evacuation of the Allied forces. Everyone expected that Britain would sue for peace and that when it did so, France would do likewise. No other country in Europe would have been in a position to oppose Germany except Russia – his reluctant treaty partner and deferred target. The United States would not have entered the war. The political climate already discussed makes that perfectly clear. It was expected that negotiations would then begin over colonies, territorial claims and spheres of influence. Hitler would have been virtual master of Europe and Mussolini, content to share the glory from within his shadows, would have pursued the demands which he was nurturing. Britain was expected to “return” all or at least some of Germany’s former colonies in Africa and the Pacific, with bonuses. France would have paid a very high price either in North African colonies or in border negotiations.

The situation for the minor powers on the Continent was much more complicated. What additional territories would have been ceded, Munich-style, or demanded and annexed in line with Hitler's plans for Lebensraum must now be a matter of conjecture. The Soviet Union had less reason than the Western Allies to bargain with Hitler, except that it had no 'natural allies' on which to call and this may have tended to make it more open to reasonable treaty negotiations with its smaller neighbours which provided a buffer between it and Germany. But the Soviet leaders knew that if Britain withdrew or was knocked out, Germany would be in a greatly strengthened position, Hitler would not find solace in Lebensraum short of its territory and, with or without allies or buffers, it would sooner or later have to defend itself against Germany's onslaught. The extent of the double-dealing and the number of contradictory treaties which had been made, exposed and broken during Europe's modern history period suggest that the prior existence of the German-Soviet treaty would have been no real obstacle to the negotiation of new treaties. Certainly that treaty proved to be no obstacle to Hitler's precipitate invasion of the Soviet Union after he had been thwarted by Britain.

But for the minor powers of non-Soviet Europe to turn to the Soviet Union for support would have automatically involved recognition of the *legitimacy* of the Soviet Communist economic and political philosophy and system, and probably some loss of sovereignty even if it did not require the substantial adoption of the Soviet systems. That would have brought considerable domestic pressures into play and it is most likely that they would have chosen what they saw as the lesser of two evils: negotiation with Hitler, making whatever territorial, trading and social policy concessions they believed were consistent with their national integrity and independence. If they had chosen to negotiate with the Soviet Union with a consequent rise in its international influence, the United States would have become even more isolated as the principal White Western Christian Capitalist power. In that case the pattern of the confrontation between the Capitalist and Communist systems would have assumed a completely different character concurrently with the reshaping of the non-European colonial world.

Those countries which could not avoid falling within Hitler's sphere of influence, including the Western European countries which were already occupied, would have had little choice than to conform to Hitler's social program which would have included, of course, the expulsion of all Jews. On the basis of this scenario, given Hitler's record of very successful territorial gains by playing the ethnic community game, Germany would have been in an even stronger position by the time that he decided to confront the Soviet Union. The colonial reorganization would have proceeded under the influence of the counties of the tripartite agreement, Germany, Italy and Japan. Similarly, it is clear from the evidence of the Evian Conference, the Vatican's attitude up to that time and its enormously powerful position because of its concordats with all of the totalitarian states and several of the others, the states which would have had to confront Hitler would have been in no position to reject his social policies. He would have been able to impose his plan for the expulsion of all Jews across much but not all of Europe. The Jewish exodus from non-Soviet Europe would have continued and with Hitler's closer ties with the Arab nations any prospect of the establishment of a Zionist state in Palestine would have

receded into the background. But with continuing persecution of Jews, Zionist aspirations would not have been dampened and neither the Jewish Question nor the trouble in the triangle would have receded at all. It would have bubbled along until some other circumstance brought it to a climax.

The countries on the fringe of Hitler's sphere of influence would have been in a position to negotiate with him in such matters as economic concessions or agreements, and social policy. Can we assess how they would have responded? Yes, with a good degree of confidence, by reference to the proceedings of the Evian Conference and the decisions taken by the countries represented at it; the conduct of the Vatican and its agencies; and records of prevailing political and social attitudes. All of those indicators lead inexorably to the conclusion that while there would have been much angst over economic concessions, almost all of the non-Soviet countries concerned would have been quite content to accept Hitler's social program ...except probably the Scandinavian block and Britain once Churchill was in the chair.

The Zionist bid for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine would have remained a matter of record until circumstances brought it to the fore again at a later date. Certainly the 'Jewish question' would *not* have been resolved. Non-Soviet Europe's Jewish community – virtually all of it and not only a small remaining portion of it – would have been scattered far and wide in an increasingly anti-Semitic environment. The question of the development of Bira-Bidzhan as a Jewish enclave, with the possibility that it could eventually gain the status of a self governing republic within the Soviet Union, would have therefore become a major issue. But one way or another the vast majority of the Jewish community would have been concentrated in either the United States or the Soviet Union, flexing its political muscle increasingly in both countries.

The Vatican would have felt well satisfied with its concordats with Hitler, Mussolini and each of the other totalitarian leaders, and it would have been able to pursue additional concordats almost at will. It would have also felt well justified in the policies towards Jews and Judaism which it had been pursuing so relentlessly and therefore much the same tensions which precipitated the rise of Zionism in Europe would have been exported throughout the world. The Zionist bid for the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine would therefore not have remained only a matter of record for very long. It would have been back on the agenda very quickly. At the same time, Hitler's support for the Arabs in the Middle East would have lifted Muslim morale, not only there but elsewhere as well. The relationship between the three Abrahamic Messianic faiths therefore would have come under more strain and the trouble in the triangle would not have been dissipated. It would have been aggravated, especially with the relationship between the Reformed, Orthodox and Catholic churches being skewed even more.

The weakened positions of Britain, France, Holland and Belgium would have encouraged their colonies to apply more pressure for either independence or greater self government, so that the decolonization process would have been accelerated throughout Asia and Africa, and Japan would have been encouraged to pursue economic leadership or dominance of the Asia-Pacific

region, much to the dismay of the United States. Whether Japan would have, in those changed circumstances, sought to impose its imperial status throughout the region is highly debatable. It is a question more easily left in the too-hard basket. In any case, as a consequence of those changes the countries of Asia and Africa would have been very happy to strengthen their economic ties with Germany which had precipitated the changes. But the evidence from their subsequent actions suggests that they would *not* have cooperated in his social policies. In any case the redrawing of the world colonial map would have commenced with collaboration between Germany, Italy and Japan. Britain, France and Holland could not possibly have retained their grips on their colonies and their resources.

In addition Hitler would have been able to pursue his push for *Lebensraum* at Russia's expense, uninhibited by a war on his western flank. Whether territorial and social policy 'compromises' could have been reached between Nazi Germany and the Communist Soviet Union short of war is highly unlikely, especially as the Soviet Union would have then been home to one of the two great Jewish communities. The United States would not have wanted to become involved in such a war and one way or another there would have been a titanic struggle between the two great Continental powers which, together, although diametrically opposed to each others' socio-economic policies, represented the most direct challenges to the church and its amorphous Western Christian gel. *At that stage*, the United States had only limited capacity to influence the course of events in the other continents, but the spotlight would have shifted firmly onto its future role. It dominated the twin continents of the Americas, and, as already noted, it would have been geographically and increasingly economically isolated between Europe and Africa to its east and from Asia to its west by the vast expanses of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Its self-understanding as the New Israel was still intact, or even reinforced by the events in Europe and Asia, and it was home to the other of the two great Jewish communities.

The strategic analyses which would have been available to the British government at short notice when it was confronted by the Dunkirk crisis would have been limited basically to the immediate impact on Britain and its ability to hold its empire together. This is apparent from the nature of the brief report which Churchill sought from the Chiefs of Staff and which was the basis of the evacuation order which was issued on May 27. They would not have been concerned with implications for other countries except as they may have indirectly, but strategically, impacted on Britain. They would certainly not have been asked for, nor would they have had any reason to volunteer, as assessment of the impact on interfaith relations and the consequent political complications. However their previous reports had given a very good indication of the likely course of events, and it is also apparent from Churchill's speech in the Commons one week later (chapter 23, p. 31) that he had a better understanding of the wider implications of the situation than those around him. Hitler had gained control of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, and Belgium in less than two years. He had treaty arrangements with Italy, Russia and Japan, plus the Vatican. He had friendly relations with a number of other governments and he had only one major power against him. Great

Britain. If there was an armistice and peace negotiations at that time he did not have to gain physical control of territory beyond Europe for his influence in the other continents to be greatly enhanced. There was that one other major power which he would have to keep in the neutral corner. The United States. Thus on May 26, 1940, Hitler had good reason to believe that he was well on his way to achieving his paramount aim: the final solution to the Jewish question.

But Britain under the leadership of Churchill *did not* invoke an armistice and sue for peace. It decided to fight on and that decision changed the 'rules' of the war game decidedly. In line with the issues outlined under 'the second case' above, that decision made it necessary for other countries – whether allies, enemies, dominions, colonies or otherwise disinterested parties – to consider their positions. They had to thoroughly review their relationships to each of the parties already involved in the war; whether they were likely to be asked directly to 'contribute' to one war effort or another; whether their own interests and security may be directly or indirectly affected by the continuation and expansion of the war; existing treaty obligations and possible conflicts of interest; whether they would cooperate fully with requests from treaty partners or imperial masters, or whether they would take advantage of weaknesses exposed by the turmoil; and, of course, their own defence requirements. At first it appeared that they would have a very short time indeed to consider their positions. The war in France continued for only four weeks before the nation was crushed.

So France had fallen. ... Under its armistice with Germany, the northern three fifths of France was occupied and placed under military rule while a French Government, led by Petain, was set up at Vichy to administer the unoccupied zone in accordance with the terms which Hitler required in the armistice, and the French overseas territories. There were a number of ministers of the former government who left France when the decision was taken to quit the war. Their intention was to set up a government in exile. Similarly, General Charles De Gaulle organized the Free French Army from exile in London. But the cold hard facts could not be denied. France had been defeated decisively and Hitler had granted it an armistice on terms which were far less onerous than those which had been imposed on Germany under the *Treaty of Versailles*.

Similarly, in spite of the dramatic changes in the circumstances during the four weeks since the pause at Dunkirk, Hitler told his aides that Britain could still keep its colonies under the peace treaty which he anticipated making. He then proceeded with his peace overtures to Britain through Goering and their Scandinavian businessman friend Dahlerus, whom the British Foreign Office disdained as an amateur and did not take sufficiently seriously as a personal emissary from the Hitler and Goering. And having ordered a halt to the German advance against the beleaguered British forces at Dunkirk on May 24,³⁷ in anticipation of immediate peace negotiations, thus enabling their evacuation much to the amazement and annoyance of his commanders, he also proceeded with the demobilization of thirty five divisions of Germany's army which he had announced in May.³⁸ These were hardly the actions of a person intent on crushing his adversary or, as Petain had put it, 'wringing the chicken's neck.' Hitler was

supremely confident of reaching a peace accord with Britain. Thus the period from the fall of France to Hitler's invasion of Russia is critical. It provided the opportunity for a rethink on whether the war was really necessary, but a rethink did not take place. We have looked at the motives driving each of the major participants, so we can now look closely at the events of that critical pause, keeping in mind Hitler's standing, those diverse motives, the series of peace overtures which Hitler made to Britain, Britain's official response to them and the way in which some of the major players tried to respond to them

THE REALITY AFTER FRANCE

When France fell on June 22 Britain's roundup of 'aliens' was immediately extended to include males up to age 70 in category 'C' (free and unrestricted) and 13,000 of them were interned within three weeks. The public outcry changed to "intern the lot" and "ship them overseas."³⁹ Concerned at the drain on resources and the distraction involved in servicing and guarding thousands of internees and prisoners – for that is what those who admitted Fascist or Nazi connections became – the British Government approached each of Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand to request that they each accept custody of some of them. Canada promptly agreed to accept a total of 7,000 (4,000 internees and 3,000 prisoners) and Australia agreed to receive a total of 6,000.

In the United States there were a series of very strong lobby groups advising congressmen and the president that it was in America's interests to join the war against Hitler, notably the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Nazi Council, and to help marshal public opinion, the administration-sponsored Committee to defend America by Aiding the Allies, and Roosevelt manipulated his informal structures to keep supplies flowing to those allies, setting up a National Defense Advisory Commission as well.⁴⁰ However there was still no indication that the US Administration would commit forces to war and it was under strong pressure *not* to do so from the oil industry, other export trade industries, and both the German and Irish lobbies. Thus, in July, doing a bit more juggling, Morgenthau deliberately camouflaged Britain's growing balance of payments crisis⁴¹ and Roosevelt changed a draft speech, deleting a reference to US opposition to war and saying instead that no American men would fight in European wars.⁴² In view of that, many authorities either based their immediate decisions on the assumption of an early armistice in Germany's favour or sought to take advantage of an association with the winning team.

At the same time, Hitler took advantage of an enormous boost in his personal standing and that of the German military machine to pause and regroup. He had two immediate options: an invasion of Britain from very close quarters, or a return to his original plan of eastern expansion through an invasion of Soviet Russia under the cover of his non-aggression pact with Stalin. He could combine either of those courses with a swift push either through the Balkans and the Caucasus or through North Africa to secure the oil resources of the Middle East. If he did that he could eliminate the Jewish National Homeland in Palestine at the same time, knowing that he

would have strong support from the Arab states. And he could also pursue his final solution without too much interference.

While Hitler planned his next move he had good reason to agree with Petain's view that Britain would be out of the war within a few weeks. He had heard Atlee's call for peace talks in May, and about the same time, following the debacle in Norway, he had received feelers from the British Foreign Office through envoys in Switzerland about the terms for a peace settlement. In June, while the terms of the French armistice were still being negotiated and Churchill was bidding for a Franco-British Union, the Foreign Office again initiated peace feelers with the full knowledge and support of Lord Halifax, this time through envoys in Sweden who were acting with the full support of their king.⁴³ When Churchill learned of it he rebuked Halifax and scuttled the initiative.⁴⁴

Clearly, in view of the depth of opposition to Churchill's policy of pursuing war at all costs at home, the best way for Hitler to ensure a free hand in Europe was to end any prospect of an Anglo-US alliance against him, and he could do that by making it easy for an alternative government in Britain to agree to peace terms. He had already told some of his aides on June 2 that he would make peace with Britain even without the return of all of Germany's former colonies.⁴⁵ But he had to be able to negotiate from a position of strength. He finally gained Mussolini's declaration of war in alliance with Germany on June 10 (after much haggling in Rome over the advantages of neutrality or even a pact of non-aggression with Britain and after Hitler had rebuffed Mussolini's 'offer' to declare war on June 5 in order that Germany's glory from a swift defeat of France would not be diluted⁴⁶) and this had greatly strengthened his hand in relation to the Vatican and its dealings with the British and Roosevelt, but he was in no doubt about the level of Churchill's determination. That had been established by the vigour of the new PM's speech to the Commons on June 6.

During the three or four weeks following that speech there had been a series of contacts between London and Berlin via 'other channels' in the name of 'the Peace Party' but it is unclear which of these were genuine attempts to broker a peace agreement in spite of Churchill's opposition, and which ones were 'a blind' to keep Hitler negotiating and give Britain a bit of breathing space. In the midst of those exchanges, on June 26, the British cabinet received and considered a 'flash' message indicating that Hitler was to offer exceptional terms for a settlement. Whatever were the contents of that message, Churchill's anti-Hitler stand hardened. He rejected it outright. There has been speculation, not confirmed by those who were privy to it, that the 'exceptional terms' were a cease fire and immediate negotiations for an armistice if Churchill stood down as PM.⁴⁷ Perhaps he was buoyed by news from Washington that day that Morgenthau had invited a British delegation for talks on the 'quandary' of how to finance the arms which Britain required. There had also been talks about Britain trading technical and scientific secrets and patents, such as the Rolls-Royce Merlin engine designs, for cash or goods so there was some hope that Britain's financial mess, which had finally become apparent to cabinet, might be eased.⁴⁸

Two days later, June 28, two more messages were received. One was advice from Tokyo that Britain's requirements for Japanese cooperation in an embargo against Russia and Germany were too broad and negotiations based on the MEW plan had been abandoned.⁴⁹ Cabinet had to consider that in the context of Japan's demand that the Burma Road be closed and Britain was again caught in a conflict of interest. To close the road would improve relations with Japan but it could either drive China "into the hands of Russia" or force it to make a settlement with Japan which would be to Britain's further disadvantage and it would also alienate American public opinion with repercussions in both the Far East and Europe.⁵⁰ The other message was one in confidence from the Vatican via Berne (one of three addressed to each of Churchill, Hitler and Mussolini) offering papal mediation "for a just and honourable peace." Churchill no doubt assumed that any papal mediation would be consistent with the Vatican's war aims. The offer was rebuffed in like manner. Churchill wrote to Halifax saying: "I hope it will be made clear to the Nuncio [the pope's ambassador] that we do not desire to make any inquiries as to the terms of peace with Hitler, and that all our agents are strictly forbidden to entertain any such suggestions."⁵¹

While there was a wide range of peace feelers being 'floated' Churchill had ships on his mind: mainly battleships, but others, too. The first of the new wave of British 'convict ships', the *Arandora Star*, was being readied to sail and it left England for Canada on July 1 carrying 1,500 unwanted 'aliens' and other internees. It was torpedoed and sank off the west coast of Ireland next morning, July 2, with heavy loss of life. The internees who survived knew not what their fate was to be, but they would be re-embarked a week later on the *Dunera* which carried a total of 2,542 internees, most of whom had become refugees from Nazism or Fascism on racial or religious grounds: the flotsam and jetsam of war.

Reports of the sinking of the *Arandora Star* proved a public relations nightmare for the British government but they soon slipped from the public mind when, next day, July 3, Churchill ordered the seizure of all French vessels in the English ports of Portsmouth and Plymouth and the sinking of the major French naval fleet at Oran. The implications were far reaching. The Chiefs of Staff feared that Britain might even find itself at war with France, and General Dill noted that this made it even more imperative for Britain to avoid taking risks in East Asia. At that time Churchill did not know that Roosevelt was monitoring the situation in South East Asia very closely by courtesy of Lt. Commander Arthur McCollum, head of the Far East Desk of Navy Intelligence, Washington, and the special Japanese communications interception unit which the US Navy had set up, and that he was in a position to 'jockey' or to 'play' the actions and reactions of each of the other countries involved to the best advantage of the United States. He probably did not know either that Roosevelt was especially interested in the continuing pressure which Japan was applying to Portugal to obtain access to resources through Timor, and to France for access to the French colonies of Indochina.⁵² But in anticipation of French retaliation, Churchill ordered a very risky move which greatly weakened Britain's authority in the East immediately – the cancellation of plans for an Eastern fleet. Australia and New Zealand were advised that the fleet which Churchill had undertaken to send

to Singapore, as a cynical ploy to get them to send troops to Europe, would not be despatched.⁵³ That decision was taken against Craigie's barrage of apocalyptic advice that the Foreign Office was wrong if it thought Japan could not fight wars against China and Britain at the same time. He insisted that if Britain continued along that course the chances of war with Japan were more than 50 per cent.⁵⁴

Churchill's aim in ordering the sinking of the French fleet was to prevent the Vichy Government from using it in the Nazi war plan. In fact only three capital ships were sunk in the horrific but brief bombardment, with the loss of 1,250 lives, while seven ships escaped to France, but the effect on international relations was dramatic and complex. The Chiefs of Staff fears were well founded: the Vichy Government promptly broke off all diplomatic relations with Britain and was forced even further into the Nazi camp, and a declaration of war was only averted when the French Ambassador in London resigned rather than face the task of handing it over.⁵⁵

At that time the French administration in both Syria and French Indo-China supported the Vichy government, and if Hitler had been inclined to do so, Germany was in a very strong position to influence not only Arab relations with Britain but also the direction of colonial policy and decolonization in the Far East. The fall of France, Italy's entry into the war and fears of Turkey's ambitions in northern Syria and Iraq had, in fact, prompted the Iraqi government to establish secret contacts with the Axis powers. An Iraqi emissary, Naji Shawkat, obtained a letter of introduction from the Mufti to the German Minister, Von Papen, in Ankara which, being signed on behalf of the Arab Higher Committee for Palestine, gave him pan-Arab status in a bid to encourage German support for Syrian independence. When they met on July 5, only two days after the sinking of the French fleet, Shawkat handed Von Papen the Mufti's letter of introduction and greetings to the Fuhrer. It read, in part:

*... on the occasion of the great political and military triumphs which [the Fuhrer] has just achieved through his foresight and great genius ... the Arab nation everywhere feels the greatest joy and deepest gratification ... [They] confidently expect the result of your final victory will be their independence and complete liberation [and that they will then] be linked to your country by a treaty of friendship and collaboration.*⁵⁶

That message has been represented as a strongly pro-Nazi stand by the Mufti on behalf of Arabs generally, but it must be read in context. It was a reflection of his antagonism to Britain and its policies, and an appeal for help rather than a statement of support for Nazi policies. The Mufti was a pragmatist. He believed that a British victory was not in the Arab interest because "Britain would turn against the Arabs as she had done after World War I" but he also believed that the Arabs should continue to work in accordance with their relevant treaties and avoid either antagonizing the Axis or being drawn into the war. If they were able to do that, they could preserve their military strength and not be "bled for the sake of Britain's victory." However his policy was that if Russia, Japan and Italy joined the war on the side of Germany and if their

armies were to reach Egypt and Iran, all the Arab countries must declare war against the British and their Allies.⁵⁷

Von Papen gave Shawkat little encouragement. He made it clear that Germany had little interest in Arab affairs and regarded them as a matter for Italy. In response Shawkat expressed Arab distrust of Italy, proposed the re-establishment of direct diplomatic ties with Germany and sought an Italo-German declaration on Arab independence and unity. At the same time a second emissary was assured by the Italian Minister in Baghdad that "Italy aims at ensuring complete independence and territorial integrity of Syria and the Lebanon as well as Iraq and the countries under British mandate."⁵⁸ The Italian reply was intended to conceal Italy's ambitions in Egypt and North Africa, and to avoid unsettling the other Arab countries, but neither response suggested any eagerness to draw the Arabs into a widened war to bring down the British Empire.

Certainly Britain's attack on the French fleet had strengthened Hitler's hand still further and he immediately broke off the feelers which he had been pursuing, being convinced that the peace contacts were being manipulated to stall him.⁵⁹ On the other hand, Britain's action convinced Roosevelt that it *did* have the will to fight – alone if necessary – and that strengthened Churchill's hand. On July 8 Roosevelt expanded upon the RFC financing arrangements he had approved in mid-June. He said the government could either build production plants which the operating companies would buy back over ten years, or the RFC could lend the money and be paid back from defence orders.⁶⁰ But the messages coming from the White House were still very confusing. Roosevelt knew that American public opinion was, by then, that if Anglo-French naval power was destroyed it would mean, in due course, a German war on the United States, but even so public opinion was still against American participation in a European war and Richardson was still vehemently opposed to the major West Coast fleet being based at Hawaii. Roosevelt agreed to discuss the matter with him privately over lunch that day but he did not budge. Richardson insisted that the "illogical basing of the fleet at Hawaii" was a disaster in the making and asked: "Are we here as a stepping off place for belligerent activity?" He left the luncheon with a promise from the president that he would not send the fleet to the Far East under "any foreseeable circumstances" but with the impression that he "was fully determined to put the United States into the war if Great Britain could hold out until he was reelected."⁶¹ Now: a speech had already been prepared for Roosevelt at the beginning of July on the simple basis that *America was opposed to war*, but when he was ready to deliver it next day, July 9, that note was changed to read that *no American men would fight in European wars*.⁶² This implied and was taken by observers to mean that the US would not join the war to save Britain but that if Germany was victorious against Britain, then American troops could then go to war *in Europe* in an *American* war.

However Hitler was eager to stop the European war and to avoid the need to have one with America whether it was on European or American soil. He knew that Churchill's opponents in government were eager to force him out, and it was reasonable to expect that the opportunity to hold the 'old' empire together would provide enough incentive for them to do so. And Hitler

had just been dealt a wild card with which he might trump Churchill. It was the Duke of Windsor.

HITLER'S ROYAL TRUMP

Windsor had expected that when the furore over his abdication and marriage had settled down he would be invited to return to England to take up an official appointment, preferably one related to his special interests – industrial and urban reform. Frustrated when he received no such call he had determined to exert some influence in that field anyway. Assisted by a friend of long standing who was well connected with the German Nazi Party, Mr. Charles Bedaux, Windsor announced that he and the duchess would visit Germany and the United States in October and November 1937 to study housing and working conditions. The British Government and the palace ignored the visit. But the world's press did not, and it was soon widely known that the Windsors were impressed by Hitler and his achievements. Their visit became another embarrassment for Britain as well as an affront to the Jewish community, and the uproar in the US forced the last minute cancellation of the US leg of the Windsor's schedule.⁶³ Chamberlain, however, was not among those who were offended, and he visited the Windsors in Paris in November 1938 to discuss his Munich "success."⁶⁴

A few months later, in May 1939, the duke intervened directly in the muddled waters of international diplomacy by broadcasting to the US on the folly of war, immediately after Britain announced its guarantees to Poland, Greece and Rumania and while King George VI was in mid-Atlantic at the start of an official visit to the US and Canada.⁶⁵ He intervened again in August with personal telegrams to Hitler and Italy's King Emmanuel when Hitler's "police action" in Poland was about to force Britain's declaration of war. Both replied: the king, that he was doing all he could to preserve peace, and Hitler, that the choice between peace and war lay with Britain.⁶⁶

Within hours of war's declaration on September 3, 1939, Windsor offered to serve Britain in any capacity the king cared to name. On visiting London in very strained circumstances which his friend Churchill helped to ease, the duke was offered and accepted a liaison post with the British Military Mission in Paris, with the rank of Major General.⁶⁷ Much to the concern of his colleagues he maintained contact with Charles Bedaux. On May 28, 1940, when the German army broke the French lines and swept towards Paris, he quit his post in dubious circumstances – which have been described as desertion – and made his way to Lisbon (Portugal), via Madrid (Spain).⁶⁸ There is still much confusion about his contacts and movements during the following weeks, but it is certain that the British authorities were concerned that he was about to join the German cause. On the signing of the Franco-German armistice on June 22 Churchill ordered him to return to England. The duke held to his belief that Britain should make peace with Germany, broke with Churchill over his decision to fight on, and refused to return to England unless the duchess was granted a royal title and privileges. She was not.⁶⁹

High drama and intrigue followed as Churchill sought to get Windsor into a situation in which he could not press his peace-with-Germany line and undermine Britain's war effort. Instead of a return to England he was offered the post of Governor of the Bahamas. But Windsor wanted something better than that and told the Spaniards as much. He is also believed to have told the Spaniards that if he were still king Britain would not have gone to war and could be bombed into surrender.⁷⁰ Urged by Spanish Nazis to involve Windsor directly in his bid for a settlement with Britain, Hitler postponed an address to the Reichstag which had been planned for July 8 and authorized Joachim von Ribbentrop to ensure that the duke delayed his departure for the Bahamas and accepted a role in the German plan. On July 11 Ribbentrop cabled the German ambassador in Madrid with the message that only the Churchill clique stood in the way of peace and if the duke so desired Germany was willing to smooth the path for "the duke and duchess to occupy the British throne."⁷¹

In the meantime, having persuaded the government that it was in Britain's interest to provide a three-month breathing space by agreeing to a temporary closure of the Burma Road, Craigie was negotiating to get the agreement in place. His advice shows remarkable insights into the Japanese self-understanding and world view which contradicted the self-righteous imperial view from Whitehall (and Downing Street) and which would later be rigorously suppressed as the Allies sought to justify their 'response' to Japan's entry into the war. On July 14 Craigie said that a generous peace for *China* could only be achieved if the *West* was willing to make concessions to *Japan*. He said the grievances which Japan would raise in general talks on East Asia included the rejection of the racial equality clause in the League of Nations Covenant; the United States Immigration Act of 1924; the Imperial Preference policy decided at the Ottawa Conference of 1932; and the general refusal of credits to Japan. He also said that trade concessions, notably access to raw materials, was "more vital to Japan than territorial aggrandisement" and that both the US and Britain had to be involved in the discussion of future arrangements if any meaningful progress was to be made.⁷²

Churchill's fantastic but very illuminating response shows clearly that he was not about to budge from his imperial self-understanding. He wrote in a minute to Halifax: "Don't you think we might go very slow on all this general and equitable, fair and honourable peace business between China and Japan? Chiang doesn't want it: none of the pro-Chinese want it ... I am sure it is not in our interest that the Japanese should be relieved of their preoccupation. Would it not be a good thing to give it a miss for a month or so and see what happens."⁷³ It reeked of the same old 'divide and rule' philosophy which Britain had long relied upon and which he was still imposing in India. Its consequences would be of the same nature.

The Burma Road and Hong Kong border agreement was nearly ready to sign of July 16 when Japan's Minister for the Army resigned amidst disputes over the government's responses to Britain's politicking and inaction in South East Asia and the Yonai cabinet fell. Craigie, fearing that Prime Minister Konoye's new government would have the fiercely pro-Axis Shiratori Toshio as Foreign Minister and be more extremist, and with prospects of war already greater than 50:50, pressed for immediate authority to sign. It was granted.

But Hitler also took note of the changes in Japan and that day, only five days after Ribbentrop's offer to put Windsor back on the throne, he signed a draft order for his staff to prepare plans for an invasion of Britain and "if necessary carry it out."⁷⁴

Next day, July 17, Craigie and Arita signed an agreement banning the transport of war material, including petrol, to China and closing the Hong Kong border until October 18.⁷⁵ It represented an amazing *volte-face* by Britain which had totally lost its bearings as it rounded the beacon which it had tossed into the Sea of Japan on March 14. Instead of coercing Japan into joining an embargo against Russia it had been coerced into joining an embargo against its subservient ally, China. Thus, against a background of frantic action on two continents, Hitler's staff set about their invasion-planning while a British delegation set about discussing the problem of Britain's rapidly dwindling dollar balances in Washington, July 15–18. Roosevelt confided the 'frightening' news to selected Congressional leaders that Britain would require financial assistance within a year and even the liquidation of private securities would hardly dent the deficit.⁷⁶ At the same time the reaction of the US administration to the closing of the Burma Road was that it was "an unwarranted interpositions of obstacles to world trade."⁷⁷ Such a swipe at both Britain and Japan was resented in London because uncertainty about US motives and support had been an important factor in the decision taken. And seeing Japan in a position to control the Asian colonies of both Holland and France, and that its own foothold in China was under severe threat, the United States complicated matters more for Britain on July 19 by proposing a ban on American oils and controls on exports of aircraft parts, minerals and chemicals to Japan.

While Whitehall welcomed this proposal as an indication that the US was at last prepared to support Britain by taking a tough line, there was trepidation that it would bring another backlash from Japan and that the US would not provide military support if Japan launched an offensive to take control of the Dutch East Indies for its oil supplies. However the US was not at war with Japan, nor with any other country in the region, and it therefore had no more statutory justification to act as if it was implementing its Neutrality Act than it had had at any other time since the Neutrality Act became law. Certainly it had no more justification than in July 1937 when it did *not* invoke the Neutrality Law at the time of Japan's invasion of China during the 'Sino-Japanese incident.' Both decisions were based on its perceived economic interests at the time. The State Department therefore stepped in, no doubt to the delight of the oil industry, and limited the move to the introduction of licensing for the export of high octane aviation fuel and high grade scrap metal.⁷⁸

HITLER'S OPTIONS

On the same day, July 19, Hitler addressed the Reichstag.⁷⁹ The thrust of his speech was that the British people could have an end to the war without loss of sovereignty if they got rid of Churchill and his war mongering clique. "I can see no reason why this war need go on," Hitler said. "I am grieved to think of the sacrifices it must claim." The alternative to peace was great

suffering for Britain, with the exception of Churchill who would take himself to Canada where the wealth and children of “those principally interested in the war” had already gone.⁸⁰ “Mr. Churchill ought perhaps, for once, believe me when I prophesy that a great empire will be destroyed – an empire which it was never my intention to destroy or even to harm ...”⁸¹ If Churchill once again brushes aside this statement of mine by saying that it is merely born of fear and doubts of victory, Hitler said, “I shall have relieved my conscience of the things to come.”⁸² Hitler and Churchill were competing in the propaganda stakes to see who could make the most effective references to the Jews without naming them. Then, moving to stir up the undercurrent of opposition to Churchill’s policy, Hitler said:

*In this hour I feel it to be my duty before my own conscience to appeal once more to reason and common sense in Great Britain as much as elsewhere. I consider myself in a position to make this appeal since I am not the vanquished begging favours, but the victor speaking in the name of reason.*⁸³

Churchill rejected the overture out of hand and the black propaganda service prepared a vitriolic response which was broadcast within an hour.⁸⁴ But not every member of Churchill’s cabinet agreed with his response. “Dissidents in the war cabinet” – taken to mean Lord Halifax (who was disappointed that Hitler had not offered concrete terms in his speech) and Neville Chamberlain – approached a German intermediary through the British Embassy in Washington to enquire what Hitler had to say about the kind of peace that “a proud and unconquered nation” could accept. Hitler authorized the German Charge d’affaires in Washington to broaden the contacts, but the exchange of messages was intercepted and Churchill, no doubt furious, instructed that the exchange stop.⁸⁵

On the evening of the day that Hitler’s speech was broadcast and in direct response to it – and in contrast to the self-interest-induced neutrality of his own country – Roosevelt surprised many diplomats by decrying any peace moves. In a speech broadcast from the White House accepting nomination for a record third term as President, he aligned himself with Churchill, saying there was only one way to deal with a totalitarian country: “by resistance, not appeasement.” He immediately signed the Two-Ocean Navy Expansion Act to authorize a substantial increase in US navy strength in both the Pacific and the Atlantic.⁸⁶ In reporting Roosevelt’s address the German Ambassador told Berlin that the president’s complicity in prolonging the war came out clearly. “England is to be prevented from changing her course,” he said. “English resistance is to be strengthened and the war is to be continued.”⁸⁷

Those moves by the United States reflected, in part, the concern of the Organization of American States that Europe’s war might spill over into the Americas, a concern which had prompted the decision by Congress only a month earlier, in mid-June, to permit the sale of surplus US coast and anti-aircraft defence equipment to Latin American countries which were also to be permitted to build warships in US naval shipyards. (See above, chapter 23, p. 33.) But it also reflected the wonderful opportunity which Europe’s war provided for the US to tighten its grip on resources and markets in Latin America under the guise of cooperation.

In particular the US had come to fear that as part of a peace settlement Hitler might gain a foothold in Latin America through the transfer of a European colonial territory – along with its people and resources. Meeting in Havana in July the OAS resolved that the Monroe Doctrine should be applied on an international basis, and the Inter-American Commission for Territorial Administration was set up to ensure joint defence in the event of a Nazi claim to any Latin American country. In the same vein, and to strengthen the resolve of those countries in which there was strong pro-Nazi sentiment, the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee was also established. The US undertook to ‘cooperate’ by absorbing and reallocating surplus Latin American exports, including those which were stranded due to naval blockades imposed in Europe by Britain and Germany. or because of Latin American cooperation with the US in its policy of isolating Hitler. It also undertook construction of large sections of the strategic Pan American Highway.

Roosevelt’s response was in sharp contrast to those of the Pope and the King of Sweden two weeks later,(see below), through whom Hitler had also put out more feelers, and that of Lord Halifax and his Undersecretary, Butler. Halifax broadcast on July 22 that: “We never wanted the war. Certainly no one here wants the war to go on for a day longer than is necessary. But we shall not stop fighting until freedom for ourselves and others is secure.” And next day Butler, frustrated by the confusion in Whitehall and the extent to which British policy was being driven by dependence on the United States, or subservience to it, ordered that work begin on a proposal for a peace agreement with Japan. Then, faced with stalling tactics, he noted that Britain “may well go to the grave chanting that we must be polite to the Americans, but we shan’t save our civilization like this.”⁸⁸

Although, overall, Churchill won that round, he knew he would suffer a major setback in the war of psychology if the Duke of Windsor were to join the Germans, and steps were taken to ensure that the Duke would stay in Portugal until his scheduled departure for the Bahamas. Churchill received another boost – and Hitler got a nasty jolt – when Morgenthau announced on July 25 that American aircraft production was being lifted to 3,000 per month to meet Britain’s requirements and implied, in response to reporters’ questions, that money was not a problem. There could have been no clearer indication that in due course the United States would agree to substantial financial assistance because everyone knew that Britain simply did not have the means to pay for them.⁸⁹ Similarly, such a decision meant that the US was near to the point of being ‘locked into’ an alliance with Britain and that this would have to involve direct participation in the war. However that development made it all the more important for Hitler to be able to use his star recruit and next day, July 26, a plot was hatched to assist Windsor across the border into Spain which, since Churchill’s blunt rejection of the peace overture, Hitler had been pressing to act on its earlier commitment to join the Axis Alliance and declare war on Britain. A message was cabled to Berlin to indicate that Windsor would soon be available but it must have been intercepted by British intelligence because the plot was foiled. Under threat of court martial Windsor finally sailed from Lisbon on August 1. Hitler’s prize had slipped through his fingers. Windsor nevertheless managed to remain in touch with Ribbentrop through a

courier from the Bahamas and it is thought that he kept an open mind on the German proposal to reinstate him on the throne from which he had been forced to abdicate.⁹⁰

It is now known that by that date, (not later than July 31), Hitler had decided that he would have to change his priorities and knock Russia out of the war – quite quickly – to avoid being caught in a pincer movement if Britain and Russia formed an alliance against him.⁹¹ However it is not clear to what extent the Windsor potential influenced his thinking, nor whether he alerted Windsor to his plan. What is clear is that there was a perceptible shift in international political attitudes and policies at that time. During June and July there had been an assumption that Britain was facing defeat and that it would have to sue for a negotiated peace if it wanted to avoid total subjugation. Because of that, governments were basing their planning and their reactions on the first of the two options noted on page twelve of this chapter, ‘*the armistice or knock-out option.*’ However during August and September that assumption gave way to the belief that Britain, and therefore the whole of Europe at least, was in the war for the long haul. Governments shifted a gear to plan on the basis of the second option, ‘*the drawn out war option,*’ and to consider the three issues set out there, viz.: whether they were directly or indirectly threatened by one or more of the belligerents and their own defence requirements as a consequence of that threat and, in the case of France (and Britain), whether it could depend on the unqualified support of its colonies; the nature and extent of their obligations to other countries, either under treaties, imperial decisions or by virtue of ethnic or other relationships, and whether to cooperate fully under those obligations; and *their opportunities, either commercial or political, and, if they were so inclined, whether to take advantage of another country’s weakness.* There were seven ‘powers’ whose ‘shifts’ on the basis of that third issue were of special consequence and become apparent as we trace decisions taken during the next nineteen weeks: Vichy France, Spain, Italy, the United States, Japan and the Vatican.

Of particular interest is the fact that Vichy France and Spain, together, held the key to the quick defeat of Britain if they were to cooperate more closely with Hitler, but they had competing interests and, in addition, Franco was tired of war. If Franco’s Spain were to either attack Gibraltar directly or permit Hitler’s forces to march through Spain to do it for him, Britain’s control of the Mediterranean would be lost, except to the extent that it could capture the Canary Islands and use them as a naval base from which to close the Straits of Gibraltar to Axis shipping. In his memoirs Churchill had the audacity to write that “General Franco’s policy throughout the war was entirely selfish and cold-blooded.”⁹² Surely a case of the pot calling the kettle black. Similarly, Italy held the key to a sweep *east* by the Vatican through the Balkans, and also to the ability of Britain and Russia to bury their hatchets and cooperate against Hitler. Pius XII was well aware of that and also that if the Soviet Union were to sweep *west* first, the Vatican’s opportunity to Catholicize the Balkans would be lost.

However, just before the reality of the situation dawned on Hitler and the rest of the world and that shift began, Hitler, Halifax, the king of Sweden and the pope were certainly not the only people who were still trying to disengage the belligerents, and the pope was not limiting his techniques in any way. He had always promoted concordats as the way to peace and he was

eager to negotiate another one, with the Vichy French Government, to complete the chain of governments linked by concordats right through the heart of Europe. [See chapter 23, p. 22.] This caused concern for France's Protestant and Jewish communities alike. They both feared to be governed by a clerical regime of reactionaries, the *croix de feu* or Cagoulaards, in the climate of high passion for a 'national revolution' which swept Vichy in the wake of the national military defeat. Faced with that prospect the president of the Protestant Federation of France, Pastor Marc Boegner (also president of the administrative committee of the Provisional World Council of Churches) called on both Vice Premier Pierre Laval and Justice Minister Alibert on July 26. The provisional committee of the W.C.C. had already established an Inter-Church Aid Committee and a network for refugee rescue and relief, and it felt shame that the armistice required any refugees to be handed to the Germans on demand.

When Boegner referred to "the Catholic character" of the national revolution Laval stopped him and said that tendency might be present in some of the ministers, but the government would "vigorously maintain religious freedom." Unfortunately he immediately qualified his statement. Protestants, far from being persecuted, would have their rightful place in the nation, he said, but "as for the Jews, they have done such harm to the country that they deserve collective punishment."⁹³ In other words religious freedom in France was for Christians – and presumably Muslims because the French overseas territories were almost entirely Muslim – but certainly not for Jews. Vichy French policy towards the Jews was confirmed over the following months when various racial laws, controls on appointments to public posts, the establishment of internment camps for "non-Aryans" and the repatriation of German Jews to Germany – and the gas chambers – were introduced and enforced. When Boegner wrote to Petain and to the French press objecting to those measures on behalf of the Protestant Federation he was roundly attacked as the "champion of Jewry", for interfering and for not consulting members of the churches in whose names he had written.⁹⁴

Alibert was perhaps more frank on the matter of concordat negotiations. He told Boegner that no plan was under consideration in the ecclesiastical field because according to Cardinal Gerlier, the Archbishop of Lyons, the Holy See would never accept a concordat which would restrict the exceptional freedom which the Catholic Church had been able to extract from the law of 1905.⁹⁵

At the time of those talks, while Vichy France was preparing to hand over its Jews on Hitler's demand, the US further tightened the screws on Japan by introducing the regulations discussed above which included aviation fuel, lubricants, iron and scrap steel under licencing controls.⁹⁶ Japan's next and quite natural response was to seek secure petroleum supplies from other sources. It had already obtained official German assurances that Germany did not have designs on the Dutch colonies, and in August it approached the colonial authorities at Batavia to insist upon huge petroleum supplies and the imposition of controls over the shipping and finances of the Indies. Knowing that Japan was eager to avoid a confrontation with the four interested powers – the powerless Dutch Government in exile, the United States, Britain and

China – the Dutch colonial authorities did all they could in the circumstances to thwart the Japanese and to encourage the Western powers in their opposition to Japan.⁹⁷

Much to the delight of Whitehall, the man whom Craigie had expected, Shiratori Toshio, was not appointed as Japan's Foreign Minister but it soon became apparent that it would make little difference. Anglo-Japanese relations were caught in a downward spiral. Over the five days immediately prior to August 1, fourteen British citizens, some holding the rank of Honorary Consul for other European powers, were arrested on spying charges and on that date Foreign Minister Matsuoka issued a press release announcing Japan's intention to set up a Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere. This was to include the Netherlands East Indies and French Indo-China. Whitehall's concern was aggravated by concurrent rumours that Japan was sending an economic mission to Batavia to press the Dutch officials, still in authority, to ease quotas on commodity supplies and by demands on the French in Indo-China that Japan's troops be given free passage through Tonkin province and the use of air bases around Hanoi. In a doubly swift retaliation Britain's War Cabinet decided, the same day, to arrest ten Japanese subjects.⁹⁸

On August 3 the King of Sweden stepped up his efforts as a peace-maker when he wrote urging Britain to accept a peace settlement. Churchill in response drafted a strong reply in which he referred to massacres and pillaging in the countries which had been subjugated. He very cleverly tied the members of the Chamberlain Government to his policies, saying:

These horrible events have darkened the pages of European history with an indelible stain. His Majesty's Government see in them not the slightest cause to recede in any way from their principles and resolves as set forth in October 1939. On the contrary, their intention to prosecute the war against Germany by every means in their power until Hitlerism is finally broken and the world relieved from the curse which a wicked man has brought upon it has been strengthened to such a point that they would rather all perish in the common ruin than fail or falter in their duty.

Before any [request or proposals for an armistice] could even be considered it would be necessary that effective guarantees by deeds, not words, should be forthcoming from Germany which would ensure the restoration of the free and independent life of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium, and above all, France ...⁹⁹

Churchill showed quite clearly in the words which he chose, so carefully, for that letter that he had not understood the parody of *Mein Kampf* or the responsibility of the church and the amorphous Christian gel for the situation which he described, nor the way in which he, personally, had become a key player. It was all "that wicked man." Relieve the world of him and get a guarantee of "deeds, not words" from his country and the problem would be solved. There was no hint of recognition that it was *the words and deeds of the church* and its adherents which had caused *the words and deeds of Hitler* to be generated as a parody of the words and deeds of the church and the amorphous Christian gel.

The consequences of the parody were gradually unfolding. Hitler maintained that he didn't want to bring down the British Empire, while Roosevelt knowingly pursued a policy which was

bound to dismantle it. In fact, the US was in strong competition with Japan to see which of them would succeed the European powers as masters of the East.

HITLER, ROOSEVELT AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The plot became thicker and thicker. On August 6, only 16 days after Churchill's urging to ignore Craigie's advice and 'miss a month or so and see what happens' before making any more concessions to Japan, the War Cabinet decided to try to extricate itself from a near-impossible position by withdrawing all British troops from its remaining two garrisons in China. It was soon searching for "unobtrusive measures" to take in reprisal.¹⁰⁰ And on that same day a very worried Roosevelt asked Lothian for the second time (see chapter 23, p. 33, May 19, 1940) to press the British government for an assurance that in the event of defeat its fleet would either fight on from within the Empire or be sent to the US and that it would not be surrendered or scuttled. Churchill's response on August 7 was characteristically blunt. He instructed the Foreign Secretary that the nation would not tolerate any discussion of what should be done "if our Island were overrun," that any discussion of the possibility of defeat would be injurious to public morale, the declaration requested must be refused, and that the deal for fifty or sixty old destroyers must be confined "solely to the Colonial leases."¹⁰¹

At the same time the War Cabinet had to focus on India again in spite of Churchill's blunt rejection of constitutional change only a few months earlier when the Muslim League had pressed for the establishment of autonomous sovereign states in areas where there was a Muslim majority. Some Indian army units had been recruited for service in Singapore and North and East Africa, but the fall of France and the continued reluctance of the United States to declare war against Germany made it apparent that much greater support would be needed from India. This was unlikely if Congress maintained its pacifism and if Japan stepped up its campaign to eject the European powers from Asia. Therefore on August 8 the government confirmed its offer of full and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth after the war, with full weight to be given to the views of minorities. A representative body would be set up at that time to devise a new constitution but there would be no change until then, with the exceptions that the Viceroy's Council would be expanded and a war advisory council would be established. In return Britain expected greater cooperation in the prosecution of the war. But Congress refused to cooperate with either manpower or funds, and thousands of people, including all its prominent leaders, were jailed for subversion.

Then, while the United States and Japan jockeyed for position to replace Britain in the East, Roosevelt was also jockeying to extract the maximum technical and territorial concessions from Britain in return for even the slightest military assistance,¹⁰² and Churchill was trying to provoke Hitler into bombing Britain. His aim was to generate maximum sympathy support within the US. The situation had not changed. It was yet another instance of Britain, or Churchill, as the key player in the war manipulating people with whom there was no agreed

‘common cause’, to coerce them into supporting a war which they did not want, and for which there were no acceptable statements of aims. At first he did not succeed.

Franco was in the jockeying business too, in an effort to get the maximum benefits for Spain if he was to commit it to the risky and undoubtedly damaging enterprise of war with Britain in alliance with the Axis powers. On August 8 Berlin was advised that in return for military cooperation Franco wanted Gibraltar, French Morocco, part of Algeria including Oran, and expanded territory for the existing Spanish African colonies plus “adequate military and economic assistance” including a number of 15 inch guns for the Spanish batteries facing Gibraltar, and that he insisted that Spain would not intervene until after German forces had landed in England. Franco knew that such terms were not acceptable to Hitler because the guarantee of French colonial territory as a prize would cost Hitler Vichy French cooperation and almost certainly lead to the setting up of a hostile French government-in-exile in North Africa and its cooperation with Britain. He also knew that Hitler could march through France, then Spain, abusing its nominal neutrality as he went, take Gibraltar for himself, leapfrog across the Straits to North Africa, establish bases and secure the strategic islands off the West African coast. However if he did that he would deplete his reserves so that an invasion of Britain would be more difficult and Churchill would trigger the well-rehearsed plan for the capture of the Canary Islands. Franco had called Hitler’s bluff while maintaining neutrality behind a pro-Nazi front.¹⁰³

But Hitler, having been rebuffed repeatedly by Churchill, most recently in the matter of the Lublin Reservation, was giving up any hope of being able to negotiate the emigration of Germany’s Jews and during August the Jewish Desk of the German Foreign Office refined and submitted detailed plans to transfer four million Jews en masse to the greatly exploited and neglected semi-independent Indian Ocean island of Madagascar. The island had previously been under Portuguese control but had fallen under French colonial suzerainty late in the 1890s. According to Yahil such a plan had been mooted several times by anti-Semitic writers, first in the 1880s and then in the 1920s, the 1930s, and specifically in 1937 before Heydrich instructed Eichmann to examine the matter in March 1938. But nothing more was done until after the fall of France when control of the island could be assumed, and Hitler is said to have favoured the scheme, referring to it several times during the summer of 1940.¹⁰⁴

In that atmosphere Hitler responded to Churchill’s provocation and obligingly instructed the Luftwaffe to soften up England in preparation for a full scale invasion under the code name of Operation Sea Lion, even though he had told Field Marshall von Rundstedt on the day of his Reichstag speech that he had not the slightest real intention of launching a cross channel invasion which, he said, would be quite superfluous.¹⁰⁵ Operation Eagle, the German air offensive which was planned to achieve air supremacy over Britain so that Operation Sea Lion could be put into action, was launched on August 13. Mass bombing of carefully targeted English cities began on August 15, and two days later Hitler declared a total blockade of the British Isles.

From an Arab perspective Hitler now appeared unstoppable and, although the Iraqi overtures in July had been discouraged, another delegate, 'Uthman Kamal Haddad, agreed upon by the prime minister and briefed by the Mufti, arrived in Berlin in late August for an extended stay. His task was to obtain a declaration which was consistent with Arab aspirations with recognition of the independence of Arab countries; their right to unite their countries; their right to solve the Jewish problem in Palestine in a manner which conformed to the national interests of the Arabs; and which asserted that the Axis powers had no imperialist designs on Egypt and the Sudan. He was to offer in return the resumption of diplomatic ties between Iraq and Germany; a favourable position for Germany in the Iraqi oil industry; and the resumption of the anti-British revolt in Palestine and Transjordan, for which Haddad requested logistical and financial support. However the Axis powers were also affected by uncertainties about their alliance. The Germans were generally supportive and were losing interest in Italy having an exclusive post-war influence in the Middle East; the Italians were unwilling to be frank about their own ambitions; and both were worried about the future of their alliance with Vichy France if they agreed to independence for Syria or Syrian-Iraqi unity.¹⁰⁶

At that stage, on Hitler's quite specific orders, no bombing was to be carried out against London so as to minimize political and business reaction and to improve his chances of a peace settlement with Britain. Churchill was well aware of that policy from message intercepts. It did not suit him. He was eager to gain more support for his war policy from both the general population and the financial section of The City. On August 24 one bomber overshot its planned target and hit greater London. Churchill had the justification he wanted for a 'retaliatory' raid on Berlin which he expected to provoke a German attack on London. It did.¹⁰⁷

Britain was desperate for funds – and for closer collaboration with the United States in the Far East – and the price which Roosevelt, the supposed friend of Britain, extracted for fifty antiquated destroyers was so great that it induced some members of Churchill's war cabinet to press for a negotiated settlement with Hitler. The price was agreed to on August 27, then on August 31, while an American military delegation was in London finalizing a lot of small print (and as if to soften the blow) it disclosed that the US had broken the Japanese diplomatic code and in future there would be an exchange of intelligence information.¹⁰⁸ Roosevelt was surrendering, at least in part, the advantage which he had exploited since the new naval intelligence unit became effective on February 23. (See chapter 23, p. 24.) On September 2 Cabinet decided that the Burma Road would be reopened on October 18, and next day, September 3, the bases deal was signed and announced: 99-year leases for naval and military bases in Britain's territories of Newfoundland (Canada), Bermuda, the Caribbean Islands and British Guinea, and the 'exchange' of technical information in several key military areas. Britain was actually so far ahead in radar development and code breaking at that stage, even allowing for the breaking of the Japanese codes, that the exchange was later described as bringing the US out of the stone age.¹⁰⁹ But before that price had been agreed US officials had proposed that Britain be required to cede its West Indies possessions to the United States.¹¹⁰

Perhaps that illustrates the depth of anti-British feeling which pervaded the United States – still a throwback to the colonial era – which Roosevelt had to battle to get even relatively minor assistance packages through Congress. A Gallup Poll taken at about that time showed that a massive 88 per cent of Americans agreed with the Lindbergh-Ford-led isolationist lobby line that the United States should stay out of Europe's war.¹¹¹ But at the same time the carefully orchestrated campaign against Jewish involvement was being stepped up, and the two issues were linked. In August, before the naval bases lease had been screwed out of Britain, the Senate Interstate Commerce Commission appointed a sub-committee to investigate whether the movie industry had encouraged the United States to end its neutrality. A sponsor of the motion claimed that foreign-born film producers who were naturally susceptible to racial emotions were trying to make America punch drunk with propaganda to push it into war.¹¹² And the US Ambassador to Britain, Joseph Kennedy, intervened directly in the debate when he paid a visit to Hollywood and sought a meeting with major Jewish film industry executives to whom he spoke for about three hours. He apparently told them that they should stop making anti-Nazi films and using the film medium to promote sympathy for 'the democracies' versus 'the dictators'; that anti-Semitism was growing in England where Jews were being blamed for the war; and that the Jews would be in jeopardy if they continued to abuse the power of the film industry.¹¹³

The partial loss of sovereignty over significant portions of Britain's empire may have been enough to cause the fall of Churchill's government, then barely three months old, if the details of the agreement had been generally known. And if it had been known that the fifty destroyers for which such prices had been paid had been in moth balls ever since the end of the first world war and most of them were in such poor condition that they were never to be used in battle, the outcry would have been even greater. At that stage of the war few of its people believed that getting rid of Hitler to ensure the basic rights of a few minorities, notably the Jews of Europe, justified sacrificing the empire. After all, didn't they have in their new leader the personification of empire? But the British people could not be expected to comprehend that their new friend, Roosevelt, was denuding Britain of the benefits of an empire in a way that Hitler never intended.

With the tempo of war suddenly raised by the bombing of both London and Berlin, and the ships-for-bases agreement, it was not likely to be any more than a minor diversion when the *Dunera* berthed at Sydney and the majority of its internees disembarked on September 6. When the Blitz of London began next day, September 7, the *Dunera* slipped quietly into history. The general assumption was that the blitz would continue as a part of the softening up process until Hitler was able to order a sea-borne invasion. Few people knew or cared that the internees had suffered a degrading two-month voyage of barbaric treatment and gross indignities in concentration camp conditions under the supervision of two officers whose inhumanity and bigotry knew no bounds. They were then interned at camps in harsh outback conditions while arrangements were made for them to provide cheap labor for the Australian war effort in one way or another – under strict security. Subsequently, when an official enquiry was conducted, the British Government admitted that there had been a monumental bungle, an effort was made

to make amends for the tragedy and many of the internees stayed after their release to make outstanding contributions to their new homeland. But those responsible for the fiasco escaped virtually scot-free and the Dunera Scandal¹¹⁴ serves to illustrate the consequences of mass manipulation of public thinking and responses, even when it is based on what the public may perceive at the time as of quite worthy intent. In fact the Dunera internees were not the only Jews on the water during September. Shortly after the *Madagascar plan* was submitted, and as proof that the Nazis had not tried to prevent further emigration, another 1,200 Polish Jews were able to make their way from Lithuania to Palestine.

The earlier unplanned bombing of London may have provoked not only Churchill's retaliatory bombing of Berlin and then the Blitz, but also Roosevelt's decisions to send the first peacetime Draft Act to Congress and to authorize the establishment of a two-ocean navy that would eventually include one hundred aircraft carriers at a cost of \$5 billion,¹¹⁵ and Hitler's final peace offer. Three days into the Blitz, on September 10, and two weeks after the ships-for-bases-and-technology agreement, Hitler made his last cast to hook a settlement with Britain. His envoy, Ludwig Weissauer, travelled to Stockholm to contact the British envoy, Sir Victor Mallet, through a friend of the Swedish king, Professor Lars Ekeberg. The terms were simple: for Germany, the continent; for Britain, retention of her overseas empire. Lord Halifax and Sir Alex Cadogan delivered the proposal together at 4 pm and urged Churchill to consider it. It was just the kind of concrete statement which Lord Halifax had been eager to receive from Hitler. However, when they returned at 7.30 pm Churchill had already drafted a rejection.¹¹⁶ No cabinet discussion. Not even discussion with his principal advisers responsible for foreign policy. Simply dictatorial Churchillian arrogance and determination.

Perhaps Churchill didn't need to consult his colleagues because they *should* have all realized very quickly that to agree to such a proposition would have turned all of Europe against Britain and meant total British exclusion from all French, Belgian, Dutch and Portuguese colonies in Asia, the Pacific and Africa. That would have resulted either from Hitler's control of those colonies, most notable of which were French Indochina, the Dutch East Indies and Portuguese Timor, or from European antagonism which would have been far more bitter than if the proposed African colonial giveaway had been pursued a year earlier (see chapters 21, p. 10; 22 pp. 2–5). In fact at that time Japan was in the middle of intense negotiations with the Dutch authorities in Batavia for the rights to a minimum of 3,150,000 metric tons of petroleum per year, and the quickest way to convert their strident 'No!' (which brought accusations that they were puppets of the United States)¹¹⁷ to 'Yes!' was for Britain to agree to Hitler's free hand in Europe. The same would have applied to Japan's on-going negotiations with the Vichy French for military bases in Indochina. In addition, with *all* of Europe's Jewry coming under direct pressure to quit, the pressure from the Jewish lobbies both in Britain and the United States would have been equally vigorous, and the Jewish question, complete with the issue of Palestine and Arab relations, would have been forced right to the top of the agenda. Britain's position would have been totally untenable. Totally. Britain was stuck. Churchill's "NO" was relayed to the messengers immediately. Hitler had been sweeping all before him until the Battle

of Britain but Britain's unexpected resistance, especially in the face of the blitz, had the effect of strengthening resistance elsewhere. Thus, after receiving Churchill's blunt and unexpected rejection on September 11, Hitler no longer regarded the British Empire as sacrosanct. News of the exchange quickly leaked to Ambassador Kennedy who relayed it to Washington. Roosevelt's reaction does not appear to have been published, but controversial historical writer David Irving reports that when told of Hitler's terms the former President Herbert Hoover gasped "Why didn't the British accept?" to which Kennedy replied, "Nothing but Churchill's bullheadedness."¹¹⁸ Neither Hoover nor Kennedy appear to have been thinking any more clearly than some of Churchill's colleagues.

The blitz was dominating world news, it was naturally a preoccupation with people in Britain, and it therefore tended to conceal or at least draw attention away from Britain's related and deepening crises in the Far East. But people like Craigie and Japan's ambassador in London, Shigemitsu, continued with their efforts to establish Anglo-Japanese *rapprochement*. With Halifax' approval, Shigemitsu arranged to meet the Colonial Secretary, Lord Lloyd, and a cabinet colleague, Lord Hankey, on that fateful day: September 11. After friendly, but general, discussions they agreed to meet again.

Over the next few days the intensity of blitz bombing increased, reaching a peak on September 15. It is reasonable to assume that Churchill's rejection of Hitler's message had led directly to that peak assault, but it is also reasonable to assume that the increase in intensity of the blitz was not simply out of pique. Circumstantial evidence suggests that it was a deliberate effort by Hitler to apply more pressure on the people of Britain, the 'Peace Party' and the government in a bid to encourage the immediate overthrow of Churchill by his cabinet – or by the military leadership in a coup – and the installation of a government which was prepared to negotiate a peace agreement. Churchill was no more immune from intrigue around him than Hitler – a fact confirmed by the existence of the 'Peace Party.'

During the period June-September the peace politicking had been intense. In view of what is known about Churchill's attitude and his decisions noted above it is surprising to find that some of the messages reaching Hitler purported to carry Churchill's authority. Given that he was eager to gain time to strengthen Britain's position it is reasonable to accept that, as some writers have suggested, he was laying false trails and scents for Hitler. However it is extremely difficult to determine which were genuine and which were false trails. After the Germans had become aware in June that the conversations which they had set up with the British 'Peace Party' through Holland had been infiltrated and were being 'played' by British Intelligence Services, both Hitler (or his staff contacts) and the British Intelligence Services had to change to making their contacts through alternative channels. Hitler wanted to be reasonably sure that he was dealing with either a genuine 'Peace Party' or an alternative Government-in-waiting, while the British wanted to be sure that they stayed abreast of any initiatives which Hitler could take. Their need was to keep him talking instead of triggering an invasion while they improved their position.

However the losses of German bombers during the nine days of blitz bombing raids were unacceptable. Therefore on September 17, when Hitler realized that Churchill was not about to be overthrown and that he had failed to achieve air superiority, (even though he did not know the reason – the RAF’s use of radar), he postponed Operation Sea Lion indefinitely. The Battle of Britain had been won by Britain but the war of Gog and Magog was really only getting under way. In the Far East the bidding for team members was being raised higher and higher and the domestic battle to keep the United States out of the war was gathering momentum, too. The America First Committee had been established and was becoming an influential political pressure group with the aim of keeping the US neutral and preventing the transfer of military goods as aid to the European Allies. It did not oppose the *sale* of such goods, as long as *all* parties were able to buy and sales were subordinated to America’s military needs.¹¹⁹

During those few days when the Blitz was at its peak, Hull seems to have been influenced by a clearer understanding of how fragile Britain’s position had become and the threat to the interests of the United States which a British defeat would unleash. He showed a marked move towards cooperation in Asia and reversed one of the factors which had forced Britain to close the Burma Road. He talked of additional sanctions against Japan and a joint declaration with Britain, Australia, New Zealand and Holland to uphold the *status quo* south of the Equator, which suggested that a decision to reopen the Burma Road could be taken without too great a concern about Japanese retaliation.¹²⁰

In view of the failure of the Blitz, Hitler sent Ribbentrop to Rome to confer with Mussolini on September 19 and to give the Duce his assessment that Britain’s situation was desperate and its attitude was dictated by the hope of intervention by the Russians and the Americans. Mussolini’s view was that its controversial sale of fifty destroyers proved that for practical purposes the United States was at the side of Britain, and that an Alliance with Japan was advisable “to paralyse American action.” Then he indicated that he wanted a free hand in the Balkans where Italy already had seven hundred thousand men under arms in Albania ready to solve “the problem of Yugoslavia and Greece.” He said the Greeks represented for Italy what the Norwegians had represented for Germany and it was necessary for Italy to liquidate Greece, especially seeing that when Italy advanced into Egypt it would not be possible for the English fleet to remain at Alexandria and it would seek refuge in Greek ports. When talk turned to the likely duration of the war, Ribbentrop suggested, apparently without mentioning Franco’s conditions, that “a declaration of war by Spain following upon the alliance with Japan would be a new and formidable blow for England.”¹²¹

But both sides were still jockeying to influence Japan’s decisions, and the second Shigemitsu-Lloyd-Hankey meeting took place three days later, on September 22. Shigemitsu proposed, in line with an idea which an Anglo-Japanese business and professional group in London had been pressing for six months, that a British cabinet minister should travel to Japan as head of an official mission with the aim of improving relations between the two countries and countering German influence. The British ministers found the idea appealing and agreed to pursue it.¹²² However the situation changed dramatically in favor of the Axis powers the same

day when the French military administration in Indochina, faced with an ultimatum, accepted Japan's terms and allowed the use of anchorages in the Gulf of Tonkin, free passage for 25,000 troops into Tonkin province, flanking China's southern border, and allocated four air bases for Japanese use. It was immediately patently obvious that Britain's position in the Far East would be completely untenable unless prompt action was taken to relieve the situation in Palestine and to secure both the Suez Canal and Middle East oil supplies. Middle East security and interfaith relations were back at the top of the agenda.

Throughout August, while Britons contemplated the prospect of invasion at the hands of Germany and their politicians contemplated the prospect of bankruptcy at the hands of the US, the Jewish Agency for Palestine had jockeyed Britain to establish a Jewish army. But Whitehall feared that such an army could be turned against Britain and the Arabs once Hitler had been disposed off.¹²³ Three months earlier, immediately Churchill was appointed Prime Minister, Zionist groups had persuaded him to move Malcolm MacDonald from the Colonial Office because it was he, through the publication of the White Paper, who had thwarted their plans for accelerated Jewish settlement in Palestine.¹²⁴ Then in August, when Weizmann proposed that 60,000 Jews in Palestine be armed in case Britain had to move its troops to other theatres, Churchill gave him a series of controversial undertakings. He undertook to accept Jewish military help; to 'investigate' the army's oppressive searches for arms held illegally by Jewish groups in Palestine; to recall eight of the 10 British battalions from Palestine; and to arm the Jewish para-military police instead. The critical situation in Indochina now made decisions on those matters urgent. It was clear that if the basic proposal was not agreed to there was likely to be a backlash which would only make the situation even more critical.

On September 25 cabinet reluctantly agreed to the establishment of a Jewish Division patterned on the Czechoslovakian and Polish armies in exile. But the decision caused further tension within the war cabinet. The British army chiefs objected strongly on the grounds that it would lead to an open Arab revolt, and MacDonald's successor, Lord Lloyd, objected because of the "appalling repercussions" of giving the Jews arms which they could use at their own discretion against the Arabs. As a result of the tussle of wills which followed, Lloyd agreed to withdraw eight battalions provided there was no deviation from the White Paper which might inflame the Arabs and that no steps were taken to arm a Jewish force for internal security purposes.¹²⁵ The nearest Britain could go towards forming a Jewish Army was to add a Palestinian battalion to one of the existing British regiments. The regiment was expanded from eight to 14 companies, each of which was planned to be half Jewish recruits and half Arabs. In practice Jews outnumbered Arabs because they had more affinity with Britain's war and they were under more pressure from their own community to enlist, but the mixed companies worked more effectively than many people expected and two years later the force was renamed the Palestine Regiment.¹²⁶

At the time of that cabinet meeting, a memorandum was being circulated summarizing the responses of Treasury, the Foreign Office, the Board of Trade and the MEW to the new, more

supportive, American attitude. Considering that there were conflicting recommendations about whether to respond to Japanese demands with concessions or with tougher sanctions, it gave a very sobering assessment. As long as the war with Germany was in progress it was difficult to offer Japan any favourable consideration which would alleviate its position without damaging Britain's war effort. It was evident that for the long term, the opposition within the dominions to Japanese immigration, the impracticability of dismantling imperial preference solely for the benefit of Japan, and the impossibility of giving any cast-iron guarantee of Japanese access to raw materials meant that it was difficult to see how Japan, in its present aggressive state, could be satisfied. The head of the Far Eastern Department of the FO, John Sterndale Bennett, added a personal and very astute assessment that: "so long as Japan believes she can attain strategic and economic security by force or threat of force, she is unlikely to be satisfied with offers which will only partly meet her requirements." Japan wanted a new order: not just tinkering with the edges of the old. This made it clear that if Britain, as the nation wanting to maintain the *status quo*, was not prepared to make concessions under pressure then it appeared to have very little to offer even if Japan were to become more conciliatory. And if Britain was not prepared to work towards equality of opportunity, Japan had just as much to gain from unilateral expansionism as it did from multilateral negotiations, if not more.¹²⁷

That memorandum offered cabinet the opportunity to carefully reassess Britain's overall position. It encapsulated an understanding of the fundamentals required if twentieth century international relationships were to be put on a proper and stable basis. But it was too late. The crises were too deep and the pace of action and reaction too fast to permit a considered response. The US response to Japan's "provocation" in Indochina was not in that class. It was to announce, on September 26, the extension of embargoes on goods to Japan to include all scrap metal and all petroleum that could be processed into aviation fuel. It was then Hitler's turn. And Britain's response a few days later was no better. It was worse.

THE TRIPARTITE PACT

Hitler had pressed for the Soviet-German treaty of non-aggression more than twelve months earlier to ensure that he had a free hand in the west but, as noted above, from about July 31, he had decided that he would have to change his priorities and knock Russia out of the war – quite quickly – to avoid being caught in a pincer movement if Britain and Russia formed an alliance against him.¹²⁸ In turn that meant that he had to ensure the preventative encirclement of Russia. He was in good company. That was exactly what Britain had been trying unsuccessfully to do, but Hitler achieved his objective and upstaged the United States and Britain by signing the *Tripartite Pact* between Germany, Italy and Japan – the key player – with much pomp and ceremony in Berlin on September 27, the day after the extended US embargoes were announced. With the signing of the *Tripartite Pact*, and without realizing it, Hitler had added another chain to anchor the beacon which the British MEW had tossed into the Sea of Japan a

few months earlier: its bid to encircle Russia with an embargo imposed jointly by Britain, France, Japan and the United States. [Chapter 23]

The key clauses of the *Tripartite Pact* recognized each country's principal sphere of influence and provided for mutual support in the event that any one of the three was attacked by the United States. Russia, being omitted from the pact, was clearly apprehensive.¹²⁹ It had good reason to be. Although Russia had a non-aggression pact with Germany, and Germany was in formal alliance with Japan, there was no treaty between Russia and Japan which had been courted by both of the teams ranged against it. In fact there was continuing animosity. And although Japan and the US were jockeying for position in the East they were also having discussions aimed at reaching an understanding short of war, with the common aim of greatly reducing the influence of the European powers in Asia.

The game of musical chairs – or beggar my neighbour – was approaching a climax. The teams for Gog and Magog had virtually been decided. The only question was what the role of the Soviet Russia would be. It had an alliance with Hitler's Germany, it had been wooed and rejected alternately by the Western Allies, and it had an assortment of alliances arraigned against it. Would it be left out in the cold to fend for itself or would it, if Hitler turned against it, be called on by the Western Allies to help defeat what would then be their common enemy? The ball lay in Hitler's court.

The signing and the timing of the *Tripartite Pact*, firmly linking Japan to the interests of Germany and Italy, must be looked at taking account of several related issues. They include the Jewish question; the politicking over a possible Anglo-German peace agreement, linked with the evolution of Japan's *Fugu Plan*; the American reaction to these matters; and Italy and the Vatican's response. It is necessary to do some more back-tracking to pick up some threads as we come to each issue in turn.

Concerning the Jewish Question. It is clear that Japan took no account of Hitler's anti-Semitic program in signing the pact. By arrangement with the American Joint Distribution Committee, 2,400 Jewish refugees from Poland, then accommodated in Lithuania, left for Japan in three months beginning September 1940.¹³⁰ Exactly how that refugee shipment relates to Japan's *Fugu Plan* for the large scale settlement of Jewish refugees in the region of Manchuria – immediately across the Sino-Soviet border from BiraBidzhan – which had been captured from China a decade earlier, is not clear, but several things are apparent. Japan had no wish to be associated with Christian anti-Semitism, its interest in assisted settlement was basically prompted by considerations of national development and security, and its attitude towards Jewish immigration and integration reflects the Japanese understanding of racial equality and encompasses some of the humanitarian elements of both Boleslav's charter for Jews in Poland and Russia's plan for BiraBidzhan. Similarly, Japan continued to allow unrestricted refugee movement into the Chinese mainland free port region of Shanghai which it had controlled since 1937, immediately adjacent to its European and American fortified trading and listening posts, and the number of Jewish settlers there rose from 1,500 in December 1938 to 14,000 in May

1939. At that point, instead of encouraging unimpeded access through Shanghai as a refugee escape route the earlier Jewish settlers, fearing “an excess of refugees” approached the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the end result was what Yahil describes as a strange “international conspiracy” involving the JDC, a Jewish settlement agency HICEM, the Committee for German Jews in London, the B’nai B’rith, the governments of the United States, Britain and France, and the Ezra (emigration) Society in Germany which led to directions from the US Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, that this traffic was to stop.¹³¹

Next, concerning politicking over a possible Anglo-German peace agreement. While Hitler was intent on facilitating his long term plans by reaching a settlement with Britain, he and the Nazi authorities were intensifying their campaign against the Jews and they were intent on forcing the emigration of Jews from Germany and the occupied territories or their deportation to any country which would accept them. Hitler does not appear to have understood any more clearly than most other people that Britain’s complex of contradictory undertakings had made those portions of *his* war aims, as well as Britain’s, quite incompatible. Exit visas were still being issued to Jews for travel from German territories to the United States and, as already noted, these were not stopped until the end of 1941, five months after the ‘final solution’ instructions had been issued, when the United States and Germany were formally at war, and no systematic genocide programs had been undertaken even though it is now apparent that they were being planned, presumably on a ‘contingency basis’ to be put into effect in the event that Hitler was not able to achieve total deportation and expulsion in the context of a peace deal with Britain.

THE FUGU PLAN

In fact Hitler’s anti-Semitism had provided a strong stimulus for the development of Japan’s ‘*Fugu Plan*’¹³² which, in retrospect and together with the BiraBidzhan Project, assumes enormous importance in the unfolding trouble in the triangle and in our understanding of the *Night Journey*. The plan was devised by Japanese Government authorities to utilize the manpower, skills and financial resources of Jewish refugees to boost the economic development of Manchuria and in doing so to enable Japan to consolidate its grip on the region which it annexed from China in 1931, in return for security and a safe haven. The Jewish community was to have local autonomy within the framework of a subordinate Japanese state. The *Fugu Plan* therefore bears remarkable similarity to the Model Charter for the Protection of Liberties for the Jews which Boleslav the Pious introduced in Poland at the time of the Crusades. (Chapter 9, pp. 1–2) Its origins, or the issues which prompted it, were also virtually the same. The origins of the *Fugu Plan* lie in the events of the late nineteenth century when Europe’s Jews were reacting to their degrading treatment at the hands of the church and the Great Powers and crying ‘let’s find a new home,’ and while Japan was reacting to the oppressive tactics of the same Great Powers plus the United States in breaking its isolationism, forcing the opening of Japan to outside traders, and undermining its existing social and economic structures.

Manchuria, although it had provided China's ruling dynasty for two hundred and fifty years, had vast areas of harsh, inhospitable and thus under-populated territory, rich in resources, difficult to defend and wide open to outside exploitation. Japan, its isolationism broken and prompted into an expansionist mood, occupied part of southern Manchuria in 1895 and watched while Tsarist Russia gained control of the Kwantung Peninsula region three years later. The two colonizing powers built railways to facilitate exploitation and competed for influence. Then in 1904 Japan attacked Russia, seeking to occupy Manchuria as a buffer between itself and Tsarist Russia. With his country facing the prospect of defeat, the Vice-Governor of the Bank of Japan, Baron Takahashi, sought loans in London to finance the war. He received little encouragement until an American Jewish banker, Jacob Schiff, influenced by Tsarist Russia's generally anti-Semitic policies, agreed to raise the loans required. Thus sustained, Japan defeated the Russian forces and was able to negotiate a favourable settlement under the Treaty of Portsmouth which enabled it to strengthen its position in southern Manchuria.

For the next twenty five years the position was very fluid and confused, and in 1931 Japan's military leaders, stung into action by the world wide recession and having virtual control of the government, decided to occupy and annex all of Manchuria. But when they did so they were unable to persuade Japanese to settle in the inhospitable area in sufficient numbers to carry out their development plans or to consolidate Japan's grip. In 1932 Manchuria was renamed the Independent State of Manchukuo, and Gisuke Ayukawa, founder of Nissan Industries, noting that during the years that the north was under Tsarist control (and in contrast to his domestic policies) Nicholas II had sought to Russify the region by offering 'concessions' to Russian Jews to settle there, proposed a plan to encourage additional Jewish settlement.¹³³ The concessions which the Tsar had offered were simple: freedom of religion, unrestricted business rights and quota-free schooling.¹³⁴ However they were sufficient to encourage some settlers, so that by the mid 1920s there was a strong community of thirteen thousand Jews settled in and around the key railway town of Harbin on the shortcut route from Chita and Manzhouli via Harbin to Vladivostok. By that time a large number of White Russians had arrived as a consequence of the Bolshevik Revolution, and the area of BiraBidzhan, on the main Trans Siberian route to Vladivostok, immediately adjacent to Manchuria across the Russian border, was being considered for a special Jewish settlement area. [See above, chapter 24, from p. 5.] BiraBidzhan had actually been declared a Jewish settlement area in March 1928 but because of the machinations of Soviet politics and ethnic affairs it was on the verge of being declared a failure. There had also been debate about the security aspects of its proximity to Japanese occupied Manchuria. However, while security was a major concern to the Japanese they do not appear to have been over concerned about the prospect of Jewish settlements on both sides of the border. Therefore when Hitler gained power in Germany early in 1933 and immediately began to impose restrictions on Jews, and Nazi mobs began to step up physical oppression, the prospects for a more favourable scheme of settlement in Manchukuo appeared to be good in spite of Japan's break with the League of Nations over its occupation of Manchuria.

However, with the White Russians had come a strong show of anti-Semitism, kidnapping, extortion and a return to a life of uncertainty for the Jews, and when the Japanese police arrived in 1931 they were influenced by the flood of anti-Semitic propaganda, including the notorious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and they collaborated with the White Russians. Then in August, 1933, the kidnapping, torture and brutal murder of Simon Kaspe, the son of a wealthy Russian-born Jew with French citizenship, became the focus of a trial, retrial and blatant miscarriage of justice in which the Japanese police were entangled, and the Jewish community began to return to Europe in droves – condemning Japan as they did so. About 70 percent had gone by the mid 1930s. It was hardly the right environment in which to launch a new Jewish settlement plan, but the Japanese government was very eager to attract both settlers and investment and decided to proceed. About the same time that the Supreme Soviet announced that Birobidzhan would be upgraded to an Autonomous Jewish Region in a last ditch effort to get that scheme moving, (May 1934), the Japanese Foreign Ministry gave extensive publicity to ‘A Plan to invite 50,000 German Jews to Manchukuo.’ There were apparently no immediate ‘negative repercussions.’ Then, although its announced target was several times more settlers than the net increase in the number of Jewish settlers in Birobidzhan (14,000 at the end of 1935), it worked with sensitivity to encourage Jewish settlers and to avoid being seen as desperate to woo them.¹³⁵

Relations between the Japanese authorities and the Jewish settlers of Harbin gradually returned to normal and in 1937 the Far Eastern Jewish Council was established with Dr. Abraham Kaufman as chairman. It was welcomed by the Japanese government and admitted to membership of the World Jewish Congress. In December that year it hosted the first Conference of Jewish Communities in the Far East, attracting some 700 persons from Manchukuo, Japan and Shanghai. Japan had invaded China in July and annexed the Chinese sector of Shanghai (but not the International settlement or the French Concession which, together, accommodated 38,000 foreign residents including 4,700 Jews¹³⁶), and it was in the process of capturing Nanking which suffered 200,000 civilian casualties. Thus, as might be expected in view of the fact that there were very few Jews present from regions not controlled by Japan, the conference carried a resolution of support for Japan with a call for world wide Jewish support for Japan’s concept of a New Order in Asia.

*We Jews, attending this racial conference, hereby proclaim that we enjoy racial equality and racial justice under the national laws, and will cooperate with Japan and Manchukuo in building a new order in Asia. We appeal to our co-religionists.*¹³⁷

The New Year of 1938 opened with deepening crisis in the Middle East, with Hitler applying increasing pressure for Germany’s Jews to depart, with Britain hell bent on appeasing Hitler, and with Roosevelt extending invitations to his refugee talk fest at Evian – but no invitation was extended to either Japan or that other country which already had a well considered plan for Jewish settlement: Russia. The European Powers and the United States were not at war with them, but they both represented threats to the positions of privilege of those powers, so nothing would be done which might strengthen their ability to compete. Certainly not the saving of a

few thousand Jews. It was as if the Western Powers were trying to force both Japan and Russia closer to alliances with Germany.

Then came Hitler's Kristallnacht, November 9–10, 1938, with its enormous pressure on Germany's Jews to flee, and the retaliatory boycott of German imports into the United States, led by American Jewry, which placed Japan under equally great pressure to think carefully about its foreign relations. It had only recently signed a cultural agreement with Germany and as a consequence several Japanese institutions had already dismissed Jewish staff. A special meeting of Japan's five top cabinet ministers and their advisers was convened for December 5, 1938. The problem was: should Japan persevere with its plan for Jewish settlement or discard it, and, if it persevered, under what conditions should it do so? The ministers and their advisers were divided. There was a general consensus that Japan needed as much capital as it could secure and manpower and expertise to help it implement its plans not only in Manchukuo but elsewhere, and the government believed that the Jews could help provide all three.

But ... Japan was being pushed by the attitude of the United States closer and closer to a formal alliance with Germany. It should therefore be careful to avoid policies or actions which offended Germany, but it had to make sure that it determined its own policy and that it did not allow Hitler to dictate policy on important matters of foreign relations. On the other hand, Jewish influence on the President of the United States was considered to be very strong and a favourable relationship with the Jewish community could possibly swing the US towards acceptance of Japan's plan for a New Order in Asia and away from war to determine the pre-eminent power. There was also Russia. Some advisers feared that the close proximity between BiraBidzhan and Harbin provided a potential spearhead for either a Russian attack on Japan or a Russian-Jewish takeover of Manchuria followed by a push into China. This raised the additional question of whether the plan should be modified, with settlers encouraged to go to a region other than Manchukuo. Then there were alternative views on whether Jewish support for Japan would be greater if the Jewish community were given autonomy or semi-autonomy within the Japanese empire, or whether it should have only limited local authority, subject to Japanese direction in all major policy areas. The meeting, which became characterized as 'The Five Ministers' Conference', dragged on, but eventually consensus was reached.¹³⁸

*Our diplomatic ties with Germany and Italy require that we avoid publicly embracing the Jewish people, in the light of their rejection by our allies, but we should not reject them as they [our allies] do. ... This is particularly true in light of our need for foreign capital and our desire not to alienate America.*¹³⁹

The *Fugu Plan* remained alive, but the emphasis in its application changed. It was agreed that Jewish settlement was to be encouraged in Shanghai (where the Jewish population had been swollen by the arrival of 1,500 refugees from Germany during 1938) rather than Manchukuo, but the flow of available capital was to be directed as much as possible to Manchukuo. Early in 1939 the senior army and navy officers responsible for implementing the plan moved from Harbin to the Japanese consulate in Shanghai where they worked in close collaboration with the

consul general. Then in March, when German troops occupied Czechoslovakia, Lew Zikman, a wealthy Manchurian Jew, proposed the establishment of a leather working industry based on two hundred skilled leather workers and their families on the outskirts of an existing town in Manchukuo. Zikman planned to finance the venture partly from his own funds and partly from American sources in spite of trenchant opposition from Stephen Wise. He was in no doubt about the strength of Wise's opposition to Jewish collaboration with the Japanese as a result of an exchange of correspondence some time in 1938. Wise had campaigned vigorously against Japan's "criminal aggression" in China and in his letter to Zikman he wrote that "it is wholly vicious for Jews to give support to Japan", that he "deeply deplored whatever your reason may be that you are trying to secure support for Japan from Jews", that Zikman was doing "a great disservice to the Jewish people ... for reasons which are invalid and without regard for the fact that Japan is like Germany ... bound to take an anti-Semitic attitude", that he (Wise) would do all that he could to thwart Zikman's plans, and that he wished to have no further discussions on the matter.¹⁴⁰

By June, 1939, the Japanese officers had completed a project study based on Zikman's proposal with the rather clumsy but very frank title '*Concrete Measures to be Employed to Turn Friendly to Japan the Public opinion Far East Diplomatic Policy Close Circle of President of USA by Manipulating Influential Jews in China.*' Several alternative sites in both Manchukuo and Shanghai were considered with ultimate target populations ranging from a low of 18,000 persons to a high of 900,000 persons. On July 7 the report was formally adopted by the Japanese administration in Central China for consideration by the government in Tokyo. It was given the much simpler title 'The Study and Analysis of Introducing Jewish Capital' and one important qualification was added. A recommendation by one of the drafting officers that the Jewish settlement area should be fully autonomous except in matters of foreign affairs and defence was struck out and it was noted that autonomy would be restricted to religious, educational and cultural matters.¹⁴¹ About the same time, while the MacDonald White Paper on Palestine was being contested before the League of Nations, the Pacific Trading Company was established with initial capital of \$US700,000 provided by a combination of Japanese, Chinese and Jewish sources in Shanghai.¹⁴²

In the meantime Dr Kaufman had been invited to spend the month of May in Tokyo for consultations and he had been honoured with an Imperial Award; steps had been taken to convene a third conference of the Far Eastern Jewish Communities in December at Harbin; and contacts were established with other Jews in New York in a bid to arrange face to face talks with Wise which might help to overcome his opposition. But the rate of arrival of Jewish refugees in Shanghai had risen to close to one thousand a month and, much to the surprise and consternation of the Japanese authorities, this led to pressure from the existing Jewish community for the rate of arrivals to be stemmed. The longer-settled Jews were concerned that with the arrival of the refugees, many of whom were quite poor and became a temporary drag on welfare resources available, the number of Jews in greater Shanghai exceeded the total number of all other expatriates from the UK, France and the USA, and that this could lead to

pogroms. [See above, this chapter, p. 19, the ‘international conspiracy’ to reduce the flow of refugees.] Thus, when the FEJC Conference went ahead as planned on December 23–26, 1939, almost four months after Hitler’s invasion of Poland and Britain’s declaration of war, it carried a resolution which was later referred to the World Jewish Congress, no doubt in the hope that it would be adopted as a resolution of that Congress. The resolution noted that Jewish refugees were “overflowing in some places in the Far East, particularly in Shanghai,” expressed gratitude to Japan for its kind treatment of the immigrants and refugees as well as Jewish residents, and continued:

Several thousand have no place in which to live and are being accommodated in school buildings and the like. We, the world Jewish community, will be much obliged to Japan if she offers to these refugees some place to live and settle comfortably in the Far East through Imperial Japanese effort. In the case of Japanese compliance (i.e. if Japan offers some land) we shall be responsible for the construction of that settlement and hereby promise to cooperate in building a new Asia as much as we can.¹⁴³

The text of that resolution had not reached Wise when he agreed to meet Mitsuzo Tamura, an American educated Japanese industrialist who had been asked to act as an unofficial emissary for the *Fugu Plan* team, early in the New Year of 1940. Wise listened to the basics of the proposal, reminded Tamura of the excesses of the Japanese military forces in occupied areas of Asia, and rejected the idea of Jewish involvement, suggesting that “it might be a rather unpatriotic thing for American Jews to do, even to discuss the future export of these items [required for the development of such a proposal] to a non-allied country without consulting at length with the State Department.” He then ignored Tamura’s plea that he either visit Japan himself or arrange for the visit of a delegation to assess the situation.¹⁴⁴ For practical purposes the *Fugu Plan* was dead. However, by July 1940, after the Nazis had overrun Holland, France had negotiated its armistice, Russia had occupied the Baltic States in accordance with its secret agreement with Hitler, and while the British Colonial Office was pressing the Foreign Office to consider Russia as an enemy country for purposes of Jewish immigration restrictions, Wise had softened his attitude to Japan somewhat. He wrote to Dr. Karl Kindermann, a German Jew living in Tokyo, to the effect that “any offer to settle Jewish refugees in Japan which would come from authoritative sources in Japan would certainly receive the fullest consideration of Jewish organizations.”¹⁴⁵

At the same time the Dutch Ambassador in Latvia, L. P. J. de Dekker, who had not yet been replaced by a German appointee, had realized that the Dutch colony of Curacao in the West Indies, well out of reach of Germany, had not changed its policy of visa-free entry and that it may admit some people on the basis of landing permits issued on arrival. He had therefore advised all of the Dutch Consuls in the Baltic countries to stamp the passports of Jewish refugees with the statement ‘No visa to Curacao is required’ to assist them to find a route out of Europe. It was up to the refugees to find a country which would provide a transit visa so that they could actually leave Europe and that would still be very difficult because most countries had already closed their borders. However a very resourceful young Dutch-educated but

Belgian-born Jewish student, Nathan Gutwirth, who was then studying at the Tels Yeshiva in Lithuania, learned that it had been Japan's policy to issue short term transit visas if a person already had a visa to another country. Armed with his Dutch Curacao stamp, he approached the Japanese Consul in Kovno, Senpo Sugihara, and applied for a transit visa. Sugihara hesitated, but issued a visa. In doing so he triggered an avalanche of similar applications as word of his action spread through the Yeshiva and the Jewish community. He consulted the Japanese Foreign Ministry in Tokyo and was instructed that, in common with other countries, Japan's policy had been tightened and a valid entry visa to another country was required. After agonizing over the plight of the Jewish refugees for some time he decided to take the risk of acting on his own authority and against the instructions of his Foreign Ministry. During the next few months, until he was moved to another post, Sugihara issued 6,000 such transit visas. In spite of the fact that he was, by then, negotiating the *Tripartite Pact*, the Japanese Foreign Minister, Matsuoka, instructed that they should be honoured.

It was at that point, in the middle of the three-month negotiations for the signing of the *Tripartite Pact*, that the Jewish Desk of the German Foreign Office submitted detailed plans to transfer four million Jews *en masse* to the greatly exploited and neglected semi-independent Indian Ocean island of Madagascar.¹⁴⁶

BRITAIN OUTMANOEUVRED

So we are up to date again. On September 27, 1940, the *Tripartite Pact* was a reality. Hitler had totally outmanoeuvred Britain. The countries which Halifax had proposed as members of an alliance against Germany, and which the Vatican had sought to convert into an alliance against the Soviet Union – with Germany added for good measure, were now aligned as partners in an alliance aimed against the United States which was fast becoming the key prop supporting Britain. The ships of state wallowing around the MEW's beacon in the Sea of Japan had lost their bearings, turned full circle and, in doing so, ensured that it was completely impossible to disentangle the crises of the European theatre from those of the Asian and Far East theatre, or to avoid both the United States and Japan becoming fully involved. It was a world crisis in every sense of the word.

Britain's relationship with Japan had been under strain for a long time but as a consequence of the events and decisions taken since June 11 – the day that Whitehall rebuffed Japan's request that Britain withdraw its remaining gun boats and troops from China in order to avoid any clash with the Italian garrison in Shanghai – it was now in tatters. Japan had tied its flag firmly to the opposition mast and Hull had responded with aggression, proposing on September 30 that Britain and the US should begin staff talks. But not everyone in Whitehall or in the British diplomatic outposts regarded the position as irretrievable or was comfortable with Hull's new cooperative 'tough line on Japan'

Craigie and Vansittart were among those who saw the American attitude as excessive and feared that it could all too easily lead to a confrontation which would divert US resources away

from the war against the main enemy, Nazi Germany. Craigie suggested that it was likely that Britain would become involved in an American-Japanese war and recommended caution. But when the war cabinet met on October 3, only a day after approving the establishment of a Far Eastern Committee chaired by Butler which was to find a way of restricting Japan's support for Germany without precipitating an expansion of the war, the prevailing attitude was not caution but confrontation. Craigie's advice was ignored and the decision was taken that the Burma Road agreement would *not* be renewed, that the road would be reopened on October 18, and that the decision would be made public ten days in advance through a statement to parliament. Churchill, who believed that it was to Britain's advantage to *break America's isolation*, responded to Craigie's advice with a scorching note to Halifax dated October 4.¹⁴⁷ It was not only a reprimand for Craigie, it was clear conformation that Churchill neither saw, nor looked for, any possibility of a negotiated settlement and that *his* only route to 'peace' was through an *escalation of the war* to the point of total German defeat and destruction – *with the United States involved* and the sooner the better. With Churchill holding the reins so tightly, Halifax might as well have filed the interdepartmental memorandum of September 25 in the archives straight away. Churchill wrote:

This shows the very serious misconception which has grown in Sir R. Craigie's mind about the consequences of the United States entering the war. He should surely be told forthwith that the entry of the United States into war either with Germany or Italy or with Japan is fully compatible with British interests. [Emphasis added.]

That nothing in the munitions sphere can compare with the importance of the British Empire and the United States being co-belligerent, that if Japan attacked the United States without declaring war on us we should at once range ourselves at the side of the United States and declare war upon Japan.¹⁴⁸

Churchill was well and truly embarked on his course of breaking America's isolation, escalating the war and coercing the US into direct involvement. On *the same day* that he wrote that scorching memo to Halifax he wrote to Roosevelt requesting that a squadron of US cruisers be sent to Singapore. Churchill's stated reason – that it might prevent the war from spreading – was not consistent with his note to Halifax, and neither was it interpreted that way in the Far East section of US naval intelligence.¹⁴⁹

THE US AND MCCOLLUM'S MEMO

Every power was feeling insecure. Every power: including Germany, Russia and the United States. International relationships were greatly undermined by a lack of frankness, the withholding of information and downright dishonesty to such an extent that mixed and confusing signals were flying in all directions. Preliminary British approaches to Molotov brought the response that the *Tripartite Pact* had changed nothing as far as Russia was concerned and there would be no shift in its foreign policy. And while Churchill penned that scorching note Hitler and Mussolini were conferring at the Brenner Pass. Hitler told the Duce

he was worried about Spain's demands. If he gave in to Franco the English would occupy the Canaries and the French colonies in North Africa would join de Gaulle. Against that, the Metropolitan French may join him in Europe against Britain. Concerning Russia, Hitler said his distrust of Stalin was equalled by Stalin's distrust of him and he now had the task of directing Russia's dynamism towards India.¹⁵⁰ The *New York Times* report of that meeting by its bureau chief in Rome noted that: "The Axis is out to defeat President Roosevelt not as a measure of internal policies of the United States but *because of the President's foreign policy*."¹⁵¹ [Emphasis added.] And the US? Anglo-American economic embargo talks progressed, then stalled. Why?

Based on the prevailing international situation and the latest intelligence from Japan, McCollum, still at the Far East Desk of Naval Intelligence, prepared a confidential five-page assessment in which he concluded that war between The United States and Japan was inevitable and that the United States should provoke it at a time which suited its interests. He summarized the relationships between the major world powers and the strengths and weaknesses of the US and Japanese positions concisely, and advocated an eight-action program which he believed would lead to a Japanese attack on the United States which would provide the justification for entry into the war by the United States on its own terms. According to evidence which author and researcher Robert B. Stinnett describes as "conclusive" the McCollum assessment went to both the director of US naval intelligence, Captain Walter S. Anderson, and the president on October 7 and Roosevelt took the first action consistent with McCollum's proposals the very next day. Stinnett demonstrates that the McCollum plan was basic to the US *modus operandi* for the Far East from then until December 7, 1941, and that each of its action proposals were put into effect systematically over that period.¹⁵² It is therefore of such importance that extracts from McCollum's assessment are set out here with his action proposals in full.¹⁵³

The United States today finds herself confronted by a hostile Germany and Italy in Europe and by an equally hostile Japan in the Orient. Russia, the great land link between these two groups of hostile powers, is at present neutral, but in all probability favourably inclined towards the Axis Powers, and her favourable attitude towards these powers may be expected to increase in direct proportion to increasing success in their prosecution of the war in Europe. Germany and Italy have been successful in war on the Continent of Europe and all of Europe is either under their military control or has been forced into subservience. Only the British Empire is actively opposing by war the growing world dominance of Germany and Italy and their satellites.[Paragraph 1. In full.]

... Paradoxically, every success of German and Italian arms has led to further increases in United States sympathy for and material support of the British Empire, until at the present time the United States government stands committed to a policy of rendering every support short of war with the chances rapidly increasing that the United States will become a full fledged ally of the British Empire in the very near future. The final failure of German and Italian diplomacy to keep the United States in the role of a disinterested spectator has forced them to adopt the policy of developing threats to US security in other spheres of the world, notably by the threat of revolutions in in South and Central America by Axis-dominated groups and by the stimulation of Japan to further aggressions and threats in the Far East in the hope that by these means the United States would become so confused in thought and fearful of her own immediate security as to cause her to become so preoccupied in purely defensive preparations as to virtually preclude US aid to Great Britain in any form. As a result of this policy, Germany and Italy have lately concluded a military alliance with Japan directed against the United States. ... After England has been disposed of, her enemies will decide whether or not to immediately proceed with an attack on the United States. Due to geographic conditions, neither Germany nor Italy are in a position to offer any material aid to Japan. Japan, on the contrary, can be of much help to both Germany and Italy by threatening and possibly even attacking British Dominions and supply routes from Australia, India and the Dutch east Indies, thus materially weakening Britain's position in opposition to the Axis forces in Europe. ... [2. Emphasis added.]

... There is little that we can do now, immediately, to help Britain that is not already being done. We have no trained army to send to the assistance of England, nor will we have for at least a year. We are now trying to increase the flow of materials to England and to bolster the defence of England in every practicable way and this aid will undoubtedly be increased. On the other hand, there is little that Germany or Italy can do against us as long as England continues in the war and her navy maintains control of the Atlantic. The one danger to our position lies in the possible early defeat of the British Empire with the British fleet falling intact into the hands of the Axis powers. The possibility of such an event occurring would be materially lessened were we actually allied in war with the British or at the very least were taking active measures to relieve the pressure on Britain in other spheres of action. [3. Emphasis added.]

In the Pacific, Japan by virtue of her alliance with Germany and Italy is a definite threat to the security of the British Empire and once the British Empire is gone the power of Japan-Germany and Italy is to be directed against the United States. A powerful land attack by Germany and Italy through the Balkans and North Africa against the Suez Canal with a Japanese threat or attack on Singapore would have very serious results for the British Empire. Could Japan be diverted or neutralized, the fruits of a successful attack on the Suez Canal could not be as far reaching and beneficial to the Axis Powers as if such a success was also accompanied by the virtual elimination of British sea power from the Indian Ocean, thus opening up a European supply route for Japan and a sea route for Eastern raw materials to reach Germany and Italy. Japan must be diverted if the British and American blockade of Europe and possibly Japan (?) is to remain even partially in effect. [4. In full. Emphasis added.]

CAUSE FOR REFLECTION

While ... there is little that the United States can do to immediately retrieve the situation in Europe, the United States is able to effectively nullify Japanese aggressive action, and do it without lessening US material assistance to Great Britain. [5. Emphasis added.]

... A prompt and early declaration of war [against Japan] after entering into suitable arrangements with England and Holland, would be most effective in bringing about the early collapse of Japan and thus eliminating our enemy in the Pacific before Germany and Italy could strike at us effectively. ... [8.]

It is not believed that in the present state of political opinion the United States government is capable of declaring war against Japan without more ado; and it is barely possible that vigorous action on our part might lead the Japanese to modify their attitude. Therefore, the following course of action is suggested:

A. Make an arrangement with Britain for the use of British bases in the Pacific, particularly Singapore.

B. Make an arrangement with Holland for the use of base facilities and acquisition of supplies in the Dutch East Indies.

C. Give all possible aid to the Chinese Government of Chiang Kai-shek.

D. Send a division of long range heavy cruisers to the Orient, Philippines, or Singapore.

E. Send two divisions of submarines to the Orient.

F. Keep the main strength of the US Fleet now in the Pacific in the vicinity of the Hawaiian Islands.

G. Insist that the Dutch refuse to grant Japanese demands for undue economic concessions, particularly oil.

H. Completely embargo all US trade with Japan, in collaboration with a similar embargo imposed by the British Empire. [9. In full.]

If by these means Japan could be led to commit an overt act of war, so much the better. At all events we must be fully prepared to accept the threat of war. [10. In full. Emphasis added.]

The self-styled 'New Israel' was in the act of rewriting the rule book for peace procedures. Next day, October 8, the State Department openly and blatantly advised all Americans to evacuate Far Eastern countries as quickly as possible¹⁵⁴ and Roosevelt ordered Richardson to base the United States Fleet in Hawaiian waters. The provocation process had been activated on two fronts. It was three months since the Fleet Commander had disputed the president's previous order to hold the fleet there 'temporarily' and he now told Roosevelt very bluntly that "senior officers of the Navy do not have the trust and confidence in the civilian leadership of this country that is essential for the successful prosecution of a war in the Pacific." He later claimed that Roosevelt said at that meeting that sooner or later "the Japanese would commit an

overt act against the United States and the nation would be willing to enter the war” and that he then objected to the president’s “willingness to sacrifice a ship of the Navy in order to provoke what he called a Japanese ‘mistake’.”¹⁵⁵

Mussolini very soon obliged the US intelligence service by demonstrating that its assessment of a pincer movement to sever Britain’s Suez Canal lifeline was accurate. A week after the McCollum memorandum, on October 15, he briefed Italy’s war leaders on his decision to invade Greece using the forces which were already occupying Albania. According to his address to those national leaders, his aim was to threaten Britain’s approach to Suez and then, when Egypt had been occupied, force its navy out of Alexandria and leave it with no friendly ports to harbour in. He did not expect trouble from other Balkans countries because Yugoslavia had “every interest to keep quiet,” as did Turkey because Germany already controlled Roumania, and Bulgaria had increased its strength and would cooperate “so as not to miss the present unique opportunity for achieving her aspirations in Macedonia and for an outlet to the sea ...”¹⁵⁶

Pius XII was already ‘convinced’ – confident might be a better word – that war between Germany and the Soviet Union was only a matter of time, and probably around May, six months earlier than Mussolini’s decision on Greece, the Vatican had laid plans for quasi-missionaries to accompany the advancing German forces into ‘liberated’ areas. Cardinal Eugene Tisserant had responsibility for organizing the Congregation for the Eastern Churches, and he is reported to have told a colleague in Paris, Cardinal Emmanuel Suhard, in May: “I fear that history will reproach the Holy See for having practiced a policy of selfish convenience and little else.”¹⁵⁷ Nazi officials were soon well aware of the policy and in July the head of the Reich Ministry of the East, Alfred Rosenberg, forbade the entry of Catholic ‘missionaries’ into the ‘liberated’ areas of Poland.¹⁵⁸ Given the probability that if the Soviet Union was goaded by Hitler into moving first, and the expectation that Stalin would suppress the Christian Churches as his forces moved west – or southwest into the Balkans where Yugoslavia was regarded as a last-ditch bulwark against Communism for Italy and the Mediterranean – some members of the Curia viewed Mussolini’s plans “with a measure of optimism.”¹⁵⁹ One person who did not share their optimism was Hitler. A distraction in the Balkans was something he could do without. However *he* was not to learn about the decision Mussolini had taken until it was too late to stop him. Mussolini wrote to him on October 19 to advise him but the letter followed him around Europe for seven or eight days.¹⁶⁰

Like McCollum and his US intelligence colleagues, Chiang Kai-Shek had also taken careful note of the *Tripartite Pact* and out of fear that closer German-Japanese ties might make Russia cut back on aid to China as a conciliatory gesture to Japan, China asked for more British aid – on the same day that Mussolini wrote to Hitler about his plans. Chiang Kai-Shek feared that Japan would then either be free to step up its campaigns in China or to pursue its push south to occupy Europe’s colonies, and this forced the Foreign Office to explore Russia’s intentions more carefully, especially as Hitler was moving to consolidate his support in an area of major importance – in the Middle East. There had been intermittent discussions with the Iraqi

delegation and Berlin and Rome issued concurrent, common declarations on October 21. They offered sympathy for Arab efforts to achieve independence but because Italy, especially, was still trying to conceal its ambitions, the declarations were somewhat insipid. They were received with disappointment by Arab leaders who saw them as failing to clarify the ambiguity in the Axis powers' positions on 'the Arab question': the future of Palestine. The statements read:

*Germany (Italy) which has always been animated by sentiments of friendship for the Arabs and cherishes the wish that they may prosper and be happy, and assume a place among the peoples of the earth in accordance with their historic and natural importance, has always watched with interest the struggles of the Arab countries to achieve their independence. In their effort to obtain this goal, the Arab countries can count upon Germany's (Italy's) full sympathy. In making this statement Germany (Italy) finds itself in full accord with her Italian (German) ally.*¹⁶¹

Even so, the declarations increased British fears about a German-Arab alliance, aggravated the situation in Palestine, gave the Zionists the opportunity to raise the price of their support, and also increased British concerns about a possible Russian push into oil-rich Persia, through the Afghan gateway to India, or into China.

On October 22 Ambassador Cripps, in Moscow, warned Russia of the consequences of a Chinese collapse and made a totally cynical offer of *de facto* recognition of the Soviet Union's sovereignty over the Baltic States (in spite of Britain having mounted such opposition to its Finnish intervention) in return for cooperation in the Far East. Molotov's deputy, Vyshinsky, dismissed the transparent bribe. He confirmed earlier advice that the *Tripartite Pact* had changed nothing and rejected the suggestion that a Soviet pact with Japan was imminent. Then next day, October 23, the US State Department, acting in line with Hull's instruction that he would not be available for decisions on detail until after the presidential election, said there could be no formal talks until after that election.¹⁶² Morgenthau had told US Treasury officials the same thing, concerning financial support arrangements, two days earlier.¹⁶³

And there was another major complication, too. Those ships of state wallowing around the MEW's beacon in the Sea of Japan had also ensured that 'The Jewish Question' was a matter of concern in the Far East as well as in Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and the New World. During October, 6,500 German Jews from the Rhineland were deported to southern France, where Marshall Petain ordered the establishment of internment camps for foreign Jews and stripped Algerian Jews of their French citizenship. Hitler then found, no doubt to his great pleasure, that he was in good company again in planning mass internment camps for Jews in the southern India Ocean. Britain was doing exactly the same.

'ENEMY ALIENS'

In mid-October, when the Colonial Office was advised that five ships carrying a total of nearly 6,000 refugees were already at sea on route to Palestine, it persuaded the government of Mauritius to accept these refugees for detention under restraint, in barbed wire concentration

camps. As a deterrent against further attempts at illegal migration it announced that they would be held in Mauritius until the war ended and that they were permanently banned from entering Palestine. It also instructed the Governor of Trinidad to prepare a second camp ready to receive deportees from Palestine.

The world was entitled to ask whether Britain was copying Hitler's example on this occasion, or was it simply returning to the policy of exporting its unwanted human debris which it had used so effectively in the New World of North America and Australia. In either case it certainly did Hitler's cause no harm that his *Madagascar plan* and Britain's Mauritius plan were getting world publicity at the same time. The legitimization of his own plan by its coincidence with Britain's was reason enough to keep the publicity going even if, as he knew, it would be impossible to carry out.

Britain's situation became very complicated. A bitter three-month row erupted involving Churchill, the Colonial Office, the High Commissioner in Palestine, the Jewish Agency and the Commander in Chief Middle East Forces, General Wavell. The row centred on the interception by British forces of five boats carrying illegal Jewish immigrants – refugees – into Palestine. Three of the five were unseaworthy. Three ships were then commandeered to take the illegal immigrants to the French island of Mauritius. One of the ships, the French liner, *La Patria*, was to carry the passengers from the three boats deemed unseaworthy. Hitler and Britain were in step again. Naturally the Jewish Agency didn't like the plan and, operating through Haganah, it arranged to wreck the engines of the *La Patria* to prevent the deportation. When someone miscalculated and used too much explosive the ship was wrecked and sank with the loss of 250 lives. But, never one to let an opportunity pass, the Jewish Agency used the same propaganda methods as both Hitler and Churchill – partial reporting, distortion and downright lies – and announced that the sinking was an act of mass suicide designed as a protest against British inhumanity.¹⁶⁴

The double war of intrigue which the Zionists were fighting – against Hitler's Germany on the one hand and against Britain of the White Paper on the other – backfired badly. Allied Governments were placed in the impossible position of never knowing when they might turn saboteurs, and their efforts to undermine Britain's policy played into the hands of rumour-mongering anti-Semites who had stepped up their campaign for the internment of "alien refugees" and enemy agents when the Battle of Britain erupted. They were therefore regarded as a potential fifth column and interned or deported in large numbers because, as even Churchill had to point out, governments and their security forces could not spend the time and effort required to vet the credentials of every Jew. The result was a further hardening of anti-Semitism in Britain and Allied countries which played into Hitler's hands. He could rely on it as a screen while he devised other means of quitting his Jews and he could expect a minimum of adverse publicity. He was right.

Churchill objected to the concentration camp conditions planned for both Mauritius and Trinidad and insisted that the early arrivals in Haifa, and the survivors, not be deported. He

insisted that they be released to remain in Palestine and that only future illegal immigrants be deported to the two islands. Wavell objected, saying that their release would be disastrous from a military point of view, causing widespread disorder in Palestine and elsewhere. He insisted that if they were not deported he would have to withdraw his recommendation that a supply route be opened from Haifa to Basra via Iraq and Transjordan.^{165 166}

Hitler must have gloated over the confusion and how much Britain was also doing to restrict the Jews. He noted, yet again, how few other people wanted them as neighbours, and pressed on with his own plans. He was very pleased to keep the *Madagascar plan* 'alive.' It helped to camouflage the purpose behind some of the other mass movements which were already taking place and which were accelerated after the fall of France in retaliation for the non-cooperation he was faced with from the Western Powers in his bid to force Jewish re-settlement in countries beyond Europe.

However Hitler would have had in mind two particular factors. *Firstly*, the abandonment in May 1940 of the plan to locate three million Jews in reservations in a semi-independent Lublin region of central Poland which had been announced in November 1939. (Chapter 23, pp. 14–16, 23) That plan could have accommodated Britain's 'nod' to Hitler that he could keep all of Poland and not only the Danzig Corridor if he agreed to 'cultural autonomy' in a 'rump state' in Central Poland. *Secondly*, the need to avoid offence to Japan in view of its *Fugu Plan* and his need to secure its signature on the *Tripartite Pact* as a buffer against Russia. In addition it has been suggested that while the objective of Madagascar was "the collective evacuation of the Jews from Europe" it was also intended as an enormous hostage ghetto to exact 'good behaviour' on the part of their 'racial brethren' in America.¹⁶⁷ In any case, by encouraging an attitude that the level of oppression could not get any worse, it appears to have lulled the Jewish community and the Western Powers into a more passive attitude towards Nazi plans than would have been the case if they realized that the last resort of all – genocide – would become the next item on the agenda.

A factor which certainly contributed to the more passive attitude was the confidence, verging on an assumption, in Zionist circles that the United States would eventually join the war and that this would prevent Hitler from going too far. That confidence was boosted by the adverse reaction in America to the announcement of the *Tripartite Pact* and because the matter of neutrality was fast becoming a charade. Roosevelt was only inhibited in his public statements and methods of providing financial support for Britain by fear that if he made a slip, a carefully orchestrated campaign by the America First Committee could lead to an electoral backlash at the presidential elections on November 5. The difference between the stated policies of the Democrats and the Republicans were gradually narrowing and revolved around the extent of the commitment to Britain rather than the fact of the commitment.¹⁶⁸ Roosevelt was edging his administration into a deeper commitment at every opportunity even though he was accused of wanting to bankrupt Britain in the process of defeating Hitler's Germany and Eden was moved to complain that he was imposing "an almost entirely American policy."¹⁶⁹

On October 25, with the election at fever pitch, following the disclosure that the Sterling area deficit was up from the estimate of \$US1.6 billion to \$US3.5 billion, Roosevelt appealed for Churchill to send him a letter which he could use to demonstrate Britain's parlous position and swing the US public behind him when he announced a new British purchasing program. Churchill responded two days later with a letter which he did not refer to in his memoirs, admitting very frankly that American supplies were necessary for British survival.¹⁷⁰

At some time during October, the Nazi authorities had discontinued granting exit visas to Jews from Poland on the grounds that their emigration to the United States was assisting American Jewry in its diplomatic and political battle against Germany. The Warsaw ghetto was established and Poland's Jews were given six weeks to make their way there.¹⁷¹ In contrast to this, no doubt as part of the Nazi politicking, some Jewish emigration from Germany was still permitted until the end of 1941.

In the adjacent countries to the north, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, which had all come under the control of Soviet Russia a year earlier when Hitler and Stalin partitioned Poland, the Jews were still welcome to settle in Russia's designated Jewish settlement area of Birobidzhan – provided that they accepted Russian citizenship. Very few chose to do so. The majority, with the support of the Zionist Organization, compounded the crises for themselves, for Russia, Britain and the Arabs by indicating that they wanted to go to Palestine. The Birobidzhan settlement plan was generally regarded as a failure by that time and major contributing factors were Zionist opposition to the scheme because it was a competitor to Palestine and the consequent reluctance of Jews to go there, but it had not been officially dissolved.¹⁷²

Many thousands of Jews had already been transported in shocking circumstances from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia to labour camps in central Poland in what may be described as 'gearing up exercises', and 35,000 Polish Jews living in Germany had been herded into concentration camps by the beginning of 1940. In other occupied countries the process of herding Jews into concentration camps or labour camps and mass movement from those countries to Poland for "deportation" did not begin until September or October 1940. By the end of October 1940, when the Colonial Office and Churchill were engrossed in their row over illegal migration to Palestine, there were thirty six such camps set up and by the end of the year the number had passed fifty. The first major ghetto, at Lodz, was planned in December 1939 and actually set up under an order dated February 8, 1940. It held 160,000 Jews by May 1940. The Warsaw ghetto (occupying two and a half percent of the city area behind eleven miles of ten foot high walls) was proposed by the SS in October 1939 but it did not become a reality until a year later, in October 1940, because construction had been delayed pending orders which were only issued in August 1940, coinciding with the preparation of the *Madagascar plan*. By January 1941 it held between 300,000 and 400,000 Jews – or about thirty percent of the city's population. In addition a number of smaller district ghettos were also set up between July 1940 and January 1941.¹⁷³

With the benefit of hindsight it is now apparent that the labour camps and ghettos were very convenient ‘holding pens’ which enabled Hitler to keep his various options open. First: very rapid mass deportation in the event that he was able to negotiate a peace settlement with Britain which gave him his ‘free hand’ to cleanse Europe of its Jews and which obliged Britain to arrange their mass transportation to other parts of the world. Second: being determined to rid Europe of its Jews, equally rapid deportation to any alternative site which may become available to him such as BiraBidzhan in the event of success against Russia. Third: a ready made site for killing fields, or ease of transportation to other killing fields in the event that he did not achieve either a peace settlement with Britain or a victory elsewhere and had to resort to his final option – a program of genocide. By means of his ‘gearing up’ program he had established during the pause for reflection that a mass transportation program could in fact be carried out without great difficulty. It is a sobering thought to recognize that natural unassisted migration from Europe to the United States alone had reached 1,285,000 in the previous peak year of 1907, when there were far fewer facilities available than in 1940. ¹⁷⁴ In any case the United States should not be regarded as the only potential home for Jewish refugees.

Whether the logistics of mass people-transportation need to be regarded as a major problem or not is relative to the competing demands for the facilities. When they wanted to do so, Britain and its allies were able to mobilize transport, stores and equipment, and shelter, for millions of personnel under arms in a very short time. The evacuation of Dunkirk during which one third of a million persons had already been transported across the English Channel in hastily gathered emergency relief fleets in three days was certainly a special case, but we can identify any number of major campaigns during the war years which required logistical support which makes the programmed transportation of Europe’s Jewish population – either as assisted migrants or as forced refugees – look like child’s play. The classic illustration is the Normandy landing in which 173,000 heavily armed and equipped troops were landed or parachuted into occupied areas on D-Day, June 6, 1944, and the number of troops so landed had reached 500,000 within two weeks. The total number of personnel mobilized and under arms during the war in all countries, and requiring enormous transport and support facilities is estimated at 112 million.¹⁷⁵ Of those, probably between 20 million and 25 million were transported by sea or air for service overseas. An estimated 17 million (15 percent of the total mobilized) were killed, together with 14 million civilians, and 15 million persons were transported or simply struggled backwards and forwards across Europe as homeless and stateless refugees when hostilities finally ceased. Countless millions of others suffered casualties.

Thus it cannot be argued that an estimated 4 million to 6 million persons could not have been transported out of Europe and re-settled in other countries according to an agreed plan if a negotiated peace had been accepted. It was a matter of the will to do it. However, that is not to suggest that it should have been necessary. Neither does it suggest that by doing so the trouble in the triangle would have been automatically resolved, nor that the Jewish community should have carried all the responsibility for the settlement of the long running crisis. What it does suggest is that the Holocaust need not have occurred in the manner in which it did if the trouble

in the triangle had been recognized and approached from different perspectives or, in other words, if different decisions had been made by Zionist leaders and by leaders of the church and the amorphous Christian gel. Which ever way we turn we cannot escape that issue and we shall come back to those matters shortly.

ANOTHER ROUND OF BARGAINING

As the war escalated the warring parties spread their nets wider in their hunt for resources and to gain strategic positions. Spain, effectively able to control access to the Mediterranean if it joined the fray, became especially important. Following his unsuccessful bid to keep France in the war Churchill soon discarded his high sounding guarantees of protection for the French Empire and regarded its territories as bargaining chips, just like other pieces of Africa during the months leading up to the war. In early October, in an effort to keep Spain neutral, he instructed Halifax to let the Spanish know that Britain would be “no obstacle to their Moroccan ambitions,” but when Halifax suggested that the future of Gibraltar might also be negotiable Churchill rejected the idea.¹⁷⁶

Then Hitler demonstrated that his manoeuvres were not restricted to gathering land for Lebensraum through annexations and that he was now happy to trade people and their territory for alliances, just like a real British imperialist. He met Franco on the Spanish-French border on October 23, just when the US government was switching to standby-mode for its election, to persuade him to join an assault on Gibraltar and to share his vision for a New Order in Europe. There were to be rich rewards for Franco at Britain’s expense: Gibraltar plus a share of the French territories in Africa which would be offset by the transfer of British territories to France. Franco declined. Hitler could not understand such reluctance to support an invasion of Gibraltar which would isolate Britain from North Africa and the Middle East.¹⁷⁷ He did not know that Franco was of part Jewish ancestry and that he was not at all interested in a major plank of the Nazi New Order, although it appears that his staff were aware of it.

A few days later, probably on the 26th or 27th, Mussolini’s letter of October 19 finally reached Hitler and he immediately requested a meeting with the Duce. It took place at Florence on October 28. Too late. Before dawn that morning an Italian ultimatum requiring Greece to provide unimpeded access for Italian troops to march through Greece had been delivered to the Premier, General Metaxas, and Italian armies had crossed the border from Albania at several points at the same time. Metaxas immediately appealed for Britain to honour its 1939 security guarantee and Churchill responded.¹⁷⁸ But his response had less to do with honouring that guarantee – Churchill was not averse to ignoring an undertaking when it suited him, as in the case of ships for Singapore – than in facing down the threat to Britain’s naval base at Alexandria and the impending loss of its alternative bases in Greece.

Six days later, on November 4, the day before the United States presidential elections, Chiang Kai-Shek increased his pressure on Britain with a direct request for a Chinese-American-British Alliance, a new loan of up to 300 million pounds Sterling, and planes at the

rate of one thousand per annum¹⁷⁹. Whitehall assumed that Chiang Kai-Shek was trailing a line to see what he could catch, but it was quite obvious that even if Britain could scrape together the funds for such a large loan, it could not respond to the request for aircraft from its own resources. The aircraft would have to come from either an expansion of Britain's debt commitment to the US, or direct assistance from the US if the three-party alliance was entered into. The second alternative was almost as threatening to Britain as a peace agreement between China and Japan. The ultimate effect of either agreement was likely to be the same: Britain would be required to forfeit its territorial rights in China. But the possible outcomes if Britain refused the request outright were even worse. China would probably either be defeated or chose a negotiated peace. The result in either case would be the same: Britain's expulsion and the release of Japanese forces to concentrate on the territories and colonies further south. The decision was one which Britain had to make on its own. It could not consult the United States on the issue directly. That matter took several weeks to work through.

In the meantime, with the presidential elections over and Roosevelt re-elected with a reduced but still substantial majority, the US cabinet could again consider matters such as Europe's war and how to accommodate Britain's financial needs and supply requirements. At a meeting on November 8, after freely conceding that loans or credits would eventually have to be arranged, Roosevelt said that Britain would first have to liquidate the properties and credits which it held in the United States. But then, almost casually, he changed tack and raised the possibility that the US could build and own ships and lend them to Britain, under a lease, together with "any other property that was loanable, returnable and insurable." He didn't press the matter and simply left the administration bureaucracy to think it over.¹⁸⁰ However enthusiasm for increased aid to Britain was growing and on November 12 four alternative grand strategies regarding Europe and Asia were submitted to Defence Secretary Knox. 'Plan D' was intended as a basis for US policy in the event of war in two theatres. It proposed offensive action in Europe and defence against Japan and appears to have been adopted as a semi-official basis for policy by the end of the month. The administration assumed that Germany was a threat to the Western Hemisphere and aid to Britain was therefore a matter of American national security. General Marshall then said that the administration must "resist proposals that do not have for their immediate goal the survival of the British Empire and the defeat of Germany."¹⁸¹

Then in mid-November, just after Hitler had invaded Rumania to get control of its oil fields and Mussolini had invaded Greece and taken the war right into the Middle East by bombing Saudi Arabia's oil facilities at Ras Tanura, Hitler welcomed Russian Foreign Minister Molotov to Berlin. The aims of that meeting were to resolve the tensions between Russia and Germany, to discuss expanding the *Tripartite Pact* into a four-power pact and to discuss another territorial carve up. Ribbentrop told Molotov that under the conditions then prevailing Germany would turn *south* to gain its Lebensraum in the former German colonies of Central Africa instead of *east*, towards Russia which was now Germany's ally. Russia, he suggested, should look for its expansion in Iran and India. But Molotov was more interested in Russian security in Europe, the Dardanelles, access to the Baltic and Germany's plans than he was in considering Russian

expansion. He pressed Hitler for his plans in relation to Finland, Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey, the Balkans and the Black Sea region and he openly cast doubt on Germany's capacity to defeat Britain so that, as Ribbentrop put it, the Soviet Union could cooperate with Germany in the liquidation of the British Empire and end the rule of 600 million people by a mere 45 million British.¹⁸²

They must have also touched on the matters of the China-Japan war, Russia's relations with Japan, and Japan's freedom to widen its existing action. If they did not, Ribbentrop started drawing conclusions for himself, because shortly after his meeting with Molotov he told the Chinese ambassador in Berlin that China was faced with its last chance to make peace with Japan. That news was promptly brought to Britain's attention on November 19.¹⁸³ Coincidentally, next day, November 20, Shigemitsu met again with Lloyd and Hankey to pursue his mission proposal. At Lloyd's suggestion it was modified to a mission under the auspices of the British Council, of which he was president, with Hankey as mission leader, and it was agreed that he would put it to the Foreign Office. But at the same time that the moderates in the Japanese government were doing all they could to avoid war and to negotiate diplomatic settlements with both Britain and the United States they accommodated the military authorities by authorizing a fall-back position: preparations for general war in the event that diplomatic efforts failed to gain access to South East Asian resources for Japan. The Naval Minister, Admiral Koshiro Yamamoto met the newly appointed commander of the Japanese Imperial Navy informally to discuss the strategy for the opening of hostilities against Britain and the United States and agreed that if it were necessary a surprise air raid on Pearl Harbour should open Japan's offensive. Without realizing it, they were responding to the strategy set out in the McCollum provocation plan.¹⁸⁴

Other people had bombing strategy on their minds at that time, too. Pius XII, fearing that Britain might bomb Rome in retaliation for the bombing of Coventry Cathedral, appealed for the Eternal City to be declared an open city. Whitehall's reaction was firstly that the pope was cooperating as a propaganda front for Mussolini, and secondly that his pressing priority was the survival of the Vatican and the papacy. The Portuguese ambassador made a "grovelling" appeal to the Foreign Office which cancelled pleas for Pius XII to condemn the Coventry bombing and instead suggested that the Vatican lights should be left full on at night so that British bomber pilots could avoid it in raids on Rome. They were saying, in effect, 'if you want to stay there and save your hide you can provide a beacon to steer us to military targets in Rome.' The propaganda and counter-propaganda value of the pope's continued presence in Rome became a major consideration as the war progressed.¹⁸⁵

Hitler, utterly convinced of the correctness of his New Order, with its twin prongs of anti-Semitism and anti-Bolshevism, was disappointed that during his visit to Berlin Molotov, like Franco, failed to share his vision. His staff had also failed to tell him that the Russian minister's wife was Jewish. He later told Martin Bormann that it would be dishonorable for the Third Reich – the defender and protector of Europe – to submit to Soviet blackmail and to sacrifice Finland, Romania, Bulgaria and Turkey on the altar of Communism. Morally and strategically it

would be a miserable gambit, he said and, being mesmerized by his own political and military successes, he admitted that he had come to regard himself as a man of destiny, superior to any other human being, whose genius and will power would conquer any enemy. He was the first and only mortal who had emerged into a super-human state with a nature “more god-like than human.” As the first of the new race of supermen he was not bound by any of the “conventions of human morality” and he therefore “stood above the law.”¹⁸⁶ Hitler’s delusions of messianic grandeur had assumed even more frightening proportions than those he expressed on the day of the failed assassination attempt in Munich.

The news from Berlin caused two distinctly different reactions in Whitehall. Churchill, consistent with his reproach of Craigie, increasingly saw the Pacific and East Asia as an American responsibility and even played down the likelihood of it entering the war. On November 22 he wrote to the First Lord of the Admiralty, A.V. Alexander, noting:

*Should Japan enter the war on one side and the United States on ours, ample naval forces will be available to contain Japan by long-range controls in the Pacific. The Japanese Navy is not likely to venture far from its home bases so long as a superior fleet is maintained at Singapore or Honolulu. The Japanese would never attempt a siege of Singapore with a hostile, superior American fleet in the Pacific.*¹⁸⁷

Next day, in sharp contrast, Halifax also wrote to Alexander and urged him to send a naval squadron to Singapore. In his reply, Alexander does not appear to have referred to the note from Churchill but he pointed out that the Royal Navy was so over stretched that it could not afford to send any forces to the East and the only “real deterrent to Japanese aggression (was) the willing and open cooperation of the United States.”¹⁸⁸ That financial situation had been brought into sharp focus by disclosures in New York on the day that Halifax wrote to Alexander, and the policy of dependence on the US was to be brought into question only a few days later.

When he arrived back in the US on November 23 after a break which had been deliberately timed so that he would not be in the country during the final stages of the presidential elections, Ambassador Lord Lothian held an impromptu press conference at the airport. He stunned reporters, triggered headlines and set the newsreel cameras whirring when he told them bluntly: “Well boys, Britain’s broke; it’s your money we want.”¹⁸⁹ He admitted that Britain could pay cash for only another six months to a year and that it had to have financial aid in 1941. The close relationship between Churchill and Roosevelt, and circumstantial evidence suggest that the nature and timing of the disclosure, two weeks after Roosevelt’s casual suggestion of lease arrangements in cabinet, were quite deliberate and were probably initiated by Churchill who complained about the slow response by the Americans only a few days later. However that has never been admitted and it took a lot of effort by Lothian to smooth ruffled feathers in Washington where the administration did not like being put under such public pressure to finalize a finance package.¹⁹⁰ In addition, many America Firsters regarded it as too close to a declaration of war against Germany.

For some months tension had been rising between Thailand (formerly Siam) and the Vichy French authorities in Indochina. Thailand had suffered from European political and religious intrigue, including a French-orchestrated bid to impose Catholicism in place of Buddhism, and had only been able to retain its independence in return for ceding territory to the adjoining British and French controlled countries two generations earlier. The resulting political and constitutional foment had reached a peak only two years earlier, in December 1938, when Phibun Songkhram, then head of government under a constitutional monarchy, seized power as prime minister and virtual military dictator. In 1939 he changed the name of the country from Siam to Thailand and embarked on a strongly nationalistic and chauvinistic policy with Fascist tendencies that was anti-Chinese at home and irredentist and pro-Japanese abroad. Following the fall of France Phibun moved quickly to seek the return of territory in western Laos and northwestern Cambodia that had formerly been under Siamese control.

Britain sat on the fence, unable to intervene either diplomatically or militarily but it tried to prevent Japanese mediation. If it backed France, it forced Thailand closer to Japan and its New Order. If it backed Thailand it undermined France and its tenuous relationship with it, and left the door ajar for Japan. The US opposed appeasement of Thailand and discouraged Britain from taking any initiative except to tighten an embargo on tin and rubber exports to any 'unfriendly country.' The result of indecision and vacillation, lack of any effective international mediation, the reopening of the Burma Road on October 18, and Britain's palpable weakness in the region was a total breakdown in relations and war broke out between Thailand and the French in Indochina on November 28. Immediate intense pressure from both Berlin and Tokyo for the two combatants to accept Japanese mediation gave Whitehall and Washington a clear indication that the *Tripartite Pact* partners were determined to establish Japanese dominance in the region. It also raised "the disturbing possibility" that Japan might synchronize its actions with a German offensive in Europe, and that tended to be reinforced by reports of German-Japanese collaboration in a number of other matters. These included the provision of intelligence on British merchant shipping movements which appeared to be linked to German raids on shipping and on the island of Nauru, an important source of phosphate for fertilizer, which had been a German territory until 1914 when Australia seized it and later administered it as an Australian mandated territory.¹⁹¹

After a week of intense politicking, and after leaving instructions that means were to be found to finance production plants for the aircraft, ships and munitions which Britain needed, Roosevelt left Washington for a holiday on December 1 and waited impatiently for Churchill to provide a letter with a comprehensive list of Britain's needs. It was eventually transmitted to the British embassy on the night of December 7/8, decoded on the 8th, and handed to the State Department on the 9th and immediately flown to Roosevelt on a naval vessel on holiday at sea.

In Chungking, on December 9 Ambassador Clark Kerr received advice that cabinet had approved a nominal loan of ten million pounds for China. Crumbs compared with Chaing Kai-Shek's request for up to 300 million pounds, but perhaps enough to hold the line. The time difference of eight hours means that the decision had been taken by cabinet not later than the 8th,

together with three other decisions which indicate a significant change in emphasis in Britain's China policy. First: the appointment of a new military attache to discuss possible collaboration between Britain and China in the event that Britain found itself at war with Japan. Second: Agreement to secure the Loiwing aircraft factory by allowing the Chinese to relocate it to India. Third: rejection of a formal alliance on the very enlightening grounds that:

*An alliance without the participation of the United States scarcely seems likely to offer political advantages commensurate with the disadvantage that it might simply furnish Japan with a pretext for further aggression. This would not serve our interests in view of our commitments in the struggle in Europe.*¹⁹²

Considering that it was an alliance *including* the United States which Chiang Kai-Shek had sought and that Churchill was impressing on his diplomats that Britain would be dependent on the US for security in the Asian region in the event of a war, it confirms that Britain's position in China would have been undermined even further if the US had been invited in at that stage.

Late in 1940, while US military strategists were basing their planning on the assumption that the US would be drawn into wars in two hemispheres at once, the State Department asked two American Catholic clergymen with contacts in both business and government circles to visit Japan. Their brief was to ascertain what measures might be necessary to avoid a collision between the two powers and to ensure that the work of the military strategists was made redundant. They were Bishop James Walsh and Father James Drought and they were in Japan at the time that Whitehall feared the US may start separate talks with Japan and the State Department denied that it was doing any such thing. On returning to the US in December, Walsh and Drought prepared a different memorandum for each government, and although they provided a basis for further discussions of a more formal nature they also left the way open for confusion.

The memorandum prepared for consideration in Japan summarized that country's position as a call for a Japanese 'Far Eastern Monroe Doctrine.' Japan would exercise political hegemony over the area of China, Indochina, Thailand, Malaya and the Dutch East Indies. It would do so in such a manner as to prevent political or economic weakness in any significant section of that area which would entice European powers to resume extra-continental imperialism or which would dispose any section towards Communism, "which is not a political form of government but a corroding social disease that becomes epidemic."¹⁹³ But in the memorandum for American consideration, Japan's position was reported as willing to alter her commitment to the Axis, weary of the war in China and prepared to accept American cooperation in a settlement there. A Far Eastern Monroe Doctrine was suggested on the basis of a Japanese-American guarantee of the status quo in the Philippines, Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaya, with autonomous governments in Indochina and the Dutch East Indies. Such an arrangement was supposed to enable the moderates in Japan to hold down the militarists.¹⁹⁴ Their decision to produce two significantly different reports contributed to misunderstanding instead of

understanding and compounded the policy of deception which the US administration later pursued at the highest level as the two nations eventually plunged into war.

About the time that the *Walsh-Drought Reports* were being considered on both sides of the Pacific, Foreign Minister Matsuoka assured Zikman, the author of Japan's policy on Jewish settlement, that Jews from Europe were safe and welcome in spite of the treaty with Germany which, although it naturally resulted in some hardening of attitudes, did not commit Japan to the elimination of its Jewish community. A devious travel plan or 'escape route' had been developed which, given the international relationships involved, was equally remarkable. The Russian authorities facilitated travel arrangements for the refugees from occupied Lithuania, through Russia to Vladivostok where they boarded vessels for Tsuruga on the west coast of Japan and then travelled by rail to Kobe. That system continued until the German invasion of Russia again threw Russia and Japan into opposing camps. Upon arrival in Kobe the refugees were taken in hand by Kobe Jewcom, a committee of the small local Jewish community, which was recognized by the Japanese migration authorities and assisted and funded by the JDC in New York.¹⁹⁵

Matsuoka could not anticipate the problems ahead. Molotov's visit to Berlin in November had not brought Russia and Germany any closer together. In fact it had served as little more than an opportunity for both powers to jockey for position on the basis of deceit, by Hitler, and mistrust, by Stalin. Russia's fears about Hitler's plans were compounded so that on December 16 Stalin ordered the preparation of ground defences against a possible German attack.

Next day, December 17, Halifax, having pondered Lloyd's letter on the Shigemitsu proposal, wrote that such a mission

*might be welcomed by those whose views are suppressed and unheard and who may be on our side, but, merging as it would into the political field, it would risk being misunderstood as a gesture designed to conciliate those who every day take steps to prejudice ourselves and our interests ... I am convinced that it is only by showing a combined firm front that we shall restrain the extremist elements from extreme measures.*¹⁹⁶

Roosevelt, having returned to Washington from his shipboard holiday, met Morgenthau to discuss Britain's financial situation that day. He said the idea of dollar signs and loans should not be allowed to dominate US-British relations and proposed instead that the US increase its production of war materials and then give Britain what she needed with the proviso that she return the goods after the war, in kind, properly repaired, with any depreciation also paid in kind. Morgenthau "enthusiastically embraced the proposal" but added that it would be better to appear to be driving a hard bargain. The president then briefed a press gathering, noting that: British defence orders had been "a tremendous asset to American defence"; it would be 'banal' for the Johnson and Neutrality Acts to be repealed to permit loans to Britain; the US should take over British orders and then lease or sell what Britain needed; and that defending Great Britain was in the best interests of American national security. He then rejected the idea that his lend-

lease proposal might bring the US closer to war, and the presses were set rolling with enthusiasm after “a masterly exhibition of Roosevelt as politician.”

But Hitler thought otherwise. He was confirmed in his intention to attack Russia as a step towards his conquest of Britain, which had become necessary to enable him to implement his New Order in Europe. Next day, December 18, with broadcast reports of Roosevelt’s press conference ringing in his ears and his own propaganda machine casting doubt on America’s capacity to perform, he issued his directive for preparations for the invasion of Russia, Operation Barbarossa. But he did not tell his allies in the *Tripartite Pact* and it appears that no intelligence on the matter reached the United States at that stage either. He ordered that preparation for the attack was to be completed by May 15, 1941. Hitler was just two days behind Stalin’s decision to prepare Russia’s defence. To what extent he was influenced by Roosevelt’s announcement and the knowledge that Britain would soon have access to unlimited arms, and probably a back-up army, in deciding to order immediate preparation for an attack on Russia is a matter of speculation. With the knowledge of the Vatican’s efforts to build an anti-Bolshevik alliance he must have harboured hopes that by turning east he could discourage US intervention and perhaps even discourage Britain from a policy of hot pursuit.

The response to Roosevelt’s announcement was mixed. Britain’s English settler-dominated dominions were encouraged – especially Australia. India and the indigenous-majority colonies were not impressed. They didn’t feel that they needed defending and it could only strengthen Britain’s colonial grasp. Matsuoka was concerned that it would enable a British naval build up in the East and mitigate against Japan’s New Order plans. In the Middle East there was disappointment and relations between the Iraqi government and Britain edged closer to breaking point. And Hitler received strong encouragement from the America First Committee (AFC).

Following Roosevelt’s Lend Lease statement and his fireside chat 12 days later, the AFC immediately stepped up its campaign against United States aid to the Allies and the Lend Lease proposal in particular. Some of its organizers were motivated by support for Hitler and his policies. Others by fear of direct American military involvement in the conflict. The committee attracted such leaders as General Robert E. Wood, the aviator Charles A. Lindbergh, and Senator Gerald P. Nye and its membership climbed rapidly to peak at 800,000. Though it failed in its campaigns to block the Lend-Lease Act, the use of the US Navy for convoy protection, or the repeal of the Neutrality Act, its public pressure undoubtedly discouraged greater direct military aid to a Great Britain beleaguered by Nazi Germany during the critical year which lay ahead.

During December 1940 and January 1941, even though the US administration had agreed in principle to a new financing plan, rigid restrictions were placed on British orders from December 19, pending Congress passing the necessary legislation. Drafting only began after New Year and although Roosevelt was assured of the support of House leaders from January 9 – the day before the bill was to be introduced – the negotiations with Britain over how the scheme

would work were drawn out and difficult and Britain found itself in a very weak position and very much the junior partner in the new alliance which was taking shape.

COLLISION COURSES

Notwithstanding the fact that it was negotiating a new alliance and supply arrangements with Britain, the US began a further round of informal US-Japanese talks in January. The net result was the preparation of a draft understanding which favored the Japanese position and was less acceptable to the United States. The matter was then left in abeyance for a time, and the decision not to proceed with negotiations can be linked to several developments. On January 10, 1941, in spite of his preparations for the invasion, Hitler concluded an economic agreement with the Soviet Union and renounced his claims to a strip of Lithuanian territory in return for an enormous payment in gold, and on the same day the Lend Lease Bill was introduced in the US House of Representatives. It was Stalin's turn to ponder the impact of territorial changes on population dynamics. Also on the same day Washington received the text of a message from the Acting Japanese Consul in Pearl Harbour to the Imperial Japanese Naval command which had been transmitted and intercepted four days earlier. That message set out the precise numbers of US naval vessels, their type, and some dock-side facilities in Pearl Harbour. It indicated quite clearly that the Japanese Navy was planning some sort of action against Pearl Harbour.¹⁹⁷ The McCollum strategy was now known to be working. Whether that message was among the intelligence shared with Britain is not clear, but from available published works it appears very doubtful indeed. Those circumstances, together, led to very interesting developments in the pattern of Jewish refugee arrivals at Kobe, via Russia, on transit visas; in the pattern of their movement on to either the United States, which had been admitting significant numbers, Palestine or Shanghai; and in Japan's discussions on the subject with each of Germany, the United States and Jewish community leaders in the Far East.

While Stalin pondered, on January 15 the US House Committee on Foreign Affairs began its drawn out hearings on the Lend Lease Bill. Its opponents gave wide publicity to statistics which showed that if the British fleet was destroyed the Axis powers would be stronger in naval combat strength than the US; Lindbergh made a dramatic plea for the US to take the lead in a negotiated settlement of the war in Europe; and Ambassador Kennedy said he believed it was too late to aid Britain effectively, that the Lend Lease arrangements could be misused dictatorially, and that if aid to Britain was going to have any effect it had to be quick and efficient.¹⁹⁸ Music to Hitler's ears. Much better than Roosevelt's statement. At the same time Japan stepped up its diplomatic pressure on Thailand and French Indochina to reach a settlement based on Japanese economic support if they both embraced the New Order concept and ended their war. Thailand agreed; the French procrastinated. To add muscle to its case Japan began a naval build up in the Cam Rahn Bay region on January 19.

Whitehall's concern increased next day when a message from Tokyo to the Consul-General in Singapore was intercepted. It was to the effect that:

*future intelligence and propaganda policy will be 'mainly directed southwards in order to secure supplies of war commodities.' Promotion of agitation, political plots, propaganda and intelligence (particularly naval and military) must be expedited and intensified so that the New Order in greater East Asia may be expedited.*¹⁹⁹

Whitehall could do little except watch and constantly assess the situation and Japan's plans as Britain's position was weakened further, and with no apparent support from either Britain or the US, the Vichy authorities saw the wisdom of a settlement and agreed to armistice talks in Saigon on January 29. They certainly knew nothing about the talks in Washington.

While those negotiations were in progress the decision was taken in Washington that the intelligence sharing arrangements with Britain should be extended and that a 'Purple Machine' for decoding intercepts from Japan should be sent to London so that Churchill could share in the "splendid arrangement." The equipment, accompanied by officers to guard it and train British operators, was despatched from Washington on the first stage of its journey to London on January 24. It was set up and in use some time in February. Machines were also placed with British and US Naval Command and with MacArthur in Manila and the Dutch command in Batavia. A few officials in Whitehall – but indeed very few people at all – knew that on January 27 secret talks authorized by Roosevelt and Churchill would begin in Washington between senior British and American officers to determine "the best methods by which the armed forces of the United States and the British Commonwealth, with its present Allies, could defeat Germany and the Powers allied with her, should the United States be compelled to resort to war." Matters to be discussed even included an eventual "unity of field command in cases of strategic or tactical joint operations."²⁰⁰ If America's politicians had been aware of those talks which went far beyond the policy understanding of Congress, all hell would have been let loose.

The fury would have been even greater if they had known of a message which Secretary of State Hull received from Ambassador Grew in Tokyo on the morning that those staff talks began, and the way in which it was handled. Hull learned that Peru's minister in Japan had relayed to the third secretary of the US embassy a leak that "Japanese military forces planned in the event of trouble with the United States, to attempt a surprise attack on Pearl Harbour using all of their military facilities." Hull passed copies of the cable to both Army and Naval Intelligence where McCollum was asked to provide an analysis. McCollum, having prepared the strategy to lure Japan into exactly that action, discounted the ambassador's report as "rumour," delayed submitting his assessment to the commander of the Pacific Fleet until February 1, and then advised that: "The Division of Naval Intelligence places no credence on these rumours. Furthermore, based on known data regarding the present disposition and employment of Japanese naval and army forces, no move against Pearl Harbour appears imminent or planned for in the foreseeable future."²⁰¹ Why February 1? That was the day Admiral Kimmel took command of the Pacific Fleet, succeeding Admiral Richardson who had deigned to stand up to Roosevelt over the issue and been moved sideways in a restructure of the US Fleet.²⁰² In fact three of McCollum's action proposals had already been acted on. Twenty four submarines had been despatched to Manila (Action E); the US Fleet had been retained in

Hawaiian waters (Action F); and the Dutch had refused supplies of oil and raw materials for Japan (Action G). Even two days *before* McCollum sent his advice to the Pacific Fleet commander, on January 30, a Naval Intelligence report from Manila showing a large build up of Japanese warships in the South China Sea off French Indochina had been relayed to Roosevelt,²⁰³ and on the same day Foreign Minister Matsuoka advised his ambassador in Washington, by radio, that “In view of the critical situation between the two countries we must be prepared for the worst,” and that he should change from publicity and propaganda work to establishing an espionage-gathering network within the United States.²⁰⁴ Washington’s program of deceit, misinformation and concealment of information was at least keeping pace with that in Britain.

About the time that those talks began it was decided in Iraq that Haddad should visit Berlin again in an effort to get Hitler’s agreement to a stronger statement of mutual German-Arab interests which the Mufti had drafted, and to the supply of military equipment. The statement called for the unequivocal independence of the countries occupied by Britain, including Palestine, Transjordan, Oman and Kuwait, but it sought a less binding commitment to the independence of the French-occupied regions of Syria and Lebanon. This appears to have been a deliberate bid to minimize the importance of Germany’s relations with Vichy France and to avoid making Italy’s North African ambitions an issue.²⁰⁵ Shortly after Haddad left for Berlin the government of Rashid ‘Ali al-Gaylani, was forced to resign and a group of pro-Axis army officers took control. Rashid ‘Ali, although anti-Zionist, had previously maintained a low level of cooperation with Britain under the Anglo-Iraqi Alliance. Relations with Britain plunged.

When the Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) submitted its conclusions on the situation in the Far East on February 5 it said:

*Japan will take advantage of her role as mediator in the dispute between Thailand and Indochina so as to gain naval, military and air bases which would enable her to threaten Malaya, the Netherlands East Indies, North Borneo, and possibly Burma. Of these objectives we believe that she will probably select, in the first instance, the Netherlands East Indies, and that she intends to move against the territory in the near future.*²⁰⁶

However the SIS had bugged the telephones of the Japanese embassy in London and a message overheard that day caused shock waves and an overnight reassessment. The SIS operator reported on the 5th that embassy staff had been ordered to cut off all ‘fraternization with British officials’ and be prepared to leave Britain at short notice and, on the 6th, that ‘some sort of action’ was expected shortly. This led the Chiefs of Staff to believe that a direct threat to British interests was possible. On the basis that British forces in Malaya were insufficient to resist Japan and that reinforcement in strength was impossible, it was decided to resort to a mix of propaganda and diplomacy, and to make the interception of Japanese shipping *dependent on American approval*.²⁰⁷

Britain’s morale was being boosted at that stage by the spectacular success of its North Africa Army in capturing 130,000 Italian troops in a swoop on Cyrenaica, but it had

manoeuvred itself into an almost farcical position in the Far East. Because of the arrogant determination of its commercial interests to cling to their privileges in China the British government would not negotiate the phased relinquishing of those privileges at a time when, to do so, could have defused the crises in the Far East and enabled Japan and China to develop a new and workable relationship. It could no longer negotiate on that basis because to do so was contrary to the wishes of the America ally on which it had become totally dependent. Even though its senior services officers were already having strategic planning talks with that ally in Washington it refused to invite that ally into a formal alliance with China which may have relieved the situation as an interim measure because to do so would further weaken its overall negotiating position. And now its position was so weak that it could not even stop a ship to search it without asking for that ally's *approval*.

Britain's attitude to the Japanese and its lack of appreciation, even at the highest levels, that its own actions over a long period were basic to the crisis are reflected in a diary note by Sir Alexander Cadogan after he and Eden briefed Churchill on the latest intelligence intercept. He wrote: "Instructed H(alifax) to pass on to US government our information about the machinations of these beastly little monkeys." ²⁰⁸ A student of history might ask 'who were the beastly little monkeys'?

Next day, February 7, in an atmosphere of crisis, Eden summoned the Japanese ambassador and delivered a confrontational outburst which dragged Anglo-Japanese relations into even more turbulent waters – unnecessarily. It was later determined by MI2c that the operator who reported the embassy conversations had either misinterpreted them or misrepresented them to exaggerate his own importance and that, being mesmerized by the importance of their 'discovery' the officers of the unit had ignored, or not understood, other intelligence which contradicted the operator's report.²⁰⁹ However, in the meantime massive damage had been done. The government resorted to distortion and propaganda against the Japanese on a grand new scale. It used 'war scare' tactics to coerce Australia into stronger support for Britain, which left long term scars in the Australian psyche, and Admiral Bellairs used it in an unsuccessful bid (which earned him a sharp rebuke from Churchill) to coerce the United States into stationing a part of its Pacific fleet at Singapore. When the irritation which that incident caused had settled, the two governments agreed that in the event that the United States was at war with both Germany and Japan, priority would be given to offensive operations in Europe and defensive operations in the Pacific – the policy which the US strategic planners had proposed in November.²¹⁰

There was relief in Whitehall on February 8 when the US House of Representatives passed the Lend Lease Bill. However there was still a long way to go because Senate committee hearings had been in progress only 12 days and the finance restrictions had to stay in place. The House majority was comfortable but not large for an issue of such international significance, 260:165, (61 *per cent in favour*) but the party split showed that there was still no consensus across the American political spectrum, (See endnote #136), and what had been approved fell well short of the matters which the US and British officers were then discussing in Washington.

And their approval certainly *did not* extend to the decision which Roosevelt took at a White House meeting on February 10 which was attended by the Secretaries of State (Hull), War (Stimson) and the Navy (Knox), the Army Chief of Staff (Marshall) and the Chief of Naval Operations (Stark). Roosevelt decided to implement Action D of the McCollum Memorandum – provocative naval intrusions into Japanese waters – and to personally take charge of the action. A naval task force was to be sent into Japanese waters periodically on what he termed “pop-up cruises” as part of the overall plan to step up provocative pressure on Japan.²¹¹ Against the advice of both Stark, who said that such provocation “will precipitate hostilities,” and Kimmel, who insisted when being advised of the decision by Stark that it was “ill-advised and will result in war if we make this move,”²¹² Roosevelt wanted the navy to “keep popping up here and there and keep the Japs guessing.” He said: “I don’t mind losing one or two cruisers, but do not take the chance on losing five or six.”²¹³ The first pop-up cruise took place a few weeks later.

But on February 15, before Action D could be put into effect, the concerns about Britain’s ‘war-scare’ propaganda among State Department officers who were *not* aware of Roosevelt’s collusion in provocation, were shown to be justified. Ambassador Shigemitsu delivered a letter from Matsuoka addressed to Churchill with a strong protest about Britain’s ‘warlike posturing’ and proposing a substantial change in the international scenario: that *Japan should mediate a European peace settlement*. Was it possible that Matsuoka might be able to bring Britain and Germany together around a table where the Swedish king had failed? But Churchill regarded the letter as a matter of posturing and replied in that vein, lecturing the Foreign Minister on the consequences of Japan’s alignment with Germany, while he was ‘fishing’ to keep the correspondence alive. Although Shigemitsu saw the exchange for what it was, Matsuoka did not. He continued the correspondence.

By mid February, Stalin had finished pondering Lithuania’s population dynamics which the latest territory-and-people-swap with Hitler had made an issue, and the Soviet Union required the registration of all persons who had become ‘stateless refugees’ within its borders as a result of the series of annexations and occupations of territory, and it introduced a policy of transporting those who were locally ‘unproductive’ to Siberia.

The combined effect of those changes stimulated the flow of applications for transit visas through Japan and at first the Japanese Embassy in Moscow cooperated. From December 1940 to March 1941 there was a sharp increase in the number of refugee arrivals in Kobe, but it was not matched by a similar rise in the number of refugees moving on to the US or Shanghai. This meant that there was a strong net increase in the number of refugees being accommodated in Kobe.

In addition, and in line with his changed attitude to Russia, Hitler changed direction radically from his earlier proposal that Russia should lay claim to Iran and India. On February 17 he ordered that planning begin for a thrust to the very heart of Britain’s Empire – ‘the giant seething with discontent because of its suppressed aspirations for independence’ – India.²¹⁴ This was consistent with both his request for Japan to attack Singapore and the closer links which

Germany had been developing with the Arab countries. Intelligence reports were soon flying in all directions. Or almost all. Out in mid-Pacific soon after he took command of the US fleet, Kimmel, who should have been fed with every skerrick of intelligence relating to Japan realized that he was not receiving the flow of reports which was made possible by the establishment of the "Purple" net. He was receiving only filtered information, excluding many items which materially affected his situation, but when he sought assurances from Admiral Stark on February 18 that the situation would be put right he had to wait more than a month to receive the non-assurance that: "Naval Intelligence is fully aware of its responsibility in keeping you adequately informed."²¹⁵ Adequately for what? According to Stinnett, and apparently on the authority of the Assistant Chief of Naval Operations the constraints on the flow of intelligence to Kimmel and the Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbour were tightened even further. Commanders of each of the other regions in the Pacific remained plugged into the Japanese intercept system but nothing was sent to Kimmel and the Purple machine which had originally been allocated to Hawaii was sent to Singapore in March.²¹⁶ The Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbour became, in effect, a sitting duck.

On March 4, with the Lend Lease Bill still held up in the Senate, Morgenthau asked Roosevelt to pressure Churchill for a change in chief British negotiator and for a spectacular sale of British assets in the US to prove to Congress how desperate Britain was. Churchill refused. Britain was able to heave a sigh of relief on March 8 when the US Senate finally passed the Lend Lease Bill, subject to amendments which the House then had to consider. On March 11 the necessary amendments were passed and the president signed the bill into law at 3.50 pm.²¹⁷ However, saying that he was still worried about whether he could get a massive appropriation bill for seven billion dollars through Congress, Morgenthau pressed again for a sale such as the Viscose Corporation (97 per cent British owned) which would show that Britain would honour its commitments. Desperation and political expediency then prevailed, the sale was completed swiftly, on March 15 and the appropriation bill was also passed. Churchill later complained in his memoirs that "the great British business of Courtalds ... was sold ... at the request of the United States Government at a figure much below its intrinsic worth ... to emphasize the hardship of our position and raise feeling against the opponents of Lend Lease."

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'ALL AID SHORT OF WAR'

The Senate vote in favor of "all aid short of war"²¹⁹ was 60:31 or 66 *per cent in favor*, a rise of five per cent compared with 61 per cent in the House vote a month earlier. Overall, the congressional voting pattern reflected the public opinion polls reasonably closely. A poll conducted the day before the Senate vote showed 61 per cent in favor, 23 per cent firmly opposed and the balance (16 per cent) less firmly decided. On the basis of those voting patterns it is therefore very doubtful that such a finance and supply arrangement as the Lend Lease scheme would have been possible if Roosevelt, the architect of the proposal, had not retained

the presidency. It was his influence on the Democrat vote which carried the day, decisively. [For voting details see endnote ²²⁰] Similarly, given Churchill's admission that Britain could not survive without American aid, one may assume that without Roosevelt Britain would have been forced to negotiate a settlement with Hitler's Germany and the trouble in the triangle would have taken a decidedly different course as already noted. (Pp. 12–14 above.) That is the overriding significance of the Lend Lease Act: not that it was "the most significant of all the steps taken (by the US) towards war before December 1941 (and) a public announcement of the creation of the most productive and cooperative coalition of modern times – the Anglo-American Alliance against Germany." ²²¹

Hitler claimed not to be too concerned about the passage of the Act. He said it would take the US four years to get into full production, by which time Germany would have won the war. But he was very eager to get on and get the job done and he insisted that to do that it was necessary to destroy "the breeding ground of Bolshevism", the main opposition to National Socialism in Eastern Europe, the region which would provide Germany's long awaited lebensraum. This required two orders: one, that before striking at the capital, Moscow, his armies were to destroy Leningrad and Stalingrad;²²² the other that the Soviet corps of Commissars was to be eliminated. For this purpose he prepared special directions for the rigorous conduct of the war in Russia: his 'Commissar Decree.' "The Commissars are the bearers of ideologies directly opposed to National Socialism. Therefore the Commissars will be liquidated. German soldiers guilty of breaking international law ...will be excused. Russia has not participated in the Hague Convention and therefore has no rights under it." ²²³

So Hitler pressed on towards his proposed mid-May launch of Barbarossa, still not confiding in his pact partners. Then in mid-March the Japanese embassy in Moscow suddenly stopped issuing transit visas for Jewish refugees from the occupied territories. Foreign Minister Matsuoka was preparing for talks in both Berlin, with Hitler, and in Moscow, with Stalin. He needed Hitler's support for Japan's plan for a New Order in Asia, and he knew that Hitler wanted Japan's support on the Jewish question. Matsuoka was therefore caught between his personal want to continue refugee admissions and his need to appease Hitler in view of German complaints about Japan's help for Jews. He could not allow Hitler to dictate to Japan on a matter which touched both foreign and domestic policy, ²²⁴ and he did not want a disagreement over foreign relations which could lead to a treaty breakdown. His solution was to stop the issuing of refugee transit visas. Refugee arrivals in Kobe dropped sharply.²²⁵

At that time Hitler was eager to march through Greece on his way to link with the Arabs in his push towards India, but Italy had made things difficult by its failed actions in Albania and Greece. Neither Mussolini nor Hitler knew that it was *not* a failure of the Italian troops. It just looked that way because the British had broken the Italian codes and knew of every Italian order, troop and supply movement, and tactical plan *before* they were to be implemented. The British armies just acted first. However the setback meant that Hitler's position had been weakened and he had to gain Yugoslavia's assistance, or at least its agreement, before he could move against Greece. After long negotiations with many threats coupled with the promise of

continuing independence, on March 17 Hitler had gained Prince Paul's agreement to join the *Tripartite Pact*, provided that Yugoslavia was not required to provide an army and that Germany's army would simply march through. But news leaked out and his plans for Barbarossa and the invasion of Greece were, from Britain's point of view, very conveniently confused. On March 20, three months after Hitler issued his directive for preparation of an invasion of Russia, a Soviet intelligence report was handed to Stalin in which the three German army groups which were under development in preparation for Operation Barbarossa, and the names of their commanders, were correctly identified with provisional dates for the invasion given as either May 20 or mid-June. (The Soviet master spy cum journalist, Richard Sorge, had sent his first report to Moscow of an imminent break in German-Soviet relations and an attack on Russia 15 days earlier.) But rumour-mongering and the black propaganda systems of both Britain and Germany were working overtime and Stalin refused to believe the reports. An instruction was sent to all Russian army intelligence units that "all documents claiming that war is imminent must be regarded as forgeries from British or even German sources."

A pact between Germany, Italy and Yugoslavia was finally signed by the Yugoslav prime minister on March 25. Events were going reasonable smoothly for Hitler and he was therefore greatly relieved and in a good frame of mind – until March 27 which proved a particularly busy day. As he prepared to welcome Matsuoka he received a message that Prince Paul had been toppled in a coup by Serbian Orthodox Nationalists, that the new Yugoslav government would *not* join the *Tripartite Pact*, and that Churchill had declared in London that the Yugoslavs had recovered their "soul".²²⁶ It rather spoiled his day.

Hitler summoned Ribbentrop, the military commanders and the ambassadors for Hungary and Bulgaria. In a total rage he demanded that the ungrateful Yugoslavia be smashed in a merciless blitzkrieg which would teach them a lesson and humble the Turks and the Greeks into submission. Barbarossa was to go ahead as planned but Yugoslavia was to be dealt with in advance. Then he did his version of a 'Munich', or a bit more trade in other people and their territory. He told the ambassadors that for their cooperation Hungary could have the Banat region back from Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria could have Macedonia. The Balkans religious mixing bowl sitting astride the great triple divide was again being carved up. But this time it was not on the initiative of one faith community or another. This carve up was by Hitler as he, firstly, put into effect his challenge to the church and the amorphous Christian gel through his parody of it, *Mein Kampf*, and sought his colonial Lebensraum; secondly, sought to destroy the political face of another challenge to the church, Communism; and thirdly, filled the role of the Scourge in the Qur'anic *Night Journey* – all in one package.

Then, having disposed of that problem, Hitler was able to welcome his waiting guest, Matsuoka. Japan, he said, should immediately seize Singapore in an action designed to persuade America not to enter the war. The United States was not yet in a position to attack Japan, he said, and such a manoeuvre would discourage the US from committing its fleet to either the European or Far Eastern theatres. Matsuoka, supported by the Japanese military adviser who accompanied him, politely declined. Then he added to Hitler's woes by saying he looked

forward to making a treaty with Russia in the near future. When Ribbentrop suggested that such a treaty might not be appropriate, Matsuoka did not appear to understand the guarded message that there may soon be war between Germany and Russia, but Ambassador Oshima promptly enlightened him. Then, although Japan was *not* prepared to invade Singapore, Hitler undertook to do whatever was necessary to support Japan in the event of an attack by the US, in spite of his secrecy in withholding from his *Tripartite Pact* partner his intention to invade Russia.²²⁷ So the Japanese mission departed, having given Hitler no pleasure at all, and the Fuhrer sat down to sign Directive No. 25: orders for the simultaneous invasion of Yugoslavia and Greece.²²⁸

Hitler soon realized that the new situation required the deferral of Barbarossa and on March 30 he advised his commanders that the revised and final date was June 22. He told them the war against Russia “cannot be fought in knightly fashion.” The struggle is one of ideologies and racial differences, he said, and will have to be waged with “unprecedented, unmerciful and unrelenting hardness.” Barbarossa could not be further postponed because no successor would ever again exercise sufficient authority to accept responsibility for unleashing it. To stop the Bolshevik steamroller he demanded the destruction of the Bolshevik State and the annihilation of the Red Army, and he confirmed, with great zeal, his Commissar Decree.

TREATIES...OR TRICKS?

So, as the year progressed and the war continued to widen steadily with no leaders except Hitler being prepared to discuss the background to it or their motives, the manipulation of ordinary people by their own governments through half truths and propaganda, supposedly in the national interest, was running very strongly – and in parallel with the manipulation which was going on at government-to-government level. Japan was trying to manage its relationships with Britain, Germany and Russia so as to avoid entanglement in Europe’s war. The United States still officially sought a bilateral treaty with Japan which would suppress Japan’s plans for a New Order in Asia and give it, the US, the domination of East Asia which it wanted while in fact it was goading Japan into an attack on it in order to justify entry into the war with Britain against Germany. At the same time it was eagerly trying to dismantle the British Empire without doing it in such a way that it might enable either Germany or Japan to strengthen their positions and move against the United States. That, in its assessment, required it to *vigorously support Britain militarily and with resources*, in order to prevent a German victory which would pose a threat to its own self-understanding and perceived future role, and it was already having those *top-level talks on strategic cooperation with Britain* while it planned the *ultimate dismantling of its economic base* and sought to keep its real socio-political adversary, the Soviet Russia, at arms length. Hitler could not have written a more effective parody if he had tried.

At this point Shigemitsu, concerned that Matsuoka was being manipulated as he continued to respond to Churchill’s posturing, asked for permission to meet Matsuoka during a planned visit to Europe in April. Churchill agreed, on March 31, because he wanted the ambassador to carry yet another letter to Matsuoka. A special connecting flight via Lisbon, neutral territory, was

arranged, but when Matsuoka changed his plans the meeting did not take place. Undaunted, Shigemitsu continued to propose new arrangements which he believed could relieve the tension between the two countries.²²⁹

In Iraq, where the Anglo-Iraqi Alliance was now in tatters, the pro-Axis officers reinstated Rashid 'Ali as prime minister on April 2 on the understanding that he withdraw support from Britain, facilitate Pan-Arab contacts with the Axis powers and seek to influence British Middle East policy in favour of the Arabs. He immediately did that by ordering the oil pipeline to the Mediterranean closed. The British-sponsored Regent, Emir Abdul-Ilah, then faced a coup plotted by Rashid, three pro-Nazi military officers and the honorific minister, the Mufti. The Emir fled leaving Rashid in full control of the government.

Hitler's invasions of Yugoslavia and Greece began concurrently on April 6 with a blitzkrieg against Belgrade which killed five thousand civilians. When the Wehrmacht entered Zagreb on April 10 the faithful Catholic Fascist Croats were allowed to declare an independent Croatia. This earned Hitler much kudos within the Vatican because Pius XII had "warmly endorsed Croat nationalism and confirmed the Ustashe perception of history" when a national pilgrimage visited Rome in November 1939 to promote the cause of the canonization of a Croat Franciscan martyr, Nicola Pavelic. The 'perception of history' he referred to was burning resentment against the Orthodox Serbs for past and contemporary injustices – such as restricted educational rights and exclusion from the professions – which had been imposed in retaliation for thirteen hundred years of "loyalty" to the papacy. In responding to a speech by the primate of Croatia Pius XII had described his state as "the outpost of Christianity," with the clear implication that the Serbian Orthodox had no right to call themselves Christian. He added that: "The hope of a better future seems to be smiling on you: a future in which the relations between Church and State in your country will be regulated in harmonious action to the advantage of both."²³⁰

Next day the two adjacent Fascist states, Italy and Hungary, joined forces with their ally to cut up the Yugoslav cake. The process did not take long and on April 12 Hitler issued his Yugoslav partition plan based on his promises to the ambassadors in Berlin. Croatia was granted "Aryan" status and sovereignty over Slovenia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and a large part of Dalmatia with a total population of 6.7 million. There were about 3,300,000 Catholics, 2,200,000 Orthodox Serbs, 750,000 Muslims, 70,000 Protestants and 45,000 Jews. The Ustashe leader Ante Pavelic promptly returned from his safe haven in Italy where Mussolini had provided training camps and logistical support for his disruption and sabotage activities. A Ustashe program of "ethnic cleansing" began immediately, targeting the 2.2 million Orthodox Serbian Christians and smaller numbers of Jews, Gypsies and Communists. Its aim was to produce a *pure Catholic Croatia* by enforced conversions, deportations and mass extermination, but the Ustashe seemed content to leave the Protestants and the Muslims basically in peace.²³¹ It was far more ruthless than anything Hitler had tried to carry out and even more ruthless than Professor Vosa Cubrilovic's plan for the expulsion of all 'Albanians', meaning, roughly, Muslims, from Yugoslavia (see chapter 20, p. 33) because it did not target one ethnic or religious group, but *several*, and especially their fellow Christians. Of course in the prevailing

Catholic view they were no better than the Infidels even if the long history of bitter antagonism could be overlooked. They were among the separated brethren who needed to be brought to Rome before they could attain personal salvation. The Catholic Archbishop of Zagreb called personally on Pavelic to welcome him home on April 16; supported his plans for oppression of the Orthodox Church because it was a political organization and not a church; gave a dinner in his honour, confirming his intention to press for the pope to recognize the new state; and wrote a pastoral letter, calling for the clergy and the faithful to collaborate in the work of the leader, which was read from all Catholic pulpits on April 28. Already, three days before that letter was read, Pavelic had banned all publication of the Cyrillic script which was used by Orthodox Serbs whether for private or public purposes.²³²

The savagery of the atrocities carried out over the next seventeen days almost defies description. In the first major incident, on the day the pastoral letter was read, 250 Serbs were forced to dig a ditch, bound with wire and buried alive. At the village of Otocac 331 Serbs were rounded up, forced to dig their own grave, then hacked to death in front of their priest and his son. The priest was then forced to recite prayers for the dying while his son was hacked to death, then he was tortured, his hair and beard torn off, his eyes gouged out and he was skinned alive. At Glina several hundred were herded into their church and asked to show certificates of conversion to Catholicism. Two were carrying certificates and were released. The rest were butchered.²³³ It was a regression to the depraved papal decree, *Capitulatio de partibus Saxoniae*, which specified death as the penalty for refusing baptism which the papacy and the Holy Roman Empire under Charles had imposed in their bid to "Christianize" or subjugate Scandinavia more than a thousand years earlier. (See chapter 7, p. 13.) The usual anti-Semitic legislation followed immediately, as did the first of the systematic deportations of Jews to a concentration camp at Danica.²³⁴

And Stalin? During this interlude he sought to preserve the political face of the Marxist challenge to the church and the amorphous Christian gel, and he warned his commanders that this was not going to be easy. They could expect wars on two fronts, he said, with Germany and with Japan. Then while he maintained his pact with Germany he proceeded to negotiate a five-year neutrality pact with Japan. In doing so he set such impossible conditions at first that after a week of frustration Matsuoka was about to leave for home without a treaty when Stalin summoned him back to the Kremlin, dropped all the pretence and pressure tactics, and signed on April 13 at the end of the visit which did *not* include talks with Shigemitsu.

The *Russian-Japanese Pact* was to be invoked either in the case of a German attack on Russia or a United States attack on Japan. Stalin showed that he saw the new treaty as completing a package of three which would ensure, if not unadulterated friendship, then at least stability and the absence of war in the relationships between Germany, Russia and Japan. There were now treaties between Germany and Russia; Russia and Japan; and Japan and Germany. In an unprecedented move to illustrate the importance he placed on that, Stalin did not leave his diplomats to farewell Matsuoka. He took Molotov with him to the railway station and in a very public display embraced both Matsuoka and German ambassador Schulenburg, and declared for

all to hear, to the Japanese, “The European problem can be solved in a natural way if Japan and the Soviets cooperate,” then, to the German, “We must remain friends, and you must now do everything to that end.”²³⁵ Friction between Russia and Japan was further reduced by the cancellation of Japanese concessions in Northern Sakhalin (to eliminate spying) and the joint recognition of both the Mongol People’s Republic and Manchukuo.²³⁶

On the other hand the new treaty added to the friction between Japan and Britain and the United States which both feared that Japan, free of any concern about Russian intentions in Manchukuo, was also free to turn its attention south. Roosevelt was so concerned that on the day the pact was announced he cancelled a plan for aggressive action by US naval ships against German U-boats in the western Atlantic. New orders were issued requiring that German naval west of Iceland should be reported, not shot at, because the Japanese-Soviet Pact made the situation in the Pacific too dangerous to risk too much in the Atlantic.²³⁷ Hitler, although he was in broad agreement with the British-American assessment, saw it from a different point of view. On April 20 Admiral Raeder sought his approval to attack US shipping in order to draw America into the war and thereby encourage Japan to enter it also. Hitler’s response was to deny approval for that plan²³⁸ but to tell Raeder that the Soviet-Japanese treaty had been made “with Germany’s acquiescence,” that he welcomed it “because Japan is now restrained from taking any action against Vladivostok and should be induced to attack Singapore instead.” He did not want to share the rich rewards of the subordination of the Soviet Union with his ally and he did not expect to need its help.²³⁹ Ribbentrop went even further. During pre-treaty discussions on March 29 he told Matsuoka that if Russia forced Germany ‘to strike’ he would ‘consider it proper if the Japanese Army were prevented from attacking Russia.’²⁴⁰ The beacon which the MEW had dropped in the middle of the Sea of Japan was now totally useless.

However the web of intrigue was to be spun tighter yet. About that time, after Matsuoka had refused Hitler’s request to seize Singapore and had travelled to Moscow to negotiate a pact with Stalin, formal talks were opened, on US initiative, between the US and Japanese diplomatic representatives. The starting point was to be the informal draft understanding which had been prepared in January as an outcome of the twin *Walsh-Drought reports*. But US Secretary of State Cordell Hull then proposed a draft with four principles which were not compatible with the earlier draft understanding. His new principles clearly implied acceptance of the Asian colonial status quo, and as discussions proceeded, with proposal and counter proposal, the peculiarities of the two countries’ domestic politics, their conflicting aspirations in the Asian region and their conflicting alliances with the European belligerents complicated the situation. Hull’s four principles were: respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all nations; support of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries; support of the principle of equality, including equality of commercial opportunity; and non-disturbance of the status quo in the Pacific, except as the status quo may be altered by peaceful means.²⁴¹ However there were identifiable but unspoken agendas behind each of the four points and this placed the two nations poles apart, so that they gradually drifted towards war. As they did so,

and in the light of both the *Tripartite Pact* and Britain's inability to finance China's needs, the operation of the Lend Lease Act was extended to China as well as Britain.

Also, about that time, Hitler received some more encouragement from the Middle East which helped to offset his disappointment with Japan. Farouk advised him through his Ambassador to Iran that he had strong admiration for the Fuhrer, that he sincerely desired a German victory over England, that the Egyptian people longed for German occupation and liberation of their country, and that he would come to their aid at the decisive moment.²⁴² However the first British brigade landed at the head of the Persian Gulf on April 18 to secure the oil fields at Basra and Abadan and the refinery.

Whitehall, sensing that it was being outmanoeuvred in the Far East, not finding the fruits of diplomacy to its liking, but being impressed with the impact of a policy of rumour spreading which had been approved by the JIC in October 1940 (including its 'war-scare' program), now opted for greater use of the black propaganda weapon. A detailed policy proposal was put to the JIC on April 28 for it to develop.²⁴³ Two days later, April 30, there was a sharp disagreement in cabinet over whether Britain should agree to an American proposal to move a large part of its Pacific fleet to the Atlantic. It provided a rich field of intrigue for the JIC to work on. Eden, Cadogan and Pound (Admiralty) argued against the fleet movement because it would weaken the level of deterrence against a Japanese move south. Churchill argued that the military value of the plan was secondary: what mattered was the political expediency of agreeing with the US president. Churchill won.²⁴⁴ While that matter was being resolved the man who commanded the US Pacific Fleet, now firmly based at Hawaii and the most directly affected, was cut out of the "Purple" intelligence loop altogether. The other regional commanders in the Pacific were not.²⁴⁵

A few days later, while the JIC was still working on its proposals, Kobe Jewcom received an order from the Chief Secretary of the Imperial Navy for two representatives to attend for military interrogation in Tokyo. Fearful that Japan may in fact have been drawn into Hitler's anti-Semitic campaign, two rabbis and an interpreter made the journey. The interrogation by three admirals opened on the basis of German hatred of the Jews and would have turned swiftly to the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and supposed Zionist plans for world domination. However by skillfully shepherding the discussion to the theology of Judaism and Shinto, reports of early historical contacts between the people of Israel and Japan, and Hitler's misinterpretation of race, the rabbis were able to avert a potential crisis and actually enhance the relationship between Japan and its Jewish community. They left Tokyo with the instruction ringing in their ears: "Go back to your people. Tell them they have nothing to fear: we Japanese will do our utmost to provide for your safety and peace; you have nothing to fear while in Japanese territory."²⁴⁶

In Berlin, Haddad, had obtained from the German Secretary of State, Weizsacker, a warmly worded confidential note of support for the Arabs. Weizsacker actually went no further towards a commitment to the Arab cause than was contained in the earlier rather innocuous Italo-German declaration, but he promised prompt delivery of military supplies. Rashid Ali thereupon

sealed off the British air base at Habbaniya on April 28, trapping 2,200 troops and 9,000 civilians, then despatched 9,000 troops on May 2 to counter the British Indian brigade and seize control of the Basra oil fields. He appealed to Hitler for the military support which Weizsacker had promised and the Fuhrer ordered that advisers be flown in and that arms be supplied from Vichy-controlled Syria.

But Rashid was not the only person to make an urgent appeal for foreign help that day. Churchill, very depressed about the possible loss of the Middle East, sent a message to Roosevelt insisting that “the United States must range herself with Britain immediately as a belligerent” and saying “if you cannot take more advanced positions now, or very soon, the vast balances may be tilted heavily to our disadvantage.”²⁴⁷ Fearful that a German leap-frog by air into Iraq via facilities on both the Mediterranean and at Basra²⁴⁸ on the Persian Gulf would cost Britain control of Iraqi oil supplies, Churchill requested that additional forces be made available for the Gulf. Indians en route to Malaya were re-directed to Iraq along with forces from Palestine.

And that was not the only reason Churchill had for feeling depressed. Press and diplomatic reports during April made it quite clear that the British war cabinet was still divided over Churchill’s leadership and morale was low. Without identifying themselves a group of ministers and MPs, including Lloyd George, Emanuel Shinwell, Nye Bevan, Hore-Belisha and Lord Winterton, had actually looked for ways of negotiating peace with Hitler during April, being fearful of the haphazard direction of the war under Churchill’s rigid one-man rule in cabinet.²⁴⁹ Morale fell so low that Churchill had to face a vote of confidence in the House of Commons on May 6 and his task in defending his position was made even tougher when he received a report that day from the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Field Marshal Sir John Dill. Dill said he believed “we have gone to the limit, if not beyond it, in respect of the security of Great Britain;” that the available resources in Britain were not sufficient to defend the country against invasion; that although the loss of Egypt would be a calamity it would not end the war; that even the security of Singapore comes before Egypt; that “we must not fall into the error of whittling away the security at vital points;” querying the decision to pursue the war in North Africa; and saying “if need be, we must cut our losses in places that are not vital before it is too late.” It was a discreet but devastating critique of the political direction of the war, but Churchill steeled himself for worse to come, faced the extended debate next day, and won.

It was also an open secret that Whitehall was doing all it could to encourage a wider front against Germany and to incite Hitler to turn against the Soviet Union, aided and abetted – and spurred on – by the Vatican, and Stalin must have had reason to think that Molotov might respond to overtures to join the push against Hitler. He implied as much on May 5 when he told senior military officers at a banquet that there was an imminent danger of war with Germany. Next day, while Churchill faced his detractors in the House, Stalin assumed even greater dictatorial powers than he already wielded by relieving Molotov of his posts as head of government and chairman of the Council of People’s Commissars, taking both posts himself while continuing as general secretary of the Communist Party. Molotov remained Foreign

Minister and became deputy chairman of the council. Ambassador Schulenburg told Berlin that in his view Stalin had taken this step “of extraordinary importance” with “the object of preserving the Soviet Union from a conflict with Germany.”²⁵⁰

It is now known that on August 15, 1940, a month before his ‘final offer’, Hitler had ordered Hess to prepare for a special task ²⁵¹ and then, on September 1, Hess learned of a friendship between Albrecht Haushofer (the son of one of his confidants) and Lord Hamilton, which was seen as possibly providing a further point of contact with the British Peace Party. It is now widely believed that this contact led directly to Hess’ flight to Scotland only a few days after the vote on Churchill’s leadership in the Commons. On May 10 he secretly flew alone from Augsburg, landed by parachute in Scotland and asked to see the Duke of Hamilton. The duke was “so impressed” that he arranged to fly to London and asked Cadogan to meet him and take him to see Churchill. However Churchill changed the arrangement, sending a driver to meet the duke and telling Cadogan he was not needed. Cadogan’s diary notes confirm that Hess came with peace proposals, demanding a free hand for Germany in Europe and the return of former German colonies as compensation for Germany’s promise to respect the integrity of the British Empire. They indicate that Hess maintained he had come on his own initiative and not at the request of Hitler, and they confirm that cabinet decided to ban press speculation, to manipulate press statements about his arrival and the content of his statements, and that the “PM agreed we ought to draw Hess by pretending to negotiate, and he came out with my idea of J. Simon (Lord Chancellor) for the part.” ²⁵²

In view of the timing and in view of the steps taken on Churchill’s orders to ensure that there were no substantive reports of Hess’ interrogation and debriefings ever published, it is reasonable to assume that he made the flight to carry out whatever ‘special task’ Hitler had ordered. That ‘special task’ for Hess *must* have been a last ditch effort to make direct personal contact with the ‘Peace Party’ which had forced the confidence vote in the House only four days earlier, in a bid to bypass or to help unseat Churchill and to reach agreement on a means of achieving mass Jewish resettlement. [See above, pp. 32–33.] Hess was left to languish in prison and to eventually face a war crimes trial.²⁵³

Churchill did not get his hoped for response from Washington – troops for Iraq – but Berlin made immediate arrangements with Vichy France for German planes to use Syrian airfields and for three quarters of the war materials held in Syria to be transferred to Iraq. Rashid Ali also anticipated the arrival of German airborne forces. However, even though Hitler saw Iraq as the key to wrecking the English position between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf, and even though both Ribbentrop and Mussolini urged him to, he would not release units from the equally critical battle for Crete for ten days.

With regard to the Far East, the conclusion of the Japanese mediation between Thailand and Vichy France – the ceding of territory from both Laos and Cambodia to Thailand under the French Treaty of Peace on May 9 – went almost unnoticed in Britain in view of the Hess ‘defection’, and the Kobe Jewcom delegates were hardly home from Tokyo when, on May 12,

the JIC approved two rumours for circulation. The first, that the United States Navy would blockade Japan at the first sign of trouble, was to offset the weakening of the US naval presence in the Pacific and it soon got Whitehall into trouble with the State Department which said that speculation about US intentions could lead to a backlash against it. The second, described German aims in Asia as clashing with those of Japan, especially in regard to the control of resources in the Dutch East Indies. This involved a series of articles on the activities of a German fifth column operating in Japan and naturally put the Jewish refugees under suspicion. Craigie later reported that it had 'an effective result.'²⁵⁴

CONTROL OF THE MIDDLE EAST

With so much manoeuvring in Europe and the Far East and with the British Government's heavy censorship of news from the Middle East it was easy for the general public to overlook the importance of the battles which had begun for control of the Middle East and its oil. Only some of them were on the ground with guns, and on May 12 Hitler ordered two bombers to Iraq to help Rashid Ali in what was proving a rather unequal bid to throw out the British. That day, a message from the Japanese ambassador in Baghdad to Tokyo advising that the Iraqis could only hold out for a few more days was intercepted by the British. It was immediately relayed via Churchill to the commander in chief, Middle East, and next day, to make sure that the ambassador was right, units of the Arab Legion, commanded by British Major Glubb, and the Transjordanian Frontier Force were ordered to cross the frontier and relieve the British forces at Habbaniya. The Transjordanians mutinied. They objected to the British using Arabs to fight Arabs. The lead units of the Arab Legion arrived five days later having crossed 300 miles of desert.

On May 15 Sorge advised Moscow that the date of Germany's invasion of Russia was set for June 22. He was spot on, but rumours were flying so thick and fast that Stalin still refused to believe the invasion reports.²⁵⁵ Hitler knew that on the question of an invasion of Russia he had an ally in the Vatican who was acting quite consistently in his bid to build an anti-Communist alliance of the West with which Hitler's Germany could be integrated, and Stalin knew equally well that he had an enemy there. But neither knew how determined the Vatican was that Hitler's venture – and his bid for secrecy – should succeed or that Hitler had a fifth column in his service who may have succeeded in destroying that secrecy except for Vatican intervention. According to author Avro Manhattan, the fifth column, and a conspirator against Hitler, was Hitler's chief of Secret Police, Admiral Canaris, who was on intimate relations with Franco and who had been very influential in ensuring that both Germany and Italy provided the troops and arms which turned the Spanish Civil War in Franco's favor. Manhattan maintains that Canaris advised the Vatican of Hitler's Barbarossa invasion plan, including the date, and in a bid to prevent it and to bring Hitler down, he intended to advise the Allies and Russia also. Manhattan wrote:

(Canaris) posted one of his most trusted agents at the Vatican, from where his information was eventually transmitted to British Intelligence agents, also with headquarters at the Vatican. When the Vatican got wind of Canaris' wish to inform Soviet Russia also of the approaching invasion, it promptly blackmailed him with the threat that, should he notify Soviet Russia of the date of the coming attack, the Vatican would inform Hitler of Canaris' betrayal. ... The Vatican, like Hitler, wanted Russia to be taken by surprise, surprise in war being accounted almost half of total victory.²⁵⁶

We cannot be sure whether Canaris ignored the blackmail and pressed on, or whether Sorge received his information from some other source. There were so many people involved in planning Operation Barbarossa that it would be extremely surprising if there were not other people of like mind to Canaris. The date, June 22, had already been reported in diplomatic circles by April 24, because on that date the German naval attaché in Moscow alerted the navy high command in Berlin to the fact that: "The British Ambassador predicts June 22 as the day of the outbreak of war."²⁵⁷ Either Cripps had discussed it with a third party through whom the leak was passed to the naval attaché, or German intelligence had intercepted a message between Cripps and Whitehall. The source of the leak does not matter. It simply means that Churchill was also aware of the planned invasion date no later than April 24. But Stalin knew the black propaganda system so well – and that it was stacked against him – that through his inflexibility he had become a victim of it.

Around that time the Vatican was having a steady stream of visitors. Among them was Pavelik who arrived back on May 18 after only a month away, well entrenched as 'Poglavnik' or Fuhrer in Croatia. He had two errands. The first, at Hitler's urging, was to make a gift of a clutch of Croatian districts and Dalmatian coastal cities to Italy and sign a state treaty with Mussolini which was to be the basis of international recognition. The second was to receive *de facto* recognition of the Independent State of Croatia from the Holy See during a "devotional" audience with Pius XII – fully four days after the ghastly massacre at Glina. He had a papal blessing for his "bastion against Communism," his totalitarian dictatorship which was set up by courtesy of Hitler and Mussolini jointly, and his efforts to eliminate Jews, Gypsies and Orthodox Christians alike in which both clergy and Catholic laity often took a leading part.²⁵⁸

In London, in spite of the effects of the black propaganda which Britain was spreading in Asia, Shigemitsu sought to keep the Tientsin and trade negotiations going, especially in view of the fact that Japan's negotiations with the Dutch authorities in Batavia also appeared to be grinding to a halt. It should have been clear that, in the circumstances, if Britain assisted Japan to maintain its domestic economy through negotiations with the Dutch authorities the pressure and incentive for it to make greater demands on Thailand and French Indochina would have been lessened. However, in a cabinet meeting on May 15, Churchill maintained that Japan would only make a dramatic move *if Britain suffered a major reverse* in the European conflict. His assessment in *military* terms may have been reasonable, but he was not making sufficient allowance for political and *economic* factors. Next day Butler formally advised Shigemitsu that the government could not see any purpose served by continuing the Tientsin and trade talks.

They were at an end. Even so, Shigemitsu made one last desperate attempt to revive them, telling Butler that “the Payments Agreement (provided) the only opportunity for maintaining discussion of any sort between our two governments in a period of crisis.”

Whitehall, and Churchill in particular, do not seem to have understood that every move they made was not just making economic life more difficult for Japan: it was boosting the pressure in the boiler of its anti-colonial aspirations, forcing it further into a corner and restricting any options it had other than to strengthen its questionable alliance with Germany.

One more day on and, on May 17, Hull briefed Halifax in Washington on the fact that he had been having discussions with Japan’s ambassador in the US, Nomura, since March. It was what Whitehall had feared and suspected but it was the first official confirmation, and four days later, the 21st, Eden instructed Halifax to tell Hull of Britain’s concerns that Japan may use those talks to drive a wedge between Britain and the US. In view of Britain’s actions, what else did he expect? Hull was to be told that “only a policy of firmness would detach Japan from the Axis.” Next day, the 22nd, with Whitehall somewhat less fearful that Japan was about to seize bases in Thailand and Indochina, but with the US suspicious of any concessions which Britain might make to Thailand, the cabinet Far Eastern Committee (FEC) agreed that Britain should supply Thailand with oil in return for rubber and tin, thus denying those commodities to Japan and tightening the screws a bit further.

On the same day, not being aware of that decision but even in the face of Britain having called off the Tientsin and trade talks, Matsuoka asked Craigie whether it would be possible to use Britain’s good offices to rescue the talks between Tokyo and Batavia. This was a remarkable opportunity for Britain to recover some of the prestige it lost when it had to watch Japan negotiate a settlement between Thailand and the French in Indochina, but the Foreign Office didn’t see it that way. They would not even act on Craigie’s suggestion that it was an opportunity for three-way discussions on Japan’s needs and whether it would agree to accept supplies with a guarantee of no re-export to a belligerent country. They rejected it out of hand because “talks only encouraged Japanese aggression” and the preferred way ahead was restrictions on Japan’s access to East Indies resources.²⁵⁹ At least they were being consistent in their policy of denial.

There were very few bouquets for Britain’s foreign policy for the next few days. Hull, who did not receive Eden’s message until May 24, was greatly angered, claiming that Eden was accusing him of being naïve. Eden had to apologize to avoid a serious downturn in Anglo-US relations.²⁶⁰

The Syrian action also gave the Jewish para-military forces an opportunity to be more directly involved in the war. The government relaxed its policy towards Haganah and in turn this gave Churchill an opportunity to keep the Jewish cause before Cabinet. The British Army needed every assistance it could get and senior Haganah officers were invited to collaborate in preparing lists of bridges and tunnels which were vulnerable to sabotage in Lebanon, Syria, Turkey and Iran. A special strike company, the Palmach, was then set up to strike against pro-

Nazi Arab groups, to disrupt communications, sabotage transport and airfields and protect both British posts and Jewish settlements in Palestine from attack by such groups.²⁶¹ On May 19, noting those efforts in a Cabinet paper on Syria, Churchill argued that Britain should negotiate with King Ibn Saud towards a Jewish State of Western Palestine with “the fullest rights of self government, including immigration and development, and provision for expansion in the desert regions to the southward, which they would gradually reclaim.”²⁶²

The Iraqis had largely been left to act on their own for six weeks. At that point the combined pressures on Roosevelt, including Churchill’s appeals, had some effect and on May 27 he proclaimed an unlimited national emergency, warning Americans that if, in modern times, you “wait till you see the whites of their eyes you will never know what hit you.”²⁶³ British forces reached Baghdad on May 30, Rashid Ali fled to Iran with the former Mufti and the German and Italian Ministers. The Regent was reinstated. The immediate threat to Britain’s oil supplies from Iraq had been quashed.^{264 265 266} The Iraqis had held out for 18 days and then had to throw in the towel because neither Germany nor Italy were in a position to send any more aircraft and fuel. The Japanese ambassador had been only half right. But his colleague in London, Shigemitsu, was very close to the mark when he showed his total frustration in a final conversation with Butler that day, complaining that British economic policy towards Japan was ‘vindictive.’ He was recalled to Japan shortly afterwards.²⁶⁷

However, as a result of the Iraqi episode Britain had to contend with the presence of German aircraft in Syria for a time. In addition, intelligence obtained while the Iraqi uprising was in progress revealed the collaboration between King Farouk and senior Egyptian officers, and the Nazis. A former Inspector General of the Egyptian Army was intercepted by the RAF en route to Beirut from where he planned to defect to Germany with vital data on British troop strength. Those facts increased the threat to Britain’s control of the Suez canal and brought the major Abadan oil refinery at the head of the Persian Gulf, as well as Basra and the Mediterranean oil terminals, within Germany’s range and illustrate further the extent to which Britain’s support for the Zionist cause in Palestine had undermined its strategic position.

The loss of Crete, which was being evacuated under great pressure, and with very heavy naval losses in the Scandinavian campaigns and the threat of the loss of the Middle East had brought Britain to yet another point of great crisis and Whitehall was doing all it could to gain diplomatic support from countries not involved in the war, and to draw Russia into the war and, in opening an additional front, relieve the pressure. After discussions with Eden on May 30 Cadogan noted:

*Fact is that our military weakness and the sensational ineptitude of our commanders, diplomacy is completely hamstrung. For instance – Russia. You can’t do anything nowadays with any country unless you can (a) threaten (b) bribe it. Russia has (a) no fear of us whatever and (b) we have nothing to offer her. Then you can juggle with words and jiggle with drafts as much as you like, and you’ll get nowhere.*²⁶⁸

Then next day:

Chiefs of Staff have come to conclusion that Germany is prepared to attack Russia. I agree, but I believe that Russia will give way and sign on the dotted line. I wish she wouldn't, as I should love to see Germany expending her strength there. But they're not such fools (as our general staff). But we must consider how we can use threat of fact of bombing to Baku.
[Emphasis in original.]²⁶⁹

It was decided that day, Saturday, that Eden should meet Russian Ambassador Maisky the following Monday, June 2, and that morning he met with Cadogan and Butler to discuss what approach to take. Cadogan noted: "Germans are evidently ready to attack Russia. And they will do so if they don't get what they want. I think they will get what they want. I hope they won't because that would give us time, and it must be some effort for them." He later noted that it "seems to have been quite a useful interview."²⁷⁰

The threat to Abadan had to be eliminated. However, the problem involved the thorny question of Britain's relations with each of the Vichy French Government, the Free French forces, the Arabs of Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and neighboring countries, and the Jews. And although Churchill was not prepared to discuss constitutional change with India he found it necessary to use both independence from France and internal partition on the basis of religion as a carrot to obtain Lebanese and Syrian support against the Vichy French and the Germans. It was the manipulation of World War I all over again. The attitudes were the same and the broken promises were much the same. There had just been a time lapse. When the Free French took control they refused to grant immediate independence and, against Churchill's wishes, appointed governors instead. Thus, on the eve of the joint invasion of Syria by British and Free French forces Churchill wrote to De Gaulle on June 6 saying "we have sought no special advantages in the French Empire, and have no intention of exploiting the tragic position of France for our own gain." [Presumably he had not kept De Gaulle informed on Britain's discussions with Franco over his 'Moroccan ambitions' and the future of Gibraltar.] He went on to write: "I welcome therefore your decision to promise independence to Syria and the Lebanon, and, as you know, I think it essential that we should lend to this promise the full weight of our guarantee. I agree that we must not in any settlement of the Syrian question endanger the stability of the Middle East. But subject to this we must both do everything possible to meet Arab aspirations and susceptibilities." He added: "I must ask you in this grave hour not to insist on declaring Catroux High Commissioner for Syria."

And to Roosevelt he wrote on June 7:

*We enter Syria in some force tomorrow ... De Gaulle's Free French outfit will be prominent but not in the van. He is issuing a proclamation to the Arabs offering in the name of France complete independence and opportunity to form either three or one or three-in-one free Arab States. Relations with France will be fixed by treaty safeguarding established interests somewhat on the Anglo-Egyptian model.*²⁷¹

The other battles for control of the oil fields were shielded from public scrutiny by the closed doors of embassies and company board rooms. Concessions were negotiated in each of Syria,

Bahrain and Qatar during 1940 but drilling operations were shut down for the duration of the war.

In Saudi Arabia, where production had commenced only months before the outbreak of war, the war had dramatically cut the scale of the pilgrimage and King Ibn Saud was in financial difficulty as a result. Britain responded with financial assistance. In view of the nature of its long term involvement with the kingdom and the sensitivity of the political relationships resulting from the *Balfour Declaration* it was natural for it to do so, even without the added complications of World War II and Hitler's anti-Semitic intervention. However Socal and Texaco could only see the situation in terms of the bitter commercial and political competition for oil concessions and they feared increasing British influence in the region. They therefore made an advance of \$US3,000,000 to the Saudi Arabian Government through their jointly owned operating company, the California-Arabian Standard Oil Company, as a loan to be offset against future royalties. They also promised to obtain a further \$US3,000,000 in loans through the United States Government and sought the support of the US State Department in their battle for control of future oil concessions. The loan, which proved to be only the first of many which totalled about \$US100,000,000 by 1947, was channelled through the British Government under the Lend Lease arrangements which took effect on March 11.^{272 273}

Just as the British and the Free French invaded Syria, about June 7, Zorach Warhaftig, a Polish refugee lawyer who had arrived in Kobe in October 1940, approached the Japanese naval commander in Shanghai, Captain Inuzuka, to discuss the Jewish refugee issue. He gained Inuzuka's agreement that in the event that it became impossible for the refugees in transit in Kobe to remain there, and if they were unable to gain entry to another country, they would be allowed entry to Shanghai. Warhaftig was involved with several of the major Jewish organizations in the United States including the Jewish Agency, the World Jewish Congress and the Joint Distribution Committee. He recognized that the international situation was deteriorating and that relations between Japan and the United States could soon be disrupted. A few days later the United States tightened its immigration laws, using the possibility of Nazi infiltration in the same way that Britain had, to justify barring entry to any refugee who had relatives in enemy occupied territory. It thus barred virtually all of the refugees in Kobe.

It was just as well Warhaftig did not bother approaching France. The Vichy government had just introduced the first of its *Jewish Statutes*. The cardinals, archbishops and Reformed leaders in France jointly made known their strong disapproval, but the Vichy Ambassador to the Holy See had reported favourably after his discussions with Vatican officials. The Vatican did not consider such laws in conflict with Catholic teaching, he said. The Holy See merely counselled that no provisions on marriage be added to the statutes and "that the precepts of justice and charity be considered in the application of the law."²⁷⁴ They were the views that counted.

On June 10 Maisky returned to give Eden Russia's response to the request for intervention he had made a week earlier. No negotiations, either economic or political, were in progress between Russia and Germany. Russia regarded its relations with Germany as being regulated by

the *Nazi-Soviet Pact* of 1939 and “felt no anxiety about Hitler’s military intentions.”²⁷⁵ Not content to leave it there, Cadogan also saw Maisky and dictated a detailed account with dates, numbers and names of the German troops deployed along the Soviet frontier and this was passed on to Moscow.²⁷⁶ It brought a quicker response. On June 13 the Soviet newsagency Tass broadcast a statement which is believed to have been written by Stalin personally. “Responsible circles” had authorized Tass, it said, to refute foreign press reports of an impending war between Russia and Germany as “a clumsy propaganda manoeuvre of the forces arrayed against the Soviet Union and Germany which are interested in a spread and intensification of the war.” Rumours of Russian preparations were “false and provocative”, Germany had made no demands on Russia, and both countries were fulfilling the terms of the *Nazi-Soviet Pact* to the letter.²⁷⁷

Next day, June 14, while Stalin’s commanders sought to persuade him to let them put the army on alert, Hitler was holding final briefings with his commanders for Operation Barbarossa. He could not have known that while he did so his plans were being decoded in Washington for Roosevelt from a “Purple” intercept of Ambassador Oshima’s report to Tokyo of his personal conversation with Hitler. Roosevelt is thought to have received the decoded message at 11.38 AM Washington time on June 14 from his naval aide, Captain Beardall.²⁷⁸ In spite of that the Japanese government appears to have accepted Stalin’s statement because it had not been officially briefed by Hitler on his preparations, and ministers had other matters on their minds: the British trade restrictions. At a Japanese Liaison Conference (cabinet and services chiefs) on June 16 the army Chief of Staff, General Sugiyama Gen, with the support of the navy chief, insisted that South Indochina must be occupied by the end of July so that Japan would have the *option* of a military advance later in the year *if the present level of economic pressure had not ceased*.²⁷⁹

During those critical days in mid June the Soviet Government knew very well what to expect as it watched the ominous build up of Hitler’s forces. It had been party to the partition of Poland and it had been well aware of the work of Heydrich’s brainwashed and highly trained ‘special duty groups’, the Einsatzgruppen, which had shown remarkable coolness and calculated efficiency in the mass slaughter of Jews. It also had a very clear understanding of *Divini Redemptoris* and the Vatican’s wish to absorb the Russian Orthodox Church as it helped Hitler rescue the people of the Soviet Union from the clutches of its hated enemy, Communism. It is quite likely that the Soviet Government and its religious authorities were aware that the Vatican had already drawn up plans for an ecclesiastical ‘new order’ in the occupied territories of Russia and neither the religious or secular authorities would have welcomed that.²⁸⁰ In any event, regardless of their personal beliefs and their antagonism towards the church and its historical influence, Stalin and his government were well aware of the dramatic potential which the church had to either stimulate national morale and cohesion or to undermine it.

In spite of a setback in Iraq and Syria, and the interception of his deputy Rudolph Hess’s supposed ‘defection’ to Britain in search of a peace treaty on May 11, Hitler was in a powerful position. German forces had captured Crete, swept through Libya to Egypt, forced alliances

with Finland and Rumania, and occupied Yugoslavia and Greece. He was ready to meet his target date of mid-June for the invasion of Russia. After carefully concealing the purpose of his troop build up in eastern Europe over three months he had more than three million troops mobilized along the 930 mile Russian border by June 20. This mass movement had involved about 250 trains each day for more than ten weeks, but Stalin's distrust of Britain and America was so deep seated that he still regarded all reports of such movements as part of their effort to involve Russia in the war. With such a lack of response from Russia, Hitler was supremely confident that he would avoid Napoleon's mistakes and that after a sharp campaign of a few weeks he would be master of Russia. He would then be ready to turn south, to the Middle East, and to return west where total victory would be only a matter of isolating Britain.

There was tension in the air in several capitals on Saturday June 21 1941 as those 'in-the-know' waited for Germany's massed forces – 120 divisions with another 26 in reserve – to burst across the Russian border. During the morning Stalin received reports from his border commander that "German aircraft with loaded bomb racks" had violated Russia air space, wire barricades had been moved, and engine sounds were heard in the woods, and a submarine commander reported a convoy of 32 German troop carriers at the entrance to the Gulf of Finland. Then he received advice from Maisky who had been told by his counterpart, Cripps, home for consultations, that Germany's invasion was expected next morning, or if not, by the 29th.²⁸¹ Only then, at two o'clock that afternoon, with his commanders pressing him to order a full mobilization, Stalin agreed to order the Russian armed forces to 75 per cent battle readiness. But he refused to go any further. Molotov was actually meeting with Schulenburg to enquire of Germany's position and why it had not responded to the Tass statement of June 13. It might incite Hitler to a retaliatory action.

At his country home, Chequers, Churchill entertained the US ambassador as his weekend guest and waited to hear of the action, having been told of Roosevelt's decision to support his planned announcement "welcoming Russia as an ally" ... and relaxed while he waited to make a broadcast next evening, having decided to defer it by 24 hours "as a result of (his) reflections" as he drove to Chequers from London on Friday evening, the 20th.²⁸² That decision raises many questions. Why did he defer the broadcast? What were his 'reflections'? Why had he previously planned to broadcast on the *eve* of the invasion instead of after the event? What did he hope to achieve by it? He had known the planned date of the invasion since at least April 24, (p. 46R, above) and he knew there was very little prospect of a deferral only hours before the deadline, but at least the Russia armies could have been put on full alert, ready to repulse the invasion. He knew that Stalin was being irrational in his refusal to believe the intelligence which had been passed to him from many sources, including Cadogan ten days earlier. If he was serious about *either* enabling the Soviet Union to prevent the invasion by a diplomatic 'sledgehammer', or to repulse it with minimum destruction, was this not the time for a direct contact, even by phone, with Stalin? Did he want the greatest 'shock value' from the invasion before a carefully planned diplomatic intervention? Or was he fearful that even a last minute alert might stop Hitler in his tracks and cause him to continue within the framework of his *German-Soviet Pact*, to revert to

his earlier plan and to throw everything at Britain? Similar questions can be asked of Roosevelt's motives in allowing Hitler to proceed unhindered.

In Singapore the British commander received advice from the Admiralty, which (in view of his insistence that he see the *originals* of significant intelligence so that he could assess them for himself) must have also been seen by Churchill, that:

Japanese Govt: considers it essential to obtain without delay further information for the establishment of air bases in Southern Indo China and freedom for Naval and merchant ships to use harbour in that area.

Berlin is being asked to obtain Vichy's consent to these facilities. Berlin is to be told that Japan has of course no southern ambitions but only wishes to protect Indo China against British aggression and the De Gaulle movement. Japan intends to obtain these facilities with or without Germany's assistance. ²⁸³

It was about the same time that the British commander in Damascus was accepting the formal surrender of the Vichy French forces after the failed Arab revolt in Iraq.

A TREATY BROKEN: BRITAIN'S RELIEF

In Berlin, Hitler sat down to write to Mussolini to explain the decision he had taken. Then late at night, Ribbentrop sent word to the Russian embassy that he would see the ambassador at 4.00 am. Their exchange was very brief. Fifteen minutes later, 4.15 am on June 22, the invasion officially began, even before the ambassador could get word to Moscow. The surprise, the shock, was total. Most of the Russian units had not even received the partial mobilization order. German scouts had cut their telephone lines.

But even earlier, at 3.30 am, Stalin had been woken with news that bombing had taken place at three points. He met his two commanders and the full Politburo at 4.30 am at the Kremlin, but still refused to believe it was war. It must have been provoked border incidents, he argued. There had been no formal declaration of war, no negotiations, no meetings of foreign ministers. He ordered that the German ambassador be phoned. The caller was told that at that moment the ambassador was seeking a meeting with Molotov. A few minutes later he read a brief diplomatic note which left Molotov having to ask: "Is this a declaration of war?"

Stalin then agreed to the army being ordered to fight, but not to cross the frontier. There had to be negotiations. The foreign office was instructed to stay in touch with Berlin, but there was no point. He immediately asked Japan, through its ambassador, to urgently mediate between Germany and Russia. It was the third power in a series of three interwoven treaties which Stalin had been confident would preserve peace for him. But what could Japan do?

The Russian people were told that afternoon, by Molotov, not by Stalin, that they were at war with Germany. Stalin was in a state of shock. It was Russia's Saints Day. Metropolitan Sergius took an uncompromising stand. He called for whole-hearted support for the war effort in the crisis ahead. He did *not* do it in the context of support for one political, religious or irreligious

system or another. He did it out of concern for the people of the nation. His appeal to patriotism galvanized the remnant Russian Orthodox Church and brought such a popular response that churches overflowed with worshippers praying for their suffering nation.

By the time the first Russian directive of the war was issued some hours later the Russia front was in chaos and the German advance was rapid. The chaos in Moscow initially was no less than that on the front. The Defence Commissariat prepared a decree naming Stalin as Commander in Chief but he directed that it be held back for discussion with the Politburo. Then for several days he was depressed, nervous and off balance,²⁸⁴ and it is now suggested that he suffered a form of breakdown. But it is also apparent that he knew he should take full responsibility for the situation and that he expected to be purged in the manner that he had applied so ruthlessly. In despair and with no idea what to do, he fled the city, leaving the government virtually rudderless, and went into hiding at his dacha at Kuntsevo, out of contact with the Kremlin. And in spite of the lack of a clearly spelled out command structure, Stalin's desertion, and the quarreling and competition between ministers and between generals which was inevitable in the circumstances – and the destruction of one quarter of the entire Soviet air force (much of it on the ground) by midday on the day of the invasion – the resistance shown by the armies at the front was determined and creditable.

On June 23 an Evacuation Council was set up to organize the dismantling, removal and re-assembly of more than 1,500 armament factories in Western Russia and the Ukraine to safety in the east. On the 26th Beria ordered the establishment of special home defence units, 'destruction battalions', to prevent sabotage and to guard against German parachute landings and on the 27th Krushchev ordered the organization of small partisan detachments to infiltrate the German lines and do what Beria was trying to prevent on their side of the frontier. No Russian leaders seemed too concerned that day when Finland, Hungary, Rumania and Albany were all found to be at war against them in alliance with Germany. By the 28th the German column which had advanced through the centre of occupied Poland had reached Minsk, 40 kilometers inside Russian territory on the Berlin-Moscow railway in blitzkrieg fashion and was one third of its way to Moscow.

During those critical days Hitler and the Vatican were each trying to exploit the other and the question of religion was prominent in everyone's propaganda. Only a few weeks before Barbarossa the church presses had been ordered closed, all minor religious sects were disbanded and their clergy or leaders were consigned to concentration camps, and the expropriation of church properties and monasteries had been stepped up. On May 31, notwithstanding Hitler's comments to his commanders that he admired the Catholic Church for its influence on discipline and stability,²⁸⁵ Bormann, issued instructions that the influence of the church was to be curtailed because National Socialism and Christianity were irreconcilable.²⁸⁶ The Christian church was built on ignorance, he said, while National Socialism rests on scientific foundations and *the Fuhrer holds the spiritual reins*.²⁸⁷ But now, within days of the invasion, the man 'holding the spiritual reins' personally directed that a temporary halt should be called to the expropriations of church property and, while the Soviet authorities facing him across the battle

fields made full use of the call by Metropolitan Sergius, the German newsreel and print propaganda focused on the restoration of “*freedom of religion*” in the East. They showed churches which had been used as atheistic museums, warehouses and club rooms being restored to religious use and widespread religious renewal by the Germans in the wake of Soviet defeats.

If they had ever been in any doubt, Roosevelt and Churchill did not have to wait long for confirmation of what the pope thought of Hitler’s move against the Soviet Union. They had to tread very carefully. Pope Pius XII had no criticism at all. He did not release a formal statement at the time of the invasion but he let it be known that *the Nazi fight against Bolshevism was “high minded gallantry in defence of the foundations of Christian culture.”* [Emphasis added.] And Franco was one who responded to the Vatican’s encouragement to show the same ‘high minded gallantry’ and to side openly with the Nazis, even though he had to consider that “the flames of civil war were still smouldering under the surface” in Spain and his response was informal. He permitted the organization of an anti-Bolshevik force of 17,000 persons, presumably volunteers, to fight with Nazi forces on the Russian frontier. These troops became known as the ‘Blue Division’ and it is said that most of them wore prints and medallions with the image of Our Lady of Fatima. Shades of World War I. [See chapter 18, p. 5L] Spain was officially neutral. It is not listed as a belligerent in the war and it is not normally listed among countries providing forces or suffering casualties, but Franco is reported as saying: “If the road to Berlin were opened, then not merely would one division of Spaniards participate in the (anti-Communist) struggle, but one million Spaniards would be offered to help.”²⁸⁸

The pope’s sentiments about “*high minded gallantry in defence of the foundations of Christian culture*” sat uncomfortably with his statement at the time of the invasion of Holland but they were in close accord with the stand of the church when Hitler invaded Poland. His stand *against* support for the Soviet Union was echoed by a number of Catholic clergy in Germany, some of whom saw the invasion as a European Crusade, but the Nazis were clearly disappointed that they did not get the same supportive and compliant blessing from the Catholic bishops in conference that they got from the German Evangelical Church. The G.E.C. executive sent Hitler a telegram thanking him for his inspiring call “to take up arms against the deadly enemy of all stability and of our Christian Western culture,” and saying that “since British policy now aligns itself as an ally of Bolshevism against the Reich, *this is an ultimate sign that it [Britain] is not concerned about Christianity but only with the annihilation of the German nation.*”²⁸⁹ That response was more in keeping with the blessings which Hitler had received from both of the recognized churches on the outbreak of war. (Chapter 22, pp. 31R, 36L).

Naturally the church’s supportive response to the invasion of Russia again raised concern about which way the pope may jump in future and caused added strains within the Western Alliance so that Roosevelt promptly sent Taylor back to the Vatican to re-establish the office of the President’s Personal Representative. The stark contrast between Sergius’ call for Russian patriotism, and the support by the Catholic Bishops Conference for the Nazi invasions of Poland and the pope’s support for the invasion of Russia, attracted widespread diplomatic attention. The pope’s support was clearly given with an eye to the collaborative control of the

churches in both countries under concordats with Hitler. It therefore illustrated very clearly the impossibility of pastoral guidance being given and decisions being made strictly on the basis of consistent religious principle under the system of Ultramontanism which the Vatican continued to espouse. The conflicts of interest and the inevitability of interference in national affairs through the power of the clergy over highly disciplined congregations which every country recognized and feared – and which had forced Roosevelt to reopen his personal representative's office at the Vatican – simply could not be ignored.²⁹⁰

The Western powers were in bind over how to exploit the situation and the general public was confused. Perhaps the nasty atheistic Communists were not so bad after all, and didn't "we" have to support them if Hitler was to be brought down? On the other hand Hitler had his concordat with "the Church" which had sought to exploit that relationship to build a coalition against Communism. Britain in particular had to handle the matter very delicately because if it antagonized the Vatican the weight of Catholic nations could be thrown behind Hitler's campaign – not only against Soviet Russia but, by implication and through the early release of German forces to divert to the west, against Britain as well. And both Britain and the United States, fearful for their own hides, had to persuade the Vatican to change sides and accept the provision of military support for the Soviet Union. Its hopes for the Catholicization of the East, and Soviet Russia in particular, were in disarray.

Or were they? In spite of Nazi opposition the evangelization plan of the Congregation for the Eastern Churches was being put into effect and, at first, Hitler could do nothing about it because it was consistent with Nazi propaganda about the restoration of religion as Germany's armies swept all before them. As the German juggernaut rolled across the Ukraine priests of many nationalities from the Russicum and the Ruthenian College in the Vatican, plus volunteers from Poland, Hungary, Slovakia and Croatia went too, in a variety of roles. Some travelled as military chaplains, others as civilians in the army's employ, others in whatever guises they could find to use until they came to a community in which they could engage in pastoral or missionary work. They took enormous risks. They found large numbers of people who had a deep yearning for the sacraments, but there were also large numbers for whom a religious experience was simply release from the circumstances in which they found themselves. They had a range of target groups: former Roman Catholics, Eastern Rite Catholics, Latin Rite Catholics, the Orthodox of various national persuasions, the un-churched, and a few of competing faiths. But they also planned to support the remaining Catholic Eastern Rite communities with resources, including liturgical and teaching books, whenever they located them. But when they were identified by the current occupying power it did not matter much whether it was the Nazis or the Communists. Neither side welcomed them. The death rate was high. Many were shot as either spies or deserters, while others had to survive the rigors of concentration camps or gulags. Heydrich set out a somewhat garbled version of the *Tisserant Plan* in a memo for the Foreign Ministry ten days after the start of the campaign, saying that the undercover clergy would be engaged in intelligence gathering and looking for opportunities to

establish Catholicism in the wake of the German advance and that it was necessary “to prevent Catholicism from becoming the real beneficiary of the war.”²⁹¹

However it was still very early days in the German-Russian war which would run for four years and later be described as the longest, most intensive and brutal conflict between two nations in history²⁹² but although Hitler was supremely confident that it would be over very quickly, Ribbentrop realized it was going to be very difficult unless a second front was opened against Russia by another country. His strategy was now exactly the same as Churchill’s against Germany. He completely reversed the sentiment he had expressed to Matsuoka three months earlier. On June 28 he turned to Matsuoka again and appealed for Japan to strike at the Soviet Union in the Far East. This was the best way, he said, of keeping the United States neutral, because it would see “the utter futility of entering the war on the side of Great Britain” when it was isolated and confronted by the most powerful alliance in the world.²⁹³ It was Hitler’s view that the United States had to be destroyed to prevent its intervention in both Europe and Asia and he invited Japan to enjoy the spoils of Russia by occupying the Far Eastern Territory.

But Ribbentrop was not the only person who was trying to focus attention on Japan at that stage. There was no consensus in Whitehall about whether Japan would strike north against Russia or south against Britain, nor about which would be to Britain’s greater disadvantage. There was consensus that both would be to Britain’s disadvantage, that it was in Japan’s interests to go one way or the other, and that it was not likely to accept being placed at a disadvantage – losing trade, regional influence and the opportunity to lead Asia out of colonial subjugation and into a New Order – which would be the effect if it remained neutral and did not respond to one or other of its treaty obligations. The Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC) discussed Japan’s situation in the light of the invasion and on June 25 concluded that Britain should try to deter it from moving south into Indochina by opening up a vigorous press campaign against it, such as “has already succeeded once in January/February of this year – and may succeed again.” The black propaganda system was activated immediately. It did not seem to matter that the consequences for international race relations would be devastating, plunging them to new depths, or that Whitehall could neither assess Japan’s likely decision, or that it had no constructive initiatives to offer, and apart from the propaganda program “British policy was left in a state of limbo.”²⁹⁴

On the 29th, in the light of the rapid German advance to Minsk, the Russian government issued a policy directive that only scorched earth was to be left for the Germans. Everything usable and movable was to be removed as the Russians withdrew to new defensive positions. A plan for the immediate evacuation of over 200,000 children from the Leningrad region was also announced. Then next day, June 30, eight days after the invasion, when Molotov and other members of the Politburo went to find Stalin he was sitting in an armchair in his dining room. He looked up in surprise and asked, as if expecting to be arrested, “What have you come for?” Molotov suggested setting up a State Defence Committee, GOKO, and that Stalin should be chairman. The broken strong-man of the Communist World looked surprised and simply said “Fine.” From that point he began to recover his composure and returned to the Kremlin. [At a

victory dinner two weeks after VE Day he confirmed his fear of being overthrown, saying: “A different people would have said to the government: ‘You have failed to justify our expectations. Go away. We shall install another government which will conclude peace with Germany.’”^{295]}

On July 3 Stalin, having been enticed back by his colleagues and still being, in the mind of the masses, their indispensable leader, broadcast to the Russian people. He told them what the rest of the world already knew: that Lithuania, Latvia, Western Byelorussia (now Belarus) and large parts of the Western Ukraine had already been lost. He called on the people to leave scorched earth behind them if they had to retreat, but to stand their ground and wage a relentless struggle against the enemy. It is not clear whether, at that date, he knew of the decision that Japan would not attack Russia.²⁹⁶

NO MENTION OF POLAND

Stalin does not appear, however, to have mentioned the loss of the annexed areas of Poland. This was an omission which the Polish government in exile and Churchill were eager to put right. Perhaps the omission was very deliberate, because there had been continuous discussions in London between Whitehall and the Polish government-in-exile which was in touch with the underground and had been receiving reports of the German build up on the Russian frontier ever since March.²⁹⁷ The situation was being monitored closely and the Poles in London and therefore the British government must have known of two particular incidents involving the mass murder of Polish Jews as the Russians retreated under Hitler’s onslaught across the region which they had annexed.

The first was at Kovno in Lithuania, which had come under Russian control on the signing of the *German-Soviet Pact* in August 1939. The Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic had then been proclaimed on July 21, 1940, and many Lithuanian politicians and government officials were arrested and jailed. When German troops swept into the town on June 24 they were welcomed as liberators. What happened then is somewhat confusing. Gilbert notes that within 48 hours, on June 26, elements of the local population set about attacking the Jewish community of 35,000, which included a large proportion of refugees from Poland, and more than 1,000 people were killed. No doubt they were encouraged and assisted by Hitler’s *Einsatzgruppen*. But later, referring to discussions at Hitler’s headquarters on July 5, Gilbert also notes that according to a German Special Task Force report some 2,500 Jews had been killed in Kovno even before the Germans had occupied the city. Subsequently the slaughter in Lithuania reached 200,000 during the period of the Nazi occupation. Of that total 165,000 were Jews.²⁹⁸ But the distinction is that in the ‘incident’ of June 26 and in the previous episodes it was not the Nazis who did the killing: it was Lithuanians of the dominantly Catholic community.

The other incident occurred at L’vov in eastern Galicia, another centre with a checkered history, on June 29. It was at L’vov that the Republic of the Western Ukraine had been declared

on November 1, 1918, in a Western-supported bid by the White Russians to remain independent of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist republic. But, in quick succession, the region came under Soviet domination two years later before being ceded to Poland under the *Treaty of Riga*. Then in 1939 it was part of the region annexed by the Soviet union under the *German-Soviet Pact* and, with great friction, it also suffered repression for two years until the Nazi invasion. When the onslaught of the invasion broke over them the Russian NKVD massacred 3,000 Ukrainian political prisoners – many of whom would have been Jews – before retreating under the German assault. Like the Lithuanians at Kovno, the local Ukrainian nationalist population then continued the task, slaughtering large numbers of Jews in the streets.²⁹⁹ Again, the distinction applies. Although the region soon became a base for massive Nazi atrocities against the Jews, this initial slaughter was by the Russians and the Ukrainian Nationalists who encompassed a wide range of active and nominal Orthodox and Catholic Christians.

On July 4, while the Western powers were pondering the implications of Stalin's broadcast, British intelligence intercepted a message from Tokyo to Berlin. Although Matsuoka was prepared to immediately turn against Russia, his colleagues were not. Japan had already been asked by Russia to intervene as mediator between it and Germany under the *Pact of Neutrality*, and it was not convinced that a lightning victory was likely in any case. The Japanese government therefore rejected Ribbentrop's appeal to launch an attack on Russia and had decided that while it would 'carefully monitor' the situation in Siberia it would push to obtain bases in French Indochina instead.^{300 301} This relieved the British anxiety that 'treacherous' Japan would strike against Russia and in doing so make Hitler's task easier³⁰² by increasing the likelihood that Russia would sue for an armistice, and it strengthened Britain's hand in anticipated negotiations with Russia over the Polish question, but it deepened Britain's crises in other respects. It had to 'restrain' Japan's move south.

A meeting between the Polish government in exile and the Soviet ambassador in London took place on July 5, so whether Stalin approved it after his return to the Kremlin or whether it had been approved by members of the Politburo in his absence, Stalin must have known about it at the time of his broadcast. Britain had given both the Polish government and Jewish organizations guarantees which actually precipitated its declaration of war against Germany. It was therefore under pressure to secure the safety of those who were now trying to flee before the onslaught into Russian territory; the liberation of all Poles who had been deported to the labour camps of Russia after the occupation, whether they were prisoners of war or civilians; and agreement that Russia would annul its claim to the annexed territory to enable Poland to be reinstated after Germany had been defeated.³⁰³ That was to be no easy matter in view of the fact that Stalin had made it clear to Hitler – and to the world – after the partition of Poland that he was not interested in either a rump state or the re-establishment of the country. A history of assaults against Russia from the West and the insidious alliances which the Vatican was intent on manipulating to bring down the Soviet system made it vital for Russia to retain control of the region as a buffer zone. Nothing had changed. There was a bitter stand-off.

Britain therefore had a very difficult task as it tried to negotiate an *Anglo-Soviet agreement*. It wanted to honour its obligations to Poland and the Jewish organizations, but it could not do so at the risk of losing an Anglo-Russian agreement. Britain would be of no help to Poland either then or in the future if its failure to achieve an agreement contributed to Russia making a separate peace with Germany and withdrawing from the war. Poland would certainly be erased from the map and Britain would face an even graver danger of defeat as well. Churchill wrote:

... we could not admit the legality of the Russian occupation (but neither could Britain) force our new and sorely threatened ally to abandon, even on paper, regions of her frontiers which she had regarded ... as vital ... There was no way out. The issue of the territorial future of Poland must be postponed until easier times. ... I sincerely hoped for my part that with the deepening experience of comradeship in arms against Hitler the major Allies would be able to resolve the territorial problems in an amicable discussion at the conference table. In the clash of battle at this vital point in the war all must be subordinated to strengthening the common military effort." ³⁰⁴

On July 6, the day after that first round of Polish-Russian talks, and two days after the British government learned of Japan's plans, Richard Sorge was able to radio the dramatic news of Japan's decision to Moscow from Tokyo, Russia was immediately able to begin moving forces from the east to reinforce those in the west.³⁰⁵

Hitler's expectation of a quick victory against Russia was mirrored by Churchill's fear of the same thing. It was that fear rather than his want to fight in tandem with Russia against Hitler's Germany which was fuelling its efforts to secure an Anglo-Russian accord and Churchill's determination to keep Russia in the war. It was a re-run of 1918, except that it was not Tsarist Russia that Britain was determined to keep in the war, but its successor, Communist Russia. If Russia made a separate peace with Germany, Hitler need only leave a security force in the east and he could immediately turn three quarters of his armies against British interests – about three million instead of less than one million – and mount the cross-channel invasion which he had deferred after the unsuccessful air Battle for Britain.

By the time the Russian government had learned of Japan's decision not to intervene, Ambassador Cripps had been able to have preliminary talks and had relayed a request to London that Whitehall receive a Russian military mission, but there had been no other contact. So, noting the "oppressive" silence at the Soviet top level which he was astute enough to link with his intrusion against the Bolshevik government in 1918, Churchill decided to take advantage of Cripps's reports and wrote direct to Stalin on July 7. He referred to British action in the Arctic to prevent Germany servicing its invasion force in Russia, said the government would welcome the arrival of the Russian mission "in order to concert future plans", and pressed, through Cripps, for a reciprocal mission to visit Moscow and for agreement for a joint Anglo-Russian declaration.

At this point the US administration, well informed on the moves in all directions, was becoming concerned at the prospect that America might be drawn into conflicts in two regions

as a consequence of Hitler's invasion of Russia, even though, in its view, any responsibility which it had for the origins of the conflicts was minor and peripheral. On July 9 Britain learned through Halifax that the Under-Secretary of State, Welles, had advised Roosevelt that if Japan made another move the US should impose a complete economic embargo against it without any forewarning. Eden's response was that while Britain was "reluctant to discourage the United States from strong measures provided they are prepared to face the consequences," he felt that a one-blow embargo would force the Japanese government to either reverse its policy completely or exert maximum pressure to the south.³⁰⁶ If it reversed its policy it was not likely to simply pigeon-hole its plan for a New Order in Asia. It was more likely to respond to Germany's encouragement and appeals, and strike north against Russia.

Churchill was well aware of the importance of getting a joint Anglo-Russian declaration as quickly as possible because he expected that Germany would continue to apply pressure for Japan to enter the war. He was right. Ribbentrop contacted the German ambassador in Tokyo on July 10, just when the German advance was gaining momentum and when the Japanese ambassador in Moscow had already reported that Russia was, in effect, close to collapse. He noted that Japan must solve "the matter of Vladivostok and the Siberian area" as soon as her military preparations are complete and told the ambassador to *insist* on Japan's entry into the war against Russia at the first possible date. "The sooner this entry is effected the better it is," he said. "The natural objective still remains that we and Japan join hands on the Trans-Siberian railroad before winter starts."³⁰⁷

Similarly, Churchill freely admitted to his colleagues the urgency of sustaining Russia's defence to keep it in the war but he continued to deny to Stalin that this was his motive in suddenly turning friendly and he consistently tried to play down the significance of Russia's resistance instead of submission. He wrote to the Admiralty on the same day that Ribbentrop appealed again for Japanese support, saying that the effect upon Russian resistance of the arrival of a small British naval contingent "might be of enormous value and spare a lot of English blood." Then: "The advantage we should reap if the Russians could keep the field and go on with the war, at any rate until the winter closes in, is measureless. A premature peace by Russia would be a terrible disappointment to great masses of people in our country."³⁰⁸ And on the same day he proposed to Stalin a joint declaration by the British and Soviet governments that they would "mutually undertake to render each other assistance of all kinds in the present war against Germany (and) during this war ... neither negotiate nor conclude an armistice or treaty of peace except by mutual agreement."³⁰⁹ He might as well have simply sent a copy of the documents from 1918.

In his memoirs the inconsistency in Churchill's statements is obvious. He said "the *entry* of Russia into the war was welcome but not immediately helpful to us (and) the German armies were so strong that it seemed that for many months they could maintain the invasion threat against England while at the same time plunging into Russia." 'Entry' was hardly an appropriate term in the circumstances. Russia did not 'enter.' It sought to remain aloof from it. Either 'Russia's enforced involvement' in the war or its 'refusal to submit' would have been

better terms but they would not have made the sentence any more accurate. Churchill even claimed that the diversion of armaments to Russia under the joint accord had imposed “most heavy sacrifices and drains” upon Britain. But in the same passage he admitted that “Russian entry into the war diverted the German air attack from Great Britain and diminished the threat of invasion (and) gave us important relief in the Mediterranean.” Similarly, while he did not want to challenge “the conclusion which history will affirm that the Russian resistance broke the power of the German armies and inflicted mortal injury (on Germany)” he claimed it was, for more than a year, a burden and not a help, even though “we rejoiced ... that even if the Soviet armies were driven back to the Ural Mountains Russia would still exert an immense and, if she persevered in the war, an ultimately decisive force.”³¹⁰ She just had to work through the chaos of the first few weeks after the invasion.

RUSSIA’S CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

The causes of that chaos were many but either directly or indirectly they were all linked with the self-understanding and conduct of the amorphous Christian gel as we have already seen: right back to the development of Marxism and the Bolshevik Revolution in Tsarist Russia. Stalin’s pathetic failure to act on the advice of his army chiefs and diplomats, which meant that there was no warning of the invasion at all for the forces at the frontier, was one. The fact that its communications system had been virtually destroyed before a shot was fired, and the concentration of the massed German forces, highly trained and well equipped, were others. But there were more important ones. There was Stalin’s unyielding belief in his treaties, even though he realized that war between the opposing political philosophies of Hitler’s National Socialism and Fascism on one hand and Marxist Communism on the other was virtually inevitable. Then there was the effect of Britain’s black propaganda program coupled with the fact that Britain was, at the same time, trying to manoeuvre Hitler into an assault on Russia, and trying to coerce Russia into joining the war against Hitler’s Germany.

Those linked efforts had very little to do with political philosophy. Britain would *not* have gone to war to eliminate either of those philosophies. It had no love for them because they were both challenges to its established socio-economic system and its self understanding as the shining example of the White Western Christian power. But it would no longer go to war to put them down as it had in its bid to usurp the Russian Bolshevik Revolution in 1918. The only reason it would go to war was to prop up its position of privilege as an imperial power. It would *use the church’s* opposition to Communism to justify and to generate public support for actions against Communist powers when it wanted to take action for other reasons but, regardless of the Vatican’s endless pressure for such action, it would not go to war against them for simply philosophical reasons. When the interests of the major components of the Amorphous Christian gel coincided there was a synergism or perhaps a symbiotic cooperation – or catastrophe. This was being confirmed by Britain’s bid to bring Soviet Russia into its war with Germany and by the *volte face* which Churchill was very happy to make in supporting Soviet Russia once it was

drawn into the war. And it is illustrated very clearly by conversations at Chequers during the evening of June 21 while Churchill and his guests waited for news of the German invasion. Churchill quotes from a note by his private secretary, Mr. Colville, thus:

During dinner Mr. Churchill said that a German attack on Russia was now certain, and he thought that Hitler was counting on enlisting Capitalist and Right Wing sympathies in this country and the USA. Hitler was however wrong and we should go all out to help Russia. Winant said the same would be true of the USA.

After dinner, when I was walking on the croquet lawn with Mr. Churchill, he reverted to this theme, and I asked him whether for him, the arch anti-Communist, this was [not] bowing down in the House of Rimmon. Mr. Churchill replied, "Not at all. I have only one purpose, the destruction of Hitler, and my life is much simplified thereby. If Hitler invaded Hell I would make at least a favourable reference to the Devil in the House of Commons." ³¹¹

But there was yet another factor which Hitler recognized and took full advantage of in the planning and early operational stage of the invasion. That factor was the near-complete elimination of a generation of leaders of the country's armed forces in the second phase of the massive and brutal purges which Stalin ordered during the 1930's, the total subordination of the army command to him which those purges ensured, and his grab for absolute dictatorial power. After he replaced Molotov as Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars and head of government on May 6, only six weeks before the invasion, he held absolute power in the same way as Hitler from the moment the Reichstag voted to give him personal executive power without reference to a cabinet seven years earlier. But the army leadership had been destroyed during the two years leading up to that assumption of the dictatorship and, in fact, Hitler had played a major part in triggering it sometime towards mid 1936 as part of his plan to destabilize the Soviet union. [See chapter 20.]

Over two years, 1937–1938, of armed forces purges 36,761 army officers and 3,000 navy officers of company commander rank or above were either shot, sent to the labour camps (the vast majority) or simply dismissed. That is an average of 55 officers each day for two years. By the time of Operation Barbarossa the total, all services, had reached 43,000 and included 436 out of 494 (88 per cent) top ranking commanders, administrators and policy makers. ³¹² [See endnote for details.] The officers and planners purged had all been recruited and trained since the Revolution to establish a modern army and a professional command structure capable of meeting the demands of mechanized warfare. With all of their capacity and experience lost to the nation at the time that it faced possible war with either Germany or Japan, or both, the command of all three services had to be rebuilt around the lower ranks of younger, less experienced officers.

Hitler had exploited the knowledge of this command weakness, the total subordination to Stalin and the widespread fear of his regime as he harangued his own commanders to overcome their doubts about the wisdom of attacking Soviet Russia when they were already at war with Britain. He had insisted on 84 percent of the army – 3.2 million persons out of a total of 3.8 million – being concentrated on the eastern front to achieve a spectacular and quick knockout

blow before regrouping them back towards Britain and south east to India. However he badly underestimated the determination of the Russian people, their fear of his Nazism and Russia's ability to recruit and train a corps of commanders "as talented ... as any shot in 1917–19" in such a short time and he over estimated the importance of the factor. He allowed his own obsession to over-ride reason, yet again; he became sidetracked, insisted on diversions to suit his political agenda, and in doing so gave Russia time to regroup while his diversions delayed the German advance and caused the exhaustion of his own forces.³¹³

The purge of the Soviet armed forces was actually only the tip of the iceberg. The scale of the purges which had been carried out in Russia was not fully recognized or understood by the rest of the world. The suppression of information coming out of the Soviet Union was one reason, but another was the fact that most of the criticism of Russia's internal affairs came either from the Vatican or the right wing of British and American politics. In the atmosphere of the late Depression period this made it somewhat suspect. The scale of the purges, overall, was quite mind-boggling. Estimates for the number of deaths of Russians at the hands of either their own government or the Communist Party under Stalin from the beginning of 1930 to the beginning of 1939 range from 16 million to 20 million. There is little doubt that they were humanity's greatest systematically organized slaughters. Reputable estimates put the number of deaths before 1937 at 11 million and for the years 1937–1938 an additional seven or eight million. There were seven million persons in jails and labour camps at the start of 1937; an additional seven million arrests in 1937–1938; and about six million were still in jails or camps at the beginning of 1939.³¹⁴ If we accept those figures – and they correspond reasonably with published figures for population changes over that period – then the number of 'state murders' averaged 5,800 per day for nine years. Considering that in 1939 prior to the Polish and Baltic annexations the population of the Soviet Union was 171 million, of whom 111 million lived in the European region,³¹⁵ the figures are truly nauseating. In total they compare directly with the number of casualties in the Soviet Union during the next four years of devastating warfare: 11 million service personnel killed or missing and 6.7 million civilian deaths and casualties.³¹⁶ The difference was that the war casualties occurred at more than twice the rate for less than half the period: an average of 12,200 per day.

These figures make the Holy Roman Empire's Scandinavian massacres, the Crusades, and even the slaughter of the Incas and other pre-Columbian civilizations look like curtain raisers. They were carried out by a ruthless dictator under a system which most people rejected. But that dictator was just as much a product of his time and circumstances as was Hitler. He had been – at least until his near breakdown – absolutely convinced that he was the only person who could run the system: he saw shadows of people trying to bring down the system all around him; he blamed outside influences and the sabotage of some of his colleagues for that; and like many before him – including the papacy during the era of the Holy Roman Empire – he believed that the end (retaining power) justified any means.

THE TIES THAT BIND

So: Churchill tried to bind Britain's new ally, Soviet Russia, into an alliance which, if Britain had entered into it when Russia had proposed it a couple of years earlier, may have discouraged Hitler from precipitating it, or may have made it easier to contain. He continued to try to draw the United States into the war as a participating ally in addition to being the financier and supplier which made it possible to pursue the war, and now he had to consider Japan's situation in the light of dramatically changed circumstances. It is apparent that as it went through its machinations over Far East policy the British government did not give adequate consideration to the consequences for Japan of a German invasion of Russia, and the options which it, in turn, would have to consider.

Japan desperately wanted to end European colonial and economic domination of Asia and it wanted an empire based on control of regions of East Asia then under Chinese rule. It had already gone to war to claim sovereignty over regions of mainland East Asia but it had shown by its actions that it preferred to end European domination and establish its New Order for Asia by negotiation and through the development of a new regional trading block under its leadership rather than by going to war. But it had also shown that it was prepared to go to war if negotiation failed and if the Western powers sought to restrain its ambitions by an extension of their well established economic methods.

Two of the European powers no longer needed to be taken too seriously: France and Holland. They were now both under German rule and Germany was sympathetic to Japan's aspirations and in a firm alliance with it. One, Portugal, had only minor colonial interests in Asia. That left two: Britain and the New World offspring of mixed European parentage, the United States, working in an ill-defined and somewhat uncomfortable alliance in which Britain wanted to retain its colonial privileges while the United States wanted to expand its privileges and influence at the expense of the 'old' European powers and restrain Japan's aspirations.

As Britain's fortunes changed it had, at first, sought to restrict Japan's ambitions and to prise it out of its alliance with Germany, then it sought to involve Japan in an alliance against its enormous neighbour, the Soviet Union, and now, with Japan in alliances with *both* Germany and the Soviet Union which were at war with each other the rules of the game had changed. Japan could not mediate between Germany and Soviet Russia, and it had no wish to go to war with Soviet Russia, at that stage, even though Germany was giving it every encouragement to claim its 'breathing space' in Siberia in the same manner that Hitler was claiming his Lebensraum in the Ukraine. Japan could no longer trade with Germany because the frontier between them, through which any of its goods had to pass, was closed by the war between them and it no longer had secure sea access because of the British blockade of Germany. It could trade with Russia, but to do so would prejudice its relations with Germany, therefore it could not. Logic now dictated that with Britain under great strain in its war with Germany and with both Britain and the United States having great difficulty supplying China, Japan should turn south and relieve the European powers of their Asian colonies as it strove to set up its New

Order in Asia. But Germany was eager to encourage it to strike in two directions at once. This would ensure that both Britain and the United States were engaged on two fronts, in the Asia-Pacific region as well as in Europe, and that Russia was also engaged on two fronts. The war would thus become a struggle between two titanic alliances but Hitler was confident that in that scenario Russia would be nullified first so that he could turn his full attention west and that the German-Japanese Alliance, aided by Italy in the Mediterranean, would be victorious.

Churchill was, by now, equally conscious of that scenario and it was therefore vital that Japan *not* open a second front against Russia. This would ensure that Germany was kept occupied to the maximum extent against Russia while Britain, with help from the United States, built its strength against Germany in Europe. Thus we have the short answer to the question: why did Churchill not intervene personally to tell Stalin to prepare his armies to repel the invasion on June 21 instead of waiting quietly for confirmation of the invasion before he broadcast to the nation? It was in Britain's interests, as Churchill perceived them, for there to be the biggest possible battle between Germany and Russia. And Roosevelt's motive in similarly not intervening would have been simply to let the two great threats to Western Capitalism – or the amorphous Christian gel – tear themselves apart.

At this point Britain's options with Japan were to starve it of resources so that it could not fight a war on either front, or, by applying the 'starvation strategy', to draw it south into an engagement with Britain *and* the US which was controllable or winnable for them, so that it did not engage Russia as well. This amounted to an admission that the opportunity to make peace with Japan by concessions in South East Asia and in China, which might then provide a basis for a settlement between Japan and China, had passed. Such a settlement would free Japan of a war commitment in China and provide great encouragement for Japan to join Germany against Russia with a view to claiming substantial areas of Soviet Eastern Asia. That could lead either to a Soviet armistice which would enable Hitler to pursue his ambitions elsewhere, or to the freeing up of a portion of Germany's armies for the same purpose. It was therefore in Britain's interests, as Churchill saw them, to provide support for Soviet Russia at such a level that it would not seek an armistice while Britain built its capacity and sought to restrain Japan by the 'starvation strategy.' But that strategy was also fraught with dangers. To accept starvation of resources would mean that Japan must forgo all of its ambitions for a New Order in Asia, admit military and political inferiority to the Western powers, and accept a position of subordination similar to that of the other Asian countries and from which it had only gained relief after a dynamic effort over nearly three generations.

The great power game had degenerated into a can of worms ... all because the powers of the amorphous Christian gel had failed to see that the root cause was the trouble in the triangle. They were therefore unable or unprepared to tackle 'the Jewish question' by reassessment and renewal, and they were not willing to forego their colonial privileges in the interests of world stability. To ride slip shod over the question they were still resorting to the only means they understood. Politics and warfare.

However in dire circumstances leaders turn to desperate measures – even religion – and the Soviet Union was in dire circumstances. It was clear that freer expression of religious feeling would unite believers and non-believers behind their government. Stalin therefore decided to take much the same path as Constantine with his vision of a cross before the battle of Milvian or numerous other national leaders through the ages. He relaxed the state policy on churches. During the following months there was a strong revival of religious practice, recruitment for the priesthood and monasteries, and, in spite of the demands of defence construction and the armaments industries, an upsurge in church building. By September all anti-religious propaganda had ceased and in 1942 the government produced a lavishly illustrated book with the forward looking title *The Truth about Religion in Russia*. This was followed by a major development in September 1943 when Stalin met a delegation from the church and agreed to restore the Patriarchate of Russia. The church would remain nationalistic and isolated from the mainstream of world religious life for a long time. But so would a lot of other churches.³¹⁷

Churchill's *volte face* on Communism is in the same class and the way he went about announcing it provides a study in pragmatism. We have already noted that his direction for the roundup of 'aliens' in May 1940 included the instruction that: "Action should also be taken against *Communists* and Fascists, and very considerable numbers should be put in protective or preventive internment, including the leaders." In his memoirs, he wrote at length about the accumulation of intelligence during April, May and June which indicated a pending German attack on Russia. Britain was very advanced in code breaking and radio interception; it had a sophisticated intelligence network, and the Polish underground was remarkably effective in reporting troop movements and related matters. Churchill was scathingly critical of Stalin's failure to act on the available evidence and made much of his effort to warn Stalin of the likelihood of an invasion in a personal message which was to be delivered by the British ambassador on April 3 but which, due to diplomatic confusion or deliberate decision, was not delivered until about April 22. It can be assumed that Cripps, knowing the depth of antagonism which Stalin felt towards Churchill because of his influence in the counter-revolution in Russia, decided to handle the message in his own way. We know that Maisky took Cadogan's briefing on troop build up seriously even though Stalin did not, and Churchill makes no direct reference to any prior knowledge of the date of the invasion, but this could be either because he did not know or that he was intent on protecting his sources.

It is therefore especially significant that he was 'on edge' about the impending invasion for some days before it occurred; that he planned to broadcast on the subject on the evening of June 21; that only on that afternoon he decided to defer the broadcast until the evening of the 2nd; and that he had gained Roosevelt's support – *in advance* – for a statement declaring Russia to be an ally to which every possible aid should be provided in the common struggle for the survival of *the West*. It is patently clear that Churchill was nervously waiting for Hitler's declaration of war against Russia on the night of June 21/22 and for the tanks to be rolling before dawn. Manhattan's claim that Canaris' agent had informed British Intelligence cannot, therefore, be discounted lightly.³¹⁸

That speech proved to be one of Churchill's most stirring. He announced a policy of immediate aid for Russia, saying that in spite of historic animosity between Britain and the Communist power and the strain which Britain was under:

We have but one aim and one single, irrevocable purpose. We are resolved to destroy Hitler and every vestige of the Nazi regime. From this nothing will turn us – nothing. We will not parley, we will never negotiate with Hitler or any of his gang. We shall fight him by land, we shall fight him by sea, we shall fight him in the air, until, with God's help, we have rid the earth of his shadow and liberated its people from his yoke. Any man or state who fights on against Nazidom will have our aid. Any man or state who marches with Hitler is our foe ... That is our policy and that is our declaration. It follows therefore that we shall give what ever help we can to Russia and the Russian people. We shall appeal to all our friends and allies in every part of the world to take the same course and pursue it, as we shall faithfully and steadfastly to the end ...

When I spoke ... of Hitler's blood-lust and the hateful appetites which have impelled or lured him on his Russian adventure I said there was one deeper motive behind his outrage. He wishes to destroy the Russian power because he hopes that if he succeeds in this he will be able to bring back the main strength of his Army and Air Force from the East and hurl it upon this Island, which he knows he must conquer or suffer the penalty of his crimes. His invasion of Russia is no more than a prelude to an attempted invasion of the British Isles ... then the scene will be clear for the final act, without which all his conquests would be in vain – namely, the subjugation of the Western Hemisphere to his will and to his system.

The Russian danger is therefore our danger, and the danger of the United States, just as the cause of any Russian fighting for his hearth and home is the cause of free men and free peoples in every quarter of the globe... ³¹⁹

Churchill made no mention of Jews. No mention of the Vatican. Neither did he indicate whether to try to organize an anti-Communist alliance involving Germany was the same as 'to march with Hitler' and therefore to be 'our foe.' But he made the task of the America Firsters to keep the US out of the war very much harder, and he made it very hard indeed for the Vatican to justify and to continue a pro-Hitler-anti-Bolshevik policy. Churchill had what he desperately wanted: a second front to take the pressure off Britain. And it had happened in a manner which had helped to isolate Japan and to draw the United States closer to direct involvement – and the Vatican had been out-maneuvred.

Roosevelt now had the same basic issues to consider and some urgent decisions to make but in spite of the decisive manner in which circumstances had changed he could not afford to run foul of the politically potent Catholic hierarchy. He immediately consulted the general secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, Msgr. Michael J. Ready, but the best that he could achieve, from the administration's point of view, was that at a meeting of archbishops and bishops on June 24 it was agreed to delay the convening of a conference on United States policy towards Russia. Ready was certain that such a conference would record its opposition to the US Government giving aid in any form to the Soviet Union. His advice was that before the debate became more confused "it would be most effective if the President could find an occasion to

demand of Russia, as a condition of United States aid, a declaration of adherence to the Four Freedoms.” The world was expected to interpret that as *freedom to worship* – or at least freedom of *Christian* worship. In reality it was ‘diplomatic-speak’ for “if the West was going to team up with Russia against Hitler and prevent a takeover of the Russian Orthodox Church by conquest, after the style of Pilsudski’s Poland, then the least the Vatican can expect is pressure for Russia to allow the establishment of a Catholic Church structure to enable it to compete.” As we shall soon see, Roosevelt responded.

Quite coincidentally, a Gallup Poll was conducted in the United States immediately after Barbarossa and 73 per cent of those polled preferred to see a Russian victory while only four per cent preferred a German victory. Other factors being equal, that poll should have strengthened Roosevelt’s hand sufficiently for him to declare in favour of a formal alliance with Britain. But other factors were not equal. There was the weighted Vatican factor to consider.

THE VATICAN FACTOR – AGAIN

The Pope’s attitude in 1941 has been debated, defended and decried by numerous writers, each of whom have no difficulty in finding evidence to justify their particular stands and to contradict others, all of which illustrates yet again the nature of the parody. As already noted, only weeks before Barbarossa the church presses had been ordered closed, all minor religious sects had been disbanded and their clergy or leaders consigned to concentration camps, and the expropriation of church properties and monasteries had been stepped up. Then, while the Pope talked about ‘high minded defence of Christianity’ and continued to defend the concordat, the man ‘holding the spiritual reins’ personally directed that a temporary halt should be called to the expropriations of church property. In the midst of the stresses and strains of the Russian campaign Hitler was concerned to avoid the mood of the people being unsettled by such extraneous problems.³²⁰ However it was not long before he confirmed his real “spiritual intentions”, saying:

*The evil that is gnawing at our vitals is our priests of both denominations. I cannot at present give them the answer that they have been asking for, but it will cost them nothing to wait. It is all written down in my big book. The time will come when I shall settle my accounts with them and I shall go straight to the point ... I shall not let myself be hampered by juridical scruples. Only necessity has legal force. In less than ten years from now things will have quite another look, I can promise them.*³²¹

The pope’s real and potentially disruptive influence was only one of many factors which was bothering Roosevelt as a result of Hitler’s invasion of Russia. The idea of an Anglo-Russian alliance had not been widely canvassed in the United States until the invasion. Quite the reverse. The US had been party to the discussions on an embargo, not an alliance, and the implications of an Anglo-Russian victory over Germany without formal US involvement – even if it was with massive US material aid – were of major concern. The US would have only a minor role in the peace process. It would certainly not enjoy the dominant role in determining

post war economic policies and patterns while the status of world wide Communism would be greatly enhanced. That could not be allowed to happen and the United States therefore had to be formally involved in the coming stage of the operation to oppose Communism's philosophical challenge to the amorphous Christian gel.

Without even a declaration of a change of relations, Roosevelt approved the occupation of Iceland by US forces, ostensibly to relieve British forces for duty in the active war zone and the first Americans landed there on July 7. Then on July 12, five days after both that landing and Churchill's initial overture to Stalin, Britain and Russia signed a mutual assistance agreement with an undertaking that neither would make a separate peace with Hitler. Roosevelt then 'did a Churchill,' approved a declaration by the US State Department that to give aid to the Communist power would benefit American security, and despatched his emissary, Harry Hopkins, and a military mission to London to discuss the military and political situation with British authorities, Lend Lease requirements, and an invitation for Churchill to meet him for consultations. Their historic meeting was set for August 9 at sea off Newfoundland.

Churchill soon found that the Chief of the Imperial General Staff was not the only person to cast doubt on whether its available forces could defend the British Isles against invasion: the US military mission was of the same view. Although they said the president was inclined to support the battle in the Middle East "because the enemy must be fought wherever he is found" the action in the Middle East was, in their view, "indefensible" in the circumstances and Britain's capacity to withstand an invasion was dependent upon the outcome of the battle in the Atlantic. The American military assessment of priorities was: first, the defence of the United Kingdom and the Atlantic sea lanes; second, the defence of Singapore and the sea lanes to Australia and New Zealand; third, the defence of the ocean routes in general; fourth, the defence of the Middle East.³²² The chaos which had gripped the Soviet leadership following the invasion and the uncertainty about whether Russia may yet seek an armistice with Hitler undoubtedly influenced the American strategic thinking as well as Sir John Dill's.

The enormity of the issues which were involved in those major regions tended to make all other issues recede into the background, almost to the point of being a distraction, but a decision taken in the Croatia, the hot bed of religious conflict, on July 14 was of such long term consequence that it has shaken the West out of some of its complacency during the closing years of the twentieth century. In the wake of the savage massacres of Orthodox communities by the Catholic Croatian Ustashe in April, the Catholic clergy had enjoyed a field day of "conversions". The Serbs had been confronted by the question: "If life is unbearable as an Orthodox Christian, why not convert to Catholicism?" and they had almost queued up at the church doors as the Catholic clergy beckoned them in. The government decided that had to stop! It was contrary to the purpose of the terrorist policy which had been put in place at first and it threatened to dilute the benefits for Croatian Catholics. Catholic baptism for purposes of conversion was no longer acceptable. The Ministry of Justice instructed the nation's bishops that "the Croatian government does not intend to accept within the Catholic Church either priests or schoolmasters or, in a word, any of the intelligentsia – including rich Orthodox

tradesmen and artisans – because specific ordinances in their regard will be promulgated later, and also so that they shall not impair the prestige of Catholicism.”³²³ The fate of the balance was clear: deportation or extermination. The Vatican remained silent. There were no complaints about disregard for canon law or an attempt to usurp the church’s authority. Its central concern was the appropriation of churches “vacated” by or requisitioned from the Orthodox communities by the Catholic Croats. The Curia discussed the issue and drew up rules of conduct. There was no question of its authority to requisition the property of another church. It was in complete accord with the brutal totalitarian state which had been placed in power, and with the forces which had set up that state. It was virtually at one with the state. How else could *the state* have said who would, and who would not, be accepted into the Catholic Church? If any state was going to freely acknowledge Catholic Canon law as sacrosanct surely this was it.

But already the propaganda of Germany restoring freedom of religion as it swept across the Ukraine had served its purpose and it was time for the Nazi authorities to implement Hitler’s real design for the church. The idea of the Vatican riding piggy-back into Russia with his armies had to be quashed. “Christianity is the hardest blow that ever hit humanity,” he said. “Bolshevism is the bastard son of Christianity: both are the monstrous issue of the Jews.”³²⁴ And even before the Ustashe-controlled government in Croatia had issued its decree to enable the Catholic Church to sweep everything before it across Yugoslavia, Heydrich had issued his memorandum calling for measures to be taken so that Catholicism would not be the real beneficiary of the war in Russia.

In London on July 15, coinciding with the US military mission’s visit, the special committee which had been appointed by the British government to examine the feasibility of the development of an atomic bomb submitted its report. It concluded that “the scheme for a uranium bomb is practicable and likely to lead to decisive results in the war,” and it recommended that work should continue on the highest priority and on the scale necessary to produce a weapon in the shortest possible time.³²⁵ Britain was about to join the nuclear arms race. It was simply 17 months behind the US. Its aims were very similar to those of the United States, but in both cases the *motive* which prompted consideration of the proposal became submerged by the *political dynamics* of the governments concerned. The motive in both cases was to develop a means of delivering a knockout blow to Hitler before he could fully implement his policy of expelling all Jews and eliminating their influence. The *justification* for the initiation of the US program was to be the delivery of a knockout blow against Hitler, but this served to conceal the more fundamental *aim*: to develop a means of assuming and maintaining a position of world economic and political dominance. In Britain’s case, its dire circumstances and the very real fear that Hitler may win the race determined its *aim*: the delivery of a knockout blow against Hitler before he could deliver his own. Even if the great powers were to be struck by a great bolt of inspiration and suddenly see the fundamental cause of the crisis – the self-understanding of the amorphous Christian gel and the resulting trouble in the triangle – it was too late to put up a ‘pause’ sign and say ‘let’s change direction.’ The plot of the parody of *Mein Kampf* and the Qur’anic *Night Journey* had just about reached the point of no return.

On the same day the Chiefs of Staff approved a memo prepared by the Joint Planning Committee (JPC) which showed that war with Japan must be avoided and that the best way to achieve this would be for Britain, the United States and Holland to issue a joint declaration of the consequences if Japan were to seize Indochina, rather than try to “prise them out afterwards through sanctions.” The memo was forwarded to Churchill who, in the words of Antony Best, “did not share his subordinates’ concerns and indeed did not even seem to understand the issues involved.” Next day, July 16, Churchill advised Eden that he was still convinced that Japan would not declare war and that even if it did, Britain would find the United States by its side.³²⁶

Over the next few days there were a series of critical exchanges between Washington and London. The United States had been consistently intercepting and breaking Japan’s coded messages and knew fully its intentions. On the 17th Welles told Halifax that the US intended to freeze Japanese assets in that country, and Roosevelt’s cabinet discussed its detailed response on the 18th but without advising Britain. On the 20th Eden spelled out to the British cabinet the alternatives which a complete embargo would force Japan to consider, as already noted: to back away from its alliance with Germany and to reverse its foreign policy or “to move to the point of war with Netherlands East Indies.” He indicated that “to lag behind the United States” in its dealings with Japan could seriously weaken the ties between Britain and the US. He did not need to say that that would be catastrophic for Britain, but he said that “as an insurance policy” Britain should ask Washington to give the Dutch a cast-iron guarantee and also provide one itself. Cabinet agreed with Eden’s conclusion that it had no alternative than to follow the American example, and it decided that if Japan occupied Indochina all Japanese assets *within the empire* would be frozen and all remaining trade would be brought under licence, but it rejected the idea of a guarantee simply because Britain did not have the military capacity.

Next day, July 21, cabinet learned of the full details of the US plan to bring *all* trade with Japan, including petroleum exports, to a close. It also learned that Japan had issued an ultimatum to the Vichy French authorities in Indochina. The French could agree to a mutual defence pact giving Japan the right to occupy bases in Indo-China, or it would do so anyway. On the 23rd Vichy capitulated to the demands and agreed to the landing of 40,000 Japanese troops. Next day, the 24th, the first of 125,000 Japanese troops landed.³²⁷

Roosevelt thereupon announced the US trade and asset freezing order against Japan on July 25, freezing all Japanese assets in the United States and the Philippines, closing the Panama Canal to its ships, and imposing a virtual economic blockade and an oil embargo against it. A new commander was also appointed to the US forces in the Philippines. General Douglas MacArthur. Britain had to follow suit, but within days Japan was master of all of Indo-China including the major cities of Hanoi and Saigon. The Japanese government, not having the benefit of a US-type intelligence system, had been shocked by the sudden imposition of the trade and asset freeze, especially as it had just engineered a cabinet reshuffle to appoint Admiral Toyoda Teijiro as Foreign Minister in place of Matsuoka. It sought another round of discussions but there was a stalemate. This led to further insecurity and indecision in London while Japan pressed Thailand to allow it access to bases as well.

Irrespective of Churchill's show of confidence, the British government had been feeling increasingly insecure, partly because Australia, having been greatly influenced by Britain's black propaganda exercises, was feeling very insecure and was pressing Whitehall to get better guarantees from the US for Singapore and Australia's sea routes. Thus, *on the same day that the trade freeze was imposed*, July 25, Britain and Russia – allies of two weeks standing – moved to jointly occupy the oil regions of Iran in anticipation of another German leapfrog in the Middle East.

At about that time, unknown to Britain and in spite of the Anglo-Russian agreement of July 12 under which the two countries had agreed not to seek or to enter into separate peace arrangements with Germany, Stalin, Beria and Molotov discussed the possibility of an approach to Hitler for an armistice. Hitler, who had told some of his subordinates that his aim was to get to the Ural Mountains, was to be 'bought off' with a large part of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Moldavia plus control of the Baltic States in return for an armistice. Beria was asked to approach the Bulgarian ambassador in Moscow, Ivan Stamenov, whom the trio would ask to act as an intermediary to get the message to Hitler. However, with Stalin saying nothing throughout the conversation, Stamenov refused to act as an intermediary and told Beria and Molotov that even if they had to retreat to the Urals they would still win in the end.³²⁸ Perhaps he was buoyed by the fact that towards the end of July the German forces had to pause in their hot pursuit of the Russians to refit and regroup.

A COMPLETE SOLUTION TO THE JEWISH QUESTION

July closed with two momentous decisions: one involved the Polish government in exile, the British and the Russians; the other was made by Hitler.

Many bitter discussions had followed the initial talks in London between the Poles and Russia's ambassador, Maisky, on July 5, but on July 30 an agreement was finalized. Diplomatic relations were restored between the Soviet government and the Polish government in exile. It was agreed that the Soviet-German treaties of 1939 under which Poland was partitioned and Russia annexed Eastern Poland were no longer valid. And it was agreed that a Polish Army would be established "on Russian soil" and would be subordinate to the supreme command of the Soviet government. But there was no definition of territorial boundaries except to the extent that the agreement was underwritten by Britain which did not recognize any changes from the prewar boundaries.

When he announced to the House of Commons "the signature of the *Soviet-Polish Agreement* of today" Eden read a note addressed to the Polish government which referred to the Anglo-Polish mutual assistance agreement of August 25, 1939, and said the British government had entered into an undertaking towards the Soviet Union "which affects the relations between that country and Poland." The note also said, without any reference to Germany, that the British government "do not recognize any territorial changes which have been effected in Poland since August 1939." He then referred specifically to the first paragraph of the *Soviet-Polish*

Agreement concerning territorial changes under the Soviet-German treaties as “having lost their validity.” The implication was that while Britain expected the postwar reinstatement of Poland with its prewar boundaries, Russia was agreeing *only* that the *treaty* boundaries were *not* valid. Russia was *not* agreeing that the *prewar* boundaries *were* valid. Neither was Britain agreeing to guarantee those boundaries. Eden was at pains to make that clear. His concluding remark was: “The exchange of Notes which I have just read to the House does not involve any guarantee of frontiers by His Majesty’s Government.”³²⁹

Clearly there was tension ahead. *If* the Soviet Union survived the war in one piece then it still wanted a security corridor of some sort between it and the West, and that would surely have to be at Poland’s expense. However there was no certainty that it would survive in one piece. It was only a few days since Stalin, Molotov and Beria had sought to make contact with Hitler to propose an armistice which would have required it to surrender the heartland of Western Russia as well as the portion of Poland which it had annexed. In that situation there would have been no role for Soviet involvement in any postwar discussions of Polish boundaries. There would have been none to discuss anyway. Hitler was intent on seeing to that. On the other hand, if the Soviet Union was going to fight on, as it was committed to – at least on paper – under the *Anglo-Soviet Agreement*, then its best prospects for survival lay in full collaboration with both Britain and its detested backer, the United States. In that case there was nothing to be lost by agreeing in principle to the restoration of a Polish state, provided that the Soviet Union could have a say in determining its boundaries. In the meantime it would strengthen the Soviet Union’s position to transfer some tens of thousands of Polish dissenters and resisters from the Siberian labour camps to an new and *very determined* Polish army unit. That unit would *certainly* strengthen Soviet resistance against Germany. Its members would have everything to gain and nothing to lose – except their place in the labour camps – and there was the knowledge that British-American aid would equip that army anyway, so there would be no drag on the suffering Soviet economy. It was a win-win situation for both countries: Poland and the Soviet Union. On that point, as Churchill put it in his memoirs, “the Russians were prepared to agree in a guarded fashion.” He wrote:

In the clash of battle at this vital point in the war all must be subordinated to strengthening the common military effort. And in this struggle a resurgent Polish army based on the many thousands of Poles now held in Russia would play a noble part. On this point the Russians were prepared to agree in a guarded fashion.

*There the matter rested, and during the autumn the Poles were occupied in the grim task of collecting those of their nationals who had survived captivity in the prison camps of the Soviet Union.*³³⁰

On that basis the Poles and the Russians were happy to be working in tandem harness for the time being. However Hitler didn’t like what he heard of Eden’s speech in the House that day at all!

Only two weeks before, on July 16, Hitler had called Goering, Keitel, Rosenberg, Bormann and Lammers (head of Chancellery) to his headquarters in East Prussia to remind them of his aims in the newly conquered lands. Germany would dominate the Russian territory up to the Urals and no one except Germans would be permitted to carry weapons in that vast space. The procedure following occupation was; first, dominate it; second, administer it; third, exploit it. The entire Baltic was to be incorporated into Germany; the Crimea was to be evacuated by all foreigners and settled by Germans only, as Reich territory; the Kola Peninsula and its large nickel mines would be taken by Germany; Finland would be annexed, with caution, as a federated territory; Leningrad would be raised and the area then handed over to the Finns; German colonies on the Volga would be annexed outright; and the Baku oil fields would become a German concession. Hitler had done his homework very well indeed. It was as if every expression he used, every operation he proposed, was straight out of the Western colonial 'code of practice' and 'book of modern history.' His subordinates even argued over whether rioters would be 'pacified' by armoured cars or bombs.³³¹ He had already insisted that the army was to be assisted by the specialist Einsatzgruppen in the task of eliminating Commissars and rounding up the Jews for transport to the labour camps or for any appropriate treatment, and they were doing their work with vigour and enterprise.

But after Eden's speech on the Anglo-Polish-Soviet accords Hitler had had enough. They had tried his patience for too long. The Jews wouldn't go away. No one would take them off his hands. They were leading the push to bring the United States into the war against him. They, and the other Partisans, were putting up enormous resistance behind the battle lines, and now even the detested Jews whom Stalin had rounded up and sent to the salt mines were to be rescued, trained, armed and hurled into battle against him in a bid to recover the heartland of his Lebensraum!

Next day, July 31, apparently acting on a verbal order – no written order from Hitler has ever been located – Goering issued a special directive to Heydrich. It became known as '*the Fuhrer Order on the Final Solution*.' The extended order, as quoted by Yahil, reads:

In completion of the task which was entrusted to you in the Edict dated January 24, 1939, of solving the Jewish question by means of emigration or evacuation in the most convenient way possible, given the present conditions, I herewith charge you with making all necessary preparations with regard to organizational, practical, and financial aspects for an overall solution of the Jewish question in the German sphere of influence in Europe. Insofar as competencies of other central organizations are affected, these are to be involved. I further charge you with submitting to me promptly an overall plan of the preliminary organizational, practical and financial measures for the execution of the intended final solution of the Jewish question.*³³²

**That earlier 'edict' was midway between the failure of the Evian Conference and the invasion of Poland and the British declaration of war, and two and a half years before the date of this order. [Emphasis added.]*

The *Fuhrer Order on the Final Solution* embodied a concept which Hitler had nurtured from the beginning of the war. It was one which he had been moving towards probably since World War I, and certainly since the beer hall putsch and his spell in gaol when he had begun writing *Mein Kampf*. It was the elimination of all Jewish influence in Germany and the expulsion of all Jews from Germany. The concept had gradually been broadened, as the resistance against it grew, to encompass all of Europe and not just Germany. Heydrich was now ordered, through Goering, to make "all necessary preparations with regard to organizational, practical, and financial aspects for an overall solution of the Jewish question in the German sphere of influence in Europe."³³³ Hitler had progressively stepped up his pressure against Jews with his personal writings, speeches, appeals for the Western powers to arrange mass resettlement programs if Britain wouldn't let them go to Palestine; 'Crystal Night', deportations to concentration camps and the *Madagascar Plan*; confiscation of property, compulsory identification and denigration through the wearing of yellow stars of David, and other simple administrative measures like exclusion from higher education, business and professions, culminating in torture and group murders in cold blood. Most recently he had established the *Einsatzgruppen* or special duty groups for the mass slaughter of Commissars, a high proportion of whom were Jews caught up in the Bolshevik push for social change, as his armies moved through Poland and Russia.

But until now Hitler had allowed various escape routes to remain open and had continued to permit some exit visas to be granted in the forlorn hope that the Western powers may still permit mass refugee resettlement. He now shut such ideas from his mind. His invasion of Russia led to the closing of the border between Russia and his ally, Japan, which had been very happy to accept Jews for resettlement, even though it had a non-aggression pact with Russia as well as its treaty with Germany. Japan had been taken by surprise just as much as Russia, and it had advised that it would *not* join the war against Russia. No more refugees from the Baltic states, or elsewhere, would be able to make the journey. Those already in Kobe were certainly safe, and by September they had all been relocated in Shanghai.

So: there was a vital difference between this order and all previous orders. It opened with a virtual admission that the plan to cleanse Germany and the occupied territories of Jews by coercive measures, forced emigration and deportation had failed and required that any measures which may be necessary, without restriction, could be included in the new plan. Although it is not explicit, in view of the fact that Hitler had previously issued an amnesty "against any actions carried out in the occupied Polish territories from September 1 until now [October 4, 1939], [which were carried out] to express resentment of atrocities committed by the Poles, are not to be investigated as criminal acts"³³⁴ and that these acts had included mass murders, the order implies that Goering would approve a plan including mass murder for the purpose of genocide. It was a pathetic document; not only because of what it said, not only because of what it indicated about Hitler and his control of Germany, but because of what it indicated about the self-understanding of the Christian church and about the amorphous Christian gel within which it had been composed and in which the order was about to be carried out.

The Fuhrer knew that most of his German citizens of which ever Christian persuasion, as well as a large proportion of Christians beyond Germany, accepted as a natural matter of theology much of the persecution of the Jews at the level at which he had so far applied it. Why should they doubt it? It was basic to the church's teaching. Between his messianic ravings he was happy to confirm from time to time that he was still a Catholic in good standing, that he would always remain so, and that he was simply exercising the avenging hand of God.³³⁵ But he was also aware that his Christian brethren might rebel when he extended the program beyond coercion, emigration, evacuation and the occasional murders to mass slaughter, and that it would play into the hands of the propagandists and Jewish lobbyists of the Western Alliance. It was therefore necessary to maintain secrecy and to avoid controversy as much as possible.

Clearly the operation of the Einsatzgruppen were far too labor intensive for the scale of operations now envisaged. The groups went into a town with, or immediately behind, the occupying troops, identified the Commissars and others who had been listed for elimination, confiscated their valuables, marched them or bussed them to a conveniently obscure site some distance from their town, lined them up along the rim of an especially deep anti-tank trench, mowed them down with machine gun fire, pushed them over the edge and covered them in preparation for the next batch. Einsatzgruppen had been used in Austria and Czechoslovakia at the time of their pre-war occupation but on a relatively small scale.³³⁶ For the invasion of Russia a total of 3,000 men were selected for special training and divided into four groups which ranged from 800 to 1,200 men. One was attached to the army groups operating in each of the Baltic region; White Russia and east towards Moscow; the Crimea and the southern Ukraine; and the balance of the Ukraine.³³⁷ However at that stage they were basically a political force to eliminate the Commissars and other selected targets as Field Marshal Keitel's directive of March 13 1941 makes clear: "In the area of army operations, the Reichsfuhrer SS will be entrusted, on behalf of the Fuhrer, with special tasks for the preparation of the political administrations – tasks entailed by the final struggle that will have to be carried out between two opposing political systems. Within the framework of these tasks, the Reichsfuhrer SS will act independently and on his own responsibility."³³⁸

Such methods as the Einsatzgruppen were using were inefficient and likely to lead to controversy, and Hitler required an alternative procedure without their built-in disadvantages. Factory production line efficiency was to be introduced using the technology developed for the discredited euthanasia program. From euthanasia it was a very short step technically and in organization to the final solution. Hitler had already issued a decree setting up civilian administration for his portion of Poland, with SS chief Heinrich Himmler given the additional role of Reich Commissioner responsible for the elimination of 'harmful influences' and 'alien populations.' The rounding up, isolation and degradation of the Jews was in full swing very quickly. In Hitler's terminology 'emigration' was synonymous with expulsion and 'evacuation' was a cover for deportation to a place of death.³³⁹ When the *final solution* program was put into effect the following year there were a few churchmen who spoke up against it although members of the clergy and laity of the Catholic Church are given credit for doing more than

most to harbour Jews and to assist them to escape. However there is more evidence of general acceptance of the program and of apathy towards it than there is of intervention against it with vigour. The *final solution* – the fate of the Jews – did not touch the same tender nerve as euthanasia. In fact the Evangelical Church Chancellery urged leaders of provincial churches to exclude baptized Jews from the life of the church as a consequence of the ‘breakthrough of racial awareness’ strengthened by the experience of the war.³⁴⁰ That action can only be described as collaboration in the final solution and supports the contention that: “The large majority of the very people who had been outraged when their sons and daughters, brothers and sisters had been put to death, failed to react in the same manner when their Jewish neighbours were deported and eventually killed in the very gas chambers designed for, and first tried out in, the euthanasia program.”³⁴¹

Himmler decided that Auschwitz was to be the first site for a large scale Jewish death camp. It was conveniently placed in Poland on the border between the annexed region of Upper Silesia and the Generalgouvernement, with space for measures which required isolation.³⁴² Six death chambers were eventually constructed. The first four used engine-produced carbon monoxide, but because this process was relatively slow the last two were designed to use the pesticide Zyklon B. However it took quite some time to plan and organize that program. Because of its importance we must trace its progress, but the existence of the order was not confirmed until the Nuremberg War Crimes Trials in 1945, so we shall pause at this point and pick up the threads of other events running in parallel.

By coincidence, on the same day that the *Fuhrer Order on the Final Solution* was issued, the third operation of the US Navy taken in accordance with Action D of the McCollum Memorandum and Roosevelt’s direction of February 10, triggered a strong protest from Japan that the United States was violating its territorial waters. As already noted (this chapter, p. 44) Roosevelt had personally taken charge of Action D by periodically sending a naval task force into Japanese waters on what he termed “pop-up cruises” as part of the overall plan to step up provocative pressure on Japan. This cruise was mounted right into the heart of Japan’s main naval operational area, and on the night of July 31, Japanese navy ships at anchor in Sukomo Bay at the mouth of the Bungo Channel, the main access to the Inland Sea between Japan’s mainland island of Honshu and Shikoku, picked up the sound of propellers approaching from the east. Duty destroyers investigated and sighted two darkened cruisers which disappeared towards the south behind a smoke screen when they were challenged. The naval ministry protested to Ambassador Grew that “Japanese naval officers believe the vessels were United States cruisers.”³⁴³ But America’s combined actions to that stage were still not enough to provoke Japan into a first-strike action.

August opened with a rush of blood for the British and the Russians when they considered the measures which might be necessary to ‘secure’ Persia’s oil fields and supply routes from the Persian Gulf to southern Russia, and to forestall the establishment of a German base because the Shah had friendly relations with Germany and had refused to expel all Axis legations. This compounded the insecurity which Whitehall felt as Australia continued to press it for an

assurance of support from the United States; the JIC produced an assessment that Japan was likely to occupy the Kra Isthmus which stretches south to Malaya; the US did nothing – perhaps Roosevelt was reflecting on the Japanese protest at the Bungo Channel incursion which Britain was not aware of; and Churchill prepared to sail aboard *H.M.S. Prince of Wales*. He was to meet Roosevelt on August 3 aboard the *US Augusta* in Placentia Bay, Newfoundland, the territory with a history of Anglo-French competition, dispute and gross exploitation which had eventually fallen to British control. At that time it was being administered by a commission appointed by the British government. Over the next few days, in the absence of their strongman, the British cabinet decided not to do anything such as a pre-emptive occupation of the isthmus without a firm guarantee of support from the US. The ‘normal’ horrors of the war just continued and ordinary Germans found, like Hitler, that Russian resistance was far stronger than they had expected. Casualty rates on both sides of the war in Russia were enormous. Mind-boggling. In fact one of the critical points of the war had been reached in the first week of August 1941 when Churchill sailed with his retinue of ministers and senior service advisers for their meeting in the Atlantic with Roosevelt and their opposite numbers from the ‘neutral’ United States.

Hitler was determined that those who worked to help the Vatican enjoy the fruits of war in Germany’s new *Lebensraum* should also understand the ‘normal horrors of war’ and on August 6 he issued the first of a series of orders over two months forbidding all Catholic Church activity, in order to safeguard the interests of the *indigenous* people, and requiring commanders to report to high command any “signs of the activating of Vatican Russian work.”³⁴⁴ But in Japan the government, being unaware of the virtual total interception of its diplomatic exchanges and the game of collusive manipulation which Britain and the US were playing, still clutched to the belief that war was not inevitable. Following the immediate reaction of shock when the government learned on July 26 of the Anglo-American trade sanctions against it, the prime minister, Prince Konoye, was prompted to renew diplomatic talks with the US. On August 6 Ambassador Nomura handed the State Department a proposal for a general settlement of disputes. Japan would agree not to advance, militarily, any further into South East Asia and would evacuate Indochina when the ‘China incident’ was resolved, in return for the United States renewing trade relations and helping Japan find, within the South-West Pacific region, the raw materials which it required. Roosevelt then sailed for Newfoundland armed with that information but in spite of the fact that the US and Britain were supposed to be sharing all intelligence – at least from the Purple machines – and planning together, Britain was not immediately advised of it.

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

On August 9, the day Churchill and Roosevelt met, Churchill’s colleagues and Australia’s prime minister, Robert Menzies, pressed him as a matter of urgency to get such an assurance of support in South East Asia from the president. They said that if Thailand was occupied the security of Singapore would be at risk.³⁴⁵ But Roosevelt had other priorities. The conference

between the two heads of government provided an excellent means by which Britain and the United States could improve their policy co-ordination and move towards joint planning for the war which they both knew they were about to fight together. In fact, in view of the near-fantasy circumstances, it was vital if dispute and fragmentation was to be avoided.

Roosevelt therefore would consider nothing else until he had broad agreement on the basis of continuing wartime cooperation between the US and Britain – at America's price. It was an ultimatum. Churchill had no option. Britain could not fight on for very long at all without US support. The implication of Britain having to seek an armistice with Germany, either in association with its new ally, Russia, or on its own; the fate of Europe as the Soviet Union automatically withdrew and forfeited much of its heartland to a frighteningly powerful Hitler who would be *fanatically* riding the crest of the wave after knocking out both of his rivals; and the automatic dominance of Japan in its New Order for Asia, was that the United States would then be left in not-very-grand isolation. This was quite unthinkable for both powers, Britain and the United States, but Roosevelt held the whip handle and Churchill knew it. Perhaps if the Western Powers of the amorphous Christian gel had thought that the pattern of world relationships could or would change so dramatically in only three years they might have made a greater effort to resolve the Jewish resettlement question at Evian. Perhaps. But even if they had resolved, or deflected, the immediate problem it cannot be assumed that they would have understood the trouble in the triangle. That would have remained, latent, to be brought to a head at some later date. So: the situation in South East Asia was not specifically discussed at the Churchill-Roosevelt meeting until broad agreement to a draft *Atlantic Charter* had been reached, on August 11.

After the first day of discussions around the pattern of international relations and the nature of a joint commitment, Churchill prepared a draft statement and handed it to Roosevelt on the 10th, but the key issues were quite contentious. Debate continued and messages shuttled backward and forwards between The Prince of Wales and Whitehall while British cabinet ministers and civil servants on two sides of the Atlantic determined what they were prepared to say about the future of British colonial policy and trade.

Churchill's draft was of five clauses, including one to the effect that the two leaders:

"respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live. They are only concerned to defend the rights of freedom of speech and thought, without which such choice must be illusory."

"will strive to bring about a fair and equitable distribution of essential produce, not only within their territorial boundaries, but between the nations of the world." ³⁴⁶

These were not acceptable to Roosevelt who saw the sentences of the first clause as somewhat contradictory and the second as not properly reflecting the principle of free trade. He handed Churchill revised drafts on the 11th, which called free choice of government for all peoples, not only those whose rights had recently been forcibly removed, and for non-discrimination in trade. Churchill and his colleagues saw these as quite clearly undermining the

basic fabric of the British Empire and its colonial system, so they worked frantically to prepare less threatening amendments. Roosevelt also proposed two additional clauses, one of which read:

they believe that all the nations of the world must be guided in spirit to the abandonment of the use of force. Because no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, to use force outside of their frontiers, they believe that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will further the adoption of all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

After more strong debate, with some degree of agreement emerging but with the British negotiators still struggling to find more acceptable expressions, Roosevelt and Churchill eventually turned their attention to specific matters and some decisions were reached. Next morning, the 12th, Churchill handed Roosevelt a revised draft declaration. The contentious trade issue seemed to have been addressed satisfactorily and Roosevelt accepted a clause which acknowledged “existing obligations.” However the matter of self determination was certainly not resolved, with Churchill’s revised draft reading:

... they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see self-government restored to those from whom it has been forcibly removed.

According to his son, Elliott, Roosevelt told Churchill:

I can’t believe that we can fight a war against fascist slavery, and at the same time not work to free people all over the world from a backward colonial policy [and] peace cannot include any continued despotism. The structure of peace demands and will get equality of peoples. Equality of peoples involves the utmost freedom of competitive trade.³⁴⁷

He insisted that the clause be changed to read:

... they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.³⁴⁸

It is therefore clear, both from available reports of that conference and subsequent decisions by the US Government, that when Roosevelt changed the wording of Churchill’s draft charter to refer to “sovereign rights and self government *restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them*,” he was referring to people under colonial rule throughout the world and not only to those in countries occupied by Hitler.

Although Roosevelt maintained strong pressure on Britain through conference negotiations, private discussions and public statements he could not get a commitment from Churchill that the imperial trade preference system would be dismantled. On one occasion Churchill responded: “Mr. President, I believe you are trying to do away with the British Empire.” And

when he addressed the Lord Mayor's luncheon at the Mansion House, London, more than a year later, on November 10, 1942, that matter was still uppermost in his thinking. He said: "We mean to hold our own. I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire."³⁴⁹

In fact he had no other course. Because of the policies which Britain had pursued for a long time and the response to Hitler's actions which he, as Prime Minister, insisted upon, the dismantling of the empire was inevitable if Britain fought on without American aid. But the dismantling of the empire was the basic price for that aid.

However, Roosevelt had gone most of the way to a commitment to enter the war in Europe and the Atlantic and that necessarily involved maintaining the imperial status quo outside of Europe while the key issues flowing from the parody were resolved within Europe. But because the parody had not been understood, and because the key issues of religious self understanding, human rights and colonial exploitation were issues for the whole world and not localized within Europe, it was impossible to isolate the war in Europe from the issues smouldering in Asia and about to erupt into general war. The consequences of Christian Europe's self-understanding and colonial policies were finally coming home to roost in no uncertain manner.

The *Atlantic Charter* served notice to the world that the United States intended to be a dominant player in any peace plan, and that empires imposed and sustained by military and political means were no longer acceptable – including those of Britain, France and Holland. It stopped short of a declaration that the United States intended to be the policeman to the world and the new economic imperial power. That would come as the war dragged towards its close. But it served notice to Hitler that, as in World War I, the Western Alliance would insist that there be no end to the war except through the total defeat of Germany or, as it was stated in the charter, "after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny." It was therefore certain that unless Hitler was overthrown in a coup which the Allies were intent on provoking, the war would have to drag on to its murderous conclusion.

But perhaps the most important immediate function of the *Atlantic Charter* was in serving Roosevelt's domestic purposes in manoeuvring the American public into support for the war. Roosevelt knew that the American people were not going to be persuaded to fight in another European war, much less hang around to keep the peace, unless they had good reason and a noble purpose, and there was no better purpose than those provided by the principles of Wilsonian idealism.

As the price for a joint statement and United States' support Roosevelt therefore insisted on a clause guaranteeing self determination for all peoples living under imposed rule, whether that rule was imposed by Hitler or by any other power – Britain included. Churchill and his fellow ministers fought that clause but to no avail. It was a case of agree, or fight on by yourself. Britain had become dependent on US support for its own survival, but the price of that support was not compatible with the survival of the British Empire in its form at that time.

The clause had certain important practical implications. Self-determination meant that political and territorial settlements between the Great Powers that did not have the support of the people they directly affected had to be avoided. And since people under occupation or fighting for their lives could hardly be expected to take time out to agree to border changes or choose their future form of government, the Allies had to be prevented from doing it for them. Thus, in securing British commitment to self-determination the United States also aimed to prevent any secret political and territorial agreements by Britain and the Soviet Union along the lines of those between the British and French in W.W.I. In American eyes such agreements had sowed the seeds for World War II. They had distracted the Allies from fighting the common enemy, had disillusioned the American public when they had become known, and their sudden revelation was regarded as one of the main reasons why President Wilson had had so much trouble writing a just peace.³⁵⁰ If Roosevelt was going to gain and maintain support for his war policies from the American public, secret agreements would have to go.

Roosevelt still wanted the dismantling of imperial trade preferences which he had sought during the Lend Lease negotiations, but that too could be cast in Wilsonian terms as ‘free trade.’ Indeed, free trade had no more forceful and persistent advocate than Roosevelt’s Secretary of State Cordell Hull, a committed disciple of Woodrow Wilson and Wilsonian liberal internationalism, leader of the One World’ movement in the Democratic left, and a consistent internal critic of the United States’ own trade policies during the depression. As Hull later attested in his memoirs, reflecting on the impact of the First World War on his intellectual development:

Toward 1916 I embraced the philosophy I carried through my 12 years as Secretary of State...From then on, to me, unhampered trade dovetailed with peace; tariffs, trade barriers, and unfair economic competition, with war. Though realizing that many other factors were involved, I reasoned that, if we could get a freer flow of trade – freer in the sense of fewer discriminations and obstructions – so that one country might not be deadly jealous of another and the living standards of all countries might rise, thereby eliminating the economic dissatisfactions that breed war, we might have a reasonable chance of lasting peace.’³⁵¹

In others words, the kind of economic nationalism represented by the Sterling Bloc was at the root of the world’s problems, and if the world was ever going to learn to live in peace then economic nationalism had to go. And, of course, the prime beneficiary would be the United States.

Roosevelt therefore demanded a clause in the Charter calling for complete free trade. However, British cabinet was able to hold that ground. Roosevelt agreed to a qualification: access to trade and raw materials for all states, great or small, on equal terms “*with due respect for their existing obligations.*” In return Britain was able to extract one concession from the United States: agreement that Roosevelt’s general call for disarmament be amended to read “*pending the establishment of a wider and more permanent system of general security*” through

a body to succeed the League of Nations (which was not referred to by name) as the policeman of the world.

In sum, the *Atlantic Charter* was Roosevelt's ultimatum to Britain and his antidote to American isolationism: if the United States was no longer going to turn its back on the corrupt politicking of the world, the only alternative was to take the corruption out of world politics. No more exclusive power blocs and discriminatory trade agreements, no more 'spheres of influence', no more secret diplomacy – in short, no more power politics of any kind. A 'One World' ideal, with freedom and equality for all. It all sounded remarkably like Maimonides' vision of the Messianic Age. It wasn't, of course. For a start, the US certainly was not going to open up its interests in Latin America to the world. But in addition it was determined to carve out a new sphere of influence for itself in East Asia and the Pacific and it was well on the way to achieving that goal, provided it could restrict Japan's bid to do the same. And of course, when the time came none of that high sounding stuff about 'self-determination' would prevent the United States from cutting its own secret deals when they served its interests in the Pacific. But already Roosevelt had played up the Wilsonian rhetoric with the so-called 'Four Freedoms' – the freedom of speech and opinion, *freedom of religion*, freedom from fear, and freedom from want – and now the American public was getting another dose.³⁵²

Before the war was out, however, the use of the *Atlantic Charter* as a propaganda tool would come back to haunt US policy makers, and none more so than Roosevelt himself. As the war progressed, and as the strategic situation in Europe and the Far East unfolded, pressure for post-war political and territorial deals from the United States' eventual Allies increased dramatically. Roosevelt's success in mobilizing the US public behind the ideals of the *Atlantic Charter* – necessary if they were going to accept a post-war international role for the United States – became a public straight jacket in his peace dealings with the other great powers, and none more so than the Soviet Union. A latent conflict had been set up between public expectations and Roosevelt's private dealings with his Allies which would eventually have enormous implications for the world as the Allies attempted the difficult transition to peace. And the principles would be jettisoned altogether when it suited the United States to support particular territorial groupings in South East Asia.

But on August 11, with the *Atlantic Charter* in the final stages of resolution the British and American leaders could settle down to consider other matters. A surprising decision, and one which was to have enormous consequences for Portugal more than 30 years later, was their agreement at the request of the Portuguese Premier, Dr. Salazar, that either one or the other would provide protection for the Portuguese Government at either the Azores or the Cape Verde Islands if it was forced to flee a German invasion.

A major matter was the need to support Russia with massive military aid now that it was an ally of Britain in the war. Britain was already dependant on US financial assistance for its own war effort so it was quite impossible for it to finance or supply a major portion of the armaments required by the Soviet Union for a very much bigger war. The vast bulk of the funds

and armaments had to come from the United States. Britain could, in theory, receive more aid and simply channel, or divert, a proportion of it to the Soviet Union. But an arms-length or third party relationship of that nature would have been quite unacceptable to the American people. Roosevelt therefore indicated that he would ask Congress to approve an additional five billion dollars in Lend Lease aid to go to Russia. This meant that there also had to be formal agreements involving all three parties, but there could not be a declaration of an alliance because the United States was *not* at war. The *Atlantic Charter* contained the statement that “*after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny* (the leaders) hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries” and it was therefore the next nearest thing to a US declaration of war against Germany which Roosevelt could make. But the US was very deliberately still a non-belligerent aid provider and interested party – now in a position to pull *most* of the strings. And if Britain and the United States thought that such a united front might encourage the pope to make a statement supporting the fight *against* Hitler and acknowledging the Soviet Union as a legitimate partner in that fight they were to be disappointed.³⁵³

When the Far East reached the top of the agenda Churchill was able to advise Eden and Atlee that Roosevelt had agreed to a warning to Japan that any advance in the region of the south-west Pacific, including Thailand, would lead to conflict. That agreement was linked to a decision by the US services chiefs to change policy on the defence of the Philippines and to place a number of B-17 Flying Fortress bombers at the Clark Field which would provide capacity to bomb places as far as Formosa.³⁵⁴ However Roosevelt’s proposed warning to Japan did not form part of the *Atlantic Charter* which was agreed to in its final form on August 12 and broadcast to the world by Clement Atlee, as Privy Seal, on August 13.

QUICK REACTIONS

Hitler’s reaction to the words “the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny” was quite predictable. So was the reaction of the German people to the statement that “the disarmament of such nations is essential.” Defeat was to mean a repeat of the treatment of Versailles – or much worse – and that was unthinkable. Few words could have been chosen to ensure the more effective cohesion of the German people if the drafters had tried. They did not undermine Hitler’s position. They strengthened it. And they also emphasized the need for close collaboration between Germany and its treaty partners, notably Japan. But Japan’s situation and its reaction to the Charter was more complex. It wanted to maintain its treaty obligations to Germany, but it also wanted assured access to the resources of South East Asia which it required both for its own security and to honour its treaty obligations, and it wanted to avoid war if that was still possible.

Next day, August 14, acting on intelligence reports from around the world that Japanese merchant sailings were being cancelled, Stark advised the US Navy commanders in the Pacific and on the US west coast that: “Japanese rapidly completing withdrawal from world shipping

routes. Scheduled sailings canceled and the majority of ships other than (those in) China and Japan sea areas are homeward bound.”³⁵⁵ The unspoken meaning was quite clear. Japan’s merchant vessels were to be converted for service as supply carriers and troop carriers to support its battle fleets in invasion operations. According to Stinnett, that was the last meaningful message based on communications intelligence that Stark sent to Kimmell. As commander of the Pacific Fleet based at Hawaii he was left to collate intelligence of foreign shipping movements from the resources at his disposal. Stinnett demonstrates that even some intelligence gathered in Hawaii was withheld from Kimmell although it was relayed to Washington and he establishes a strong case that this could only have been done on instructions from, or in collaboration with, Washington. The decoy was being prepared.³⁵⁶

Upon his arrival back in Washington, Roosevelt promptly acted on the first of his special undertakings: he put a request to Congress on August 15 for a five billion dollar extension of the Lend Lease program for Russia. But he did not adhere to the second: a warning to Japan that any further moves south would lead to conflict. He invited the new Japanese ambassador, Nomura Kichisaburo who had previously been Foreign Minister, to see him informally on August 17. Armed with the latest intelligence on Japanese shipping movements Roosevelt was able to play a double handed game. By coincidence, although it should have been no surprise following publication of the *Atlantic Charter*, Japan was eager to resume the talks with the United States which had been broken off in July, and on the same day the Japanese government had already decided to propose a meeting between Roosevelt and the Japanese Premier, Prince Konoye, with a view to a separate peace settlement. [Washington is 14 hours *behind* Tokyo time.] Therefore, at their meeting, Nomura proposed to Roosevelt that he and the Japanese prime minister, Konoye, should meet at a summit, like that which Roosevelt and Churchill had just completed, “at which the two men would solve the differences that existed between their respective countries.”³⁵⁷ It is not clear whether Roosevelt had already decided to ‘water down’ the warning which he had agreed to with Churchill or whether he responded immediately to the Japanese initiative. Neither is it impossible, given the speed with which US intelligence was then able to decode some categories of messages, that Roosevelt may have already had an indication of Nomura’s instructions. But, whatever the basis of his decision, he advised Nomura *only* that if Japan made any further advances *the US would take whatever steps were necessary to protect its interests*. He did *not* say that it would lead to conflict.³⁵⁸ According to Churchill, the agreed passage read:

*Any further encroachment by Japan in the South-West Pacific would produce a situation in which the United States Government would be compelled to take counter measures, even though these might lead to war between the United States and Japan.*³⁵⁹

That change could be interpreted in various ways, but one definite implication was that the US would defend its position as the colonial power in the Philippines, but that it would not oppose Japan’s interests elsewhere. *If* that was *not* Roosevelt’s intention then it was a shockingly sloppy choice of words for a diplomatic communication of such international

importance. It weakened the positions of each of the European colonial powers considerably by encouraging Japan to believe that its New Order in Asia was acceptable to its new chief competitor, the United States, and that it could, or should, pursue its demands on both Britain and Holland as well as the French who had already virtually capitulated.

The impression that this was Roosevelt's intention was strengthened when Halifax learned the same day that Nomura had proposed a US-Japan summit at which Roosevelt and Konoye would "solve the differences that existed between their respective countries." Then next day, August 18, it became clear from a Foreign Office review of trade patterns that the US had already weakened the terms of the trade embargo which it had imposed on July 25 and which Britain had immediately followed against its better judgement. Although Anglo-Japanese trade, including oil and Indian cotton exports, had come to a standstill, the Americans were:

*apparently prepared to allow quantities of these commodities [oil and cotton] to go to Japan on approximately the same scale as in recent months, except that some of the higher grades of petroleum products will be excluded. The whole question is whether Japan can obtain dollars to pay for them and in particular whether the United States will release dollars from Japanese assets frozen in the United States for this purpose. We await a definite answer on this.*³⁶⁰

Roosevelt had told Churchill at *their* summit meeting that he was only pursuing talks with Nomura "as a means of gaining time *in order to improve American defences in the Pacific,*" but with the latest evidence Whitehall had to review the extent to which it could rely on the United States in the Far East and, in fact, what that indicated about the entire Anglo-American relationship. Negotiations and manoeuvring in the Far East can best be described as a can of worms, but it was little different in Europe and the Middle East. The oil supply question was still particularly sensitive and on August 25, having received an "unsatisfactory reply" to their demands, and with "*Britain and Russia ... fighting for their lives,*" Anglo-Russian invaders began a three-day "brief and fruitful exercise of overwhelming force against a weak and ancient state" in which they partitioned Persia to their satisfaction – more or less – and felt reasonably secure in their control of petroleum resources and supply routes from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian.³⁶¹ Then on August 29 Churchill was shown intercepts which suggested that Japan was having second thoughts about its relationship with the Axis powers. When German officials had learned of the proposal for a Roosevelt-Konoye summit there was some embarrassment for Japan, which sought to show that it was consistent with Hitler's request that Japan's actions be planned to keep the Americans out of the war in Europe. Thus the *Atlantic Charter* had caused complex ripples in Europe and between the Tripartite Powers as well as in Japan, and Hitler's advisers could now sense the ground shifting slightly under their feet. They were looking for issues which would ease tension between Berlin and its allies, not aggravate them, and such an issue had just come to their notice.

When the Vatican had objected to the procedures used in the Reich's euthanasia program at the time it was introduced, October 1939, Catholic doctors were excused from the procedure,

but some criticism continued because church members were rather upset when relatives were consigned to the gas chambers. The euthanasia gas chamber program had commenced on an experimental scale in January 1940. It was extended to the concentration camps in August that year and by mid August 1941 more than 70,000 mentally or physically infirm, aged, criminal or sexually deviant persons had been killed in five special “curative institutions” across Germany.³⁶² Then there was an adverse public reaction after a vigorous sermon against the euthanasia program by the Catholic Bishop of Munster, Clemens Count von Galen, in the same week that Churchill sailed to meet Roosevelt. The Nazis regime had been able to ignore a wave of protests from the Confessional wing of the Evangelical Church and had stepped up harassment against it. It had also ignored previous detailed written protests from the Evangelical Bishop Wurm of Wurttemberg, but Goebbels and Hitler were in agreement that the nationalistic and conservative Catholic prelate and the protests and court appeals by relatives which followed his sermon could not be ignored. The bishop had touched a very sensitive nerve in his congregations and fears that wounded soldiers and loved ones who fell temporarily sick or simply fell out of favour with the authorities may have been ordered into the gas chambers flashed through the region.³⁶³ The Nazi leaders feared that the Catholic masses could be alienated from the greater Nazi cause. This would be most unfortunate in the wake of the *Atlantic Charter* and just at the time that the Vatican was entering a new phase of its relationship with the United States. The Vatican may shift its position and support US intervention against Germany – just when the techniques of the euthanasia program were to be adapted to the mass murder of Jews under the top secret ‘*Fuhrer Order on the Final Solution.*’

Hitler was not anticipating any objections from the Vatican about the fate of the Jews. Nothing which had happened to that point suggested that he had any reason to. Especially the church’s policy in Croatia since, with Hitler’s support, the Ustashe were in firm control. Far from being upset at the limits which the Croatian government had placed on conversions of convenience for security, for safety or to avoid terror and possible death, the Vatican was being very supportive. It insisted that potential converts to Catholicism should be turned away when they were “patently seeking baptism for the wrong reasons.” As we have seen from its actions over the centuries, that was a consideration which had never bothered the Vatican before. With the full fury of the Ustashe unleashed against Jews in Croatia, the president of the Union for the Israelite Community of Alatri (in central Italy) wrote to Maglione on August 14, pleading on behalf of the thousands of Croat Jews. He described how residents of Zagreb and other centres of Croatia had been arrested without reason, deprived of their possessions and deported, and how six thousand had been dumped on a barren, mountainous island without shelter, food or water. All attempts to help them had been forbidden by the Croat authorities. He pleaded for the Holy See to intervene with the Italian and Croatian governments. There is no record of a response.³⁶⁴ So the Vatican’s attitude was well established, but there was a real possibility that if the same techniques were to be used for both the ‘medically-justified’ euthanasia programs and the *final solution* programs there could be flow-on criticism of the *final solution* programs which would raise world awareness and make it difficult to carry them out. In addition Hitler

needed to improve his damaged image within the Catholic community and he was now in a position to make a gesture which could help offset the new mood of Vatican-US cooperation by removing a point of friction. A decision to discontinue the euthanasia program would show the Nazi regime to be responsive to the wishes of the Catholic church at a critical time. In any case there would be no real disadvantage because the euthanasia program had served its purpose and largely run its course. How convenient. The whole euthanasia program was discontinued from August 28. It was a highly successful public relations exercise. No more. No less.

At this point the intrigue between the United States and Britain relating to the Far East was getting thicker. Ever since January 10 (see above, this chapter p. 44) Roosevelt had known that the Japanese Navy was studying US Navy movements to and from Pearl Harbour, but by the end of August he had *absolute* confirmation that it was being targeted by the Japanese Navy for an attack in the event that relations between the two countries collapsed irrevocably. A special watch had been placed on an intelligence officer named Morimura who arrived in Hawaii early in the year with the official post of chancellor at the Japanese Consulate General. Every message he transmitted was tracked and decoded. On August 21 he transmitted a coded message via the normal RCA commercial channels to the Japanese ambassador in Washington with the request that it be relayed to navy command in Tokyo. It contained the survey map coordinates for fifty three of the US Navy's docks, piers and anchorage areas with a letter code designating each one, and the berth of the flagship US *Arizona* was especially marked. Decoded, that message was soon in Washington – followed by a police report which was received by the FBI on August 27 that Morimura had been apprehended “roaring drunk” as the result of a drinking binge during the evening after he had transmitted the message.³⁶⁵ Much of Morimura's message traffic was transmitted through the British-owned McKay Radio and Telegraph and because of certain intelligence arrangements in place, Churchill was promptly provided with his key messages and McKay's Washington office also provided copies of spy reports to the White House. On the other hand, because Morimura sent his message of August 21 via RCA it was not picked up by British intelligence but US intelligence had double access to it. The US Army Signals Corps also picked it up when the ambassador in Washington relayed it by radio to Tokyo.³⁶⁶ However it appears that, whether by deliberate omission or thoughtlessness, Roosevelt did not share that particular intelligence with Churchill.

On September 1 US intelligence learned that the Japanese Navy had recalled all its units from Chinese waters to home waters when an open radio message sent by the commander-in-chief of Japan's naval forces in China to a subordinate fleet commander was intercepted. He acknowledged that the fleet was detached from his command and encouraged the officers to “work even harder toward increasing your fighting ability, in view of the critical times which we are facing.”³⁶⁷ From Stinnett's description of how this message was handled it is unclear whether it would also have been picked up by British intelligence or whether it was or was not relayed to them.

However Whitehall was *not* advised that on September 3 Roosevelt told Nomura that a precondition for a summit meeting with Konoye was that Japan must commit itself to his

Atlantic Charter ‘Four Principles.’ Nor did Whitehall learn that the Japanese Imperial Conference considered the matter on September 6, determined that talks with the US would continue, reaching the level of president and prime minister if possible,³⁶⁸ and that if talks with the US failed, Japan would have to prepare for war. Two documents were approved. One was a statement of essentials for carrying out the empire’s policies. The other provided for minimum demands and maximum concessions on Japan’s part if they became necessary. The firm decision was made that if Japan’s minimum demands were not met through diplomatic negotiations within the first 10 days of October it would immediately decide to commence hostilities against the United States, Britain and the Netherlands. Preparations for war were to be completed within the last 10 days of October.³⁶⁹

Notes attached to the minutes of that meeting indicate that the oil embargo was the critical factor in both Japan’s decision to go to war and the timing of the action. Officials believed that if a negotiated settlement was not reached the limits of the national stockpile were such that Japan’s capacity to wage war would fall progressively while the capacity of its enemies to do so would increase.³⁷⁰ The notes also set out the purposes of war with the US, Britain and the Netherlands as:

*to expel the influence of these three countries from East Asia, to establish a sphere for the self-defence and self-preservation of our Empire, and to build a New Order in Greater East Asia. In other words we aim to establish a close and inseparable relationship in military, political and economic affairs between our Empire and the countries of the Southern Region, to achieve our Empire’s self-defense and self-preservation, and to build up at the same time the New Order of coexistence and co-prosperity in Greater East Asia. Accordingly, we must resolutely expel the hostile powers of the United States, Great Britain and the Netherlands, which interfere with the above purpose.*³⁷¹

There is *no* indication that Japan had any interest in either Australia or New Zealand except to break their imperial and economic links with Britain and the United States in order that they would become a part of the Greater East Asian co-prosperity sphere. But it was noted that Australia had already sent some troops to Malaya, that both countries were expected to provide some forces to assist the enemy and that Australia’s bases were expected to be used by the enemy.^{372 373}

Japan had got itself into a very difficult position with its conflicting relations with Germany, Russia and the United States concurrent with its own ambitions to drive the European powers and America out of its Asian sphere of influence. Prime Minister Konoye invited US Ambassador Grew to meet him in secret at his house immediately after that meeting. Over dinner the prime minister told Grew that he could accept the “Four Principles” and he believed a meeting with Roosevelt “could turn the corner.”³⁷⁴

Clearly the United States was also in a bind. The similarity between Japan’s war aims, the Monroe Doctrine and the *Atlantic Charter* was quite remarkable and at the level of principles the United States was hard pressed to justify its opposition to Japan’s war aims. In *The Struggle*

for Europe historian Chester Wilmot explained America's position under Roosevelt's leadership in these terms:

*Roosevelt was determined to prevent the destruction of England, but he was equally determined that American aid should not be used to bolster up the British Empire. With him the inborn American prejudice against Imperialism assumed the force of a principle, and he saw, in the fluidity of the world situation brought about by the war, the opportunity for extending throughout the colonial world the revolution that had started in 1776*³⁷⁵

However on September 8 Whitehall received reports from its Far East ambassadors, first from Kerr, that the Chinese Foreign Minister was worried that Britain and the United States would betray China, and second, from Craigie, that the moderates were regaining control and that Japan's link with the Axis was steadily growing weaker, but "the tenets of the (Atlantic) Charter seemed to contrast strongly with the policy that Britain and the United States were currently pursuing towards Japan."^{376 377 378} Then next day, September 9, Craigie relayed to Whitehall the contents of a telegram which Grew was sending to Washington to the effect that Konoye and his foreign minister were sincere in their wish for peace, that they were hindered by the rest of the cabinet, and that the US should try to encourage the peace process by explaining to the Japanese people the advantages which would accrue from a policy of friendship with the democracies. This was an implied suggestion that Roosevelt should offer Konoye the 'advantages' of further trade concessions.

NEW ORDERS OR OLD?

Churchill must have been aware of that message later that day [London time is nine hours *behind* Tokyo] when he reported to the House of Commons about the drafting of the *Atlantic Charter*. He said, in part, that the British delegation had in mind:

the restoration of the sovereignty ... of the states ... now under the Nazi yoke," and that this was "quite a separate problem from the progressive evolution of self-governing institutions in the regions and peoples that owe allegiance to the British Crown.

That is in sharp contrast to what Roosevelt had told Churchill during the conference, according to his son, Elliott, [p. 64, above]that:

*"I can't believe that we can fight a war against fascist slavery, and at the same time not work to free people all over the world from a backward colonial policy [and] peace cannot include any continued despotism. The structure of peace demands and will get equality of peoples. Equality of peoples involves the utmost freedom of competitive trade."*³⁷⁹

Roosevelt did not want wars to his east and west at the same time any more than did Russia, Germany, or Japan. He wanted to end the *old* European Imperial presence in Asia, probably just as much as Japan did, but he did *not* want to relinquish his grip on the Philippines any more than the old European powers wanted to relinquish their grip on their Asian colonies, concessions and territorial 'rights', and he had to keep faith with Britain with which he had an

unratified mutual defence pact in the Pacific and which was under pressure from a multitude of forces.

A note preceding the war aims quoted above indicates that the Japanese understood American thinking very well.

Our Empire's plan to build a New Order in East Asia ... is a firm policy [and] ... the building of the New Order will go on for ever, much as the life of our State does.

However, it appears that the policy of the United States towards Japan is based on the idea of preserving the status quo; in order to dominate the world and defend democracy, it aims to prevent our Empire from rising and developing in East Asia. Under these circumstances, it must be pointed out that the policies of Japan and the United States are mutually incompatible; it is historically inevitable that the conflict between the two countries, which is sometimes intense and sometimes moderate, will ultimately lead to war.

It need not be repeated that unless the United States changes its policy toward Japan, our Empire is placed in a desperate situation, where it must resort to the ultimate step – namely war – to defend itself and to assure its preservation. Even if we should make concessions to the United States by giving up part of our national policy for the sake of a temporary peace, the United States, its military position strengthened, is sure to demand more and more concessions on our part; and ultimately our Empire will have to lie prostrate at the feet of the United States.³⁸⁰

The discussions continued and draft understandings were shuttled backwards and forwards between Washington and Tokyo, but without agreement being reached. The Japanese Government's deadline passed.

Although there was a strange quietness in the Asian arena there was a great deal of action in Europe and the Middle East. Bitter debate had erupted in the United States. Roosevelt had gone most of the way to a commitment to enter the war in Europe and he was endeavouring to move Congress and the public along with him, but the debate still raged and the United States faced the prospect of deep division if he moved too quickly and too far ahead of public opinion. His 'unofficial declaration of war' in the *Atlantic Charter* had antagonized the America Firsters, the German-American Bund, the isolationists of the Mid West and anti-Communists in general. They whipped themselves into a lather in the press, especially over the plan to disarm Germany yet again which they saw as destroying any reasonable chance of peace.³⁸¹ At a rally organized by the America First Committee the famed aviator Charles Lindbergh told an enthusiastic crowd that the Jews were the most dangerous force pushing the United States into war³⁸²

The Lindbergh line was a strange twist to the old cry about Jews being a fifth column working for the interests of a foreign power. Their anti-British feelings because of the White Paper on Palestine were being swamped by their fear and loathing of Nazi Germany which drove their efforts to take the United States into the war. The national home about which there were such mixed feelings didn't yet exist and certainly could not until the outcome of the war had been settled. What they really wanted to fight for was the principle of humanitarian

compassion for an entire ethnic community which was at risk. Yes, it was certainly their own community, but that should not have affected the issue in the public mind. The principle had supposedly been enshrined in the American constitution, but it had taken a frightful battering almost from the day it was proclaimed, so much so that Hitler had been happy to incorporate the battering rams in “*Mein Kampf*.” And the people beating the anti-Semitic drum, themselves part of the enormous gel of Western Christianity, still couldn’t see that it was they themselves who were forcing Jews into the stance which they were adopting. They were no different to their counterparts in Europe.

On September 13 Churchill was handed a guarded message which had been sent from Tokyo to its ambassador in Berlin on September 10 but which could not be decrypted immediately. It implied that a US-Japan accord was a real possibility and noted that:

*The object of the Three-Power Alliance was the restoration of peace and this has been announced by the governments of the other countries. The Japanese-American talks had this for their object, and were therefore not essentially opposed to our Axis diplomacy.*³⁸³

There were two key issues for Whitehall. Would such an accord protect Britain’s interests or only those of the US? And, in Eden’s words, how could Britain make the Japanese feel that “we are in a position to play our hand from strength?”³⁸⁴ However at this time Whitehall learned that, under its diplomatic pressure, the US had actually implemented a virtually complete embargo on trade with Japan and, for Japan there was a much deeper philosophical issue. It believed the *Atlantic Charter* and Hull’s Four Principles which were closely related to it were “an exercise in hypocrisy” and that there was little likelihood that a permanent mutually acceptable understanding could be reached. This was reflected in a caustic observation to Craigie by a senior foreign office negotiator, Amo, on September 15. Amo reminded Craigie that he had lived in Japan for some years and had observed the conditions and daily lives of the people, then said:

*I wonder if you think these people are really adequately compensated for their capacity and effort. Though they work from morning to night, still they are only barely at the level of subsistence, whilst virtually every Englishman, working less than the Japanese, enjoys a life of relative ease. In a word, whilst the Japanese are in a life and death struggle, the English give their thought to how they may live more luxuriously.*³⁸⁵

This was not a reflection of greed for the wealth of another. It was an indication of the Japanese world view that all peoples are equal and that all peoples have the same needs, the same obligations and the same rights of access to resources. Amo was, without necessarily naming the contrast, contrasting that world view with that of Britain and the White Western Christian World that the rest of the world existed for the benefit of those who were part of the amorphous Christian gel. He was reinforcing the case for a New Order in Asia. He might as well have saved his breath.

Although Britain and the Soviet Union had gained control of Persia’s oil fields they were still feeling somewhat insecure about their relationships with that ‘weak and ancient state’ in the

Middle East in which they had too many troops tied up in security operations. So: exercising their 'right' to call such countries to order, they forced the Shah to announce his abdication on September 16, occupied Teheran with little resistance on September 17, set up a puppet government under the 'gifted' new 22-year old Shah, Muhammad Riza Pahlevi, who was required to sign a *tripartite pact* with Britain and Russia, in which he agreed to the 'protective occupation' of his country until six months after the end of the war and the use of Persian facilities for wartime supply to Russia. He was also required to agree that all resistance would cease, and that Persia would adopt neutrality and do nothing during the occupation period which was inconsistent with the interests of the alliance – like supplying Germany with oil or allowing German agents to remain in the country. With that settled, Britain and Russia were able to redeploy most of their occupation forces elsewhere.³⁸⁶ Craigie was informed on September 18 that the time was not right for making concessions to the Japanese.³⁸⁷

At that time the arms supply discussions which Churchill and Stalin had personally been pursuing for some weeks were being taken over by an Anglo-American arms supply mission, set up as a result of Churchill-Roosevelt discussions on August 12 and jointly led by Lord Beaverbrook for Britain and Avril Harriman for the US. Because it was painfully clear that Britain's security depended on the Soviet Union continuing to keep the German forces occupied, Britain's service chiefs had already consented to very large diversions of American supplies which they needed themselves. Thus when he appointed Beaverbrook, Churchill told him that long term supplies to Russia "can only be achieved almost entirely from American resources."³⁸⁸ But the urgency of avoiding any unnecessary strain on Russia is even better illustrated by the pressure applied to Finland *not* to take advantage of Russia's difficulties to redress the territorial wrongs of its invasion in December 1939. The valiant peace loving country which Britain and France had been so eager to supply with planes, tanks and volunteers to through against the brutal, destructive Russians and on whose behalf the Vatican had pressed for a system of war damage reparations (chapter 23, pp. 15 ff.) was now threatened with *invasion* by Britain – as desperately short of arms as it was – if it so much as raised a finger to recover territory from Russia and distract it from its war against Germany.³⁸⁹

The arms supply mission was already working in London on a possible schedule of supplies from the US and Britain for the Soviet Union and was about to travel to Moscow for detailed talks on how these could be related to Roosevelt's agreement to extend the Lend Lease plan to the Soviet Union when the Vatican became very concerned at the turn which events had taken. It was especially concerned at Roosevelt's agreement to extend the Lend Lease plan to the Soviet Union, and on September 19 a host of bishops in Germany made up for their earlier silence – and that of the pope – with a flood of pastoral letters *in support* of Hitler's attack on Russia's anti-Christian Bolshevism.³⁹⁰ Hitler appreciated it greatly. But he did not appreciate their request that German Jews who had converted to Catholicism should be exempt from the "devastating, stigmatizing, and demoralizing" requirement to wear a yellow star which he had just decreed, and which brought them into line with Poland's Jews. The request was refused.³⁹¹ Neither did he appreciate Churchill's announcement in the Commons on September 30, two

days after the mission arrived in Moscow to a very restrained welcome, that the previous week's production of tanks was to be sent to Russia. He would have been even more upset if he had known that because of its desperation to keep Russia in the war Beaverbrook had agreed on behalf of Britain that the whole of its forthcoming supplies from the US under Lend-Lease would be diverted to Russia. That included 1,800 fighter aircraft, 2,250 tanks, 500 anti-tank guns, 23,000 "tommy guns" (automatic rifles), 25,000 tons of copper, 27,000 tons of rubber and 250,000 greatcoats for soldiers.³⁹²

Hitler could have done with those greatcoats himself, because on the same day, against the advice of his generals that the onset of winter was imminent, he ordered the delayed assault on Moscow to be resumed and the advance began on October 2, the day that an Anglo-US-Soviet protocol was signed listing arms to be provided between October 1941 and June 1942. The massed German Panzers surged forward, overwhelming the Russian front which disintegrated, leaving a road open towards the capital. Russia certainly needed the British tanks. Churchill had not told the House that the decision was purely pragmatic, but there was no hint of altruism towards the survival of Britain's Communist brothers-cum-allies in Russia. The Russians knew as well as the British that it was more important to Britain's security to keep Russia *in* the war by showing some practical support for it, than to send those tanks to the North African campaign. They made their feelings abundantly clear to the mission and Beaverbrook advised Churchill that he did not regard the military situation as safe, but the promise of supplies had strengthened morale immensely and "might make it safe" although "the maintenance of this morale will depend on delivery."³⁹³

It was Hitler's turn for another speech on October 3. He told a huge crowd in the Berlin Sportpalast that an operation of such a scale had begun two days earlier that it would lead to the destruction of the enemy in the east, that the enemy was already being routed and that it would never regain its strength. And he added some colorful references to a war of extermination for good measure. Twice in the next few critical days, on October 4 and 6, Churchill advised Stalin direct of the details of three armaments convoys which were to arrive at Archangel between October 12 and 22: 360 heavy tanks, 293 fighter aircraft, 200 bren-gun carriers, 200 anti-tank rifles and 50 heavy guns.³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ The morale boosting effect of Churchill's announcement, together with his advice to Stalin of the convoys, may well have helped to tip the balance, but it was touch-and-go.

The situation was so desperate that on October 7, with no Russian troops between one leading German column and Moscow, Stalin again ordered Beria to approach the Bulgarian ambassador to act as an intermediary to seek terms from Hitler. He was reported as saying that he was ready to accept a "new Brest peace" as Lenin had in 1918. Apparently the result was the same as in July. ³⁹⁶ Orel was captured next day, and Hitler ordered the total destruction of the city. On October 9 Hitler's press chief announced to correspondents that "for all military purposes Russia is done with."³⁹⁷ He was somewhat premature, but it certainly looked to the world as if he was right, and there was real fear in Whitehall that in a very short time most of the German army would be able to withdraw from the Russian front and confront Britain.

A BIT OF 'CHITTER-CHAT'

That day US intelligence staff completed decoding and translating a message a “strictly secret” instruction from Tokyo to Morimura, dated September 24, and next day, October 10, they completed processing the spy’s reply which he had transmitted through McKay on September 29. Together they were dramatic. Tokyo had asked for a much more detailed plan with Pearl Harbour divided into five zones and with vessels identified in more detail. Morimura did more than was asked for. He prepared a precise grid plan and even indicated plots for bombing runs. This information was never relayed to Kimmel and when subsequent Congressional Committee’s of Inquiry pressed for the reasons why, the head of Army Intelligence, Brigadier General Sherman Miles, claimed that he had treated it with indifference because bomb plot mapping was a standard intelligence practice and he saw it as nothing more than “chitter chat.”³⁹⁸ It was a palpable cover-up for the withholding of information from Kimmel because it went to Roosevelt who immediately saw a weakness in the system of US intelligence control. His concern was not that the information had been withheld from Kimmel, but that the British had a comprehensive arrangement for access to all of McKay’s transmissions while the US did not have the same automatic feed trough arrangement with RCA. If it was good enough for British-owned McKay to ride slipshod over accepted confidentiality procedures and provide a channel direct to Churchill, why could not American-owned RCA extend the same courtesy to him? He invited the founder and president of RCA, David Sarnoff, to lunch on October 14. Sarnoff got the message, agreed to match the British arrangement, and left immediately for Hawaii where he spent nine days. He directed the local RCA manager to provide copies of all messages filed by the Japanese consulate to Navy intelligence, and he then advised Roosevelt that “... the heads and the staff of the Army and Navy here are well informed and keenly alive to the latest developments in communications and to their useful possibilities.”³⁹⁹ But that did not mean that Kimmel or Clark received subsequent transmissions. They did not. The station intelligence chief, Rochefort, a former Japanese language student and colleague of McCollum,⁴⁰⁰ received the copies but did not decode, translate or relay them to Kimmel or Clark, and other US operators “plucked the messages off the RCA airwaves and placed their contents into the White House intelligence loop.” Kimmel and Clark were still cut out.^{401 402}

In the meantime, on October 12, 1941, the Japanese Prime Minister called his Foreign, War and Navy Ministers for an urgent conference and sought agreement to continue diplomatic efforts to find a solution to the impasse with Britain and the United States. But neither he nor the Foreign Minister could give War Minister Tojo an assurance that a settlement could be reached before operational considerations became critical. They must have known from their intelligence sources that by that date the United States had placed 35 B-17 bombers in the Philippines in line with the undertaking given by its service chiefs at the Roosevelt-Churchill summit in August. The Navy Minister would not take a firm position except to maintain that matters of war and peace should be determined by the Prime Minister, not the service ministers. At a cabinet meeting next day Tojo continued to press for war on the basis that a settlement could not be assured in time to avoid Japan’s position being undermined. The Prime Minister

resigned to enable a new cabinet to reconsider the whole matter free of any commitment to the decision taken on September 6th, but after efforts to find an alternative person were unsuccessful Tojo agreed to take office as Prime Minister.

By October 15 the threat to Moscow was so great that the diplomatic corps fled the city, the evacuation of the Soviet government to Kuibyshev, 600 miles to the east, was commenced, and panic set in. Stores were plundered, offices and factories were abandoned and the mining of bridges and railway junctions began. But Stalin stayed and imposed martial law. Hitler had left his run too late, too. When Whitehall learned next day of the change of Japanese government it was regarded as “an ominous sign” and Eden told Churchill that “the Russian defeats must inevitably be having their effect upon the Japanese appetite” and this made the need for capital ship reinforcements in the Far East more urgent.”⁴⁰³ It also made the need for Britain to persuade Russia to stay in the war even more urgent and none of the supplies which it shipped from Iceland could have reached Moscow by the that date. On October 19 Stalin proclaimed the siege of Moscow with the order “Moscow will be defended to the last,”⁴⁰⁴ and with the weather changing the ruthless advance of Germany’s armies was slowed greatly. While this gave the Russian forces some relief, the protracted defence of major cities was an enormous task and it was clear that Russia urgently needed foreign aid if Moscow were not to be over-run. Over the next few days the British cabinet debated the deployment of its navy and, contrary to the intent of a cabinet decision, Churchill told Roosevelt that a considerable battle squadron would be available for operations in the Indian and Pacific Oceans before Christmas. He was intent on encouraging American involvement in the South West Pacific as well as strengthening Britain’s immediate position. In fact more than that: Churchill was determined that Britain *would not* surrender its *privileges* in Asia by negotiation, he *could not* solve its *relationship problems* in Europe and the Middle East by that means either, and the whole world would therefore be dragged into war in which he hoped to achieve the impossible.

The world was now preoccupied with the war in Russia and Britain was trying to conceal the real situation in the Far East but important developments were also taking place in the Middle East. Following the collapse of the Iraqi uprising and his escape to Iran, the Mufti had spent some time in Turkey before being flown to Rome where he met Mussolini on October 27. A draft statement which they prepared was passed to Berlin, agreed to by Hitler and issued jointly by the two dictators a few days later. The two governments were committed to recognizing the sovereignty and independence of the Arab countries and to helping in “the elimination of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.” That was an issue in which Japan had no interest at all. In spite of Britain’s black propaganda program about a German fifth column in the Far East, Japan had no quarrels with its Jewish communities. It had its hands full enough in China and South East Asia. It did not want three or even four areas of conflict on its hands, like Britain. Immediately after the change of government a further 18,000 troops were landed at Haiphong, the Indochina terminal of the railway from Kunming which was also the Chinese terminal of the Burma Road, providing the opportunity for a swift strategic cut-off of China’s military supplies via Burma. With Tojo in office as prime minister for the Liaison Conference of October 23,

extensive discussions began and continued daily as cabinet struggled to achieve a diplomatic settlement with Britain and the United States, to improve Japan's military preparedness and to resolve the critical question of national fuel supplies.

The British cabinet learned of that Haiphong landing on October 30, together with US intelligence which suggested an invasion of Yunnan Province would begin three days later. If that led to the severing of the remaining supply line to China, Britain's Far East strategy involving the interplay of the Soviet Union, China and Japan to keep the Soviet Union in the war would be in tatters. Desperate measures were required to keep the Soviet Union in the war. The phone lines between London and Washington ran hot! Roosevelt telegraphed Stalin to say that he had given presidential approval for one billion dollars in Lend-Lease Aid for Russia.⁴⁰⁵ The Lend-Lease Act had been framed in very broad terms which gave the president unusually wide authority to determine to which countries and on what conditions aid could be provided, subject to a Congressional appropriation for the funds involved. The justification given for this decision later, when Roosevelt sought Congressional backing for the appropriation, was that a German submarine had sunk a US destroyer, the *Reuben James*, on October 29 while it was unofficially escorting a British convoy. The veil was thin indeed. The United States was not at war, the use of US naval vessels for such escort services did not have Congressional approval, and Roosevelt therefore knew that publicity for that incident would only bring more anti-war wrath on his head – not an agreement to go to war with Germany.

Two days later, November 1, the British government received two urgent communications confirming the assessment that Churchill had made – and acted on – and the need for that Lend-Lease aid for Russia. One was a lengthy telegram from Craigie. From his talks with Foreign Minister Togo Shigenori, Craigie advised that time was running out; feelings were being worked up in Japan as well as in the US and Britain; Japan's resolve should not be underestimated; every effort should be made to convince Japan that it would not be reduced to the status of a third rate power if the democracies won the war in Europe; and that he was very concerned that the United States was, in effect, negotiating on behalf of both Britain and itself when their interests in East Asia were *markedly different*.⁴⁰⁶ The other was an appeal from Chiang Kai-shek who was in panic mode, for air support in anticipation of such an invasion. Britain's multi-phase crisis was compounded. China was receiving virtually no supplies from Russia as a result of Barbarossa; Britain was allocating its own scarce resources to Russia in a desperate bid to keep it in the war; China was therefore greatly dependant upon whatever Britain and the US could supply through Burma to compliment its own limited production; if it was not, or could not be supplied, China would either be defeated or would seek an armistice with Japan, and, in either case, Japan's forces in China would be released to move either north, to Russia or south to Indochina and Singapore. Clearly Britain could not supply China unilaterally and if it intervened directly by sending units of either its army or navy (rather than by supplying armaments) it would automatically be at war with Japan. It could therefore do neither without US support. An alternative was to ask the US to assist China direct without further British commitment.

While Churchill and his cabinet agonized over their response on November 2 *they* did not know that Tojo's cabinet had already resolved – the same day, but nine hours ahead – that war would commence on December 1 unless a diplomatic solution had been achieved by midnight on November 30. In fact the Japanese Imperial Conference, with the emperor present, had approved an invasion plan for South East Asia and a knock-out attack on Pearl Harbour, subject only to a final decision to proceed. The situation was becoming critical for Japan as well as Britain. It was uncertain how Britain would respond to appeals from China; military preparation was continuing at maximum pace, and anti-Japanese racism was being whipped up in both the United States and Germany. However US Ambassador Grew *did* know. A leak had reached him, and his lengthy report, closing with the comment: “War with the United States may come with dramatic suddenness,” reached Washington on November 3. Grew quoted an unnamed informant as saying that the decision for war was presented to the emperor jointly by the prime minister and the ministers for the navy and foreign affairs.⁴⁰⁷

A PLAN TO AVOID WAR

On November 5 the President of the Privy Council, Hara Yoshimichi, told the Imperial Conference that Hitler had described the Japanese as a second class race and he had *not* declared war on the United States. It was therefore still possible that the US and Britain might reach a settlement with Germany and be free to throw all their might against Japan. In that case, he said, all the hatred being directed at Germany would be poured out against the yellow Japanese.⁴⁰⁸ Any hope of a New Order in Asia would be lost completely. But cabinet was eager to avoid war, and with the Foreign Minister not able to report progress in talks with the United States, the Imperial Conference again reviewed its minimum requirements and approved modified terms for the continuing negotiations which were substantially more moderate.

It was agreed that Japan would withdraw within two years all troops which had been sent to China during ‘the China incident’, except those in designated sections of North China, Inner Mongolia and Hainan Island which would remain for up to 25 years. Respecting French Indochina's territorial sovereignty, Japan would withdraw all troops when the China incident had been settled. It would respect the principle of non-discrimination in trade throughout the Pacific region, including China, if this principle was applied throughout the world. And in the matter of European security, Japan would make its own independent decision if there was any response sought under the *Tripartite Pact*. Cabinet was not impressed by the so-called ‘Four Principles’ which the US had introduced into later discussions, and did not want them written into any official documents or understandings. It sought agreement that, with the exception of French Indochina, both the US and Japan would pledge not to make any armed advance in South East Asia and the South Pacific. It also sought cooperation on assurances that both countries would have access to resources from the Dutch East Indies, and it wanted trade relations restored to their pre-asset-freeze status with assured oil supplies from the US And

finally it asked that the US take no action which would hinder efforts towards peace between Japan and China.⁴⁰⁹

Roosevelt would have learned of that proposal on November 5 about the same time that he received an appeal from Churchill for the US to assist the Chinese directly and that he give Japan a direct warning against any advance into China's Yunnan Province, towards Kunming and the Burma Road. He did not respond immediately. The US administration had its own hard thinking to do – and its own relationships with the Soviet Union, Germany and Japan. Next day both ambassadors sent messages to their governments. Craigie advised Whitehall that Japan's former ambassador to Germany, Kurusu Saburo, was being sent to Washington to assist Nomura in one last determined effort to reach a settlement. His instructions were to promise no further Japanese advances in return for a removal of the blockade and that in addition "America would have to stop sending assistance to Chiang Kai-shek and instead would have to advise him to make peace." Grew, reporting on a surreptitious "holiday" tour of the naval operations areas along Japan's Inland Sea by his naval attaché, sent a much stronger warning to Washington about the likelihood of war.

But events were moving at great speed and in Moscow that day, in a bold morale boosting show of defiance made possible by Roosevelt's allocation of one billion dollars in Lend-Lease aid, Stalin replied to Hitler's 'victory speech' with an address to army, Moscow city and Communist Party officials, saying that "if (the Nazis) want a war of extermination they shall have one." Then on November 7 he took the salute at the traditional military parade to mark the anniversary of the Revolution, in spite of the fact that air raids were likely with the Germans pounding at the city gates. The security of an investment in support for Russia was beginning to look better and half way around the world that afternoon, Roosevelt's action in allocating the aid which he had originally proposed to Congress on August 15 was formalized by an appropriation. It was no 'generous hand-out'. It did not involve Americans *directly* in the war. It was an 'insurance policy'. It was further stimulus for America's commercial arms producers. They were delighted

Two days later, on the November 9, Roosevelt responded to Churchill's requests of the 5th. He was not persuaded, he said, that a warning to Japan was appropriate; with the benefit of his discussions he doubted whether Japan was ready to invade Kunming. He would do what he could by Lend-Lease aid to China; but he thought a better deterrent would be reinforcements in the region, and he would also do what he could to build up the American Volunteer Air Force there.⁴¹⁰ Whitehall had also concluded that it would take Japan a month to prepare for such an action, so that advice was not unexpected.

Next day, November 10, in Tokyo, Foreign Minister Togo Shigenori met with both the American and the British ambassadors. Whether Churchill had sighted Craigie's report of his meeting before he rose to speak at the annual Guildhall banquet in London that evening is problematical, but he was at pains to persuade his own public – and the world – that it was not Britain's interests, policies and territorial rights which were the centre of the storm in the Far

East. He sought to avoid any general understanding that America's involvement was largely in response to Britain's urging because of the critical and unsustainable position it had got itself into, and he very deliberately shifted the focus onto the United States. He referred to its "time-honoured interests in the Far East" and said "they are doing their utmost to find ways of preserving peace in the Pacific." Then, in the pathetic pose of a friend coming to the aid of another, he said: "We do not know whether their efforts will be successful, but should they fail and the United States become involved in war with Japan it is my duty to say that the British declaration will follow within the hour." In a superb demonstration of the use of words he then compared Japan's modest steel production with that of the United States; cleverly concealed what Whitehall knew very well, that a war in the Pacific was possibly the surest way of keeping Soviet Russia in the war in Europe; painted the Japanese government as the warmonger; admitted some British interests in the region; and made a bid to demonstrate a *partnership* relationship with the US rather than one of *abject dependence*. He said: "I hope therefore that the peace of the Pacific will be preserved in accordance with the known wishes of Japan's wisest statesmen. But every preparation to defend British interests in the Far East, and to defend the *common cause* now at stake, has been and is being made."⁴¹¹

On November 11 the British cabinet considered Craigie's report of his meeting *plus* decrypts of two items: the Japanese government's instructions to its ambassadors for the Washington talks, and advice that Togo had agreed to the revision and renewal of the *Tripartite Pact*. The likelihood of an end to hostilities between Japan and China was therefore dramatically increased and Churchill knew that this would mean the release of great forces to move south against British interests whether there was an American-Japanese understanding or not.

When Togo briefed the Liaison Conference on progress in diplomatic moves, including those two meetings on November 12 he said he thought agreement with the United States was still possible but that the British Government wanted specific proposals and not an agreement in principle. The US had declined to act as an intermediary in peace talks with China and Togo thought it may be difficult for them to reach a settlement directly. He said he had pressed the Japanese and American ambassadors to have an agreement ready within 10 days, which was still 10 days clear of cabinet's war deadline.

The Japanese cabinet had gone as near as it could to repudiating the *Tripartite Pact* but, being deeply divided and under pressure from Hitler, it had renewed the pact in revised form somewhat reluctantly. It had refused to intervene in the Russian question directly and decided it would definitely *not* attack Russia, regardless of Hitler's diplomatic pressure, until at least the spring of 1942. However it cooperated under its treaty obligations to some extent by feeding Germany with military intelligence, it now interfered with supplies which America directed to Russia, and it closed its waterways to Russian shipping, forcing it to use hazardous alternative routes, and it reinforced the Kwantung Army facing the Soviet border. Richard Sorge learned of Cabinet's decision and relayed it to Stalin, and this enabled him to shift an initial eight to ten rifle divisions plus 1700 tanks and 1500 aircraft from the eastern front to the western front where they were held in tight strategic reserve⁴¹²

Togo expanded the talks with the US by seeing the American ambassador again personally in parallel with the continuing discussions in Washington. By agreeing to withdraw from Indochina as part of its negotiating package with the United States, Japan had indicated that it *did not* want a continuing military presence in South East Asia. It only wanted the Europeans out. It was in step with the United States on trade and tariff policy.

This made American support for Britain in the Far East *less* likely and suggested that Britain would be on its own in a confrontation with Japan. Roosevelt's advice of the 9th was therefore to be read in that light – and as a suggestion that Britain should mend its bridges with Japan, too – but on the 12th, in spite of that advice and in the knowledge of Japan's 'final effort' to reach a settlement in Washington, Churchill rejected outright an Australian request that additional aircraft be sent to Singapore. That request was largely the result of public anxiety generated by Britain's black propaganda program, the principle aim of which was, in Australia's case, to generate support for an increased Australian contribution towards the defence of 'empire.' The reason he gave was a tacit admission of Britain's critical situation and uncertainty about support from the United States: it would be a grave strategic error which might prove fatal to spread resources to the Far East, possibly to remain inactive for a year, when they were actively engaged against Germany and Italy.⁴¹³ Churchill could have only given that response if he was determined to use the United States as a buffer against Japan and if he was confident that he could engineer such a buffer.

On November 15 the brutal battle for Moscow started with the ill-clad Germans throwing themselves at the Russian defences in frozen conditions but with widespread expectation that they would be successful. In a message to Craigie, Eden went very close to admitting the implications of Churchill's position. He said that the government's present policy "*admittedly involves a risk of war*, though with a good prospect of active American participation" and a policy of appeasement would require concessions "at the expense of China, and probably others" which may be "at the cost of forfeiting both the respect and material assistance of our friends."⁴¹⁴ The "others" he referred to meant Britain. No one else. The government had been eager to pursue a policy of appeasement in Europe when it was other people, like the Czechoslovaks, who were paying the price, but when it had to pay the price itself it lost interest.

And at that time Togo, not knowing that his government's war plans had already been leaked to Grew and transmitted to Washington immediately they had been decided, was meeting the ambassador to warn him that time was running out. He reported their exchange to the Liaison Conference thus:

The United States has delayed and delayed. Japan has made concession after concession. It appears that the problem of Japanese immigration and other differences have become more aggravated. The feelings of the Japanese people won't allow this situation to continue. The Diet is in session, and the situation is critical. Hence we must find a solution quickly and should not call the present talks 'preliminary discussions.'

Since the United States is applying economic pressure on us, which is even stronger than military pressure, we may have to act in order to defend ourselves. For the United States to insist that Japan disregard the sacrifices she is making in China is tantamount to telling us to commit suicide. Please convey this to your government. [Emphasis added.]

Grew replied: "I understand. I will convey it to my government. I am most anxious to find a solution." He went home in a tearful mood.⁴¹⁵

The "draft proposal for hastening the end of the war against the United States, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Chiang" which was adopted at that Liaison Conference confirms that Japan had no direct interest in Australia, New Zealand or India. A note concerning Tripartite cooperation to secure the surrender of Great Britain reads, in part:

"2(a) The Empire will adopt the following policies: (1) the connection between Australia and India and the British mother country will be broken by means of political pressure and the destruction of commerce, and their separation will be achieved; (2) the independence of Burma will be promoted, and this will be used to stimulate the independence of India.

And a note concerning measures "to destroy the will of the United States to fight" reads in part:

"3(a),(5) Attempts will be made to break the ties between the United States and Australia."
[Emphasis added.]

It was up to the US to respond, but the US was caught by its own conflicts of interest. Even though some commentators have claimed that Roosevelt was stalling to induce a crisis which would justify a declaration of war against *Germany*, crisis talks within the Washington Administration during the weeks which followed show that it was still eager to find a solution. The strategy adopted by the joint US Army-Navy Board for the war in the Atlantic actually made it imperative that a war with Japan in the Pacific should be avoided, but Churchill was *eager* for such a war to begin immediately to relieve the pressure on Britain. Assuming that Japan would strike south to seize sources of oil in the Dutch East Indies if the US did *not* restore its supplies, service leaders had urged Roosevelt to make concessions.

VITAL INFORMATION

But *also on November 15* a quite remarkable secret discussion took place in Washington. Army Chief of Staff General George Marshall invited seven newspaper correspondents to his office, explained his embarrassment at calling a secret conference, and invited anyone who did not care to share secrets to leave before he started talking. None left. Armed with the very latest intelligence which – considering the 14 hour time lag between Tokyo and Washington – must have included advice from Grew of his meeting with Togo he told them that the US was decrypting Japanese messages; that the United States was on the brink of war with Japan; and that war would break out during the "first ten days of December." Marshall *did not* relay that information to either Admiral Kimmel or General Clark in Hawaii. Why? What did he hope to

achieve by his secret briefing to senior staff of four of the nation's major news media – the *New York Times*, *New York Herald Tribune*, *Time* and *Newsweek* – and three of the world's major wire services – Associated Press, United Press and International News Service? According to one of the journalists present, he said he had called them together because “there were some things he had to tell to key press correspondents in order that their interpretations of current and forthcoming events did not upset *key military strategy of the United States*.”⁴¹⁶ [Emphasis added.] What “*key military strategy of the United States*?” Was it the use of the Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbour as a decoy to provoke Japan into a first strike? Was he expecting the journalists to step up a ‘*let’s support Britain*’ campaign, or a ‘*hate Japan*’ campaign in order to facilitate a declaration of war when that first strike came? In the land of the First Amendment, open government, strict journalistic ethics and the Monroe Doctrine of non-intervention in the affairs of other countries, it was the great ‘New Israel’s’ version of Chamberlain’s campaign of press coercion and manipulation in Britain.

On November 17 Grew confirmed his prediction of a sudden military or naval action by Japan but he was more specific. He said he was not referring to China but “to other areas available to Japan for a surprise attack.”⁴¹⁷ Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau, presumably not happy with the idea of a precipitate encounter, proposed that the US should buy time by offering Japan a six months truce, and Roosevelt asked Secretary of State Cordell Hull to work on the proposal. Hull immediately asked that all possibilities be explored to avoid war with Japan.⁴¹⁸ The proposals submitted show a lack of understanding of Japan’s aspirations for a Europe-free Asia and assume simple territorial expansionism. Overall they indicate that the US Administration was no different from Europe’s colonial powers in its attitude to other peoples, their resources and territories. They were to be manipulated and traded to preserve the interests of a ‘great power’ just like any other commodity, even if the great power didn’t have established authority or responsibility for them.

Next day, November 18, the head of his Far Eastern Affairs Division, Maxwell Hamilton, proposed that Japan be offered all or part of Papua and New Guinea in return for withdrawing her troops from China. Under his plan the US would provide Japan with funds to purchase territory from either or both of the ruling powers, Holland and Australia, and it would be reimbursed by Japan through the transfer of merchant ships or naval vessels. Admitting that it might be seen as appeasement and that Australia and Holland could be perturbed by the plan, Hamilton set out ways of revoking or varying the Australian mandate. But there was no suggestion of transferring an island or two of the nearby US colony, the Philippines. America’s thinking showed no real advance from that of the European colonial powers at the Berlin carve-up Conferences of the 1880s or the proposals which the British government had considered for the ‘reallocation’ of parts of Africa to appease Germany during the previous two or three years.

Kurusu held his first talks with Hull that day and went beyond his approved brief in proposing that Japan would withdraw from South Indochina in return for a slight relaxing of the American embargo. He was promptly instructed by Togo to withdraw the proposal, but it had already been referred to Halifax who found such a simple formula attractive.

However, having studied the Morgenthau proposal Hamilton offered an alternative plan on November 19. As part of a comprehensive peace agreement for the Far East he proposed a loan of \$US2billion at two per cent interest for 20 years plus an amendment to the 1924 Immigration Act which had so upset the Japanese, in return for Japan's withdrawal from China and agreement to sell the US up to 50 per cent of its production of merchant and naval shipping. An outside observer could be excused for being confused and nonplused at the crude manner in which basic human aspirations for relief from foreign domination and exploitation were again being totally misrepresented and circumvented in commodity trade negotiations.

For a few days there were rapid exchanges as Whitehall and Washington juggled their counter proposals to try to manoeuvre Japan into submission from the position of strength which they had because they were able to read almost all of the Japanese diplomatic traffic, but there was a sudden atmosphere of crisis on November 21 when they learned of a week-old message from Foreign Minister Togo to the Japanese Consul-General in Hong Kong to the effect that if the Washington negotiations failed "one may expect a sudden change in that part of the international situation which revolves around Japan" and that in such a situation Japan would seize British and American concessions and interests in China.⁴¹⁹

Then on November 22 Hull told Halifax that the Japanese had made a revised offer: both Japan and the United States should undertake to make no further armed advance into South East Asia, it said; Japan would withdraw from South Indochina; and the US would restore commercial relations with Japan and supply Japan with "a required quantity of oil." Hull objected to the prohibition on further American forces in the region but he told the ambassadors for Australia, Holland and China that the idea was attractive as a temporary measure "for maybe three months."⁴²⁰ In contrast to the usual situation, in which his stand was more belligerent than his colleagues, Churchill said he would be happy to see a slight relaxation of the embargo in return for the situation being stabilized for three months, but his view did not prevail. The Foreign Office wanted the United States locked into a water tight *modus vivendi* which was in Britain's favor and on November 24 Eden instructed Halifax to tell Hull that the American counter proposal did not go far enough. Britain wanted all Japanese military personnel and equipment out of south Indochina, not just troops; a promise of no further advances in China; and fewer American concessions, including *no oil*.⁴²¹

A CRITICAL POINT

However, that day the Admiralty's Operational Intelligence Centre reported that Hitler's advance troops were a mere 30 miles from metropolitan Moscow. The German advance was certainly beginning to stall because its troops and equipment could not cope with the horrific winter conditions, Hitler was driving his commanders under intense pressure in a desperate bid to break the Moscow defences. He knew that if he could not break Moscow immediately his army had to sit out a severe winter and he would have to revise his plans for the war in the west and in North Africa. However the siege of Leningrad, threatening Russia's remaining supply

point from the north, was firmly in place and appeared to be starving the defenders into submission so Hitler was still confident that he would soon be master of Russia. All he needed was a diversion and strong support from his Far East ally. He wanted Japan to invade Russia in the east, to cause Stalin to move some of his forces back there, and to reduce the forces available for the defence of Moscow. Churchill was in no doubt that a Russian surrender would enable Hitler to turn west again, “to extinguish British resistance,” and that Japanese intervention was likely to hasten a Russian surrender. If there was a concurrent Chinese collapse the situation would be even more critical because, as already noted, Japan would be relieved to turn south as well. Churchill was therefore desperate to keep the Soviet Union in the war and to keep Japan pre-occupied in Asia so that it was not tempted to help Germany in Russia. This could best be done by maximum aid to both Russia and China, and, if necessary, direct conflict with Japan in South East Asia – *provided* that the United States was in there shooting too.

At that time the US Pacific Fleet, based in Pearl Harbour, was on the third day of a four-day air-defence operational exercise about 390 miles from Pearl Harbour and right on the route which Kimmel believed a Japanese fleet would have to take to attack that base.⁴²² This meant that if it happened to contact or intercept a Japanese fleet in attack mode it would be much more difficult for Roosevelt to claim that Japan struck first than if the fleet were back in harbour. At 3.05 pm Washington time that afternoon, November 24, (8.05 pm London time and 9.35 am in Honolulu) the Deputy Chief of US Naval Operations, Admiral Ingersol, despatched a message to Kimmel, which for some reason, did not reach him until about 1.35 pm Honolulu time. Ingersol advised that the chances of a favourable outcome to negotiations with Japan were “very doubtful.” He said that “in our opinion” that situation, coupled with statements of the Japanese government and the movements of their naval and military forces indicated that “a surprise aggressive movement in any direction including attack on Philippines or Guam is a possibility.” He said the addressees were requested “to inform senior army officers their areas [that] utmost secrecy necessary in order not to complicate an already tense situation or precipitate Japanese action.”⁴²³ Ingersol did not mention the navy or Pearl Harbour and Kimmel did not know of the McCollum Memorandum or understand that there was a strategy to provoke Japan into the first overt act of war against an unsuspecting base or naval target. However he knew that in September Roosevelt had issued shooting orders only for the Atlantic and the Southwest Pacific sub-area. After some reflection he therefore interpreted the message as an order to break off the exercise and recall the fleet to base so that it could not become involved in a real shooting match. At 3.30 pm he issued that order.⁴²⁴

During the exchanges between Whitehall and Washington on the 24th and 25th the US position was that it wanted to relax its demands on Japan while Britain wanted them tightened. Germany’s armies were still inching forward and they were at the point of encircling Moscow from the north. Hull is known to have sighted the Japanese counter proposal on November 25 but it is not known whether he gave it serious consideration or raised it with the governments concerned. Perhaps there was no point in it. The United States Government knew from its very effective code breaking program that the Japanese cabinet had set that day for mobilization if a

diplomatic settlement had not been achieved, and that the final US terms had already been prepared. Roosevelt's inner circle knew that the president was committed to a policy of ensuring that Japan struck first. He summed up America's options as: first, to do nothing; second, to make something of an ultimatum again, stating a point beyond which the US would fight; third, to fight at once. But there was quite a bit of misgiving within that inner circle about the direction Roosevelt was taking and at a noon meeting at the White House the morality of placing US service personnel and civilians in harm's way was discussed. The outcome: no change. The decoy was in place. Stimson noted in his diary that: "... If you know your enemy is going to strike you, it is not usually wise to wait until he gets the jump on you by taking the initiative. The question was how we should manoeuvre them into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves. It was a difficult proposition. [And also] In spite of the risk involved, however, in letting the Japanese fire the first shot, we realized that in order to have the full support of the American people, it was desirable to make sure that the Japanese be the ones to do this, so that there should remain no doubt in anyone's mind as to who were the aggressors."⁴²⁵

In reality the United States president could not justify taking his country into war and his cabinet did not want him to. But there were two basic national interests which were impelling him and his cabinet in that direction. One was the need to avoid placing the nation in a position of isolation and under threat of attack in the event that Britain was defeated. That isolation and that threat would occur because of the open and conspicuous support which it had already given Britain. The other was the dominant national want to take advantage of the existing conflict in order to achieve a position of greater world influence, or economic and political dominance, by succeeding Britain as the preeminent Western power and preventing the competitive rise of either Japan or Communist Russia to that position of preeminence. And in the historical circumstances of the time the president and those around him had no more idea of how and why the world had got into its bind any more than the British prime minister and those around him, or the pope and those around him. None of them understood the nature of the amorphous Christian gel or the parody of *Mein Kampf*. None of them understood the nature of the triangle of Abrahamic Messianic faiths. Certainly none of them understood the significance of the Qur'anic *Night Journey* or Maimonides' expectation of the Messianic Age and the circumstantial movement towards the establishment of a national homeland for Jews. Their self understandings were all too deeply ingrained. They were, in reverse order: the Vatican as the exclusive route to salvation in succession to the Jewish people and the institution exercising earthly authority on behalf of the Triune God; Britain as the rightful, privileged and dominant white Christian power; and the United States as the 'New Israel' which would demonstrate what it meant to be thrust into that role and to exercise that responsibility. The trouble was that they were competing with another power which saw itself in exactly the same role, Hitler's Germany, and yet another which *did not* agree with the *basis* of the self-understanding of any of them, Communist Russia. Roosevelt believed he simply had to go on, but he needed to be able to blame someone else for his decision. The Japanese were to get the blame.

The difficulty of how to manoeuvre them into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to Americans was being aggravated by the continuing conspiracy of message diversion. Thirteen radio messages from Admiral Yamamoto to components of the Japanese fleet were picked up at Station H, Honolulu, between 1.00 pm on November 24 (about the time that the message which led to the aborting of the Pacific Fleet exercises was received from Ingersol) and 3.45 pm on November 26. In a key message that day, (November 25 west of the date line, but still November 24 east of it), while the thirty one ships of the Japanese attack fleet were anchored at Hitokappu Bay in the Kurile Islands, Yamamoto directed the fleet to depart on November 26, advance into Hawaiian waters through the North Pacific, and attack the United States fleet in Hawaii. He even provided the latitude and longitude for part of the route and a refueling point. The route would take the Japanese fleet right through the area in which the US Pacific Fleet was exercising at the time that Ingersol's message to Kimmel was despatched. Then in a second message which is really an extension of the first, he gave specific instructions for an attack against the main US naval force "on the very opening of hostilities" to "deal it a mortal blow" followed by an immediate withdrawal and return to Japan. But the message closed with an absolutely critical sentence. "*Should the negotiations with the United States prove successful, the task force shall hold itself in readiness forthwith to return and reassemble.*"⁴²⁶ This is conclusive proof that twelve days before the attack on Pearl Harbour took place the Japanese Imperial Government still held a slim hope of successful negotiation with the United States, even though it had reacted exactly as the McCollum Memorandum anticipated and in the manner it intended. From Roosevelt's point of view the fact that Yamamoto's message had been intercepted and understood just had to be concealed. *On the same afternoon, November 24, at 5.30 US EST*, McCollum issued orders revising the message relay system which had two effects: Kimmel was further isolated from the information flow and Roosevelt was isolated from the sensitive intelligence tracking system – but *not* from the flow of intelligence.⁴²⁷

In another message on the same day the admiral ordered discretionary radio silence. From each of the other messages it was possible to fix the positions of components of the Japanese fleets, but Kimmel was not provided with any intercepted messages or movement reports at all.⁴²⁸ In addition to Yamamoto, Vice Admiral Nagumo used the airwaves a lot on November 26 (west of the date line) in two and three way conversations with his subordinates and these messages were also picked up at Station H. But Kimmel was simply told in the communications summary for November 25 which he received next morning that "Commander Carriers was in extensive communications with the submarine commander and the Central Pacific Forces." No more.⁴²⁹ This concealment of information – the concealment even continued through successive Congressional Inquiries in 1945–46 and 1995 – led to a myth that the Japanese fleets had exercised total radio silence while on route to Pearl Harbour. The messages have subsequently been tracked and the records of their movements exist, but all thirteen of Yamamoto's messages are missing from the intercept files released to the National Archives by President Jimmy Carter in 1979.⁴³⁰

So Kimmel laboured on, but the communications summary which he had received from Rochefort on the morning of November 25 was sufficient to tell him that there was a large Japanese force including submarines and long-range carrier-based patrol aircraft in the area of Formosa and the Marshall Islands. The evidence pointed to the possibility of a two-pronged attack on Pearl Harbour, from both the north west and the south west, possibly concurrent with attacks on targets in South East Asia. After discussions between Kimmel, Rochefort and the Honolulu station commandant Rear Admiral Bloch, Rochefort was directed to send an assessment of the situation to Washington. In his 224-word priority message to Station US he appears to have skirted around some of the issues, referred to Japanese naval movements towards the Pescadores, Formosa and the Gulf of Tonkin, and strong concentrations in the Marshalls, but he omitted to mention Hawaii, or six aircraft carriers which had been identified, and closed with the note: "Evaluate above to indicate strong force component may be preparing to operate in South Eastern Asia while parts may operate from Palao and Marshalls." The message was received at the office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Washington, soon after 8.10 pm US EST, initialled by the commander of Station US, and copies – including one for McCollum – were sent to Navy High Command. It was treated by one of McCollum's assistants, Lt. Comd. Ethelbert Watts, in the manner in which it had been transmitted, as 'priority;' it was attached to a presidential monograph marked "*Aide to President – Show*," and it was delivered to Beardall for Roosevelt immediately.⁴³¹ Another copy was delivered to Stimson. The recording of its transmission to Roosevelt in that manner directly contravened the order which McCollum had issued only 27 hours earlier. It can be assumed that Watts had not read that order when he came on duty. It did not influence the strategy to which Roosevelt was committed.

Whitehall also had critical information by that date from two messages. One, which had been transmitted on November 19, (when it was decrypted is not clear) was to the Japanese Chargé d' Affaires in London. It advised that if diplomatic relations were on the point of being severed, concealed messages would be transmitted in clear language in the weather forecasts of the Japanese Broadcast Service. If such a message was broadcast all message receipt books were to be burned.⁴³² A different message would be used depending on whether the country concerned was the United States, the Soviet Union or Britain. From that, Whitehall concluded that if Britain did not reach an agreement with Japan but the US did, Japan would be very likely to attack British positions in China and/or South East Asia. The other had been sent to all Japanese missions in Europe. It advised that the government was doing its utmost to reach a compromise but it could make no further concessions, the outlook was not bright, and if the negotiations broke down the situation would be critical.⁴³³

Eden and Churchill kept the pressure on Washington and on the morning of November 26, Eden received a message, the contents of which have never been published but which is thought, by some writers, to have been the incomplete terms which Hull proposed to hand to the Japanese, without the detailed ten point note. However in the circumstances it is more likely to have been advice that fleets of the Japanese Navy were en route to Pearl Harbour, that

Roosevelt was waiting for a first strike, and that Britain should ‘sit it out’ until that attack occurred. We will not know until either the British or United States governments declassify the message and release it for public information. In any case Eden discussed the matter with Churchill and they decided to use China as an excuse to press for even tighter terms. Churchill cabled Roosevelt saying, in part: “If (the Chinese) collapse, our joint dangers would enormously increase. We are sure that the regard of the United States for the Chinese cause will govern your action.”⁴³⁴ We feel that the Japanese are most unsure of themselves.”⁴³⁵ Britain had forced the US into a stalemate. It had no room left to bargain. Almost immediately after Churchill’s message was received in Washington Hull handed the American terms to the Japanese Ambassadors. They were dumbfounded and retired in the greatest distress.⁴³⁶

The talks were presumed to be at an end and on both sides of the Atlantic there was an assumption that Japan would strike. The task was to determine where. Both the US and Britain wanted Japan to strike first. Roosevelt had no basis on which to declare war on Japan. He may have had justification for a declaration of war against Germany, but he did not have the political support required to make it. He had to wait for something to happen which would give him the justification. For that matter Britain did not have a justification either, except, perhaps, that Japan was at war with one of its allies, China. Historically, in such situations it was the nature of British interests which were at stake and a cost-benefits analysis which determined whether Britain intervened or not. The fact of a conflict was no guarantee of friendly intervention. The situation was no different now, except that the decision was even harder because of the complexity of Britain’s conflicts of interest. Churchill had to wait for Japan to attack something so that he could say he was defending something other than colonial privilege. He would not have long to wait. Intelligence reports were pouring in. A British intelligence intercept showed that the Italian and Japanese ambassadors in Bangkok thought an invasion was imminent. The US Consul in Hanoi reported that according to the Vichy French authorities the Japanese intended to attack the Kra Isthmus, linking Thailand, Burma and Malaya, on December 1,⁴³⁷ and US naval intelligence reported that the Japanese second and third fleets were being organized into special task forces at Takao (Kaoshing), on Formosa, and at the nearby Pescadores. Their actions were reported to be subject to restraining orders from Tokyo.⁴³⁸

Hull had decided at the last minute to hand the Japanese only the ten-point ultimatum and not the *modus vivendi* on the basis that:

*The slight prospect of Japan’s agreeing to the modus vivendi therefore did not warrant assuming the risks involved in proceeding with it, especially the risk of collapse of Chinese morale and resistance, and even of disintegration.*⁴³⁹

In spite of the position which Britain had taken, Churchill tried to pass the buck to the Americans for the consequences and implied in his memoirs that his response would almost certainly have been different if he had all of the information. He wrote:

We had not heard up to this moment of the “Ten-Point Note”, which not only met our wishes and those of the associated governments, but indeed went beyond anything for which we had

ventured to ask. On this same 26th Mr. Hull received the Japanese envoys at the State Department. He did not even mention to them the *modus vivendi* about which the President had telegraphed to me on the 23rd. On the contrary, he handed them the “Ten-Point Note.”⁴⁴⁰

On November 27 there was just a touch of good news from the Russian front. The German advance was stalled in the suburbs of Moscow. Roosevelt talked with key defence and naval advisers, including King, commander of the Atlantic Fleet, but avoided making any direct response to the advice from Hawaii, and officially decided there was not likely to be further negotiation. In reality it was no new decision. He had been working on that basis for days. He then authorized Stimson, Secretary for War, to issue a ‘war warning.’ The gist of the message was that negotiations with Japan had ceased; an aggressive movement in any direction, but including the Philippines, the Kra Peninsula or Borneo, was expected within a few days; defensive deployment should be executed; US policy calls for Japan to commit the first overt act; and necessary reconnaissance was to be carried out in such a manner that it did not alarm the civilian population or disclose US intentions. But there was confusion in the messages and the same message was not sent to all commanders. Revised instructions were sent to some commanders, notably Kimmel, next day, November 28. The result was that some bases were put on full alert with restricted leave, but others, including Hawaii, were not. Stark issued a specific order to Kimmel saying that part of the previous order was “not applicable in the Pacific area and will not be placed in effect in that area except as now in force in Southeast Pacific sub area and Panama naval coastal frontier.” But he confirmed that: “Prior to hostile Japanese action you are directed to undertake such reconnaissance and other measures as you deem necessary but these measures should be carried out so as not repeat not to alarm civil population or disclose intent.”⁴⁴¹ [Emphasis added.] In the circumstances of Morimura’s surveillance, US counter-surveillance and Sarnoff’s rather fantastic visit at Roosevelt’s request, it is hardly surprising that it took Stark’s double injunction to require Kimmel to do nothing which would show Morimura that he was expecting “visitors.” To put the base on full alert or to cancel leave would certainly have done that. Thus, he did not, and Short put the base’s military defences on low alert.

When Hitler learned that day of the US ultimatum to Japan and the breakdown in discussions between them, he had Ribbentrop summon the Japanese Ambassador and urge Japan to declare war immediately on both the United States and Britain. Responding to a question from the ambassador on Germany’s relations with the US, Ribbentrop said:

If Japan becomes engaged in a war with the United States, Germany will of course join the war immediately. There is no possibility whatever of Germany entering a separate peace with the United States under such circumstances. The Fuhrer is adamant on that point. ⁴⁴²

An earlier intercept shown to Churchill that day indicated that the Thai prime minister “was weakening” and that he had told the Japanese ambassador that “he wished to see Japan predominant in the region.”⁴⁴³ British intelligence reports for that day suggested each of Borneo, Malaya, Thailand, China and/or the Burma Road, and Siberia as possible targets with Thailand’s Kra Isthmus being the most likely. The reasoning went that a direct attack on British interests in

Malaya or Singapore was unlikely because of the danger of heavy losses from aerial counter attack, and it was expected to take the Japanese land forces three months to move south due to the extremely difficult terrain and monsoon conditions.⁴⁴⁴

In Washington there was an air of unreality around Roosevelt who was trying to act as if everything was normal, and that day he decided to take a weekend break at Warm Springs, Georgia, for what he called a delayed Thanksgiving celebration. It was as if he was saying to his inner circle ‘come on: let’s get it over so that we can start the real war.’ Before leaving, he held a meeting of his chief war advisers, Stimson, Hull, Knox, Marshall and Stark. The discussion was “disingenuous” and the president’s decision stood. In spite of the Yamamoto message four days earlier which said that the attack would not take place if negotiations with the United States were successful, it was option one. Do nothing. Or almost nothing. At the president’s suggestion a telegram was drafted for despatch to Emperor Hirohito which amounted to an ultimatum that “disastrous events would be set afoot” if a severe blow was aimed at the Allied powers of Britain, Holland and America by Japan.⁴⁴⁵ It was in essence the message which Churchill believed Roosevelt was committed to sending at the close of their *Atlantic Charter* meeting, but it went even further than previous communications by introducing the concept that Britain, Holland and the United States were “Allied powers.” However it was drafted in such a way that it was essentially an exercise in combined domestic and international public relations which could be used at the most appropriate time, and it was not, then, dispatched. Next day, November 29, in between casual drives around Warm Springs, and as the British Colonial Office ordered the governor of the Straits Settlements to make final preparations for defence, Roosevelt received an intercepted message from Berlin to Tokyo. It was in response to Hitler’s request for immediate Japanese intervention. The ambassador was instructed to tell Hitler, “very secretly:”

*there is extreme danger that war may suddenly break out between the Anglo-Saxon nations and Japan through some clash of arms, and add that the time of breaking out of this war may come quicker than anyone dreams.*⁴⁴⁶

On November 30, Whitehall convened an ad hoc committee to work on defence arrangements for the Straits Settlements and to advise whether Britain should make a pre-emptive strike to occupy the Kra Isthmus before Japan could do so, but in Pearl Harbour then (and over the next few days) there was also an air of unreality. Kimmel and Short knew that Japan’s navy was in the Pacific geared for war, but because of the continued withholding of information and, in particular, data on the movement of the Japanese fleet, coupled with confusion over instructions and both technical and administrative failures, the base was very ill-prepared to face that navy.⁴⁴⁷ And they certainly did not know that Roosevelt had received the intercepted message from Tokyo to Berlin, noted above.

Both Churchill and Roosevelt were playing games in their last minute negotiations for a compromise agreement and, as historian Joseph P. Lash points out: “In keeping the talks [between the US and Japan] going, Roosevelt and Hull had two purposes: the negotiations

bought the West time; and there was always the outside chance of a settlement. Roosevelt placed more emphasis on the first, Hull on the second.”⁴⁴⁸ Lash also said:

*In the Pacific, Roosevelt and Churchill were playing for time. They genuinely believed that a policy of firmness and unity would hold off hostilities. But in the Atlantic, Roosevelt, with Churchill's concurrence, was looking for an incident ("everything was to be done to force an incident," he had advised Churchill), one that would permit him to wage war in the Atlantic without declaring it.*⁴⁴⁹

Churchill had consented to direct talks between the US and Japan because he did not have any option if he wanted American support for the war in Europe. But, because British and US policies on China did not correspond and because of Roosevelt's well established position that the imperial European powers should quit Asia, the British were worried by the fact that the US was conducting negotiations in isolation and they were being kept in the dark about the progress of talks.⁴⁵⁰ However, included in Roosevelt's final demands were that Japan must vacate all of the territory it had occupied in both China and Indochina, that it must withdraw recognition from the 'puppet' central government in Nanking which meant, in effect, recognizing Chiang Kai-Shek, and that it must formally withdraw from the *Tripartite Pact*. And because the statement was drafted in such a way that it was regarded by the Japanese government as an ultimatum, British fears of a separate deal behind their backs evaporated.⁴⁵¹

While those fears evaporated, fears of a Japanese invasion of the Kra Isthmus did not, and there was consensus in Whitehall that there was wisdom in a pre-emptive strike from a military point of view. However, there were overriding fears. The occupation by British forces of sovereign Thai territory might push Thailand irrevocably into the Japanese camp and alienate American public opinion by making Britain the aggressor. It might also lead to a clash with Japanese forces while Britain was still without a firm guarantee of support from the United States "over an issue which was hardly likely to galvanize the American public in Britain's favour." The Commander in Chief Far East was therefore instructed not to proceed with the operation except on express orders from Whitehall.⁴⁵²

This situation made it imperative that Britain had a clear understanding of what circumstances would lead to a United States declaration of war against Japan. The reason for a direct question to the president would have been patently obvious and Churchill therefore chose to manipulate Roosevelt into an indicative answer by the round-about route of a proposal that he issue a more explicit warning to Japan that "any incremental advance would lead to a wider war."⁴⁵³

But what of the Middle East through which all of Britain's forces had to pass? While Britain and Germany both waited on tenterhooks for Japan to show its hand and Britain squirmed through its deliberations on the war which it knew it was about to face in South East Asia, the Mufti met Hitler on November 30. Following his meeting in Rome with Mussolini at the end of October, the Mufti had gone to Berlin where he had a long wait because of Hitler's pre-occupation with Russia but eventually, with much ceremony, he was ushered in for his meeting.

The Fuhrer assured him that after German forces broke through the Caucasus their objective would be not the occupation of Arab lands but the destruction of the Jewish homeland. They discussed the best means of recruiting Arab troops to the Nazi banner and the Mufti promptly commenced a broadcasting campaign to recruit Arabs for a new Arab Legion to rise up and overthrow the Allies in the Middle East. He also called for Muslims from Europe to join Hitler's armies. The plan for a Middle Eastern Arab Legion failed but some 6,000 Muslims were recruited to fight on the Russian front.⁴⁵⁴

Hitler reminded the Mufti that Germany had declared an uncompromising war on the Jews and that this naturally involved stiff opposition to the Jewish Homeland in Palestine. He was determined "to challenge the European nations one by one into a settlement of the Jewish question and, when the time came, Germany would turn to the non-European peoples with the same call."⁴⁵⁵ But it is doubtful whether Hitler gave the Mufti a detailed briefing on the methodology of 'the settlement', of the thousands who were being slaughtered every day in the towns of the occupied territories, of the slave labour camps which were being introduced to relieve Germans for other work and of the specially designed mobile gas chambers which were being got ready to go into operation a few days later.

Next day, December 1, the German armies mounted a dramatic bid to crack the shell of Russian resistance in the suburbs of Moscow and a forward column reached within twelve miles of the walls of the Kremlin.

MATTERS OF RECORD

It is not clear to what extent Hitler and the Mufti discussed the Far East, but the gulf between the American and Japanese demands had proven too great. The US had refused to give an assurance on the volume of oil which it would provide for Japan to support its domestic economy and had refused to end its aid to Chiang Kai-shek. Japan would not recognize Chiang Kai-shek and would not withdraw from Northern Indochina until the China question was resolved. Therefore, before we turn to Roosevelt's answer to Churchill's concerns about what it would require for the US to declare war, it is enlightening to reflect on how the two countries came to be in such a position of stalemate. Foreign Minister Togo made a detailed statement to the Japanese Imperial Conference that day as the German armies were virtually knocking at the doors of the Kremlin – the same day that Roosevelt responded to Churchill's proposal for a more explicit warning. Togo summarized the proposals, counter-proposals and responses during seven months of negotiation between the two governments.⁴⁵⁶ He did not try to gild the lily. He related the chain of events simply and dispassionately in a manner which writers reviewing the same events from a Western perspective have seldom been able to emulate, with the notable exception of Antony Best in *Britain, Japan and Pearl Harbour*.⁴⁵⁷ Perhaps their assumptions of Western Christian correctness and superiority put them on the defensive about the closing phases of the European colonial era, about relations with non-Christian governments and systems of ethics, and about the propriety of the self-proclaimed 'New Israel' assuming the

mantel of universal boss-cocky which was being stripped from Europe's shoulders – by both the US and Japan. Foreign Minister Togo told the Imperial Conference that:⁴⁵⁸

The basis of America's international relations was to adhere firmly to the Four Principles and to demand their application. They were: (1) respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all nations; (2) non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries; (3) non-discrimination in commercial matters; (4) non-disturbance of the status quo in the Pacific, except by peaceful means. Moreover the United States indicated that she doubted the peaceful intentions of our Empire, objected to our stationing troops in China, advocated the unconditional application of the principle of non-discrimination in commercial matters in China, and demanded that we make the Tripartite Pact effectively a dead letter. As a result, the negotiations ran into difficulties and finally came to a standstill.

What produced these difficulties in views between our two countries was the fact that the United States, in the conduct of international relations, adhered firmly to abstract principles that she had traditionally maintained, and urged their application to China and other areas without considering the actual situation in East Asia. We recognized that it was extremely difficult to reach an agreement as long as the United States did not revise her attitude.

Togo then noted Cabinet's decision to make concessions to improve Japanese-American relations in what amounted to a Japanese version of Chamberlain's Munich appeasement process; inter-government discussions on the *Tripartite Pact*, the US interpretation of the right of self defence and non-discrimination in commerce; cabinet's decision to send a second ambassador to Washington to speed up and broaden the scope of negotiations; and America's demand that Japan renounce the use of force. He continued:

In addition she repeated forcefully that if a Japanese-American Agreement was concluded, our Empire would no longer need to continue the Tripartite Pact; and that she wished us either to abandon it or to render it a dead letter.

As for non-discrimination in commerce, she wanted to eliminate the Japanese provision regarding it – namely, "its application to the whole world." She stressed that the United States had been exerting efforts to restore the freedom of trade.

The reference to US "efforts to restore the freedom of trade" was a clear allusion to the *Atlantic Charter* and its pressure on Britain to drop the Imperial Preference system, although, as Togo acknowledged, the US had taken a consistent 'traditional' line in a number of international forums. He went on to relate American proposals for a 'Joint Declaration on Economic Policy'; a Japanese-American commercial treaty; restoration of complete economic control in China to a Chinese Government under Chiang Kai-Shek – except that there would be "joint economic development of China (to be) undertaken by the Powers on a cooperative basis"; US "willingness to act as a mediator in establishing direct negotiations between Japan and China if Japan decided to pursue a peaceful policy"; and Japanese fears that the American proposals "will mark the beginning of an international control of China."⁴⁵⁹

Togo then noted the meeting between Japan's ambassadors and Roosevelt on November 17, then meetings with Hull on the 18th, 20th, 21st, 22nd, and 26th. He summarized continuing

differences over the *Tripartite Pact*, China and non-discrimination in trade; he repeated Japan's counter proposals, then continued:

*However, the United States, even though she voiced no objection to the idea that Japan and the United States would assume positions of leadership in East Asia and the Western Hemisphere respectively and stated that she desired to arrive at a peaceful settlement in the Pacific area, refused to discontinue aid to Chiang. In addition, she reiterated her stand toward the Tripartite Pact. She gave no indication of a willingness to compromise.*⁴⁶⁰

After listing discussions between the United States and other countries on normalization of trade with Japan he noted Hull's comments that troop withdrawal from Indochina "would not be sufficient to improve the critical situation in the South Pacific area", that "the time was not ripe for the President to serve as an intermediary between Japan and China," and that after conferring with "various countries concerned ... he regretfully concluded that he could not agree [to Japan's new proposal]." Togo then listed the revised American proposals, which included two multilateral nonaggression pacts between Japan, the United States, the European powers with colonial interests in Asia, and Thailand, which would have amounted to continued recognition of the existing imperial arrangements in Asia. He noted why these were unacceptable, and listed those sections of the US proposals which were acceptable.

To Japan, the latest American proposals were "a conspicuous retrogression ... which completely disregarded the negotiations that had gone on for half a year," and China under Chiang Kai-Shek would become increasingly dependent on Britain and the United States. By way of an overview Togo said:

In short, the United States Government has persistently adhered to its traditional doctrines and principles, ignored realities in East Asia, and tried to force on our Empire principles that she herself could not easily carry out. Despite the fact that we made a number of concessions, she maintained her original position throughout the negotiations, lasting for seven months, and refused to budge even one step. I believe that America's policy toward Japan has been consistently to thwart the establishment of a New Order in East Asia, which is our immutable policy. We must recognize that if we were to accept their present proposal, the international position of our Empire would be reduced to a status lower than it was prior to the Manchurian Incident, and our very survival would inevitably be threatened."⁴⁶¹

Togo's assessment that US policy was to "thwart the establishment of a New Order in East Asia" was basically correct, but not entirely. In American minds the Monroe motto 'The Americas for the Americans' did not translate directly into 'Asia for the Asians.' The American version of the New Order in Asia still saw the European powers replaced by the United States – the policy which can be dated from 1835 when the US was rebuffed in its first effort to establish a diplomatic mission in competition with the European powers but which is best illustrated by Commodore Perry's 'visits' to Tokyo in 1853 and 1854 and the imposition of a number of highly unequal trade treaties. [Section xviii.]

The US certainly did not see its 'leadership' restricted to the Western Hemisphere or being shared with a partner in Asia – either Japan or China – as Togo and his colleagues seem to have believed, unless that partner was a dependant or recognized the virtual suzerainty of the United States. In this sense Togo's assessment was spot on. China under Chiang Kai-shek was to become a resource rich vassal-state to be exploited by 'the powers.' The Christian colonization of China which the European powers had never been able to complete was to be completed by the United States through the back door. But in the circumstances of the war in Europe the US had to concede a continuing role to the existing colonial powers or, with a collapse of the Western Alliance, be faced with the fact that National Socialism would continue in Europe for some time and place the United States under enormous pressures.

In addition there was another factor which greatly influenced America's readiness to form a leadership alliance with one or other of the major powers in Asia – religion. The US was much more at ease with the American educated convert to Protestant Christianity who had a heritage of mass baptisms to live up to – Chiang Kai-shek – than it was with the highly conservative and puritanical demigod – Emperor Hirohito – who led an intensely nationalistic people imbued with a pre-messianic state-religious philosophy and a system of ethics which the US neither understood nor cared for, and who had just pressed many of its American-led Christian communities into a merger. This was a significant factor in American racism and in the imposition of the anti-Japanese immigration restrictions to which the Japanese naturally took such strong exception.

Speaking after the Foreign Minister and in his capacity as Minister for Home Affairs, Prime Minister Tojo told the Imperial Conference of preparations which had been taken to protect the domestic stability of the Empire in the event of war. He referred to censorship and the need to condition public opinion; the problem of dealing with radical nationalist groups and the need to simplify judicial procedures under wartime conditions; preventative detention to protect internal security; mobilization of manpower for emergency services; food rationing and monetary controls; and detention or internment of foreign nationals. The measures which he outlined and the terms in which he expressed the justification for them are remarkably reminiscent of Britain just two years earlier.⁴⁶²

However the reports to the Imperial Conference by Togo and Tojo do more than give us a report of the situation immediately before the outbreak of war. They illustrate the strange relationship between Britain and the United States and the way in which this was being manipulated. At no stage do either of the Japanese leaders give any indication that they thought that the US was negotiating on behalf of both itself and Britain. In fact quite the reverse. The whole world – Japan included – knew very well that the United States was very heavily committed to supporting Britain in its war with Germany. But the US was still deeply divided. It had not declared war against Germany. Its support was only in the commercial supply of armaments and the provision of favourable finance facilities: it was *not* making grants at its taxpayers' expense and it was not committing forces. It had extended similar arrangements to the Soviet Union – a country with which it had not enjoyed cordial relations – and that aid was

known to be a move in support of Britain and against Germany. It was not support for the Soviet Union in the ordinary sense of the word. It had to manage its relations with the Vatican, the Catholic Church in the United States, the isolationist lobby and the anti-Communist lobby very carefully indeed to avoid a backlash against the extension of the Lend Lease scheme.

The *Atlantic Charter*, which had to be negotiated as a precondition to expanded aid for Britain, referred specifically to Hitler's Germany and it contained provisions which were contrary to Britain's interests. Those provisions had been confirmed in US discussions with Japan and it was made quite clear to all concerned that the US wanted the *old* European powers out of Asia. There was tension between the US and Britain in their commercial, political and military policies in Asia and it was clear to everyone that there was a degree of discomfort in the relationship between them. The US was not acting as a lackey-offspring of imperial Britain and the much-derided parent was at pains to convince the world that it had not fallen to a position of subservient dependence on its powerfully independent offspring. Japan knew also that the Vatican had lobbied hard to gain US involvement in an alliance with Germany against the Soviet Union and that there was a powerful isolationist lobby at work in the US. It had not been given any indication that Britain and the US were working in collusion in their negotiations with Japan *except* to that extent that it knew that if its negotiations with the US failed and it declared war against the US, it would be at war with Britain also. Churchill had said that much very directly in his Guildhall speech. But it did not necessarily follow that if Japan was able to reach an agreement with the US and not Britain, that the US would automatically annul that agreement and go to war against Japan with Britain. If it were otherwise, the Japanese government would have had no reason to set up different codes to advise its diplomatic personnel of impending war with *either* Britain *or* the US. It could expect to go to war with Britain without necessarily having to face the United States also. This is illustrated very clearly by Churchill's dilemma and his attempted manipulation of Roosevelt and the president's reply at the same time that Togo and Tojo were reporting to the Imperial Conference. However Japan knew that if it decided on war with the United States it would automatically have to face war with both.

Japan had not developed code breaking techniques to enable it to read American and British diplomatic or military communications traffic. However the evidence from the carefully staged responses by those countries to its successive diplomatic efforts and military moves was sufficient for it to know that at least some of its traffic was being intercepted, even if it was not obvious that *most* of its intercepted traffic was being passed, at their convenience, between the two governments. This made it essential that there be minimum communications traffic between the Japanese task forces and Tokyo command once those task forces had been given their battle orders. That reduction in communication traffic made it harder for the Western powers to keep track of the Japanese forces and contributed to the subsequent confusion in London, Singapore, Washington and Honolulu when the attacks occurred. But although the reduction in communications was only partial it was seized upon and exploited by the American and the British authorities in the fantastic propaganda barrages which followed. In fact the concealment

of intercepted messages by the United States did more to cause confusion than the reduction in traffic and the circumstances show that they were too clever by half. The US authorities were confident that they were intercepting the key Japanese communications; they thought they knew every Japanese move in advance or as it took place; they were goading the Japanese into making the first hostile move; they expected to be able to look surprised and yet be prepared to counter the Japanese actions; and as already discussed, they heavily filtered what was relayed to their commanders. This pattern is even more apparent from the events of the final days before the concurrent attacks on the American territory of Hawaii and the British colony of Malaya.

CHURCHILL'S DESPERATE NEED

On December 1 when Roosevelt returned from Warm Springs delayed Thanksgiving Day break to meet Knox, Hull and Stark he was greeted with four intercepts. In one, dated November 28, Togo advised his ambassadors that "in a few days US-Japan negotiations will be de facto ruptured. Do not give the impression that negotiations are broken off."⁴⁶³ Possibly influenced by that, Roosevelt told Halifax that in the case of a Japanese attack on British or Dutch territory "we should obviously all be together" and if Japan attacked Thailand he would support a British move into the Kra Isthmus.⁴⁶⁴ However Churchill was still worried. He wanted a more definite guarantee than that to be confident of US backing for British initiatives. The situation in Russia was desperate. Absolutely desperate. The leading German Panzer division in the outer suburbs of Moscow was within sight of the flashes of Russian anti-aircraft guns defending the Kremlin. The opposing forces fought to the limit of endurance as the Germans edged forward, and the Russian Commander in Chief, General Zhukov, appealed to Stalin, by then back in full control and with the status of Supreme Commander, for permission to order the final reserves into battle but Stalin refused.

On December 2 the German commander, General Halder, noted in his diary that the Russian defence had reached its climax. Foreign observers, like Halder, believed a Soviet request for an armistice was imminent and Churchill knew that if that occurred there would be concurrent drives *west* by the Germans and *south* by the Japanese. He desperately needed an incident which would draw or impel the United States into the war. There was no question that if Russia withdrew the only thing that could save Britain was direct US involvement. In such an atmosphere of uncertainty, Eden suggested that if the Japanese invaded the Dutch East Indies (to secure its oil supplies) and not British territory, the British government "should *do nothing* to prevent the full impact of this Japanese aggression presenting itself to the United States as a direct issue between them and the United States."⁴⁶⁵ Together with Roosevelt, Churchill certainly knew that the Japanese navy had four aircraft carriers assembled in the task forces off Formosa, even though that information had been withheld from Admiral Kimmell at Pearl Harbour, and he knew that such a task force could pack quite a lot of 'aggression.' He may not have known that six were in fact in the north west Pacific sailing towards Honolulu to provide the 'direct aggression' against the US which Roosevelt was waiting for and which would save

him any more effort in engineering it. The Naval Intelligence Division believed that (at least) four aircraft carriers were in Japanese home waters, out of harm's way, but they qualified their report, saying that "intelligence cannot be entirely relied on ... (because) ... ordinary low grade W.T. may be 'spoof' designed to mislead, as we mislead [sic] the Germans before Neptune and Overlord." ⁴⁶⁶

Then on December 4 three things "swept away" Churchill's hesitation. One was the decoding of messages which indicated that the Japanese embassies in London and Washington had been ordered to destroy their cypher machines. Another was the decrypted message from Tokyo to the Japanese ambassador in Berlin indicating that the talks in Washington had broken down and that a clash with Britain and the United States could occur 'Sooner than is expected' – which Roosevelt had know about for five days, since it was handed to him in Warm Springs on November 29. The third was a "clarification" by Roosevelt to Halifax: American 'support' in the event of an attack on British territory meant 'armed support' and he would support a British pre-emptive strike for the Kra Isthmus if Japan attacked another part of Thailand. ⁴⁶⁷

Churchill was greatly relieved. He *knew* that he would soon get his war in South East Asia and this was the key to three 'packages.' **First.** The United States would be involved in that war and this would keep Japan fully occupied so that it would lose all interest in attacking the Soviet Union in support of Germany. The prospect of a Soviet armistice and the release of Germany's armies for an invasion of Britain would therefore recede significantly. **Second.** Once the United States was involved in war alongside Britain it could be assumed that it would also join Britain's war in Europe against Germany. **Third.** The fact that the United States was involved with Britain in a war against Japan would mean that it was effectively fighting against Japan's concept of a New Order in Asia based on decolonization and would, *ipso facto*, mean that it was *defending* European colonial interests and Britain may therefore be able to avoid the dismantling of its empire in spite of the American-imposed *Atlantic Charter*. The White Western amorphous Christian gel would still reign supreme with Britain being able to bear, and enjoy, its share of 'the white man's burden.'

An intelligence report from the Far East Combined Bureau on that day seems to have been given little attention. It noted that two Japanese aircraft carriers were in the Mariana Islands, as far east as they were ever sighted, but because they could only rely on "a motley collection of obsolete cruisers and destroyers" (like the ones Churchill had leased from the United States in return for bases) they were said to pose little danger. ⁴⁶⁸ There was apparently some degree of complacency because that report followed one from the NID to the effect that (the positions of) all know Japanese heavy naval units were accounted for.

Churchill now had his understanding with Roosevelt although it was still only verbal. It was not written, signed and sealed, but he was sufficiently confident for his war cabinet to give approval for the C in C Far East, Brooke-Popham, to order the occupation of the Kra Isthmus on his own initiative if he believed that the Japanese were about to attack Thailand. And the tone of news from Moscow changed for the better next day, December 5, when General

Guderian, commanding the leading German Panzer division, decided his troops no longer had the strength to press their attack. He defied Hitler's orders to hold ground and ordered a withdrawal of a few miles to a shorter line which he could hope to secure for a winter siege. At the same time Stalin finally approved Zhukov's counter-offensive with 700,000 reserve troops who included the divisions made available from the eastern defensive perimeter by Japan's decision not to invade the Soviet Union. And Britain, supported by corresponding declarations from Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa, declared war against Germany's three circumstantial minor partners in the war against Russia: Hungary, Roumania and Finland which had been caught as the meat in the sandwich of great power play. [See chapter 23.]⁴⁶⁹ Britain's declaration was, in a sense, a token gesture, but it had to show that it was prepared to act to maintain access to a supply port for northern Russia. Talk of a Russian armistice ebbed somewhat and Hitler had the task of holding his battered forces together with enormous supply lines stretching across the frozen wastes. But Churchill was still left trailing Hitler in the alliance stakes that day, nine days after the Japanese task forces were seen to be assembling at Formosa, when a formal treaty binding Germany, Italy and Japan was agreed to by each of the parties. [That treaty actually took effect on December 11 following Hitler's declaration of war against the United States in a speech to the Reichstag and the expulsion of the American charge d'affaires.]

That night, Friday, December 5 at 8.40 pm Hawaiian time, a radio operator at Station H intercepted a transmission from Admiral Shigeyoshi Inoue, commander of Japan's Fourth Fleet in the Central Pacific, informing his forces that a declaration of war was imminent. It began: "A special message on the occasion of the Declaration of War, to all under my command." Two hours later, 10.40 pm, the transmission was repeated. On that occasion it was picked up at Station H again, by a different operator.⁴⁷⁰ Some time later, in the early morning hours, and still 24 hours before the attack on Pearl Harbour, another radio message, transmitted in two parts, was also intercepted at Station H. It was an Imperial Rescript in which Emperor Hirohito urged his officers and men to "annihilate the enemy" and which Admiral Yamamoto told his combined fleets he had received on December 2 and was passing on "prior to the declaration of war." It was intended to be broadcast 24 hours prior to the declaration of war and the attack but, due to a mix up on the flag ship it was broadcast early and thus repeated two hours later at the intended time, 4.45 am on Saturday, December 6 Hawaiian time.⁴⁷¹ The repeat broadcast was also picked up. In fact the broadcast was intercepted a total of seven times and four of the intercept reports were taken by chief radioman Kisner, together with his analysis, his daily report and intercepts of the Inoue broadcast, to the Station H Cryptology centre at 1 pm that day. Rochefort had taken the weekend off and Dyer was again deputizing for him. Kisner's bundle was placed on his desk with the war warning intercepts on top. They were never passed on to Kimmel. Dyer later claimed that it was a matter of overwork and under staffing.⁴⁷²

The opportunity for an effective warning, defensive manoeuvres and an aerial response to the bombing attack was therefore fumbled. Some might suggest aborted. There was no question of the air force at Honolulu being scrambled for a long distance pre-emptive strike against the

Japanese fleets. That was specifically ruled out by Roosevelt's instruction that American forces were not to strike first in any circumstances. Japan had to be permitted to strike first to be labelled as the aggressor and to generate public support in the United States for a declaration of war. But surely a defensive alert was another thing. And there is another question: if those messages were picked up at Honolulu and the broadcasts were beamed to fleets in South East Asian waters as well, were they picked up at the other US regional bases? And if so, why were those intercept reports not acted on? It is well established that the other bases were intercepting and processing messages during the previous twelve days since the Japanese fleet was ordered to sail.

The intrigue deepens in view of the fact that one of the messages which was delivered to Dyer in the same bundle was one which Morimura had despatched to Tokyo through RCA on December 2 and which RCA had handed to Station H on Friday afternoon. It read: "No changes observed by afternoon 2 December. So far they do not seem to have been alerted. Shore leave as usual." That one was deciphered and translated the same day.⁴⁷³ It is reasonable to ask why that took precedence over the war warnings. Stark would have been very happy to learn that Morimura had been watching very carefully for any changes in conduct at the base. Perhaps that was the reason for the preferential treatment because, in fact, although Kimmel had an urgent and immediate need for a war warning *at* Hawaii, Stark and the other inner circle members around Roosevelt had little need for a warning *from* Hawaii. The interception and decoding systems in Seattle and Washington were working overtime and very effectively. They did not pick up or recognize the significance of everything,⁴⁷⁴ but they were working so effectively that critical messages to Japan's ambassadors which were transmitted on December 5 and 6 were on Roosevelt's table *before* they were decoded at the Japanese embassy and available to the ambassadors. But total deceit prevailed. They were *withheld* from Kimmel and Short, too. The decoy simply was not to be warned.

In the meantime, while the US Navy intelligence intrigue was being played out, a Japanese convoy was seen entering the Gulf of Thailand on the morning of December 6 (the evening of the 5th in Washington) but British naval intelligence could not track it because of cloud cover nor be sure of its destination. Therefore the C in C Far East could not justify a pre-emptive landing to seize the Kra Peninsula. Neither could he order an air strike against a fleet which could not be located. Whitehall considered giving Thailand a guarantee of support against a Japanese landing but it could not do so if its government had authorized the Japanese presence. The Thai government had certainly not asked for either a guarantee of that nature or supportive intervention and it was therefore very likely that the Japanese presence was with its approval. In addition, if Britain was to offer a guarantee it could be politically disastrous if it then infringed Thailand's sovereignty by occupying some of its territory without a call for the guarantee to be honoured, and there was evidence that Japan and its supporters in Thailand were trying to provoke Britain into such an action.⁴⁷⁵ Two could play the same game.

Also on this day, December 6, responsibility for the US atomic bomb research project was taken out of the hands of the Briggs Committee which had overseen preliminary or theoretical

studies for almost two years. It was now considered a practical project and thereafter it was to be the responsibility of the Office of Scientific Research and Development, a body more appropriate to the organization and direction of a project once it reached the stage of practical development and implementation. That evening, at 8 pm Washington time, (10 am on Sunday 7 in Tokyo) Roosevelt authorized the despatch of the message to Emperor Hirohito, via Grew, which had been prepared on November 28, as a last resort, or as an ultimatum – or as a cynical exercise in national self-aggrandisement for domestic and international propaganda. Writing as President of the United States he said:

The people of the United States, believing in peace and in the right of nations to live and let live, have eagerly watched the conversations between our two governments during these past months. We have hoped for a termination of the present conflict between Japan and China. We have hoped that a peace of the Pacific could be consummated in such a way that nationalities of many diverse peoples could exist side by side without fear of invasion; that unbearable burdens of armaments could be lifted for them all; and that all peoples would resume commerce without discrimination against or in favor of any nation. [He then closed with a request to the Emperor] Give thought in this definite emergency to a way of dispelling the dark clouds.⁴⁷⁶

It was as if he was trying to emulate some of the papal encyclicals of the recent past in his disregard for historical accuracy and in his use of innuendo. It was as if Commander Perry had never ‘visited’ Japan and as if the US did not have grossly discriminatory anti-Japanese immigration policies; and its reference to commerce without discrimination was a reference to Britain rather than Japan in a shallow bid to maintain the mirage that the US was happy to compromise and share the resources of South East Asia with Japan. The message never reached Hirohito. Grew met Togo and requested an audience with the Emperor but it was too late. The action had already started. It sits in the records as a classic example of political hypocrisy. Four years later some politicians would grasp the coincidence of events to try to justify one of history’s most dastardly deeds by claiming that America’s decision to proceed with development of the bomb was taken on the eve of it being drawn into the war by Japan and in anticipation that it would be required in that war. However, as we have seen very clearly (chapter 22), the *motive* behind the initial *approach* to Roosevelt was to enable the development of a weapon which could be used selectively to eliminate Hitler and his leadership group before they could implement their anti-Semitic policies throughout Europe. The *motive* behind the *decision* to authorize work on it was the opportunity to develop a weapon which would enable the first country in possession of it to dominate the world economic and political scene by virtue of unchallengeable military capacity. Japan was not an immediate consideration.

Next day, December 7, the C in C Far East advised London that a pre-emptive occupation of the Kra Isthmus was no longer an option and that even though there was a squadron of torpedo-bombers at Kota Bharu, near the Thai border, it could not operate surveillance flights because of the weather, he therefore had no idea where the Japanese fleet was, and there was no way he could intervene to prevent an attack or a landing.⁴⁷⁷ They were closer than he realized. The first

Japanese landing of the war began early on the morning of Monday, December 8 (late at night on the 7th, Washington time) not at Bangkok or on the Thai section of the Kra Isthmus, but at the *British base* of Kota Bharu. *Britain's war in South East Asia had started* and Churchill was reasonably assured of United States intervention *in that region*. But there was certainly *no guarantee* that Roosevelt would use that Japanese attack on a British colonial territory as the opportunity, or the justification, to declare war on Germany. He was waiting for his own 'incident' to justify such an action. This was of real concern in London because the new Chief of the Imperial General Staff, General Sir Alan Brooke noted in his diary on the 6th and 7th that he had spent hours in meetings discussing with his colleagues "all the various alternatives that might lead to war and trying to ensure that in every case the USA would not be left out." But Roosevelt would not have to wait long for his incident: only a couple of hours. *He had been alerted on the afternoon of December 6*, that a very important Japanese message had been decoded and would be delivered to him that evening.⁴⁷⁸

'DECENT PEOPLE' DON'T STRIKE FIRST

That message was the second in a series of four which were sent from Japanese Foreign Minister Togo to Ambassador Kichisaburo Nomura which, together, constituted a final reply to the United States for its manipulated negotiations and a declaration of war. The first or 'pilot' message was a guide to those which would follow. The second was the bulk of the reply to the US position. The third was, in effect, the wording of a declaration of war. These two messages were to be carefully checked and properly prepared ready for presentation to the US Secretary of State. The fourth message contained the time when the ambassador was to deliver the prepared reply. The second, the substantial part of the message, was intercepted at Seattle about 3 pm Washington time on Saturday the 6th. It was recognized, retransmitted by teletype to Washington for decoding, translation into English, and personal delivery to the president who had been alerted about 4 pm to expect it sometime during the evening. He received it at 9.30 pm, read it and considered it in about fifteen minutes, then turned to his confidant Harry Hopkins (a former secretary of commerce) and said "This means war." According to the officer who delivered the message, Lt. Schulz, Roosevelt and Hopkins talked for about another fifteen minutes and neither mentioned Pearl Harbour, but Hopkins expressed concern that since war was coming at Japan's convenience "it was too bad" the United States could not strike first to offset the element of surprise. In response Roosevelt said, in effect, "No, we can't do that. We are a democracy and a decent people," then, raising his voice, "But we have a good record."⁴⁷⁹

Before Schulz left the room at 10 pm Roosevelt tried to contact Stark by phone but, being told that he was at the theatre, decided to wait. He said he didn't want to cause public disquiet by having a senior naval officer paged in a theatre! Over the next three hours several senior officers were located and shown the message, but none had the authority, without directions from Stark, Marshall or the president himself, to contact Pearl Harbour or any other base to issue a war warning. Stark arrived home at midnight and discussed the matter with Roosevelt by

phone, but no action was taken.⁴⁸⁰ For reasons which are not very convincing Marshall did not receive his copy until 11 am on Sunday, December 7. By that time the third and fourth parts of the message had already been in Roosevelt's hands for an hour and the president was simply waiting to be advised that the Japanese Ambassador had called on Hull as instructed in the final part. We are left to assume that Marshall was not aware of that. However, instead of picking up the scrambler phone to talk to either Roosevelt or Short in Honolulu, after some procrastination, and having *declined* the use of the Navy's more powerful radio transmitter, he hand wrote a message for normal Army radio transmission to commanders at each of Panama, Manila, San Francisco and Hawaii. It was transmitted *in that order*. When the Army radio signal was found to be too weak to reach Hawaii Marshall did not change his mind and use the Navy's powerful radio. The message to Short was sent via Western Union land line to San Francisco from where it was retransmitted to Honolulu by RCA's commercial radio link. Those manoeuvres were in sharp contrast to the efficiency with which the Japanese intercepts had been handled.⁴⁸¹ By the time Short received it, bombs were falling. In a display of coincidental bizarre and naive incompetence the responsible radar supervisor at Honolulu did not even raise the alarm when his operators located unprecedented waves of aircraft moving towards Pearl Harbour. He later justified his inaction by saying that he presumed they were US aircraft returning from reconnaissance.⁴⁸²

The third part of Togo's message to Ambassador Nomura was intercepted at Seattle a few minutes after 3 am Washington time on Sunday, December 7, and the fourth about 4.30 am. By about 5 am (11.30 pm Saturday night in Honolulu) they had both been sent by teleprinter to Station US in Washington. Before 7 am, having been translated from Japanese to English, they were placed ready for the arrival of the principal translator, Lt. Commander Kramer, and McCollum about 7.30 am. *Two hours later*, about 9.30 am, after some discussion about the fact that only Stark and Marshall could issue war warnings, and after Army intelligence was alerted to the stated deadline, Kramer left to deliver copies to the White House, and McCollum left with a copy for Stark. Roosevelt's copies were handed to him in his bedroom by Beardall a little after 10 am. Part three read:

Obviously it is the intention of the American Government to conspire with Great Britain and other countries to obstruct Japan's efforts toward the establishment of peace through the creation of a new order in East Asia, and especially to preserve Anglo-American rights and interests by keeping Japan and China at war. This intention has been revealed clearly during the course of the present negotiations. Thus, the earnest hope of the Japanese Government to adjust Japanese-American relations and to preserve and promote peace of the Pacific through cooperation with the American Government has finally been lost.

*The Japanese Government regrets to have to notify hereby the American Government that in view of the attitude of the American Government it cannot but consider that it is impossible to reach an agreement through further negotiations.*⁴⁸³

Part four read:

Very important. Will the Ambassador please submit to the United States Government (if possible the Secretary of State) our reply to the United States at 1:00 P.M. on the 7th your time.⁴⁸⁴ [Emphasis added.]

Roosevelt read both parts and made no comment on the 1 pm deadline. Beardall later testified that: “I had no sense that he was alarmed.” Roosevelt and Hopkins lunched together in the Oval study at 1.15 pm and bombs began dropping on Pearl Harbour a few minutes later, at 7.53 am Hawaiian time.⁴⁸⁵ The strategy of the McCollum Memorandum had worked. A short time later Kimmel and Short each received the tardy advice which had been withheld from them so deceitfully and cynically for political purposes.

Roosevelt did not immediately make direct contact with Churchill and, *according to Churchill’s memoirs*, the first advice he received of the attack on Pearl Harbour was a brief item in the BBC news a little after 9 pm while the US Ambassador Winant and Averell Harriman were dining with him at Chequers.⁴⁸⁶ Churchill immediately asked for a phone call to Roosevelt, they were connected within minutes, at about 4.15 pm Washington time, and Churchill asked: “Mr. President, what’s this about Japan?” Roosevelt replied: “It’s quite true. They have attacked us at Pearl Harbour. We are all in the same boat now.” Churchill’s response was: “This certainly simplifies things.” There was an assumption by both leaders – and Winant and Harriman – that the two countries would now proceed into war together.⁴⁸⁷

Churchill was determined to make it as easy as possible for both Roosevelt and the American people. He immediately gave instructions for the severing of diplomatic relations with Japan, and for the Commons to meet next day. He instructed Craigie to advise the Japanese Government “that a state of war exists between our two governments;” members of the War Cabinet were “informed” of the actions he had taken; and next morning he despatched a letter to the Japanese ambassador in London in the same terms as his instructions to Craigie and on the basis of the Japanese landing in Malaya. He made no mention of the attack on Pearl Harbour or the other US bases.⁴⁸⁸ With all arrangements having been made in advance the Commons met at 3 pm on Monday, December 8, (10 am Washington time) and unanimously confirmed the government’s actions before Congress had met to hear Roosevelt.

During the evening following his conversation with Churchill, Roosevelt conferred with Congressional and military leaders for several hours and decided that next morning, December 8, he would ask Congress to declare that *a state of war existed between Japan and the United States*. He chose his words very carefully. He did *not* say that he would ask that Congress *declare war* against Japan. It would appear that this was one of the arrangements made in advance: that Churchill and Roosevelt would use the same words, *noting that a state of war already existed and not making a declaration of war*. The president prepared a rough outline of the speech he intended to make but then, before retiring, he invited his Coordinator of Information, William Donovan, and the CBS radio newsmen, Edward Murrow, to join him for supper. According to Donovan Roosevelt’s “overriding concern” was public reaction to the attack. He asked both men whether they thought the attack was “a clear case of a first Japanese

move that would unite Americans behind a declaration of war against *the Axis powers*.” The question was phrased in the plural. “Axis powers,” not “Japan.” They both said they thought it would indeed have that effect. He then quoted from a message which he had received from a British Foreign Office official that “the dictator powers have presented us with a united America” and rephrased his question: “Would America now support *a declaration of war*?” Donovan and Murrow affirmed that it would.⁴⁸⁹

The loss of life, casualties and devastation at Pearl Harbour were horrific. Without any opposition the Japanese bombers had a field day which they did not expect. They were expecting strong defence and counter attack but the US military aircraft were lined up on the airfields of the Naval Air Station on Ford Island and adjoining Wheeler and Hickam Fields, to guard against sabotage, and very few became airborne. Most of the damage to the battleships was inflicted in the first 30 minutes of the assault. The *Arizona* was completely destroyed and the *Oklahoma* capsized. The *California*, *Nevada*, and *West Virginia* sank in shallow water. Three other battleships, three cruisers, three destroyers, and other vessels were also damaged. More than 180 aircraft were destroyed and US military casualties totaled more than 3,400, including more than 2,300 killed. In contrast the Japanese lost an unconfirmed number of planes, variously reported from 29 to 60, from the 360 which were launched from six aircraft carriers, five midget submarines, perhaps one or two fleet submarines, and fewer than 100 men.⁴⁹⁰

However strict control was maintained over the information which was available to the media and although the magnitude of the disaster only gradually filtered out that did not prevent demands being made by politicians for information on the message interception system and the circumstances in which Pearl Harbour could be caught so totally unawares.⁴⁹¹ Rigid censorship was placed on all naval and army intelligence procedures, all intercepts were classified top secret and locked in Navy archives not to be made available for research, and the screen of secrecy was so effective that much of the detail which is now available was concealed from successive Congressional investigations and prominent critics of the strategy adopted by Roosevelt were persuaded not to pursue their demands in 1945–46 on the basis that it could be prejudicial to US foreign relations, especially as it was the occupying power in Japan.⁴⁹² Extraordinary measures were taken to induce one senior officer, Colonel Rufus Bratton, to change his incriminating testimony about the delivery of the critical December 7 messages to General Marshall.⁴⁹³ Even after President Carter directed the release of extensive archives in 1979 the most sensitive material remained concealed. It was not even available to another enquiry in 1995 and in 2000 some files still remain classified.⁴⁹⁴ Much has only been unearthed as the result of the passing of Freedom of Information laws and relentless and diligent research by people among whom Robert B. Stinnett must surely be one of the most eminent. The information now available is such that many histories and commentaries on the Second World War written as recently as the early 1990s require heavy revision to avoid their continuing use as apologia for the Western Alliance.

So: on December 8, 1941, the world woke and waited with baited breath to hear words of wisdom and inspiration flow first from Churchill and then Roosevelt. They could not know that while they waited the first one thousand Jews to be “processed” in gas chambers were going to their deaths at Chelmno, a village in the Lodz region of Poland. Nazi officials responsible for the liquidation of the 250,000 Jews remaining in the occupied territories were required to find ways of disposing of them to make way for the Germans being brought in to settle the area. Herding them into concentration camps to be worked to death or to be slaughtered piecemeal was too slow. As already noted, it had been decided that the gassing method which had been applied in the euthanasia program to which the Catholic Church objected (see above, this chapter, pages 69 to 76) would be much faster, more convenient, less traumatic for the Einsatzgruppen – and even “more humane” for the victims. Chelmno was selected as a good site because a disused castle stood in the middle of a large camp isolated from the general public but well served by transport from the major district cities and towns. Everything was got in readiness on Sunday the seventh for a start on the morning of the eighth. The Jews who had been brought to the camp, mainly from the town of Kolo, were told they were to be sent to work in Western Poland, or Germany, but that first they would shower and be given a change of clothing. Thus by the time Churchill rose to address the Commons several hundred victims had already been marched into the castle to a “washroom,” told to strip, and been crammed into a van ninety at a time. The exhaust from the van engine was fed by pipe into the closed van ... and the screaming stopped within a few minutes. The bodies were then driven to a pit in the camp, stripped of gold teeth and rings, dumped and covered. A full day’s work was about twelve or thirteen vans. Nazi officials agreed it was a big improvement on previous ‘solutions.’ These were not the first Jews to die systematically by gassing, but it was the formal start of the new program of mass extermination. At Buchenwald experiments and planning had been in progress for at least a couple of weeks to improve the efficiency of the methods which had been used in the euthanasia program. This is confirmed by a letter from Dr. Friedrich Mennecke to his wife, dated November 28, in which he expressed pride in having improved the speed of pre-gassing administration.⁴⁹⁵ And the killing efficiency of the program improved greatly when chemical gases were introduced at the bigger death camps for which planning was only beginning.⁴⁹⁶ Hitler’s Nazis had finally shown that they could dispose of Jews more efficiently than anyone before them – much more efficiently than Russian in the days of the Tzar, or even Croatia’s Vatican-backed Ustashe.

A NATION BROUGHT TOGETHER

The Chelmno death squad had probably finished work for the day by the time Congress heard Roosevelt’s “Day of Infamy” speech and voted to declare war against Japan – in line with the proposal which the president had told his inner circle the previous evening that he would make. There was only one dissenting vote. However Congress did *not* vote to declare war against Germany also. Britain was therefore still in limbo. Donovan and Murrow’s expectations were somewhat astray. But under strong diplomatic pressure from Japan that he should act on his

commitment and join battle with the United States, Hitler soon solved the problem for both Roosevelt and Churchill. That evening, the US having made its declaration, he ordered the German Navy to attack American shipping wherever it was found. However the new situation caused him some serious problems in his push for Moscow. He now accepted that he could not prepare for action on additional fronts and reinforce the German armies encircling Moscow to enable them to renew their stalled 'final charge' for the Kremlin at the same time. He therefore ordered a change from offensive to defensive operations for the winter period.

The new situation also caused Hitler some minor inconvenience in the implementation of the 'Final Solution.' Key Reich officials had been summoned to meet on December 9 to be briefed on the plan and to begin putting it into effect. Now they were required elsewhere to prepare directives made necessary by the entry of the United States directly into the war games. The 'Final Solution' conference was deferred for a few weeks, but not *action* in line with the policy. The slaughter was stepped up in all occupied areas and on the 10th Himmler issued orders that the euthanasia program was to be reintroduced as well, with inmates of concentration camps who were unfit to work being sent to the nearest site where there was a carbon monoxide chamber for disposal. Then on December 11, three days after Pearl Harbour, both Germany and Italy declared war against the United States. Roosevelt was relieved of the need to argue his case. Congress, voting unanimously, returned Hitler's compliment. The nation had been brought together and Roosevelt's tough political decisions could now be taken. Churchill was very relieved. The America First committee promptly dissolved and urged its members to support the war effort. On December 16 the full extent of American losses at Pearl Harbour was revealed through the national media by Navy Secretary Knox, and Admiral Kimmel, the scapegoat, was relieved of his command and demoted to rear admiral.

Knox told the world that the Japanese planes came from aircraft carriers and had the "most tremendously detailed" information of the naval layout at Pearl Harbour.⁴⁹⁷ The implications were either that the Japanese had used deception and espionage to obtain such detailed information, or that Kimmel had been derelict in his duty in supervising security at the harbour, or that leaks may have occurred, or all three. However, as we know, *Roosevelt* had received a copy of the plan which Morimura had transmitted and which had been intercepted in the British system and relayed back to US intelligence. Furthermore, while it was *withheld from Kimmel* the president used that intercept to do a deal with RCA to improve the US interception rate; orders were given to ensure that Morimura was neither 'tipped off' that his transmissions had been intercepted nor inhibited in his work; and when Army Intelligence was asked to provide an analysis of the importance of his intercepted plan it was discredited by Brigadier General Sherman Miles as a standard intelligence practice and nothing more than "chitter chat." (See page 80, above.). It is therefore simply not credible that Knox, the key naval link in the president's inner circle, had not been party to the exercise which Roosevelt had embarked upon with respect to that map. Political honesty was still a matter to be honoured in the breach, just as it had been in ages past – especially in the Anglo-American conduct in World War I and in Chamberlain's dealing's behind his cabinet's back in 1938–39.

The implications of the United States' entry directly into the war, instead of in a support role for Britain, were very important indeed. The McCollum Memorandum strategy had worked and, as a result of Japan being enticed into the attack on Pearl Harbor, the previously divided United States had entered into the global struggle and the probability of Britain being defeated in war had receded way into the background. So had the probability of the United States having to face a trans-Atlantic attack from Germany. Some people could rejoice, but the world would pay an enormous price – several thousand American service personnel who had served as decoys already had – and the propaganda bosses knew no bounds in their exploitation of the myth of Japanese culpability and depravity. How else could Roosevelt and the US recruiting machine explain such a horrendous start to the war? But in addition, the British strategy to entice Japan into a confrontation with the United States had succeeded in relieving the pressure on the Soviet Union with which Britain and the United States were both, reluctantly, in an uncomfortable relationship of mutual support. This helped to provide the much needed breathing space for Britain which would not have to face an immediate onslaught on its own as long as Germany was embroiled in the war to its east.

Few people except an occasional opposition politician paused to question the morality of what had been done or the motives behind it, and, being in opposition, they didn't count. The white American majority's self-understanding of moral and national superiority was no less firmly ingrained than the corresponding self-understanding of other White Anglo-Saxon Protestants: WASPs. It was therefore natural that they accepted the thrust of Roosevelt's comment to Hopkins that "We are a democracy and a decent people ... but we have a good record," and the validity of the message which Roosevelt had finally despatched to Hirohito. *The people of the United States, believing in peace and in the right of nations to live and let live, have eagerly watched the conversations between our two governments, hoping for a termination of the present conflict between Japan and China and that a peace of the Pacific could be consummated so that many diverse peoples could exist side by side without fear of invasion, with the unbearable burdens of armaments lifted for them all, and that all peoples could trade without discrimination against or in favor of any nation.*

Because of the pace of events and the trauma in which the world was floundering no one noticed the coincidence and the significance of three developments. *In the space of less than 48 hours:*

- *consideration of an atomic bomb had moved from being a matter for theoretical evaluation to a production project;*
- *Asia's want to be relieved of the oppression of white Western colonialism had moved from a Japanese plan for a zone of economic cooperation to a dramatic retaliatory assault against each of the contemporary colonial powers; and*
- *the Jewish Question had moved dramatically from the realm of political and religious debate to practical genocidal extermination with the opening of the first mobile mass gassing chamber.*

The Scourge was at work. The *Night Journey* was well underway.

In the Scriptures We solemnly declared to the Israelites: "Twice you shall commit evil in the land. You shall become great transgressors."

And when the prophecy of your first transgression came to be fulfilled, We sent against you a formidable army which ravaged your land and carried out the punishment with which you had been threatened.

Then We granted you victory over them and multiplied your riches and your descendants, so that once again you became a numerous people. We said: 'If you do good it shall be to your own advantage; but if you do evil, you shall sin against your own souls.'

And when the prophecy of your second transgression came to be fulfilled, We sent another army to afflict you and to enter the Temple as the former entered it before, utterly destroying all that they laid their hands on.

We said: 'Allah may yet be merciful to you. *If you again transgress, you shall again be scourged. We have made Hell a prison house for the unbelievers*'. (The Qur'an sura 17: 3–8) ⁴⁹⁸
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In terms of that simple statement, the trigger for the fulfilment of the prophesy of the *Night Journey* was the transgression by the Zionist authorities and settlers in Palestine against their Palestinian Arab neighbours as they tried to force the establishment of a Jewish Homeland in accordance with Britain's *Balfour Declaration*. But it is not as simple as that. There is plenty of Biblical justification and subsequent prophetic justification for the Jews to want to return to Palestine. Maimonides provided the most important and clear cut of those in the CE. In the *Mishneh Torah, The Laws of Kings and Their Wars*, he reviewed Talmudic teaching and commented on the appointment of kings, their responsibility in war, the future resettlement of Eretz Yisrael, relations between Jews and gentiles, the Jews' obligation to teach gentiles the seven key commandments, the re-establishment of the monarchy, and the future Messianic Age. (See chapter 8.) But against that, there is a Biblical and moral obligation for them to share that land with their neighbours. Ezekiel, often regarded as the most influential prophet of the period of the Babylonian Exile, is quite explicit on this point. Having laid down guidelines for the way in which the land should be apportioned between the tribes after their return from exile, he then said:

You are to share out this land among yourselves, between the tribes of Israel. You are to divide it into inheritances for yourselves and the aliens settled among you who have begotten children with you, since you are to treat them as citizens of Israel. They are to draw lots with you for their inheritance, with the tribes of Israel. You must give the alien his inheritance in the tribe in which he is living – it is the Lord Yahweh who speaks. [Ezekiel 47:21–23 Jerusalem translation.]

The words used to describe residents other than the returning Jews, and their status, vary from one translation to another: "the aliens whom reside among you ... shall be ... as native-born sons of Israel" (Revised Standard Version); "the *strangers* that sojourn among you ... shall be ... as born in the country" (King James); "the *immigrants* who permanently reside among

you ... shall be ... regarded as native-born children of Israel” (Modern Language); and “the *foreigners* who live among you ... are to be considered citizens and have the same rights your own children have” (Living Bible). However the intention is perfectly clear. Everyone who was already there when the Israelites returned, whether they were there before the exile or arrived and settled during the exile, were to be treated as equals in every way. There was to be no discrimination, no torment, no abuse, no brutal conquest and certainly no killing or expulsion. Without attributing the comment to anyone, the writer of the introduction to the Book of Ezekiel in the Jerusalem Bible says of Ezekiel: “By his visions, he stands at the source of the apocalyptic tradition; for his spiritual penetration, he has been called ‘the father of Judaism’.”⁵⁰⁰ The Israelites returning from exile in Babylon in the fifth century BCE certainly took him seriously. Subsequently, after being scattered again at the time of the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in the first century CE, the Jews maintained their vigil as a community of faith, demonstrated enormous continuing confidence in Yahweh, and tolerated oppression of great magnitude which we have traced over a long period. Thus there is no reason why those Jews who returned as a consequence of oppression in Christian Europe in the twentieth century CE should not have acted on the basis of Ezekiel’s teaching – except that they had become so enculturated by the amorphous Christian gel and so accepting of the dominant and oppressive colonial practices imposed under the gel that they saw it as normal practice and it took precedence over the standards of their own religious heritage.

In any case they *did* transgress as a community of faith in a manner which no one envisaged because they had been in no position to transgress against anyone at the time of Muhammad’s ministry and, *in the immediate sense*, that transgression triggered the trauma of the *Night Journey* or the Holocaust. On the other hand, as our history has shown very clearly, it was *circumstantial transgression* and the challenge of the *Night Journey*, or the Holocaust, was an even greater challenge to the Christian Church to reassess its self-understanding and its messianic theology than it was to the Jews.

The church had failed to recognize itself, its amorphous Christian gel and their conduct as the model and the main subjects – or the target – of the parody of *Mein Kampf*. It had failed miserably to put its house in order. And it had also failed to act on the role and the obligation which it believed had fallen to it because of the perceived failure of Judaism. That obligation was to *guide* humanity towards a clearer understanding of its relationship with God or to *enable* humanity to reach that understanding. It had rejected and sought to put down a series of challenges to rethink its self-understanding and its theology which we have traced since even before it became established as an instrument of state. Those challenges had become progressively stronger and stronger during that long period. But in addition it had continued to pile burdens on humanity and to put stumbling blocks in the way of those it was supposed to be helping. Those burdens and stumbling blocks included: a fantastic load of canon law in spite of Jesus’ stinging criticism of the scribes and Pharisees on exactly that ground (Matthew 23;13–32); the burden of restrictive social teachings; the barrier of priestly authority between humanity and God; the support of oppressive authoritarian regimes; and the concurrent support of

Capitalist economic and social policies, giving them what was represented as exclusive divine blessing, regardless of the exploitation of people and resources.

But in addition it has made its most divisive and contradictory theological concept preeminent in its armoury for evangelism. This concept has made rapprochement with Judaism and Islam unattainable, has led to the denigration of every other faith as inferior and inconsequential and has led to communal conflict on an ever expanding scale. The concept? That personal salvation is achievable only through belief in Jesus Christ as God and Saviour. That belief, when it is linked to the idea that one is saved simply by an *expression of faith*, by regular participation in particular sacraments, or by adherence to a book of canon law, places the pursuit of personal salvation through defined belief *above* personal conduct and responsibility. In doing so, it undermines humanity's capacity to understand the absolute authority of God, the basis and the nature of Divine judgement, and the essentials of Gospel teaching. It is a direct consequence of its Trinitarian doctrine and its evolved self-understanding. But, worse: that belief is not consistent with belief in the absolute authority and capacity of God to exercise influence and ministry through whom or by whatever means God may determine. This led to the rejection of *both* the divinely inspired ministry and challenge of Muhammad and all Qur'anic expressions of prophesy, *and* the continuing role of the Jews and the possibility of further prophetic inspiration. Thus its self-imposed inability to recognize the validity of either the Qur'anic *Night Journey* or Maimonides' understanding of the circumstances of the Messianic Age prevented it from recognizing the relationship between them and their pending interaction. It then failed to see three other things. First, that Hitler was the *vehicle* for a parody rather than the author of a book of ravings. Second, that the parody was a warning of another challenge through the interaction of the two prophecies. Third, that the coincidence or interaction of the prophecies confirmed that all three of the Abrahamic faiths are instruments in the exercise of divine will and judgement.

So: on December 8, 1942, the names '*A Bomb*', *Pearl Harbour* and *Chelmno* were about to be etched deep into the pages of human history. But no one noticed that all three developments were a consequence of reactions against things which had been done over a very, very long period by people of the amorphous Christian gel within the self-understandings which had grown out of the teachings and attitudes which the church had evolved on the basis of its Trinitarian doctrines. If some people did notice, they were either not in a position to do anything about it, or they did not want to acknowledge it. They were caught in the whirlpool of the parody of *Mein Kampf*. And the world crisis of horrendous proportions had been brought to a head by the determination of the amorphous Christian gel to keep a firm grip on the people and the resources of Asia, to prevent the expression of other cultural values, and to prevent the development of competing or alternative systems of community organization and economics. This therefore is an opportunity to briefly review the situation as the powers of evil, Gog and Magog, took the field with their full teams.

WHO WAS INTERESTED IN THE JEWISH QUESTION?

By the time of Pearl Harbour, reports had begun to reach the west of Hitler's mass atrocities in Russia and other occupied or cooperating countries, and of the shooting of hostages, but neither the British Government nor the pope spoke out. In fact, in mid December, barely a week after Pearl Harbour, the British government refused to allow 769 Jewish refugees from Rumania on the small and totally unseaworthy Struma to land in Palestine or to travel overland from Istanbul where the vessel had docked for emergency repairs. Subsequently, when the Turkish Government tired of playing host to the ship with its uninvited guests and ordered it to sea on February 24, 1942, it sank with the loss of all except two of its passengers.⁵⁰¹ The government was therefore still influenced by the need to play down atrocities in order to lend credibility to its reporting. It had to play down the Jewish question in particular in order to avoid a backlash against its war effort and accusations of sheer hypocrisy for its refusal to accept refugees. It could certainly not do a 'beat up' on atrocities in the countries from which it refused to accept refugees. The pope's excuse for silence was that if he were to protest it might jeopardize the situation of German Catholics.⁵⁰² In reality his refusal to intervene was totally consistent with the Vatican's formal diplomatic recognition of, and support for, the ghastly Ustashe regime which Hitler had set up with its program of oppression and slaughter of Jews in Croatia coupled with rigid controls on who could seek protective membership of the Catholic Church through baptism. That was just across the border from Rumania. But in addition, if he had spoken out it would have called into question one thousand six hundred years of anti-Jewish programs by the Vatican and required him to defend them. If he did defend them, how could he attack either Hitler or Stalin – and continue to claim papal infallibility? Yet again, the church's self-understanding based on its Trinitarian doctrine would have been under challenge.

However when Hitler announced Germany's declaration of war he compensated for the reticence of both the pope and Churchill with copious references to the Jewish question and "the full diabolical meanness of Jewry rallied around this man [Roosevelt]," and there was another person who was also quite happy to be heard on the Jewish question, from his particular perspective: the former Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el-Husseini. The attack on Pearl Harbour was only one of six attacks on Allied bases that day in the opening round of the war in the Pacific but the coincidence of timing – some would call it fate – that the Chelmno mobile gas chamber came into use the day after that traumatic attack swept aside all opposition in the United States to participation in the war. The pious pretext for commercially inspired neutrality was shattered and the New Israel was shaken from its perch into the cauldron of conflicts of Gog and Magog. It was a ludicrous situation. It was the paradox *par excellence*. The country which saw itself as the paragon of *corporate* Christian principles was paired *with* the nation which saw itself as the paragon of *national* Christian principles, Great Britain, and another which was hell-bent on challenging the concept that economics and government had to be linked with religion, Soviet Russia, *against* the country whose leader and his paradoxical writings and alternative regime constituted an equally direct challenge to the self-understanding and doctrines of the Christian church, together with the country which was the home base and a

most reluctant prop for the dominant un-reformed portion of the church, Italy, plus another which dared to challenge the domination of those paragons of Christian principles, Japan.

But because of the national trauma which Pearl Harbour generated within the United States it also ensured that whether the original justification for the development of the atomic bomb was still relevant or not, the bomb *would* be used in anger. And Chelmno was just the first of the series of units purpose-built for Hitler's settlement of the Jewish question which would so shock the world that it become the trigger for a radical change to Western Christian *attitudes* to the Jewish question – even if it failed to trigger a new *understanding* of that question. The guilt complexes which Hitler's methods precipitated then underpinned Western Christian support for the establishment of the State of Israel and ensured that if 'the final solution' was not sufficient to generate a fresh look at messianic theology, then the ensuing phase of the trouble in the triangle, commencing with the establishment of the State of Israel, certainly would be. The major issues in human affairs – race and communal relations, the morality of exploitation and domination, love, hate and religious self-understanding – were being exposed for all to see. Each was an ingredient for the cauldron of conflict which was bound to boil and splutter with progressively increasing violence until the real issues are resolved. So the war of Gog and Magog progressed, and because of the way it was triggered the leaders and people of every major religious faith had become involved. It was a war without precedent. This leads us to the question: was the pause for reflection between June 22, 1940, and December 7, 1941, put to good use, or was it simply taken as a pause to regroup? The answer is now self evident.

When we look at the facts which are available on the public record (and there are a lot of records and decisions still not released), and when we strip away the posturing, the misrepresentation and selective reporting for propaganda purposes, it becomes apparent that Hitler wanted, and expected, a peace agreement with Britain which would enable him, by coercion and negotiation, by annexation, or by military invasion, to achieve his linked primary objectives of 'breathing space' (pseudo colonial expansion to the east), the elimination of Jewish influence in Europe, and the elimination of Communism as a political and social system. He was a product of the amorphous Christian gel with a typically distorted sense of history, he had no better understanding of the trouble in the triangle than his counterparts in any segment of the triangle, but he had some sort of visionary understanding that he was (within an Augustinian understanding of predestination) at the centre of events of eschatological significance and he had delusions about his 'messianic role.' He had never concealed his belief that Jewish influence had to be eliminated. Nor had he concealed his intention to achieve that objective. From January 1939 and his emotional outburst on the subject when he realized that his plan to force total emigration by heavy handed coercion was being undermined, he talked of genocide. However he had not planned it nor tried to implement it until July 1941, by which time he had clearly given up hope of coercing total Jewish emigration. It was then that he gave orders for genocide to be put into effect but it was not until December, coinciding with Pearl Harbour, that the emphasis shifted from the long established (traditional?) methods of brutal individual or community slaughter, as proposed by Professor Vosa Cubrilovic at the Serbian Cultural Club in

March 1937, less than four years earlier, (chapter 20, p. 33) to the practical efficiency of mass gas chamber slaughter that the world was shaken from its complacency. Even so it was still some months before the program was fully operational.

It is therefore clear that there was a point during the pause up until which the genocide program could have been avoided if Britain had been prepared to negotiate a peace agreement with Germany. But it also becomes clear as we consider the alternative scenarios for such a peace agreement that the Jewish community – and that basically means the Zionist Organization for this purpose – would have had to be a party to the agreement. And so do other issues. Such a peace agreement would have been of an interim nature and it *may not* have avoided the eventual escalation of the war because it *would not* have resolved the basic issue of the trouble in the triangle – the self-understanding of the church based on its Trinitarian theology. Ultimately it is *this* issue which has to be confronted and this still requires the collaborative reassessment of messianic theology which would not have been achievable in the super-heated religious atmosphere of the time. The basic requirements for the kind of peace agreement which Hitler had been offering and pressing for would have been:

- *British and Russian agreement to 'breathing space' for Germany by the reduction of the small countries of central Europe, and a slab of Russia territory as well, to the status of colonies, dependencies, or annexed territories;*
- *the immediate emigration or repatriation of all Jews from those territories;*
- *the control of the church throughout those territories under coercive concordats of the Vatican-German model;*
- *the agreement of other countries to accept all of the Jewish refugees involved;*
- *the acquiescence of the United States in such arrangements; and*
- *a secret treaty of non-aggression with Britain, (or some such), to enable Hitler to wage war with Soviet Russia in due course to determine the political question.*

The cut-off point to Britain's 'window of opportunity' for such a peace agreement was probably the early days of Hitler's invasion of Russia in June, 1941, rather than either the earlier date of September 10, 1940 when Churchill rejected Hitler's 'final' peace offer or the later date of the instruction for the planning of genocide, six weeks after the invasion of Russia began. This is because, having expressed support for Hitler at the expense of Russia, the Catholic Church would have supported a territorial settlement in Germany's favour because it was eager to gain control of the church in the region by that means; and the Japanese move into South East Asia, by courtesy of Hitler's puppet, Vichy France, was also an accomplished fact. By mid July, when the genocide planning was ordered, the British-Russian alliance against Hitler was set in deeds instead of words and, (not withstanding the contradictory deals which the powers had been entering into and breaking; its action against the Bolsheviks at the end of the Great War, and the subsequent 'cold war'), Britain would have found it extremely difficult to reverse its position to do a Munich-type deal with a piece of Russian territory or to justify entering into a non-aggression pact with Germany aimed against Russia. Considering that

former President Hoover expressed surprise when Churchill rejected Hitler's 'final offer' of a peace settlement in which the British Empire would have been left intact, it is unlikely that the US would have stood in the way of such a settlement.

Among the implications of such a settlement would have been:

- *the acceptance of continuing German imperial sovereignty by each of the occupied countries but, considering that they were already occupied, they would have had little option;*
- *a major change in the balance of power world wide, with greatly increased German influence;*
- *the expectation of German demands for the return of some or all of its former overseas colonies in due course and a further weakening of Britain's position;*
- *the continuing domination of much of Asia and Africa by the European powers in one form or another, unless Germany and Japan collaborated to break the pattern;*
- *a significant rise in the population and influence of Jews in a range of countries overseas, almost certainly accompanied by a sharp rise in the level of anti-Semitism, unless the church was persuaded to change its self-understanding and its attitude to the Jews remarkably quickly.*

However the most important factor in the outcome of such an agreement would have been the response of the Jewish community and the opportunities or the manner of their emigration or evacuation from Europe. Several possible scenarios can be recognized and we can identify some of the implications of each of them.

1. That they agreed to leave Germany and the occupied territories promptly for any country offering refuge without the Zionist demand for a Jewish homeland or state.
2. That they agreed to leave Germany and the occupied territories promptly for any country offering refuge but retained the Zionist demand for a Jewish homeland or state in Palestine.
3. That they agreed to leave Germany and the occupied territories promptly for any country offering refuge while also accepting the long-standing opportunity to develop an autonomous Jewish State of BiraBidzhan within the Soviet Union, or accepting resettlement under the *Fugu Plan*.
4. That they were refused any resettlement opportunities and could not leave Germany and the occupied territories.

The first, agreeing to leave without Zionist demands, would have extended the history of Jewish expulsions and therefore consolidated the belief in some sections of both the Jewish and non-Jewish communities that such was to be their perpetual lot. It would have continued the 'tradition' which had been imposed by the Christian Church and its associated powers ever since the beginning of the Christian Era that it was the proper role of the Jews to be pushed around the Diaspora to demonstrate that they had been rejected by God and succeeded by the church as the sole earthly representative and arbiter of God's will. In doing so it would have satisfied the ego of the Catholic Church and encouraged it to continue even more strongly down

the path of arrogant anti-Semitism, anti-ecumenism, the continued development and imposition of dogma, the pursuit of Ultramontanism and the hunt for concordats. It would have deepened the gulf between Rome and the Reformed Churches but it may have prompted them to look more closely at Karl Barth's theology of the fate of the Jews and therefore at the theology and the self-understanding of the church. For the majority of Jews it would have demonstrated that nothing had really changed and while it may have killed immediate Zionist plans it certainly would have stimulated Zionist aspirations in the long term, and strengthened their demands for the future consideration of a national home for Jews. Therefore, in political terms, while it would have relieved the pressure on Britain in the Middle East for the time being, it would have bottled up that pressure while the relative influence of Jews increased in countries in which they settled, and it would have been ready to burst out at some critical future point.

Second, agreeing to leave, but retaining Zionist demands for a Jewish state in Palestine, would have met with strenuous opposition from the Palestinians and their Arab neighbours. It would almost certainly have resulted in an immediate war in the Middle East in which Britain would have been embroiled in action in support of the Jewish State, and Britain's strategic interests would have been in turmoil. A whole host of religious questions would have come tumbling out for very public scrutiny and church-sponsored anti-Semitism would almost certainly have reached new depths.

Third, agreeing to leave occupied Europe but also accepting the opportunity for an autonomous Jewish State in the Soviet Union's Birobidzhan region, would have left the Zionist community divided while satisfying some of its aspirations. It would probably have deferred a crisis in the Middle East for Britain, and it would have strengthened the position of the Soviet Union, but it would have further antagonized the Nazis and the Catholic Church while making a non-aggression pact between Britain and Germany aimed against Russia unacceptable. It would have also brought into sharp focus all the questions about the relationship between Christianity, Judaism and Communism, and dredged up more anti-Semitism as well.

Fourth, being refused any opportunity for resettlement, would have simply encouraged Hitler to bring forward his decision on genocide. Britain could not possibly have remained aloof, sheltering behind the terms of such a peace agreement, and the war would have re-commenced, with great ferocity. In due course the churches and their relationship with both Britain and Hitler, their self-understanding and their relationship to other faiths would have come under even harsher scrutiny than after the Great War. The issues of Zionism and Jewish self-understanding would have become a preoccupation throughout the Diaspora, and Palestine, the role of the church and Britain's strategic interests in the Middle East would have come into immediate focus as the centre of the trouble in the triangle.

It is now apparent that if Britain had entertained any of these scenarios as the basis of a peace agreement with Hitler, the first is the only one which could have resulted in a reasonably stable peace. However, in reality Churchill could not negotiate around any of them and he must have realized this. He *could not* offer the first for two reasons: the world had shut the gate on

substantial migration and he had to be prepared to put all of Britain's cards on the table, expose its position of weakness for all to see, and appeal directly to the world for help with emergency settlement; and the Zionist Organization had insisted that the gate to Palestine be left open. Churchill *could not* offer the second because the Arabs had insisted that the gate to Palestine be shut. He *could not* offer the third because the Zionists had rejected both the BiraBidzhan and *Fugu plans*. But, in addition, Hitler was unlikely to permit mass emigration to Russia because it would have strengthened that country's position, and Britain was just about to go to war with Japan. And finally, Churchill *would not* offer the fourth out of personal conscience. Therefore he had to reject Hitler's overtures whether he wanted to or not. [See above, pp. 20 and 26; 'Peace Party' contacts and Hess' flight to Britain.]

These considerations meant that, in effect, scenario four was selected by default and Hitler thereupon issued his instructions for genocide. The Zionist Organization must accept some of the responsibility for this because of its insistence that Palestine had to be the focal point of any resettlement plan. But again, because of the processes which we have traced at length and the Church's erroneous self-understanding, policies and actions based on its faulty Trinitarian theology, it is the amorphous Christian gel which must shoulder the bulk of the responsibility. Unfortunately not enough people recognized the coincidence of the twin prophecies of Muhammad and Maimonides and the challenges which these involved. The opportunity for reflection and a change of direction during the pause – the calm before the storm – which could have avoided the genocidal phase of the Holocaust and led smoothly into the vital reassessment of theology was therefore lost. The world was locked into the experience of the *Night Journey*. The next question was: how long would it take for the world to recognize its significance, for the church to reassess its self-understanding and its relationship with God and to act responsibly? Regrettably it would be a long haul.

CHAPTER 25

GOG AND MAGOG REGROUP

On December 7, 1941, Christian Europe's war suddenly became the whole world's war. In one sense it was a war of new orders and old orders. In another sense it was a war of new movements, ideas or ideologies, and old movements, ideas or ideologies. And yet the *new* orders, movements, ideas and ideologies and the *old* orders, movements, ideas and ideologies crossed the battle lines in a very confusing manner. The *new* were represented by the social, economic and political systems which each of Germany, Soviet Russia, Japan and the United States sought to *impose*. The *old* were represented by the dominant imperial systems which Britain, France and the other 'old' European colonial powers sought to *maintain*.

The influence of religion, or more correctly the want to reduce, harness or exploit the influence of institutional religion, was a significant consideration in each of the movements and in each of the volatile relationships as powers made and broke alliances of convenience and sought some basis to justify their actions. And while one of the new movements – Zionism – was in fact the focal point of the crisis, the leaders of each of the movements and ideologies involved in conflicting coalitions of convenience, except one, added to the confusion by their unwillingness or their inability to discuss their own policies, plans and their motives. They were thus able to turn the spotlight and keep it focused on National Socialism (Nazism) and away from the issues which had spawned each of the new movements, including both Zionism and Nazism. Thus in an all encompassing sense it was the war between Gog and Magog – forces of evil – in association with the establishment of the State of Israel and the return of the Jewish people to Zion, just as Maimonides had anticipated. Hitler, the only key player in the drama who was prepared to give vent to his distorted motives, was obligingly acting out the role of the scourge from Muhammad's vision of the *Night Journey*. The coincidence in time of these overlapping plots had been made possible or had been imposed on all the players by the self-understanding and the conduct of the Christian amorphous gel: the church and the powers associated with it. And the inevitable coincidence of those plots escaped attention because each of the three partners in the triangle of Semitic Messianic faiths was only concerned with its particular interests as it perceived them at the time.

In fact it was a ludicrous situation. It was the paradox *par excellence*. Reduced to the simplest terms, it had six key players. Eventually, on one side would be Britain, the United States and Soviet Russia. On the other side; Germany, Italy and Japan. The country which had been drawn into the game last, the United States, saw itself as the paragon of *corporate*

Christian principles. It would be teamed *with* the nation which saw itself as the paragon of *national* Christian principles, Great Britain, and another which was hell-bent on challenging the concept that systems of economics and government had to be linked with religion, Soviet Russia. They would be teamed *against* the country whose leader and his paradoxical writings and alternative regime constituted an equally direct challenge to the self-understanding and doctrines of the Christian church, together with Italy, the country which was the home base and a most reluctant treaty-prop for the dominant un-reformed portion of the church which Hitler was most intent on harnessing (the Vatican), plus another which dared to challenge the domination of those paragons of Christian principles. That country, Japan, was the only key player which was non-European and without an essentially Christian heritage.

Hitler's National Socialism was still in alliance with Christianity, as was Mussolini's Fascism, the Colonialism of Britain and France, and the New World version of Capitalism of the United States. Even Soviet Communism was now happy to acknowledge its alliance with its arch enemy, Orthodox Christianity, which it had done so much to suppress. Thus the only one of the new movements which totally rejected any links with Christianity was Japan's neo-Fascist militarist movement for a Greater East-Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. It had its own incarnation of the Divine Being in its emperor and it therefore found no place for another incarnate god imposed by European colonizers. As far as its leaders were concerned the Christian concept of an historical God-incarnate simply confirmed the validity of the Shinto understanding of God personified in a living emperor. Even the Zionist movement had to acknowledge its complex, albeit very uncomfortable, paternal relationship with the amorphous Christian gel in its bid for the recognition which it sought.

LET THE GAMES BEGIN!

In essence the war-game started this way. An anti-clerical Christian fanatic who believed that he was called to do God's appointed work because the church (which saw itself as the divinely appointed agent-on-earth of God and successor to the Jewish people) had failed in its task, declared war in the name of Christian Germany against the Jewish community and invaded a number of Christian countries in a bid to share their imperial colonial glory, or 'breathing space'. The Defender of the Faith, principal Christian colonial power and the principal promoter of the Zionist movement, Britain, had responded by declaring war against Germany together with the equally Christian France, thus forming the *Anglo-French Alliance*, and in collaboration with the Jewish communities of the world.

Being unable to cope without them, Britain invoked the support of its Christian dominions and essentially non-Christian colonies and territories and, in addition, some of those of its allies. Some of the non-Christian dominions and territories (including the Muslim communities of India) supported Britain, while some (including the Hindu communities of India) sought to remain neutral or pacifist. Britain had sought to recruit Italy to the Anglo-French Alliance but its leader, in a concordat alliance with the leader of traditional Christianity, decided it was

advantageous to keep his powder dry and wait to see what happened in the early phase of play. Some of Britain's other territories (such as Muslim Iraq and Iran), then supported the German team – until they were later subjugated by the supplemented Anglo-French Alliance which had become the Western Alliance. Governments-in-exile of other European Christian countries which were overrun by Germany also joined the Western Alliance. Of course large and small populations of these and other religious faiths would also become caught up in due course on both sides of the conflict according to where they happened to have been born in relation to the dominant European interests, but this was basically the make up of the two teams as their masters either chose, or were forced, to go to war.

However Britain was soon in deeper trouble when France was defeated and the *Anglo-French Alliance* became, for a time, more or less simply the *British Team*. Britain then sought the support of its Christian *former* colonies which were grouped within the United States which had somehow proclaimed itself the '*New Israel*'. Deeply divided between those pressing for neutrality, or non-involvement in Europe's war, and with both opponents and supporters of Hitler's Germany, the US sat profitably on the fence, supplying arms and services for the British Team and oil, chemicals and equipment for both sides. Then Christian Italy, (the seat of the dominant segment of the Christian church), threw its lot in with Christian Germany and its anti-clerical leader and enabled Germany to form the *Axis Team* and turn its guns against the complex multi-religious Soviet Union with its atheistic and oppressively anti-religious Communist government which had, like the New Israel, managed to remain aloof from either of the teams.

The result was a new alliance between the most trenchantly anti-religious, anti-capitalist government and a large part of the demonstrably Christian and capitalist world which, being both east and west had to be simply called *The Allies*, against the two countries most closely identified through their concordats and their leaders' statements with claims that they acted on behalf of God: *The Axis*.

Finally the vigorously Christian 'New Israel' was forced to join the *Allies* in what then, strangely, became the *Western Alliance* after it had successfully supported Britain by provoking Japan, the only major country in which the state religion still sought to inspire homage and allegiance to the emperor as a demigod, into attacks against both it and Britain with which it was *not* yet in a formal alliance. Japan was thus forced to confirm its uneasy alliance with the Christian *Axis* powers whose leader was *definitely* acting as a demigod.

Through all this the Jewish community, the object of Hitler's ire and a focal point of the complex conflict, sought the protection of the evolving Western Alliance, strenuously supported its war against Hitler, and applied enormous pressure on the key members of the Western Alliance to ensure that, in due course they would be able to achieve the national homeland which Britain had promised them. In doing so they subjected other peoples to oppression in much the same manner that they had been subjected to it over a long period and forced *them*

into collaboration with Hitler. They were acting out their part in the preliminary stages of the *Night Journey* with just as much certainty as Hitler.

The two teams had thus gathered all their recruits and were ready to do battle. Gog and Magog could go to their war games. The trouble was that no one knew which was Gog and which was Magog.

THE ORDER OF BATTLE

In essence the teams to do full scale battle on behalf of Gog and Magog consisted of:

On the left

- *Christians* of Britain and the Commonwealth: led by Churchill, a committed Zionist who professed no religious belief, rejected the concept of predestination, and clung tenaciously to both Capitalism and Colonialism while he took full advantage of Britain's Christian establishment.
- *Christians* of the United States: led by Roosevelt, a professing Christian who, committed to a New Deal for ordinary people within a Capitalist framework, was vigorously anti-colonial.
- *Christians* of the Soviet Union led by a vigorously nationalist Russian Orthodox patriarch in an uncomfortable alliance with the Communists and in abject subordination to the state.
- *Jews*: under assault by Hitler but largely rejected by the Christians of both teams, and fighting even more vigorously for control of the mandated territory of Palestine.
- *Muslims*: in non-Arab countries, responding to European Christian colonial authority.
- *Muslims* of the Soviet Union, without the central organization of the Christians but also in an uncomfortable alliance with the Communists and in equally abject subordination to the state
- *Buddhist* peoples of several countries of Asia also responding to European Christian colonial authority.
- *Buddhist* and *Confucian* peoples of China already caught in a nationalistic conflict with Japan, and now required to provide a buffer between Japan and the European powers and America in their bid to maintain control of their Asian dominions and colonies.
- *Irreligious Communists* of the Soviet Union: led by a trenchantly anti-Capitalist dictator, Stalin.

On the right

- *Christians* of the Third Reich: led by Hitler, a fanatically anti-Semitic baptized Catholic who professed continuing allegiance with the church, accepted the concept of predestination and believed himself to have a messianic role.

- *Christians* of Italy: led by Mussolini, an anti-clerical, anti-Capitalist, anti-Socialist nominally Catholic Fascist who was an ally of convenience for both the Vatican and Hitler.
- *Muslims*: in Arab countries, in revolt against colonial rule and the imposition of Zionism.
- *Buddhist* and *Shinto* peoples of Japan for whom their emperor was the personification of a god and to whom the enforced presence of the amorphous Christian gel was an embarrassment.

Neutral and pacifist

- The *Hindu* community of India
- *Jehovah's Witnesses* in the countries of both teams

Japan's attack on *all* the European colonial powers of the Western Alliance in Asia plus their would-be sole successor, which is usually characterized in the West as an attack on the United States, was in fact a consequence of the long term effects of Western Christian interference in the affairs of Asia. It was a fascinating contrast to its position in the First World War when it sought to push Germany out in league with the other European powers. Japan had seen that war as the first step towards easing all of the European powers out of Asia. That first step had been successful, and now, with competition having turned the European powers inside out, Japan was in league with Germany in phase two of its bid: this time to remove all of the remaining European powers. But European interference (being a combination of Old Europe and the New Europe of America) had greatly influenced the national religious patterns of both Japan and China with which Japan was already at war. And Japan's twentieth century tendency towards 'emperor worship' was a direct outcome of the destruction of the Shogunate in a civil war which had been triggered by the meddling of those Great Christian powers, including the United States. (See chapter 15) The introduction of a new constitution to enable the nation to respond to the demands of those powers and the adoption of State Shinto in 1868 were simply reactions to all the interference. And one claimant to the leadership of China's enormous population of Confucians and Buddhists was one of the Christians who owed their positions of power to their 'understanding' with Britain and the United States.

So: the situation on December 7, 1941, should have been cause enough for the world's leaders, both political and religious, to take stock and ask "how did we get into this mess?" But they were all too intent on ensuring that they would win. And of course they would. They each had God on their side – or everyone except the Communists – didn't they? And besides that, they didn't cause the war anyway. It was that other fellow. Actually there were some writers and religious leaders in the Western Christian Alliance who were prepared to challenge that view that "it is all the other fellow's fault" and to suggest a few different approaches to achieving peace. Among them were the Anglican Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Catholic Archbishop of Westminster and the Moderator of the Free Church who had jointly signed a letter to the London Times twelve months earlier, before the war had engulfed Asia and the

Pacific as well as Europe.¹ They supported the Pope's five point peace proposal and then set out a series of points which read like a cross between the *Atlantic Charter* and the Communist Manifesto.

They called for the recognition of independence and equality for all nation states; disarmament to prevent the slavery of nations through military and material tyranny; an international juridical institution to guarantee agreed conditions; recognition of boundaries and the rights of racial minorities; laws based on the laws of God and justice based on "the most general expression of the Christian idea" That was a shorthand way of saying "based on Gospel teaching and not on doctrine and dogma." They then set out five points by which economic proposals might be tested: the abolition of extreme inequality in wealth; equality of opportunity for education; the safeguarding of the family as a social unit; the restoration of a sense of divine vocation in daily work; and due consideration for the needs of present and future generations in the use of resources.

But running through their letter, and most commentaries of the period, was still the deeply ingrained assumption of Christian superiority. The church had – or was – the answer for everything and other faiths had nothing to contribute and no lasting role. Their letter opened:

The present evils in the world are due to the failure of nations and peoples to carry out the laws of God. No permanent peace is possible in Europe unless the principles of the Christian religion are made the foundation of national policy and of all social life. This involves regarding all nations as members of one family under the Fatherhood of God. [Emphasis added.]

Writing soon afterwards in *Diplomacy and God*, George Glasgow, diplomatic correspondent for the *Observer*, analyzed the situation in Europe, dismissed Gandhi's call for a non-violent response to Hitler as "foolish" noted that "theoretic Christianity" does not work, and then agreed with the general thrust of the letter from the churchmen, saying: "The world is demonstrably not yet Christian in its collective behaviour, though God's purpose is equally clearly working out, slowly as it may be, to that end." ² Discussing the hypocrisy of 'holier than thou' attitudes in war he said that in Britain the general feeling of indignation against German brutality in both world wars was "a shallow and even a misguided emotion" although in a superficial sense there was cause enough for it. "The origin of international war is to be found in the fact that nations fight for their selfish material 'interests'," he said.

The nations are all of them wrong. The differences, substantial though they may be, even in a relative moral sense, and gross enough to make the cause of one side just by comparison with that of the other ... are yet irrelevant in the highest sense: ... these wars themselves take place only because no nation yet in the history of the world has pursued a truly Christian policy. The political cry "May God defend the right!" is as familiar and as honest as in its context it is essentially perverted and unprofitable.³

Glasgow then challenged the churches to face up to the reality of their disunity.

There are difficulties about the Christian religion as a unifying influence between the nations, when it cannot unify or even harmonize the body of professing Christians themselves. Therefore we have to dig deeper. The realist problem in foreign affairs is to get back to Christ: and that process cannot be started until the so-called Christians themselves go back to Christ. In other words the very beginning of wisdom towards the solution of the diplomatic problem in Europe must be sought in the religious field. Until the professed followers of Christ decide either to unite as one body and one church, or at least to abandon their recriminations and bitterness on denominational distinctions, we waste our breath when we cry for international unity.⁴

Glasgow was absolutely right ... as far as he went. At the level of Christian beliefs, actions and ecumenical relations ... absolutely correct. But he, like the vast majority of the church, saw only a part of the picture. He saw it only as a denominational issue and not one of interfaith relations and fundamental theological belief: the so-called 'Jewish question' or, more correctly, the Christian question.

GEARING UP FOR THE PROPAGANDA WAR

So the whole world went to war. As it did so, the enormity of the naval and air force losses suffered by the United States in the first strike attack by Japan and the circumstances in which they were *reported* to have occurred so shocked Americans that for the first time they began to think that the unthinkable – defeat – was even possible. They did not know, at that time, that in spite of its slow start America had, with Britain's help, developed extreme sophistication in message interception. They had been kept totally ill-informed about discussions with Japan and naturally they had no idea at all that their authorities knew of most of Japan's diplomatic and military traffic by telegraph and radio just as quickly as the people to whom it was directed. They could not conceive the notion that their leaders had deliberately withheld vital information from key field commanders and that their own facilities and service personnel had been set up as a decoy to ensure that Japan opened the offensive and, on that basis, could be blamed for the start of the war. Nor could they know – and they certainly did not want to be told – that their president had received an intercept of the Japanese ambassador's instructions to break off diplomatic relations, in a form which the president knew very well was a declaration of war, *before* the ambassador had received that instruction himself – and that he took no action. American leaders ... Christian leaders just did not act like that. They were honourable men! At least that was the way history was interpreted for them.

The Japanese Government certainly intended the enemy to get minimal warning before the initial simultaneous attacks at British, Dutch and American targets, and it had no way of knowing that 94 percent of its diplomatic traffic had been intercepted. So, when the delivery of its declaration of war was inadvertently delayed in Washington and it could not be handed to Hull until one hour *after* the devastating attack on Pearl Harbour had taken place, the United States was handed a propaganda coup and the most effective camouflage they could possibly have had to conceal their deception. With the sinking of Britain's *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse*

off the coast of Malaya only two days after all except two US vessels had been sunk or damaged at Pearl Harbour, Japan's naval superiority in the Pacific was, temporarily, absolute. With landings in Malaya on December 8, the Philippines on the 10th and Hong Kong eight days later, the Japanese ground forces made rapid progress, aided by strong local elements whom the British and Americans regarded as 'fifth columns' but who were freedom fighters or liberators in the eyes of the Japanese and many Asians. Recognizing the threat to Britain's imperial possessions, Churchill ordered that maximum military forces be committed to India, Burma and the island fortress of Singapore.⁵ He had to. He had an especially difficult imperial relations job on his hands in Australia because the *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* had been sent to Malaya especially to gain Australia's agreement to send its troops to the Middle East on the understanding that the dominion's defence was assured by the presence of those mighty battleships. They were not much use at the bottom of the ocean.

PLUMBING THE DEPTHS OF BIGOTRY

The situation was ready made for another round of rabid racist recruiting and propaganda to support whatever programs both sides wished to carry out. An overview of the propaganda approach is therefore useful before we pick up the threads of the action again. The Allied propaganda machine plumbed new depths. It totally ignored the fact that Japan had no designs on Australia and New Zealand and that Churchill and Roosevelt were both well aware of that. Japan's only strategic interest in those countries was whether American forces would seek to use their coastal bases for operations in South East Asia and, if so, to destroy them to enable Japan to gain unimpeded access to, and control of, the resources in the Dutch East Indies which America had denied it. The principal resource was oil.

The Allied propaganda machine beat up the idea of the inhuman way in which the 'Yellow Peril' had mounted such a secret and dastardly attack against the United States in contravention of all the proper rules and treaties of war. It whipped up fear of the 'yellow hordes' which had raped Nanjing in 1938 and which were sweeping across Asia and would certainly do the same to Australia, and it capitalized on Australia's deep seated racism, expressed officially in its White Australia Policy.

Within weeks of the extension of the war to Asia and the Pacific the Allied propaganda machine was handed just the sort of ammunition which it had been longing for to add to its exploitation of the rape of Nanjing. It was on weak ground having to rely on the Nanjing incident because it had taken place four years earlier, there were circumstances in the conflict between Japan and China which the Western Allies did not wish to admit, and it was not directly connected with World War Two. There were two key issues in the new propaganda opportunity. Each would later become the subject of war crimes investigations and trials and one would also become the centre of protracted international dispute and compensation litigation. The *first issue* involved two related incidents. One was the rape and murder of a number of British and Chinese nurses and volunteer aides following the capture of an

emergency hospital in Hong Kong on Christmas day 1941, exactly two weeks after the Pacific phase of the war opened. The other was the massacre on Banka Island in the Dutch East Indies on February 16, 1942, of 21 Australian nurses out of 65 who had been evacuated from Singapore on February 11, four days before Singapore fell to the Japanese, and who had surrendered to a Japanese unit after their ship was sunk. The *second issue* was the staffing of brothels or ‘comfort houses’ for Japanese troops with women from occupied countries, under compulsion.

Hong Kong was the jewel in the British Far Eastern colonial crown and although, by international law, it was only held on lease, the government had no intention of ever vacating it. The occupation of the territory so promptly following the outbreak of war was therefore a major set back for Britain, even though it was a relatively easy target. But the naval outpost of Singapore had been touted as the key to Britain’s Far East defence strategy and, as already noted, it was the centre of controversy between the British and Australian governments. Its importance was very well recognized by the Japanese military planners and the first Japanese military forces actually landed at Kota Bharu, only 550 kilometres north of Singapore, an hour and twenty minutes *before* the attack on Pearl Harbour. The dramatic fall of Singapore and the taking of large numbers of prisoners of war only two months into the war – because totally inadequate provision had been made for its defence against invasion by land via the Malay Peninsula – undermined the basis of military cooperation between Britain and Australia. The commonwealth government, not being aware of Japan’s limited strategic aims, (or if it was it chose to ignore the implications of them) was fearful that Australia would come under immediate threat. Panic had already set in with the sinking of the *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* and Australians had no confidence that Britain could assist in their direct defence.

The Australian government, bitterly critical of Churchill’s policy, turned cap-in-hand to the United States for defence support. It undertook to provide bases for American operations in South East Asia and the Pacific and, in doing so, it ensured that Australia *would* become a target of Japanese operations aimed at eliminating those American bases. The British government could not admit that it had misjudged both the international situation and the nature of tropical region warfare so badly. Nor could it admit that it had bungled the defence of Singapore so badly because the situation in the Middle East had become a critical pre-occupation and over-stretched its ill-planned and under-strength military capacity. It therefore had to continue to portray Singapore as the impregnable base it had always claimed it to be and, in order to explain the disaster, it chose to portray the Japanese as barbaric, sub-human, demonic, totally devoid of decency and scruple, and requiring superhuman effort and skills to defeat. How else could it explain that a force of only 20,000 Japanese, attacking at three points along the Malay Peninsula, had overwhelmed a British Commonwealth force of 88,000 troops, (15,000 of whom were on Singapore Island itself) and captured Singapore in only a matter of days after a mere 4,000 troops crossed the narrow strait between Malaya and Singapore? The situation was manipulated for propaganda in exactly the same way that the United States was exploiting its own great blunders and deceit at Pearl Harbour.

SETTING THE GROUND RULES

One of the first acts of the Allies was to prepare and publish the Inter-Allied Declaration on *Punishment for War Crimes* which related to both theatres of war. It is significant that during the conference which preceded the signing, the Chinese observer, Wanz King, in directing his message to Tokyo solemnly condemned the inhuman treatment of his compatriots by the Japanese and pledged that his country would ‘vindicate’ the “elementary principles of justice and morality” and deal equally with “all guilty persons” according to law, adding that the “authors” of war crimes would be held accountable for them.⁶ That conference was held after the Hong Kong incident but King’s remarks appear to have been directed at the Nanking Massacre and it is possible that at the time of the conference the details of the Hong Kong incident were not known.

Subsequently each of the situations, both Hong Kong and Banka Island, were seized upon as the basis of Allied propaganda, especially in Australia, and the Allied propaganda machine also took full advantage of the issue of religion. United States politicians and military leaders reached for their Bibles and a religious ‘revival’ began in the wake of Pearl Harbour “as men in foxholes turned to their chaplains for solace.”⁷ And Australians, the publicists said, with their superior British Christian heritage were fighting for God, King and Country. On the other hand, they said, the ‘barbaric Japanese’ were fighting to overrun Australia, to swamp it with the ‘yellow peril’ and to impose the dominance of their Emperor-god. As a consequence the United States was able to play down its dependence on Australia for bases from which to subsequently re-occupy its own colony, the Philippines, to grossly exaggerate its role as the protector and saviour of Australia, and to conceal the fact that its bases were the real reason for Japan’s drive towards Australia. It was also able to avoid debating its policy of European decolonization which had been a part of its price for supporting Britain in the war in Europe, to conceal its protracted discussions with Japan about power sharing in the Pacific Basin, to conceal its own proposal that Australia’s Melanesian colony and mandated trust territories of Papua and New Guinea might be a suitable ‘prize’ with which to reach an ‘understanding’ between the US and Japan, to conceal the importance of its own economic embargoes against Japan in that country’s decision to go to war, and to conceal its aspirations to impose its own form of economic imperialism on Asia. And in addition it was able to establish or impose a relationship on Australia which resulted (during the years following the war) in it assuming the position of influence which imperial Britain had previously enjoyed, and by linking this with the ‘Red Threat’ it was able to insist on near-sovereign rights over a series of strategic communications bases.

But as the Allied propagandists proceeded to exploit those situations with even greater efficiency and effectiveness than their predecessors had exploited the harrowing stories of inhuman German conduct in World War One, they and their political masters – some of whom were still in office – extracted a very high price from the whole world. It soon became evident that it would take even longer to overcome the disastrous effects on human relations of the

hatred generated with the primary motive of type-casting a race of people in that manner. But they showed little concern. The ‘exercise’ might help them recover their colonial territories after the war. (see above, chapter 16, p. 41 ff, and chapter 17, pp. 1 ff.) Thus, when the Japanese army committed atrocities and enforced slave work conditions on prisoners of war as the tide of war turned against them, the Allied propaganda machine exploited them in a manner and on a scale that it had chosen not to exploit Hitler’s atrocities against the civilian Jewish population, the churches and political dissidents in Europe. There were two key reasons for this. Firstly, the behaviour of the Japanese armed forces provided a distraction from the Jewish question and a means of gaining support for the war from those who still had reservations about the war against Hitler’s Germany. Secondly, if the European powers were to have any chance of re-imposing their colonial rule in Asia and the Pacific after the war, against the combined influence of both Japan and the United States, then at the very least the Japanese had to be portrayed as much more inhuman than Asia’s prewar European masters.

So we return to the Hong Kong and Banka Island incidents. It was eventually established that the same officer and the same troops had been involved in both of the nurse massacres, that the officer was apparently influenced by the widespread Japanese understanding that active warfare involved only men and never women, and that women in uniform at the front line must therefore have been part of the armed forces and were to be treated no differently to men. There is no simple explanation for why he acted on a ‘no-prisoners-to be taken’ basis and massacred a mixed party of British troops and the Australian female nurses who had surrendered together. However it is known that he separated the nurses from the men who were then bayoneted on the beach, and that the women were then herded into the sea and machine gunned from the beach. There was one survivor to tell the story. It has been suggested that the officer was motivated by the ‘need’ for his troops to personally kill their enemy in ‘combat’ to establish their superiority, that he was aware of the Geneva Convention which protected nurses and non-combat women, and that this was why he separated the men from the women and sought to conceal the evidence that he had ordered the massacre of women by having them shot in the water so that their bodies would be washed out to sea. Unfortunately this will never be established conclusively. The officer, referred to as Lieutenant M.O., was eventually located in a labour camp in Siberia in June 1948 where he had been taken as a prisoner of war of the Russians when they finally entered the war against Japan. He was released by the Russians to enable him to return to Japan where he was arrested in Tokyo by an Australian Military representative to be tried for war crimes, then committed suicide in detention on September 13 before his formal interrogation began.⁸

It was also established that the decision to set up ‘comfort houses’ for the Japanese troops was a deliberate effort to reduce the problem of rape in war. The Japanese government and its imperial forces were eager to avoid a repeat of the bloody ‘Rape of Nanjing’ and massacre which had occurred during the invasion of China in December 1937 and the wave of anti-Japan revulsion which swept the world when news of the rape of thousands of Chinese women by Japanese troops was carried by the Western World’s media. A military brothel which had been

set up by the Japanese commanding officer in Shanghai five years earlier, in 1932, in a bid to reduce the incidence of rape (after many Chinese women had been raped there) apparently provided the model for the general policy adopted in 1938. It can be assumed that while the primary aim of the military command in establishing Comfort Houses was to eliminate rape in the community, another aim was to reduce the incidence of venereal disease by providing a supervised environment for intercourse, and condoms were also available to Japanese troops on issue. The women who were forced to work as prostitutes in the Japanese army brothels after the outbreak of World War Two were essentially drawn from countries with which Japan was at war or which were fighting in collaboration with the Allies, and *not* from countries which were simply occupied in the course of the war. Thus eighty percent of the estimated 100,000 women who were 'mobilized' and treated as 'military supplies' in each theatre of the war in the Pacific were from Korea. Some women, including small numbers of Dutch nationality, were also 'recruited' in Java (a major island in the Dutch East Indies), Vietnam (part of French Indo China), China, Taiwan (a region of China), Malaya (a British colony), and the Philippines (an American colony) but it appears that most of these women were required to work locally and were in addition to the Koreans who were transported in.⁹ There was also a determined but unsuccessful bid to force another 32 Australian nurses who had been captured following their evacuation from Singapore into prostitution.¹⁰ The provision of Comfort Houses did not totally eliminate rape by Japanese troops, but in any case the forced employment of women as prostitutes in Comfort Houses was no different to rape and it was a war crime of considerable proportions. As such it was exploited by the Allies in the later stages of the war, and afterwards, to deepen anti-Japanese sentiment and war crimes prosecutions were launched.

However that is not the complete story. Japan was not the only country which had to confront the management of the male sex drive during the war. Every country has to consider the consequences of either the rape of its own women by invading forces or the rape of women by its own troops in countries which it invades – or both. Of course no country likes to admit that its armed forces are involved in rape on a large scale. The conduct of their armed forces has been ignored or camouflaged and governments, even during the twentieth century, have preferred to keep discussion at the level of sex education and avoiding servicemen bringing venereal diseases home to their families. Prior to World War One there was apparently little attempt at government intervention, except the isolation of personnel who were infected. Community attitudes based on religious teaching and the assumed conventions of male conduct resulted in little effort being made to prevent the abuse of subject women or to ensure the use of available means for the prevention and treatment of venereal disease.

In Western, Christian countries there has inevitably been an effort to idealize the role of the armed forces in a bid to perpetuate the myth that they have gone to war for only the purest of motives, to protect the national interest, to maintain peace, to provide for the 'development and good governance' of backward peoples, or to put down some foreign rogue who stood in the way of international peace. It was never for exploitation of resources or other commercial reasons, or imperial aggrandisement. The myth was encouraged that after they enlisted, men

remained pure and chaste until they returned home. This was totally inconsistent with both their conduct in the field and the fact that if troops were to be effective and survive armed combat they had to be physically fit, psychologically tough, and ‘manly’ in the broadest sense of the term. Those characteristics are inevitably associated with sexuality and sexual drive, and in the modern era this linkage has been recognized, taken into account in training – and also exploited. However, during the Victorian Era, notably in England and America, increasing moral suppression resulted in deceit, clandestine activities, guilt complexes and problems of male self-understanding, psychological adjustment and marriage patterns ¹¹ which impacted on many aspects of the life of the nation. This situation was aggravated by the hardening of attitudes within the churches between the two world wars when there was a vigorous effort to reverse the trend to the perceived greater personal freedom of the “Roaring Twenties” and notably by the papal encyclicals *Divini Illius Magistri* and *Casti Connubii*, the effective prohibition of sex education, the separation of males and females in the school system as much as possible (see above, chapter 18, pp. 16 ff.), and attempts by the church to impose total sexual abstinence prior to marriage. It also involved the statutory restriction of personal and community conduct to patterns which the church approved of by means of massive criminal codes quite out of proportion to the law enforcement needs and capacity of the community. This resulted in some 85 percent of the younger male population being converted into unconvicted criminals on the basis of a literal interpretation of the law. ¹²

In Australia (and no doubt in other countries as well) the military authorities quickly recognized that they had major problems to overcome when mass recruiting began at the beginning of World War Two. Against strong opposition from church authorities, small booklets explaining human sexuality and reproduction were produced, systematic programs of sex education for enlisted men were introduced and the subject of appropriate personal conduct in war and the dangers of venereal disease were confronted. The churches feared that sex education would encourage promiscuity within the armed forces and that community moral standards would be undermined. It was also seen as a direct challenge to the Catholic Church’s exclusive social and moral teaching authority. As a result, ‘enlightenment’ and changed attitudes came only slowly and realistic measures to provide for the sexual health of troops could only be introduced progressively during 1940, 1941 and 1942. The change from a moralistic to a medical response was said by some to be excessive and rigid discipline and efforts to conceal the situation continued for some time. Some non-medical officers regarded soldiers with venereal disease as criminals and in February 1941 an isolation wing at the Puckapunyal Hospital was established as a compound under armed guard with the atmosphere of a prison camp. It was not until 1943 that preventative centres, staffed with specially trained personnel, were systematically set up in Australia, but commanders overseas were more realistic and from March 1940 special arrangements were made in the Middle East. These included educational programs and group counselling, prophylactic centres, the provision of special sporting and recreational facilities, and field treatment centres. In some areas controls were introduced and

brothels were supervised to ensure that prostitutes free of infection were available and to monitor the ‘attendance’ of troops.

In Tripoli, when 13,500 troops were based there, 11,955 ‘attendances’ were monitored at supervised brothels in a 12-week period. No estimates are offered for either rape or ‘voluntary intercourse’ with prostitutes, or other women, outside the supervised brothel system. However, during that 12-week period 134 cases of suspected venereal disease were reported. That is a rate of 10 per 1,000 troops in a very short period and many of these were attributed to intercourse with women *not* in the supervised brothels. By the time Japan entered the war in December 1941 with its cadres of 25 to 30 carefully supervised Comfort Women per 1,000 troops accompanying its armies, the overall rate for all venereal disease infections in the Australian army was 67 cases per 1,000 troops, with the rate in the Middle East being about 82 cases per 1,000 troops. During 1942 the rate of infections among troops in Syria actually rose by some 18 per cent to about 97 cases per 1,000 troops and a senior medical officer reported that the problem of venereal disease was still serious, “especially with the Australians who appear to be either more promiscuous or more careless.” These rates compare with an estimate of 133 cases per 1,000 troops in the Middle East in 1916 and it is therefore clear that the measures which the army introduced had a significant effect. The ‘constant treatment’ rate reached a peak of 2.35 percent during the Palestine campaign in 1916 and it is quite apparent that the fighting efficiency of the army was reduced, quite apart from the social consequences of the infections for both the host countries and Australia.^{13 14} The debate about whether Japan’s system of Comfort Women was a greater war crime than the systems of male gratification implemented or permitted by the Allies is therefore not at all one-sided. The issue arose again in the period of post-war occupation of Japan. (See chapter 27.)

A GRAND ALLIANCE ... OR UNITED NATIONS?

So! The war mushroomed and the United States government and the American people smarted from the humiliation of the drubbing they suffered at Pearl Harbour. Even before the disasters of Hong Kong, Malaya and Singapore – in fact within 24 hours of learning that the United States had finally been forced into an undeclared alliance with Britain – Churchill proposed another personal meeting with Roosevelt, this time in Washington. He wanted not merely cooperation and continued aid but total coordination – virtually integration – of military and political action by Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union in which he “gladly accorded first place” to the United States.¹⁵ But the war would not mushroom quickly enough to secure Britain’s position for Churchill’s liking. On December 12, 1941, just five days after the Japanese landing at Kota Bharu and the bombing of Pearl Harbour, he quoted the Chiefs of Staff when he instructed Eden, in Moscow to liaise with the Soviet government, that a “Russian declaration of war on Japan would be greatly to our advantage, provided, but only provided, that the Russians are confident that it would not impair their Western front either now or in the spring.” He noted that the US, China and “I expect” Australia had a strong wish for Russia to

declare war on Japan and raised “for consideration whether the exercise of any pressure required should be by the Americans rather than ourselves.”¹⁶

Stalin then demonstrated the same protectionist attitude which had been made necessary by Western European and Vatican covetous policies towards Russia, adopted much the same imperialist stance as the United States had towards Asia, and listed the Soviet Union’s post-war territorial demands which were to be a condition of any Anglo-Soviet Agreement. They amounted, in effect, to the restoration of the pre-W.W.I Russian Empire with a row of barrier countries as a buffer between it and Western Europe. He did not look for additional annexations. His demands, as reported to Churchill by Anthony Eden while the Prime Minister was at sea en route to the US, can be summarized thus: the restoration of independence for Austria; independence for the Rhineland, Albania, Yugoslavia (which was to receive certain Italian territory) and possibly Bavaria; Poland to have East Prussia and Czechoslovakia the Sudetenland; Greece to gain certain Aegean islands; Turkey to gain the Dodecanese and certain districts from Bulgaria and Syria; other occupied countries to be restored to their pre-war boundaries; Russia to support Britain in securing bases in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Norway and Denmark; the Soviet Union to incorporate the Baltic States; the Finnish-Soviet frontier to be restored; Rumania to provide bases for the Soviet Union and to receive territory from Hungary as compensation.¹⁷

Formal Anglo-American talks began on December 22, and concentrated on strategies for Britain (aided by its dominions), the US and the Soviet Union to jointly reverse the Allied defeats and to gain the upper hand against the Axis. These included whether to try to entice Vichy France into the Allied camp and how this might be done without enabling Hitler to gain some pre-emptive advantage. And as much as the leaders might try to camouflage them, the tensions which the fact of wars on two sides of the globe generated were always present. This was partly because they involved different powers and related but different immediate issues, but it was mainly because the twin inter-linked wars had been brought about by different aims and motives. The alliance was therefore very much a matter of convenience and self interest. Churchill’s main concern was to defeat Germany in order to preserve Britain’s empire. On the other hand Roosevelt’s interest in the defeat of Germany flowed through the need to support Britain as a buffer against Germany, and his equal interest now was to keep his colonial grip on the Philippines as a stepping stone to future influence in South and East Asia as successor to Britain and the other European colonial powers. This made the defence of Singapore important for both of them. Thus when Churchill cabled a report to Curtin on Christmas Day he noted that the president and his advisers were “anxious to move *a continuous flow of troops and aircraft through Australia for the relief of the Philippine Islands*, if that be possible.” He said that: “Should the Philippine Islands fall the President is *agreeable* to troops and aircraft being diverted to Singapore. He is also *quite willing* to send substantial United States forces to *Australia, where Americans are anxious to establish important bases for the war against Japan.*”¹⁸ [Emphasis added.]

Then, clearly sensing the difficulties ahead, on December 24 Roosevelt grasped the initiative and proposed a *Grand Alliance*. This would draw together all countries which were at war with one or more of Germany, Italy or Japan, plus every country which could be persuaded to throw in its lot against Germany. Several of them were definitely not at war with Germany, but Roosevelt wanted to ensure that they were not tempted to join Hitler. They were Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama. His plan had the effect of expanding the alliance, diversifying the interests of those involved, and submerging differences in motives and aims within a bigger picture in which there could be one easily promoted aim common to all. The defeat of Hitlerism. In pursuing that course Roosevelt hoped, in part, to lay the basic foundations for one of his major post-war objectives: cooperation with the Soviet Union. Believing that the United States and the Soviet Union would emerge from the war as the world's two strongest nations, and that the American people would not consent to a post-war peacekeeping role in Europe, Roosevelt was convinced that gaining Soviet cooperation was vital to ensure post-war peace. The proviso, of course, was that the Soviet Union had given up on its aims of world-wide communist revolution which Roosevelt, along with increasing numbers of Americans, also believed to be the case.¹⁹

Churchill did not share Roosevelt's vision of the post-war division of power. He believed – or at least he told Eden in a cable on January 8, 1942 – that probably “the United States and the British Empire, far from being exhausted, will be the most powerful armed and economic *bloc* the world has ever seen, and that the Soviet Union will need our aid for reconstruction far more than we shall then need theirs.”²⁰ However, he and Roosevelt worked together on a draft declaration for the expanded alliance in the same way they had in preparing the *Atlantic Charter* and Churchill later noted that they were in full accord in principle, sentiment and language. In fact they were still in disagreement over the status of the countries of the British Commonwealth and in spite of the fact that Britain had agreed, under pressure, to the drafting of a new constitution for India after the war, Churchill wrote that “The War Cabinet very rightly did not wish to include India as a separate sovereign state” or signatory to the declaration.²¹

RINGING THE CHANGES

Clearly the United States held most of the trump cards and on January 1, 1942, when the declaration was ready for the signatures of the *principal allies*, four significant issues had been resolved to Roosevelt's satisfaction. The China of Chiang Kai-shek was included as an immediate signatory together with Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union; India was included in its own right in the list of twenty two other nations to be invited to participate; and a reference to religious freedom had been agreed to by the Soviet Union. Roosevelt had not forgotten the demands of his Catholic bishops conference. And the term ‘United Nations’ had been substituted for the description ‘Associated Powers’ of the *Grand Alliance*. The declared aims of the original signatories were simple: “to defend life, liberty, independence and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands”

through the defeat of the members of the *Tripartite Pact* and its adherents and through “victory over Hitlerism.”²² They did not realize that in using that ill-defined term to which Churchill had turned when he was struggling to express war aims on behalf of Britain they were mocking the self-understanding of the amorphous Christian gel and its accumulated sins. They simply believed they were taking the first steps towards a system of collective security through an international arrangement which would succeed the ineffective League of Nations – and prop up that self-understanding and the privileges which went with it even more firmly.²³

Before the release of that declaration the decision had been taken that the armed land, sea and air forces of the United States, Britain, the British Empire [*sic.*, not ‘the dominions’] and Holland (in respect of the Netherlands East Indies) would be brought under a common command structure with a Supreme Commander for the South West Pacific. That command was to include the strategic bases in Northern Australia, but it excluded India and the balance of Australia – except that Churchill “procured from President Roosevelt his promise to accept responsibility and use the United States Fleet for the ocean defence of Australia, and to send upwards of ninety thousand American soldiers there ...”²⁴ And that decision was taken against the background that it had been “generally agreed that the defeat of Germany, entailing a collapse, will leave Japan exposed to overwhelming force, whereas the defeat of Japan would not by any means bring the war to an end.”²⁵ Then one of the last acts of the conference just before Churchill returned to London, was to publish the Inter-Allied Declaration on *Punishment for War Crimes*.

Another act while Churchill, the non-believer, was in Washington was to attend a church service on Christmas Day with the president and to speak, with him, to an enormous crowd gathered around a traditional Christmas tree in the grounds of the White House on Christmas Eve. He later wrote: “I found peace in the simple service and enjoyed singing the well-known hymns Certainly there was much to *fortify the faith of all who believe in the moral governance of the universe.*” [Emphasis added.] He did not try to present himself as either Christian by faith or as rejecting that faith, but he was quite happy to exploit the religiosity which is integral to the amorphous Christian gel. Addressing the crowd he referred to “the commanding sentiment of comradeship in the common cause of great peoples who speak the same language, *kneel at the same altars* and, to a very large extent, *pursue the same ideals*” while nations advance upon each other with the most terrible weapons which science can devise. “Ill would it be for us this Christmastide,” he said, “if we were not sure that *no greed for the land or wealth of any other people, no vulgar ambition, no morbid lust for material gain at the expense of others, had led us to the field.*” Then, talking of the children, he said “let the gifts of Father Christmas delight their play ...” and, invoking the name of God, he called for the adults to resolve that “by our sacrifice and daring, these same children *shall not be robbed of their inheritance or denied their right* to live in a free and decent world.”²⁶ [Emphasis added.] His sense of history, his memory of India’s colonial chains which he had so recently refused to break – including his exploitation of its people in the defence of Britain’s interests, his knowledge of the frenetic efforts being made to develop an atomic bomb, and his own non-

profession of faith at the Christian altar to which he alluded all seem to have deserted him in his bid to capitalize on a touch of rhetoric. It was jingoism masquerading as patriotism and clinging limply to the religious skeleton of the amorphous Christian gel.

While its Allies were still in conference, on January 7, the Soviet Union mounted its counter-offensive against the German armies which had been virtually encircling Moscow. Bolstered by fresh troops and Allied aid shipments it was devastating. The Germans withdrew, piecemeal, with as much order as they could muster while they struggled to establish firm defensive positions from which they could hope to move forward again after the spring thaw. But the merciless Russian counter offensive in pathetic conditions which contributed to frightful losses on both sides prevented them from stabilizing the front and within two months they had forfeited, generally, about one hundred miles along the length of the front. But Hitler's parody was continuing to bring to the surface pent up tensions linked to colonial exploitation, religious manipulation and ethnic and political allegiances so, while Roosevelt and Churchill debated the words of *their* declaration there was significant activity in each of Europe, Asia and Latin America. The pattern of ethnic affairs world-wide was beginning to look rather like a game of 'beggar my neighbour'.

When the terms for Lend Lease supplies were finally settled, The US *required* Britain to agree to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce and the reduction of tariffs and trade barriers after the war. It had achieved one of its key war aims almost as soon as it formally became a belligerent. Work therefore started almost immediately in both the US and Britain on plans for new international monetary and trade organizations which would govern the new post war international economic order.

About the same time, in Asia, Thailand and Japan signed a treaty of mutual support and a few weeks later Thailand declared war on both the US and Britain. Christian missionaries from Britain and America in Japan and Japanese controlled regions of China were interned and either expelled or forced to collaborate in Japan's war effort, and Shinto was made obligatory.

In contrast, when the countries of Catholic Latin America met in conference in Rio de Janeiro all except Chile and Argentina which were anti-US, broke with Germany and, no doubt influenced by the invitation to sign the United Nations statement, formed the Inter-American Defence Board. The Office of Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs, otherwise known as "the Nelson Rockefeller Committee" was set up in the State Department, the US built bases in Panama and Brazil, set up a 'Joint Rubber Effort' on the Amazon with funds and staff from the United States and arranged for the handling of tin, copper, nitrate and other strategic materials out of Latin American mines. Trading with Japan and Italy was eliminated and in twenty one countries companies with German connections were closed, their operations 'absorbed' and their funds frozen. The Monroe Doctrine notwithstanding – or perhaps conveniently interpreted – United States domination of Latin America became a reality. It was to be reinforced relentlessly in the years following the war.

And the US was rapidly capitalizing on a new relationship with Australia at Britain's expense as a result of the fiasco in the South West Pacific. On January 23 Prime Minister Curtin cabled Churchill to say very bluntly that the planned evacuation of Singapore was regarded as "inexcusable betrayal." Australia had been led to believe that it was to be made "impregnable" and there was grave uneasiness at Allied impotence to do anything to stem the Japanese advance. Australians, having volunteered for overseas service in large numbers found it difficult to understand a situation in which "irreparable damage may have been done to their power to resist, the prestige of Empire, and the solidarity of the Allied cause." Stung by such criticism, Churchill moved quickly to ensure that Australia was kept informed on what was happening in the Pacific theatre and given a greater opportunity to influence the course of events. Pacific War Councils were set up in both London and Washington with provision for representation from Australia, New Zealand and the Netherlands, and on behalf of India and Burma.

At that time the United States was also exerting pressure to prevent the Soviet Union from gaining a foothold in the Baltic states and Eastern Europe. Aware of Stalin's territorial demands in its discussions with Britain over the terms of an Anglo-Soviet Treaty, Roosevelt urged the British to resist. Despite British attempts at formulating a compromise involving assurances of Soviet demands in the future, the US remained uncompromisingly committed to its *Atlantic Charter* strategy of postponing territorial settlements, necessary if the principle of self-determination was to be upheld – and if electoral support was to hold up in the US. Roosevelt did consider supporting a compromise involving the transfer of populations affected by the proposed border changes, but the State Department was adamant. Eventually the Russians dropped their territorial demands, and a purely military treaty was signed some months later, on May 26.²⁷

For the United States, which interpreted Soviet actions in dropping their territorial demands as deference to US opposition, the episode merely served to postpone the formulation of a concrete policy on Eastern Europe. But if the Americans thought that the implications ended there, they were sorely mistaken. In opposing Soviet territorial ambitions Roosevelt believed that they stemmed solely from Russian fears of a resurgent Germany, and thus would eventually just disappear once Hitler had been defeated. They wouldn't, of course, and the contrast between America's action in blocking Soviet interests and its pursuit of its own interests in Latin America and the Pacific would not go unnoticed either. The British, aware of how their earlier reluctance to grant Moscow a free hand in Eastern Europe in pre-war negotiations had contributed to the *Nazi-Soviet Pact*, had argued that Soviet security demands could not be met by German disarmament alone, and that Lend Lease supplies to the Soviets weren't a sufficient indication of good faith. They were right. For the Soviets, single handedly facing the bulk of the German war machine in the third devastating invasion in 130 years, the issue of Eastern Europe – the gate-way to Russia – was a crucial test of Allied attitudes to cooperation both in war and in peace.²⁸

Just why the Soviets chose to drop their territorial demands has therefore been a matter of some contention. One explanation is that Roosevelt and the Americans used the prospect of a

second front as a bargaining chip. When Molotov had arrived in London in May to continue treaty negotiations with the British, Roosevelt invited him to Washington to discuss, as he wrote to Stalin, a “very important military proposal involving the utilization of our armed forces in a manner to relieve your critical western front.” According to historian John Gaddis, “the tacit arrangement soon became clear.” The Soviets would drop their territorial demands in return for a British and American promise to open a second front in 1942. Soon afterward, Roosevelt formally promised the Russian foreign minister a second front in 1942.²⁹ Others, however, have disputed such an assessment, arguing that such a strategy was never consciously pursued, and that the invitation and the pledge were primarily an effort to reinforce the Soviet war effort which at the same time might serve to take the pressure off the Soviet requests.³⁰ If that was the case, however, the effort was certainly a ham-fisted one, for it is clear that if the Soviets did not come away with the belief that a bargain had been made, they were certainly, at the very least, going to act as if it had.³¹

When the second front failed to materialize, not only in 1942 but also in 1943, the Soviets had been refused the one thing that might have fully convinced them of Western bona fides: the willingness to make sacrifices on the same scale as their own.³² But by then their armies had substantially turned the German tide and they were in a position to take what they wanted in Eastern Europe whether the Western Allies agreed to it or not, and the United States was left with the problem of resolving the tension between its twin desires for self-determination in the region and cooperation with the Soviets. Unless the Western powers could find some other way to cement the trust of the Soviet Union, one of those desires would eventually have to go.

Back inside the Third Reich, where Hitler’s lackeys were rounding up Jews as fast as circumstances would permit, the military action was not going all Hitler’s way. Rumbblings of discontent spread as Germany’s armies suffered heavy losses battling better equipped Russian troops in frozen conditions like those which had led to Napoleon’s retreat from the gates of Moscow. The number of senior officers who were prepared to risk being involved in plotting Hitler’s overthrow or assassination began to swell, while others openly defied his orders to dig in and hold the winter front, and began to plan withdrawal. Sensing that they lacked the will to carry out his plans for a new order in Europe, Hitler dismissed the Commander in Chief of the Army and assumed direct personal command on December 19, 1941, just eight days after declaring war against the United States. He was able to set his own ground rules. And far from distracting him from his Final Solution, the troubles which bore down on Hitler focused his attention on that program and increased his determination to complete what he saw as his life’s mission.

THE WANNSEE CONFERENCE

On January 20, Heydrich held a conference which was to be a key step towards the fulfillment of Hitler’s mission. It appears that after receiving his instructions on July 31, 1941 to proceed with the Final Solution, Heydrich received approval for his plan late in November because on

November 29 he issued invitations for the appropriate government authorities to attend a conference on December 9. However, as already noted, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour and the American declaration of war on December 8 caused the postponement of that conference for five weeks. It was a very select gathering, chaired by Heydrich, with the documentation provided by Eichmann. Only fifteen people attended. They were the heads or representatives of the government and military agencies which were to actually carry out the planned mass deportation of Jews from Germany and the occupied territories to the concentration camps and extermination gas chambers which were being constructed in the east. The operation was to be conducted with brutal efficiency and the conference was required to ratify all of the measures being put in place and to adopt a list of countries, drawn up by the Foreign Ministry, from which Jews were to be deported to 'labour camps'. The list included all Jews from the Greater Reich and, on the assumption that their governments would agree to their deportation, Croatian, Slovak and Rumanian Jewish citizens who were resident in the Reich. It also included former German Jews who were then living in the occupied countries and who had been declared stateless, and Hungarian Jews employed in labour camps. The German authorities were to "proclaim their readiness" to "evacuate" the Jews of Rumania, Slovakia, Croatia, Bulgaria and Hungary, and the last two named countries were to be "persuaded" to introduce anti-Jewish legislation.

Pressure was also to be brought to bear on all other European countries to pass similar laws. The Foreign Ministry advised that no particular difficulties were expected in getting the cooperation of occupied countries in Western and South Eastern Europe. Eleven million Jews were expected to "fall away" but Eichmann made special reference to the fact that Croatia, the Catholic state that had enjoyed Pius XII's special approval, was declared a place where there was no longer a problem because "the essential key questions have already been resolved."³³ However the ministry proposed the temporary deferral of the program in the northern countries where it said there could be some "problems." The conference was advised that the transporting of Jews from the Reich and from "the Protectorate to the East" (Czechoslovakia) had begun on October 15, and that the "emigration" of 537,000 Jews from Germany, Austria and the Protectorate had been arranged prior to the ban which had been imposed for security reasons. It is not clear whether it was advised that 'small scale' gassing, at the rate of up to 1,000 persons per day, had actually started at Chelmno on December 8, using a mobile gassing van, and that limited operations had also started at Auschwitz, using Zyklon-B, in early January,³⁴ but it is reasonable to assume that it was, on the basis that even the most heartless psychologically steeled officials would find it easier to act on a program of mass murder if there were precedents and they were not the first persons to be involved.

Detailed operational planning commenced immediately after the Wannsee Conference and Eichmann despatched representatives to each of France, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Norway, Romania, Greece, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia to negotiate the deportation arrangements. The plan received Hitler's emotional 'blessing' in his address in the Berlin Sports Palace on January 30, to mark the ninth anniversary of his rise to power. After

raving and ranting against Churchill, Roosevelt, and the Russians – without discussing the plight of the German armies which were being pounded by them in the frozen fields of the Volga – he turned to international Jewry which backed them all. He returned, as expected, to his well established theme, repeating the “prophesy” which he had made in his corresponding anniversary address three years earlier, seven months before the outbreak of war.

This war will not end as the Jews imagine, namely, in the liquidation of all the European and Aryan peoples; the outcome of this war will be the extermination of Jewry. For the first time it will not be other nations who will bleed to death. For the first time we will practice the ancient Jewish law: an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth!

Indicating that anti-Semitism would spread further as the struggle widened, he added:

It will find fertile soil in every prison camp, in every family to whom we explain why, in the end, they must make sacrifices. And this world enemy, the wickedest of all times, will play his role no longer, at least for one thousand years.³⁵

When he delivered that impassioned policy speech he was not trying to conceal his intentions or his program. He just didn’t talk about figures or methods. He could have said that of 3,601 enemies of the state and other undesirables who had been shot in the Crimea in the previous six days 3,286, or 91 percent, were Jews. The hour would come, he warned, “when the most evil universal enemy of all time will be finished, at least for a thousand years.”³⁶ Only a few days earlier he had explained to some of his colleagues why the Final Solution was necessary in these terms.

At the time of the rule of the Popes, the Jews were mistreated in Rome. Until 1830, eight Jews mounted on donkeys were led once a year through the streets of Rome. For my part, I restrict myself to telling them they must go away. If they break their pipes on the journey I can’t do anything about it. But if they refuse to go voluntarily I see no other solution but extermination.³⁷

It was as if Hitler had just put aside the *La Civiltà Cattolica* article of September 22, 1938, in which Fr. Enrico Rosa had ‘conceded’ that “if the Jews are on our soil, they have not come to it innocently, but rather in order to take it away from us Christians, or to plot against our faith,” since ultimately “*they are an enemy whose goal is to appropriate our land and deprive us of heaven ...*” [see chapter 22, p. 3] Rosa had then reflected that a remedy such as “*expulsion of Jews as foreigners*” ... would not be possible in a generalized way, especially if it had to be applied in all *civilized* countries. Hitler thought he knew better. Perhaps he had privileged access to the unpublished encyclical *Humani Generis Unitas* which had been Pius XI’s *derailed* attempt to lead the Catholic Church into a new view of the Jewish Question and it was still fresh in his mind. “... many thousands of Jews [are] wandering as helpless persons from frontier to frontier as ‘a burden to humanity and themselves’³⁸ ... [and] ... *this campaign* [of permissible anti-Semitism] *against the Jew has at least this advantage*, if one can put it so, over racial strife, that it recalls the true nature, the authentic basis of the social separation of the Jews from the

rest of humanity. This basis is directly religious in character. Essentially, the so-called Jewish question is not one of race, or nation, or territorial nationality, or citizenship in the state. It is a question of religion and, since the coming of Christ, a question of Christianity.”³⁹ That draft went on to say: “The Church’s ardent hopes for Jewish salvation “do not blind her to the spiritual dangers to which contact with Jews can expose souls, or make her unaware of the need to safeguard her children against spiritual contagion ... (and) ... so long must the Church use every effort to see that the effects of this (persisting) unbelief and hostility are not to rebound to the ruin of the faith and morals of her own members.” And the facts that *anti-Semitism involving persecution is pitifully inadequate, utterly unfit for the Church’s task, and defeats its own purpose by producing only greater obstacles to cope with*, “clearly demonstrate the need for energetic measures to preserve both the faith and morals of her members and society itself against the corrupting influence of error ...” [chapter 22, p. 25. Emphasis added.]

A BASIS OF HATRED

Hitler followed his Sports Palace performance with another hysterical broadcast on February 9 in which he declared that “the Jews will be liquidated for at least a thousand years!” The speech was printed in Rome’s *Messaggero* newspaper and the British minister to the Holy See, Osborne, discussed it with the Cardinal Secretary of State, Maglione, in his continuing effort to get the pope to intervene with a statement condemning the atrocities. However the responses from the Vatican confirmed that Pius XI’s bid to change the Catholic Church’s attitude to the Jewish question had been totally rejected. On February 16, the day on which the murder of Australian nurses occurred at the hands of Japanese troops at Banka, the BBC reported in broadcast on the situation in Croatia which has been described as “typical”, that: “The worst atrocities are being committed in the environs of the archbishop of Zagreb [Stepinac]. The blood of brothers is flowing in streams. The Orthodox are being forcibly converted to Catholicism and we do not hear the archbishop’s voice preaching revolt. Instead it is reported that he is taking part in Nazi and Fascist parades.”⁴⁰

During March the Vatican received a stream of reports of deportations and anti-Semitic measures in Slovakia, Croatia, Hungary, and Unoccupied France, and the papal nuncio in Bratislava commented that “deportation was the equivalent of sending a large number to certain death.”⁴¹ Among them was a substantial aide-mémoire from the World Jewish Congress and the Swiss Israelite community jointly which was sent to the Holy See through the papal nuncio in Berne. Dated March 17, it described situations much like those referred to Maglione in the August 1941 letter from the Israelite community at Altari. (See chapter 24, p. 75.) A note on Croatia read: “Several thousand families were either deported to desert islands on the Dalmatian coast or incarcerated in concentration camps ... all the male Jews were sent to labour camps where they were assigned to drainage or sanitation work and where they perished in great numbers. ... At the same time, their wives and children were sent to another camp where they, too, are enduring dire privations.”⁴²

Every indication was that Pius XI's *intention* in commissioning *Humani Generis Unitas* was being totally disregarded or even dismissed as misguided, and the representative who Eichmann sent to France was given a very good *authorised* Catholic base to work from. The leading Dominican theologian and neo-Thomist, Garrigou-Lagrange, a theological adviser to Pius XII and a keen supporter of Marshal Petain, was a close friend of the Vichy ambassador to the Holy See. In "an infamous dispatch" to his government the diplomat was able to advise that "the Holy See did not object to the Vichy anti-Jewish legislation" and he supplied source notes from Thomas Aquinas which had been assembled by Rome-based neo-Thomists.⁴³

Among the difficult questions which the German authorities had considered at the Wannsee Conference was the definition of a Jew, an issue which had taxed religious and political leaders before, which would do so again when the State of Israel was being established and which has done so again as recently as 1997. How were the partners and offspring of mixed marriages to be dealt with? A second degree 'Mischling' who had previously been considered as 'persons of German blood' were in future to be treated as Jewish if they were of "especially unfavourable appearance in racial terms" except that some discretion was allowed and they may be sterilized as an alternative to being 'evacuated to the east'.⁴⁴

As the impact of enforced dissolution of mixed marriages and the 'deportation' of the Jewish partner and offspring became apparent the Catholic Church became concerned. In March 1942 Archbishop Bertram intervened on behalf of all bishops, not because they underestimated the harmful Jewish influences upon German culture and national interests, but because Catholic marriage was indissoluble and other races involved in such marriage should be treated humanely!⁴⁵ And about the same time those who had been involved in the pathetic effort at interfaith dialogue just prior to the outbreak of war were stirred to rekindle their efforts. A Council of Christians and Jews was established in Britain and the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches strengthened its informal refugee network by establishing the Ecumenical Committee for Refugees in Geneva. That was certainly a worthy move in the circumstances of the time, but in reality everyone was missing the point then, and everyone who tries to define or classify ethnic groups on the basis of race for political, population control or welfare purposes since has also missed the point. What they were trying to do was define a *basis for hatred*, or a basis for exclusion on grounds which might be seen to justify hatred which had no valid basis, or, on the reverse side of the debate, a basis for privilege. When seen in that light the real issue is the self-understanding of the people who are doing the debating. And when that point is recognized the discussion should centre on understanding the basis of cultural and religious diversity.

JAPAN'S SWIFT ACHIEVEMENT

We have seen that the British Government was no different to anyone else in this regard and, with very little real help coming from the church and with the complication of conflicting recommendations coming from the various wings of the church, it was still almost totally

incapable of understanding the issues involved in interfaith conflict. In the wake of both the *Joint Declaration*, which was becoming known as the *United Nations Pact*, and the dramatic Japanese successes it stirred the pot still further in its efforts to maintain control of India, where debate raged about who was less welcome: the Japanese or the British. Japanese forces had occupied Manila on January 2, then Singapore on February 15 with the capture of 32,000 Indian, 16,000 British and 14,000 Australian troops. Four days later, on February 19, Japan had struck at the Australian-American naval and air base at Darwin as part of its strategic plan to destroy American strike capacity. Next day President Quezon of the Philippines left Luzon by American submarine and Churchill wrote to Curtin about planned troop deployment. After telling him that he had to take part of the blame for the loss and imprisonment of thousands of Australians at Singapore because of his insistence that the island garrison be defended, he wrote: "Your greatest support in this hour of peril must be drawn from the United States. They alone can bring into Australia the necessary troops and air forces, and they appear ready to do so."⁴⁶ Thus, when Roosevelt ordered General MacArthur to evacuate his headquarters in the Philippines next day, February 21, and relocate in Darwin the coincidence of timing of the bombing of Darwin and the arrival of MacArthur quickly established the myth of the defence of Australia.

The fact was that the Japanese had succeeded in pushing the United States command out of the Philippines and both Britain and the US needed bases in Australia if they were going to be able to reverse the situation. *When the Japanese then continued their swift sweep through South East Asia and occupied Batavia on March 9 and Rangoon on March 10, they had actually reached the limit of expansion anticipated when Japan's war aims were approved by the Imperial Conference.* The Japanese government was ready to call a halt. It confidently expected that only the consolidation and political pressure phase remained. Roosevelt knew that. When he wrote to Curtin on February 20 to brief him on the forces which he was about to send to Australia as a base for service in the Asia-Pacific theatre he said: "While I realize the Japs are moving rapidly, I cannot believe that, in view of your geographical position and the forces on their way to you or operating in your neighborhood, your vital centres are in immediate danger." That was the same day that Churchill had sent his bullish letter to Curtin. And he knew, too.⁴⁷ Immediately Japan had achieved all of its basic territorial aims to enable it to rid East Asia of the European Colonial Powers, Emperor Hirohito instructed Premier Togo not to miss any opportunity to terminate the war.⁴⁸ In accordance with Japan's treaty obligations Togo thereupon summoned the German ambassador and proposed a joint approach by Japan and Germany to the Allies. Hitler declined. He wanted Japan to join Germany in its war against Russia and to concentrate its major effort towards India so that the two powers could link up through Persia, to which Hitler was then planning to drive through the Caucasus and, in doing so, isolate British interests in the Far East through a giant pincer movement in exactly the manner Britain had feared. The fact that the Axis partners could not agree forced Japan to contemplate whether it could negotiate its way out of the war on its own while Hitler pressed on with his plans.

But Churchill was pressing hard to ensure compliance with the Anglo-US war plan. Japan was not to be allowed to either hold or liberate the countries which it had occupied. If it was allowed to, its plan for a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere would be *fait accompli*, US ambitions to succeed the European colonial powers in East Asia would have been totally frustrated, and Britain's imperial authority would have been in tatters. He need not have worried. Fear and loathing of the Japanese had been whipped up so effectively in Australia that it would have agreed to anything which either Britain or the United States asked for, in spite of feeling so let down by "the Mother Country."

And while Japan's flush of success had exposed disagreements between the Axis partners it also brought to the surface tensions between the British and United States governments over Britain's policy in India and whether Churchill's hard line would aggravate the overall war situation. Roosevelt wrote to Churchill on March 11 to press him to take a conciliatory line towards India. Conceding that strictly speaking it was none of his business "except in so far as it is part and parcel of the successful fight that you and I are making," he suggested the immediate establishment of a "temporary government in India, headed by a small representative group, covering different castes, occupations, religions, and geographies – this group to be recognized as a temporary Dominion Government." This temporary government which would "of course represent existing governments of the British provinces" and the Council of Princes would have a life of five or six years, or at least until a year after the end of the war, and "it would be charged with setting up a body to consider a more permanent Government for the whole country ..." Then, referring to the "travails and problems" of the United States as it moved from separate former colonies through civil war to a negotiated constitution, Roosevelt said that "some such method ... might give a new slant in India itself, and it might cause the people there to forget hard feelings, to become more loyal to the British Empire, and to stress the danger of Japanese domination, together with the advantage of peaceful evolution as against chaotic revolution." Such a move, he said, "is strictly in line with the world changes of the past half-century and with the democratic processes of all who are fighting Nazism ... [and] ... I hope that whatever you do the move will be made from London and that there should be no criticism in India that it is being made grudgingly or by compulsion."⁴⁹

INDIAN ASPIRATIONS SUPPRESSED

Churchill was more than a little displeased. He reacted as if Roosevelt's proposal was nothing more than a further step in the dismantling of the British Empire which was being pursued through the conditions which were imposed on Britain under the *Atlantic Charter* as a price for United States support, in the conditions for Lend-Lease aid, and in the recently drafted *Grand Alliance* or United Nations plan. He had good reason to be suspicious, but he was adamant that Britain was not going to be pushed out of India that easily and that the only way forward was to retain a firm grip and give as few concessions to the Indians as possible. He moved to suppress or to camouflage the disagreements and tensions as quickly as possible.

Sir Stafford Cripps was sent to India as a matter of urgency, arriving on March 22, in a bid to rally support by promising an Indian Union which would have the status of a dominion after the war. Cripps proposed that an all-Indian constitution-making body be set up after hostilities ceased; that a union be established with any province free to elect to join or not to join; that Britain's obligations under a treaty would include the protection of racial and religious minorities; and that Britain would remain responsible for 'the defence of India' until the new constitution took effect. The existing arrangements for "the defence of India" had been very beneficial to Britain. The British view was that India's "defence" included the requirement for it to provide armies to fight in Britain's wars as well, and only a few months earlier, in August 1941, Britain had relied heavily on units of the Indian Army in the occupation of Persia in the joint operation with the Soviet Union.^{50 51} In addition to gaining control of Persia's oil and the need for a southern supply route to Russia, the justification for the invasion of Persia had been that Germany might leapfrog Iraq and drive through the territory of another ally, Persia, to link up with Japanese forces in the Arabian Sea via the Persian Gulf. If that had happened one of Japan's war aims – the isolation of Britain from India and independence for India – would have been *fait accompli*. Britain had actually used Indian armies to suppress Indian aspirations for independence previously and it would do so again. [In addition, three years later, of the one million-strong 14th Army which was engaged in the re-conquest of neighboring Burma, the majority (600,000 of them) were Indians. They suffered 180,000 casualties, including 30,000 deaths.]⁵²

The Cripps initiative was, overall, a failure although he did receive an assurance of total war against the Japanese from Mr. Pandit Nehru, the Congress president, and of continuing support for Britain from the Muslim leader Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, and on April 11 he relayed to Churchill the gist of a letter from Congress and advised that he would leave for London next day. Congress rejected the British offer mainly because it wanted immediate National Government and the scheme which Cripps carried with him provided no real change from the existing system of British control. What was required was "a new psychological approach to the people to make them feel that their own national freedom had come [and] that they were defending their new-won freedom."⁵³ Shocked at the news which reached him almost immediately of Cripps intended departure from India, Roosevelt cabled the US ambassador in London, Harry Hopkins, with an urgent appeal that Churchill soften his line and have Cripps to stay "until one more effort has finally been made to prevent a breakdown of negotiations." The president said, in part:

It is impossible for American public opinion to understand why if there is willingness on the part of the British Government to permit the component parts of India to secede after the war from the British Empire it is unwilling to permit them to enjoy during the war what is tantamount to self-government. ... Should the current negotiations be allowed to collapse because of the issues as presented to the people of America, and should India subsequently be invaded successfully by Japan, with attendant serious defeats of a military or naval character for our side, it would be hard to over-estimate the prejudicial reaction on American public

*opinion. ... I feel that if the component groups in India could be given now the opportunity to set up a Nationalist Government in essence similar to our own form of government under the Articles of Confederation, with the understanding that following the termination of a period of trial and error they would be enabled then to determine upon their own form of constitution and to determine, as you have promised them already, their future relationship with the British Empire, probably a solution could be found. ...*⁵⁴

That appeal reached Churchill and Hopkins while they were together at 3 am on Sunday morning, April 12. He rejected it out of hand. When he replied later that day he used the lame excuse that he could not act on it without convening cabinet, which could not be done until Monday morning. Such a problem had never bothered Churchill before. He had ordered the invasion of a country without consulting cabinet so why should he be bothered about asking them if a special emissary could stay a few days and await further instructions? Or even, seeing that Cripps had actually left already, get a message to him at an intermediate air port and tell him to turn around and go back? Churchill even refused to raise the matter with cabinet. He wrote: "As your telegram was addressed to Former Naval Person, I am keeping it as purely private, and *I do not propose to bring it before the cabinet officially unless you tell me you wish this done. Anything like a serious difference between you and me would break my heart, and would surely deeply injure both our countries at the height of this terrible struggle.*"⁵⁵ [Emphasis added.]

The combination of Churchill's suspicions of American motives and his determination to hang on to India as the centrepiece of Britain's empire meant that he did not adequately consider either the alternatives or the implications of the course he was taking. If the thought occurred to him that Britain might not be able to walk back into its other Asian colonies at the end of the war he gave no hint of it and he certainly excluded it from his planning options. But Roosevelt clearly understood the possibility and he was therefore locked into acting on the basis of Churchill's decision whether he liked it or not. He would *either* be helping Britain protect its position, *or* he would be securing the United States' position so that it could move in instead of Japan. He therefore needed a distraction which would draw some of Japan's effort away from South East Asia or even possibly cause Japan to stop in its tracks and sue for peace. The US solution was a direct raid on Tokyo. It had exactly the reverse of the intended effect. The raid took place on April 18, six days after Churchill rejected Roosevelt's plea to relieve the pressure in India and thus avoid any encouragement for Japan to go further. As a bombing raid it was ineffective but spectacular and it forced the Japanese war command into an immediate reassessment of its needs and its strategy.

Some eight days after the US raid on Tokyo, about April 26, the All-India Congress Committee, being unaware of the motives behind that raid or the unfolding circumstances and being affronted by Britain's withdrawal from negotiations and its insistence that British control and defence arrangements must remain in place, confirmed that it was impossible for Congress to consider "any schemes or proposals which retain even a partial measure of British control in India ...[and] ... Britain must abandon her hold in India." Even so, with real independence

being the Indian objective, Nehru made it clear that the Japanese must also be resisted. In spite of all that has happened, he said, “We are not going to surrender to the invader ... [or] ... embarrass the British war effort in India.” The reactions were natural enough. Churchill held to his line that it was not a time for constitutional experiment with a trial and error approach to determine the future relationship between India and the British Empire. He maintained that: “Without the integrity of executive military control and the power to govern in the war area hope and chance alike would perish.”⁵⁶ Japan saw the Congress statement as good reason to step up its efforts to expel Britain from Asia. By the end of April the Japanese Command had completed its revised strategy plan to support its new aim to ensure that there were no US bases within striking distance of Japan itself or territories considered basic to its New Order. Having reassessed their security needs on the basis of that aim and the positions adopted by Britain and the United States they decided to extend their net to include the Aleutian Islands, Midway, Samoa, Fiji, New Caledonia and the whole of Papua and New Guinea.⁵⁷

However, instead of allowing a halt to consolidate their position while negotiations were entered into, the Japanese command let itself be provoked into immediately stretching its defensive perimeter, and the momentum of their offensive operations was promptly stepped up.⁵⁸ What they did not allow for – could not allow for – was the fact that US Intelligence services were by then even more efficient than they had been before the Pearl Harbour. They knew the Japanese naval operations plans as soon as their own commanders did. But this time they were not sitting, twiddling thumbs, waiting for the Japanese navy to strike to generate an American strike-back mentality. That had already been generated very effectively. Having read the Japanese plans and tracked their fleet, the US Navy was in place from May 3 and waiting to pounce when the Japanese fleet arrived in the Coral Sea area on May 6.

As was to be expected Churchill’s continuing hard line encouraged the Congress of India to a further show of non-cooperation with the British authorities or what Churchill described as “the total pacifism of Gandhi” who wrote in his newspaper on May 10: “The presence of the British in India is an invitation for Japan to invade India. Their withdrawal would remove the bait. Assume however that it does not, Free India would be better able to cope with invasion. Unadulterated non-co-operation would then have full sway.”⁵⁹

The consequences of the stand-off between Churchill and Congress in India, the US provocation and the Japanese response to that provocation was awesome. *If Japan had not responded to the American provocation of April 18 and had concentrated on securing the area of influence which had been their aim, the war may have taken a substantially different course.* But they did respond to American provocation – *for the second time* – and in doing so they stretched their resources too thinly. On June 4 they lost both the decisive battle for Midway and with it the capacity to control their own supply routes. Some Japanese commanders had already directed terrible atrocities against prisoners of war in the islands, with 646 POW, mainly Australians, executed in five separate incidents during the capture and occupation of Timor.⁶⁰ But after Midway, to offset the loss of supply capacity, they turned prisoners into slaves against

whom they threw all the venom of impending defeat. Fifteen thousand POW died of malnutrition and physical abuse during the building of the Burma railway alone.

In adopting that policy the Japanese forfeited the high ground of anti-colonial morality to the United States and the old European powers, who took full advantage of it in the psychological war for the allegiance of the people for whom the New Order had been intended. It was a simple and convenient matter for the Western Alliance to portray the Japanese and Germans as tarred with the same brush and to whip up nationalism based on the superiority of that peculiar Western Christian ethic on which the policies of the Alliance were supposed to be based. After all, what reason did the people of the West have *not* to believe their leaders who kept telling them it was so?

WHY NOT ANOTHER PAUSE?

Little attention has been paid by historians to the probable wider consequences of an end to hostilities between the Allies and Japan at the point at which Japan had occupied all of the territory from which it had set out to expel the colonial powers, but the implications are enormous. It has been assumed that the assessment expressed by Churchill in Washington in January as a “general agreement” was correct: *“the defeat of Germany, entailing a collapse, will leave Japan exposed to overwhelming force, whereas the defeat of Japan would not by any means bring the war to an end.”*⁶¹ That assessment on which the war was pursued must be examined very carefully. The defeat of Japan was certain to require a drawn out war on a massive scale with ever more rabble-rousing propaganda, devastation, long term broken relationships, and the need for equally massive rehabilitation, reconstruction and reconciliation programs if the Western powers were to return – as they were determined to – and retain the privileges of colonial authority. But there was an alternative, which Japan expected: a negotiated settlement. After all, the trade negotiations which had been allowed to continue as an integral part of the provocation process right up to the outbreak of war, as insincere as they were, could have been used as a starting point or a lever in a bid to find a compromise between the complete withdrawal of the Western colonial powers, which Japan wanted, and the return to total colonial political and economic domination. Roosevelt was pressing Britain to adopt such an approach in India. Why not extend that approach across the whole region?

The possibilities of such a negotiated settlement instead of the massive extension of the war in the manner in which it was provoked must be seen against the eventual outcome of the war. That outcome, discussed in later chapters, involved the totally unnecessary use of the A Bomb and the headlong charge into the nuclear arms race, the political division of China, Korea and Vietnam, a series of regional wars involving the Soviet support of insurgents and massive anti-Communist rhetoric, an eventual end to the European colonial presence, and the need for economic reconstruction which still led to an extended period of Western economic domination. The key fact was the end of the colonial presence which had been Japan’s primary aim and the wish of the people of the entire region and, in particular, the dismantling of the British Empire

which Britain had gone to war to prevent. But in addition the division of resources, which the continuation of the war in the Far East and the Pacific made necessary, resulted in the extension of the primary war in Europe, the division of Europe into Western and Eastern blocs, the need for unprecedented post-war reconstruction which enabled the United States to retain the political and economic initiative, and the skewing of the world's economic system by the introduction of practices and procedures which has enabled the exploitation of the non-Western world without the political structures of the former colonial system.

It is possible to make a reasonable assessment of what would have happened if Britain had acted on Roosevelt's proposal and if both Britain and the United States – knowing how costly and destructive the war was likely to be – had accepted Japan's occupation of South East Asia, the establishment of its Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and the economic and political adjustments which went with it. The first series of considerations relate specifically to Asia. The second series relate to Europe, the trouble in the triangle and, in particular, the course of the *Night Journey* or the Holocaust.

CONCERNING ASIA

The countries which were drawn into the war when Japan extended its area of operations in response to the provocative US bombing of Tokyo would *not* have been drawn in.

A number of post-war crises would not have developed in the way in which they did. These include the humiliation and devastation of Japan by nuclear bombings and the immediate precipitation of the nuclear arms race.

The occupation of Japan and the consequent domination of Japan's economic and social life by the United States, and the destruction of its long-established system of ethics and community values would not have occurred.

The independence of East and South East Asia under some sort of Japanese neo-imperial umbrella would have allowed the release of the whole area from Western colonialism without the trauma of the partition of Korea and Vietnam and a series of wars of independence. The argument that these countries fared no better during their brief period of 'independence' under Japanese suzerainty than they had under the former colonial administrations is spurious. The entire period was, in reality, one of military occupation in full wartime conditions with the Western Allies pounding on the door and doing all they could through fifth columns, infiltration and propaganda to undermine stability and Japanese authority.

The end of Anglo-US supplies to China would have ensured that Japan and China would have been able to negotiate peace reasonably easily without the Western powers being present either as a cause of tension or to divide and rule. Therefore, as the dominant leadership groups of both countries at that stage were non-Communist or anti-Communist there could have been a smooth transition to a new set of relationships.

The rise to dominance of the Chinese Communist Party and the consequent crisis of the Two Chinas may not have occurred.

CONCERNING EUROPE AND THE HOLOCAUST

A negotiated settlement in Asia would have totally realigned the military powers in Europe. As we have seen, Japan was only circumstantially aligned with Germany and it was unhappy with, and did not cooperate with, Hitler's anti-Semitism and other social policies. Neither had it responded to Hitler's urging to declare war against the Soviet Union, and its failure to do so had undermined Hitler's position on his eastern front very seriously by permitting Russian armies to be re-deployed to the front against Germany. Therefore, having achieved its basic aim of removing the Western colonial powers from Asia in a negotiated settlement it would have certainly withdrawn from the Axis. That would have released all Allied forces which were occupied in Asia for re-deployment against the Axis in the European and North African theatres. The total war zone would have been compressed, not enlarged. Hitler would have therefore lost power very quickly by any of three mechanisms: defeat at the hands of concentrated superior power; a coup triggered by total disenchantment with Hitler's direction of the war; or a settlement imposed on him without the main program of the Final Solution being put into effect. The war would have ended with Hitler's armies and the Soviet armies still facing each other half way across White Russia. The questions of the future of Poland, the partition of Germany, the confrontation of Eastern and Western Blocs, the need for near-total reconstruction of major cities across Europe, and the nuclear arms race of the Cold War era would not have arisen. In addition the refugee and resettlement crises would have been of far lesser proportions, and the dismantling of Europe's remaining colonial structures – especially the British Empire – could have been approached in a much less frenzied manner.

However Britain, because of its perceived dependence on the bounties of empire, the influence of the dominant market forces of the day – otherwise simply called greed, and its self understanding as a part of the amorphous Christian gel would not let go. Neither would the United States because it was committed to supporting Britain in its major war – out of self-interest, not altruism – and because it still yearned to replace Britain in Asia and would not permit Japan the honour of doing so. Thus the opportunity for another pause or for some mid-battle negotiations was lost and the war games just had to go on with increasing fury. The superior White Western Powers had decreed that there would be no negotiation, no peace without victory. The parody of *Mein Kampf* had to be acted right through and the *Night Journey* could not be cut short. However there was a major change at that point. The war in the Far East changed from being Britain's war with Japan – with the US playing a support role – to the United States' war with Japan for dominance in Asia.

When Japan reached the perimeter of its planned zone of operations and the opportunity for a pause occurred, the peak of the Holocaust – the commissioning of the major gas chambers – was still three or four months away and Hitler's main armies were held down in the east, against

the Soviet Union. If the war had ground to a halt shortly after that – between April and August 1942 – the world would have been shocked when the scale of Hitler’s atrocities against the Jews were unveiled for all to see, but the worst of the Final Solution would not have been carried out and therefore neither the Jewish community’s alarm and pressure on the United States for more vigorous intervention, nor the Zionist campaign for Palestine would have developed in the way that they subsequently did. The refugee crisis, although it would have still been very serious, would not have required the virtual complete evacuation of Jews from Europe. The pressure on Britain over the question of Palestine would not have reached the level which, subsequently, it did, and therefore Arab concerns may have been audible above the din. There would certainly have been a more temperate atmosphere and a less critical environment in which all parties involved could have considered the Jewish Question.

However it is clear that the Jewish Question – or the Christian Question – would *not* have been spontaneously resolved. The *Night Journey* had not yet gone far enough. The trauma had not yet reached a level sufficiently great for the Vatican to recognize itself in the parody of *Mein Kampf* – that is apparent from its conduct and the pattern of later developments in doctrine and dogma – and it would have continued its push for concordats and the consolidation of its temporal authority. Therefore, although there would have been a more stable environment in which to begin a fundamental reassessment of relationships within the triangle – and of messianic theology – that reassessment was *not* about to begin. The world war might have been resolved, but certainly not the trouble in the triangle. The scourge, under some other name, would have been waiting in the wings for some other combination of circumstances to bring it to centre stage.

Churchill’s words to the crowd in the White House grounds on Christmas eve are worth recalling. He referred to “the commanding sentiment of comradeship in the common cause of great peoples who speak the same language, *kneel at the same alters* and, to a very large extent, pursue the same ideals” while nations advance upon each other with the most terrible weapons which science can devise. “I’ll would it be for us this Christmastide if we were not sure that *no greed for the land or wealth of any other people, no vulgar ambition, no morbid lust for material gain at the expense of others, had led us to the field,*” he said. ⁶² [Emphasis added.] His sense of history and his understanding of the concerns of humanity-at-large had failed him.

But Stalin’s memory of how Britain manipulated religious groups had apparently not faded. If Britain had been able to use Russia’s Jewish community to its advantage at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution, then surely he could try the same trick. In August 1941 two leaders of the Polish Bund, Henryk Erlich and Wiktor Alter, were convicted of sabotage against the Soviet Union and sentenced to death, but their sentences were commuted to prison sentences and they were offered a reprieve if they would help the Soviet Union in its fight against the common enemy, Nazi Germany. The Soviet Government believed that Jews abroad, especially those in the neutral United States, could make a great contribution to the Soviet war effort. Erlich and Alter were invited to head a Jewish World Committee (also referred to as the Jewish Anti-Hitler Committee) which would be specially formed for the purpose and would operate

internationally. They agreed and planning began, but in December Stalin identified them as Menshevik leaders who had opposed the Revolution. He ordered their arrest and summary execution. But apart from the question of their politics, it appears that Stalin did not favour the establishment of a major international Jewish group which, with links in the Soviet Union but not under its full control, could influence domestic politics.⁶³ However the plan was not dropped after those executions. It was simply modified. In April 1942 the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee (JAC) was established under the Soviet Information Bureau (Sovinformburo) to operate strictly as a Soviet-based organization.

JAC's chief was Solomon Lozovsky who also held the posts of Deputy Commissar of Foreign Affairs, subordinate to Molotov, and deputy chief of the Sovinformburo. Its chairman was Solomon Mikhoels. Broadly representative of Soviet Jewry, it published *Aynikayt*, mobilized Soviet Jews for the war against Nazi Germany, encouraged Jewish enlistment in the British and US armies, and raised millions of pounds in Britain and America in aid of the Red Army and Soviet civilians. As victory became certain the committee changed from being basically an instrument of Soviet policy and dealt with Anti-Semitism, other wartime problems and the post-war future for Soviet Jewry.⁶⁴ It survived until November 1948 when it was disbanded on the grounds of subversive links with American Zionist organizations and the campaign for the establishment of Israel, but its leaders came under scrutiny in 1943–44 because of a proposal for an alternative program. (Chapter 27) About the time that the JAC was beginning its work, seven countries of Latin America denied entrance to fugitives from Axis-dominated areas of Europe altogether, and Turkey, which provided the logical route out of the neutral Balkans, adopted a thinly veiled policy of internal racism and denied all transit rights. No doubt they had been encouraged by the earlier action of the United States in tightening visa regulations on the grounds that German agents might be traveling disguised as refugees.⁶⁵

THE BILTMORE CONFERENCE

Stung into action by the deteriorating position, especially in Europe, by Britain's refusal to relax controls on refugee settlement in Palestine, by concern that war time conditions made it impossible to hold a formal conference of the World Zionist Organization, and no doubt by Hitler's extermination speech in the Sports Palace on January 30, Zionist groups in the United States convened an extraordinary Zionist Conference at the Biltmore Hotel, New York. About 600 persons drawn from the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, Mizrachi and Po'alei Zion met from May 6 to 11.⁶⁶

The conference proved divisive. It polarized the American Jewish community around the issue of an exclusive Jewish homeland in Palestine, split the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and led to the formation of the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism six months later. The Council maintained that its members were Jews by religion alone, that their religious belief made it incumbent upon them to take a universalist position, and to oppose strong ethnic bonds and Jewish nationalism. It maintained that Zionism and the concept of a State of Israel

worked against the assimilation of Jews into the general American society and called into question their loyalty to the United States.⁶⁷

On the other hand the Biltmore Conference galvanized a large proportion of the American Jewish community into cohesive action to ensure that Palestine was adopted as the basis of a Jewish National Home. The tide of events in Europe, with the decimation of its Jewish community and the dispute with Britain, were relentlessly sweeping the centre of gravity of Jewish affairs into the United States. It was almost inevitable that a program adopted by the American Jewish community would be adopted by the Jewish community world wide. The radical and militant eight-point Biltmore Program called for the fulfilment of the “original purpose” of the *Balfour Declaration* and the League of Nations mandate, “which, recognizing the historical connection of the Jewish people was Palestine,” was to afford them the opportunity, as stated by President Wilson, to found there a Jewish Commonwealth.⁶⁸ It also called for the rejection of Britain’s *White Paper*, recognition of the right of the Jews of Palestine to play their full part in the war effort and in the defence of their country through a Jewish military force fighting under its own flag.⁶⁹

But it also reflected and confirmed the conviction which dominated the war aims of each of Germany, Japan and the *Grand Alliance* that the war was about the establishment of a new world order.

*The conference declares that the new world order that will follow victory cannot be established on foundations of peace, justice and equality, unless the problem of Jewish homelessness is fully solved. The conference urges that the gates of Palestine be opened; that the Jewish Agency be vested with control of immigration into Palestine and with the necessary authority for upbuilding the country, including the development of its unoccupied and uncultivated lands; and that Palestine be established as a Jewish commonwealth integrated in the structure of the new democratic world. Then and only then will the age-old wrong to the Jewish people be righted.*⁷⁰

Because of the need to maintain the closest possible contact with Churchill and the British Government, the headquarters of the World Zionist Organization had remained in London in spite of intense debate over whether that continuing close relationship was in the best interests of the Zionist Movement in view of Britain’s conflicting interests. The Biltmore Conference brought that issue to the fore again and Ben Gurion sought to have Weizmann removed from the office of president on the grounds that he was excessively pro-British, weak and unreliable, but American Zionist leaders rejected those accusations as baseless.⁷¹ However in spite of the controversy which the Biltmore Program triggered there was general agreement that it had progressed the cause of Zionism and that it was better to ask for more than might be achievable rather than less. In the dominant Zionist circles it was argued that other nations and ethnic minorities were pressing their claim for either independence, decolonization or both, and that the Jewish people should therefore not remain silent. The significance of the argument was to become painfully clear from 1948 onwards.

The Biltmore Conference confirmed more clearly than anything else could have that Churchill would have been quite unable to negotiate an armistice between Britain and Germany on the basis which Hitler had repeatedly proposed during ‘the pause for reflection’. [See above, chapter 28, pp. 46–48] And falling between his decision to supersede forced emigration with an extermination program, and the full scale operation of that program – when the large scale death camps were actually under construction – the conference would have also satisfied Hitler that his decision was the only way he could go.

There were other personally very influential opponents of the Biltmore Program as well as those who established the American Council for Judaism. One was Dr. Judah L. Magnes who had established the Hebrew University in 1924. Drawn into the Zionist Organization under the influence of Herzl and his supporters in Germany at the turn of the century, Magnes served for some time in the contradictory roles of Chief Rabbi of the influential Reform Temple Emanu-El in New York and honorary secretary of the Federation of American Zionists. He then took a step towards the centre ground in both theology and politics, adopting a Conservative religious position and Spiritual Zionism in place of Political Zionism. He resigned from the Zionist Organization in 1915, adopted a pacifist position, defied arrest and physical abuse as he campaigned strongly against US involvement in the war, played a prominent part in the establishment of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, and attacked the *Balfour Declaration* as “imperialism’s iniquitous gift to the Jewish people which ought not to have been accepted.”⁷² In 1926, two years after the founding of the Hebrew University, Magnes helped organize Brith Shalom (The League of Peace, see above, chapter 19, p. 13) to foster Jewish-Arab understanding with the eventual aim of a binational self-governing community in Palestine.⁷³ During the Palestinian uprisings of 1929, with his score already on the board, he told Lord Passfield:

*The Jews have more than a claim upon the world for justice ... but ... I am not ready to try to achieve justice to the Jew through injustice to the Arab ... I would regard it as an injustice to the Arabs to put them under Jewish rule without their consent. If I am not for a Jewish State, it is solely for the reason I have stated. I do not want war with the Arab world.*⁷⁴

Writing in the same vein at that time he said:

*Will the Jews here [Palestine] in their efforts to create a political organism become devotees of brute force and militarism as were some of the late Hashmoneans? We seem to have thought of everything except the Arabs ... If we have a just cause, so have they ... Is our nationality like that of all the nations, pagan, and based upon force and violence, or is it a spiritual nationality? The right of the Jew does not confer the right of political majority.*⁷⁵

Then, convinced that the 1936 partition plan would bring bloody war he opposed it and continued to plead for a binational state. It was therefore completely consistent with that understanding and a continuing commitment to peace and joint development with the Palestinian Arabs that, following the decision of the Biltmore Conference, Magnes set up an independent political association, *Ihud*, to promote discussion of the binational state plan as an

alternative to the Biltmore Program. The Ihud proposal was that Jews and Arabs would live, work, vote and govern together in Palestine as a Commonwealth without partition.⁷⁶ That proposal was totally consistent with the teachings of Ezekiel and the conduct of the Israelites returning from the Babylonian Exile. [See chapter 24, p. 100] It was shortly after this that the American Council for Judaism, already mentioned, was also established.

It took a few months after the Wannsee Conference for the Final Solution to get into full swing. After Chelmno, which ‘processed’ about 70,000 persons by June 1942 and about 145,000 by the end of the year, Belzec was the next extermination centre to become fully operational and several others, including Sobibor, Treblinka and Majdanek became operational during mid to late 1942.⁷⁷ But Heydrich, the head of the Final Solution program, did not survive to witness the worst of its excesses. Appointed deputy *Reichsprotektor* for Bohemia and Moravia, he was lulled into a false sense of security by the success of his measures in “pacifying” the Czech population, and on May 27 two Free Czech resistance fighters who had been flown in by British Intelligence bombed and shot him while he was riding in his car without an armed escort. After he died on June 4, Gestapo officials exacted vengeance for his death by arresting 10,000 people, executing 1,300 of them and wiping out the entire village of Lidice ... and the pope expressed his displeasure at the British Foreign Office interference and the assassination.⁷⁸ It was a distraction from the ‘reality’ of his world and his efforts towards ‘peace’ in Europe on the basis of his particular understanding.

PASTOR ANGELICUS

The reality of peace as he saw it was that the popes, as successors to Christ,⁷⁹ would assume the moral leadership of the world in collaboration with governments with which it enjoyed concordats and that the “vale of tears” of the contemporary world was shadowy and ephemeral. He saw himself as the *Pastor Angelicus* named in ‘the prophecies of St Malachy’ and the divine commission of his position required him, or enabled him, to make the ultimate decisions in detached and timeless solitude as “the superior of all earthly kings” free from ordinary human distraction – so much so that gardeners in the papal precinct were required to hide behind bushes while the pope was walking, contemplating, in order not to distract him. Thus, at about the time of the slaughter at Lidice and while the world’s earthly powers were tearing each other apart and while the Final Solution was building towards a climax Pius XII was collaborating with the president of Catholic Action in Italy in the production of an hour-long film which he had commissioned, himself. It was for screening around the world to depict the “daily life of the Pope and how he exemplified the prophecy of the Irish monk Malachy that the 262nd successor to St. Peter was to be indicated by the name Angelic Shepherd.”⁸⁰

It is indeed surprising that Pius XII should have chosen to give credibility to ‘the Prophecies of St. Malachy’ at a time when the papacy was in a love-hate relationship with Hitler, the credibility of the church was being questioned in many quarters, and the prospect of *either* the papacy *or* the Italian government vacating Rome was under serious consideration because of

the implications of an assault on Rome, one of the Axis capitals, by the Western Alliance. A bid to promote the office of the papacy as the pinnacle of Christendom and the Vatican as the seat of the world wide church in order to dissuade the Allies from bombing Rome was one thing, but to give credibility to those prophecies was quite another. The bishop of Armagh who was known by that name and who was instrumental in establishing the first Cistercian house in Ireland in 1142, in the middle of the Crusades, was canonized in 1190. But the prophecies which bear his name and which were attributed to him for a long time are now thought to have been written by a monk during the papacy of Gregory XIV, possibly at the close of the Huguenot Wars (1598) when France was regained for the Roman Catholic cause and limited toleration and financial support was granted to Protestants under the Edict of Nantes. (See chapter 10, p. 17.)

The Prophecies of St. Malachy purport to set out the future of the papacy and designate names for future popes. They are described in the Catholic Almanac as “vague, fanciful, and subject to wide interpretation.”⁸¹ The designation ‘Angelic Shepherd’ which Pius XII assumed for himself in 1942 is given in the prophecies to the 262nd pope. According to the listing of popes which the Catholic Church officially recognizes, Pope John Paul II is the 263rd Successor of St. Peter and therefore, on the basis that St. Peter is designated as the first, John Paul II the 264th pope. That being the case, Paul VI should be designated the 262nd pope and *Pastor Angelicus*, and Pius XII should be designated the 260th. That can be regarded as semantics and of little consequence, because if he wished, Pius XII could have designated a couple of the 37 whom the church now regards as Antipopes as legitimate. But that is not the point. In giving credibility to the prophecies of St. Malachy in the interests of his own aggrandisement and the protection of the Vatican’s interests at a time of extraordinary world crisis, Pius XII was drawing attention to, and by implication giving credibility to, the whole package. And according to those prophecies John Paul II will have only two successors before the end of the world – or at least before the end of the papacy. It is incredible that Pius XII should have chosen to take that course.

WHO WILL STOP THE FINAL SOLUTION?

By the time of the Biltmore Conference a great deal was known in the West about the nature and the extent of general atrocities being carried out against the Jews of Europe by the Nazis and although it appears that – apart from reports of Hitler’s vitriolic extermination speech in the Sports Palace in January – no firm reports of the operation of the ‘trial’ extermination centres or the construction of the major death centres which was in progress had been received, there was some further agitation for Hitler’s overthrow. Not all of it was prompted by Hitler’s assault on the Jews. Some of it was prompted, at least in part, by Hitler’s demand for absolute plenary powers which placed him above the challenge of the Reichstag and the law: powers which the Reichstag had agreed to unanimously when it was called – for the last time – on April 26, ten days before the Biltmore Conference.

In the early stages of the war the British Government had talked a lot about encouraging internal conspiracies with the aim of a coup against Hitler and it continued to support resistance groups as a means of destabilizing his regime. But as the war proceeded the government seemed to be so intent on a military victory that it was no longer interested in non-military solutions, even in the face of evidence that genocide was being attempted. But between May 30 and June 2⁸² (the day the BBC broadcast a report from the Warsaw underground about mass murder of Jews for the first time) organized resistance and conspiracy actually reached new heights in several countries of Europe. In an important attempt to establish contact with the British government, Pastor Bonhoeffer and Dr Hans Schoenfeld met the Anglican Bishop of Chichester, Dr George Bell, in Stockholm.⁸³ Bonhoeffer and Schoenfeld handed Bell a list of conspiracy leaders to pass to the British Government with a request that it make known, either by private message or public announcement, whether the allies would make a decent peace with a non-Nazi government once Hitler had been overthrown. Bell passed the message to Eden but no action was taken. Apparently Eden was sceptical at the inaction which had followed previous approaches by conspirators, even though on this occasion the conspirators were well respected people who had freely provided their names. However the discovery of his attempt – some called it an ‘indiscretion’ – later cost Bonhoeffer and a number of co-conspirators their lives.⁸⁴

However firm evidence of extermination camps was not long in coming. Some time in May the Jewish underground in Warsaw sent an account to the Polish government-in-exile in London and on June 2, after it had passed through the processes of British government censorship, the BBC broadcast a report of the mass murder of 700,000 Polish Jews. A week later that report was formally brought to the notice of each of the Allied governments by the Polish National Council in London. The BBC’s news report was then rebroadcast on June 26 – while filming of *Pastor Angelicus* was in progress – prompted by publication on June 25 in the London *Daily Telegraph* of the first of two prominent reports on the situation in Europe. The *Daily Telegraph* report noted that more than 700,000 Polish Jews had been slaughtered by the Germans in what it said was “the greatest massacre in the world’s history.” In the second, a few days later, it reported the use of poison gas, that the number slaughtered had passed 1,000,000 in Europe overall, and that the Nazis aim was “to wipe the race from the European continent.” Those articles were promptly reported by the BBC, drawn to the pope’s attention by Osborne, and republished by the New York Times on June 30 and July 2

The British Minister for Information was thus forced to hold a press conference on the subject and he released the Warsaw Underground’s complete report on July 10. If anything was required to do so, that action sealed the fate of those remaining in the ghetto. Then deportations from France started on the 16th, when an indoor sports stadium in Paris was turned into an internment centre for Jews destined for Auschwitz, and from Holland a few days later. The Nazis were not pleased with the results of the initial roundup – less than 13,000 when they expected 28,000. From Holland their haul was about 15,000. Reports could no longer be kept out of the press, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Hinsley, one of the first public figures in Britain to do so, broadcast to Europe about the suffering of the Jews, and a

protest rally was held in Madison Square Garden on July 21. Calls for the Vatican to speak up increased but the pope still chose not to intervene⁸⁵ and Hinsley quickly found that he had little support from other authorities in his own church. The person who took most notice of the Madison Square Garden protest was Hitler. The growing influence of the Jewish community in the United States impressed on him the urgency of eliminating Europe's Jews before steps could be taken to prevent it, and he ensured that deportations from the Warsaw Ghetto began next day, the July 22. He also prepared his Directive No. 45 for concurrent campaigns to capture both Stalingrad and the Caucasus. It was issued on July 23. His "fanatical determination" to pursue both campaigns against the advice of his staff in his attempt to end for all time the influence of the hated 'Jewish Bolshevism' has been described as "one of the most fateful of Hitler's moves in the war." It would soon result in Germany's most humiliating military defeat – in the very heart of Stalingrad – and that defeat would ensure that he could never win the war.⁸⁶ After that he could prolong the agony. But he could not win.

However, while the Vatican was being very accommodating to Hitler in its policy of non-intervention in both the Third Reich and the occupied countries, neither of his Axis partners were cooperating very well at all. In spite of his relationship with Mussolini, not a single Jew had been deported from the Italian spheres of occupation⁸⁷ and the Japanese were not providing the level of cooperation on the Jewish question which he had sought either. Gestapo chief Josef Meisinger therefore paid a visit to Shanghai from the German Embassy in Tokyo to arrange with the Japanese Consulate for an East Asian version of the 'Final Solution' to be put into effect. The Nazis were very disappointed that although Japan had issued orders after the Wannsee conference for the internment of all 'enemy nationals' or, as Britain had termed them, 'aliens', little had been done. The special measures for the *preferential* treatment of Jews arising from the Five Ministers' Conference were set aside, the Fugu Plan [see chapter 24, p. 28 ff.] was declared a failure, and all Jews were required to register and those of enemy nationality were interned – in the same manner as non-Jews.⁸⁸ But no more. The JDC office in Shanghai remained open and normal contact was maintained with Jewish organizations in New York for another four months, until May 21, 1942, when the JDC found it necessary to comply with the Anglo-American Trading with the Enemy Act.⁸⁹ To 'correct' the situation, Meisinger detailed a plan at a meeting with the Vice Consul and senior officials for all 21,000 of the region's Jews to be rounded up and disposed of. He proposed several simple options. They could be set adrift in derelict ships to starve and sink in the East China Sea; put to work in abandoned Yangtse River salt mines until they starved; or to be herded into a concentration camp on Tsungming Island to provide guinea pigs for 'medical experiments'. Shocked by what he had heard, the Vice Consul, Mitsugi Shibata, risked his life by briefing the leaders of the Jewish community and through various contacts the matter was raised with the former Foreign Minister, Matsuoka. In due course Foreign Minister Togo issued orders under the title Emergency Measures for Jewish People with the prominent directive: "*Nothing shall be done to or with the Jews that might inspire 'enemy counter-propaganda'.*" That was the end of the matter. Japan refused, point blank, to accommodate Hitler's Final Solution.

On August 4 while Churchill was on his way to Moscow for talks with Stalin he stopped in Cairo for talks with the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, General Sir Alan Brooke. Brooke advised him that the threat from a German-Japanese pincer movement around India was now very real. That could mean the loss of the oil fields of Abadan and Bahrain and that would mean a twenty percent drop in Britain's military capacity. Therefore, in the view of the Chiefs of Staff, if Hitler got a hold in the Caucasus and became a serious threat to the Persia Gulf it would be necessary to consider abandoning Egypt and North Africa altogether and shifting the British forces then in North Africa and Egypt, securing the canal, to the Persian Gulf.⁹⁰ Britain's relations with the Zionists and the Arabs would then become even more critical with regard to the security of the Eastern Mediterranean oil terminals, the canal, its access to the Far East and its relations with Japan. But Japan *continued* to try to initiate peace talks. A second approach to Hitler by Ambassador Oshima since Japan had reached its intended limit of occupation was also rebuffed.⁹¹ It is reasonable to assume that Hitler was not prepared to seek a deal with Stalin which would permit the survival of Bolshevism in return for land for Germany's 'breathing space', and that he would no longer approach the hated Churchill for an imperial compromise until he had cleared western Europe of its Jews. In any case, Hitler was still so confident that in August, while his armies were driving towards Stalingrad, he again talked with his inner circle about the terms he might be able to force on Britain and the United States after he had knocked Russia out of the war and could turn west once more. In the meantime, with its catastrophic naval losses at Midway Island on June 5 and American landings at Guadalcanal in the Solomon Islands in August, the tide began to turn against Japan as well, and it lost some of its negotiating strength.

Also early in August the Geneva representative of the World Jewish Congress, Gerhard Riegner, received a report from an industrialist who had access to German headquarters that Hitler had decided on the use of gas to destroy the entire Jewish population of occupied Europe. Riegner passed that report through British diplomatic cable channels to an MP friend in London and to Stephen Wise, President of the American Jewish Congress, in Washington, through the office of the Under Secretary of State, Sumner Welles. Welles suppressed the report, instructing that it was *not* to be handed to Wise who therefore did not receive a copy until August 28 when a copy reached him direct from London.⁹² Wise then agreed to keep it suppressed until he received Welles' confirmation that it was authentic. That proved to be on November 24, five days after the Zionist Action Committee had confirmed the Biltmore resolutions.⁹³

JEWISH SETTLEMENTS? WHERE?

As a result of the Biltmore call for the establishment of a Jewish National Home, when it was becoming clear that the Western Alliance was gaining the upper hand over the Axis, the Allies had to consider initiatives which would lift the level of the debate on the Jewish Question and provide for proper adjustment after Hitler without prejudicing their other interests – especially in the Middle East. Very deliberately they focussed attention on *refugee* assistance and

resettlement, and not on *Jewish* assistance and resettlement. They were expert at exploiting the politics of hatred – they had been doing it for years, not only in the Middle East but in every continent of the world – but now they had to do the reverse. They had to try to put the *genie* back in the bottle, and that was much more difficult. Several initiatives were taken, rather stealthily, by the British and United States governments to focus on the general issue of refugees.

They knew that the large scale resettlement of refugees into a country with a different ethnic heritage was always difficult. There are many reasons, or issues, but two are basic. Enormous areas of underutilized land are required, relatively speaking, for such resettlement, and a high level of community understanding, tolerance and acceptance is necessary to achieve settlement within established urban areas. It was widely considered that each of the United States, Canada, Southern Africa and Australia offered relatively good prospects for large scale refugee settlement, but the Evian Conference had clearly shown that none of them were enthusiastic about the prospect. In some cases the renewed debate following the Biltmore Conference became very acrimonious, and Australia's experience illustrates the point.

During 1937 and 1938 the Australian government had adopted a policy that steps should be taken to prevent "a serious influx of Jews" into Australia, that no facilities should be granted for group migration and that applications by the Australian Jewish Welfare Association in favour of 500 individual Jews from Austria or Germany would be approved. Its objections to admitting a large number of Jews were their "non-assimilability," their disregard for Australian living and working conditions and that the number of "alien migrants" would be considerably swelled in relation to British migration. And it noted that "it would appear desirable to give preference to Austrian and German Jews because of their greater need to find a new home and because, on the whole, they have become more assimilated in European ways, say, than the Jews of Poland where they have practically formed a state within a state."⁹⁴

On the basis of that policy the Australian delegate at Evian in July 1938 is reported to have told the conference that: "It will no doubt be appreciated that *as we have no racial problem*, we are not desirous of importing one."⁹⁵ [Emphasis added.] Unfortunately Australia's communal psychological complex over its British convict heritage; the Protestant-Catholic antagonism which had resulted from its British-Irish settler mix; its deeply ingrained White Australia Policy enshrined in legislation; and the trauma of abuse and suppression for its indigenous populations were all matters of record. Thus, when the Australian High Commissioner in London recommended in November 1938 that Australia should accept 30,000 refugees over a three year period the government was faced with a problem. At its December meeting the cabinet adopted a figure of just half that – 15,000 over three years – to be made up of 4,000 Jews and 1,000 "Aryans and non-Aryan Christians" each year.^{96 97} In the circumstances Jews were acceptable, but not non-Christians of other faiths!

Also in 1938 the Freeland League for Jewish Territorial Colonization was formed in England for the purpose of settling Jewish refugees in north-western Australia. It proposed that 10,800

square miles of the Kimberley region of Western Australia would be taken over and developed in two stages for pastoral, agricultural and industrial settlement. The secretary of the League, Dr Isaac Steinberg, who was (according to a letter in the files of the Department of Immigration) the People's Commissar for Justice in the first Soviet Government, arrived in Australia for discussions with the state and federal governments in May 1939. The proposal was considered by federal Cabinet in January 1941 and the decision was taken that further consideration should be deferred. However Steinberg remained in Australia and in spite of Cabinet confirming its rejection of the scheme in December that year he continued his investigations and lobbying. From mid 1942, after Biltmore and with the crisis in Europe deepening, public debate on the Freeland proposal became more intense. The Labor Council of New South Wales, the Australian Council of Trade Unions and the Anglican Bishop of Sydney were among those who supported the plan while many Labor Party branches, the Canberra Times, the Australian Natives Association and the Housewives Association of New South Wales were among those opposed. In January 1943 committees of prominent academics, church leaders and professional people were formed in both Melbourne and Sydney to press for acceptance of the plan and large scale refugee settlement. These were followed in March with a formal approach to the government by the heads of the Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist churches. Steinberg tried again in September with a four page personal letter to Prime Minister John Curtin, but the issue was so divisive that the government would not budge. Curtin eventually replied – on October 28, ¹⁹⁴³:

*The Commonwealth Government sympathizes with the serious plight of your people in Europe. It will be appreciated, however, that the whole question of immigration into Australia, particularly having regard to the conditions that will exist at the conclusion of hostilities is one that requires to be fully explored from all aspects. Plans are at present in progress to set up a committee to study the various phases of the general problem and, until recommendations are made by that body, the Government is not in a position to formulate a definite policy.*⁹⁸

Actually the position was very similar everywhere in the Western World. By mid 1942, shortly after Biltmore, London and Washington had reached agreement on the tactic of restraining local political foment over the Palestine question by delaying a settlement of the issue until the conclusion of the war. That decision was actually quite consistent with the British blanket suppression of news about the Palestine question which had been implemented from the beginning of the war. However when a joint Anglo-American statement to that effect was prepared, with an assurance that no decision would be made without prior consultation with both Jews and Arabs and also that no changes brought about by force would be recognized, it could not be released because of pressure on the White House from Zionist groups.⁹⁹

Hitler reacted to reports of these and similar decisions by Christian Western countries to reject or limit resettlement plans – and by Zionist groups to reject emigration packages except if the refugees concerned were allowed to enter Palestine – in exactly the same way that he had to the failure of Evian. They strengthened his determination to solve 'the Jewish problem' in his own way and encouraged the teams which were working on the planning and construction of

mass gassing chambers to press on with all speed. The conclusion is therefore inescapable that these decisions contributed directly to the deaths of inestimable numbers of Jews.

Certainly there was still a large reservoir population of Jews in occupied Europe when Germany surrendered, so it is impossible to say with any certainty how many more Jews would have survived if Hitler had continued with the release of some Jews – as many as countries would accept during wartime under negotiated emigration packages of one sort or another – in parallel with his program of ‘deportations to the east’. However it is well established that during the ‘pause for reflection’ he urged the powers of the Alliance to take the Jews off his hands and it is therefore reasonable to assume that the number of deaths would have been reduced significantly and the course of the “final solution” may have been different if large scale refugee resettlement had been agreed to. The *timing* of Hitler’s decision to proceed with extermination in place of emigration and how this relates to Britain’s rejection of his overtures which we have already considered, support that contention. However a distinction must be drawn between planned emigration as a factor in an armistice deal, and ‘*rescue*’ either from the death camps or from the ‘holding pens’ of the major ghettos and concentration camps *after* the extermination program had been set in motion. Large scale rescue from the major ghettos, concentration camps and death camps after the extermination program had been set in motion was not achievable. At that stage the slaughter could only be ended either by ending the war through Germany’s defeat, or through a change of German policy which may have followed Hitler’s death (by assassination or otherwise) and succession by an alternative leader. Even the outcome in the event of Hitler being replaced is not certain because of the level of acceptance of the *idea* that a secure future for Europe was dependent upon the elimination of Jewish influence, and the fanatical grip which the Nazis had achieved on the German mind. In any case it was a fundamental ingredient of the parody of *Mein Kampf* that Christian self-understanding and the acceptance of the Jewish community were incompatible, and the parody therefore still had to be acted out.

LET’S NOT TALK ABOUT IT

In August, as already noted, London and Washington received an account of the gas chambers and crematoria from the Polish Government in exile. Although these were soon confirmed by reports from other sources, including transferred prisoners of war, the State Department’s response was to impose a ban on the transmission of such news through diplomatic channels. This effectively reduced the credibility of reports which did get through. The government was already coming under pressure to act following the Biltmore Conference and it wanted no publicity or information in circulation which could lead to more pressure or draw attention to anomalies in the Allies’ strategies or motives. When funds were solicited by certain Jewish organizations for possible rescue efforts, both Washington and London discouraged contributions on the grounds that the money would probably fall into enemy hands but, if it didn’t, it would relieve Germany and its partners of the legal burden of supporting all of their

inhabitants.¹⁰⁰ Their real concerns related to the fact that a plan to *rescue* Jews required an explanation of *why* they needed to be rescued; *why* they had been subject to oppression; *where* they would be resettled; *who* would be placed at a disadvantage if they were taken to their place of choice, Palestine; and what the consequences might be for the Allied powers if the rescue plan went ahead. The answers to those questions were all so embarrassing and so potentially threatening to either the Allied war effort directly or through its relations with the Vatican that anything which would expose them to public discussion just had to be suppressed.

That episode was due to the fact that the influence of the Jewish community had forced the ‘moral imperative’ and Hitler’s Final Solution to the top of the American agenda alongside the original reasons for United States entry into the war: self interest. Thus, when Mussolini permitted Myron Taylor to visit the Vatican and meet Pius XII on September 19, much to Hitler’s displeasure, the president’s personal emissary aimed to convince the pope that “the Americans could not lose the war and that their determination was fired by a *moral crusade* against a gangster regime.”¹⁰¹ [Emphasis added.] That was only a year after Roosevelt, like Churchill in Britain two years earlier, had floundered around looking for a justification which the people of the US would accept for going to war and had found it necessary to rely on a response of hatred generated by a Japanese attack which he had secretly and deceitfully provoked by using US forces at Pearl Harbour as a decoy. [See chapter 24.]

In case the pope’s ignorance was as profound as his silence on the question of the Final Solution – which it was not – Taylor had brought “fresh information” about Germany’s unprecedented war crimes in occupied Europe, especially in France. Actually Hitler’s crime of genocide was *not* ‘unprecedented’ either in the planning or the execution. In *planning*, there was the precedent of the plan outlined by Professor Vosa Cubrilovic at the Serbian Cultural Club in 1937 for the elimination of the Albanian Muslim population in Yugoslavia, and in *execution* there was the precedent of the elimination of the Armenian population from Turkey. But as Hitler had confidently predicted they would, the world’s leaders had soon overlooked that episode – except to the extent that they could exploit it for political advantage – and he expected them to do the same again. If they had not been bothered by a couple of million Christians, they would be much less bothered about a few million Jews. He was only following established precedents in exactly the same way that he had with every other questionable policy he had espoused in *Mein Kampf* or put into practice since he gained power. However the circumstances of the Jewish Question were different to the others, and the world’s leaders were not being allowed to overlook it. [For the Serbian plan see chapter 20; for Armenia, chapter 16; for the details of *Mein Kampf*, chapter 18.)

Taylor’s visit to the Vatican appears to have had two aims, but they were intimately linked. One is indicated by his statement to Pius XII that: “There is reason to believe that our Axis enemies will attempt, through devious channels, to urge the Holy See to endorse in the near future proposals of peace without victory.”¹⁰² His use of the expression ‘peace without victory’ is an illusion to Hitler’s readiness to make a territorial settlement with Britain as long as he could have a free hand in the Jewish Question and indicates that Roosevelt, or the

administration, had shifted ground a lot since Hoover expressed surprise that Churchill had rejected a proposal along those lines. [See chapter 24, p. 25.] The other aim of Taylor's visit was directly related to the Final Solution and his appeal to Pius XII to speak out. He said: "Because we know we are in the right, and because we have supreme confidence in our strength, we are determined to carry through until we shall have won a complete victory." He was going much further and saying, in diplomat-speak, that the US expected the Vatican to end its bid to generate support for Hitler's assault against Soviet Russia and to cease its tacit support for Hitler's racial policy or face the music. Forced onto the defensive, Pius XII agreed, through Maglione, to issue an appropriate statement. When it was released – coinciding with the destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto and the slaughter of its residents – it contained no mention of Jews or Nazi atrocities and was cast in very vague terms.¹⁰³ It read, in part:

*The Holy See has always been, and still is, greatly preoccupied, out of a heart filled with constant solitude, with the fate of civil populations defenceless against the aggressions of war. Since the outbreak of the present conflict, no year has passed that We have not appealed in Our public utterances to all the belligerents – men who also have human hearts moulded by a mother's love – to show some feeling of pity and charity for the suffering of civilians, for helpless women and children, for the sick and the aged, on whom a rain of terror, fire, destruction, and havoc pours down out of a guiltless sky. Our appeal was little heeded."*¹⁰⁴
[Emphasis added.]

Hitler should have been very happy indeed to learn that Pius XII had told the world that he, no less than Roosevelt or Churchill, was *a man of human heart moulded by his mother's love*, that his ethereal environment was *guiltless*, and that people in his care suffered no more than *the aggressions of war*. He could hardly complain about a reprimand like that!

It is no wonder that Pastor Marc Boegner had received a severe rebuff from Vichy French President Pierre Laval on September 9 when he challenged him to stop the hunting, arrest, surrender and repatriation of Jews to Germany. In *The Long Road to Unity* Boegner quotes Laval as saying: "I cannot act otherwise, and what I am doing is a prophylactic operation ... I do not want a single foreign Jew to remain in France. Some countries take a high moral tone with me, but when I say to them, 'All right – you take them', they back out of it ... I am paying for the mistakes of others, of a government which allowed them in ... they are Gaullists, operating on the black market; if there was trouble, you'd find them leading the gangs'."

On manhunts: "They will be searched out wherever they are hiding." On saving children: "The children must stay with their parents ... I will not have [adoption] ... No one must remain in France." On opposition from the churches: "The Churches? They have done plenty of the same sort of thing themselves. I said as much to the representative of the nunciature who came to see me. They can do as they please, I shall continue to do what I have to do."¹⁰⁵

Laval was much more at home with the Pope's approach to the Jews than with Boegner and the Protestants. In June 1941 when the Vichy government had introduced the first of its 'Jewish Statutes' the cardinals, archbishops and Reformed leaders in France had jointly made known

their strong disapproval, but the Vichy Ambassador to the Holy See had reported favourably after his discussions with Vatican officials. The Vatican did not consider such laws in conflict with Catholic teaching, he said. The Holy See merely counselled that no provisions on marriage be added to the statutes and “that the precepts of justice and charity be considered in the application of the law.”¹⁰⁶

Those responses from Laval and the Vatican make it perfectly clear why the Reich Foreign Ministry representative could advise the Wannsee Conference in January, 1942, with confidence, that no problems were expected in getting the cooperation of governments in western Europe for the ‘final solution’ program, and Hitler could therefore continued to do what he believed he had to do with equal confidence. Quite apart from the systematic slaughter of Jews and Commissars by the Einsatzgruppen, which were responsible for the deaths of about two million people, largely Jews, by the end of the war,¹⁰⁷ the transport of Jews from Germany and the occupied territories was gradually increased as the death camps came into full operation after the Wannsee Conference. [See above, chapter 28, pp. 31,32.] By June 1942 several thousand people were being ‘processed’ each day. From July 22 the figure jumped sharply with one train load of 6,000 Jews leaving Warsaw for the extermination centre at Treblinka each day.¹⁰⁸ Then in mid-August the authorities in Budapest were told that the deportation of Hungary’s one million Jews should start immediately and be completed within a year. That decision meant an additional 2,700 deaths every day.¹⁰⁹ About the same time Zalman Friedrich, from Warsaw, acting for the Bund, set out to explore where the deportation trains were going. At Sokolow he met a bruised and bleeding escapee from nearby Treblinka who was able to describe in detail its killing installations and procedures.

But in the meantime the rapidly dwindling Warsaw Ghetto-bound community which had started at about 400,000 people had faced an horrific week beginning on September 5 when the German authorities announced that all Jews in the ghetto, without exception had to report immediately for registration for deportation. Each day for that week the remainder watched helplessly as up to 10,000 people were railed out in squalor to certain death and as another 2,648 people were simply gunned down in cold blood. Until that week the Ghetto Jews and their colleagues of the highly organized Polish Resistance had been divided among themselves about whether the death camp rumours were correct or exaggerated and about whether resistance would relieve the pressure or make it worse by encouraging even more determined Nazi recrimination. But they were now agreed that if death by murder was virtually a certainty they should not accept it without resistance and there was just a small chance that they might be able to force a change of policy. They realized that more than 250,000 people had made their dreadful final journey in seven weeks in spite of efforts to stem the flow by sabotaging the railways. On September 10, 1942, when only 70,000 ghetto residents remained – 40,000 of them armed with weapons smuggled in with the help of both Jewish and ‘Aryan’ collaborators in the underground and concealed in fortified underground passages and rooms – they decided to fight it out. It was better to fight for their lives and take a few Nazis to their graves as well, rather than go like lambs to the slaughter. Then, after an especially vicious day to mark Yom

Kippur when more than two thousand people were rounded up and deported and before they could put their stand-and-fight plan into action, there was an unexpected pause in the deportations. The reason was not a humanitarian change of heart by the authorities. It was a matter of the combined effects of economic and material sabotage by the underground, direct pressure on the local administration by non-Jewish groups in league with the underground, and complaints from the same groups about the effects on productivity of the dramatic depletion of the labour force. When Friedrich arrived back in Warsaw his report on Treblinka was published in an underground newspaper on September 20.¹¹⁰ The question was, would deportations to the death camps be resumed?^{111 112} The answer would not be known for six months and before we turn to it there are some related matters to consider, together with some of the other action during that period.

THE POLITICS OF LIFE AND DEATH

It was about this time, the third quarter of 1942 (and about four months after news of the mass murder of Jews had reached London and Washington), that the nature and organization of relief for the remnant Jewish community in Poland changed dramatically. During 1940 and 1941 the Polish government-in-exile in London had coordinated relief work as best it could through its Delegatura for the Homeland. However, although a host of political, community and church organizations were involved, there was a reluctance within the general Polish community to take part. In large measure that was because the pre-war environment in their country had been complex and confused. Alongside a mixture of freedoms which Jews were not accustomed to in some countries, there were repressive emigration laws which encouraged 'excess Jews' to emigrate and stay out once they had left. Anti-Semitism showed at times as physical oppression and communal attacks, but it has been exaggerated by some writers and had fallen in intensity after the death of Pilsudski. The country was deeply poverty stricken and some commentators have found it difficult to distinguish between the consequences of poverty and the consequences of deep-seated anti-Semitism, or perhaps they have found it convenient to confuse the two issues.¹¹³ Overall, there was an environment which encouraged, among Jews, both nationalism and pride in their Jewish heritage. For Poles, however, the situation had been complicated by the governor-general of Warsaw, Fischer, who had made it known in his proclamation of November 10 1941 that the death penalty awaited all those who 'provide refuge or any other kind of help' to Jews in hiding.¹¹⁴

Nevertheless, the situation was so horrifying that many ordinary Poles were galvanized into action in spite of fear and their conditioned reserve. On September 27, two weeks after deportations from the Warsaw Ghetto stopped unexpectedly and one week after the circulation of Friedrich's report, the Delegatura established the Aid Committee for Jews which drew in a number of additional underground organizations and operated until December 4 when it was disbanded in favour of the even more broadly based Council for Aid to Jews. The Council included Jewish representatives. It operated in Cracow and Lwow as well as Warsaw, and

tackled rescue, relief, foster care and medical programs, anti-extortion security and publishing work with incredible tenacity in the circumstances.¹¹⁵ But the world at large was not immediately told about the deportations from the Warsaw Ghetto, either by responsible governments or the church. Whether in collusion with the British Foreign Office or not, the Polish Government in exile in London suppressed the details and when it did advise the other Allied governments it was accused of exaggerating. Even after the details of the mass slaughters were verified and accepted by the British and American authorities, both governments showed great concern that the incidents should not be given too much publicity.¹¹⁶

The Vatican's dilemma is illustrated by the contrasts and contradictions in the conduct of senior clergy and officials. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, Cardinal Hinsley, was one of the first public figures in Britain to broadcast to Europe, in July 1942, about the suffering of the Jews, but he was soon to find that he had little support from other authorities in his own church. During the eight days beginning August 27, the pope was asked by six diplomats representing either neutral or belligerent governments to condemn the Nazi excesses. There was a clear understanding that the impact of such a statement coming from the ultimate Catholic authority would be greater than one coming from a national government. The pope's biographer, Michael O'Carroll justifies the rejection of these approaches on the basis that the pope was "the one man in Europe who had been dealing directly with German rulers for a quarter of a century, the only neutral leader trusted by the German Resistance, [and] *recipient of confidences from the head of the armed forces Intelligence*." [Emphasis added.] That is a remarkable admission in view of the debate over the source of the pope's information on Hitler's plans for *Barbarossa* and whether the pope took action to suppress the information. (See chapter 24, p. 51.) O'Carroll then drew on the quotation that "for a sensible opinion voiced only once [against Hitler] a man could be destroyed for ever."¹¹⁷ But even before that spate of direct approaches to the Pope, Harold Tittmann, Taylor's assistant, had told Vatican officials that its silence was "endangering its moral prestige and is undermining faith both in the Church and in the Holy Father himself." In fact the Holy Father – the ultimate Catholic authority – had his mind set on other ways of solving the world's crisis. A touch of Marian mystique.

THE MARIAN FACTOR

In the same way that the Jewish factor had been exploited by Britain in a bid to keep Russia in World War One at the time of the Russian Revolution, and the Christian factor had been exploited by both the Soviet government and the Nazis immediately *Operation Barbarossa* was launched, the Jewish factor was again exploited as the German armies pushed towards Moscow late in 1942. Reports began to circulate, notably in the Catholic press, that a wave of propaganda about German atrocities against the Jews was "Russian inspired." These reports were taken to mean that Russia was trying to generate international Jewish sympathy for the defence of Russia against Hitler. From the Vatican's perspective, if the support was real and was having an influence it had to be undermined, and if support was only being encouraged, it had

to be discouraged. This illustrates another aspect of the drama and the parody of *Mein Kampf*. Statements by Pius XII as the Jewish extermination crisis gathered momentum make it clear that he wanted the world, and especially the Jews, to turn to the Catholic faith and the practice of Mariology in particular to solve their problems – not just any Christian church. He has been described as the pope who did most to foster Marian devotion and it has been said that he was “particularly devoted to our Lady of Fatima” but the timing of the Marian episode which follows makes it look more like another piece of religious manipulation for political purposes than a simple act of religious devotion.

In 1917 reports began to circulate that Lucy, one of three sisters who experienced a vision of Mary at Fatima, Portugal, had been told by the Blessed Virgin that God was going to punish the world by more wars. According to those reports Mary also said that this could be prevented and Russia would be converted (to Catholicism) if Russia were consecrated to her Immaculate Heart and if communions of reparation were offered on the first Saturday of each month. The reports circulated between the time that the Provisional Russian Government lifted the Tsarist restrictions on Jews and the publication of the *Balfour Declaration*. [See chapter 18.] But until the start of World War Two, no national conversion had taken place and there appeared to be no prospect of it taking place with a Communist government firmly in control. However, prior to his elevation to the papacy as Pius XII, Cardinal Pacelli had shown a consistent emphasis in his ministry on devotion to Mary, and during his long term as Vatican Secretary of State, especially after his predecessor, Pius XI, endorsed the Fatima apparitions, the celebration of the cult of Fatima gained such prominence that the dictators Salazar in Portugal and Franco in Spain used it as “a rally-rousing emblem of Fascist solidarity.”¹¹⁸ Then, sometime in 1940, after the outbreak of war but before Hitler’s invasion of Russia, Sister Lucia, the surviving seer, wrote to Pius XII and requested that Russia be consecrated to the Immaculate Heart of Mary in accordance with the command which she had transmitted from the Virgin. The pope did not immediately respond, but in June 1941, in spite of Hitler’s bid to suppress Vatican infiltration into Russia with the armies of Barbarossa, it was again used for the same purpose: the recruitment of Spain’s ‘Blue Division’ to help the Nazis in the assault on Russia. [See chapter 20, p. 20 and chapter 24, p. 56.]

Now, in the final quarter of 1942, with Hitler’s Einsatzgruppen slaughtering Jews by the tens of thousands and his conventional armies, blessed by his papal concordat and a gaggle of chaplains, Catholic and Protestant, in the process of occupying Stalingrad – and preparing for the battle which was expected to give him a decisive breakthrough and victory in Russia – Pius XII decided the time was right to act. He would not respond to diplomatic appeals to speak in an effort to stem the slaughter of the Jews. He would respond to both Lucy’s letter and the large numbers of requests which the Vatican said it had received to do so and consecrate Russia to the Immaculate Heart of Mary. It would help Hitler along to his well deserved victory in support of Christian values, the elimination of Communism and the Catholicizing of the nation. Surely any thinking Jew would respond also by turning to Catholicism to be saved.

German troops reached the centre of Stalingrad on September 22 and it looked as if victory was assured. Hitler was elated. Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt were desperate. Everyone – Stalin, the Allies, Hitler and the pope – knew that if the Germans took Stalingrad they had control of the critical oil supplies from the Baku region and Moscow’s southern lifeline. Moscow could not, then, hold out. Victory would be Hitler’s and two parties would be happy. Hitler and the Vatican. The church in Russia – what would be left of it – would fall straight into the Vatican’s lap.

From a Western perspective the situation was now critical. With undeniable reports in from Warsaw about the fate of the ghetto and the impending loss of Stalingrad it was necessary for someone to pull a rabbit of the hat! In Washington next day, September 23, Roosevelt confirmed a top secret plan with the code name ‘The Manhattan Project.’ It was to be under the direction of General Leslie Groves as project controller. His role: to supervise every aspect from construction to final delivery of an atomic bomb. His instructions: to requisition or appropriate anything he required. Money was to be no object.¹¹⁹ A controlled chain reaction, the basis of a nuclear explosion, had not yet been achieved, but the scientists working on what had been declared a “practical project” under the control of the Office of Scientific Research and Development believed they were close to that point. (Enrico Fermi and his team at the University of Chicago actually reached it nine days later.) The Russians counter-attacked the same day, but while they caused heavy German losses the action was not enough to prevent German forces from occupying the Communist Party’s headquarters on September 27. On October 5 Stalin issued a stand or fall order: Stalingrad must be held and relieved at any price. The situation improved slightly at great cost, but on October 14 the German assault was renewed and the situation for Russia looked bleak indeed. On October 25, in spite of fanatical Russian resistance, General Paulus advised Hitler that he expected to have completed the capture of Stalingrad “at the latest by November 10.”¹²⁰ Pius XII was confident the Russian Orthodox Church was about to fall into his lap. To link Hitler’s anticipated victory with a touch of Catholic influence was too good an opportunity to miss and the pope had reason for his confidence that, whatever Hitler really thought of the church, he would soon be able to sign a Russian concordat. If not with Hitler, then with his successor. The Vatican’s ambition which had been thwarted so often over several hundred years appeared to be on the verge of fulfilment.

The world was transfixed by the titanic struggle for Stalingrad. Almost. Some people could think about other things, like the fate of the Jews. Even if the pope would say nothing there were some churchmen who would. At a public meeting in London on October 29, leading British churchmen and public figures protested against the persecution of the Jews. A message from Churchill was read to them: “The systematic cruelties to which the Jewish people – men, women and children – have been exposed under the Nazi regime are amongst the most terrible events of history, and place an indelible stain upon all who perpetrate or instigate them. ... Free man and women denounce these vile crimes, and when this world struggle ends with the enthronement of human rights, racial persecution will be ended.”¹²¹

Two days later, on October 31, Pius XII set his plan in motion with a tentative allusion to Russia and the Virgin in a message which was broadcast to Portugal. In the prayer which he composed for the occasion he avoided mentioning Russia by name, or Jews, but invoked Mary as Queen of the Rosary and Help of *Christians*. He asked for her help in the calamities of that time, which he and the faithful “hoped to receive, not through their own merits, but solely from the immense goodness of her motherly heart, imploring her to ‘give us peace’ and consecrating themselves forever to her Immaculate Heart,”¹²² and he prayed: “To those ... among whom there was not a house where Thy venerable icon was not seen ... give them peace and *bring them again to the one fold*.”¹²³ [Emphasis added.]

However not everything was going to Hitler’s liking. Following Montgomery’s victory there on October 27, the Axis retreat from El Alamein began on November 2, and the news from America that day was also disturbing. Public support for the Jewish cause was growing strongly. The fact that other nations and ethnic minorities were pressing their claim for either independence, decolonization or both, and that the Jewish people should therefore *not* remain silent had been a very powerful argument in the land of the Monroe Doctrine at the time of the Biltmore Conference and a call for the establishment of a Jewish National Home had now been published to mark the 25th anniversary of the *Balfour Declaration* carrying the signatures of 68 US Senators, 194 Congressmen and hundreds of community leaders and public figures.¹²⁴ The Allies landed in force in North Africa a few days later, on the November 7, the German Navy was having difficulty keeping trade routes open so that foodstuffs were in short supply, and the Russians still clung to Stalingrad and had recovered a sliver of territory. In spite of that Hitler was exuding confidence. He did not wait for confirmation of victory from Paulus and on November 9 he announced that a German victory at Stalingrad had been achieved. Was he really that confident? Perhaps he wanted to announce some good news to offset the retreat from El Alamein. In any case the German armies did recover the initiative and began to advance again in mid November.

At that point Japan found that the presence of its Jewish expatriates was becoming an embarrassment and it became necessary to try to prevent continuing contact between Shanghai’s Jewish community and “overseas organizations” – presumably US intelligence. Secret orders were given for a ‘Jewish district’ (in effect, Asia’s first Jewish ghetto) to be set up in the Hongkew area and for the city’s scattered Jewish population to be moved into it. ‘Surveillance, control and guidance’ were to be made a military function. But there was no rush. It was not until February 18, 1943, that orders were published that all ‘stateless refugees’ must move in within three months. Conditions in the poverty stricken Hongkew area which was taken over for the ghetto were primitive, slum-like and disease ridden, but at least it was only a ghetto. The orders covered stateless non-Jews as well as 17,000 Jews, but an additional 4,000 Jews of Russian citizenship were exempted under the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact which was still in effect.^{125 126}

In fact the German forces reached their maximum advance on November 18. Next day the Russians launched their massive counter offensive and within two days they were close to

encircling the Germans. General Paulus appealed to Hitler for permission to break off the siege and withdraw twenty miles to the River Don to regroup. Permission was refused. The news of the Russian counter offensive rather overshadowed the news that the Zionist Action Committee formally adopted the Biltmore Program by a vote of 21 in favour, 3 against and 3 abstentions, but Governments and the press were now beginning to discuss the Jewish question more openly. However in spite of strong congressional support for the call for the establishment of a Jewish National Home a minority of American Jewish leaders, prompted by Hashomer Hatzair, continued to oppose the Biltmore Program on the basis that the new policy assumed that no satisfactory solution to 'the Arab question' was possible, that it was likely to be interpreted by the powers generally as releasing them from their responsibilities and that the mandatory power, Britain, would not give real power to the *yishuv*, (the Jewish community settled in Palestine).¹²⁷ Hashomer Hatzair (Young Watchman) had evolved as a Zionist kibbutz settlement movement among young Marxist or left-leaning middle class Polish or Austro-German Jews in Galicia during the Great War and its first members arrived in Palestine in 1919–1920.¹²⁸ Harmonious relations with their Arab neighbours were important to them and their commitment to both Socialism and Zionism seems to have ebbed and flowed over the years.

On November 22 the Russian encirclement of the German armies in Stalingrad was complete. Paulus sought permission to fight his way out, but on the 24th Hitler refused. Stalingrad was not to be abandoned. He ordered a relief army to advance and break *in* to the trap but both arms and food supplies were getting dangerously short. On the 30th, to reserve more food supplies for the armed forces, the Reich government reintroduced the euthanasia program. The method: not gassing but simple starvation, assisted, some reports suggest, by the use of poisoned food. Mental home managers were instructed that "in view of the war-related food situation and the health of the working asylum inmates" it was no longer justified to feed all inmates equally and those who were cared for "without accomplishing any useful work worth mentioning" were to be subjected to the special diet "without delay."¹²⁹

By the time Pius XII had gathered forty cardinals around him at the Vatican on December 8 to complete his planned consecration, the German plight was pathetic. The trapped armies could not even be properly supplied by air drops. The twin bitter philosophical enemies – enemies of the church as well as each other – were pounding hell out of each other but the Russians had gained the upper hand. They were sensing victory with fresh reinforcements brought from the Pacific front which had been relieved of the threat of Japanese attack. The German generals knew they faced defeat. The pope knew it, too. Instead of consecrating Russia to the Immaculate Heart of Mary as he had planned, Pius XII found it more appropriate to encompass the whole world in the consecration. He and his advisers knew very well that for the planned declaration to be followed by a decisive defeat would either dint the faith of many in Mary's capacity to intervene or reflect badly on the pope's judgement about when it was appropriate to seek her intervention, or both. The decisions to initiate the declaration and then not to proceed were both political. There was nothing strange about that. But subsequently Pius XII was criticized by supporters of the Cult of Fatima for not going ahead with it, on that grounds that

his failure to fulfill the letter of the message conveyed by Sister Lucia led either to the German defeat or the subsequent growth of Soviet power during the Cold War¹³⁰ and the loss of Russia to the 'true faith'. In raising that issue the critics seemed not to realize that they were really raising questions about the relationship between faith, superstition and mysticism, and the exploitation of any one, or all, of those concepts for either political purposes or proselytizing.

A CHANGE OF TACTICS

The British Political War Executive (PWE) which had withheld distribution of its press briefing notes '*Establish Hitler's plan to exterminate the Jews in Europe*' for some time in spite of all the reports of atrocities which it had received, now released them, on December 10. The first declaration by the Allied governments formally acknowledging the mass murder of Jews was then issued on December 17, with a show of surprise, distress and concern by members of the Commons. It was very carefully stage managed. It was not issued in the names of individual leaders. It was issued concurrently by Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States and linked General de Gaulle's National Committee of Free French with it. It had to be done in such a way that it did not reflect on any of the governments or the policies and inaction which they had pursued. Nor could it reflect on either the underlying Western Christian anti-Semitism which underpinned Hitler's Final Solution or the Orthodox Eastern Church which had underpinned the Tsarist regime and its pogroms – a heritage which Stalin was saddled with. To do so would have implied direct criticism of the Vatican or the church in general and that could have been very counter-productive. It had to recognize the legitimate rights of the Jews and respond to the reality of the political awakening which the Biltmore Conference had generated among them in America in an effort to placate them. But the response could not be open-ended. It had to lower the tempo of their increasingly vigorous demands for rescue or decisive action to end the war and to stop the carnage. But it also had to be drafted in such a way that it did not give the Zionist Organization any grounds to increase its demands for Palestine; antagonize the Arabs in that territory; or imply the need for large scale refugee settlement programs which would be very unsettling in countries which had already rejected such programs. It had to gently draw the populations of the Christian Western world towards a sympathetic understanding of Jews and their plight without resulting in an anti-Jewish backlash, and it all had to have a slight ring of a non-specific moral crusade because that was, after all, the only justification for the war against "Hitlerism" which any of the Allies had been able to use. Honesty – self interest – had never been acceptable. And finally, to avoid any suspicions about the motives behind its release, it had to be a carefully crafted statement consistent with the manner in which news about the Middle East, the interfaith crisis and war news had been dribbled out. It was a masterly first step towards uncovering the painful truth. It noted that:

the German authorities, not content with denying to persons of Jewish race in all the territories over which their barbarous rule has been extended the most elementary human rights, are now carrying into effect Hitler's oft-repeated intention to exterminate the Jewish people in Europe. ... Jews are being transported, in conditions of appalling horror and

*brutality ... (from all the occupied countries) ... to Eastern Europe. In Poland, which has been made the principal Nazi slaughterhouse, the ghettos established by the German invaders are being systematically emptied of all the Jews except a few highly skilled workers required for war industries. None of these taken away are ever heard of again. The able-bodied are slowly worked to death in labour camps. The infirm are left to die of exposure and starvation or are deliberately massacred in mass executions. The number of victims of these bloody cruelties is reckoned in many hundreds of thousands of entirely innocent men, women and children ... (and the Allies) ... condemn in the strongest possible terms this bestial policy of cold-blooded extermination.*¹³¹

About that time, an anti-Nazi member of the German Confessing Church, Kurt Gerstein, who had been drawn into the extermination program as supplier of the hydrogen cyanide gas granules, told a Swedish diplomat, Baron von Otter, of his role and what was being carried out in the death camps. Apparently the Swedish government did not pass a report of that meeting on to the British or US authorities¹³² Then on Christmas Eve, one week after the *joint Allied declaration*, while Britain's faithful again had their minds on higher Christian things, the PWE distributed its '*Special Annex on the extermination of the Jews, with supporting evidence, mainly from Polish sources, and specific reference to Treblinka, Belzec and Sobibor as extermination camps.*'¹³³ There was still not a word from the Vatican except that, the same day, the London *Catholic Times* published a note that: "It is no secret that *the recent wave of propaganda about German atrocities against the Jews was Russian inspired*" ¹³⁴ [emphasis added]... and the pope followed with his Christmas message.

Pius XII's expectations of a Russian concordat were quietly put on 'hold'. The German relief forces were now trapped a few miles from Stalingrad as well as Paulus' main invasion and occupation armies. The relief forces had run out of fuel. Those facing Moscow were in a state of disarray. The failure of his Russian initiative in Mariology was becoming apparent. And there was growing pressure for him to condemn Nazi anti-Jewish atrocities at the same time that his own political position was weakening. He therefore had very little good news to talk about when he prepared his broadcast. He still could not bring himself to name either Nazis or Jews specifically, but a couple of sentences in his homily brought him as close as he ever got to denouncing the Final Solution. He picked up the threads of the Allied declaration and made a low-key reference to "hundreds of thousands, who without any fault of their own, sometimes only by reason of their *nationality or race*, are marked down for death or gradual extinction."¹³⁵ [Emphasis added.] No mention of their religion.

However that was a very brief portion of his address. The pope's theme was the Rights of Man and the relationship between the individual and the state. The imbalance between the rights and interests of the state and the individual had been brought about, he said, by the "damaging economic policies" of recent decades in which everything had become "subordinated to the profit motive." The individual had been reduced to a "utility of the state" to the exclusion of all ethical and religious considerations. He made no attempt to distinguish between totalitarianism and democracy, social democracy and communism, or capitalism and

welfare capitalism. What the world lacked, he said, was the peaceful ordering of society offered by allegiance to Holy Mother Church. His concept of an ideal society has been described as based on appeals to individual and family piety with “a hybrid of corporatist nostrums and appeals to ‘responsible Christian’ spirit underpinned by the premise of papal primacy.”¹³⁶ When he turned from Catholic social doctrine to the atrocities of the war which had come about, he said, because the social order “concealed a fatal weakness and an unbridled lust for profit and power” he pleaded for a vow to be made by men of good will to *bring society back to its immovable centre of gravity in divine law, and for all men to dedicate themselves to the service of the human person and the service of a divinely ennobled human society*. “Humanity owes this vow”, he said, “to those innumerable exiles whom the hurricane of war has torn away from their native soil and dispersed in a foreign land, who might make their own and the Prophet’s lament: ‘Our inheritance is turned to aliens, our houses to strangers.’” [Emphasis added.] So much for the Jews. The pope still believed they were just getting what they deserved.¹³⁷

WANG’S DISTRACTION

Churchill and Roosevelt planned another meeting, with their advisers, from January 14 to 23, 1943, this time at Casablanca in French North Africa, (Morocco), which had been recently liberated. But before they met there was an unexpected addition to their agenda. On January 9, Premier Wang Ching-wei of Japanese occupied China, formally declared war on the United States and Britain in conjunction with Japan. The Emperor and Premier Tojo, waiting for an opportune moment to recognize China’s independence, were persuaded to this course by their ambassador in Nanking. It would facilitate the integration of two governments: those of Wang Ching-wei in occupied China and Chiang Kai-shek in Nationalist China. This would then enable the withdrawal of Japanese troops from China, take China out of the war altogether, and greatly strengthen both Japan’s relations with other Asian nations and its immediate position in the war against the US and Britain. It meant that the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere would be effectively in place. There would be no reasonable basis for the return of any of the Western colonial powers to East Asia, and the powers of the amorphous Christian gel would, thereafter, have to justify any trading arrangements or other mechanisms of intervention, whether social, religious or political – as equals. Wang Ching-wei’s declaration was the first move in that plan and, by way of recognizing it, Japan undertook to give up its unequal rights and privileges in China and to turn over to the Nanking Government the former international settlements in Shanghai and Kulangsu, the legation quarter in Peiping, and all enemy properties in China which had been seized by Japan. This situation was totally unacceptable to both Britain, which had gone to war to prop up its imperial position and been able to draw in the United States in a support role, and the United States which had moved from a support role to a belligerent in its own right with the intention of preventing Japan from achieving regional pre-eminence and of succeeding Britain and the other European colonial powers. Clearly the Western Allies could not concede such a major coup. The new China-Japan arrangement *had* to be prevented.

On January 11 both Britain and the United States announced treaties with China – or at least the Nationalist portion of it – under which they *also renounced* their special and unequal privileges which had been extracted under the war-imposed treaties which were still in place. It was an expensive move but they were determined to play down their imperialist images and to undermine the dynamic diplomatic moves being made by Japan which were about to swing the balance of power heavily in Japan's favour. They were fortunate that on the same day that Wang Ching-wei made his declaration, January 9, Hitler refused permission for the trapped German armies to surrender and ordered that they were to stay until a major relief and advance campaign could be mounted. They knew that this was a hollow gesture. A combination of ruthless determination by the Russians, US Lend-Lease supplies, the most bitter Russian winter in years and the *non-intervention* of the Japanese, had defeated Hitler's armies and *Russia no longer faced defeat*. The struggle to eject the German armies and to recover occupied territory would still be long and bitter, but Russia was no longer under immediate threat. But Hitler's irrational decision gave them the opportunity to appear to be struggling, together with Russia, on that front and the justification to continue total war.

So: when they met at Casablanca, Churchill and Roosevelt reaffirmed, early in their discussions, that there was no alternative to the Allied policy which required the *unconditional surrender* of both *Germany and Japan*. However that decision was not announced immediately and they considered a number of other matters. There was some confusion over whether Italy was intended to be covered by that clause as an Axis partner. Some observers believed the door was left ajar for negotiations – or a touch of blackmail for the player in the middle to change sides – and this later became a matter of contention. The pope was very eager that Rome should not be bombed and that attitude provided both problems and potential advantages for the Allies. The two leaders talked about Lend-Lease supplies and, as far as the American Chiefs of Staff seemed to be concerned, now that the German offensive had been overpowered, Russia had served its immediate purpose as an ally. It had stayed in the war, kept Hitler pre-occupied in the east, and prevented him from turning against Britain and, ultimately, against the United States. At their final conference session Roosevelt therefore recommended to Churchill that “supply to Russia will not be continued at prohibitive cost to the United Nations efforts,” but Churchill would not agree. He said that aid to Russia “must be pushed and no *investment* could pay a better dividend.”¹³⁸ [Emphasis added.]

There was also the Jewish Question to talk about. Or at least the refugee question. The pause in deportations from the ghetto which had been forced by the Polish Resistance was about to end. It was actually broken on January 18, during the Casablanca Conference, when German troops surrounded the remaining occupied sections of the ghetto and ordered residents to start loading for deportation. Caught by surprise, five of the small armed Jewish Combat Organization (ZOB) groups opened fire on the Germans. They killed or wounded about fifty soldiers, seized some of their weapons and were able to keep the number of residents taken for deportation to a minimum, but at the cost of fairly high casualties to themselves. The action and the deportations continued on the 19th and 20th but then ceased again. Communications with

the outside world had improved progressively along with the reorganization of the resistance movement and on at least three occasions, the first being January 21, radio messages with reports of the situation and appeals for help, especially through exchange measures to secure the release of children, were sent to government and Jewish leaders in London, New York and elsewhere. Their deep sense of anguish, frustration and growing bitterness at what they saw as the failure of the world to intervene is clear from portions of those messages: “*Brothers – the remaining Jews in Poland live with the awareness that in the most terrible days of our history you did not come to our aid. Respond, at least in the last days of our life.*”¹³⁹ At Casablanca it was agreed that officials from Britain and the US would meet to discuss the question of refugees.

Then, on January 24, the *Casablanca Declaration*, that the war would be pursued until the unconditional surrender of both Germany and Japan, was trumpeted around the world. It was the most important decision which Churchill and Roosevelt had reached. The implications were enormous. The message which the Jews were supposed to get was that no agreement would be reached which would permit the Nazis to retain control of any territory in which they could continue their anti-Semitic policies. The message that Stalin was supposed to get was that, despite their failure thus far to open a second front in Europe which would take the pressure off the Red Army forces in the east, the Western Allies would not consider cutting a deal with Hitler which would leave Russia to fight on alone. The message Germany was supposed to get was that there would be no repeat of the situation after World War I, when the circumstances of Germany’s surrender had allowed Hitler to exploit the popular claim that the fatherland had not been defeated, but stabbed in the back. But in addition, Britain and the governments-in-exile of the occupied European colonial powers wanted Japan to know that, in spite of the treaties just made with one part or the other of China, no agreements would be reached to provide independence for former colonies as a part of a package deal to end the war. This time it would be a fight to the finish, and the *victors* would make all the decisions. The Allied governments, whether still in the front line or in exile from occupied countries – were no more interested in peace in January 1943 than they had been in March 1942 and for precisely the same reasons. Greed. The want to either recover and then retain a position of imperial privilege or to achieve that position at the expense of others.

STALINGRAD AND CASABLANCA

The impact of the *Casablanca Declaration* was immediate. Complaining, quite rightly, that it would certainly prolong the war, the Pope objected. Quite apart from his self-interest-based sympathy with the German cause, he claimed that if the Axis powers had no chance of negotiating an honorable peace they would believe that they should throw everything they had into the war in an effort to recover the initiative and hope to be able to call the tune or at least coerce the Western Allies to the negotiating table. They did. The Nazi backlash was immediate. From January 26 Hitler Youth Movement members aged fifteen or more were drafted to staff

anti-aircraft batteries within the Reich to release adults for the front line. And the German people knew that if it made no difference whether there was a change of government or not, what was the point of trying to overthrow the present government, except perhaps to shorten the war by an earlier abject surrender? The declaration was also a guarantee that the level of Anti-Semitism would *rise*, not fall, and that the abuse of prisoners of war in the Pacific theatre would increase.

It is a reasonable assumption that if the Allies had announced their readiness to negotiate peace terms with new Axis governments there would have been an avalanche of conspiracies in Germany. Hitler would have been overthrown or assassinated and peace negotiations would have begun promptly. That would not have been the case in Japan because it was the Japanese government which had been pursuing avenues for negotiation. In that sense it was a repeat of the scenario when the Allies rejected Japanese initiatives for peace when Japan, having occupied all of the territory it intended to, was ahead in March 1942. *At the very least* untold deaths and casualties, running into millions on both sides of the complex battle lines would have been avoided. These included service personnel on the battle fields, civilians in devastated cities and towns, including the victims of two atomic bombs in Japan, and the victims of the gas chambers which were only then reaching the peak of their murderous capacity – the overwhelming majority of the victims being Jews. Further destruction and economic loss on a massive scale would have been avoided and the international divisions and ideologically-based hatreds and barriers which the world had to learn to live with would have been less deeply entrenched. In addition, the scale of reconstruction programs which were subsequently required would have been nowhere near as great. In fact between March 1942 and January 1943 the *net change* in the area occupied by Germany had not been great. It was between January 1943 and May 1945 that the demographics of Europe and Asia changed most dramatically in terms of military occupation, deaths, political alignments, and destruction. Therefore if the opportunity had been taken to negotiate peace in January, 1943, at the time of the Casablanca Conference, the crises brought about by the trauma and the changes in military occupation and political alignments during the final two years of the war would have been much more easily resolved. Whether or not all sections of the German people would have accepted Hitler's overthrow and a negotiated peace is another matter. Perhaps the stage would have been set for another war, or at least a protracted period of international political instability. But the pattern of post war political and economic power would also have been quite different without the enormous imbalance in power, and in that respect the power brokers and policy makers of the United States also had their own agenda to work to. So the war had to go on.

Even allowing for the effect of government inaction, the inconsistency in media reporting was abominable. Although its information network was unique the Vatican maintained its remarkable silence. It had locked itself into an absolutely impossible position. Its self-understanding, its teaching and the conduct which flowed from that were, together, the largest single factor in the development of anti-Semitism. Its international politicking and relationships had directly and very greatly assisted the rise of the Axis and the implementation of its policies,

and the theology which the Catholic Church had developed served to underpin the whole lot. It was still trying to coerce Jews into accepting baptism as a step towards security, although the policy of the hierarchy in Croatia contradicted this, and it was therefore not in a position to do an about turn without calling the whole lot into question. Situation normal. It was a vicious circle. If it now criticized Hitler's conduct it had to defend its own conduct over about one thousand six hundred years. But if it sought to *continue* to defend its own policies as Fr. Rosa had done in his *La Civiltà Cattolica* articles, how could it attack either Hitler or Stalin? Its credibility, the doctrine of papal infallibility and everything which propped up the self-sustaining self-understanding would be open to further attack.

The press in neutral Sweden was under instructions not to publicize atrocities and while the Swiss press was not under any such orders, Switzerland's papers gave a generally indifferent performance. It is very hard to justify a case that the Russians were any better or any worse than the British, the Americans or any of their Allies in this respect. While the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee was being exploited to raise funds from Jews in Allied countries, no special effort was made to alert Jews in Russia to the fate which awaited them if they fell into the hands of the Einsatzgruppen during Germany's push through western Russia. It has been argued that the Russian authorities were deliberately avoiding any policies and actions which would highlight distinctions between Jews and non-Jews and thereby play into either Hitler's or the Vatican's propaganda traps; that to warn them would have resulted in an eastward stampede of Jews which would have weakened Russia's defences and increased the likelihood of its defeat; and that they were tired of the legitimate release of information about atrocities simply being turned back on them as 'Communist propaganda.' On the other hand it has been argued that they were anti-Semitic, insensitive to the fate of the Jews and happy for Hitler to solve their problem for them. That line of argument continues that if the Soviet authorities had overcome their anti-Semitism and if the Jews had been alerted to German plans, their resistance – and therefore Russia's war effort – *would* have been strengthened, just as the Catholic press was suggesting. There is probably some truth in each of those arguments, but as we have noted, similar reasoning and criticism can be applied in regard to Allied motives and inaction.

At the same time that these developments were taking place, Britain was doing all it could to suppress discussion about the effect of its disastrous religious relations policy in the Indian sub-continent. Five months after Cripps arrived in India, Congress demanded that Britain quit the country and immediately set up a national government with real responsibility and power. Britain's response was to outlaw Congress and jail its leaders, yet again, triggering riots and the sabotage of public and strategic installations across the nation which were put down by the usual methods. While the British and Indian Armies continued their build up and thousands of Americans arrived in India with the aim of relieving China, Bose, a former president of Congress, set up a 'Free India government-in-exile' under Japanese sponsorship in Singapore and formed an Indian National Army with the expectation that Japan would support it in an invasion of India. But the Japanese were not the only people to note Britain's oppression of Congress and Indian aspirations for independence. The Chinese did, too, and Chiang Kai-shek,

whom the Americans were championing as the leader of Asia, sought Roosevelt's intervention to have the suppression and imprisonment reversed. Anglo-Chinese relations became strained but Churchill stood firm.¹⁴⁰ Cooperation between Congress and the Muslim League became impossible and steadily worsening Hindu-Muslim antagonism made it obvious that there was no longer an alternative to the establishment of a separate state of Pakistan.¹⁴¹

The stage-managed release of the British PWE's instructions to "*Establish* Hitler's plan to exterminate the Jews in Europe" two weeks before Christmas, 1942, followed by the *joint Allied Declaration*, is clear confirmation that the Allied forces knew exactly where the German death camps and gas chambers were. It was not an instruction to establish what Hitler's plan was for the information of the government, in a military intelligence sense. It was an instruction to establish *in the public mind* what was already known to the government. It has led to vigorous criticism that it made no attempt whatsoever for the duration of the war to destroy them by bombing and thus interrupt – and possibly end – the extermination program. If they had done so they would in all likelihood have destroyed the credibility of Hitler's 'teaching' on matters of race, undermined his capacity to subjugate the ordinary German people, greatly impaired his domestic management and greatly enhanced the resistance movement, thus significantly changing the course of the war. The question must therefore be asked: were there genuine military considerations which prevented such a program, or were the Allies simply so engulfed by their deeply entrenched Western Christian self-understanding, so anti-Semitic and so insensitive to the fate of the Jews that they were also happy for Hitler to solve their problem for them?

It appears that without a substantial change in Western Alliance priorities and military strategy, the bombing of any of the death camps, including the very controversial Auschwitz, was simply logistically impossible until December 1943 because they were out of reach of fighter-protected bombing sorties.¹⁴² Rubinstein's contention that because of this there were no proposals made to bomb the death camps by either Jewish or Christian authorities until May 1944 appears well supported. In addition it must be noted that a lead time of several weeks would have been necessary for intelligence gathering and planning for such an exercise; at that stage of the war a coherent strategy aimed at winning the war was the best way to ensure the liberation of the remnant Jewish population rather than the diversion of resources into side issues; that gassing operations ceased at Auschwitz on November 28 1944, and that the Russians liberated the camp two months later.¹⁴³ We thus have confirmation that once the 'pause for reflection' had been wasted and the extermination plan had been put into operation there was no practical means of mass rescue – except for the possibilities offered by Eichmann's 'blood for goods' proposal which we shall come to shortly – and the parody had to be acted out in full.

While German forces had lost ground in Russia ahead of the catastrophe of Stalingrad; the Allies recovered their first patch of ground from the Japanese at Milne Bay in the New Guinea theatre and Guadalcanal followed soon after; and they were poised to destroy the Axis positions in Libya and Tunisia. But there were major questions of strategy to be determined by both Gog

and Magog: which fronts to concentrate on or extend, whether to attempt a cross-channel invasion of the opposing territory, and how to achieve more effective co-ordination between collaborating forces in the field, how to shape their particular New World Orders, and what terms and conditions to insist upon for 'peace' once they got on top – or what terms and conditions to agree to if they did not get on top. The only major power which had been interested in pursuing a negotiated end to hostilities was, as already noted, Japan – the only one which was not part of the amorphous Christian gel.

Hitler's wrath at his crushing defeat at Stalingrad, the turn around of events in Russia and the *Casablanca Declaration* knew no bounds and he became at the same time irascible, depressed and reclusive. Goering and Goebbels closed ranks behind Hitler and the plotters and would be assassins around him found less opportunities, not more. On January 30 a Reich Central Security Office was established to improve the efficiency of the round up and deportation of Jews from the occupied territories.¹⁴⁴ Next day, January 31, Paulus being a realist, disobeyed Hitler and surrendered with his remaining 91,000 German troops at Stalingrad. They were all that remained of 285,000 troops who had reached the city two or three months earlier. It was just three months since the Pope had consecrated the world to the Immaculate Heart of Mary. Of the troops encircled when the Russian trap was sprung, 160,000 had been killed in action, and 34,000 had been evacuated by air. Out of the prisoners who started the long march, by foot, to Siberia tens of thousands died en route and tens of thousands more died in captivity and only 5,000 were to survive the Russian winters and eventually return to Germany.^{145 146 147}

Pius XII's hopes, built on Mariology, were firmly dashed. As an esteemed church historian his mind should have turned to the fate of the armies of Heraclius at the Battle of the River Yarmuk in 636. [Chapter 7.] However there were still some people determined to talk about 'Good News'. About the time that Pius was preparing to invoke the good name of Mary in his bid for the Russian church, Nathan H. Knorr was taking office as the third president of the Watch Tower Society following the death of J.F. Rutherford who had guided the Jehovah's Witnesses into their new world view. The society had grown during the previous twelve years from 50,000 to 126,000 Witnesses world wide. Its members were determined that they would carry the Good News of the Gospel throughout the world in spite of the crisis in world affairs, and in spite of the fact that they were still ostracized in the Allied countries and that they were among the first to be thrown into Germany's concentration camps because of their conscientious objection to war service. To ensure that they could do so, Knorr promptly set about guiding them into another change of emphasis. A plan had been developed for an international educational campaign involving trained speakers, ministers, schools and a corps of full time trained missionaries. It was a reversal of their earlier policy of total dependence on the laity, but they had recognized that more professionalism was essential to their task and that it would strengthen, not undermine, their established program of lay evangelism. The Watchtower Bible School of Gilead was established immediately and in January 1943 it admitted its first one hundred trainees for full time missionary work.

CONDEMNED ... BY A FOLLY OF ENORMOUS PROPORTIONS

A couple of weeks after the publication of the *Casablanca Declaration* the world was in a state of flux and the people of Central and Eastern Europe and Asia knew that there was trauma ahead. But the people of the Western World generally had a spring in their step. The declaration was taken as a firm statement by their paramount leaders that the God-fearing West was going to win the war, even if there was still a lot of effort and sacrifice required to beat the barbaric forces of evil into submission. That firm statement boosted their confidence, their self-esteem and their willingness to make the extra sacrifices which would be necessary. They were going to enjoy *freedom* – whatever that meant. It did not really concern them whether other people might be disadvantaged because of it or that there would be a build up of tensions around the world so that there would be a pattern of continuing conflict. They had no information on which to consider such things. What was good for them was bound to be – by the God-given nature of things – good for the rest of the world. And if it was not: that was no concern of theirs. It was not their fault. They did not know, nor did they have any means of knowing, that information was withheld from them, that it was dribbled out to suit their leaders, and that there *had been* an alternative. They could not know that the pattern for the balance of the war had been set by their leaders.

It was a re-run of the situation nine or ten months before when the Western Colonial powers had refused to negotiate peace based on their withdrawal from Asia as colonial powers when Japan was in front and had achieved all that was necessary for the establishment of a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere which would have given Asia as a bloc parity with the world's other blocs.

The alternative which had been withheld from them *this time* was, in effect, that with peace negotiated between China and Japan – what we might refer to as the '*Wang Ching-wei Plan*' – both countries would be taken out of the war and thus *end* the war in the Far East and the Pacific if the Western colonial powers were prepared to bow out gracefully. The scenario then became exactly the same as in March 1942. Japan would withdraw from the Axis, the Western Allies could concentrate all of their effort and resources against Germany, together with the Soviet Union, and the collapse of the Third Reich was assured. But as we have noted, neither the British nor United States leaders liked the idea of forfeiting their 'possessions' and the economic and political strength which their former positions in Asia provided. Their sheer greed and self-understanding as members of the amorphous Christian gel simply blinded them. They were determined to either recover or strengthen their positions, so the war just had to go on. Circumstances were such that there could be no more opportunities to pause and reconsider the situation: to take a short cut to peace. The Allied leaders had already had several opportunities and they had fumbled – or rejected – each of them: Dunkirk followed by the fall of France, May-June 1940; Japan's first-circle pause, March 1942; then Stalingrad and the Wang Ching-wei plan, January 1943. There would be no more. With no change in relationships or in the positioning of resources, and with no incentive for the German people to call a halt, the people

of Europe and Asia had to struggle on to the bitter end. Gog, (or was it Magog?) insisted that the *Night Journey* had to be played out and the Scourge was happy to oblige and act out his role to the very end. Only then could the trouble in the triangle be unraveled and Maimonides' understanding of the Messianic Age become a reality. It was only a matter of time – and understanding.

The *Casablanca Declaration* may have brought the Allies some advantages in other ways but it is quite apparent that in terms of the fate of the Jews in Europe, the prolonging of the war in both Europe and the Pacific, and the gravity of destruction and broken human relationships it was a folly of enormous proportions. Some of the situations and issues which developed in the period after Casablanca can now be discussed, not necessarily in strict sequence, but the way in which they interlock, building from crisis to crisis in a manner which could have been avoided if different decisions had been taken in the light of the Wang Ching-wei Japan-China peace plan and Germany's crushing defeat at Stalingrad, will be apparent.

THE FATE OF THE JEWS

Three days of mourning for the gallant Reich dead were proclaimed in Berlin after Stalingrad. Goebbels exploited the theme 'The wheels must turn only for victory'. But there was little mourning in Berlin for the Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto. On February 7 they were able to get another message out: "*Alert the whole world. Appeal to the Pope for official intervention and to the Allies to declare German war prisoners as hostages. We suffer terribly. The remaining 200,000 await annihilation. Only you can save us. The responsibility with regard to history will rest on you.*"¹⁴⁸ On February 15 Goebbels issued a decree requiring complete mobilization for victory. The same day in a speech in Dusseldorf under the title 'Do you want total war?' he took up Hitler's classic 'final solution' theme, saying that two thousand years of Western civilization – the age of Christianity – was in danger from a Russian victory forged by international Jewry. The mob reacted with its usual fervour. Germany would retaliate, he said, 'with the total and radical extermination and elimination of Jewry.'¹⁴⁹ Himmler moved to confirm that threat next day. He ordered the systematic total destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto and all remaining inhabitants.

And on February 19, Hitler issued a proclamation to the troops on the southern front in Russia telling them that the outcome of their battle would determine the fate of the world and that the present and future destiny of Germany lay in their hands. The venom was flowing freely and a few days later, on February 24, responding to the *Casablanca Declaration* in his annual message to mark the anniversary of the establishment of the Nazi Party, he said that the Jews of London, New York and Moscow had spelled out clearly the fate they planned for the German people. Referring to the bitter struggle which the German army was conducting against the global threat that was devised by the banks of New York and London in conjunction with the Bolshevik Jews in Moscow, he said:

Think what fate would have awaited our people, as Europe as a whole, had we not proclaimed the slogans of the National Socialist revolution that restored the soul of the German people ... Accept my assurance that I myself am guided today by that same fanaticism as then, and it will never leave me as long as I live ... the schemes of our foes and their so-called successes will only reinforce my determination not to shift one step from my path. ... This war will prove beyond any doubt that plutocracy and Bolshevism are the same and that the eternal objective of all Jews is to plunder all nations and to subjugate them as the slaves of their international guild of criminals.¹⁵⁰

The Nazi security forces, the Gestapo and the SS, became even more radicalized and recklessly vicious. In one swoop the Gestapo rounded up the remaining ten thousand Jews living and working in Berlin, most of whom had survived previous roundups because they were in jobs classified as essential. Two thousand of them, mostly men, who were married to German non-Jewish spouses were separated from the single Jews and Jewish couples to be jailed as a temporary measure in a facility on Rosenstrasse in central Berlin. As news of the roundup spread several hundred wives gathered outside the jail demonstrating and chanting: "Give back our husbands!" They were repeatedly threatened and chased away as they continued their demonstration for a week, marching back each time *en masse*. Eventually, in the only back-down ever on that scale, the Gestapo freed the whole two thousand.¹⁵¹ In the circumstances, that incident undermines the credibility of the pope's repeated claim, supported *ad nauseam* by most of the Vatican hierarchy, that he could not speak to denounce the oppression and deportation of the Jews nor intervene directly, either internationally or at home, to influence Nazi policy because it would only lead to more deportations and harsh reprisals against the church and its people.

This incident demonstrates, as did each of the earlier campaign against euthanasia (see chapter 24, p. 75); Hitler's known sensitivity to public criticism; and the stealth with which he approached the implementation of the Final Solution after eight years of steadily increased aggression and oppression, that Hitler and the Nazis were responsive to public pressure and public opinion on a coordinated basis. Certainly they manipulated public opinion and sought to suppress public opposition. But in that respect they were no different to either the church throughout its history or each of the powers opposing them. It is therefore reasonable to believe that if the pope had pursued the policy which his predecessor, Pius XI, had tried to initiate before the war erupted, if he had spoken out, and if he had led a program of civil disobedience in the mould of Gandhi in India, although it would not have reversed the entire policy of anti-Semitism it would have had a moderating influence both internationally and in the Third Reich. It could not have reversed the entire policy of anti-Semitism because of the deeply entrenched influence of the church over previous decades and centuries. That is the basic point of the trouble in the triangle and the parody of *Mein Kampf*. But it would have encouraged and strengthened opposition to the Nazis and the planning of coups against Hitler. It would have undermined the support and recognition which Hitler gained as a result of his anti-Versailles nationalism and his economic policies. And it would have fostered reassessment of the theology

which underpins anti-Semitism. That was the key factor. Pius XII could not tolerate any challenge to Roman Catholic theology and self-understanding and *that* would have been the ultimate consequence of any intervention on behalf of the Jews. We have come to that same point time and time again. The church is like a stealthy leopard and *this* one cannot camouflage its spots.

In the wake of Casablanca Ribbentrop seems to have believed he could buy time, relieve the political pressure and begin a process of negotiation by a modified approach to the Jewish Question. He adopted an idea from the Legal Department of the Reich Foreign Ministry which had been carried out on a trial basis about six months earlier for the exchange of selected Jews of nationalities other than German for either the repatriation of Nazis held as prisoners by the Allies or other concessions from them. He proposed that 30,000 Jews of British, American, Dutch, Belgian, French, Norwegian and Russian nationality be ‘reserved’ for such exchanges, saying that if the negotiations for such exchanges did not produce results the Jews ‘reserved’ could still be ‘deported’.¹⁵² This provides a basis for believing that Ribbentrop thought it was still possible to reverse the catastrophic drift of the war by encouraging the West Allies to adopt a humanitarian approach to Jewish resettlement.

Whether the Underground Resistance Movements were aware of that decision is not clear, but the third of the radio messages from the Warsaw Ghetto appealed for help in exactly those terms. The gist of the message in early April was an appeal to London, New York, Geneva and Jerusalem: “*Storm heaven and earth, alert the world to the annihilation of the Jews, aid the survivors with funds through the underground to maintain the struggle, and rescue them through exchange.*”^{153 154}

In mid-April Himmler agreed to Ribbentrop’s proposal except that he reduced the number of Jews to be reserved to 10,000. The first ‘candidates for exchange’ were sent to a ‘sojourn camp’ at Bergen-Belsen in mid-July and a small number of exchanges subsequently took place.¹⁵⁵ Then Himmler, dissatisfied with progress, confirmed his order for the total destruction of the ghetto. For a time the Germans used a different technique to avoid sending their troops into a hail of fire from the ZOB resisters. They required the industrial employers of the remaining Jews to try to persuade them to register for ‘voluntarily resettlement’. Very few did, but ZOB groups responded by burning down some of the factories.¹⁵⁶

At this time Weizmann again approached Churchill in a bid to have the *White Paper* restrictions on Jewish entry to Palestine relaxed and at a cabinet meeting on April 18, Churchill vigorously attacked the *White Paper* as “a gross breach of faith.” Next day, April 19, German troops marched into the Warsaw Ghetto to arrest the remaining Jewish resisters and to flush out the estimated 60,000 resident concealed in underground shelters and bunkers, but they were met by a hail of bullets and the exercise ended in the rout of the German unit. By coincidence British and American officials met in conference at Bermuda the same day to draw up new guidelines for dealing with the refugee problem. They may have known about Churchill’s view, but they would not have known of the action in Warsaw where tanks, flame throwers and a

battery of field artillery was ordered in to succeed where infantry had failed. In spite of that, intense hand to hand fighting continued in the rubble of the ghetto from Easter Monday for a further five days. The German forces were increased so that about 1,000 poorly equipped but very determined resisters faced 5,000 well equipped troops. The battle was still raging on April 28 when Churchill circulated a note to cabinet challenging the right of the Arab majority to continue denying Jewish immigration into Palestine.¹⁵⁷ Some of the last hundred resisters committed suicide on May 8, then on the 10th about 75 escaped through the sewers, and the last few young men held out until May 16 when one of history's inspiring and truly heroic struggles against uneven odds ended. The ghetto was both a lifeless, blazing wasteland of rubble and a vital, vibrant fact in world history, there was still quite widespread support among non-Jewish Poles for Hitler's policy of 'deportation' and some people had stood and cheered as the artillery pounded the ghetto.^{158 159}

A TURNING POINT

The massive German defeat at Stalingrad was not only the beginning of the end of Hitler's Russian dream, it also signalled, as discussed above, the apparent end of Vatican hopes of a concordat with Hitler-in-victory to Catholicize the Russian Orthodox Church. But in spite of that the Holy See would not give up hope and it would still do nothing to weaken Nazi Germany's effort against Bolshevism which the pope regarded as the greater of the two evils. It would not even criticize the slaughter of the Jews because the pope was caught in another theological bind. If he suddenly did an about face and adopted a strongly humanitarian approach to the Jewish question, openly and publicly supported the Jews, and opposed their deportation and slaughter it would have been another Barthian indictment of the church and its history, both ancient and modern. The church would have been in chaos and its self-understanding and theology would have come under intense challenge. But there was another reason also. Such a stand would have meant a total break with Hitler, the German concordat would have been worthless, and his dream of a take-over of the Russian Church under a concordat agreed with a victorious Hitler – if he was able to recover – could be forgotten. As it was, Hitler was biding his time until the end of the war when he planned to dismantle the church anyway. On the other hand, if the pope held to the historical papal line of Jewish oppression he would have played into Hitler's hands. The church would have been demonstrably fallible and its communities throughout the Western World would have fragmented.

In the circumstances, being either totally opposed to a fundamental reassessment of his self-understanding and messianic theology or simply unable to comprehend the overwhelming need for it, the pope took the only practical course. Within a framework of public silence which left the Catholic Churches in each country free to play politics with their governments, unhindered by guidance from the higher authority to whom they normally turned in such matters of conscience or considerations of morality, he took limited personal action which would not bring

him into conflict with Hitler but which could be used to demonstrate that he had taken action to protect the Jews.

On February 19, the day he made his ‘fate of the world’ appeal to the troops on the Eastern Front, the first of a number of student demonstrations against Hitler were held in Munich, and when attempts were made on his life on March 13 and 21 it seemed that the Allied demand for unconditional surrender might do the trick after all. But such things were not to be encouraged. The pope addressed a letter of encouragement to German Catholics in which he reaffirmed his striving for “a true and lasting peace that would safeguard the vital interests of all people.” But the Papal Secretary of State, Maglione, sent a covering note with it to Cardinal Bertram to indicate that whether and when it was published was to be left to the discretion of German bishops. Everything had to be avoided that might give the impression that the Supreme Pontiff wanted to harm Germany.¹⁶⁰ And later in the year Maglione echoed Himmler when he advised the German ambassador that the fate of Europe depended upon “the victorious resistance of Germany at the Russian front.” If the German armies collapsed there the only possible bulwark against Bolshevism would have fallen and European civilization would be lost.¹⁶¹

However, not everyone shared the Vatican’s view on the implications of a Soviet victory on the eastern front. One who did not was the President of the United States, who had developed his own ideas on the means to secure “true and lasting peace.” Soon after Stalingrad, Roosevelt concluded that, the *Atlantic Charter* notwithstanding, Soviet territorial demands in Poland, Bessarabia, the Baltic states and Finland would have to be conceded. He also concluded that Russian influence would reach farther into Europe. Contrary to the Vatican’s view, however, Roosevelt believed it best to assume that some means could be found to cooperate with the Soviets and that nothing would be lost by trying to work with rather than against them. After all, their help in holding down Germany would be required after the war.

In fact, the Soviet Union provided a key element in his postwar plans for international peace and security. Roosevelt’s so-called “Grand Design” was premised on a ‘concert’ of great powers – in effect, a permanent extension of the wartime alliance. Wilsonian idealism as represented by the League of Nations was in Roosevelt’s opinion unrealistic – as he told journalist Forest Davis in early 1943, the new peace would have to be based on “the factor of power.”¹⁶² The United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and China were to be what he described as the world’s “four policemen” in charge of maintaining order among the less exalted nations in their respective spheres of influence along the lines of the United States’ ‘stewardship’ of the Americas.¹⁶³ Their peacekeeping police work would be performed outside the framework of any proposed international organization, which should itself be composed of an assembly open to all nations and an ‘executive committee’ composed of the great powers.¹⁶⁴

Thus, since victory at Stalingrad meant that the Soviets would probably have the power in Eastern Europe, it was better to acknowledge that fact and work with it than try to force them to toe an American line. That would simultaneously take care of a major source of their security concerns and help demonstrate the West’s benign intentions. That way they could be integrated

into the new international peace organization, a working post-war relationship could be maintained, excessive Soviet control of eastern Europe could thereby be avoided, and some degree of respect for the principles of the *Atlantic Charter* could be upheld.

Of course, there were other elements involved in getting the Soviets to acquiesce in the design. Germany for a start would have to be disarmed and perhaps dismembered, while America's vast economic superiority would be used as an 'inducement' for cooperation – a strategy already being put to effect in generous Lend-Lease terms being afforded to the Soviet Union. Lastly, and not least important, Roosevelt believed that personal diplomacy could win the trust of the Soviet dictator – an approach which had the added advantage of removing Secretary of State Cordell Hull and the State Department from the picture, since they were busy making plans for the pristine Wilsonian Peace which was being promised to the American public and which would have no place at all for things like 'spheres of influence'.¹⁶⁵

However, not all of Roosevelt's Grand Design was based on trust, and just to make sure that everyone would play by his rules he planned to keep the last ace up his sleeve. In a 1942 letter he had outlined the implications of his initial plan for the four policemen. The rest of the world – naturally – "would have to disarm." That, of course, would make the policemen's job much easier, but it wasn't likely to find much support elsewhere. Who would guarantee the policemen could be trusted? That could be taken care of, too: "Two of the world policemen, the USA and Britain, would in addition control the atomic weapon monopoly, and thus be able to force the cooperation of the other superpowers."¹⁶⁶ Just the kind of thought to inspire confidence.

In late 1942, at about the same time the letter was written, steps were taken to see that that thought became a reality. The head of the Manhattan Project, General Groves, was authorized by Roosevelt and Secretary of War Henry Stimson to set up a parallel project known as the Murray Hill Area. The objective of the Murray Hill Area was ambitious but simple: to corner the world market on fissionable materials, and by that means retain for the United States alone capacity to build atomic weapons, which it might then share with its chosen ally, Britain.¹⁶⁷

Roosevelt seems not to have been aware of the contradictions inherent in his policy. Firstly there was the blatant opposition between the ideas of 'force' and 'cooperation' in his atomic and foreign policies which directly undermined his goals, since the need for a security ring around the Soviet Union which could deny access by long range bombers would make control of Eastern Europe paramount once the United States' atomic policy became known. Beyond that, however, there was the problem of reconciling the practicalities of self-determination with Soviet security interests in Eastern Europe. Free elections in the rabidly anti-Soviet countries of Eastern Europe were hardly likely to produce governments which would willingly submit to being locked into a Soviet 'sphere of interest'. Neither were such Governments likely to submit cheerfully to Soviet territorial demands. Thus, either self-determination would have to be forgone, which raised the thorny problem of US public opinion, or the countries of Eastern Europe would have to be convinced to play the game. And that meant reconciling firstly Russian territorial demands with those of the exiled government of Poland.

BERMUDA, PALESTINE AND THE WARSAW GHETTO

The Polish Government-in-exile had been set up in London from the merger of competing groups within weeks of Hitler's invasion in September 1939 and included people drawn from each of the major prewar parties. Driven by the 'two enemies doctrine' which held that there should be no compromise with either the Nazis of Germany or the Bolsheviks of Russia for the sake of national survival, its charter was to achieve the independence of Poland based on the Riga Line boundaries of 1920.¹⁶⁸ In 1941, when Hitler invaded Russia and the Soviet Government and the Polish Government in exile found themselves thrown together to fight a common enemy, the issue of future boundaries therefore had to be addressed. Britain had hosted a long running conference between the two governments but the boundaries issue was not resolved.

In fact, the British had found themselves stuck uncomfortably between a rock and a hard place. The Poles naturally looked to Britain for support because, after all, the records showed that officially the high-minded British Government had declared war on Germany to protect the integrity of Poland's boundaries. Britain could therefore not recognize the partition which had been drawn up in secret by the power against which it declared war before the war had been declared. Neither could it recognize the Russian occupation and annexation of Polish territory on the basis of that secret partition. On the other hand, in Churchill's words, Britain could not force its "new and sorely threatened ally to abandon, even on paper, regions on her frontiers which she had regarded for generations as vital to her security."¹⁶⁹

The outcome was that Britain had pressed General Sikorski and his Government-in-exile to postpone the issue of territorial boundaries "until easier times." The Polish and Russian governments established diplomatic relations, noted that the Soviet-German treaties of 1939 had "lost their validity" and agreed to establish a Polish army in Russia which would be subordinate to the Soviet Supreme Command. Eden then confirmed in the House of Commons that Britain "did not propose to recognize any territorial changes which took place without the free consent and goodwill of the parties concerned," including those in Poland in 1939. However he added that the exchange of notes with Poland and Russia did not involve Britain in "any guarantee of frontiers."¹⁷⁰ But the "easier times" which Churchill hoped would enable a resolution receded into the distance when in early 1943 the Poles' requested the International Red Cross to investigate German charges that the Russians in 1940 had massacred 30,000 Polish officers at Katyn Woods in eastern Poland. In response, the Russians broke off diplomatic relations.¹⁷¹

Into that volatile mix Roosevelt now had to add the ingredients of his own agenda, with all the spice of American domestic politics thrown in, including a large and vocal contingent of Polish-American voters. However, even if he could get the Polish Government-in-exile to see the merit of a compromise with their ideological and religious enemies, the Soviets would have to be convinced to play the game too, and not only in Poland, but the rest of Eastern Europe as well. Already disappointed by the continuing failure of the West to establish a second front in

Europe, that was never going to be easy. And with the United States hiding the atomic bomb behind its back, it was unlikely to happen at all.

In January 1943 a special police force of 25,000 members, known as the Milice, had been set up to locate and arrest any Frenchmen suspected of resistance activities and to round up foreign born Jews. It worked in close collaboration with the Gestapo.¹⁷² But with publicity about Hitler's extermination of the Jews more widespread in Britain than the United States, public pressure was building for some action to be taken. The Archbishops of Canterbury, York and Wales, speaking for the entire Anglican Episcopate, called on the government to immediately save the Jews and provide sanctuary for all who could get out of Nazi Europe. A similar appeal was issued jointly by Cardinal Hinsley, Britain's foremost Catholic prelate, Dr J.H. Hertz, the nation's chief rabbi, and John Whale, moderator of the Free Church Federal Council. An all-party delegation from both Houses of Parliament also met with Cabinet leaders to urge prompt action.¹⁷³

Then in March, with the war on the ground now running strongly in the Allies favor and sensing the shifting tide of war, Bulgaria indicated that it may allow Jews to leave for Palestine instead of making the journey east. When Washington raised the matter with London, however, Eden blocked it. He said that if Britain agreed to it then the Jews of the world would expect a similar offer in Poland and Germany. Hitler might well take up such an offer but even if there were enough ships to handle the numbers there was a risk that he would "sneak his agents into the groups." Eden's spurious reasoning was matched across the Atlantic. The previous month Roosevelt's chief military liaison officer, Admiral William Leahy, had vetoed a plan for safe passage for 10,000 Jews from occupied territories to North Africa via Spain ostensibly on the grounds that shipping could not be provided – despite the fact that numerous Allied war cargo vessels were making the return trip to the United States with empty holds.¹⁷⁴

Nevertheless, with intense pressure to solve the Jewish refugee problem continuing, Britain and the US agreed, as already noted, to jointly sponsor an intergovernmental conference on refugees in Bermuda, in April 1943. That conference has been described as just as much "an exercise in futility" as the 1938 Evian Conference. The exercise was essentially another public relations whitewash. About a dozen locations were discussed as possible refugee sanctuaries, including British Guyana, Sesua in the Dominican Republic and Mindanao, an island in the Philippines with a substantial Muslim population, but Palestine was excluded from consideration. As a result, Zionist groups were prevented from taking part.¹⁷⁵ Nevertheless, while they skirted around the major problem of resettlement of displaced Jews and the rescue of Jews from occupied Europe, the participating governments set up the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) which continues to play a very important role in refugee relief operations in many countries.

However, at the time UNRRA's future role was little consolation to the actors in the black drama being played out in occupied Europe, and still the Allies refused to take any substantial action. Even in December, after the liquidation of the ghettos in Warsaw and a number of other

places, when the US State Department finally authorized the transfer of some rescue funds to both Rumania and Vichy France on condition that the British would supply the necessary immigration certificates, Eden again scuttled the rescue plan because of “difficulties in disposing of a considerable number of Jews.”¹⁷⁶

A NEW ‘VITAL FACTOR’ – DEFENCE OF SAUDI ARABIA

At the beginning of the war H.St. John Philby, had proposed that in return for the whole of Palestine being allocated for Jewish settlement the Jewish community would provide twenty million pounds Sterling to enable the resettlement of all Arab Palestinians on other land within the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The proposal was discussed with both the king and Churchill in 1940 and they were both reported to have been cautiously interested. [Chapter 24] Weizmann and Churchill discussed it again in the context of Jewish help during the Iraqi and Syrian crises and Lord Moyne was asked to discuss it with King Ibn Saud again in December 1942.

When the situation at that time is taken into account it becomes apparent that the timing of the renewed discussions was neither a coincidence nor a spontaneous humanitarian response to the plight of either the Jews of Europe or the Arabs of Palestine. Britain and the United States were still in vigorous competition for the oil resources of the Middle East – and Saudi Arabia in particular – and Britain was desperate to strengthen its hold on the route to Asia and the Pacific via the Suez. On June 21, 1942, six months before the Moyne-Ibn Saud discussions, Rommel and his Panzer Corps rocked Britain and its allies by capturing Tobruk with 33,000 POWs. [Tobruk, in Italian-controlled Libya, had been Britain’s highest priority target in the North African campaign of January 1941 because its capture would provide an alternative to Alexandria from which to ensure naval control of the Eastern Mediterranean, undermine Italy’s ability to hold Abyssinia, and release most of the forces garrisoning Egypt for placement elsewhere.¹⁷⁷] But the fall of Tobruk was potentially even more critical to Britain’s operations east of Suez than had been its capture a year and a half earlier. Hitler’s plan was that German forces from North Africa would link in Syria and Iraq with forces moving through the Caucasus. Six months earlier, on November 28, 1941, the Fuhrer had given the Mufti a personal but confidential undertaking that as soon as German armies reached the southern exit from Caucasia he would announce the liberation of the Arab world and “Germany’s objective would then be solely the destruction of the Jewish element residing in the Arab sphere under the protection of British power.”¹⁷⁸ In forging that link Germany’s armies would cut and hijack Britain’s oil supplies in Iraq and Persia as well as its most direct line of supply and communications with Asia and Australasia,¹⁷⁹ and it would be “the beginning of the end of the British world empire.”¹⁸⁰

Churchill was in Washington in conference with Roosevelt when the surrender occurred. The President immediately ordered the diversion of a squadron of light bombers, forty Hurricane fighter-bombers and ten other bombers already earmarked for China and Russia, to Egypt, together with three hundred tanks and one hundred howitzers, and authorised the re-deployment

of the 2 US Armoured Division as well.^{181 182} But, after five weeks of debate about the overall strategy to be adopted and whether the European or Pacific theatres should take priority, the Americans also agreed to open a second front in North Africa as the Allies' top priority, with landings in the French-controlled Morocco and Algeria, to encircle the Italian and German forces in Tunisia and to prevent the reinforcement of the army which was already advancing towards Alexandria and Cairo. The debate, and the conflicts of interest which it exposed, so stirred some sections of the US Army hierarchy that Churchill and Roosevelt were both aware that it could result in the United States withdrawing from the European theatre and concentrating on the war with Japan. When Roosevelt's negotiators were unable to reach agreement with Churchill and the British Chiefs of Staff after three days of conference in London the President exercised his authority as Commander in Chief and directed that a plan be agreed for joint land operations against the Axis powers. Then on July 25, when the nature of a landing in North Africa, Operation Torch, had been agreed he issued instructions that planning should provide for the landing not later than October 30.¹⁸³

In the meantime the British navy planned the evacuation of its Eastern Mediterranean fleet to the Red Sea, south of the Suez Canal, to be out of range of German attack if, as widely expected, Alexandria fell, and on June 25 while Churchill was still in Washington, Rommel's forces reached El Alamein, a mere one hundred kilometres from Alexandria. The situation was so serious that three senior members of the Commons gave notice of a censure motion: "That this House ... has no confidence in the central direction of the war." Next day the month-old report of the mass deportation and slaughter of Jews in Warsaw [see above, this chapter, p. 9] was rebroadcast by the BBC and British authorities in Palestine encouraged the Jewish community to work on schemes to defend the southern approaches to Haifa. The Jews were in no doubt that if the Nazis overran Palestine they would be subject to the same treatment as their coreligionists in Europe.¹⁸⁴ The Holocaust would have been imposed in the Holy Land just as the Fuhrer had promised. While the Commons debated the censure motion on July 1 and 2 the Western Allies were somewhat distracted but Rommel continued his push east, to the Ruweisat Bridge and the former Secretary of State for War, Hore-Belisha, called for the formation of a new government. Referring to the dramatic fall of Singapore he said "In a hundred days we lost our Empire in the Far East" and asked "What will happen in the next one hundred days" if Egypt is lost as well?¹⁸⁵ In spite of widespread disquiet about how Churchill ran both the government and the war, the censure motion was lost by 475 votes to 25 and this strengthened his authority considerably.

On August 4, Churchill was advised that, in the view of the Imperial General Staff, if the Germans succeeded in their drive into the Caucasus and were able to capture the Russian oil fields at Baku and develop a serious threat to the Persian Gulf, it might be necessary to consider abandoning Egypt and North Africa altogether and shifting the British forces from Egypt to the Persian Gulf. If the oil fields of Abadan and Bahrein were lost, Britain's military capability would be cut by twenty percent and this could be more critical than the loss of the Suez Canal.

¹⁸⁶ By mid August German progress in the Caucasus was such that this was a serious possibility.

But then resistance on the Russian front strengthened ... and the Ruweisat Bridge proved to be as far as Rommel got. He attempted to break the British lines at ElAlamein on August 30 and was repulsed. Then, between October 23 and 27 the tide turned when British forces under Montgomery achieved a breakout and took 28,000 POWs in the Battle of ElAlamein. The German retreat began and by November 13 the Allied forces had recaptured Tobruk. A week earlier Operation Torch had begun with American landings at Casablanca, Oran and Algiers. By November 23 American forces were within fifty kilometres of Tunis and the Axis evacuation of North Africa was only a matter of time.

Then on December 17, after information on Nazi atrocities had gradually been filtered out to the world for some time, the British, United States and Russian governments jointly released a formal statement on those atrocities and Hitler's intention to exterminate the Jews of Europe and the occupied territories. General de Gaulle's French National Committee was linked with the three major allies in condemning "in the strongest possible terms this bestial policy of cold-blooded extermination."¹⁸⁷ The statement was couched in terms of a humanitarian appeal for support for the oppressed Jewish community and a justification for total war without negotiation prior to an unconditional surrender, but its most important aspect was an appeal for the Jewish community to put aside its conflict with Britain and the Arabs in Palestine, and to get behind the British and Allied war effort if it wanted to protect the bulk of its coreligionists in Europe. The British and American authorities were working under a tacit agreement that nothing would be done about the future of Palestine until hostilities had ended, but Britain was under extreme pressure and it was walking a tight rope in Palestine and trying to offset attacks from two directions. On one hand the Stern Gang and other extremist Zionist groups had stepped up their terrorist attacks on the British, while on the other hand the Mufti, although apparently disillusioned by his contacts with the Nazis, was maintaining a steady flow of anti-British propaganda to strengthen Arab support for the Palestinians.

In such circumstances Moyne sat down for conversations with Ibn Saud. While no agreement was reached on matters of sovereignty, assistance, resources or Jewish settlement, possibly because there was no formal endorsement from the Allies, and while it is not clear what Moyne reported to Churchill, it is apparent that relations between Britain and Saudi Arabia were quite cordial. Then, with the situation in North Africa greatly improved, and with the threat to the Middle East via the Caucasus receding because of Russian and Allied successes, Churchill and Roosevelt met again, at Casablanca from January 14–24 to refine their strategy for 'the homeward run' of the war. They re-affirmed their policy of enforcing unconditional surrender and that the extinction of Hitler was to take precedence over the defeat of Japan. They agreed that the clearing of the Mediterranean and the invasion of Sicily, direct bombing of Germany and bombing of targets in Southern Europe from bases in North Africa should come before a cross-channel invasion. Under pressure from Churchill, who insisted that no investment would pay a better dividend than aid to Russia,. the Americans also agreed to continue supplies to Russia, provided that the shipping losses on the northern route were not too great.¹⁸⁸ Churchill wanted to ensure that Hitler's route to the Middle East via the Caucasus was blocked and that

Russia was subsequently given no reason to dispute Britain's interests in Iran and Iraq. When the Russians relieved Stalingrad on January 31, just a week after the Casablanca Conference ended, with massive losses for the Germans, Churchill's concern about the route through the Caucasus was virtually resolved. So was the Allies' potential fuel crisis because the German defeat at Stalingrad meant that the Baku oil fields in the southern Caucasus would remain in Russia's hands and not pass to Germany. Similarly, with the Middle East and its oil fields secure, and with fear of Britain losing control of the Suez Canal and its communications with Asia and Australasia receding rapidly, fear of the Holocaust being imposed in Palestine was also receding rapidly.

Standard Oil of California and the Texas Oil Company then reached for the panic button. On February 8, 1943, with the British army closing in on Tunisia alongside the Americans, the two companies advised the US Government that the Saudi Arabian oil pool was one of the biggest in the world. They said that because of "present arrangements" British influence was increasing and concessions held by the American companies could be cancelled and given to the British. The term "present arrangements" certainly included the agreement under which Lend Lease loans to Saudi Arabia were channelled through Britain, and Britain's efforts to broker an agreement between the Zionists and Ibn Saud, but it probably also reflected the growing and unsettling influence of Zionist groups in the US, their support for the Biltmore Program and Britain's generally improving position as discussed at the Casablanca Conference. On February 18, a mere ten days later, Roosevelt responded to those approaches and formally declared that *"the defence of Saudi Arabia is vital to the defence of the United States"* and directed that Lend Lease aid henceforth be made available directly to Saudi Arabia.¹⁸⁹ At one stroke, taking full advantage of war time circumstances and the involvement of the Zionist community, he had converted the United States policy of economic imperialism in the region from covert to overt and ensured that US self interest would be entangled with, and would dominate, the politics of the region for a very long period.

It was, in fact, a gross overstatement to say that the defence of Saudi Arabia was vital to the defence of the United States. Such a statement made in relation to Britain and its dependence on the Middle East was, as we have seen repeatedly, quite accurate because of the consequences of the policies of corporate greed and national imperialism which it had pursued and the relationships which it had established, manipulated and damaged over an extended period. But Britain could not make, and did not want to make, such a statement because of the consequences of drawing attention to it. In due course the statement of 'vital interest' would come to apply to the United States for exactly the same reasons that it applied to Britain. However in 1943 the United States sat like a colossus over the world's oil supplies. Its supply policies had been a factor in both the conduct of World War I and the development of international relationships during the period between the two wars. Its declaration about Saudi Arabia was simply a domestic legislative and political step required to enable the government to take action to secure control of resources in another country (in both the American national interest and in the commercial interest of the American corporations involved) and to retain its

grip on the world's oil supplies as the new pattern of international relationships unfolded. It was no more and no less than a blatant foreign resources grab. It is an intriguing aspect of the trouble in the triangle that there were plenty of warning bells ringing but the United States administration, while it appears to have recognized the basic issues involved, chose to turn a deaf ear to them just as Britain had done when it contemplated its duplicitous arrangements in the Middle East during World War I. Regardless of the philosophy enshrined in its Declaration of Independence, the United States seemed hell-bent on proving that its economic imperialism would become more pervasive than the colonial imperialism of any of the European powers.

At this time, with Hitler's overall position being rapidly undermined, he became even more determined to succeed in the European portion of his Jewish program. Deportations and mass executions increased accordingly and so did Zionist determination to secure a Jewish National Home in Palestine and their pressure on both the British and US governments. The vicious circle became tighter and tighter. Each party's determination fueled the other's. So, recognizing that the US was about to become the predominant player in his region, and concerned at the vigour of Zionist agitation in the United States, Ibn Saud sent a message to Roosevelt in April, followed by a letter at the beginning of May, asking that he be given advance information of "any steps of an affirmative character contemplated by the American Government with respect to Palestine." Roosevelt did not reply immediately. While he sat on it the remaining 238,000 German and Italian troops in Tunisia (the bulk of the Axis forces in North Africa) surrendered on May 9. By May 12 a total of about 252,000 German and Italian troops were taken prisoner, and the basis for strategy planning and regional economic politicking lurched dramatically. Churchill and Roosevelt therefore met again in Washington from May 12 to 26. On the closing day of their meeting Roosevelt replied to Ibn Saud, and Churchill left to visit North Africa for the next week. The two leaders had agreed on basic arrangements for the invasion of Sicily first, then Italy, followed by a cross-channel invasion which was set for not later than May 1, 1944. In his reply to Ibn Saud, Roosevelt said it would be "highly desirable" if the Arabs and the Jews reached a friendly understanding on Palestine through their own efforts during the war. In any event, he said, it was the American Government's view that "no decision altering the basic situation of Palestine should be reached without fully consulting with both Jews and Arabs."¹⁹⁰ That was a view in which he would have been confident of the pope's support. In fact in a letter to Ambassador Myron Taylor a few weeks later the Apostolic Delegate to Washington, Archbishop A.G. Cicognani, wrote:

If a Hebrew home is desired it would not be too difficult to find a more fitting territory than Palestine. With an increase in the Jewish population there, grave, new international problems would arise. Catholics the world over would be aroused. The Holy See would be saddened and justly so, by such a move.¹⁹¹

MYSTICI CORPORIS CHRISTI

Not everyone was happy with the new strategic considerations. The anticipated invasion of Italy caused the pope quite a bit of anxiety, and on May 18 he appealed to Roosevelt not to bomb Rome. There had previously been much discussion on the subject with the British, through Osborne, and this had led to acrimonious debate about whether the pope and the curia should leave the city to ensure their safety, or leave the lights of St. Peters *on* – to guide British bombers to military and industrial targets and away from the Vatican.¹⁹² However after some hesitation the president agreed to avoid it “as far as was humanly possible.”

By that time many millions of people had been made homeless by total war around them which was not of their making, while others were being degraded and traumatized by capture, imprisonment and torture or internment, and others were simply being slaughtered by being consigned to the gas chambers. The world was therefore crying out for the help of refugee services and resettlement aid. The Refugee Committee of the Provisional World Council of Churches, UNRRA and other church bodies, including those of the Roman Catholic Church, were doing much fine work, as was the Red Cross, in spite of being caught up in collaboration with the Nazis in some respects, but Pius XII had his mind on other things. The power and authority of the church. It was time for another round of doctrinal pronouncements.

On June 29 he issued the encyclical *Mystici Corporis Christi*, defining the church as the mystical body of Christ and reinforcing the self-understanding which had contributed so dramatically to the trouble in the triangle and the parody of *Mein Kampf*. Supposedly written to inspire confidence in the institution of the Catholic Church, acceptance of its doctrine and dogma, and recognition of the authority of the clergy, it reads as if he was deliberately widening the gulf between Christians and their partners in the triangle of messianic faiths by adding concepts which were even more objectionable to them than some of those already spawned by the church’s fertile imagination. Perhaps he was trying to distance the faithful still further from both the Jews, whom Hitler was intent on eliminating – because of the conduct of the amorphous Christian gel – and the Muslims, who had been forced into an uncomfortable alliance with Hitler by the conduct of the same amorphous Christian gel. He certainly succeeded in widening the gulf with a document which was totally consistent with the thrust of his earlier encyclicals which we have examined.

Pius XII insisted that the old law was dead, with the clear implication that if the law was dead then those who followed it were of no account.

And first of all, by the death of Our Redeemer, the New Testament took the place of the Old Law which had been abolished; then the Law of Christ, together with its mysteries, laws, institutions and sacred rites, was ratified for the whole world in the blood of Jesus Christ. For, while Our Divine Saviour was preaching in a restricted area – He was not sent but to the sheep that were lost of the house of Israel – the Law and the Gospel were together in force; but on the gibbet of His death Jesus made void the Law with its decrees, fastened the handwriting of the Old Testament to the Cross, establishing the New Testament in His blood, shed for the whole human race.¹⁹³

The gymnastics required to accommodate that passage alongside the words attributed to Jesus of Nazareth in Matthew 5:17–19 are remarkable.

*Do not imagine that I have come to abolish the Law or the Prophets. I have come not to abolish but to complete them. I tell you solemnly, till heaven and earth disappear, not one dot, not one little stroke, shall disappear from the Law until its purpose is achieved. Therefore, the man who infringes even one of the least of these commandments and teaches others to do the same will be considered the least in the kingdom of heaven; but the man who keeps them and teaches them will be considered great in the kingdom of heaven.*¹⁹⁴

The arrogance of the claims for the power and authority of the church for which there is no Biblical justification and the anti-Semitic undertones which run through the section ‘The Church and the Cross’ are quite disturbing.

*But if Our Saviour, by His death, became, in the full and complete sense of the word, the Head of the Church, it was likewise through His blood that the Church was endowed with that fullest communication of the Holy Spirit, through which from the time when the Son of Man was lifted up and glorified on the gibbet by His suffering, she is divinely illumined. For then, as Augustine notes, with the rending of the veil of the temple, it happened that the dew of the Paraclete’s gifts, which heretofore had descended only on the fleece – that is, on the people of Israel – fell copiously and abundantly (while the fleece remained dry and deserted) on the whole earth – that is, on the Catholic Church – which is confined by no boundaries of race or territory. Just as at the first moment of the Incarnation the Son of the Eternal Father adorned with the fullness of the Holy Spirit the human nature which was substantially united to Him, that it might be a fitting instrument of the Divinity in the sanguinary task of the Redemption, so at the hour of His precious death He wished that His Church should be enriched with the abundant gifts of the Paraclete, in order that, in dispensing the divine fruits of the Redemption, it might be for the Incarnate Word a powerful instrument that would certainly never fail. For the juridical mission of the Church and the power to teach, govern, and administer the sacraments derive their supernatural efficacy and force for the building up of the Body of Christ from the fact that Jesus Christ, hanging on the Cross, opened up to His Church the fountain of divine graces, which protect it from ever teaching men false doctrine, and enable it to rule them for their soul’s salvation through supernaturally enlightened pastors and to bestow on them abundant heavenly graces.*¹⁹⁵

Self-indoctrination or delusion reached a new peak in the section ‘Peter, the Visible Head’, for which he drew on the equally pathetic bull ‘*Unam Sanctam*’ written in 1302 while the Inquisition raged and while Boniface VIII fought pitched battles and slanging matches with the kings of France and England over the authority to make laws, wage wars and levy taxes. In one of his more flamboyant moments Hitler had claimed to be semi-divine, a superman set midway between God and man. On another occasion he said he understood himself to be another Christ, called by destiny, and that he would be called away when his mission was finished,¹⁹⁶ but now it was as if Pius XII was trying to out-rank him. Basing his claim on the words of Boniface VIII, he claimed to be as one with Christ because “*Christ and His Vicar constitute one only Head*.” As it was, and is, the basis of the church’s theology and selfunderstanding that Christ is

an integral being in the Triune God, both Boniface VIII and Pius XII claimed ultimate authority and left no room for a higher role in the divine plan. Boniface had closed his bull with the statement:

*Whoever therefore resists this power thus ordained of God, resists the ordinance of God. ... Furthermore we declare, state, define and pronounce that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff.*¹⁹⁷

That statement had been fundamental to both the progressive worsening of the trouble in the triangle and the push for reformation. It is therefore pathetic that Pius XII could confirm that Rome was clinging to it four hundred years after the Reformation, and that he could use it for yet another attack on both the Reformers and the Jews at a time when the Protestants of the Ecumenical Movement were trying, at last, to assist the Jews whose desperate need for help and their self-help solutions were consequences of such attacks over a very long period. His words were:

*Our Divine Redeemer also governs His Mystical Body in a visible way and ordinarily through His Vicar on earth. ... That Christ and His Vicar constitute one only Head is the solemn teaching of Our predecessor of immortal memory, Boniface VIII, in the Apostolic Letter, "Unam Sanctum"; and his successors have never ceased to repeat the same. They, therefore, walk the path of dangerous error who believe that they can accept Christ as the Head of the Church, while they reject genuine loyalty to His Vicar on earth. They have taken away the visible head, broken the visible bonds of unity, and they leave the Mystical Body of the Redeemer in such obscurity and so maimed, that those who are seeking the haven of eternal salvation cannot see it and cannot find it.*¹⁹⁸

But as disturbing as those sections are, they must be read in conjunction with the following section, 'Sinners in the Church', which is little more than a justification for the Pope's silence on the slaughter of the Jews and the church's continued collaboration with Hitler, and even an apologia for the Holocaust itself.

The fact that the Body of the Church bears the august name of Christ must not lead anyone to suppose that, also during this time of its earthly pilgrimage, its membership is restricted to those who are eminent in sanctity, or that it is composed only of those whom God has predestined to eternal beatitude. For it is in keeping with the infinite mercy of our Saviour that He does not here refuse a place in His mystical Body to those whom He formerly admitted to His table. Schism, heresy, or apostasy are such of their very nature that they sever a man from the Body of the Church; but not every sin, even the most grievous, is of such a kind. Nor does all life depart from those who, though by sin they have lost charity and divine grace and are consequently no longer capable of a supernatural reward, nevertheless retain Christian faith and hope, and, illumined by heavenly light, are moved by the inner promptings and stirrings of the Holy Spirit to conceive a salutary fear and divinely urged to prayer and repentance of their sin.

Let all men, therefore, abhor sin, which defiles the mystical members of the Redeemer; but should anyone have unhappily fallen, and if he has not by his obstinacy rendered himself unworthy of the fellowship of the faithful, then let him be welcomed most lovingly, and let a practical charity see in him a frail member of Jesus Christ. For it is better, as St. Augustine says, "to be healed within the organism of the Church than to be cut off from its body as an incurable member." "So long as a member still adheres to the body its cure is not beyond all hope; but if it has been cut off it cannot be cured or made whole."^{199 200} [Emphasis added in each case.]

The 60–page encyclical included another call for Protestants, the ‘unworthy separated’ who, although shut off from salvation by denying the Catholic faith, nevertheless named Christ as Saviour, to hasten to “the one Head in the society of glorious love” and to return to their Father’s House. It also included a condemnation of conversion and baptism under coercion saying that, endowed as they are with free will, men may misuse their freedom “under the impulse of mental doubts and base desires.”²⁰¹ Marranos-style baptisms for the sake of saving a few Jews from the gas chambers was definitely not encouraged. Relating that point to the pope’s “weighty pronouncement ... (of) ... profound grief that death is sometimes inflicted upon the deformed, the mentally defective, and those suffering from hereditary disease, on the plea that they are an intolerable burden upon society” and his “total silence in the document on the vast atrocity of the Shoah in progress,” Cornwell says “his attempts to identify the people of God with papal allegiance – was inimical to a sense of responsibility for, and common identity with, the Jews of Europe.” And further: “... his version of the doctrine of the Mystical Body deepened his convictions about the papal ideology of power and confirmed his prejudice that non-Catholics were alien to the people of God.”²⁰²

With the invasion of Italy apparently imminent the Pope was more desperate than ever to protect the city overall, but the Vatican and St. Peters in particular. He believed that his continuing presence in the city was one way to avoid bombing, and it could be that one of his motives behind the preparation of *Mystici Corporis Christi* was to deepen the feeling of awe with which the history and character of the Vatican engulfed Rome and thereby raise another psychological barrier for the Allies to hurdle if they planned to bomb it. But now he even suggested that Mussolini ought leave Rome so that his presence would not make it a prime target. He didn’t. He stayed.

... BACK TO THE ‘VITAL SECURITY’ QUESTION

Undeterred by the complexity of events around them, the two oil companies, Standard Oil of California and the Texas Oil Company, were determined to achieve their coup in the oil fields and the mechanism by which they did so was simple. On June 8, with Britain and the US in dispute over who should build and finance oil pipelines in the Middle East, and on what conditions, the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, working on data from the oil industry, advised Roosevelt that the country’s petroleum reserves were becoming ‘dangerously depleted’ and that steps should be taken to guarantee supplies outside of the US. The American government was

flexing its muscles and the action came thick and fast. On the 10th the Petroleum Administrator for War, H.L. Ickes, advised that the shortage would be felt by the end of 1944 and that it was imperative that the government take immediate action to acquire a proprietary and managerial interest in foreign petroleum reserves. He proposed that a Petroleum Reserves Corporation (PRC) be established and that in the first instance it acquire an interest in the concessions held by an American company in Saudi Arabia. On the 12th the Interdepartmental War Committee agreed to the proposal and the State Department added the weight of its diplomatic reasoning. By June 30 the PRC had been formally constituted and instructed to proceed, in accordance with departmental recommendations, to obtain the entire Saudi Arabian concession by the total purchase of the Californian-Arabia Standard Oil Company. The joint owners of that company, Standard Oil of California and the Texas Oil Company were to be compensated either in cash or with a share of the oil produced. But neither of the companies had been privy to that part of the discussion and they were not at all eager to forfeit to the government the nest-egg which they had just gained with the government's help. Formal talks opened on July 14 and continued with much strain and politicking until the administration broke off negotiations at the end of October and abandoned its plan to gain control of all of the Saudi Arabian concessions.

In the meantime the Anglo-Shell Oil Company had taken full advantage of the *Tripartite Pact* to open negotiations for concessions in south east Persia, and Venezuela had taken full advantage of the stated 'production shortfall' in the United States to increase royalties to sixteen and two thirds percent and to impose income tax on oil companies as well. Fearful that the US could lose the upper hand in the oil stakes, Hull advised Socony-Vacuum on November 15, 1942, that the US government favoured the development of all possible outside sources of petroleum. He said that as the US had no agreement with Britain that it would not seek concessions in Persia, the company was free to negotiate with the Persian government. The competition for control of oil resources throughout the Middle East which had started fifty years earlier, which had always been bitter, and which had been a major factor behind Britain's *Balfour Declaration*, was hotting up even more.

While the US administration was doing its PRC committee work in July, Roosevelt sent a Middle East expert, Colonel Harold Hoskins, to Saudi Arabia to enquire whether Ibn Saud would enter into direct discussions on the future of Palestine with either Weizmann or a representative of the Jewish Agency. Hoskins had already advised the president that relations between the Jewish and Arab communities could collapse in open conflict so he was not surprised that the king declined. He could not speak for Palestine, the king said, let alone deliver it to the Jews, even if he were willing to consider such a proposal.²⁰³ His categorical rejection of the request was prompted by what he regarded as Weizmann's attempt to bribe him with an offer of twenty million pounds Sterling – incorrectly said to be guaranteed by Roosevelt – during the first year of the war. In the light of that experience Roosevelt urged that a trusteeship be established for the Holy Land with a Jew, a Christian and a Muslim as the responsible trustees.²⁰⁴

Then two quite independent initiatives which were to have an enormous influence in accelerating the relentless push towards the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine were taken coincidentally with Hoskin's visit to Saudi Arabia in July. At Churchill's insistence the British government set up a special cabinet committee to re-examine the future of Palestine, and in the United States the specially elected American Jewish Conference met in a crisis atmosphere to determine a means of rescuing the balance of Europe's Jewish population.

When the United States had finally become embroiled in Europe's war between Christians fighting over the fate of Jews the Zionist lobby had set aside its earlier reluctance to campaign publicly in support of the war against Hitler and assumed a much higher public and political profile. Then after the Biltmore Conference it rapidly became more vocal and more militant in its demands that the United States support the plan for a Jewish State in Palestine, and by the time of Hoskin's meeting with Ibn Saud its leader, Rabbi Silver, was determined to force a resolution to that effect through the American Jewish Conference. He succeeded, but in such divisive circumstances that the conference could not be sustained as a permanent umbrella organization.²⁰⁵

Silver and his supporters, no doubt influenced by the messages they were receiving from the Underground in Europe, then determined to storm Capitol Hill and ensure that both houses of Congress passed resolutions that would commit the US irrevocably to making Palestine a "free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth." The process of getting such resolutions sponsored and through committee and congressional hearings to the final votes was bound to be long and in the meantime the Jewish Agency in Palestine and its associates, the Haganah and the Irgun, extended their programs of direct action against British and Arab interests. Calls for Britain to quit Palestine and for the United States to assume the temporary mandate were commonplace, as was sabotage by the Irgun and the Stern Gang. A struggle developed between Weizmann, who wanted to wait until the end of the war and rely on Churchill's support for a smooth transition to a Jewish State, and those who wanted to force an American initiative immediately.²⁰⁶

TIME FOR CHANGE IN ITALY

The mass bombing of Rome which began with a raid by five hundred US bombers on July 19 sealed Mussolini's fate. The king and the army wanted him out. On July 25 the Duce was dismissed by the king with the collaboration of both the army and the Fascist Grand Council, specially convened for the first time since 1939, on the grounds of incompetence and the failure of his policies. Mussolini was replaced by Marshall Badoglio who, much to Hitler's annoyance, immediately sought an armistice with the Allies. But an armistice was not signed for another six weeks for two reasons.

One reason for the delay was the confusion caused by Roosevelt's 'top of the head' announcement at the Casablanca Conference that no deals would be done with *any* Axis power and that their surrender must be unconditional.^{207 208} The other reason was continuing

disagreement between the United States and Britain about the need for an invasion of Italy. Initially the US did not want a cross-Mediterranean invasion at all. It had changed its position and wanted to divert more resources to the war against Japan, and it was content to bottle up Italy until it was time to throw all of the resources available at Germany via the shortest route – a cross-channel invasion. It had reluctantly agreed to an invasion of Italy and then, when victory in North Africa came more quickly than expected, it was not ready to push on across the Mediterranean. On the other hand Britain, not being accustomed to material resources on the scale then available to the US, preferred to fragment Hitler's defences by opening a Mediterranean front before the planned cross-channel invasion into the teeth of Germany's forces. Both issues took some time to work through.²⁰⁹ It was time for another conference, and that period of uncertainty gave Hitler the initiative and German forces consolidated their position in Italy

The Vatican was pleased by the invasion delay, too. It had its friends to protect. The College of San degli Illirici had been the home for Croatian priests receiving Vatican-sponsored theological education and a home-away-from-home for Ustashe guests of the Vatican. About this time a Croatian seminary professor, Fr. Krunoslav Dragonovic, arrived at the college on the pretext of working for the Red Cross. But according to US intelligence sources Dragonovic was "alter ego" to the ruthless Ustashe dictator Pavelic who had visited Rome with the blood of Croatia's Jews and Orthodox Christians on his hands to sign a treaty with Mussolini and to enjoy a 'devotional audience' with Pius XII soon after he had been installed by Hitler. (See above, chapter 24, p. 47 ff.) Those US intelligence sources also say that his real role was to coordinate Italian-Croatian cooperation, to set up an escape route for former Ustashe to Latin America, and to launder some \$US80 million in treasure looted by the Ustashe and stored with its archives in the Vatican. Working from the same office he later helped US Counter-Intelligence organize the escape of anti-Communist informants and the former head of the Gestapo in Lyons, Klaus Barbie.²¹⁰

THE QUEBEC CONFERENCE

Such was the situation on August 4, 1943, when Churchill left London with a party of more than 250 persons, among whom there were ministers, key defence personnel, political advisers, personal staff and a host of orderlies, for another round of talks with Roosevelt and their opposite numbers, this time in Quebec, Canada. Quebec was chosen as the conference venue very carefully. It was on neutral ground – neither in the United States or Britain – which was important in presenting an image of equality in the Allied partnership, especially as the Soviet leader could not be present. It was in a British Commonwealth country so that the Commonwealth gained some recognition, even though the decision had been taken quite deliberately to exclude them and other allies from the conference, and it was predominantly Catholic so, in spite of the Allies' very strained relations with the Vatican, some diplomatic and psychological benefits were possible. But Quebec was also French speaking so that recognition

was given to French involvement in the war, even though Britain and the United States were locked in disagreement over the status of the Free French and relations with them.

The British Government wanted to recognize the Free French and the Committee of National Liberation in Algiers as the sole legitimate political and military authority in French affairs. Given that status, the Committee of Liberation would automatically assume the role of the recognized government of France, in place of the Vichy French regime, immediately Allied forces occupied French territory. Continuity would thus be given, at least in appearance, to French colonial authority and administration. Such recognition would have strengthened Britain's claims to the same status and authority in its colonies at the end of the war, irrespective of whether there had been uninterrupted British administration or not.

On the other hand the United States made much of the division between de Gaulle and Giraud in the French Committee of National Liberation and was concerned about de Gaulle's "flirtations with Communist elements." It wanted to deal with whichever authority it saw fit in any particular situation, both during and after the war. In addition, the automatic recognition of a continuing French role was not consistent with the *Atlantic Charter* any more than was the automatic recognition of a continuing British role. The US therefore wanted only a formula based on cooperation with the committee and not recognition of it. However on August 24, at the final plenary meeting of the Quebec Conference and after what Churchill described as "stubborn talking" on his part, the United States agreed to endorse a form of political recognition of the committee, but in its own terms and not in a *joint declaration* with Britain.²¹¹

SECRET A-BOMB AGREEMENT

Among the other decisions taken by Roosevelt and Churchill in private discussions during the Quebec Conference was one which remained secret for some time but which was to have enormous consequences for the future of humanity. They agreed to return to joint development of an atomic bomb after a break of almost a year during which their countries had each gone their own way. They agreed that neither would withhold any information on the project from the other, but neither would communicate any information to a third party without the consent of the other. They also agreed that neither would use an atomic weapon against the other, and that neither would use one against another party without each other's consent. It was arranged that all development work would be carried out in the United States and Churchill expressly disclaimed any interest in postwar industrial and commercial advantages of atomic research and development "beyond what may be considered by the President of the United States to be fair and just in harmony with the economic welfare of the world."²¹²

The third party information clauses were aimed specifically at ensuring that there would be no further contact between British and Soviet scientists working in the field of nuclear physics. Late in 1942, after they had been partners together in the war against Germany for a year and a half, Britain and the Soviet Union had agreed to exchange new weapons and any which might be discovered in the future.²¹³ But American fear of breaches of military security was such that

when Roosevelt learned of the Anglo-Russian agreement he endorsed a policy of limiting the interchange of information with Britain on atomic matters, and it was only the knowledge that such a policy undermined cooperation in other respects and retarded nuclear research and the development of the bomb that led to renewed cooperation. Within a few weeks of the decision at Quebec a team of 19 British scientists was ready to join their colleagues in the US ^{214 215 216} The nature and timing of the Roosevelt-Churchill agreement on atomic research is very revealing, and the fact that the agreement was made at all had enormous implications.

First. It is apparent that Churchill was prepared to forego the rights to patents and royalties from several years of nuclear research in spite of the potential uses which even then were apparent to scientists and in spite of the enormous international prestige which would flow to the country or countries which held the nuclear reins at war's end. His decision led to very acrimonious debate in Britain but it demonstrates that, for all his deeply ingrained imperialism, his only real interest in the development of nuclear technology was the production of a bomb which would ensure the defeat of Hitler. Linked with the Anglo-Russian weapons agreement, to which the Americans took such exception, it indicates that in spite of the historical antagonism between them and their opposed political and economic systems, the leaders of those two countries were prepared to cooperate without restriction in matters touching the very heart of national identity and security. Regrettably that would soon change under the weight of circumstances.

Second. America's insistence on the first fruits of industrial and commercial developments in the post war period and its insistence on absolute secrecy, even from its closest allies, confirmed that it saw nuclear development in terms of the motives and benefits which were paraded in front of Roosevelt to gain his support for research in 1939: to gain military, political and economic domination of the world, with the means of maintaining that position.

Third. America's insistence on the dismantling of the Anglo-Russian weapons agreement confirmed that despite Roosevelt's apparent desire for the continuation of cooperation after the war there would be little relaxation of the mistrust and antagonism between the US-led Democratic Capitalist countries and the Soviet-led Socialist International, even if they achieved victory over their common enemies, Nazism and Fascism, through temporary cooperation and a joint military effort. And further, as a consequence of that mistrust, it ensured that military, scientific and diplomatic spying would be developed to near perfection by the major powers as a means of either retaining superiority or attaining comparable capacity in nuclear science. Spying ceased to be seen as simply an aid to the implementation of policy and became, in turn, the justification for further political and military action and the cause for even deeper mistrust. The cats chased their tails in ever tightening circles. ^{217 218 219 220}

America's leaders were naive indeed if they thought that the rest of the world would sit back and without a whimper, let alone a struggle, permit a situation in which the US, either on its own or in collaboration with Britain, could act as the final arbiter of the political and economic affairs of the world because of a semi-exclusive nuclear capacity. It might placate the world for

a while by saying that it was ‘acting as the international peace keeping policeman’ but the reality of the situation would soon become apparent.

In other words, American insistence on the dismantling of the Anglo-Russian weapons agreement confirmed that at rock bottom little had really changed in the relationship between the United States and the first Communist nation; that the determination to keep the Soviet Union in the technical, political, military and economic shadows had only been transformed into a determination to keep it on a leash; and that deep seated greed, the fear that it might not achieve a position of pre-eminence, and inherent mistrust of Communism were still basic to the US attitude. By riding rough-shod over the Anglo-Russian weapons agreement the United States had shown its determination to sit astride the world’s political and economic dung heap when the war was over. That decision set the ground rules for future international competition and was one of the most important factors in the evolution of the cold war and perhaps the most important single factor in the evolution of the arms race.

If, instead of imposing that policy, the United States had agreed to a policy of either common weapons development or the exchange of technical information there would have been greater cohesion in the anti-Nazi effort and much less likelihood of the stand-off which occurred, with US forces under orders to secure the German weapons research establishments before the Russians could do so and to take the key German physicists in custody to England.^{221 222} Certainly the course of the final stages of the Second World War and the post war period would have been greatly different. Those policies and actions of both the ‘New Israel’ and the Vatican which were aimed at undermining and isolating Communist or Socialist governments reflected both their separate self-understandings and their influence within the amorphous Christian gel and compounded the trouble in the triangle very greatly.

In fact the superiority in nuclear technology which the United States sought and did achieve was maintained, in a practical sense, for a much shorter period than American politicians had hoped. Having had the benefit of the research skills and knowledge of almost the entire community of German émigré nuclear physicists, and a joint development effort with Britain, the United States was able to explode its first nuclear device on July 16, 1945.²²³ Soviet Russia exploded its corresponding device just over four years later, in the last week of August 1949.²²⁴ It has been estimated that all the information passed to Russia by scientists working on British or American projects shortened the Russian bomb development program by only eighteen months. The four-year technology gap then narrowed rapidly as both countries pushed on to develop the Hydrogen or ‘super’ bomb. The US successfully tested an H-bomb in the Pacific on November 1, 1952, a mere nine months before the Russians on August 12, 1953.

Technical parity then being the order of the day, the United States lost the position of absolute dominance which it sought. In the political circumstances of the time, the world had to become accustomed to peace-by-balance-of-terror as the race was stepped up for superiority in numbers and power of nuclear weapons deployed within opposing alliances. In the meantime, in 1947, Russia had become the first country to build and operate a nuclear reactor which could

be adapted for peaceful purposes such as the commercial production of electricity.²²⁵ However the urgency of its race to catch up with the United States contributed to the Soviet Union's relatively greater neglect of safety considerations, pollution and radiation control, its cost cutting and technical short cuts. This in turn contributed to the spate of nuclear accidents between the 1950s and the 1990s, and the nuclear contamination crises which affected countries right across northern Europe, the consequences of which are not yet all apparent. However, while it can be argued that the immediate responsibility for these crises rests with the Soviet authorities who took the decisions involved, it is also clear that the responsibility must be shared by the powers which started the contest by trying to maintain their own position of privilege at the expense of others and by suppressing the aspirations of others. Ultimately the nuclear crisis is a fundamental consequence of the trouble in the triangle and the self-understanding of the amorphous Christian gel, and responsibility must be shared accordingly. But we have jumped ahead a bit.

When Roosevelt and Churchill penned their secret agreement during the Quebec Conference the nuclear arms race was still a thing of the future. But before the end of the conference on August 24 events of more immediate consequence occurred in other parts of the world. (Churchill did not arrive back in Britain until September 20 after a round of engagements in Washington and elsewhere.) On August 1 the Japanese granted independence to the State of Burma, but the civil government under Dr Ba Maw as head of state soon found that it enjoyed little more authority than the Lebanese and Syrians had under the Free French and had little influence on the nature of the Japanese occupation or exploitation.²²⁶ In Indonesia the Japanese forces of occupation included a contingent of Japanese Muslims whose work included assisting the formation of the Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims, the Masjumi. The new body largely administered the country's religious affairs and also set up a paramilitary Hizbullah, the Army of Allah. The 'New Order' in East Asia was being established in name but, in the circumstances of the war, the practice was not keeping pace with the theory any more than it was in the European theatre.

In the Soviet Union, Stalin continued the relaxation of controls on the church which had been triggered by Hitler's invasion and further encouraged by the need to appease Western opinion in the light of the development and recognition of the *Atlantic Charter*. On September 4 the Orthodox Church was authorized to re-establish the Patriarchate and Sergius was subsequently elected Patriarch. The training of clergy resumed, and councils were established to oversee the affairs of the Orthodox Church and other religious cults. In contrast, the Uniate Church which was in communion with Rome was liquidated.²²⁷ ²²⁸ There was to be no mechanism through which the Vatican could directly interfere in Soviet affairs and no encouragement for it to bid for concordats, with or without Hitler. For the Allies as well as the Pope, however, the Italian armistice was a much more important issue.

THE ITALIAN ARMISTICE AND THE JEWS OF ROME

The Italian Armistice was not only about to make Hitler spread his own forces over the total fighting fronts and to turn the tide distinctly in the Allies' favor: it was also about to set up a couple of considerable challenges for the Church in Rome. After protracted negotiations the Allies finally signed the armistice on September 3, the day the invasion of mainland Italy began, but with the condition that it would not be made public until five days later, September 8. Hitler fumed about the treachery of both Badoglio and the pope and ordered that Rome be occupied immediately.^{229 230} Next day, September 9, he called the commander of the SS and German police in Italy, Karl Friedrich Otto Wolff, to the 'Wolf's Lair' and ordered him to occupy the Vatican and "transfer" the pope to Liechtenstein. Wolff realized the enormous backlash there would have been from Catholics on both sides of the battle lines and found excuses to defer the operation. Rome was occupied by German forces two days later and next day, September 12, Mussolini was rescued, to be set up later by Hitler as leader of a puppet republic of Sato in occupied northern Italy.

The SS commander in Rome, Major Herbert Kappler, was soon given a special job to do: organize a roundup of Jews to correct Mussolini's failure while in office. Kappler received his orders about September 21, but, like Wolff, and supported by the commander of the Italian theatre, Field Marshal Kesselring, he procrastinated. He devised a scheme to show that he was exploiting the Jews in the hope that he could avoid his orders. He ordered the Jewish leaders to produce fifty kilograms of gold within 36 hours. The collection began at 11 a.m. on September 27. When the initial response was poor and it looked as if the target might not be reached an emissary was despatched to seek help from the Curia. At 4 p.m. advice was received through a priest of the Sacred Heart Convent that the pope had authorized a loan sufficient to buy what ever gold was still needed. It was to be a *loan*, not a gift, he said, adding: "It is obvious, we want it back." However the trickle turned into a torrent of gifts of rings, medals and jewellery from Jews and concerned Christians so that the entire ransom amount was raised by the deadline. *No contribution* was necessary or was made by the Vatican either as a loan or a gift. There had been no papal intervention. But reports soon circulated that Pius XII had made a generous gesture and that sacred vessels had been hastily melted down to meet the rescue ransom.²³¹ The gold was sent to Berlin but the gesture was spurned. Kappler was ordered to proceed with the roundup but he advised Eichmann that there were not enough SS members in Rome to carry out the task. That was not the response Eichmann wanted. He ordered Theodor Dannecker, experienced in such matters, to make sure there were.

Actually Pius XII must have found that incident an irritating distraction. With the church, its theology and its self-understanding again under threat in its home territory it was time for papal intervention and he was putting the finishing touches to another encyclical which was released on September 30, *Divino Afflante Spiritu*. It was an attempt to arrest or reverse the criticism of the church and its Biblical interpretation. Perhaps it was also an attempt to offset the re-establishment of the Orthodox Patriarchate in Moscow by the Soviet government. That

represented a direct challenge to the authority of Rome among the churches to the east, and it could well prejudice Pius XII's ambitions to gain a Russian concordat. Long, rambling, full of contradictions and couched in terms which would have confused the clergy let alone the laity, *Divino Afflante Spiritu* was described as promoting Biblical studies. However what it really did was add another straight jacket to the wardrobes of those who would teach or interpret theology.

The Pope totally ignored the processes through which the church's current doctrine and dogma had been developed and began by restating the claim of absolute and exclusive divine authority for both *Holy Scripture and Catholic doctrine* because they "contain revelation without error [and] having been written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, they *have God for their author, and as such were handed down to the Church herself.*" [Emphasis added.] He then turned his guns on "some Catholic writers" who, in spite of the entire catalogue of Catholic doctrine being free from any error whatsoever, "ventured to restrict the truth of Sacred Scripture solely to matters of faith and morals, and to regard other matters, whether in the domain of physical science or history, as [if they were] in no wise connected with faith." But unlike some of his predecessors he did not prohibit the study of such subjects. He simply said that if "the Catholic commentator" wished to grapple again with these "difficult problems, hitherto unsolved," he may do so either to "refute the objections of the adversaries, [or in an attempt to] find a satisfactory solution which will be in full accord with the doctrine of the Church, in particular with the traditional teaching regarding the inerrancy of Sacred Scripture."²³² Challenges may occur, but nothing had changed. *A Catholic commentator may refute objections or prop up doctrine*, but a re-assessment of the church's theology and self-understanding simply was not permitted. And more challenges were just around the corner.

Two weeks later, on October 13, Marshal Badoglio announced that Italy was back in the war: as a co-belligerent on the side of the Allies. Dannecker was prompted to gather his team very quickly. At 5.30 a.m. on Saturday, October 16 he arrived at the old Rome Ghetto with 365 personnel made up of some SS police and some Waffen SS armed with submachine guns. Over the next few hours his trucks drove in and out, some driving past St. Peters for the troops to have a good look, with about 1,500 persons. But they had been seen arriving by a young aristocrat known to Pius XII, Principessa Enza Pignatelli-Aragona. She tracked down the pope in his private chapel at morning prayers. Somewhat agitated by the interruption he phoned Maglione who contacted the German ambassador, Weizsacker. Twenty four hours of frantic phone calls, conferences and cable writing began.

The pope would not intervene personally. His attitude was negative. His authority was only invoked by Vatican officials with terms such as Maglione's statement: "The Holy See would not wish to be put in a situation where it was necessary to utter a word of disapproval." It was actually left to Weizsacker and his legation secretary Gerhard Gumpert to draft letters to the commanding general in Rome, Rainer Stahel, and cables to Berlin in a bid to have the deportation order reversed. Their letters tell the pathetic story. Referring to "an authoritative Vatican dignitary" expressing concern about the "good relations which have existed between the Vatican and the high command of the German Armed Forces," one letter said: "I earnestly

request that you order the immediate suspension of these arrests ... Otherwise I fear that the Pope will take a position in public as being against this action, one which would undoubtedly be used by anti-German propagandists as a weapon against the Germans.”²³³ Weizsacker followed with a personal letter saying, in part: “The Curia is especially upset considering that the action took place, in a manner of speaking, under the Pope’s own windows. The reaction could be dampened somewhat if the Jews were to be employed in labour service here in Italy. Hostile circles in Rome are using this event as a means of pressuring the Vatican to drop its reserve.”²³⁴

Those letters failed. So did the ‘hostile circles.’ Some of the prisoners pleaded that they were not Jewish, others that they had non-Jewish spouses: 252 were released. There was no intervention or pleading by a cardinal on behalf of the pope, and no offer of ransom, but such myths developed, including ‘reports’, which the Vatican did not deny, that Bishop Hudal had written a letter in terms used by the German diplomats.²³⁵ Dannecker lost no time. The prisoners were loaded onto a train on the morning of Monday, October 18, for their journey through Italy and Austria to Auschwitz. Witnesses relayed reports to the Vatican as the train travelled north. On arrival, 1,060 were gassed, 149 men and 47 women were detained for slave labour and, of those, 15 survived the war. A further 1,084 Jews were rounded up in Rome by Italian Fascists following Dannecker’s swoop on the 16th. Their fate was the same.²³⁶ The combined haul had been about 2,600 Jews out of the 7,000 in Rome and the exercise was a triumph for the Nazis. They were delighted that, with limited manpower, they had carried out a very successful house search and forced roundup – even in consultation with Vatican officials and without a public protest from the Pope.

Early in December Hitler summoned Wolff again, demanding to know why no action had been taken to occupy the Vatican and deport the pope. Wolff explained that a plan had been prepared but he then proceeded to persuade the Fuhrer not to put it into action. He said that as a consequence of being careful not to treat the Italians harshly “we have the discreet support of the clergy.” He said that “without the support of the church, which has kept the masses quiet” he could not have done his job. The tranquillity of the populace, he said, had aided the southern front and precluded the need to withdraw troops from the fighting. He then urged Hitler, directly, to “give up the Vatican project” because “in my opinion an occupation of the Vatican and the deportation of the Pope would prompt an extreme negative reaction in Italy, and also on the part of German Catholics within the Fatherland and at the front, as well as among all Catholics in the rest of the world and in neutral states – reactions that outweigh any temporary advantage that will be gained by the political neutralization of the Vatican or the gain of Vatican booty.” Hitler acquiesced. The kidnap plan was dropped.²³⁷

Wolff’s advice had been very sound. British Ambassador Osborne reported in a memo to London dated November 1, barely two weeks after the deportations, that Pius XII had told him during a one-hour conversation that he had “no complaints” about the Germans occupying Rome and that they had “behaved correctly” when it came to respecting the neutrality of the Vatican. According to Osborne’s report he told the pope that the Germans “were systematically stripping [Rome] of all its supplies, transport and labor, were arresting Italian officers ... and

youth and were applying their usual merciless methods of persecution of the Jews.” He also said it was the opinion of a number of people that the pope had “underestimated his own moral authority and the high respect [in which] it was held” by German Catholics. “I urged him to bear it in mind in case in the course of coming events an occasion arise for taking a strong stand,” Osborne said.²³⁸

Actually the Catholic population of Italy was very confused. They had seen the failure of the church-backed government of Mussolini, the arrest of the person on whom the Pope had poured such lavish praise when the concordat was signed, the armistice, the indiscriminate bombing by the Allies, and then Mussolini’s rescue by his ally the Fuhrer. Confidence in the church slumped, and criticism of its teaching jumped sharply. Catholic Action, encouraged by the Bishop of Parma and Dr Luigi Gedda of Milan, broke its shackles and declared that there was nothing in its past to repudiate. There was an immediate rise in support for both left wing Catholic splinter groups and the Communist Party, and the scattered Christian Democrat cells which had been suppressed by the Clerico-Fascists since the 1930’s began to regroup around a nucleus led by De Gasperi. Within a short time it was on its way to filling the vacuum left by the fall of the Clerico-Fascists.²³⁹

The confusion was most intense in Northern Italy where the combined anti-Fascist parties set up a strong Committee of National Liberation (CLNAI) as a provisional government, the pro-German Italian Social Republic pressed for the return of Mussolini, and support for the Communist Party was greatest. The Communists gained greatly from Russia’s policy of providing active community-level support for workers groups opposed to Hitler, in contrast to the Western Allies’ policy of simply bombing hell out of occupied areas. They also gained from the relaxation of Russia’s hard line anti-church policies and the fact that the Orthodox Church was seen to be on the rise again. For a time the pattern of confusion actually strengthened the power of the church hierarchy, and especially that of Cardinal-Archbishop Schuster of Milan. He treated with each of the Nazis, the Fascists, the anti-Fascists and the worker partisans, and sought to prevent a popular uprising in favour of the CLNAI, fearing that it would lead to Communist rule in the Po Valley. He also worked to prevent the rise of the Italian Social Republic through its links with a dissident schismatic Catholic movement.²⁴⁰

Ambassador Weizsacker was able to report to Berlin that although the Pope was under pressure from all sides and would face criticism from Protestant and Anglo-Saxon countries “he has not let himself be drawn into any demonstrative censure of the deportation of Jews from Rome [and] he has done everything he could in this delicate matter not to strain relations with the German Government and German circles in Rome.”²⁴¹ It was quite legitimate for the watching world to believe that the Pope had either accepted or given tacit approval to the extermination of the Jewish community. At least he was being consistent with what he had said in each of his encyclicals, including the most recent, *Mystici Corporis Christi* and *Divino Afflante Spiritu*. And he remained so, saying nothing when an Italian law was passed on December 1 providing for the internment of all Jews in concentration camps and the confiscation of their property.²⁴²

Subsequently, in an effort to counter the intense criticism of its failure to intervene to prevent the partial extermination of the Jews, the Vatican generated enormous publicity around the Pope's action in "saving the Jews of Rome" through harbouring people in the Vatican and in church centres across the Italian capital. However the publicity generated was neither consistent with papal pronouncements and actions either before or during the war, nor was it justified by the numbers involved when circumstances made necessity and common humanity appear a virtue. The Pope's inaction looks very undistinguished, at best, compared with the outright rejection by Finland of Nazi demands to deport its Jewish nationals; Denmark's protective action in shipping them to Sweden instead of to 'the east'; and Japan's positive action in providing refuge for 5,000 European Jews in occupied Manchuria²⁴³ as well as its refusal to act against the 17,000 Jews in Shanghai – in spite of the fact that it was in formal alliance with Germany, it recognized the economic basics of Hitler's plan for a New Order in Europe, and it was under pressure to cooperate in an East Asian 'final solution'.

Among the Vatican's propaganda to offset the growing dismay at the pope's inaction was a report in *L'Osservatore Romano* for October 25–26, only a few days before Osborne's conversation with Pius XII in which he had said he had no complaints about the conduct of the German occupation forces. After saying that "the August Pontiff" had done all in his power to alleviate suffering from "this cruel conflagration" it said "... *the universal and paternal charity of the Pontiff* has become, it could be said, ever more active; it *knows neither boundaries nor nationality, neither religion nor race.*"²⁴⁴ However Pius XII seemed hell bent on doing all he could to disavow even that praise. Three months later, in January 1944, when it appeared that there may be a time gap between the departure of the retreating Germans and the arrival of the occupying Allied forces he insisted that the Allied forces should move in as the Germans left to prevent the irreligious or anti-religious Communist partisans from occupying Rome and claiming government by coup. Then on January 26, Maglione approached Osborne "to say that the Pope hoped that no Allied *coloured* troops would be among the small number that might be garrisoned at Rome after the occupation."²⁴⁵

HITLER CONSIDERS A SEPARATE PEACE

In the days following the announcement of the Italian armistice Hitler gave careful thought to negotiating a separate peace with Russia to enable him to concentrate on the Western Allies. During the weeks between Mussolini's arrest and the armistice Ribbentrop sent two emissaries to make contact with Soviet diplomats in Sweden and on September 10 Hitler discussed a possible Russian armistice line, but he decided to defer an approach until Germany regained the initiative in the submarine, missile and ground warfare theatres which would place him in a stronger negotiating position.²⁴⁶

On that basis the opportunity would elude him altogether. However his successful rescue of Mussolini on September 12, the Duce's attempt to regain control of the Italian scene and the better progress of the German campaign in Italy must have given him some short-lived

encouragement. He rebuffed a diplomatic approach from Britain's trade chief in Stockholm in mid-October which, as David Irving points out, can hardly have been anything other than a feeler for an armistice in spite of the joint Anglo-American declaration that the war would end only with Germany's unconditional surrender.²⁴⁷ Perhaps there were British Ministers – even Churchill himself – who were more concerned about Britain's critical situation in the Middle East and Asia than the government was prepared to admit, even though the Allies were in a strong position overall. Or perhaps Churchill wanted to be fully briefed on Hitler's current thinking before he left for Cairo and Teheran for further discussions with Allied leaders a few weeks later.

Certainly Hitler was still planning or day-dreaming about eventual victory and the shape of the world under his New Order. About this time he revealed the core of his vision to the Nazi Party leadership at a meeting in Berlin. The aim of Germany's struggle, he said, must be to create a unified Europe and only the Germans could really organize it. "All that rubbish of small states still existing in Europe must be liquidated as fast as possible," he said.²⁴⁸ A further stage of his vision, or fantasy, was confined to personal hand written notes, thus:

England for the good of the world must remain unchanged in its present form. Consequently, after final victory, we must effect a reconciliation. Only the King must go – in his place the Duke of Windsor. With him we will make a permanent treaty of friendship instead of a peace treaty.

Scandinavia and the Iberian Peninsula would be joined under the New Order to make the United Europe envisaged by Charles the Great, Prince Eugene and Napoleon a reality.

The most important point of final victory will be the exclusion of the United States from world politics for all time and the destruction of their Jewish community.

For this purpose Dr. Goebbels will have dictatorial authority as Governor to accomplish the total re-education of the racially mixed and inferior population. Goering will also help in this respect, above all by mobilizing all those with German blood, at least fifty per cent of the inhabitants, so they can be educated militarily and regenerated nationalistically.²⁴⁹

BRITISH PLANS FOR THE MIDDLE EAST

As much as Churchill wanted to concentrate on eliminating Hitler, there were many other aspects of the total war which had to be settled at the same time. Conflicts of colonial interest came thick and fast. Britain had to do all it could to keep a tight grip on its colonies and, hot on the heels of the Quebec Conference, where backing had been given to General de Gaulle's Committee of National Liberation, the French connection caused it considerable difficulty. The Free French under De Gaulle's clear political leadership naturally wanted to follow much the same colonial path as Britain and to cling to Syria and Lebanon, but their pseudo-colonial subjects wanted them out. For once, for their own particular reasons of self interest, Britain and the United States were in agreement.

Having been given republican constitutions and formal but very nominal independence by the Free French late in 1941, (after the Vichy French had been relieved of their control), both countries wanted elected governments with real power. With the mandates in dispute, no confidence that the French would actually grant full independence at the end of the war if the Allies won, and strong under-currents of pro-Nazi feeling, anti-French hostility increased steadily while they waited. In March 1943 they were only given appointed provisional governments, and when elections were held in July they resulted in highly nationalistic governments in both countries. On October 7 the Lebanese government proposed to end the French role in the constitution and in November the Free French authorities provoked disturbances and bloodshed in Beirut by ordering the arrest of the president and ministers.

Concerned that the French anti-Arab action might trigger an uprising in Palestine and even engulf the whole Middle East, the British cabinet sought United States cooperation in pressing the French to release and reinstate the Lebanese politicians. To protect its imperial interests Britain was even prepared to take military control of Lebanon and Syria, to withdraw recognition of the French National Committee, and to stop the process of arming the French troops in North Africa. Churchill was scared that the Arab world would ask: "What kind of a France is this which, while itself subjugated by the enemy, seeks to subjugate others?" But Churchill had one rule for Britain and another one for France and anyone else. He could jail Indian leaders and ban Congress, then totally ignore the pleas of China to release them, and then he could rail against France for similar action because it was contrary to the *Atlantic Charter*.²⁵⁰

Churchill's Cabinet Committee on Palestine reached a consensus by October, 1943, but the government knew that its proposals were generous to the Jews and would not be acceptable to the Arabs, so its formal report was withheld for presentation to *cabinet* on December 20.²⁵¹ The earlier release of its proposals would have ensured a war-within-a-war in Palestine, the absolute alienation of the Arab world, and the very great strengthening of Hitler's hand. The government knew, therefore, that it would have led to schisms within the Alliance and inestimable complications in the war which, it is only reasonable to assume, would have dragged on and on with even deeper bitterness and greater trauma. *Publication* of the report was therefore to be deferred until after the war had ended.

However the relationship between Weizmann and Churchill, who was as staunchly committed to Zionism as he had been at the time that his association with 'The Focus' began, was such that at a luncheon in October 1943 at which Clement Atlee was present, Churchill revealed to Weizmann the outline of the new plan.²⁵² Apart from wanting to help his friend and the Jewish community, he also wanted to reduce the debilitating conflict between Jews and Arabs in Palestine so that he could concentrate on the focal point of the war: eliminating Hitler.

The plan was based on the partition of Palestine to provide for a Jewish state. The plan proposed that the British Government promote an association of Levant nations, consisting of a Jewish State, a Jerusalem territory (under a British High Commissioner), some three-fifths of Lebanon, and a "Greater Syria" to include Syria itself, Transjordan, southern Lebanon, and the

Arab-inhabited areas of Palestine. That plan demonstrates very clearly that the *mindset* of the British government had not changed one iota. It was still imbued with the self-understanding of the amorphous Christian gel that it was the *right* of the great white Christian powers to carve up territories, to trade people and their resources as they liked, and to remake the map of the world to suit themselves. Churchill told Weizmann that when Hitler had been crushed the Jews would have to be established in the position where they belonged. He had an inheritance left to him by Balfour and he was not going to change. Prompted by Churchill, Atlee indicated that he, too, was committed to the plan.²⁵³ From that moment on, even though many Zionist leaders did not believe that any Western power could be trusted to keep its word, the Arabs were at a distinct disadvantage in any discussions on the future of Palestine because of the Jewish leadership's prior knowledge of the British Government's position.

MOSCOW, CAIRO, TEHERAN AND TOKYO

THE WAR CRIMES DECLARATION

From October 19 to November 3, the Big Three Foreign Ministers met in Moscow as a preliminary to a major heads of government meeting. The Foreign Ministers agreed to a joint statement on war crimes, drafted by Churchill, which was issued in the name of the Big Three. It announced that at the time of any armistice, any military or other persons who were responsible for atrocities, mass executions and massacres which had come to the attention of the Allies would be returned to the countries in which those atrocities had been carried out "to be judged and punished according to the laws of those liberated countries and the free governments which will be erected therein." The psychology behind the drafting of the statement was very interesting. It was exactly the same as that behind the drafting of the *Joint Allied Declaration* on December 17, 1942. The countries in which Nazi slaughters and deportations had occurred were named, but the victims were referred to as 'hostages', 'peasants' or 'officers'. The term 'Jews' was not used at all.²⁵⁴ The people to whom the message was directed were to understand it in human terms without their well ingrained ethnic biases getting in the way. In spite of – or perhaps because of – the Biltmore Conference and the subsequent progressive disclosure of the plight of the Jews, the continuing cover-up of the Jewish Question was still intense. Churchill clearly chose his words as carefully as always in an effort to prevent a spontaneous reaction to the Jewish Question getting in the way, and to avoid readers rebelling against the decision and stepping up the atrocities. But the declaration was aimed at the Axis powers, and those who committed atrocities against humanity would be brought to justice at the end of the war. However the fact that there was still no particular acknowledgment of the importance of 'the Jewish Question'²⁵⁵ did not alleviate the problem. It aggravated it, because efforts to secure alternative areas for either a Jewish Homeland or for large scale Jewish communal settlement were still left strictly in the hands of interested Jewish organizations. Such efforts continued parallel with efforts by the Zionist Organizations to secure Palestine and in spite of the steps

taken in some Zionist quarters to undermine them. In fact that declaration was made only a week or two after Australia's prime minister, John Curtin, advised the Jewish land settlement negotiator, Dr Isaac Steinberg, that: "The Commonwealth Government sympathizes with the serious plight of your people in Europe ... however ... the whole question of immigration into Australia, particularly having regard to the conditions that will exist at the conclusion of hostilities is one that requires to be fully explored from all aspects."²⁵⁶ (See above, p. 22.)

However, beyond its immediate propaganda value a declaration on punishment for war crimes was useless without an investigating agency which could collect the evidence. But that was another matter entirely. Indeed, whatever Churchill's intentions in drafting it, the decision to produce the Moscow Declaration was largely the result of political pressure from European governments-in-exile concerned about Nazi treatment of their own nationals, and certainly not out of any concern for Jewish victims on the part of the Allied governments. As author Tom Bower has shown in his book *Blind Eye to Murder*, memories of the humiliating debacle of botched W.W.I war trials against Germans; lack of credence given to claims of atrocities (particularly concerning Jews); fears of reprisals against Allied POW's; difficulties under existing international law; and fears that the Allies were also breaching the rules of war or that proclamations concerning war crimes would hinder the prospect of surrender negotiations, all at one time or another provided convenient reasons for bureaucratic and political stonewalling to prevent an Allied declaration on war crimes. Now, when a clear declaration of intent to hunt down and prosecute war criminals had been made, the same reasons would be used in an attempt to keep them purely in the realm of good propaganda by bureaucratic buck-passing and the withholding of necessary resources.

It was always an aim of the Allies to deal with the Nazi and fascist leadership, but they were to have been taken care of by political means. Churchill had even taken the trouble to produce a paper for Cabinet dealing with those "major criminals whose notorious offences know no geographical bounds" Churchill's solution for "Hitler and the Mussolini gangs, the Japanese warlords and Quislings" was to list, by agreement, between fifty and one hundred of them and declare them "world outlaws." When any of them were arrested by an Allied soldier, they could be shot within six hours of identification by a major general or above without need for reference to a higher authority. In Churchill's opinion, this would avoid subjecting the British people to a drawn out process of trials and mass executions.²⁵⁷ Cabinet, however, demurred. Churchill's idea not only raised the problematic issue of Hess, whom the Soviets had wanted tried immediately, but it might have been bad for the Allies' image because they were, after all, supposed to be fighting for justice. Only Roosevelt liked the idea. Stalin, obviously with more experience in such matters, insisted on trials.²⁵⁸

The fact that Churchill could raise the issue of war crimes in the context in which he did – and that his colleagues could discuss it in the shallow manner that they did – illustrates another aspect of the parody of *Mein Kampf*. The Allied leaders, perhaps with the exception of Stalin, could still not read themselves into the plot or understand it. Some of the people involved expressed concern at the possibility of a backlash against Allied leaders, but the matter was

dealt with rather superficially and Churchill's attitude makes it clear that he was only concerned with using war crimes legislation as a triumphalist 'victor's weapon' or a means of retribution. He could not see that one person's war crime is another person's reaction against oppression, or a means of imposing one's will on others, or a means of gaining or retaining a position of privilege at the expense of others. He had given no thought to the question of definition, and he had a conveniently short memory for some of the decisions which he and his Allied colleagues had made, and for the effects and consequences of those decisions. We will return to the matter in due course.

POST-WAR COOPERATION

A THREE-POWER PLAN ...

However the issue of war crimes was the least of the concerns facing the Foreign Ministers. Developments which had flowed from the Italian armistice had thrust into the forefront of Allied concerns some basic issues of inter-Allied cooperation. When dealings with the Italians had begun, both Britain and the United States had recognized that the Soviet Union would have to be consulted. As a result the Soviets were informed that they would be kept fully abreast of events in Italy, and were invited by the United States to make suggestions and inquiries.²⁵⁹ However, it soon became clear that they wanted a more substantial role. Suspicious of British and American motives in treating separately with the fascist Badoglio, and no doubt highly sensitive to the political opportunities afforded by military occupation, on August 22 Stalin had instead cabled Roosevelt and Churchill with a proposal for a Three-power military-political commission with direct executive powers to deal with the surrender and occupation of all Axis countries dissociating themselves from Germany. Neither Churchill nor Roosevelt liked the idea. Apart from the political implications of Soviet input, they wanted to avoid any unnecessary complications in what was an already tangled military situation in Italy. Despite their alternative suggestions Stalin was not to be put off and the commission was eventually established in Algiers. However, on the insistence of the Western Allies it was restricted to a purely passive role as a receiver of information.²⁶⁰

Whether or not Stalin ever really intended to allow reciprocal military-political rights when the Red Army's turn came to occupy Germany's allies in Eastern Europe, Britain and the United States were well aware that in freezing the Soviets out of Italy they were handing them a convenient precedent for restricting Western influence in Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary. So when the Foreign Ministers sat down in Moscow there were plenty of issues on the table waiting to be resolved quite apart from the issue of war crimes.

The decisions reached at the conference had far reaching implications at many levels. In relation to Italy, the Soviets ratified the terms of the Italian armistice under which they accepted Anglo-American proposals for an Allied Control Commission which would be the political arm of the military government in Italy and its effective ruling body. Also accepted, however, were

Eden's further proposals that the Three Power military-political commission proposed by the Soviets be transformed into two separate bodies. One would be a tripartite Advisory Council for Italy, and the other a new European Advisory Commission to be established in London to handle questions concerning further surrender terms and to make "recommendations to the three governments upon European questions" connected with the termination of hostilities.²⁶¹

However, since the Advisory Council for Italy was purely that – advisory – and the formal relationship between the Soviets and the Allied Control Commission for Italy was left vague, the Soviets, in ratifying the armistice, had accepted that their influence in Italy was to be negligible at best. For the Soviets, that amounted to both an invitation and a justification to treat the Western powers the same way in Eastern Europe. That result was further reinforced by Eden's refusal to agree to Russian demands that the EAC be given direct executive powers over occupation policy in other liberated countries. As yet, however, neither Britain nor the United States was unduly concerned. Neither expected their troops to be in a position to affect the outcome anyway, and in American eyes at least, armistice negotiations and occupation policy were essentially military matters that could be kept separate from political concerns.²⁶² What was more important was that, having declared Italy a Soviet no-go zone, neither intended to forgo their own political aims in Eastern Europe.

Top of the remaining British agenda was therefore a proposed declaration which would commit the Allies to restoring freedom and self-determination to the enslaved peoples of Europe on the basis of joint rather than separate spheres of responsibility. However, that seemingly even-handed approach, already belied by the Italian situation, was further contradicted by a proposed commitment in the declaration to encourage confederations of states in Eastern and Central Europe. Despite the declaration's assertion that such groupings should not be directed at 'other states' their primary function was obviously to prevent Soviet political domination of the region. An East European Confederation would act as a bulwark against possible Soviet expansion and penetration into Western Europe, as well protect British interests in Greece and the Mediterranean. In effect it would be a revised form of the pre-war 'cordon sanitaire'. Reinforcing those proposals was another which would prohibit the Allies from making any treaties or pacts with smaller states without first consulting each other. That had been prompted by recent treaty negotiations between the Soviets and the head of the exiled Government of Czechoslovakia, Eduard Benes. Any such treaty not only threatened British confederation plans, it was also feared as a possible foundation stone for an exclusive Soviet 'sphere of influence' by easing the way for Soviet domination of Poland. The British thus wanted any treaty between the two to include the London based anti-Soviet Polish Government-in-exile, with whom the Soviets had broken off relations.²⁶³

... OR A FOUR-POWER PLAN?

The Americans, on the other hand, did not wish to discuss detailed commitments in Eastern Europe, or anywhere else for that matter. They were more concerned with the big picture,

believing that gaining a commitment to overall post-war cooperation with the Soviets was necessary before other matters could be considered. Heading Secretary of State Hull's agenda was a proposed "Four-power Declaration" on peace, security and disarmament, which called for the continuance of co-operation for peace and security after the war, the creation of an international organization, and a commitment to bring about general disarmament. In addition, with the prospect of using its vast economic resources as an inducement for such cooperation, proposals for assistance in post-war reconstruction were also tabled. For their part, the Soviets were primarily concerned with military matters. Foremost among them was to gain a firm commitment to the timing of a second front.²⁶⁴

The Soviets received assurances that a cross-channel invasion would occur in the spring of 1944 – though only after their further demands that Sweden and Turkey be pressed into the war had soured the mood somewhat. However, given that Churchill was concerned at the bogged down campaign in Italy and had wanted the cross channel invasion again postponed, that effectively meant that American rather than British ideas on military planning had now come to the forefront of the Anglo-American alliance. That result pointed to profound changes in the nature of the overall Alliance which were also reflected in the political aspects of the conference.

Faced with American opposition or indifference, the remaining British proposals failed to get off the ground. When Molotov quickly made it clear that the Czech treaty was virtually a foregone conclusion, Eden was forced to drop his objections, while lack of American support also helped scuttle two other British initiatives. The first was an attempt to pressure the Russians into resuming relations with the London Poles. The second was a modified proposal on treaties with other smaller powers – though that was also damaged when amendments proposed by the Soviets ensured that it could also be easily turned against Britain if it attempted similar agreements with its own allies, such as Greece. In addition, the one British proposal for which the Americans might have been expected to have some sympathy – the declaration committing the Allies to joint spheres of responsibility for liberated Europe – also failed to attract their support. Of course, the Soviets had no interest in it whatsoever. They were under no illusions about its real intentions. Nor were Hull and the State Department, to whom the inclusion of the confederations clause smacked of a 'balance of power' approach to international politics which their own approach was designed to eliminate altogether.²⁶⁵

In sum, those results of the Moscow conference indicated that British diplomatic efforts had now been forced into a subordinate role, with the primary diplomatic axis between the three Allies now lying between Washington and Moscow. Nevertheless, the British still had hopes for the European Advisory Commission which they wanted to use as a forum for jointly establishing control of both friendly and unfriendly nations, and which might thus enable some bargaining with the Soviets where the two nations' respective interests were at stake, particularly in eastern Europe and the Balkans. However, any such hopes were soon shot to pieces when the Americans moved quickly after the conference to restrict its role. They objected to the fact that it was to be based in London and feared that it would be used to make

political agreements before the war's end. As Secretary of War Henry Stimson put it to Roosevelt, the EAC "would assume additional powers which the British were so evidently anxious to give it, and that as the war went on it would tend, rightly or wrongly, to centre the attention of the world upon London and the seat and direction of the war."²⁶⁶ In other words, it would interfere with US plans for the post-war order, alienate the American public, and threaten the position of the United States as post-war supremo.

In pursuit of the United States' plans Secretary of State Cordell Hull received agreement for the centrepiece of his post-war vision. His Four-Power Declaration was signed, though only after both Britain and the Soviet Union had registered strong objections to the inclusion of the fourth power, China, and the Soviets had managed to remove anything in it that may have restricted their freedom of action in Eastern Europe.²⁶⁷ It read in part:

*[the four governments] recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states, and open to membership by all such states, large and small, for the maintenance of international peace and security.*²⁶⁸

However, a Soviet proposal to set up a Three-Power Commission to discuss the creation of the new organization was rejected. Concerned at the possible reaction of US isolationists, Hull wanted first to prepare the ground thoroughly before any such formal machinery was created.²⁶⁹

In his speech to Congress upon his return he gave an inspiring performance. "As the provisions of the Four Nation Declaration are carried into effect" he grandly declared, "there will no longer be need for spheres of influence, for alliances, for balances of power, or any other of the special arrangements through which, in the unhappy past, nations strove to safeguard their security or to promote their interests."²⁷⁰ If any of those listening had known of Maimonides, it may well have looked as though he was right.

A few, however, suspected the truth. Apart from the glaring inconsistency in the fact that that the US was intent on keeping its own sphere of influence in Latin America and grabbing another in the Pacific – though few in the US would have acknowledged either – the reality was that Hull had little power. It was Roosevelt who called the shots, and he had little time for Hull's plans formulated, in Roosevelt's words, "in the stratosphere."²⁷¹ Already he had told Cardinal Spellman on September 3 that Eastern Europe would simply have to get used to Russian dominance, and that Soviet influence would reach further into Europe.²⁷² The problem was, however, was that no-one had told the American public. They were being led to expect pristine self-determination for Eastern Europe, and they were not going to appreciate being disabused of that notion at all. So as the President prepared for a round of diplomatic meetings with his counterparts in late 1943 in pursuit of his 'Grand Design', he definitely had plenty on his mind to think about. He was not the only one.

WANG'S SINO-JAPANESE TREATY

Japan was determined not to be left out in the cold and on October 30, 1943, while the Big Three Foreign Ministers were having their consultations in Moscow, Wang's China signed a treaty of alliance with Japan in which the two countries agreed to cooperate as equal and independent neighbours in the establishment of Greater East Asia. Japan undertook to withdraw its forces from China when general peace should be restored and the state of war should cease to exist. In a further bid to attract Chiang Kai-shek's attention it renounced its treaty right to station troops in China, and remodeled some of its major authorities in China to present a more Chinese appearance.²⁷³

On the propaganda front Japan argued that there was nothing left to fight over because the misunderstandings between Japan and China which had been fomented by the US and Britain had been resolved by Japan's new policies. And, taking advantage of divided public opinion in the US, Japan urged Chiang Kai-shek to abandon his links with the US and his tenuous united front with the Communists and to join with Japan and Wang Ching-wei against the Communists.^{274]}

In view of Wang's China-Japan Treaty Roosevelt was intent on promoting Chiang Kai-shek's China as the alternative to Japan and as the great Fourth Power occupying one of the permanent seats on the future United Nations executive committee. ²⁷⁵ He was intent on ensuring that Chiang and the Kuomintang controlled China after the war, irrespective of the corruption and chaos, hoarding, black-marketing and trading with the enemy which the American commander in China, General Stilwell, saw as its hallmarks.²⁷⁶ He was also intent on strengthening political and economic links between the US and China at the expense of Britain and the other European powers.

Chiang Kai-shek, taking full advantage of such powerful backing, pressed for the diversion of Allied forces from the European theatre to the Asian theatre to reopen a supply route to China through Burma. At the same time Churchill had to cope with the failure of the Anglo-Russian effort to persuade Turkey to break its neutrality and to permit Allied operations from its territory. Muslim Turkey's agreement would have greatly strengthened Britain's position in the Middle East, taking some of the sting out of the Arab opposition to its Middle East policies, and it would have ensured Allied access to Russia from the Mediterranean while forcing Germany to divert more of its effort to the Balkans.²⁷⁷

ROOSEVELT'S CHINESE CHECKMATE

When the British and American delegations, totalling well over 500 persons, assembled in Cairo on November 21, 1943 for the next major conference Churchill received a rude shock. Unknown to him, Roosevelt had invited Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and, much to Churchill's annoyance, Chinese affairs dominated the early stages of the conference. Churchill recorded his displeasure later, writing:

The talks of the British and American staffs were sadly distracted by the Chinese story which was lengthy, complicated and minor. Moreover ... the President, who took an exaggerated view of the Indian-Chinese sphere, was soon closeted in long conferences with the Generalissimo. All hope of persuading Chiang and his wife to go and see the Pyramids and enjoy themselves till we returned from Teheran fell to the ground, with the result that Chinese business occupied first instead of last place at Cairo.²⁷⁸

Roosevelt's concern was understandable, however, because the Japanese were continuing to push their policy of reconciliation with China and their diplomatic efforts to prise Chiang Kai-shek away from the United States. Since the diplomatic manoeuvring in January aimed at ending the war with China, Japan had persuaded Vichy France to give up its rights in the French concession and had continued the transfer of powers and territory to the Nanking Government. Further indications of the direction of their diplomatic offensive came on October 14 when they declared the Philippines to be an Independent Republic. From the point of view of international recognition it did not matter that the new Philippines government was dominated by Japanese in executive positions. It had a Philippine Executive Committee, or cabinet, and a state council which included most of the former politicians. It had entered into an alliance with Japan which declared that each country would respect the other's independence and territory – and it had eliminated the authority of the United States. The US had dominated the country since 1898 but it had actually passed the Philippine Independence Act in 1934 and independence had been due to take effect in March 1944.

From Cairo, Roosevelt and Churchill went to Teheran for discussions with Stalin at the beginning of November – without Chiang Kai-shek. The relationship between the three competing governments in China and their allies and enemies was just too complex. Although Chiang Kai-shek had a good relationship with Stalin and had actually received more material aid from Russia for the war with Japan than Mao Tse-tung, he was bitterly opposed to Mao Tse-tung's Communists and was at war with Japan while Russia was not.²⁷⁹ But Churchill had to face another round of intrigue as Roosevelt sought to exclude him and the British delegation from some key talks with Stalin and the Russians, and his antagonism towards the British Empire came more and more into the open. Roosevelt very bluntly told Churchill that he (Roosevelt) was better able to handle Stalin than any officials of either the British Foreign Office or his own State Department. He also told the US Ambassador to Moscow that Stalin wanted nothing except security for his own people, that if he gave the Soviet Premier everything he asked for and sought nothing in return that "he won't try to annex anything and will work for a world of democracy and peace." He then proceeded to tell Stalin, in private, that his ideas on the conduct of the war and the structure for peace did not entirely coincide with Churchill's. Stalin grasped Roosevelt's wish to appear independent of Churchill's influence, which he proceeded to stimulate and exploit.²⁸⁰

The symptoms of this parting of the ways had been apparent for some time. In fact, as we have seen, the alliance partners within the amorphous Christian gel were only drawn together and held together by self interest and the United States had used its position of strength to

impose conditions on its support for Britain as each major phase of the war unfolded, right from the beginning. Of special note were the conditions attached to Lend-Lease aid, support for Britain's Far East policy, and the United Nations statement. Then there was a distinct tightening of the reins and an even more definite move towards pursuit of *America's* aims rather than *joint* aims after Churchill's intransigence over British control of India. It was as if Roosevelt was then saying to Churchill: "You've done your dash. We are going to control Asia, not you!" There was the mechanism which the US used to provoke Japan into the fateful expansion of its area of Far East operations knowing very well that it was the only country which could stop it; Roosevelt's independent negotiations with Ibn Saud; his invitation to Chiang Kai-shek to the big power meeting without consulting Churchill; and now his deliberate exclusion of Churchill from critical talks with Stalin. This pattern should not have been a surprise because, after all, both Churchill and Roosevelt were under no illusions that the British government had been trying to coerce the United States into the war to prop up its own position of imperial privilege which the United States objected to.

Among a host of matters dealt with by the Big Three jointly, the fate of Germany after its unconditional surrender was discussed at some length. But another major issue, the shape of a post war international organization, was discussed in private between Stalin and Roosevelt, who chose not to represent Churchill's views in full. This became a matter of some irritation to Churchill. Concerning Germany: Stalin wished to see it split up; Roosevelt proposed a series of five independent states and two United Nations trust territories with a system of international control such that they could never re-combine to form a threatening power; and Churchill expressed reservations about the consequences of such a plan. But no firm position was reached.²⁸¹ Concerning the new world body: Roosevelt proposed that the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and China should become, jointly, the world's 'four policemen'. Stalin did not support him, saying that the smaller countries of Europe would not welcome the concept and that China may not be an appropriate choice. He could have said it ran counter to the much vaunted *Atlantic Charter*. However he said he preferred a two-committee system: one for Europe, comprised of Britain, the Soviet Union, the United States and possible one additional European country; and one for the Far East.²⁸² Churchill's outline plan, which he had discussed quite widely in May 1943, was based on three regional bodies, one for each of Europe, the Americas, and the Pacific. Rotating representatives of each region, always including Roosevelt's 'big three' or 'big four', would together form a Supreme World Council which would deal with matters of concern to more than one region. The regions could form sub-regions or confederations as appropriate.²⁸³

Such differences in approach among the leaders was only to be expected. What is significant about this exchange lies more in the fact that the views of the three shared so much in common. In spite of his insistence that colonialism had to end, that empires had to be dismantled, and that countries such as India had to be represented in their own right and not through an imperial power, Roosevelt was no more concerned to have representation from smaller or emerging countries in the executive body than either Churchill or Stalin. He was just as comfortable with

the ideas that ‘big is beautiful’ and ‘might is right’. Indeed, that was exactly the basis on which Roosevelt’s Grand Design was supposed to work, and securing the other crucial element of that design, cooperation with the Soviets, provided the major aim of the remainder of Roosevelt’s private discussions with Stalin.

In return for an assurance of the Soviet Union’s 1941 borders, including incorporation of the Baltic States, plus an unspecified western shift of Polish frontiers and the end of British-backed East European plans for a pan-Danubian confederation, which was also the favoured plan of the Vatican, Stalin indicated to Roosevelt that the setting up of new Communist regimes in Europe was in effect no longer on the agenda.²⁸⁴ To the Americans present, banking on the prospect of post-war cooperation between East and West, it seemed that “a new day had dawned” in international relations.²⁸⁵ However, simply carving up a bit of other people’s territory in exchange for a promise to suspend the exportation of revolution was not going to secure international peace and cooperation. There was still the question of Germany, the answer to which would have a great deal of bearing on Soviet security interests in eastern Europe. There was also the Italian precedent, which meant that the Soviets were not likely to tolerate any Western interference in their plans for Eastern Europe when their turn soon came to play the part of occupier. And there was the atomic bomb.

Unfortunately, the rest of the conference did nothing to improve the picture. Stripped to their basics, the remaining decisions of the Big Three’s conference were an agreement that the cross-channel invasion, Overlord, would be launched concurrently with a big push by Russia on the eastern front; that Turkey would be pressed to enter the war but Britain would not open a new front in the Balkans because Russia could handle that region from its own resources; and that Russia would enter the war against Japan soon after Germany was defeated. Those decisions certainly took some domestic political pressure off Roosevelt and enabled him to concentrate on the defeat of Hitler before turning the full force of the United States against Japan.²⁸⁶ However, linked to the demand for unconditional surrender they had a number of effects which few people anticipated. They ensured that the Soviet Union would be the dominant European power after the war, uninhibited by alien military forces in Eastern Europe which could have provided a counterweight to their presence. They ensured that the church – essentially the Vatican acting in collusion with the Western Alliance – would provide the basis of political opposition within the sphere of Soviet influence. And they also ensured that the Soviet Union would share in the spoils of the Pacific War; that because of the need to divert resources to Overlord, relief for Nationalist China would be delayed; and that, as a result, post war relationships in that region would be aggravated. In due course each of these issues would bring more pressure to bear to stimulate re-assessment of one aspect or another of the trouble in the triangle.

AN ALTERNATIVE SET OF PRINCIPLES

In the meantime, while the ‘Big Three’ and Chiang Kai-shek were conferring in Cairo and Teheran, Japan was hosting its own conference on post-war Asia. The most distinguished of the

indigenous leaders whom Japan had appointed in the ‘liberated’ countries of Asia and the Pacific were invited to the Greater East Asia Conference in Tokyo. The conference drew up a *Declaration of Principles*, which was published as Asia’s answer to the ‘meaningless’ *Atlantic Charter*, which stated that stability and common prosperity for the people of Greater East Asia should be ensured through mutual cooperation. Countries in the region should respect one another’s sovereignty and independence and practice mutual assistance and amity. They should respect one another’s traditions, develop their creative facilities and accelerate economic development through close cooperation on the basis of reciprocity. And the countries of Greater East Asia should cultivate friendly relations with all the countries of the world and work for the abolition of racial discrimination, the promotion of cultural intercourse and the opening of resources throughout the world.²⁸⁷

The statement on Japan which was issued jointly by the United States, Britain and China following the Teheran Conference – and which had been cleared by Stalin – was their response to both the East Asian *Declaration of Principles* and Wang’s treaty with Japan of October 30, 1943. The three Allies declared that Japan would be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War; all territories “stolen from the Chinese” such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores, would be restored to the Republic of China; and Japan would be “expelled” from all other territories taken by violence and greed. They also declared that “mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea” they were determined that in due course Korea would become free and independent.²⁸⁸ But they gave no indication of who would govern the former colonies and other “territories taken by violence and greed” after the Japanese had been expelled. Neither did they mention that the Big Three had already had preliminary discussions about Russia’s territorial claims in the east, or that this may involve the partition of Korea. They were very touchy issues, and would eventually lead to quite a few more wars as indigenous communities sought to prevent a return to European colonial rule or unification of their divided countries, each of which would be represented by the Western Powers as either rebel guerrilla actions against legitimate governments or as Communist inspired takeovers. The New Order for Greater East Asia was to be suppressed at all costs, irrespective of declarations of high sounding principles of equality and cooperation.

The Allied declarations on Japan and Korea therefore sat uneasily alongside yet another declaration issued by the Big Three on December 1, 1943, at the end of the Teheran Conference. It read:

We recognize fully the supreme responsibility resting upon us and all the United Nations to make a peace which will command the goodwill of the overwhelming masses of the peoples of the world and banish the scourge and terror of war for many generations. [171]

A CHANGE OF COURSE IN GERMANY ...

Few people could have doubted the course of the war when, acting on Hitler’s instructions, Himmler made a statement on the final solution on January 26, 1944, going beyond the

restricted audience of the SS for the first time. A wave of applause swept the auditorium when he assured an audience of 260 high ranking army and navy officers that Hitler had given him a mission of extermination and the Jewish question had been solved.²⁸⁹ But in another place, on the same day, there was deathly silence when Hitler gave his naval and military chiefs a review of Nazi philosophy and then told them that all was not well. He said:

*“If it is the will of the Almighty that this should end in catastrophe for the German people, then you, my generals and admirals, must gather around me with upraised swords to fight to the last drop of blood for the honor of Germany.”*²⁹⁰

Hitler already knew that there were officers gathered around him with swords upraised: upraised for a different purpose. The Free Germany movement and the anti-Hitler movement had already come to his notice and security around him had been tightened. It is reasonable to assume that the knowledge of intrigues to seek an armistice and plots to assassinate him was a major factor behind his drive to enforce his final solution. He had said earlier in his political career that he feared that something might prevent him from fulfilling his primary mission: the elimination of the Jews which the church had failed to achieve. In addition his conviction that the rest of the world didn't care what happened to the Jews and his resolve to exterminate them had been strengthened by the failure of the Bermuda Refugee Conference.²⁹¹ He now demanded absolute loyalty and submission, telling his service chiefs: “I say, gentleman, that is the way it actually must be!” But the plotting continued and Allied pressure on all fronts of both theatres of war increased.

With German defences holding better than expected, Allied bombing of Rome increased. In response, in an effort to bring pressure to bear on the Allies through the Pope, the Fascists bombed the Vatican. It worked. The Pope appealed again to the Allies to stop the bombing and to give Rome special consideration as they had Athens and Cairo. But he also refused an invitation from Hitler to move to Berlin or to accept asylum elsewhere. Instead he called for special Marian prayers for Rome. Roosevelt described the continued occupation of Rome by the Germans as an affront to all religion – but the Allies continued to bomb monasteries and other church facilities, both in Rome and elsewhere, in which there may have been targets. These included the Abbey of Monte Cassino, which took one of the heaviest bombardments of any building in the war. Almost 1,000 tonnes of bombs and 195,000 rounds of artillery were aimed at the abbey before the infantry attacked. Allied deaths included more than 1,000 Indians, 863 New Zealanders and 96 other troops (hit by off-target Allied bombs) and the German garrison still held out.²⁹² They also included Castel Gondolfo where there were no Germans, but in which 500 refugees died.

The Pope had little reason to feel hardly done by. There was still to be no special consideration for the Jewish community either. In December, 1943, Eden had again scuttled the US State Department's refugee rescue plan because of “difficulties of disposing of a considerable number of Jews.” (See above, p. 36) Now, in January 1944, when Roosevelt authorized the establishment of a war refugee board to negotiate asylum for Nazi-persecuted

minorities in Europe, the response was little different. The board's only success was to persuade the British Government to permit a few thousand Soviet Jewish refugee children who had been interned in wretched conditions in Turkey to enter Palestine.²⁹³ The government's motive in granting that permission was clearly political rather than humanitarian. Russia was a partner in the war and Britain was using every means it possibly could to induce Turkey to enter the war also and to provide vital air force bases. Those refugee children were very convenient pawns which might score a few good behaviour points for Britain from each of Russia, Turkey and the Zionist lobby.

... ELECTION COMMITMENTS IN THE US

Although large scale rescue was still not achievable, steadily improving prospects for a quick Allied victory had helped to raise Zionist expectations of success in the campaign for a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine. But the leaders of the movement were well aware that American support was the key to success and they became more determined to gain that support by direct political action. To that end both major political parties, Democrats and Republicans, were persuaded to include pro-Zionist statements in their platforms for the 1944 election campaigns and it was arranged that a bipartisan resolution of support would be introduced in both houses of Congress early in 1944. It read:

The United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

Public hearings by the House Committee on Foreign Relations began early in February under the chairmanship of Sol Bloom, a recognized Zionist spokesperson in the House of Representatives. At the same time the American Zionist Emergency Committee made sure that Congressmen received a deluge of letters and telegrams from members of the public in support of the resolution.²⁹⁴

Congressional consideration of such a resolution clearly ran counter to the Anglo-American understanding that nothing would be done to determine the future of Palestine until after the war, and relations between the British Foreign Office and the State Department, which was clearly embarrassed, were strained. Tensions in the British cabinet were also aggravated by the fact that Churchill had broken cabinet confidence by telling Weizmann of the government's plans. In the United States, however, the delicacy of the situation was compounded by a different factor. Early in January 1944 the PRC had released the preliminary report of a high level investigation into the oil potential of Saudi Arabia and adjacent countries. The report showed that the reserves of the area were enormous and that because of the low cost of production, if free market forces were left to determine the pattern of exploitation, the centre of gravity of world oil production would move from the Gulf of Mexico-Caribbean region to the Persian Gulf and the Middle East. Then on February 6, just as the public hearings on the

Palestine resolution began, the PRC announced proposals for the US Government to finance, construct, own and maintain an oil pipeline from the oil fields of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, on the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. The line was to be operated in conjunction with, and rented by, the Gulf Exploration Company and the Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco), the joint Texas/Standard Oil of California subsidiary which had been renamed from Casoc only a week earlier.²⁹⁵

The issues involved in the plan were complex. Very complex. Although the proposal was made in the name of the PRC it was the brainchild of Standard Oil of California, Gulf and the Texas Oil Company, the three oil companies which were set to benefit from it in a host of ways. They would gain cheaper production and transport, with between \$US100 million and \$US200 million in capital provided by US taxpayers instead of the companies. The US government would have been even more firmly committed to intervention, either on their behalf or otherwise, in the affairs of the countries involved and especially in the delicate negotiations for rights of way and terminal facilities. The companies would have stolen a march on the British government and British oil companies in the race for future concessions and, at least as important to them, they would walk away from their American competitors with unlimited supplies of cheap oil close to the major markets of Europe and Asia. From the US government's point of view the plan secured access to oil for the war, and for future wars, in much the way that its abortive attempt to buy control of Casoc (Aramco) would have done. It would conserve oil supplies in, or adjacent to, continental USA. It would ensure a dominant position for the United States in all foreseeable international energy discussions. It would tighten relations between the US government and each of the governments of the region and it would also ensure that the US was a key player in sorting out the territorial claims and the politics of the region after the war. And all of these things would be achieved at the expense of Britain.

But the rest of the American oil industry didn't see the plan the same way. They were not keen to see three companies gain such advantages at their expense and they had some strong arguments to back up their case. Reserves in the United States were such that the nation did not need those in the Middle East. Its bid was contrary to the *Atlantic Charter*, it would bring the country into conflict with Britain, and it would become enmeshed in the affairs of the politically turbulent Middle East. The pipeline would be indefensible in time of war and the need for US military commitments would increase the danger to US security and threaten world peace. On one hand it was a fascist proposal, while on the other hand it was communist. And that was the point which really exposed the industry's motives. The companies, including the three which stood to gain from the plan, did not want the US government to be privy to highly confidential industry marketing arrangements or to be in a position to influence or participate in future investment. If the US government became involved in such things in the name of the national interest it would legitimize intervention, control of production and distribution, and ownership of resources by any government in any country. The industry had fought that one before. It didn't want to do so again, and on March 22, 1944, the Petroleum War Industry Council, which consisted of 55 companies, adopted a resolution demanding that the government stay out of the

oil industry and pursue an open door policy for private enterprise. Only the three companies involved in the plan voted against the resolution.²⁹⁶

Although it was under intense pressure the government held its course. It had to tread a minefield in the pipeline route negotiations at the same time that it worked through two years of strained negotiations with Britain to gain agreement for a larger share of Middle East oil for the US and while the two countries fought the war in Europe and Asia together. Eventually, in February 1945, six months after the US administration had agreed to drop the project, the companies let it be known that they would finance the pipeline themselves. It finally disgorged oil at Sidon in November 1949.

But as the pipeline row erupted around them in February 1944 both Hull and the Secretary for War, Stimson, feared that it would become caught up in the Palestine debate in Congress. They were right. Protests were received from the governments of Egypt, Iraq and Lebanon as well as from King Ibn Saud and the Imam Yahya of Yemen. Roosevelt hastened to assure them that it was still American government policy that there would be no change to the status of Palestine without full consultation with both Arabs and Jews. Stimson told the Senate Foreign Relations chairman that the passing of the Zionist resolution could have dangerous repercussions in an area of vital military interest to the US, and he wrote to the House committee chairman that unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine “would be prejudicial to the successful prosecution of the war.”²⁹⁷ General Marshall testified, in secret, to similar effect.²⁹⁸

The resolution was shelved and Roosevelt gave approval for the release of the previously agreed Anglo-American statement on non-recognition of any change brought about in Palestine by force. But when word of its impending release reached Zionist leaders Roosevelt was again under pressure to change course. At a meeting with Rabbis Wise and Silver on March 9 he authorized them to announce that the US government had never given its approval for the British *White Paper*. When a decision was reached in the future, he said, justice would be done to those who sought a Jewish national home, an idea for which the American government and people had always had the deepest sympathy.²⁹⁹

Reaction in the Arab world was swift, with riots breaking out in Damascus, Homs and Jerusalem. The State Department sought to hose down the trouble with notes to its heads of missions in the Middle East stating that the US position was as Roosevelt had privately advised Ibn Saud and that there would be no change without consultation with Arabs and Jews.³⁰⁰ But the die had been cast. Roosevelt had emulated Britain with its World War I *Balfour Declaration*. He had made conflicting promises to Arabs and Jews, and his fundamental motive had been the same: to secure a strategy for the control of oil resources.

The Zionist response to Roosevelt’s statement was to apply still more pressure to Britain. There had been a lull in terrorism for about two years while the war was at a critical stage in North Africa and the Middle East but by the end of 1943 the military units linked to the Jewish

Agency in Palestine (unlike Hull, Stimson and Marshall) were confident that any disruption they caused would not prejudice the defeat of Germany.

In November 1943 twenty leaders of the Stern Gang had escaped from prison and rejoined the only group which had continued its terrorist program right through the war. Then in December the small, extremist Irgun, or Etzel, came under the command of Menachim Begin who set about recruiting and rebuilding that unit.³⁰¹ Begin, a Polish-born lawyer, had been arrested in Soviet Lithuania in 1941 for Zionist activities and imprisoned in a Siberian labor camp. But having displayed exceptional courage among anti-Semitic convicts he was released after a year to join the allied Polish Army. When the Poles were stationed in Palestine in 1943 he was among those who deserted to join the Jewish para-military units.³⁰² The Irgun's return to terrorism was spectacular. It blew up a number of government offices and police stations, captured a sizable haul of arms and temporarily occupied the government radio station in Ramallah. Weizmann was so concerned that he wrote to the London Times expressing grief, horror and indignation at the Jewish terrorism.³⁰³ But the peak of the Stern Gang's atrocities was still some months away. In the meantime there were two developments which had the potential to change the course of the war, the fate of the remaining Jewish population in Europe, and medium or long term international relations. One involved Japan, China, the United States and the war in the Pacific. It was undermined or, at best, ignored. The other involved a new twist to the administration of Hitler's atrocities in Europe, specifically, in Hungary. Both situations provided opportunities for the Allies to think carefully about their attitudes to the final solution and their demands for unconditional surrender by both Japan and Germany. First, Japan.

JAPAN TRIES ANOTHER TACK

As we have already noted, Japan had recognized the lunacy of continuing a war of mass destruction at an early stage. When it had achieved the occupation of those areas of the Pacific and East Asia which were basic to its plan for a New Order in Asia the Emperor had instructed the government to seek an end to the war and, in line with its alliances, the government had proposed to Germany a joint approach to the Western Alliance. That approach had been rebuffed, twice. [See above, this chapter, pp. 16 & 17.] By the beginning of 1944 the government recognized quite clearly that it had long since lost the initiative, that it was facing defeat and – as it still held the same view that a destructive war for the sake of war was pointless – it had decided that a unilateral approach to the Western Alliance through a third party for a negotiated peace was the way to proceed. Late in 1943 it had already agreed to an exchange via the 'neutral' territory of Portuguese Goa of a small group of 'disloyal' Japanese Americans interned in the US for 15,000 American citizens interned in Shanghai but in spite of appeals by the World Jewish Congress for the inclusion of some of the Shanghai refugees in that exchange Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, refused. However at that time Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau relaxed controls on the transfer of funds to persons in enemy occupied

territory and in March 1944 the flow of relief funds from New York to the Shanghai Ghetto began again after a long break with the transfer of \$US25,000 in Swiss Franks.³⁰⁴ Thus, although it recognized the failure of its Fugu Plan the Japanese government was well aware of the centrality of the Jewish Question to the conduct of the war and it saw a window of opportunity for an approach to the United States through its small but significant Jewish community.

About that time Colonel Tsugio Sekiguchi, an adviser to the Prime Minister Tojo, called on Dr. Karl Kindermann, told him that Japan was ready for ‘compromise’ (an armistice), that the government had tried different ways to contact Washington “but they have refused to speak to us” and sought Kindermann’s cooperation, asking that he meet with Admiral Nakamura at Dairen. On his arrival in Dairen a few days later Nakamura outlined to Kindermann a revised Fugu Plan and asked that he relay it to Jewish leaders in New York and through them to the President as the starting point for peace negotiations. Nakamura admitted that the Jews at Shanghai were suffering more as the war progressed but noted that the Nazis had applied intense pressure for them to be ‘dealt with’, which Japan had resisted. Japan admired the Jewish intelligence, he said, and hoped for their cooperation in building a better society after the war. As a starting point the twenty thousand Jews in Shanghai would be moved from their present terrible conditions to a Jewish State in Manchukuo where they would be guaranteed everything necessary for a good life. The clear implication was that settlement would be totally unrestricted and that all of Europe’s refugees would be welcome. Japan asked that in return the Jewish community in the United States, ‘recognizing the sincerity of the Japanese approach’ should use its influence to persuade President Roosevelt to enter peace negotiations.

Kindermann wrote again to Stephen Wise who Tokayer describes in *The Fugu Plan* [New York: Paddington Press, 1979] as “still president of the American Jewish Congress and adviser to FDR” and encouraged his interest in the plan. However Wise totally opposed it, as he had in 1940. Replying to Kindermann he wrote: “My heart is bleeding when I see what the Japanese have done in other territories. ... The Jewish Congress in America will not enter any negotiations with Japan without the consent of the State Department.”³⁰⁵

However the Japanese government did not give up. Shortly afterwards a group of officers visited the small Jewish community at Tientsin, near Peking, led by Zelig Belokamen, to enquire about their circumstances and whether they were happy with the treatment they received from the Japanese authorities. They said they were. Then, some time later, about mid 1944, they were advised that high ranking officers wished to meet them again during a formal visit. On that occasion Belokamen and his colleagues were told by Colonel Tomiaki Hidaka that “this senseless war” in which Jews, Americans and Japanese were all being killed had been going on too long. They were asked to broadcast to their colleagues in the United States to tell them that Jews were not mistreated under Japanese rule and to ask them to use their “great influence” on the President so that “perhaps an arrangement can be made to bring this war to an end.” Belokamen responded that he would broadcast if the Japanese government was sure that was the best course. But he warned that such a broadcast may take the US by surprise, give the

impression that Japan was in a weak position, and result in the strength and fury of the American attacks being increased. The officers conferred, left and no more was heard of that request. But several other attempts were made to establish a working contact with the US government through the Jewish community, but all to no avail.³⁰⁶

In reviewing the development and the rejection of the Fugu Plan Tokayer says that in spite of their research Japanese officials were never able to comprehend certain crucial features of the Jewish situation. That is certainly the case. But it is equally certain that the Christians of Europe and America have never grasped them either. If they had done so, the trouble in the triangle would not have developed in the way that it has. And given the historically short period since Europe and America forced themselves onto Japan and its quite different religious mindset it is hardly surprising that the Japanese misread the situation. Tokayer goes on to say that the most important feature of the Jewish situation which the Japanese failed to grasp was that:

... the American Jewish community considered its ties to its political family, America, at least as strong as its ties to its religious family in Europe. Not understanding this, the executors of the Fugu Plan did not understand, for example, that when they made their proposal to Rabbi Stephen Wise in the winter of 1939, they were confronting not only the principal leader of American Jewry but a Jew whose loyalty to and love for the United States was almost Biblical in its intensity. Had they recognized this and approached him accordingly, the outcome of the Wise meeting, and of the Fugu Plan itself, might have been very different.³⁰⁷

So might the final devastating year of the Holocaust. Quite clearly, if the war in the Pacific had ended with a negotiated peace early in 1944 the war in Europe would *not* have run its course, either because of the mass of resources which would have been released to direct against Germany or because support for Hitler would have dissolved around him. Given the desperate situation of the Jews in Europe at the beginning of 1944 and what was then well established about Hitler's genocide program, and given also the very complex circumstances since the beginning of the century and the way in which both religious and political leadership of the Jewish community had shifted from continentally Europe and were divided between Britain and the United States, Tokayer's description of its 'ties' in the early 1940s is interesting. However the factor which he does not mention is the Zionist Movement's determination to secure Palestine, its growing dependence on the United States to achieve that, and the way in which that objective would have been undermined if it had accepted the offer of a homeland in Manchukuo either on the first offer or the second. Love of America, its religious freedom, its lack of anti-Semitism compared with Europe, and its economic opportunities were all linked and were all important, but its capacity to deliver Palestine as a Jewish State is what really counted.

THE HUNGARIAN EXPERIENCE

Hungary's role in the war had been something of an enigma. It had been coerced into supporting Hitler's conquest of Yugoslavia and Greece in March 1941 by the offer of

Yugoslavia's Backa province, and together with Germany it had declared war on Russia in June that year to enjoy its share of the expected spoils.³⁰⁸ The government then cooperated in Hitler's plan for the liquidation of the Jews to a limited extent, agreeing to the deportation of 150,000 captive Transylvanian Jews but refusing to deport the 550,000 who were Hungarian-born.³⁰⁹ The initial deportation in August 1941 involved about 23,600 persons. When they arrived at their destination the German civil authorities said they could not handle them and asked the Hungarian government to take them back. It refused. They were then marched to a series of bomb craters outside Kamenets Podolsk and mown down by machine gun fire in batches over three days.

Four months later Hungary became totally engulfed in the war when Britain declared war on each of Hitler's partners in the invasion of Russia and it was forced into total collaboration with Germany. Then, in September 1942 Ribbentrop instructed all German embassies to negotiate the deportation of Jews from across Europe including the independent collaborating countries.³¹⁰ Much to Hitler's annoyance the Hungarian government still refused to deport its 'native-born' Jews, but his opportunity to enforce it came in March 1944. The imminent Russian occupation of Hungary made it necessary for Germany to act first.

Eichmann and his henchmen met on March 10 to plan the systematic deportation of nearly three quarters of a million Jews from Hungary. Hitler summoned the Regent, Admiral Horthy, on March 18 to order him to appoint a new Nazi government, to accept German control of Hungary's resources and industry, and to agree to the Eichmann plan. German troops occupied the country two days later.³¹¹ But deportations didn't begin immediately. The papal nuncio, Angelo Rotta, personally made frequent representations to cabinet ministers on behalf of the Jewish community from about March 23 and he seems to have been successful in achieving some reconsideration of the order.³¹² At the same time the US War Refugee Board pleaded with Pius XII, through his Apostolic Delegate in Washington, to intercede. There is no indication that he did. Eichmann's patience was being severely tested. He took personal charge of the 'final solution' in Hungary and in April a representative of the Hungarian Jewish Rescue Committee, Joel Brandt, was summoned to a meeting with him. Brandt was told that all of Hungary's Jews would be permitted to leave the country provided the Allies supplied Germany with 10,000 trucks, 1,000 tons of coffee and 1,000 tons of soap. Eichmann said the first 100,000 Jews could leave for Spain or anywhere else *except Palestine* immediately the first ten percent of the goods had been delivered. He had, he said, promised his friend the Mufti that they would not go to Palestine. Brandt and his colleagues on the Jewish Rescue Committee played for time while they considered what to do and whether Eichmann's offer was serious.

Early in May, 1944, they learned that he was when two Slovak Jews escaped from Auschwitz and reported that the death camps were being prepared to process Hungary's Jews. Their report reached the papal nuncio in Istanbul, Monsignor Angelo Roncalli (later Pope John XXIII) and he relayed it to the Vatican and thence to Washington.³¹³ Deportation soon began at the rate of 12,000 persons per day. Then on May 13 Eichmann sent Brandt by German courier plane to Turkey to convey the offer of "blood for goods" to British and Jewish representatives.³¹⁴ When

the Jewish Agency officials in Istanbul said they had no authority to negotiate he left by train for Palestine, only to be taken into custody at Aleppo by the British and, after interrogation, to be sent to Cairo. Discussions with Jewish, American and British officials on whether the offer was genuine and its implications for the war effort dragged on. Lord Moyne is said to have asked what he would do with a million Jews, and Churchill is said to have been interested but “disbelieving” and concerned that the material Eichmann demanded was “too precious to be turned over to the Nazis.”

The British authorities then publicly denounced the offer as a “brazen attempt to blackmail His Majesty’s Government” and then denied permission for two emissaries of the Jewish Agency to fly to Portugal to pursue the matter with German agents, but Rotta continued his appeals with a strongly worded note to the Hungarian government on May 15. Weizmann then demanded that both the railway from Hungary to Poland and Auschwitz itself be bombed, but his demand was refused.^{315 316 317 318} On May 26 Harold Tittmann, then resident in the Vatican, begged Pius XII to remind the Hungarian authorities of the moral implications of “mass murder of helpless men, women and children.”³¹⁹ At last, on June 25, Pius XII cabled President Horthy asking him to “use all possible influence in order to stop the *suffering and torments* which countless people are undergoing simply because of their *nationality or their race*.” Who was he talking about? No mention of ‘murder’ or ‘gassing’ or ‘genocide’, only “suffering and torments”, and no mention of ‘Jew’ or ‘religion’, only “nationality (they were actually Hungarian) or race.” It was a re-run of his pathetic Christmas message. However next day, June 26, Roosevelt sent a message to the Hungarian government, via Switzerland, demanding that it stop deportations of Jews immediately or suffer the consequences. Horthy told the Crown Council the same day that the “cruelties of the deportations” were to be stopped immediately and four days later he cabled Pius XII to confirm that he was doing all in his power “to make prevail the demands of the Christian humanitarian principles.” However Eichmann had his way and deportations continued until July 9 when the final tally was 434,000 Hungarian Jews shipped to Auschwitz and murdered, and Hungary was well on its way to being free of Jews anyway.^{320 321 322 323 324} The only bright spot in the whole sordid story is that Roncalli either ignored or reversed the Vatican ruling that there were to be no Maranos-style baptisms and issued thousands of baptismal certificates to Jews who were known to be slated for deportation.³²⁵

Horthy’s regime was overthrown by the Nazis on October 15 and he was arrested two days later. On November 2, as Soviet troops approached the capital, Eichmann ordered that the remaining 200,000 Jews be moved to a concentration camp at Strasshof, near Vienna. By December 7 Soviet troops were within 25 miles of the capital, Budapest, but, because of Hitler’s determination that it should be held, the Russians did not gain effective control of the city until February 15, 1945.

Whatever they thought of the genuineness of Eichmann’s “blood for goods” offer, the fact that the British authorities turned it into a propaganda opportunity instead of the means of opening discussions on a possible armistice suggests that they were more interested in

prosecuting the war to its brutal and dehumanizing unconditional surrender ending on all fronts than in saving lives – irrespective of religion or nationality. The incident had all the hallmarks of an attempt to open peace negotiations and it must be presumed that Eichmann was either acting on Himmler's authority or in collaboration with another person of ministerial rank. It is therefore no wonder that Zionist pressure on both Britain and the United States for the designation of Palestine as a National Home for Jews increased still further. But in view of the coincidence of the two events, (Germany's offer of the negotiated release of three quarters of a million Jews, and Japan's offer of a Jewish State in Manchukuo for which draft plans for a settlement of that number of people already existed), the motives and judgement of the people involved in both decisions are called into serious question.

SIGNS OF A CHANGE OF HEART

While Eichmann was pressing the Allies to find out just how much they loved their Jewish neighbours, Pius XII was pressing the world to adopt a bit more Mariology. On May 4, 1944, he ordered that the *Feast of the Immaculate Heart of Mary* be observed throughout the church to obtain Mary's intercession for "peace among nations, freedom for the church, the conversion of sinners, the love of purity and the practice of virtue."³²⁶ That feast might just as well have been announced as a bid to drive the theological wedge between Rome and the Protestant churches of Europe just a little bit deeper and to remind the Jews and the Muslims that they were on the wrong side of the salvation fence.

However he showed a welcome change of heart and a streak of understanding of the people of the non-European world whom he sought to bring within the Roman Catholic fold when he addressed the directors of Pontifical Missions. He said:

*the specific character, the traditions, the customs of each nation must be preserved intact, so long as they are not in contradiction with the divine law. The missionary is an apostle of Jesus Christ. His task is not to propagate European civilization in mission lands, like a tree which is transposed to foreign soil. Rather it is his function so to train and guide other peoples, some of whom glory in their ancient and refined civilization, as to prepare and dispose them for the willing and hearty acceptance of the principles of Christian life and behaviour. These principles, moreover, are compatible with any wholesome and healthy civilization whatever and can imbue it with a keener zest for the protection of human dignity and the attainment of happiness.*³²⁷

That address showed a dramatic shift in understanding and attitude since the International Missionary Display and Summi Pontificatus. The church had been very slow to learn and to change but at least the Pope was responding to the pressure of circumstances. In fact he had responded very quickly to the influence of the Japanese sweep through Asia and the Pacific, even if he had not yet understood and responded to the fundamental message in the parody of *Mein Kampf*. But perhaps he had.

June 1944 saw the major invasion of occupied Europe, Operation Overlord, launched across the channel from Britain to France as well as American troops occupying Rome; the first use of Hitler's secret weapon, the V1 pilotless rocket bomb, against London; the commencement of major bombing of the Japanese mainland by America and its bid to recover the Philippines; the opening of Russia's Operation Bagration which Stalin had promised to coincide with Overlord; and the first Allied successes in the bid to re-open the Burma route to China; the escape of a total of four Jewish prisoners from Auschwitz with full details of its operation; and the rejection of Weizmann's demand for the bombing of Auschwitz.

However it also saw the Pope ask Cardinal Spellman of New York to broadcast to Europe through the American Office of War Information. And what Europe heard was a radical departure from the traditional Vatican line. "Abraham is our Patriarch," he said, and anti-Semitism is just not compatible with that fact. No man can love God and hate his brother. Clearly the public was expected to accept and to act on the new line. And why shouldn't they? It was very simple and very Biblical. But how could hundreds of millions of Christians who had been indoctrinated, or brain-washed, with a contradictory understanding for the whole of their lives be expected to discard that understanding at the drop of a hat? It raised that dreaded question: if the church is correct now, does that make it wrong until now? And if it has been wrong on such an important issue until now, does that mean that its self-understanding and its fundamental theology have been wrong all the time too?

Of course those questions were to go unanswered, but that then raised another one. Why did the Pope not make such a broadcast himself? The lid on the Pandora's box had to be slammed shut! The way to do that was to make Hitler the scapegoat. That was quite easy in the circumstances but it still meant another great change of direction for the Vatican and with Hitler still firmly in control of affairs across much of Europe, although Rome was now beyond his perimeter, the retribution which he had threatened for some time, and which the church had feared, might become a reality. The change of course had to be stage-managed very carefully indeed, otherwise the authority of the church could crumble and Soviet Communism would be the big winner. And it was important that the United States should have a higher profile in such matters, which suited both the church and the US administration. It was quite consistent with its self-understanding as the 'New Israel' and successor to Europe's decadent Christian powers.

But that raised another issue. The United States was now firmly committed in all but statute to the establishment of a State of Israel in Palestine. The use of the expression 'the New Israel' to describe the United States was no longer appropriate. Very quietly its political leaders and some theologians began to talk of America's Judeo-Christian heritage, and that suited the Zionist lobby, too. It does not seem to have occurred to them that to apply the description to a community was inappropriate and that such an expression was actually more appropriate in describing the religion of Islam. Perhaps they had not read enough history.

BRETTON WOODS: A NEW STYLE OF IMPERIALISM

In July 1944, after more than two years of tough behind the scenes negotiations between the United States and Britain, delegates from 44 nations met at the UN Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, to consider proposals for two institutions which would lay the basis for a new post war international economic system: the International Monetary Fund, and the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, or the World Bank. The first was intended to prevent a repeat of the currency chaos of the inter-war years by providing a pool of gold and currencies from which members could borrow to meet their balance of payments problems, and the second was to provide loans to assist postwar reconstruction and development as well as underwrite private loans for the same purpose.³²⁸

The Bretton Woods institutions formed a vital part of American plans for post war reconstruction. As the State Department saw it, the creation of collective security apparatus was useless without reforming the world economy. As a 1944 State department memo on US post-war commercial policies put it:

*The development of sound international economic relations is closely related to the problem of security. The establishment of a system of international trade which would make it possible for each country to have greater access to world markets and resources would reduce incentives to military aggression and provide a firm basis for political cooperation. Conversely, if such a system is not established, the international frictions which would result in the economic field would be certain to undermine any international security organization which might be created. Past experience makes it clear that close and enduring cooperation in the political field must rest on a sound foundation of cooperation in economic matters.*³²⁹

The basic principles which American planners thought should underlie a reformed international economic order were simple. Primary among them was the two centuries old liberal concept of the Open Door, or non-discrimination in foreign trade, investment and navigation, which in the nineteenth century had been championed by the British. Second was a commitment to the principle of multilateralism, or cooperation among nations to encourage free trade, and third was a commitment to the most favoured nation principle, whereby signatories to economic agreements extend to each other any commercial favours granted to other states.

To most American planners and politicians it had become self-evident that the discriminatory trading blocs erected by Britain in the Commonwealth, Japan in the Far East, and Germany in Eastern Europe had created the world economic crisis of the Great Depression, led to Hitler's rise to power, subsequently exacerbated international tensions, and had set the great powers on the road to war.³³⁰ In apportioning the blame they could very conveniently overlook the fact that US discrimination against Japanese goods was a prime factor in Tokyo's decision to carve out its Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere³³¹, and that the US had contributed to the breakdown on the pre-war world economy with its high-tariff Fordney-McCumber act of 1929 and its refusal to commit itself to the success of the 1933 London Economic Conference.³³² But that was beside the point. The point they were making was that competitive discrimination led to

economic warfare, poverty, and dictators, and that led to military warfare. The Open Door, on the other hand, led to economic prosperity, and prosperity led to peace.³³³ The Open Door, therefore, had to be encouraged.

Behind the apparent idealism, however, lay the assumption of equality between traders and the issues of self-interest that underwrote the consensus. There was also the conveniently overlooked fact that without equality 'free trade' is simply an opportunity for those with the means to exploit those without. When State Department planners referred to the need for economic security, they meant first and foremost the economic security of the United States. The experience of the Depression had shown that Roosevelt's New Deal, with its emphasis on national economic recovery insulated from the problems of the world economy, had been insufficient to the task. And as the war had progressed and the US economy had developed at an astounding rate, it had become clear that come peace-time there would be an entirely new problem: a crisis of overproduction. In April 1944 the War Production Board had calculated that by the end of the war with Germany, when the United States still expected to be at war with Japan, \$27 billion worth of annual industrial capital would be released. By late 1944, \$20 billion in new industrial plant had been constructed during war-time, three-quarters of it financed by the government. By June 1945 capital assets in manufacturing had increased by 65%; 2700 liberty ships to carry goods abroad had alone been contracted for.³³⁴ At the same time an abrupt end to war-financed production would leave millions of workers unemployed: the War Production Board in April 1944 calculating five and a half to six million, while Roosevelt in a letter to Hull in October that year cited a figure of 4.5 million.³³⁵ Clearly, the open door needed to be wide ajar if the slack was to be taken up. Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson conservatively estimated how far in late 1944: \$10 billion in trade would be needed to add 3 million jobs in industry and a further 1 million in agriculture.³³⁶ The Department of Commerce in comparison suggested \$14 billion, since \$14.3 billion had been exported in 1944.³³⁷

But the need for an open door didn't rest with exports. If the US was to maintain its overall industrial output – and the security of its military output – it required critical quantities of certain raw materials that it possessed in short supply or not at all, and the situation had worsened due to the war. As Assistant Secretary of State William Clayton stated in 1946:

Due to the serious depletion of our natural resources during the war, we must now import many metals and minerals...Indeed, today we are net importers of practically all important metals and minerals except two – coal and oil. Who knows how long we can go without importing oil?^{338 339}

However, the glaring realities of United States self-interest did little to undermine the idealistic argument. On the contrary, since at the end of the war the US would be the world's most powerful economy, it was argued that a healthy and growing US economy was the key to world trade, and world trade was the key to international prosperity and peace. If US trade collapsed, the shaky world economy would topple, leaving communist revolution, dictatorship

and war in command.³⁴⁰ In effect, what was good for the US was good for the world and vice versa. The extent to which that reasoning would appeal to the rest of the world was a different matter entirely.

However, the solution to that problem dovetailed neatly with another. During the war it had become evident that by war's end the US would have accumulated large reserves of investment funds in the form of War Bonds, savings accounts and the like. Since it was impossible to add to the already over expanded domestic industrial capacity, these investments would have to be abroad. And since war devastated Europe would be in no position to buy from the US anyway, and the US needed foreign export markets, the logical use for the excess capital was in financing foreign imports of US goods. To attain the Commerce Department's \$14 billion export target it was variously estimated that between \$5 billion and \$8 billion in annual US loans and grants would be required.³⁴¹ And in case anyone got into their head the idea that Washington's new international economic order was not for them, such loans and grants provided the perfect carrot and stick: dangle the money as an incentive to play by the new rules, and if that wasn't enough to elicit the appropriate response, hit them with the threat of trying to reconstruct without it.

Though the proposals tabled at Bretton Woods were jointly sponsored by Britain and the United States, the United States' financial might had already guaranteed it the whip hand in their design and operation.³⁴² Both institutions were to be bankrolled by contributions from the member countries according to a quota determined by their relative economic strength, with voting rights proportional to the size of each member's subscription. The size of the US subscriptions thus gave it a veto over World Bank loans, and close to one third of votes in the IMF. That was not quite enough for a veto over the IMF's transactions, but sufficient to prevent the adoption of any measures that might be considered prejudicial to US interests.³⁴³

The British were not entirely happy with the outcome. They feared IMF interference in their planned post-war domestic welfare-state programs,³⁴⁴ but in addition it was clear that Washington's new economic order would spell the end of Britain's special trading arrangements with the Commonwealth. In particular, mandatory free convertibility of member currencies would spell the end of both the Sterling Zone and its Dollar Pool which the British had hoped would help to overcome their inevitable post-war balance of payments problems with the United States. In order to alleviate their anxieties the Americans agreed to insert a scarce currency clause in the IMF agreement which, for the first few years after ratification, would allow a country with chronic payments difficulties either to restrict its payments to a surplus country or devalue its currency. The British, however, asked for more or, perhaps more appropriately, less. Already over a barrel, they didn't wait to be hit over the head, and ratification of the accord was made conditional on a post-war bilateral loan from the United States.³⁴⁵ If they thought that was the end of the matter, however, they had another think coming.

Securing Britain's cooperation in the new system was not the only aim of US planners. Equally important was gaining the participation of the Soviets, though for reasons of a different stripe. Commercially and financially Soviet participation was virtually irrelevant, since their percentage of world trade was minimal and the rouble was not an international currency.³⁴⁶ Politically, however, it constituted a key aspect of American plans for postwar cooperation and reconstruction. In large part American leaders hoped to cement the post-war relationship by increasing the economic ties between the two countries, and Soviet participation in the Open Door would provide a means to remedy its considerable reconstruction problems and complement American needs for export markets.³⁴⁷ However, equally important for the State Department was the need to help secure its aims in Eastern Europe. Eastern Europe was going to be important in post-war reconstruction as an agrarian region complementary to industrialized Western Europe. The Soviet Union thus had to be incorporated into the new multilateral trading system to prevent it from establishing an exclusive economic hold, while simultaneously encouraging East European prosperity so as to bolster its independence from the Soviet Union³⁴⁸

To encourage Soviet participation in the new institutions, specific provisions for state trading and socialist economies were built into the system.³⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the Soviets clearly had little reason to be enthusiastic about Bretton Woods, since the whole shebang was geared towards the needs of capitalist economies, and much of its detail was simply irrelevant to the USSR.³⁵⁰ In addition, weighing against the concessions to state trading was the fact that the Articles of Agreement explicitly stated that the institutions were designed to encourage private investment, while their supposedly non-political nature was undermined by American insistence that the two institutions be permanently located in Washington under the watchful eye of the United States Government.³⁵¹

Bemused by the technicalities argued back and forth by the British and the Americans at New Hampshire, the Soviets by the end of the conference nevertheless signed on the dotted line, voting with the majority to have the articles submitted for ratification by participating nations after the eager Americans had agreed to increase their subscription to the IMF, and hence voting power, by 50 per cent.³⁵² However, cooperation with the US on the economic front was also desirable, since they wanted US industrial goods for reconstruction. But to get those they needed a loan – a big loan – and the US knew it. Already unofficial talks on the subject had been held between the US Ambassador and Soviet trade officials for the best part of a year, so when Treasury Secretary Morgenthau dangled the prospect of such a loan as an incentive to sign up at Bretton Woods, it just added one more reason for the Soviets to do so.³⁵³

THE COMPETITION HOTS UP

In July, 1944, at the time that delegates gathered at Bretton Woods, there was a series of developments which reflected the enormous trauma of the war as it ground into its final stages. A group of senior German army officers, frustrated by Hitler's headlong rush to defeat and his

refusal to seek terms for an armistice to limit the devastation, carried out an abortive assassination attempt against the Fuhrer. Their failure cost the lives of Germany's most illustrious soldier, Field Marshall Rommel, two other field marshals and five generals, and ensured that the war would grind on until the Allies-of-convenience had occupied all of Europe and carved it up to the people's dissatisfaction.

Changes were made to family law in Russia which reflected the dramatic impact of the war through deaths, lost manpower and family breakdown. In a speech on June 22 to mark the third anniversary of the German invasion, Stalin had noted that at that stage 5,300,000 men from the Red Army were either dead, missing or prisoners of war. That has been described as a 'manifest understatement' because German officials later admitted that 3,700,000 Russian prisoners died in their hands, mainly of starvation, and Russian military deaths have more recently been estimated at between 11 million and 13.6 million. To those figures must be added 7.7 million civilian dead and an estimated 5 million military casualties, making a total of between 20 and 25 million casualties.^{354 355 356} Divorce was made even more difficult and costly, and incentives were provided to raise the national birth rate through increased taxes for unmarried people and couples without children, and increased subsidies for families with more than three children. Contrary to Vatican propaganda, these changes confirmed the importance which the Communist authorities placed on the family as the basic social unit of society.

Also in July, 1944, the struggle for post war control of Poland, the country which had been a 'negotiable' buffer between the moving powers of western Europe and eastern Europe for so many centuries, entered a dramatic new phase. On July 22 Russian troops crossed the River Bug, which formed the boundary between the German and Russian regions of Poland under the pact of August 1939, and the Soviet Government immediately announced that the Polish Government in exile in London was illegal. Soviet Russia recognized the Communist National Council of the Homeland (KRN) in Moscow as the sole legal source of authority in Poland, with the Polish Committee of National Liberation which was being set up in Chelm as a provisional government. The KRN, it said, had assumed authority for the Communist People's Army which had been a significant part of the underground movement.³⁵⁷

However, the London Poles had plans of their own. Following the stalemated London talks with the Soviets in 1941 they had decided to mount an uprising against the German armies of occupation at the appropriate time to recover Polish independence and to pre-empt any move by Russia to annex part or all of Poland in accordance with the 1939 German-Soviet treaties. Anticipating that, the Soviet Government had made its own move. In 1942 it set up the Polish Workers' Party to gain support for an independent Poland in alliance with Russia, with certain eastern regions ceded to Russia and compensated for by annexation of German territory.³⁵⁸ That concept had been discussed informally by Stalin, Churchill and one or two others, including Eden, following a dinner hosted by Roosevelt in Teheran on May 28 1943, with each of those involved said to have responded favourably.³⁵⁹

Thereafter the London Poles and the Polish Workers' Party had jockeyed for position and planned their next moves. Russia acted first with its announcement of the provisional government in Chelm. Splits then occurred between the London Government and the Home Army's commanders and within the Home Army itself over the strategy to be adopted, and the eventual decision was to bring forward the uprising in an effort to gain control of Warsaw, the capital. When it was launched on August 1, 1944, in a rather disorganized manner, with little liaison between Warsaw, London and the Allies and with a shortage of ammunition, the uprising was headed for a rough passage. In spite of that the Poles achieved some early successes. However, urgent appeals for the despatch of a Polish Parachute Brigade from the western front were rejected by the Anglo-American combined Chiefs of Staff³⁶⁰, munitions supplies could not be maintained and the Germans, determined to put down the uprising, counter attacked with great force.

Opposed by troops with greatly superior equipment the Poles faced a slaughter, and despite their bitterness towards Russia they sought Stalin's help. But the Russians could not offer help on a large scale. They were tied down by German forces at Praga and actually had to withdraw the armies approaching Warsaw to secure their positions. Stalin could agree only to air drops of hand weapons. Then communications broke down. Polish spokespersons told the world that the Russians had withdrawn to leave them at the mercy of the Germans, which was not fact. Stalin responded that the Poles had started the 'reckless adventure' of the uprising prematurely and without consulting the Russian command, which was fact. The old ideological arguments began to get in the way of any rescue plan which could have been mounted.³⁶¹ Stalin refused to allow Allied planes to ferry supplies to the Poles in Warsaw via Russian controlled airfields and while Churchill wanted to make an issue of this with Stalin, Roosevelt refused. The Americans were negotiating with the Russians for the use of Siberian air bases for the assault on Japan and he didn't want a little issue like Poland to get in the way.³⁶²

German fire rained down on Warsaw and the slaughter continued. Germany was doing to Warsaw what Britain had done to Hamburg a year earlier. The Polish forces surrendered on October 1. The city was totally evacuated during the next few days, and then in accordance with Hitler's orders it was to be systematically and totally destroyed. It was no longer to appear on a map.³⁶³

In the meantime, on August 8, British and American cabinet delegations signed a general agreement concerning the orderly development of oil reserves, although without specific reference to the Middle East. The long running proposal for a US Government-owned pipeline across Saudi Arabia was allowed to lapse, requiring the companies involved to finance it themselves. With one less complication to worry about the British War Cabinet then finally agreed, on August 23, 1944, to the establishment of a Jewish Brigade Group fighting under its own flag. In July Churchill had written very sharp letters to the Cabinet Secretary and the Secretary of State for War castigating the War Office on its lack of action³⁶⁴

A NEW VATICAN ALLIANCE

On the same day as the War Cabinet's decision on the Jewish brigade, August 23, Churchill met the Pope in Rome. Their reserve, or animosity, over Pius XII's play for power during the war and inaction on the Jewish Question gave way to their mutual dislike of Communism which was, according to Churchill, their principal topic of conversation. This was another alliance of convenience. However it must be assumed that they talked at length about "the Jewish question," the Vatican's change of heart and the British cabinet plan for the partition of Palestine which was still unpublished. However, it was the issue of Communism which had prompted his decision to make a visit to the region for talks with Marshall Tito of Yugoslavia, M. Papandreou of Greece, and the leaders of the political triangle in Italy, as well as the Pope. That visit illustrates the cleft-tongue approach of the Western Capitalist Allies towards Soviet Russia and how the anti-Communist policies which they were pursuing relentlessly in the countries within their direct sphere of interest contributed to the deep and long division of Europe after the war.

Churchill and the Pope had good reason to talk about Communism. When Hitler – the scourge of the *Night Journey* and a key player in the struggle between Gog and Magog – turned on the Soviet Union and it was drawn into the war, the world was witness to a challenge to the people of the two opposing ideologies, Capitalism and Communism. That challenge was to get together and talk through their differences, and to resolve the basis of their social and political conflict to the benefit of all humanity. Unfortunately, given the circumstances and prevailing attitudes, there was neither the time nor the inclination to do so. As a result the Soviet Union was drawn into an alliance by Britain with almost indecent haste. But the whole world knew that in due course there would be competition for the hearts, minds and votes of people in countries around the world after the war. At that stage much of the continent had not been drawn into the conflict directly, and there was probably a lot of wishful thinking among British politicians and planners that Russian military operations and direct political influence could be restricted to the wedge from Russia to Germany via Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Baltic States. However, several of the countries which had not yet entered hostilities would soon declare themselves in alliance with Germany rather than Russia and Britain. Few could therefore have anticipated the extent to which the Allies would have to rely on Russia to clear German forces out of Eastern Europe, as well as to act as a restraining influence on Japan. But Britain's need to draw more allies into the fray against Hitler was so critical that those people involved in the decision making were ready to make a down payment in 1941 and not to consider the costs and the wider implications until the end of the war was in sight.

That time was fast approaching, and the civil and political power vacuums being left in Eastern Europe as Hitler retreated or was expelled would have to be filled. And because of the decision taken at Teheran that the Western Allies would not go into Turkey, Greece or the Balkans, the number of countries in which Communist groups would have a head start had jumped. In fact it was a near certainty that unless the Western Allies acted quickly to set up acceptable governments-in-exile or to have de facto governments waiting in the wings, the

Soviet armies of occupation would ensure that Communist or Communist-friendly regimes were established. After all, the Western Allies had taken action to ensure that non-Communist regimes were established in the countries which they occupied, and they had every intention of continuing to do so. Until then, however, it was just a matter of ‘first in, best dressed’. The spoils of war – the hearts, minds and wealth producing capacity of the people – would go to those powers which appeared to be the victors or which supported them. So the scramble was on to get as big a share as possible, until either some form of understanding was reached which would legitimate who was to get what or, alternatively, conflict broke out between the great powers themselves. So the Western Allies were getting worried, but, for all their willingness to talk about an international peace keeping system which they had called the “United Nations” they were still not prepared to talk about the fundamental issues which made such a peace keeping mechanism necessary. They were too intent on maintaining their current positions of privilege.

For Britain, that immediately meant securing control of the Mediterranean, and first on Churchill’s agenda was a visit with Marshall Tito, the popular Communist leader to whom the Allies had transferred their support because of the ineffectiveness of the alternatives. The British Government wanted to see the restoration of the monarchy in a reunified Yugoslavia rather than the establishment of a republic, and Churchill pressed Tito to talk with the exiled king and not to establish a Communist regime.³⁶⁵ In Greece, which the German forces were expected to evacuate to strengthen their defences elsewhere, there was a strong possibility that the Socialist and Communist minority groups, the National Liberation Front (EAM) and the People’s National Army of Liberation (ELAS), might turn against the government-in-exile of M. Papandreou when the Germans left. The king, also in exile, pressed Britain to support Papandreou and to withdraw its military missions which were assisting the minority groups in their fight against the Germans. Churchill’s solution was to direct that up to 10,000 British troops be flown in as soon as the German evacuation occurred and before the minor parties could seize power with the support of the Soviet Union, in order to prop up the Papandreou Government. Roosevelt supported it.³⁶⁶

The absolute hypocrisy and the absolute determination to prevent a change in the political order were obvious. It was a case of “let your partner do the dirty work, then call him the new enemy and send in your own troops to keep him out of a position of influence.” The similarity between *this* British-American intervention and their intervention in Russia as World War I drew to close to prop up the Capitalist monarchy (as depraved as it was) in order to suppress the Bolshevik Revolution, was remarkable. But the Soviet Union was supposed to accept it. So Churchill met the Pope. But while they talked, the German army held the Allies pinned down at the Gothic line, just north of Florence, unable to cross the Appenine Mountains into the politically critical region of the Po Valley – an essential first step if they were to reach the Danube Valley and ‘liberate’ (or occupy) Central Europe before the Russians did so.

But the news was all about Romania. King Michael had ordered a cease fire on the Russian front, immediate preparation of an armistice with Russia, the arrest of his army chief of staff

and the German Ambassador, and a declaration of war against Germany – in alliance with Russia. In late August, with the approval of Britain and the United States, an armistice was signed giving the Soviets virtually identical rights to those taken by the Western Allies in Italy, that is, virtually complete political control. Given the Italian precedent, however, and the fact that no British or American ground forces had participated in Romania's liberation, there was little else the Western Allies could do. For their part the Americans restricted their immediate concerns to limiting the size of reparations so as to prevent any interference with normal trading relations after the war.³⁶⁷

However, that was hardly going to be the end of the matter. Churchill had been very concerned about the consequences of the Vatican Concordat with Germany, about the Pope's apparent support for Hitler against Russia and about the Vatican's long-running contribution to anti-Semitism. He may have been equally concerned with its abuse of power in determining civil and political policies in many countries. But now was no time to worry about such niceties. The Vatican had to be encouraged to use all the resources at its disposal to assist non-Communist players everywhere, but especially in Eastern Europe. Here was another World War I repeat performance. *Capitalism was to be equated to Christianity and the two would work hand in hand to protect each others interests.* But one part of the formula had changed. Christianity was again respectable in the Soviet Union and the Russian Orthodox Church was back in business as a force to be reckoned with.

In the circumstances there was therefore much jubilation when the surrender of the German army of occupation in Paris was accepted on August 25 and General DeGaulle returned to the city in triumph the same day. Fearful of a takeover by the communist led-resistance forces, de Gaulle had raced to Paris to prevent the possibility of a communist led liberation of the city. He needn't have worried. Despite the fact that the Communist led resistance was later estimated by Eisenhower to have been worth an extra 15 division during operation 'Overlord' – larger than De Gaulle's own forces – the Communists had already decided to cooperate with de Gaulle in the re-establishment of central state authority.³⁶⁸ One way or another Stalin was clearly prepared to cede influence in Western Europe. But as the Western Allies were about to find out, the fate of Eastern and Central Europe would be another matter entirely.

The liberation of Paris created a feeling that peace was just around the corner. It was therefore timely that while Churchill talked religion and politics in the Mediterranean, the Foreign Ministers of the Allied Powers met at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, from August 21 to 28, to work on concrete plans for the post war United Nations Organization. Two sessions at Dumbarton Oaks were required. At the first, from August 21 to 28, the Soviet Union was present with the United States and Britain. At the second, from September 29 to October 7, China was present and the Soviet Union did not take part. Despite substantial disagreement, there was consensus that in accordance with Roosevelt's plans there should be a broadly representative body with a consultative and advisory role, the General Assembly, and an executive body, the Security Council. The Assembly would initially include all those who had signed the *Atlantic Charter* or fought against the Axis powers. And it was eventually agreed that

the Security Council would have rotating membership, with the exception of the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, France and China who would be permanent members. But there was strong disagreement about voting arrangements, so the question of the enforceability of decisions – along with the thorny issue of who could exercise the power of veto and in what circumstances – was left for the Big Three to determine.

A DIFFERENT KIND OF THREAT

At about this time, during the campaign leading to the US presidential election which was due in November, 1944, a serious threat to the re-election prospects of President Roosevelt – and to the Allied war strategy in the Far East was averted – by domestic political intervention against the Republican presidential candidate, Thomas E. Dewey, by the chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, General George Marshall.

Dewey had learned from inside sources of the “splendid arrangement” between Roosevelt and Churchill for the exchange of intercepted Japanese military and diplomatic traffic prior to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour. He could not have had access to all of the material which had been intercepted, but he had sufficient to know that Roosevelt and his inner circle of cabinet secretaries and military advisers were fully aware of the planned attack from those intercepts. The implications of the lack of preparedness of the US forces, the deception which had been practiced and the manipulation of the American public for the course of the war was then self-evident. Dewey planned to use the proof of the intercepted messages against Roosevelt in a series of campaign “stump Speeches” during the presidential election. Whether he planned to radically change the Allied approach to the closing stages of the war and to enter armistice negotiations if he were elected or whether he was simply going to use the *fact* of the intercepts in his bid to unseat Roosevelt is not discussed by author Robert Stinnett in *Day of Deceit*. However it can be assumed that the impact of the disclosure would have been explosive. War was raging in the Pacific and lists of American casualties were published in the newspapers daily. The memory of Pearl Harbour was the principal psychological weapon in US recruiting and war support campaigns, coupled with vigorous reporting of the atrocities which were then being committed, and the public reaction to the disclosures would have been strong. It can therefore be assumed that a review of war strategy would have been forced upon the government irrespective of who won the presidential election.

However, at that stage the Japanese still did not realize that their *Kaigun Ango* codes had been solved by US code-breakers, that all of their traffic was being systematically read by the Allies, and that battle strategy was adapted to that traffic automatically. It was a very powerful factor in the outcome of major battles and in engendering a belief in American superiority, thus easing the way for the US to gain a position of dominance across Asia and the Pacific. If the code-breaking had been exposed during the US presidential election the Japanese would have immediately changed to a different communications code system, the course of future battles would have been thrown into doubt, and American moral superiority and dominance could not

have been imposed upon Asia with such arrogance. Having learned of Dewey's campaign plan, Marshall intervened, telling him bluntly that "American lives are at peril." The ethics and the consequences of the original deception, and other likely consequences were probably not discussed. Dewey dropped his plan. Other issues would now be able to determine the election outcome.³⁶⁹

ANOTHER VERSAILLES?

When Churchill and Roosevelt met in Quebec again from September 10 to 17, during the US election campaign, another issue vital to the shape of the post-war peace was discussed: the future of Germany. Two issues had to be resolved: first, arrangements for the period of occupation following an armistice, and second, proposals for the longer term future of Germany. In relation to the first it was decided that Germany would be divided into three occupation zones for purposes of "disarmament, policing and preservation of order" – American, British and Russian. In relation to the second, consent was given to a radical framework put forward by the US Treasury Secretary, Henry Morgenthau.

Under Morgenthau's proposal the industries of the Rhur and Saar would be dismantled, their equipment made available to Russia for the reconstruction of its own industries, and Germany would be required to substitute imports from Britain for its own manufactured goods. Germany would become essentially a primary producer, disarmed, dismembered and depressed. In terms of the philosophy of victory very little seemed to have changed since World War I. As much as anything, the Morgenthau Plan was a formula for revenge, and it soon came under fire when it was leaked to the public. As a result, though Roosevelt and Churchill initialled the plan at that stage, it was later publicly repudiated and put on ice.³⁷⁰

For the remainder of the year, however, Morgenthau's approach vied with competing State Department proposals for Roosevelt's allegiance. The State Department had in fact made the initial running, presenting plans in September 1943 which argued for the encouragement of democratic institutions as the best means of safeguarding future peace. This was to be achieved by methods which would create a minimum of bitterness among Germans, including the rebuilding of the German economy to provide for a tolerable standard of living.³⁷¹ But that had been considered too kind an assessment of the nasty Germans, and Roosevelt had found more sympathy with Morgenthau's argument that programmes for democracy and re-education would not be sufficient to eliminate German aggression.

However, there was more at stake than just the nature of the German national character, and as the debate raged in the corridors of Washington the implications of each plan for future international relations gradually became apparent. While the State Department favoured limited reparations, disarmament and the elimination of German domination of Europe, they also wanted to rebuild a democratic and capitalist Germany to stabilize a weakened Europe. The Morgenthau Plan, they argued, would shift the whole balance of industrial power in Europe, implying that a weakened Germany would enable Russia to dominate the entire continent. In

response Morgenthau argued that the real motive of those who opposed a weak Germany was the fear of Russia and communism. He was half right. However what the State Department envisaged was a strong Germany and a strong Russia whose traditional hostilities were muted in a completely restructured world where the security of all was guaranteed. But in the circumstances that was no more realistic than the Morgenthau Plan, and was likely to end up anti-Soviet in practice since a capitalist Germany would be inimical to the Soviets and align itself with the West in any conflict between them. That was precisely what the Soviets feared, and the draconian Morgenthau Plan, for all its failings, at least had the virtue of acknowledging it.³⁷²

Nevertheless, in characteristic style Roosevelt just added Germany to the balls he already had in the air, refusing to make a decision. However, as with Eastern Europe, the day of reckoning on Germany was fast approaching, and in a similar fashion the fact that the State Department wanted to cooperate with the Soviets in the context of the new world peace organization was almost entirely beside the point. The creation of a collective security apparatus was only half of the State Department's post-war plans, and it was the other half which held the vital implications for German reconstruction. A democratic and capitalist Germany was a vital link in their plans to create a new American-led international economic order, and despite the terrible devastation the war had inflicted on America's communist ally, satisfying Russian reconstruction needs would just have to take a back seat.

However, a decision on Germany was still months away. While Roosevelt and Churchill were meeting in Quebec, attention was drawn back to the Middle East and the fallout from the Anglo American Oil Agreement. Iran and its rich oil-fields had for some time been shaping up as a major focus of competition between the Allies. Occupied by British and Soviet troops in 1941, it was also host to substantial forces from the American Persian Gulf Command responsible for delivering crucial Lend-Lease supplies to Russia. Soviet behaviour and intentions in regard to northern Iran, a region of traditional Russian interest which its troops now occupied, had become a matter of some concern to both Britain and the US, as well as to the Iranian's themselves. In December 1943, following requests for assurances from the Iranian government in response to Soviet economic and political interference in Azerbaijan, the United States had succeeded in gaining Stalin's agreement to the *Declaration Regarding Iran*, which included further guarantees of Iran's sovereignty and territorial integrity according to the *Atlantic Charter* on top of those already contained in the 1941 *Tripartite Treaty*. Fortunately for both the US and Britain, principle had once again meshed quite neatly with self-interest, since the US was keen to secure a buffer for its oil interests in Saudi Arabia and the British were keen to secure their own in Iran against the Soviets.

FOR RUSSIA ... A NEW BUFFER

The Soviets, however, were interested in more than oil: they were also motivated by the desire to secure an outer defence zone along their southern frontier and they were determined to

consolidate their own position and prevent any foreign power from establishing a foothold in the region. Thus, although the US was willing to accommodate their oil interests, Soviet suspicions about American intentions were inevitably raised by negotiations between Standard Vacuum, Sinclair Oil and the Iranian government. When the Anglo-American agreement was signed on August 8, 1944, it was time to act. In September the Soviets presented to the Iranian government their response: terms for a massively extended oil concession comprising exclusive exploration rights in the north for five years to be granted as part of a political agreement between governments. Fearful of Soviet pressures which would follow any political agreement, the Iranian cabinet postponed the discussion of all oil concessions until after the war.³⁷³

FOR THE ARABS ... SELF HELP

While Iran was suffering under a three way tug of war, the Arab world moved to assert its independence. Immediately after the collapse of the Iraqi rebellion in May 1941 Eden had said the British Government would support any efforts by the Arab countries to strengthen their cultural, economic and political ties. This was a distinct change from the divide-and-rule mentality which had characterized the Western approach to the Middle East, but it just happened to be in Britain's interests to change course at that time. A number of bilateral discussions had already taken place, coincidentally with confused negotiations over oil, pipeline routes, Jewish refugees and relations with Germany, and the Free French occupation of Syria and Lebanon. In July, however, the Premier of Egypt, Nahhas Pasha, had taken the initiative and invited all Arab States to a Conference in Cairo to discuss Palestine and other issues. In preparation for the conference, Saudi Arabia asked the United States for a formal statement on its attitude to Arab union. In a note circulated in response to likely participant countries the State Department said the US was in sympathy with Arab aspirations for independence but while it also viewed the move for unification with sympathy, as long as any action conformed with the principles of the *Atlantic Charter*, it felt that the first steps towards unity should emphasize the strengthening of economic, social and cultural domains.³⁷⁴ It omitted 'political'.

The conference of Arab countries opened in Alexandria on September 25 with delegations from Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Trans-Jordan and observers from Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Libya, Morocco and Palestine. Two weeks later, on October 7, the five full delegations signed the *Alexandria Protocol* and undertook to establish the *League of Arab States*. The Saudi Arabian and Yemeni Governments adhered to the protocol a few months later and other governments have since joined the League progressively. The founding nations considered various forms of organization including complete political union and a federated state, but chose to adopt a loose confederation with the emphasis on co-ordination and cooperation.³⁷⁵

The objects of the League can be summarized thus: strengthening relations between member states, protection of their independence and sovereignty against aggression, co-ordination of political plans to ensure cooperation between member states, the execution of agreements entered into and the supervision in a general way of the affairs and interests of the Arab

countries. The Protocol required cooperation between members in economic, cultural, social and other matters, anticipated the postwar establishment of “institutions which bind various powers more closely together” and gave special recognition to the independent policy which Lebanon had adopted two years earlier. But it also contained a special resolution concerning Palestine, giving clear warning that “Palestine constitutes an important part of the Arab World and that the rights of the Arabs in Palestine cannot be touched without prejudice to peace and stability in the Arab World.” It referred to “the pledges binding the British Government and providing for the cessation of Jewish immigration, the preservation of Arab Lands, and the achievement of independence for Palestine [as] permanent Arab rights whose prompt implementation would constitute a step toward the desired goal and toward the stabilization of peace and security.” It declared willingness to work for and to support the legitimate aims and rights of the Palestinians and referred a proposal for an “Arab National Fund” to safeguard the lands of the Arabs of Palestine to a financial and economic committee for a report.

And part of the special resolution read:

The committee also declares that it is second to none in regretting the woes which have been inflicted upon the Jews of Europe by European dictatorial states. But the question of these Jews should not be confused with Zionism, for there can be no greater injustice and aggression than solving the problem of the Jews of Europe by another injustice, i.e., by inflicting injustice on the Arabs of Palestine of various religions and denominations. ³⁷⁶

The warning was very clear. The Great Powers and the Jewish Community should have been in no doubt about the difficulties ahead if they insisted on the establishment of the Jewish National Homeland as planned. And the warning was reinforced twice within the next three days.

On October 9 King Farouk dismissed Nahhas Pasha and his Wafd Party government for being corrupt, too pro-British, and unable to cope with the social pressures on the Egyptian population as a result of the Allied wartime occupation. The move was in line with his earlier contacts with the German authorities and his wish to see the British expelled from the region, but it was clearly also a response to the humiliation which he had suffered at Britain's hands two and a half years earlier. At the beginning of 1942 a German victory in North Africa appeared imminent and although the Egyptian government was cooperating with British forces the British government believed the Egyptians would change sides if German successes continued. That belief was well founded. The British Government therefore gave Farouk an ultimatum to appoint a Wafd Party government with the very pro-British Nahhas Pasha as Premier by a certain date. When he declined, the palace was surrounded and the British Ambassador presented Farouk with a document of abdication but did not press it when Farouk agreed to appoint Nahhas Pasha. The humiliation felt by many army officers was no less than that suffered by their king.³⁷⁷ Thus, following the establishment of the Arab League, he appointed a government which was closer to the Muslim Brotherhood and its twin aims of

establishing an Islamic State and bringing freedom to the whole Muslim World. Churchill made no reference to this crisis in his memoirs of the Second World War.

Next day, October 10, the Commander in Chief of Middle East Forces and the British High Commissioner issued a joint formal communiqué. They condemned the crimes and outrages which had been carried out since the beginning of 1944 by “Jewish terrorists acting with the deliberate intention of bringing about, by force, developments favourable to the realization of their political aims.” These events, they said, were proceeding side by side with the bitterest phase of the critical fight between the United Nations and Nazi Germany and the cruelest, most implacable and most ruthless persecution that the long history of Jewry has ever known. Criminals in Palestine, with their active and passive sympathizers, were directly impeding the war effort.³⁷⁸

FOR THE JEWS ... THE PROMISE OF A STATE

But the Zionists were unmoved. They had become so committed to the notion of the right of Jewish return to Israel that its supporters were intent on wringing every skerrick of sympathy and support from Hitler’s final solution. They had a committed Zionist leading the government which held the mandate for Palestine and they had statements of support from the only two political parties in the United States which had any chance of forming a government. If either of them wavered they could play one against the other to very good effect. However in the wake of the *Alexandria Protocol* anything was possible. They might both withdraw their undertaking by mutual agreement so that Palestine would become a non-issue. After all they had both gone to ground earlier in the year under pressure from Hull and Stimson. They could easily do it again. But the Zionists had a trump card up their sleeve. The country was in the middle of a presidential election campaign. Roosevelt had nominated for a record fourth term of office and although his supporters could claim that continuity of leadership was important in time of war there was strong opposition from those who said four terms was too long for any leader. The result could therefore be close and could be influenced by a single high-profile issue. [One such issue, the interception of Japanese pre-Pearl Harbour military and diplomatic traffic, had already been excluded by Marshall’s intervention.] If they could influence the appointment of a British Prime Minister surely they could influence the direct election of a President when there was no cabinet room lobbying and no decision by a king to be considered – only the public’s emotions.

The Republican candidate, Governor Dewey, had already spoken of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. It did not take long to get a commitment from Roosevelt. On October 15 he wrote to Senator Wagner, the New York Senator who had sponsored the pro- Zionist resolution in the Senate, and personally endorsed the Democrat policy plank on Palestine. New York was a city with many Reform Synagogues as well as more than one thousand Orthodox Synagogues, but the letter was naturally given wide national publicity.^{379 380 381} It had considerable impact.

FOR EUROPE ... DIVISION

During their conference in Quebec in August Roosevelt and Churchill had discussed plans for second three-way meeting with Stalin. Roosevelt claimed he could not attend such a meeting until after the November election. Churchill, however, was not inclined to postpone, and after cabling Roosevelt with the message that the Red Army would not stand and wait that long, he proposed to Stalin that the two of them meet in Moscow as a preliminary to a meeting of the Big Three. Stalin accepted. Both leaders understood well what was at stake: for Russia, acknowledged control of those areas of eastern Europe and the Balkans liberated by the Red Army; for Britain, control of Greece and the Mediterranean. Each required the blessing of the other to assure their dominance and to avoid a standoff which could destroy the prospect of future cooperation between the Great Powers.

With British troops about to enter Greece, time was pressing. Germany's evacuation from Greece was not as prompt as the Allies expected and British forces did not land until October 4. Churchill arrived in Moscow on October 9 for discussions with Stalin. That evening, in the most cynical and blatant piece of power politicking of the war, an understanding was reached on the occupation and future government of the Greece and the Balkans. Churchill proposed a 'percentages' deal. Russia would have 90% say in Rumania and Bulgaria, responsibility would be split between Russia and the Western Allies in Yugoslavia and Hungary, and Britain would have 90% say in Greece.³⁸²

Stalin accepted, and with a slight tinkering with the figures giving the Soviets 75% control of Hungary, the deal was done. On the matter of Greece, despite his interest in securing the outcome, Stalin had little option but to agree. It was a virtual fait accompli. The British troops were already half way to Athens. The Germans began withdrawing from Athens on the 12th. On the 13th the British troops parachuted into the international airfield and on the 14th they occupied Athens in company with the members of the Papandreou government as the Germans completed their withdrawal. Nevertheless, as later events demonstrate, had Stalin chosen to support the local communists in any protracted confrontation with the British-backed government he could probably have caused it to topple. As it was, even without Soviet interference the British struggled to impose order for more than two years before relinquishing responsibility for Greece to the Americans. However, if the Allies expected Stalin to just smile and sit on his hands after giving up his interest in Greece they were mistaken. Poland was still to be considered and it was another matter altogether.

While the British troops in Greece were doing their bit for the Empire, the Polish Prime Minister-in-exile, Mikolajczyk, and a small party of his colleagues flew to Moscow at Stalin's invitation and after some urging by Churchill, to resolve the critical questions of Poland's boundaries and the future composition of its government. Stalin was prepared to accept Mikolajczyk as prime minister of a unified Poland provided the Communist Lublin Government had a majority of the seats in cabinet and the Poles accepted the Curzon line boundary. That would ensure a Poland 'friendly' to the Soviet Union and an adequate physical buffer between

Moscow and Central Europe. But although Mikolajczyk would accept the basis of the Russian compromise some of his colleagues would accept only a modified Curzon line with Poland controlling the Carpathian oil fields and the town of Lwow. The issue was left for further talks.^{383 384}

Nevertheless, Britain and the United States were left in little doubt about what kind of Polish Government Stalin would accept. Nor were they unwilling to back a compromise. Cabling Roosevelt on October 22, Churchill recounted a conversation with the Soviet leader over dinner at the Kremlin: "We put it very bluntly to Stalin that unless [Mikolajczyk] had 50/50 plus himself the western world would not be convinced that the transaction was bona fide and would not believe that an independent Polish government had been set up. Stalin at first replied that he would be content with 50/50 but rapidly corrected himself to a worse figure...Molotov seemed more comprehending. I do not think the composition of the government will prove an insuperable obstacle if all else is settled." Roosevelt responded, "When and if a solution is arrived at, I should like to be consulted as to the advisability of delaying its publication about two weeks. You will understand." Of course Churchill understood. Two weeks would take Roosevelt past the November Presidential election, and thus enable him to avoid a backlash at the ballot box from American Poles who were not at all favourable to the kind of compromise being cooked up without their knowledge.³⁸⁵ However, Mikolajczyk was unable to persuade his colleagues on the boundary issue, so no further agreement was reached. Faced with his failure he resigned as premier, leaving the field open to hard-line opponents of the Soviet Union.

MATTERS OF FAITH

In November the spotlight turned briefly onto religious affairs and the relationship between Church and State following the death of the Anglican Primate of England, Archbishop William Temple of Canterbury, and the need for the appointment of his successor. Much had been made of Hitler's efforts to subdue and control the churches in Germany and their compliance with his policies, and of course the Vatican concordat. But with Temple's death there was a clear indication given that the British Government also expected a compliant national church which would support the decisions of government. Bishop Bell of Chichester had previously been regarded as a strong contender for the post of Primate but when he was outspoken in the House of Lords in condemning the indiscriminate bombing of civilian areas and the destruction of cities such as Hamburg the reaction was strong. Any possibility of his appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury was ruled out.³⁸⁶ The rules had not changed. Bishops of the established church were to bless the king and the politicians and boost the morale of the troops and the public, but they were not to try to influence government policy. Ever since England's Reformation, which had been prompted by personal politics, the monarch has been supreme head of the Church of England with the nominal authority to appoint the Archbishop of Canterbury. In practice a recommendation is made by the Prime Minister after consulting the church hierarchy and considering the views of the House of Lords, in which all bishops may sit

as ‘Lords Spiritual’. Thus in reality it is a simple political appointment and the monarch would be most unlikely to reject a ‘recommendation’ made by the Prime Minister. In the Enabling Act of 1919, passed in the aftermath of World War I, the Church Assembly gained the right to prepare legislation on ecclesiastical measures and to present them to Parliament. Such measures may be accepted or rejected, but not amended, and the grip which the politicians sought to keep on the church is illustrated by the fact that when a new Book of Common Prayer was prepared and submitted by the Church Assembly it was rejected by parliament twice, in 1927 and 1928. Subsequent measures, in 1965 and 1974, relaxed these controls and permitted the use of revised forms of worship.

A meeting of the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches, in which Temple was heavily involved, had been due to meet in London on November 5 and it went ahead under very difficult circumstances a few days later. Subsequently a special effort was made to step up the inter-church aid program, to plan for reconstruction and reorganization of the church across Europe and to sustain and boost interest in the ecumenical movement and the formation of the WCC within the churches of the United States and Canada. It was not only the Vatican and the Zionist movement which were out to tap the support and resources of the nation which, because of unfolding circumstances, was about to dominate post war affairs in every field.³⁸⁷ And for the time being they all looked forward to something like stability in US policy and affairs because they knew they could deal with the same administration and the same president. Roosevelt had been re-elected on November 7 with a majority of over three and a half million votes.

And in the USA, another of the key organizations in world Jewish affairs, the World Jewish Congress (WJC), met in emergency session in Atlantic City from November 26 to 30.³⁸⁸ Since the implementation of Hitler’s ‘final solution’ had begun the WJC had maintained steady pressure on the US Government to facilitate programs to rescue victims of Nazi policies in Europe. In 1943 Morgenthau had used his influence as Treasury Secretary to obtain State Department approval of a Congress plan to transfer private funds of US citizens to Europe for the rescue of French and Rumanian Jews. Then in January 1944 he accused the State Department of not only failing to use the machinery of government available to it for rescue work but of using other machinery to prevent the rescue of those the Congress sought to help. It was at his suggestion that Roosevelt then set up the War Refugee Board.

But the WJC was also concerned with the related issues of the rights of survivors and the heirs of victims – reparations – which had been on its agenda since 1941 when it was raised by its president, Dr Nahum Goldmann. Immediately following the WJC’s emergency meeting Dr Siegfried Moses, who later became Comptroller-General of Israel, established a Council for the Protection of the Rights and Interests of German Jews. The issue was so complex that it took years to resolve and directly involved the government of the State of Israel, the Jewish Agency, the Joint Distribution Board, the Jewish Claims Conference and the World Jewish Congress before four agreements, each forming part of the *Luxembourg Treaty* with West Germany, were signed in September 1952. But the issue also triggered crises within the Jewish community and

in relations between the Jewish and Arab communities which erupted as negotiations with West Germany proceeded.³⁸⁹

It was not only the situation in Europe which had given the Zionist movement cause to hit the panic button in November 1944. The assassination of the British Minister to the Middle East, Lord Moyne, a personal friend of Churchill, in Cairo on November 6 had set back the cause of Zionism more than any other single factor. In general terms, it was very difficult for the British authorities to identify, locate and obtain evidence against any Jewish terrorists operating in or from Palestine, so very few had been brought to trial. But Churchill's support was so important – much more so than all the extortion murders, indiscriminate shooting of British police and sabotage attacks which had reached a new peak in the latter half of 1944 – that the two youthful members of the Lechi who committed the murder were denounced to the British, tried, convicted and hanged in only a matter of ten weeks. On November 17, eleven days after the assassination, in one of his very rare public references to his personal commitment to Zionism, Churchill told the Commons: "If our dreams for Zionism are to end in the smoke of an assassin's pistol and the labours for its future produce a new set of gangsters worthy of Nazi Germany, many, like myself, will have to reconsider the position we have maintained so consistently and so long in the past. "

Talks between the British Government and the Zionist Executive were suspended and Jewish Agency appeals for increased migration into Palestine were rebuffed. Weizmann, who had dined with Churchill only two days before the assassination, promised that Palestine Jewry would take stern action to root out the evil in its midst, and Ben-Gurion called for the Haganah to deny such gangsters shelter and assistance.^{390 391}

Such bitterness and such terror were symptomatic of the antagonism between the Zionist movement and the British authorities. Far from being the end of violence that incident was a mere curtain raiser for the main event which was to come. Even so, the British Labour Party seems to have been less affected by it than Churchill and the Zionist movement turned increasingly to it for support.

In December, 1944, the Labour Party's annual conference, gearing up for the 1945 elections, adopted *The Attlee Plan* for Arab re-settlement from Palestine to other Arab lands to enable Jews to become a majority in that country. Attlee and Churchill had been together with Weizmann on several occasions, notably when Churchill briefed Weizmann on the unpublished British plan for the partition of Palestine. In the wake of the Moyne assassination and the cooling in relations between Churchill and the World Zionist Movement, Attlee was clearly bidding for the Jewish vote. He was also eager to tap into the enormous support which Churchill had gained from his Forum connection. He told the conference that Arabs should be encouraged to move out of Palestine so that Jews could move in, that they should be "handsomely compensated" for it, and that as the Arabs had many wide territories they should not seek to exclude the Jews from the little territory of Palestine. The resolution adopted even noted that Britain "should examine the possibility" of extending the boundaries of Palestine in

agreement with Egypt, Syria and Transjordan.³⁹² The Labour Party's new position was in such contrast to the *Alexandria Protocol* that increased conflict in Palestine was inevitable.

NO BOMB. NO CAUSE FOR CONCERN

While the WJC was meeting in Atlantic City, a special unit of the American intelligence services, Alsos, accompanied US forces when the city of Strasbourg was occupied and learned that Germany's scientists were not as advanced in nuclear technology as the Allies had feared. Their work was still at a theoretical assessment level and it would have been several years before Germany could have produced an atomic bomb. They had not even separated any pure uranium-235 and it was "inconceivable" that Germany could have had an atomic bomb at the point of completion anywhere.^{393 394}

Clearly the Germans were nearing defeat. It was only a matter of time. The likelihood that the joint US-British 'Tube Alloys' project would provide a bomb while it could still be used to eliminate Hitler and shorten the war was remote. The possibility of it being used for the purpose for which it was conceived was therefore remote indeed. Some of the scientists working on the project were already having second thoughts about whether it should continue.³⁹⁵ But the project had developed a momentum of its own and the politicians believed there was a lot at stake. What if the intelligence reports were wrong? They wanted a demonstration. And in any case there were the post war relationships to consider and the future of the *Grand Alliance* did not look good. Development work continued at a frenetic pace.

In Iran, where the Soviet Union was pressing the Iranian government for a political agreement on expanded oil concessions, cabinet's decision in September to postpone all discussions on oil until after the war had only intensified Soviet pressure. Following the Moscow conference between Churchill and Stalin the Moscow press had begun a sustained attack on the Iranian government, Soviet authorities in Iran held up grain shipments and interfered in elections, and the Tudeh, a Moscow backed workers party made up largely of leftists who had been jailed by Reza Shah and granted amnesty by his son, had exploited disaffection with the Iranian regime through organized demonstrations and attacks on the government, openly aided by the Red Army. By November they had succeed in ousting the Iranian Prime Minister. In response, the Iranian Parliament, the Majlis, chose a new PM, Morteza Bayat, and in December it passed a law forbidding oil negotiations between cabinets and foreigners and making oil concessions dependent on parliament.³⁹⁶

In Italy, where the Allies were still unable to break through to the Po Valley, great political instability led to the resignation of the government of Bonomi at the end of November. The Communists had agreed to accept the monarchy temporarily, and there was strong pressure for the establishment of a coalition government with Christian Democrats, Socialists and Communists.³⁹⁷ But the British Government chose to intervene and announced that it would not recognize any government in which Count Carlo Sforza was either prime minister or foreign secretary. An anti-Fascist diplomat and statesman, Sforza had been forced into exile during the

Fascist era when he refused to serve under Benito Mussolini and resigned his appointment as ambassador to France. He lived abroad as lecturer and political commentator, in Belgium until 1939 and in the United States after 1940, until he returned to Italy in 1943 following the Allied occupation. The British government apparently believed that his appointment to the government indicated US intentions to ‘pilot’ Italy from the back seat and thus have direct input into European politics. This British intervention brought howls from the new US Secretary of State, Edward Stettinius, on December 5, 1944, that the composition of the Italian Government was a purely *domestic* matter which should not be influenced from outside.³⁹⁸ Given the nature of US intervention in China’s leadership appointments and its subsequent bizarre interference in elections around the world, that was another case of sheer hypocrisy. Its definition of a “domestic matter” is quite problematic.

Pius XII still strongly favoured the Fascist model with intimate links between the church and the ruling elite, and he was actively working against both the communist model and the Western democratic model. He objected strongly to the American-style free-enterprise democracy which extolled individualism and consumerism and brought with it a flood of American clothes, movies, pop music, beer, cigarettes, chewing gum, *Coca Cola* and *Reader’s Digests* (distributed with US government backing) in the wake of the flood of American occupation troops. Therefore, having been a party to the disbanding of the former Catholic Popular Party by Pius XI, and having engineered the demise of the German Centre Party himself, Pius XII now sponsored the rise of the Christian Democrats. It was not a confessional Catholic party but it was strongly supported by a loose coalition of Catholic Action, the clergy, the church’s religious communities and “the formidable constituency of voters who feared the Communists.” He saw this as a move towards “the best of all possible worlds:” the Spanish model of “a seamless Catholic-corporatist state ... (with leadership based on selection rather than election) ... a partnership between two sovereignties, the temporal and the spiritual, both Catholic and loyal to the Pontiff.” To encourage this ‘vision’, and either in spite of Franco’s readiness to impose his will on the church or in an effort to encourage him to soften his approach, Pius XII therefore honoured the Caudillo with the highest Vatican decoration, the Supreme Order of Christ. Franco responded. He sponsored parties of pilgrims who would cry out at public gatherings in St. Peter’s Square, “Spain for the Pope,” and Pius XII would call back, “And the Pope for Spain.”³⁹⁹

But the American concern was equally directed at the British intervention in Greece. Even though it had been carried out with US agreement and Soviet acquiescence, the Americans were eager to distance themselves from it after civil war broke out in Athens on December 3, 1944. Communist supporters had confronted police in a banned demonstration. When they refused to leave the city next day and attempted to seize the capital by force, Churchill took personal charge of the situation and ordered the British contingent to fire on the armed mobs. The situation deteriorated rapidly and, with estimates of Communist forces ranging from twelve to twenty two thousand, substantial British reinforcements were required.

ANOTHER CHANGE OF HEART

Thus, as the Fascist Movement collapsed around him and people turned more and more to the Italian Communist Party which was styled on the Moscow model, and the influence of Communist Parties in surrounding countries grew, Pius XII was forced to modify his stand. In his Christmas broadcast he “grudgingly and guardedly gave democracy his blessing.” To justify his shifting position he turned to Leo XIII who had been elected pope in 1878 at the height of the German Kulturkampf. (Chapter 15, pp. 23 ff.) Europe was then in political chaos; the Catholic Church was being pummeled heavily; Leo XIII was in a middle of a round of concordat writing, and he achieved a coup by signing one with Bismarck and deflecting the Chancellor’s wrath from the Catholic Church to the Jews. Then in 1888, in his bid for a few more, he made the statement which Pius XII now sought refuge behind, after having contradicted it directly in his own encyclicals of 1938 and 1939. Pius XII conceded that Leo XIII had said that the Catholic Church *does not condemn* “any of the various forms of government, provided they are in themselves adapted to secure the welfare of the citizens,” but he then he pointed out the dangers of democracy as “the mindless rule of the ‘masses’ ... (and that it was) ... unworkable *without the auspices of the Catholic Church*.” That qualifying comment camouflaged the contradictions which he had made in his various encyclicals and addresses and he went on to say “[*The Church*] communicates that supernatural strength of grace which is needed to implement *the absolute order established by God*, that order which is the ultimate foundation *and guiding norm for every democracy*.”⁴⁰⁰ With the church as the divinely appointed and exclusive interpreter and administrator of that *absolute order established by God* there was to be no provision for cultural, religious or political diversity or pluralism. Nor was there, in the pope’s Christmas address, any “exploration of social Catholicism and the need for complex webs of communities to enrich the space between the state and the individual.”⁴⁰¹

If Pius XII had not modified his overriding stand in favour of Fascism he would have been seriously out of step with the ideals of Christian-based democracy which were being espoused by leaders such as De Gasperi in Italy, Schuman in France, and Adenauer in Germany, and the aspirations of people across Europe. His tunnel vision can be summed up thus: democracy led either to the dubious values of the United States or to the “spectre of socialism” which he deemed to be a precursor of Communism, and the United States stood for “a dangerous relativism that entertained all manner of creeds, denominations, and affiliations including Protestantism and Freemasonry.” America’s unabashed materialism was a counterpart to the atheistic materialism of the Soviet Union but, pragmatically, in his view, “the choice between the two great power blocs was being for Communism or being against it.” He saw Italy as the front line of the East West divide with the imminent threat of a Communist takeover followed by “the martyrdom of the Catholic Church” and he therefore emphatically sided with the West as the lesser of two evils – a position which led to him being labelled the “Chaplain of the North Atlantic Alliance” with a very pragmatic alliance between the United States, the Italian

Christian Democrats and the Vatican to prevent “the Cossacks and Stalin camping in St. Peter’s Square.”⁴⁰²

The pope’s action was completely consistent with the historical pattern of conduct of the church in that as he sought to suppress one challenge he failed to see that he was aggravating another. The things which he objected to in American consumerism have subsequently become the trigger point for an era of bitter antagonism between the Third World and the Western World as a consequence of the globalization of the world economy. That process is widely viewed by ordinary people of the Third World – in contrast to the business elite who benefit from the process – as the export by the West of undesirable patterns of life. And the West is still similar to the amorphous Christian gel which was responsible for the abuses of the European colonial era, the major difference being that it is now dominated by the Judeo-Christian giant which used to call itself “The New Israel,” the United States. The antagonism takes on different patterns dependant upon where it is occurring, but it has very important components of both religion and politics. Because of the circumstances in which it has evolved it is now largely regarded, in the West, as “Islam against the West.” The reasons will become apparent as we progress through the post war years and observe the links between technical and social changes or ‘developments’, and it is sufficient to note at this point some of the earlier linkages and that both excessive consumerism and economic globalization have flourished within the framework of the Protestant Work Ethic which took root in nineteenth century America and was deliberately exploited during the twentieth. (See chapter 16.) The Protestant Work Ethic was intimately related to the excesses of unbridled Capitalism and, with those two factors together providing the driving and driven wheels of the colossal American steamroller, they were soon to power American expansionism in the wake of the Second World War.

But the things which Pius XII objected to and was prepared to accept as “the lesser of two evils” were already products of earlier decisions taken by the church on the basis of its self-understanding and challenges to those decisions and reactions against that self-understanding. They were also linked to the anti-church-establishment attitudes which spawned the First Amendment to the constitution of the United States and intimately linked to the American anti-Vatican environment which had made it necessary for Roosevelt to use subterfuge to get around Congressional opposition to the appointment of an ambassador to the Holy See. (See chapter 23, pp. 11 ff.) They were tied, in turn, to the origins of colonial settlement in North America and in particular the influence of two waves of settlers. The first wave was the papal standard bearers inspired by the a papal bull “*Rominus Pontifex*” in 1454. (See chapters 9 and 11.) The second was the rash of Protestant communities known as ‘The Pilgrim Fathers’ who were escaping in order to old-fashion the ‘New World’ to the perfect Biblical model, not with the aim of making history, but of fulfilling theology. They were escaping religious persecution in Europe to put their Christianity into practice. (See chapter 12.) So the things which Pius XII objected to were an intimate part of the amorphous Christian gel in exactly the same manner as anti-Semitism.

When he condemned Soviet Communism so trenchantly and gave his papal blessing to Capitalism in his twin encyclicals of 1937, *Mit Brennender Sorge* and *Divini Redemptoris*, (see

chapter 20, p. 31) he did not appreciate that he was releasing yet another genie.

The pope asserted then that the Christian civilization or social order was the true *civitas humana*, that it was based on the natural law with divinely imposed obligations which were expounded in the age-old doctrines of the church concerning the individual and social character of private property which explain the right and dignity of labour, the relations of mutual aid and collaboration which should exist between those who possess capital and those who work. He noted: *“The Communism of today, more emphatically than similar movements in the past, conceals in itself a false messianic idea. A pseudo-ideal of justice, of equality and fraternity in labour impregnates all its doctrine and activity with a deceptive mysticism, which communicates a zealous and contagious enthusiasm to the multitudes entrapped by delusive promises.* This is especially true in an age like ours, when unusual misery has resulted from the unequal distribution of the goods of this world. This pseudo-ideal is even boastfully advanced as if it were responsible for a certain economic progress. As a matter of fact, *when such [economic] progress is at all real, its true causes are quite different, as for instance the intensification of industrialism in countries which were formally almost without it, the exploitation of immense natural resources, and the use of the most brutal methods to insure the achievement of gigantic projects with a minimum of expense.”*⁴⁰³ (Emphasis added)

Pius XII said he was talking about Communism. But *never* in the history of humanity has money – the dollar, whether gold or not – been elevated to the level of ‘worship’ and been credited with messianic capacities to the extent that is now the case. And *never* in the history of humanity has the abuse of the environment and people in the process of resource exploitation reached the levels ‘achieved’ under Western Capitalism. Pius XII thought he was talking about Communism. He was trying to suppress the theological challenge of Marxist Communism by attacking economic and social policies of the Soviet Union. His descriptions – the terms he used – were more appropriate to evolving Western Capitalism, but he was giving that his blessing. However while he had blessed Capitalism in 1937 he did *not* bless democracy. He wanted Capitalism within a framework of Fascism or other totalitarian regimes with which he could relate and with which he could enter into concordats to control civil society in an overall totalitarian environment.

After giving those descriptions of the woes of the world and claiming that the established Christian society has divine origins and is the ideal state, Pius XII made the barely compatible concession that Christian employers and industrialists “are saddled with the heavy heritage of an unjust economic regime whose ruinous influence has been felt through many generations” but proceeded to say that the poor “while engaged, according to the laws of charity and justice, in acquiring the necessities of life and also in bettering their condition, should always remain ‘poor in spirit’ and hold spiritual goods in higher esteem than earthly property and pleasures ... [remembering] that the world will never be able to rid itself of misery, sorrow and tribulation, which are the portion even of those who seem prosperous.” *The poor should be patient*, the pope said, because patience comforts the heart with the divine assurance of eternal happiness, and “the more the workingmen and the poor realise what the spirit of love animated by the

virtue of Christ is doing for them, the more readily *they will abandon the false persuasion that Christianity has lost its efficacy and that the Church stands on the side of the exploiters of their labour.*"⁴⁰⁴ The enemies of the church, he noted, "accuse her of having failed to act in conformity with her principles, and from this conclude to the necessity of seeking other solutions." But "the utter falseness and injustice of this accusation is shown by the whole history of Christianity ... (and) ... it was Christianity that first affirmed the real and universal brotherhood of all men of whatever race and condition ... (and) ... with an amplitude and conviction unknown to preceding centuries ... potently contributed to the abolition of slavery."⁴⁰⁵

The pope's recollection of history had again deserted him. The poor were condemned to a long wait. Instead of pausing as the parody of *Mein Kampf* approached its final scene to reflect on the challenges of both the parody and Marxist Atheism with its social policies and philosophy which were, in many respects, more attune to the teachings of the Gospel and human needs, he encouraged the socially destructive tendencies of a system which was cloaked in a mantle of Christianity. He rejected a middle course, encouragement of the welfare and economic philosophies of Socialism, because of a fear and an assumption that welfare socialism must automatically result in rejection of the *church's teachings*. His error in that sense was the same as that of his predecessors over a very long period: equating the *teachings* of the church – its doctrinal base and its dogma – to the Gospels and to the recognition and worship of God. He was rejecting, yet again, the challenge to rethink the complex web of doctrine and dogma which hung between humanity and God. His attitude towards Socialism was also consistent with his opposition to Ecumenism. Welfare Socialism was strongest in those streams of the church in which the humanitarian or social philosophy thrusts of the Gospel were strongest, such as in John Wesley's Methodism and a number of fragments of the church away from the mainstream. It was in these fragments that there was a deeply held commitment to the teachings on welfare and community responsibility which are the main thrust of the Mosaic Law of the Torah (the first five books of the Bible) and which are reflected in the Letter of James with his insistence that 'faith without action is dead' (James 2:18–20), and also in the community welfare teachings of the Qur'an. And it was these fragments which placed least emphasis on the concept of personal salvation, which rejected the notion that redemption was tied strictly to naming Jesus of Nazareth as Saviour and adherence to the sacraments, and which also presented the greatest challenge to papal authority and the self-understanding of the mainstream church. The whole episode was symptomatic of either failure to recognize or determination to reject the challenge of *Mein Kampf*, and failure to recognize the basis of the trouble in the triangle.

In any case the power brokers of the United States were indeed happy to have the support of the pope for their brand of Capitalism linked to democracy – as the Chaplain of the North Atlantic Alliance – even if his support was given so reluctantly and with such concern for the impact of their policies. They shared Churchill's enthusiasm for a new alliance. The United States very promptly applied intense pressure to Britain until Churchill and Eden visited Greece for several days from Christmas eve, arranged a truce between the warring factions to allow a

conference to be held, and persuaded Archbishop Damaskinos to act as regent pending a plebiscite on the future of the monarchy. A new government took office on January 3, 1945, and an armistice was agreed on January 11. Churchill chose to represent the incident in terms of protecting the legal government and the monarchy but the world knew it was an exercise in suppressing Communism.

Following Mikolajczyk's visit to Moscow with Churchill and his resignation as premier of the London Polish Government-in-exile, the dispute between the London Poles and the Lublin Committee, which Stalin recognized, continued in parallel with the Communist uprising in Greece. With hard liners in control of the London Government, Stalin warned Roosevelt on December 27 (while Churchill and Eden were still in Athens) that if the Lublin Committee were to declare itself a provisional government in Poland it would be recognized by the Soviet Union. The declaration was made on January 1, and four days later, despite a plea from Roosevelt to postpone such a move, Stalin advised the president that Soviet recognition had been granted.

On January 12 the tug of war for control of Eastern Europe became an even more one sided affair when the Soviet army occupied Warsaw, and the scene was set for some straight talking when the Big Three met at Yalta on February 4.

In the meantime, in France, DeGaulle had started to patch up some of the cracks which divided his country by having talks with each of the Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders, separately, on January 1. In the Far East the Japanese had replaced the Vichy French puppet government in Indochina with a military administration after the governor-general swore allegiance to DeGaulle; and in the Middle East fallout from the signing of the *Alexandria Protocol* continued. The prime ministers of Syria and Jordan, both of whom had led their country's delegations to the conference, were dismissed because of dissatisfaction with the drafting which was said to make the proposed *Arab League* unworkable. Reaction in Lebanon was also mixed and criticism by the Christian Arab community was particularly severe. The Maronite Patriarch and the Falangists denounced the protocol as an attack on Lebanese sovereignty.⁴⁰⁶ But Ibn Saud gave his approval to the document and then issued a note urging that the League establish a joint military committee to defend Arab Palestine by force if necessary. In response, on January 9, Stettinius advised Roosevelt that it was significant that Ibn Saud should "regard himself as a champion of the Arabs of Palestine and would himself feel it an honour to die for their cause."⁴⁰⁷

Next day Roosevelt 'withdrew' the Anglo-American oil agreement which had been signed on August 8 1944 to have it redrafted in the face of strong objections from the American oil industry. The revised version was ready late in February but after months of delay the Petroleum Administrator, Ickes, announced that it would be the subject of further talks with Britain.⁴⁰⁸

Then Roosevelt received some very blunt advice from James Landis, the Director of Economic Operations in the Middle East. Landis warned that any proposals in relation to

Palestine must be far reaching and get to the root of the matter. “[The government’s] approach to the problem must start from the insistence that the objective of the Jewish commonwealth or the Jewish State as distinguished from the Jewish national home must be given up. The political objective implicit in the Jewish state idea will never be accepted by the Arab nations and is not consistent with the principles of the *Atlantic Charter*, nor is the Jewish state idea demanded by the mandate.”⁴⁰⁹

Landis proposed that immigration should be related to the economic absorptive capacity of Palestine which, he said, had been “grossly exaggerated” rather than to the political issue of the Jewish minority or majority. This would give some hope of “striking an acceptable compromise” with the Arabs.

On January 15, with the area under his control shrinking by the hour, Hitler returned to Berlin and his Chancellery bunker. On January 17 an order was given for an end to the mass gassing of Jews at Auschwitz, the evacuation of the camp and the destruction of all evidence of what had taken place there. The curtain had risen on the final act of the parody of *Mein Kampf*. Next day the mass evacuation began of about 60,000 persons from Auschwitz and other concentration and death camps in the east. The evacuees included Jews, Poles, forced labourers from all across Europe and prisoners of war. Thousands did not survive the forced march west towards Silesia. The demolition of gas chambers, crematoria and ‘treasure stores’ began almost immediately. And as three million Russian troops poured through breaches in the German eastern front following the massive assault launched on January 12, more than two million Germans, struggling to keep in front of the Russia advance, became the newest class of Europe’s refugees.⁴¹⁰

On the 25th Hitler’s Chief of the General Staff, Guderian, urged Ribbentrop to seek an immediate armistice with the West so that what was left of the German armies could be thrown against the Russians to prevent them from swamping Germany. He got a dressing down from Hitler for his trouble.⁴¹¹

Two days later Russian forces captured what was left of Auschwitz. Blasting had been carried out even that day, but there was still ample evidence in the stores which had not been destroyed of the scale of the crime perpetrated.⁴¹² That night, in a response to the Allies bickering over the British action against the Communists in Greece which can only be described as a flight of fancy, Hitler, Goering and Jodl seriously discussed Guderian’s armistice proposal. They thought that the British and Americans so feared a Bolshevik takeover that they might call a halt to the battles on the western front and join Germany in driving off the Soviet troops in the east.⁴¹³

On January 30 Hitler broadcast to the nation. It was a pitiful performance but he was consistent. He had not relented and he maintained his attack on international Jewry and Asiatic Bolshevism to the last. He called for a final desperate sacrifice to overcome the calamity, saying that despite everything the crisis would be mastered by “our unalterable will.” The nation which

had represented Europe against the East for one thousand five hundred years, “our Greater German Reich” would continue to do so, he said.⁴¹⁴

YALTA: TO PLAN, OR TO SCHEME?

By that time Churchill and Roosevelt were together at Malta, trying to patch over their differences before they went to Yalta for conferences with Stalin from February 4 to 11, 1945. In the buildup to the Yalta Conference tensions between the Western Allies had risen further over Britain’s intervention in each of Yugoslavia, Greece and Italy. The reasons were several. In the first instance, with an administration in the United States which for the most part did not see Russian Communism in the same dangerous role as did the extremists of the McCarthy era a few years later, there were some American politicians who believed that Churchill was intent on re-establishing out-moded monarchies wherever possible and that a return to regimes of imperial colonialism would have worse consequences, world wide, than Communist rule. Having succeeded in ending several European monarchies after World War I those people were determined that they would now bring down a few more, and in an effort to make Britain change course they took full advantage of public concern in Britain, Europe, the United States and elsewhere that British troops were being used to put down Communist troops who had been fighting alongside them against Hitler until only a few weeks before.

An equally important source of tension, however, was the fear that British behaviour was setting a bad precedent for the Russians. In Russia itself, British intervention was seen at one level as the direct outcome of the percentages agreement which Churchill had discussed with Stalin in October. At another level, though, it was seen as a timely reminder that hostility to communism was as deeply entrenched as it had always been, and a deliberate message that the influence of Communism was not to be allowed to spread any further. Britain was therefore providing all the encouragement the Soviets may have needed or wanted to firmly tighten control of their own sphere of influence in Eastern Europe. And that, of course, did not suit the United States, since it further contradicted public claims that the peace would be based on the *Atlantic Charter*, and it would therefore threaten public support for the administration’s plans for post-war cooperation.

The American public certainly had genuine cause for concern. In Rumania, following the Red Army’s arrival in August 1944, a new coalition government had been established after King Michael had overthrown the pro-German regime and an armistice had been signed with the Russians. Initially a tiny minority, by October the Communists were in a position to challenge the political power of the anti-Russian Peasant and Liberal parties. United with other leftists parties as the Nationalist Democratic Front, and supported by the Soviets through the Soviet-dominated Allied Control Commission, which oversaw the terms of the armistice, they accused their opponents of reaction and fascism and successfully obtained some reorganization of the coalition government.⁴¹⁵ Further reorganizations quickly followed, with the appointment in December of the government of an anti-Semite reactionary, General Nicolae Radescu, which

immediately came under intense pressure from the left. By January, with clashes intensifying and peasants in some areas ‘spontaneously’ redistributing land under Communist party direction, there was a risk of civil war.

A similar situation had developed in Bulgaria where, days after it declared war on Germany in September 1944, the communist-led anti-fascist ‘Fatherland Front’ had installed itself in government and had welcomed the advancing Red Army. Finding no resistance in a political vacuum, the Bulgarian Communist party rapidly expanded from 15,000 members at the time of the ‘September Revolution’ to the point where in January it could claim 200,000.⁴¹⁶ By then its supporters and others of the Fatherland Front had come into conflict with those of the former pro-fascist regime and its remnants, and while roving communist militants scoured the countryside savagely settling scores with pro-fascists, special courts instituted by the Communist-controlled Ministry of the Interior proceeded to effect an extensive purge.⁴¹⁷

POLAND: STILL THE BUFFER

However, it was the Soviet’s use of the same police-state methods in Poland which was politically most explosive. In the lead-up to Stalin’s recognition of the Lublin Committee as the provisional government of Poland, the Soviet security police, the notorious NKVD, had ruthlessly suppressed independent resistance groups, including those that had helped the Soviet advance. Then, while the Lublin Communists called publicly for a united democratic front, the NKVD provoked dissent by killing, arresting and deporting people and denouncing them as “terrorist bandits’ and “pro-fascist rebels’. By early 1945 the situation had virtually become an undeclared civil war.⁴¹⁸

Concern on the part of the United States government was therefore considerable. The continuation of such policies not only threatened to destroy support for Roosevelt’s policy of cooperation with the Soviets, it also threatened the prospect of US participation in the new world peace organization. However, the Soviets could hardly be expected to moderate their behaviour if the British did not do so as well. Publicly, therefore, Britain was subject to intense pressure, even if in his personal telegrams to Churchill Roosevelt studiously refrained from outright criticism of British actions.

Indeed, there was certainly growing concern among many people that Churchill’s belligerent anti-Communist attitude would result in an immediate World War III with Western guns simply turned towards Moscow instead of Berlin. Nevertheless, for all their anti-British posturing American leaders were mistaken about the most fundamental source of uncertainty in great power relations. They were simply incapable of seeing that it was their want to sit astride the world economic and political dung hill, and the resulting secrecy which they had imposed on atomic research and development, which had become just as important as Churchill’s anti-Communism of 1944 and 1945. In fact it was central to the crisis in international relationships. Development of the bomb was never discussed at meetings of the Big Three and Roosevelt assumed that Stalin knew nothing of it. In fact Stalin was well briefed on both the stage of

development and the efforts which the United States had taken to prevent any information flow to Russia. However it was to be another year before the extent and the effectiveness of information flow from scientists working on 'Tube Alloys' to Russia was discovered by the Americans. That discovery was so embarrassing for the US that its gross over reaction caused shock waves which totally undermined relations between East and West and brought the world perilously close to another world war on several occasions.

Karl Marx' philosophical and economic challenge to the Christian Western World's self-understanding had been muted somewhat by the cooperation between opposing ideologies which the additional challenge of Hitler's parody had made necessary. But now, as the Second World War moved into its closing phase, it was being further aggravated and elevated to the level of a major world crisis. Britain's attitude was being fuelled by fear and that of the United States by greed, but Russia would soon be accused of single handedly causing the problem.

So the Big Three sat down to talk, with the Polish question assuming centre stage. It was discussed at seven of the eight plenary sessions during the Yalta Conference and even then none of them were really satisfied with the agreement reached. It was, in Churchill's words, the most urgent reason for that Conference and it was to prove "the first of the great causes which led to the breakdown of the *Grand Alliance*."⁴¹⁹

For Churchill, the restoration of an independent Polish State was a "matter of honour" and because Britain had hosted the government-in-exile right through the war it would be a matter of "betrayal" if it transferred recognition to another government at that stage. His support for Stalin's boundary proposals was part of his effort to ensure the continuation of Poland as a free, independent and sovereign nation and he told the other leaders that that achievement was much more important than particular territorial boundaries. With a politician's short memory for facts he said that Great Britain had no material interest of any kind in Poland and "honour was the sole reason why we had drawn the sword to help Poland against Hitler's brutal onslaught." He omitted to say that because of the conspiracy of silence that was what the public had been told and that was what they had believed. And he also omitted to say that the primary factors were the threat to Britain's grasp on its empire and the pressure it was under from the Zionist lobby, of which he personally had been an important part. Instead he said that going to war on Poland's behalf, so ill-armed, "nearly cost us our life, not only as an empire but as a nation." And perhaps he had the Vatican in mind when he added: "Poland must be mistress in her own house and captain of her own soul. Such freedom must not cover any hostile design by Poland or by any Polish group, possibly in intrigue with Germany, against Russia; but the World Organization that [is] being set up [will] surely never tolerate such action or leave Soviet Russia to deal with it alone."⁴²⁰

Roosevelt's agenda was to avoid an outright Communist take-over of Poland, but he didn't express it in those terms. He stressed the need for the norms of representative government: for a government of national unity drawn from the five main political parties and all regions. He opposed recognition of the 'Lublin Government' because it represented "only a small section of

Poland and of the Polish nation” And he was eager that if the Curzon line was adopted as the eastern boundary, the Soviet Government “would grant some concession” such as the Lwow oil fields staying in (a capitalist) Poland to counterbalance the loss of Konigsberg.⁴²¹

Stalin said his concerns related to both honour and security. Honour: because Russia had had many conflicts with Poland over a long period and it wished to eliminate the causes of such conflict. Security: because throughout history Poland had been the corridor through which Russia’s enemies had moved to attack her, because it was relatively weak, including Germany twice in thirty years. Confirming Poland’s role as a buffer, he said Russia wanted a strong, independent but friendly Poland which could shut the door itself. It was a matter of life or death for Russia, but the Soviet Government was not adopting a Czarist policy of suppression and assimilation to control the buffer. He was happy with an independent Polish government as long as it was not antagonistic to Russia. And it was not him but the London Poles who had made any discussion on a new Polish government pointless.⁴²²

What Stalin did not say was that for a host of reasons the Soviet Union could only conclude that it needed that buffer as much as it ever had. To begin with there was the possibility that the Western powers would rebuild a capitalist Germany which would naturally ally itself with the West in any dispute between the Big Three. There was also the immensely weakened state of the Soviet Union due to the enormous losses suffered as a consequence of the war. There was the fact that the new world organization of which Churchill had spoken so kindly would be dominated by countries allied to the Western powers, and there was the decided lack of friendliness being shown by the British in their virulent anti-Communist interventions which also had to be taken into consideration. And there was the fact that the United States was holding the atomic bomb behind its back and assuming the role of ‘the enforcer’ for Capitalism.

WHAT OF GERMANY?

Other issues canvassed during the conference discussions further illustrated the double talk and conflicts of interest for Britain and the United States. The Western Allies had previously proposed that Germany would be partitioned into zones which could develop into self-contained states. This, according to the reasoning of the time, would avoid reunification and the development of another German threat. The Soviets had agreed unenthusiastically. But the number of zones and responsibility for providing the army of occupation, and the method of government had not been settled. In any case, each of the three great powers would provide an army of occupation until stability had been achieved. But when Roosevelt at Yalta advised that the United States was only prepared to garrison troops in Europe for two years, Churchill advised that Britain could not increase its commitment to fill the consequent shortfall. This meant, he said, that France would have to contribute an army of occupation as well as establishing and maintaining an army for its own defence and that was likely to cause it severe strain. Then the truth of Britain’s position came out. Russia was not the only country that wanted a friendly power controlling a vital buffer zone, (Poland in its case), between it and

Germany. Britain did, too, and its buffer zone was France. A strong France was vital not only to Europe but to Great Britain, Churchill said. She alone could deny the rocket sites on her Channel coast and build up an army to contain the Germans. To give France a zone of occupation was by no means the end of the matter, he said. Germany would surely rise again and while the Americans could go home (and be out of retaliation range) the French had to live next door to her.⁴²³

Britain certainly didn't want either an antagonistic power or one which was weak and easily over-run between her and Germany. Why, then, should Russia have to contemplate the prospect? Moreover, as Stalin pointed out, why should the Western Allies insist on an elected and representative government for Poland when the government of France which the West recognized could make no better claim? All of this manoeuvring merely illustrated the fact that the Allies' attempts to apply moral principles to Soviet behaviour in Eastern Europe were fatally flawed by their own compromised and self-interested standards. Quite simply, they wanted to eat their cake and have it too.

Nevertheless, Stalin was not above double talk when it suited his own purposes. Despite his earlier reluctance to endorse the permanent break-up of Germany it was now he who insisted that the Allies reach a formal commitment to dismemberment. His argument was simple: What if, he asked, a group within Germany overthrew Hitler and accepted the terms of unconditional surrender? Were the Allies prepared to treat with such a group as they had done in Italy? If so, should not dismemberment form a part of the surrender terms?

Churchill was strongly opposed, while Roosevelt agreed. Eventually it was agreed in principle to dismember Germany with the question of the number of states Germany was to be divided into left open, (thus leaving Churchill an escape clause); to include in the formal surrender terms a qualified statement advocating dismemberment "to the extent necessary to safeguard peace and security"; and to refer the question of implementation to another body for further study.

Stalin's motives were simple, and demonstrate how far his allies were from earning his trust. Firstly, by insisting on a decision he was able to test the waters on British and American attitudes to rebuilding Germany. Secondly, by including dismemberment in the terms of surrender he ensured that the Western Powers, either alone or together, would find it impossible to do a last minute deal with a German group which might result in an alliance of all against the Soviet Union. By March, little more than a month after Yalta, Soviet support for dismemberment had in fact been repudiated.⁴²⁴

REPARATIONS, OF COURSE

At Yalta the Big Three were also forced to contend with some key issues left in the 'too hard basket' from their previous meeting. Unfortunately the discussions did not always provide satisfactory solutions. One case was the payment of reparations by Germany. Another was the United Nations procedure for voting and the power of veto.

The debate on payment of reparations centred on a plan presented by Russia which demanded a total of \$20 billion dollars in goods and heavy capital equipment to be removed over a ten year period. Reparations would be shared among the victors according to the size of their contribution to the victory and the losses they had sustained. On that basis Russia was to get \$10 billion; Britain and the United States would share \$8 billion; and the rest would be divided among other countries. Roosevelt, who had still not decided between the State Department's plans for Germany's reconstruction and Morgenthau's plan for repression, was sympathetic. The Russian proposal fell somewhere between. Though he renounced any interest on the part of the United States in receiving reparations, he expressed his willingness to use the Soviet figures as the basis for further discussions. The Germans, he stated, should keep enough to prevent them starving, but they certainly should not be left with living standards higher than the Russians.

Churchill expressed resolute opposition, arguing that the sums being demanded were unrealistic. Experience after World War I had demonstrated that reparations didn't work. Moreover, Germany must be left with enough export earnings to pay for imports of food. Though he acknowledged that Russia had faced the greatest losses in the war, Britain faced the most desperate financial and economic consequences and simply could not afford to pay to feed the Germans in her zone of occupation. And since Britain had no interest in reparations from Germany, Russia, Churchill insinuated, should follow Britain's example.

In response the Russians pointed out that Churchill's analogy with World War I was irrelevant, since they were demanding reparations in the form of goods not money. Moreover the very fact that Germany's former enemies had invested heavily in her economy after World War I had encouraged her to default. And, they argued, the sums were reasonable: Germany had formerly spent \$6 billion a year on military expenditure, while their plan would only cost \$2 billion a year. Under Russia's plan Germany would have every chance to build a post-war economy based on the expansion of light industry and agriculture.

That last point drew attention to a key intention of the Russian plan – the removal of 80% of Germany's heavy industry would completely eliminate the possibility that Germany would rearm as she had after World War I. Churchill quite understood. He also understood that with the US intending to withdraw its troops from Europe within two years, there would be no significant military power on the continent which could confront the Soviet Union. So in addition to protecting Britain's financial position, he also wanted to prevent the weakening of Germany to Russia's advantage. The British therefore refused to agree to the fixing of a figure, and insisted that any agreement acknowledge that reparations be limited by Germany's ability to pay for her imports.⁴²⁵

Eventually it was agreed that a commission of the *Grand Alliance* would be appointed to sit in Moscow to determine the nature and level of reparations. The conference communiqué recorded that Russia and the United States agreed to the figure of \$20 billion in reparations as a "basis for discussions" It recorded that Britain did not.

THE UN: A QUESTION OF CONTROL

Discussion on the United Nations centred on an American proposal for a system of voting and vetoes for the Security Council. Stalin, having been on the receiving end of changing alliances so often – Britain and the US after World War I, and Germany in World War II – was much more alert to the possibility of future problems between the Great Powers than either Churchill or Roosevelt and this fuelled his concern for a fail-safe voting system which would prevent any combination of powers ganging up on one other and using the punitive powers of the Security Council against it. The possibility that Germany might rise again was not the problem, he said. It was the possibility of conflict within the big three and everything should be done to safeguard against that. He did not let on that he knew about the atomic bomb. Why should he? The US and Britain were not being completely honest or open with him. He also refrained from mentioning the fact that under existing membership proposals the West was guaranteed a decisive majority in the General Assembly through the support of its allies and dominions. Instead he reminded his colleagues that Britain and France had used their powers in the League of Nations to expel Russia when a simple territorial dispute led to the Russo-Finnish War. And he suggested, with somewhat less justification, that there were marked similarities between the structures of the British Empire and the Soviet Union. The biggest difference was that Britain's dominions and colonies were scattered while the member republics of the Soviet Union were clustered within continental limits. He therefore demanded that the Soviet Republics be included as members in their own right.⁴²⁶

After receiving assurances from both Churchill and the Americans that the power of veto would extend to all matters affecting the enforcement of punitive measures, including expulsion, Stalin pronounced himself satisfied. So the Big Three agreed to the American plans and also to a scheme to determine founding membership of the United Nations. Any country which had declared war on one or more of the Axis Powers before March 1 1945 would be eligible to become a founding member, together with any country which had already signed the proposed articles of association. No one seemed to care about the paradox that in order to be eligible to join a peacemaking body a country first had to declare war on a country when it presumably had no reason to do so. So much for the aspirations of any country which chose to live by pacifism. It was also agreed that two Soviet Republics, Byelorussia and Ukraine, would be permitted to join in their own right.⁴²⁷

However, Soviet agreement to the American proposals, of crucial importance to the United States, came at a price. That price was agreement on Poland, the running sore of the conference. Despite repeated assurances from Britain and the United States that they wanted to see a Poland friendly to the Soviet Union, the Soviets refused to budge on their demand that the Warsaw government be immediately recognized. The Western Allies in return insisted that a new government be formed in Poland to include other Polish leaders both from within Poland and from the London Government-in-exile. Now, having accepted the American position on the UN, new Soviet compromise proposals were put on the table. After much tough bargaining over the

detail, and the realization by Churchill and Roosevelt that the Soviets were not going to give any further ground, the Soviet proposal formed the basis of an eventual agreement

The agreement provided that there would be a Provisional Government of National Unity based on the existing Warsaw Government but with additional members drawn from within Poland and from among Poles abroad, (to accommodate the London government-in-exile. A Commission of three was named to appoint the provisional government. That government would then arrange elections on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot as early as possible, with any group except the Nazis free to stand. The governments of Britain, the US and the Soviet Union would each recognize the elected government. A modified Curzon line would form the country's eastern border and the western border would be determined by the eventual peace conference.

It was hardly the deal the Western Allies had hoped for. Russian compromises on the Curzon line were essentially cosmetic, but cosmetic concessions were better than none at all since that would at least give Churchill and Roosevelt something to sell to their domestic critics. More importantly, there was no guarantee on the number of non-Warsaw Poles to be included in the interim government. In accepting that aspect of the agreement, both Roosevelt and Churchill had placed a great deal of emphasis on Stalin's assurances that elections could be held within a month. However, since no timetable was specified for elections, and Russia could use any number of excuses to postpone them, the Western powers were on very shaky ground. Indeed, as Admiral William Leahy, Roosevelt's chief military aid, noted at the time, the entire agreement was 'so elastic that the Russians [could] stretch it all the way from Yalta to Washington without technically breaking it' ⁴²⁸ Roosevelt's reply is highly instructive: "I know, Bill, I know. But it's the best I can do for Poland at this time."

That recognition of the power realities was further reflected in a more general agreement proposed by Roosevelt which was ostensibly aimed at securing representative governments for post-war Europe as a whole, but which was intended mainly to shore Western demands on Poland as well as help secure Soviet cooperation in Eastern Europe in general. Put forward near the end of the conference, the Declaration on Liberated Europe was a vaguely worded document which Roosevelt had taken from a much more expansive State Department plan for a tripartite Commission to direct the formation of new governments in all liberated European nations. It affirmed the principles of the *Atlantic Charter* and called in part for the formation of interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and 'pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the will of the people'. ⁴²⁹ Immediately Churchill again made a point of exempting the Empire from the jurisdiction of the *Atlantic Charter*. That pleased Stalin, who was eager to secure some qualifications of his own. He proposed a statement be included pledging support to political leaders who had taken "an active part in the struggle against the German invaders" That, of course, meant support for communists, and was opposed by Eden and Stettinius on the grounds that it constituted interference in the internal political affairs of liberated countries – obviously the *suppression* of communists didn't count. In response,

Molotov proposed instead that references to the establishment of machinery for implementing the declaration be replaced with a reference to ‘mutual consultations’. Britain and the United States readily agreed.⁴³⁰ It was all but official: Eastern Europe was to be a Soviet sphere. Britain and the United States had dealt themselves out.

PACIFIC CARVE-UP

With Europe out of the way, the Big Three then turned their attention to the war in the Pacific. Or two of them did, anyway. Showing the same blatant disdain for Britain’s Imperial interests as he had from the moment of its declaration of war against Germany, Roosevelt sought confidential discussions with Stalin on a declaration of war against Japan. He, the President of the United States, quite deliberately excluded Churchill and then expected that Churchill, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, would be a confirming signatory to an agreement on highly sensitive and contentious matters which he had reached with Stalin.⁴³¹

The secret US-Soviet agreement (it is better called that than an accord of the Big Three even though it opens with the words “The leaders of the three Great Powers – the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain – have agreed that ...”) provided for the Soviet Union to enter the war against Japan on the side of the Allies within two to three months of the surrender of Germany and the end of hostilities in Europe. But there were a string of conditions concerning Soviet acquisition of, or ‘rights’ in, territories which were at that time variously independent, subject to either Chinese or Japanese sovereignty, or disputed, which the heads of the three Great Powers agreed “shall be unquestionably fulfilled after Japan has been defeated.”

Japan was to forfeit the Kurile Islands, Southern Sakhalin and the adjacent islands to the Soviet Union. Manchuria was to be recognized as part of China but the Southern Manchurian Railroad and the Chinese-Eastern Railroad were to be jointly operated through the establishment of a jointly owned Soviet-Chinese company; the port of Dairen was to be internationalized and used jointly by China and Russia as a merchant port; and the lease of Port Arthur to the Soviet Union for a naval base was to be restored.

In addition the ‘status quo’ was to be maintained in Outer Mongolia, otherwise known as the Mongolian People’s Republic. This secured recognition of a complicated three-way arrangement under which Outer Mongolia claimed the status of an independent republic, (prompted by the Soviet Union in the 1920s), while still being an integral part of China, with Russia retaining diplomatic and commercial privileges.⁴³²

In devising that agreement with Stalin in the way that he did, Roosevelt belittled Churchill, the elder statesman of the Alliance, both personally and as head of the British Government. He confirmed for Stalin (if confirmation was necessary) that the United States intended to be the determining player in world affairs. He made a mockery of his protestations about self-determination for all peoples and recognition of national rights and independence, aping the negotiators of the *Munich Agreement* by giving away other people and their territory to suit his neo-imperial ends. And he eloquently gave substance to Stalin’s concerns about future

relationships between the Great Powers as permanent members of the Security Council. However the implications of the agreement do not stop there.

The Big Three had agreed to a process of diplomatic consultation followed by the first conference of the United Nations, known as the United Nations Conference on International Organization, which was set to begin in San Francisco on April 25 1945. It was expected that the charter of the new organization would be finalized and adopted by that conference and that the United Nations Organization, both the Assembly and the Security Council, would be established and operational within a few months. The principal functions of the Security Council were to include negotiation of peace settlements and the establishment of mechanisms and military forces necessary to secure peace within the agreed settlements.

At the time of the Teheran Conference in December 1943 the US military chiefs had expected that, barring exceptional circumstances, the war in the Pacific would continue for about eighteen months after the surrender of Germany. That estimate was still current.⁴³³⁴³⁴⁴³⁵ In the circumstances it would have therefore been reasonable that the terms of any peace settlement between the Allies and Japan would have been left to the Security Council or, at least for the Security Council to have been involved. But Roosevelt chose to go his own way. He was determined to draw the Soviet Union into the war against Japan in exactly the same way that Churchill had been determined to bring the United States into the war against Germany. Naturally he wanted a quicker end to the war to minimize the trauma for Americans. But in doing so he wanted to strengthen the relationship between the US and Soviet Russia. And he could do this at Britain's expense by ensuring that Britain and the other European powers had a minimal role in the victory and, as a consequence, the minimal chances to re-establish their colonial positions in Asia.

In addition, by trading concessions at China's expense Roosevelt expected to cement Stalin's support for Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Nationalists. He was highly conscious that the alliance between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communists was a matter of convenience in the struggle against Japan, that they fought between each other almost as much as they fought the Japanese, and that if support from Russia started to flow heavily into Mao Tse-tung's camp the consequences could be dramatic. It was fortunate for Roosevelt that Chiang also appreciated that fact, since Japan had the upper hand in the military war in China, but not in the diplomatic war. Being surrounded and effectively blockaded by the United States, it was only holding its military position at the cost of heavy losses and defeats in other theatres. It had sought to open peace talks with Chiang Kai-shek with the aim that the Kuomintang of Nationalist China and Japan would form an anti-Communist front in an alliance that would eliminate the Chinese Communist Army and then provide the basis of Japan's new order in Greater East Asia. But Chiang Kai-shek had received more aid from Stalin for the war against Japan than had Mao Tse-tung, with assurances of continued support from the Soviets plus more help to come from the US, as well as an influential role in world affairs, if he stayed on the right side of the barricades and didn't surrender or make a separate peace.

Nevertheless, as was to be expected, Chiang Kai-shek was not happy with the deal. It was struck behind his back and it was quite contrary to the agreement which Roosevelt had made with him at Cairo in 1943. However he liked the idea of his consolation prize: a permanent seat on the Security Council with the power of veto in world affairs and a very strong position from which to negotiate with Britain over the return of Hong Kong. Anthony Eden was also unhappy. He urged Churchill not to sign.⁴³⁶ But because of Britain's dependence on the United States for the defeat of Hitler, Churchill feared that if he did not cooperate with Roosevelt on this issue the Americans may insist on even tougher decolonization measures than they had foreshadowed for other regions of Asia. Roosevelt was therefore again able to dictate terms to – or to blackmail – both Britain and China and to use as a bargaining chip a prize which was not rightly his to offer: a seat on the Security Council. But then none of the people or the territories which he was bartering in return for an even greater position of power were his, or America's, to give away anyway. In spite of all its high sounding declarations, doctrines and constitutional amendments over the years, Europe's favoured child was out-performing its parents in a demonstration of power grabbing, economic imperialism and sheer national greed in the worst tradition of the Berlin Conferences of the 1880s, the *Balfour Declaration*, the *Treaty of Versailles* and the *Munich Agreement*.

To prevent a pre-emptive strike by Japan, the deal had to be kept secret at least until the Soviet Union was ready to declare war against her and this meant almost certainly until after the establishment of the United Nations and acceptance of the American proposals for membership of the Security Council. Even though Chiang Kai-shek was given an understanding of the general thrust of the agreement he was not told of the details officially until June 15. That was a month after the war in Europe had ended. The membership of the Security Council was cut and dried and it was only ten days before the charter of the United Nations was formally adopted. The people of Manchuria, Mongolia and the territories which were to change hands were not going to be consulted, even though they, like most countries which became entangled in the war, were victims of the great powers' power struggles.

Roosevelt had to push the agreement through regardless of whether the absent fifth member of the proposed Security Council, France, or any other members of the United Nations were happy or not. Churchill was in no position to object and Stalin was very happy indeed. He got everything he wanted for Russia in Asia and the Pacific without really having to fight for it and without justifying his claims to either the people concerned or the world community. It was hardly the most promising basis on which to establish the new world body.

In his speech to Congress about the Yalta conference on his return to the United States Roosevelt pronounced it all a resounding success. Echoing Hull's words after the Moscow Foreign Minister's Conference of October 1943, he stated that post war cooperation among the Allies was assured, and that the agreements that had been made represented the end of "unilateral action, the exclusive alliances, the spheres of influence, the balance of power, and all the other expedients that have been tried for centuries – and have always failed."⁴³⁷

It was all self-deluding and dishonest tommyrot. As historian Richard Kuniholm has put it: “[Roosevelt] conveniently forgot that expediency on the Polish question allowed him to make the statement in the first place; that unilateral action had been taken at Yalta, particularly in regard to China; that spheres of influence still existed in the Balkans; and that in the Near East [Iran] the question of the balance of power had not ended – it was only dormant, and only because discussion of the issues involved had been avoided or obscured.”⁴³⁸

TALKING PALESTINE, OIL – AND JEWS

From Yalta both Roosevelt and Churchill went to the Middle East, essentially to talk oil and Palestine, or Palestine and oil. Roosevelt went first – he insisted on it – and Churchill was left to cool his heels in the Crimea and Greece for a few days. Roosevelt had discussions with Farouk, Haile Selassie and Ibn Saud; Churchill with Ibn Saud, Farouk and the President of Syria.

Immediately before the Yalta Conference the Zionist Movement had besieged the State Department and the White House with its heaviest barrage, to that time, of demands for increased immigration certificates for Palestine. Under Britain’s *White paper* they were due to be withdrawn in four months and after that immigration would be subject to the approval of Arab authorities. The Zionists feared that Roosevelt would succumb to pressure from the pro-Arab State Department and renege on his undertakings to Rabbis Wise and Silver. At their meeting on February 14, 1945, Ibn Saud naturally gave him every reason to do so, emphasizing that continued Jewish migration and land purchase constituted a grave threat to the Arab community. In response the President assured the King that he would do nothing to assist the Jews against the Arabs and would make no move hostile to the Arab people, and the two leaders agreed that homeless Jewish survivors of Hitler’s terror might well be resettled in the lands from which they had been driven.⁴³⁹

When his turn came for talks with Ibn Saud on February 17, Churchill is said to have acted as if he was wielding a big stick. He made it clear that in spite of the assassination of Lord Moyne he was still committed to Zionism and he reminded the King that Britain had sustained his kingdom with subsidies for twenty years. He refused to give an assurance that Jewish migration to Palestine would be stopped. He also suggested that Jews could be settled in Libya, “a country with a lot of room and few people,” but he did give an assurance that he would not drive the Arabs out of Palestine or deprive them of their means of livelihood there.⁴⁴⁰

Responding in a quite predictable manner, Ibn Saud made it equally clear that the promotion of Zionism from any quarter must, without question, bring bloodshed and widespread disorder in the Arab lands with the certainty of no benefit to Britain or anyone else. He is reported to have said that Britain and its allies “would be making the wrong choice between a friendly and peaceful Arab world and a struggle to the death between Arabs and Jews if unreasonable immigration of Jews to Palestine is renewed.” And he added that in any case the formula must be arrived at by open discussion with Arabs and with Arab consent.⁴⁴¹

On his return to Washington, Roosevelt authorized Rabbi Wise to state that the President was still in favour of unrestricted Jewish immigration and a Jewish State. Arab governments reacted with justified anger so he then authorized the State Department to tell foreign missions that his statement through Rabbi Wise referred only to 'possible action at some future date'. He stood by his pledge to consult Arab heads of state as well as Jews on any US move relating to Palestine, he said.

Earlier in February, while the Yalta Conference was in progress, a German intermediary named Kleist, who had been involved in previous attempts to set up peace negotiations with the Western Allies, involved Himmler in a plan to trade the release of Jewish concentration camp inmates for an armistice. Contact was made through a representative of the World Jewish Congress with an adviser to Roosevelt who said the President would be prepared to consider a political deal in return for the release of one and a half million Jews held in such camps. That response showed a significant shift in American thinking under the enormous pressure of the Jewish lobby, (both Zionist and non-Zionist), because the first major scheme to trade Jews for concessions, the Eichmann incident, (page 28/88), had been rejected out of hand and used for propaganda fodder.

Negotiations were then put on a more formal basis between the Germans and the Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs and it was agreed that Count Folke Bernadotte would visit Berlin to complete negotiations with Himmler personally. But that meant that Foreign Minister Ribbentrop also had to be involved and the scene became complicated. Ribbentrop met Bernadotte but he also sent his personal agent, Fritz Hesse, to Stockholm on February 17 for additional talks. Hesse returned convinced that both Churchill and Roosevelt were intent on destroying Germany and that an approach to the Russians may be more successful. Ribbentrop would not authorize contact with the Russians without Hitler's knowledge. On March 16 he sought the Fuhrer's approval. At first Hitler agreed, but then he hesitated. It was all senseless, he said. Whoever talked to the enemy was a traitor to The Idea. "We may fall in the fight against Bolshevism but we will not negotiate with it." He forbade any further contact with the enemy.⁴⁴²

The Kleist plan was dead, but together with the Eichmann plan it illustrates yet again the central role of the Jewish question in the parody of *Mein Kampf*. Apart from the threat to Britain's colonial interests which became greater if Britain took no action to stop Hitler from subjugating Europe, it was the direct threat to the Jewish population of Poland which determined the government's decision to declare war against Germany. Then, when Hitler held the upper hand with much of Europe subjugated and the threat to Britain, fighting alone, at its greatest, Churchill rejected Hitler's offers of a settlement because the Nazis would have been free to dominate Europe and clear out its Jews as they wished – if the Allies would not accept them. But later, after the tide had turned and the defeat of Germany was assured, the hatred ran so deep that the Allies would not consider an early settlement to save the remainder of the Jews whom they had originally gone to war to save.

Just as the Kleist plan faltered the leaders of the Arab countries were acting in concert to protect the Palestinians from being engulfed by Europe's surviving Jews. Following the adoption of the *Alexandria Protocol*, Arab foreign ministers and experts had met during February and early March to draft a constitution for the Arab League. As a consequence of that meeting Roosevelt received letters from each of the King of Saudi Arabia, the regent of Iraq, the President of the Syrian Republic, the King of Yemen and the Prime Minister of Lebanon on March 10.

Reviewing those letters the State Department noted the Arab claims to Palestine on the basis of moral, historical and political arguments, and recognized that the Arabs, particularly Ibn Saud, were prepared to fight in defence of their position on Palestine if necessary. Wallace Murray, the Director of the Office of Near Eastern Affairs, warned that: "The President's continued support of Zionism may thus lead to actual bloodshed in the Near East and even endanger the security of our immensely valuable oil concessions in Saudi Arabia." He also said it would not be wise to reach a settlement on Palestine without the full support of the Soviet Government which at that date, March 20, 1945, was opposed to the establishment of a Jewish State. "The continued endorsement by the President of Zionist objectives could throw the entire Arab world into the arms of the Soviet Union," he said.⁴⁴³ Amazingly similar sentiments to those of Stettinius and Landis. But the very determined Zionist lobby had more political clout.

That State Department review was still in progress when the General Arab Congress convened in Cairo on March 17 to review the *Arab League* Pact which had been drafted six months earlier. It was approved and signed on March 22 by six of the seven founding members: Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Trans-Jordan. Yemen signed on May 10. Unofficial delegations from Algeria, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia had each sought membership but the initial agreement provided that membership was to be restricted to independent Arab states. As those four countries were each subject to foreign occupation and foreign sovereignty they were not then eligible for membership, but the Front for the Defence of the Maghreb was organized to foster their independence and membership of the League.⁴⁴⁴ At the same time that the Arab foreign ministers met to finalize the *Arab League* Pact, representatives of twenty countries of Latin America met in Mexico City, under United States 'guidance,' to adopt a common approach to the drafting of the United Nations Charter and a similar meeting of British Commonwealth representatives was held in London in early April.

THE SIEGE OF MANILA

While Roosevelt was sailing home from his talks in Egypt to become even more embroiled in his Palestinian affair and Churchill was still there, being rapidly reduced to the role of second fiddle, the American battle to recover its own piece of empire, the Philippines, was reaching a dreadful climax. When US troops besieged Manila the Japanese troops fought house to house battles with a fanatical zeal based on a religious- nationalist dedication which the European-American mind set could not understand. But they also slaughtered Filipino civilians on a scale

which the world should have viewed with the same horror as Hitler's genocide against the Jews. In an orgy of sadistic killing which ran for only a matter of days about 100,000 people were murdered, including 5,000 hostages during the final siege of the old city.⁴⁴⁵

Such crimes, certainly not restricted to the Philippines, cost the Japanese all the good will which their anti-colonial liberation plan and policy of Greater Asian Cooperation could have generated. Like their fanatical defence, the slaughter was carried out with a fanatical hatred of their enemies, based on a combination of revulsion at their national experience of colonial repression and their religious-nationalist dedication which was not understood by those with a European-American mentality. And yet, what that second wave of World War II 'liberators' did not wish to recall was that their forebears had been responsible for similar senseless slaughter in their own territories in what were, in historical terms, relatively recent periods of their history. The difference was that the Japanese non-Christians and the German Christians were doing it now and the Western Christian liberators wanted their colonies back and a return to their positions of privilege, and they operated all the propaganda machinery. Manila finally fell on February 23. The Americans, still smarting from the humiliation of the enormous losses which they suffered at Pearl Harbour in the opening round of the war, were now even more eager to retaliate for the slaughter of prisoners of war and civilians by the Japanese. They had already discarded the principle of avoiding the bombardment of areas of civilian population, having taken part in the fire bombing of Dresden which was destroyed as a joint Anglo-American exercise on February 13 and 14. They now planned the destruction of a series of Japanese cities along the same lines.

Their first target was Tokyo and in less than three hours on March 9 they unleashed 2,000 tons of incendiary bombs in the most destructive single air raid ever. An area of almost sixteen square miles was destroyed and deaths, mainly from incineration and asphyxiation, totalled 130,000. The cities of Nagoya, Osaka, Kobe, Yokohama and Kawasaki were to suffer similar treatment over the next three months with total civilian deaths exceeding 250,000.⁴⁴⁶ But that was not barbaric slaughter ... that was justified retribution ... or so the world was expected to believe.

CRACKS IN THE GRAND ALLIANCE

In the wake of the Yalta Conference a tide of confidence and optimism had swept through the Western world. The apparent success of the Conference had demonstrated to all but the most hard line opponents of communism that future cooperation between East and West was assured. The Polish settlement had attracted more than its share of criticism, to be sure, but the western public had been told by their leaders that it was fair and just, and that Stalin could be trusted to live up to it – otherwise they wouldn't have signed it, would they? With the final defeat of Hitlerism only a matter of weeks away it therefore seemed that a long lasting period of peace and prosperity was just around the corner...

Behind the scenes, however, a different story was emerging. In Moscow, the Commission for the Reorganization of the Polish Government, consisting of Molotov and the British and American ambassadors, had quickly become divided over the interpretation of the agreement on Poland. At issue was which Poles should be invited to negotiations to determine the makeup of the proposed Provisional Government of National Unity, and who should be given the power to decide. In line with the Soviet Union's previous recognition of the Lublin Committee as the legitimate government of Poland, Molotov insisted that only those Poles sympathetic to the Yalta agreement be invited to attend and that the Warsaw Government be consulted first on any list of Polish leaders proposed by the Commission. The Western representatives conceded, only to find that most of their proposals, including more moderate members of the London Government-in-exile, were rejected.⁴⁴⁷

With the Moscow discussions deadlocked, the Polish Provisional Government continued to act, with Soviet support, consolidating its grip and eliminating rivals out of sight of the western powers. And while reports of the situation filtered through to the Western governments through the Polish government-in exile in London, repeated requests by Britain and the United States to send in observers were rebuffed.⁴⁴⁸

As the tension over Poland increased 'spot fires' began to break out elsewhere which only raised the international temperature further. Within weeks of Yalta the Soviets also proceeded to consolidate their control of Bulgaria and Rumania. In Bulgaria the anti-fascist purges which had begun in late 1944 continued unabated. The pro-western head of the Peasants Party had been forced to resign in January for his part in the war, and the Peasants Party had left the governing Fatherland Front. By March, the US representative was reporting that the Bulgarian Communists were attempting to impose joint electoral lists in which their own participation would be 50 percent to 60 percent.⁴⁴⁹ In Rumania the situation was more dramatic. The Soviets moved to exploit the deepening crisis which had enveloped the Radescu Government. Violent demonstrations occurred in Bucharest with an open clash between the Liberal, Peasant and leftist parties in cabinet as the leftists stockpiled arms in preparation for a coup. In response, the Allied Control Commission, under Soviet direction, ordered the demobilization of the Rumanian army and the disarming of police.⁴⁵⁰ An American protest reiterating the Declaration on Liberated Europe was shrugged off with the excuse that order had to be established behind Red Army lines. Besides that, the Soviets argued, a new government was needed to rid the country of the last vestiges of Nazism and to create democratic institutions in accordance with agreements reached at Yalta.

Then on the February 26, the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Vishinsky, arrived in Bucharest to take matters directly in hand. A resistant King Michael was flatly ordered to dismiss the Radescu government and install the pro-Communist Petru Groza, and on the 6 of March the formation of a new government was announced. Of its eighteen members fourteen were from the leftist National Democratic Front, with Communist control of the key ministries of Justice, War, Communications and the Interior.⁴⁵¹

Churchill's anti-Bolshevik alarm bells were ringing. On March 8 he cabled Roosevelt: "I feel sure that you will be as distressed as I am by recent events in Rumania. The Russians have succeeded in establishing the rule of a Communist minority by force and misrepresentation." He continued, however: "We have been hampered in our protests against these developments by the fact that, in order to have the freedom to save Greece, Eden and I at Moscow in October recognized that Russia should have a largely preponderant voice in Rumania and Bulgaria while we took the lead in Greece. Stalin adhered very strictly to this understanding during the thirty days fighting against the Communists and ELAS in the city of Athens, in spite of the fact that all this was most disagreeable to him and those around him." Any protest to Stalin by Britain, Churchill said, would only "lead to comparison between the aims of his action and those of ours. On this, neither side would convince the other." Indeed. The Western public had clearly seen through Churchill's pretense of 'restoring democracy' in Greece, so why shouldn't Stalin?

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In Churchill's eyes, however, a deal was apparently not a deal. That Stalin fellow simply could not be allowed to get away with brutally interfering in other countries' affairs! What to do? If the British couldn't register a strong protest, he suggested to Roosevelt, then perhaps the Americans could. Roosevelt, however, was not to be taken in. He refused to take the matter up with Stalin, and nor was he impressed with Churchill's urgent plea that they both protest directly to the Soviet leader over the situation in regard to Poland. Although he shared Churchill's concern at the turn of events, he argued that the matters under dispute were already being taken up by their respective ambassadors and neither he nor Churchill should personally intervene until all other avenues had been exhausted.

Roosevelt's grasp of the situation was accurate. He was fully aware that the results of the Yalta Conference had essentially confirmed the deal that Churchill and Stalin had made in Moscow with his tacit approval the previous October, that Eastern Europe was to be a Soviet sphere of influence. As Roosevelt pointed out in a cable to Churchill in late March, despite the fact that the Warsaw government's veto on who could attend the Moscow negotiations could not be directly supported by the terms of the Yalta accord, the reality was that "we placed, as clearly shown in the agreement, somewhat more emphasis on the Lublin Poles than on the other two groups from which the new government was to be drawn."⁴⁵³ Moreover, neither Britain nor the United States could now claim to be surprised if the Soviets chose to interpret the agreement in a manner that best served their interests, since both had been fully aware of the rubbery nature of the accord. The simple fact was the Soviets had the power, and the agreements reached at Yalta merely acknowledged that fact. Indeed, as both Churchill and Roosevelt were also well aware, without joint enforcement machinery the Declaration on Liberated Europe was essentially a piece of propaganda for Western public consumption. Although it provided for 'joint consultations' on matters affecting its implementation, in practice it could be stretched in any direction the Soviets chose.⁴⁵⁴ The two western leaders may well have counted on some good-will concessions from Stalin, but since he had studiously avoided interfering in Greece, as Churchill himself acknowledged, he had absolutely no reason to offer the West any gestures

solely for the purpose of saving them face. And although neither Roosevelt nor Churchill realized it, Stalin was well aware of their duplicity over development of the atomic bomb and, making allowances for the worst case scenario, he was naturally determined to strengthen his buffer zone.

The chickens were indeed coming home to roost. British and American actions in securing their positions of privilege at other people's expense were now providing the pretext for the Soviet Union to do the same. For Churchill, however, the question was more than one of Empire or anti-Bolshevism. It was also a straightforward matter of electoral politics. Due to the pre-war conspiracy of silence the public had been told – and believed – that Britain had gone to war to preserve Poland's independence. With a general election due within three months, Churchill could hardly expect support from either the public or Parliament if it turned out that the territory of Poland – 'cleansed' of its Jewish communities – had been 'saved' from the Nazis only to become a part of the Soviet empire. Heated criticism in Parliament of the agreements reached at Yalta had already forced an undertaking from Churchill that he would report back if they were not being faithfully implemented, so it was no wonder that he was keen to force the pace with Roosevelt.⁴⁵⁵

However, Churchill's electoral problems were hardly the concern of Stalin, who proceeded to make diplomatic moves on Turkey that only served to raise tension levels another notch. On February 23 the Turkish government had abandoned neutrality and declared war on Germany and Japan so as to gain entrance to the San Francisco UN conference. On March 19 Molotov handed the Turkish Ambassador in Moscow a statement concerning the *Soviet-Turkish Treaty of Friendship and Neutrality* of 1925. It noted that the treaty no longer corresponded to circumstances and required important revisions.⁴⁵⁶

Just what the Soviet concerns were was no secret. During Churchill's visit to Moscow in October 1944 Stalin had said he wanted changes to the *Montreaux Convention* which restricted transit of Soviet warships through the straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. Churchill was not opposed in principle, expressing his understanding of Soviet needs for better access to the Mediterranean. At Yalta a revision of the convention in line with Soviet wishes had been informally agreed, subject to the provision that Turkey be given a joint guarantee of its independence and unity. However, despite the fact that the Soviets had had no formal opportunity to make specific proposals to their allies since Yalta, and their actions could be seen as a reasonable attempt to broach a delicate subject with the Turks prior to the San Francisco Conference, alarms bells rang for both the Turks and their British Allies. Soviet criticism of the Turkish government in the press and on radio had been stepped up, and rumours of Bulgarian troop movements on the Turkish border had started circulating. The Commons feared that this was an attempt to pre-empt British interests, perhaps presenting them with a *fait accompli* which might include the cession of bases or territory which had formerly been Russian, against the wishes of the Turks.⁴⁵⁷

Unsuccessful in his political manoeuvring, in mid March Churchill began urging Roosevelt and Eisenhower to alter military strategy so as to meet the Soviets as far east as possible and beat them to Berlin, thereby hoping to improve the West's post-war bargaining position in the crucial post-war settlement negotiations. However, his consciousness of the political factors at stake was not matched by the Americans. As it was, the lack of German resistance on the western front meant that the Western armies would find themselves deep inside the intended Soviet zone in Germany, and contrary to Churchill's repeated urgings, Washington and Eisenhower stuck to their strictly military plan of advancing to the Elbe river and then directing their main forces south to prevent the possibility of Hitler establishing a 'southern redoubt' in the mountains of Bavaria. In addition, to Churchill's great consternation, Eisenhower informed Stalin of his intention not to go for Berlin, and gave him the details of the western Allies' order of battle.⁴⁵⁸ Stalin, however, was not impressed. When informed of Eisenhower's actions he thought they were a trick, and immediately accelerated his own measures to take Berlin. He was convinced, along with his generals, that Montgomery in the north was racing them to the German capital.⁴⁵⁹

Politically, however, the Polish issue continued as the major focus of attention. During Yalta the Polish Provisional Government in Warsaw had unilaterally declared Pomerania, Upper and Lower Silesia and East Prussia to be part of Poland, and on March 14, fourteen Polish woiwodships were established on former German territory, creating a de facto border further west than either the United States or Britain at Yalta had been willing to concede. Most of the German residents were expelled.⁴⁶⁰ Then in late March the Soviets pulled their most audacious stunt yet: lured to Moscow on the pretext that they would be attending discussions on the reorganization of the Polish government, sixteen Polish underground leaders, some of whom were on Western lists for participation in the Moscow discussions, were arrested for activities against the Red Army.⁴⁶¹

As rumours of the arrests began to circulate in the West, the fact that the underground leaders had in reality decided to continue armed resistance against the Soviets, and were thus inimical to the establishment of a Poland 'friendly' to the Soviet Union as the Western powers had promised at Yalta, was of little consequence. Poland had become a test case for Soviet intentions in Eastern Europe as a whole, symbolic to the Western Allies and the world of the ability of the Allies to maintain post-war unity. Without Allied unity the United Nations would be a failure. A firm stand had to be taken, and on April 1, at Churchill's urging, Roosevelt confronted Stalin directly. Despite Roosevelt's own admission that the Yalta agreement gave weight to the Soviet position on the reorganization of the Polish government, his growing concern led him to gravely warn Stalin that it was unacceptable, and that the question needed to be settled 'fairly and speedily' if the 'difficulties and dangers to Allied unity' were not to be made more 'acute'.⁴⁶²

Before Stalin replied, however, another issue erupted to destabilize even further the already unstable situation. As Churchill's suspicions about Soviet intentions had mounted, the Soviets, in mid-March, had revealed suspicions of their own. On March 8 General Karl Wolff, German

SS commander in Italy, had taken steps through Vatican intermediaries to make contact with the American head of Mission in Switzerland, Allen Dulles, with a view to negotiating surrender terms. Four days later the Soviets were informed of the approach, and on the 13th were told that if the contact proved serious Soviet representatives would be welcome to General Alexander's HQ in Italy. The Soviets, however, suspected duplicity, and their protests peaked on April 5 with a blunt telegram from Stalin to his two counterparts accusing America and Britain of trying to cut a deal with Germany to put more pressure on the eastern front. Their aim, he stated, was to slow the Russian advance in return for less arduous terms when a peace treaty was eventually signed. Roosevelt and Churchill expressed their shock and outrage, but rather than making an issue out of it, both preferred to let the matter die a natural death.⁴⁶³

That was probably just as well, since, as later historians have shown, Dulles had indeed made such an offer informally to his German negotiating partners behind the back of his Washington superiors.⁴⁶⁴ Nevertheless, with Western ears still ringing from his denunciation of the negotiations, and with the US and Britain refusing to recognize the Lublin government or invite it to the San Francisco conference until it had been reorganized, Stalin responded to Roosevelt's cable on April 9 with the suggestion that one new member be added to the Polish government for every five members of the existing Warsaw government, in line with the reorganization of the Yugoslav government under Tito and Subasic.⁴⁶⁵ However, since both Britain and the US viewed that outcome as a communist takeover by Tito, neither were satisfied with the proposal.

Clearly the Soviets were in control of the situation, and it was equally clear that there was little the Western Powers could do about it. Stalin was not going to give away anything that was in his power to keep. Faced with such a firm stand, however, others besides Churchill were beginning to question just what Stalin's ultimate intentions might be. One who was convinced he knew was US Ambassador to Moscow, Averell Harriman. Previously a committed supporter of Roosevelt's policy of flexible accommodation with the Soviets, Harriman had now changed his mind. Taking advantage of the soured mood resulting from Russian accusations of duplicity in the Italian surrender negotiations, on April 6 he suggested in a cable to Secretary of State Stettinius that whatever had been in the Soviets' minds at Yalta, it now seemed that they felt they could force the US to "acquiesce in their policies." And what those policies aimed at was clear: "the Soviet programme [in Eastern Europe] is the establishment of totalitarianism, ending personal liberty and democracy as we know and respect it." Equally clear were the implications of the programme: expansion across Europe. Soviet arguments that they must guard against a future German menace by erecting a tier of security states were a sham. One tier of 'security states' inevitably implied the need for another, and once the Soviets had gained control of the states on their border it was inevitable that they would attempt to penetrate further using communist-controlled parties to exploit the democratic process. The 'domino theory' had appeared on the scene, and with Soviet actions from Poland to Turkey providing 'proof', it would soon be proliferating as quickly as communist plots.⁴⁶⁶

Then, before the action could be taken any further, a new factor was thrown into the world equation: the death of President Roosevelt. An invalid since 1921 when he suffered an attack of

poliomyelitis, Roosevelt had struggled against failing health for some months. When he died on April 12, 1945, the United States mourned; intense lobbying began as every group with a vested interest in the conduct or the outcome of the war sought to capture the ear of the new president, Harry Truman; Japan hesitated in its tracks, uncertain whether the change of leadership may have any impact on the US war effort; and Hitler celebrated – temporarily – ordering the spirited defence of Berlin in the hope that the Allies might split over the conduct of the war.

The Allies didn't split. They were certainly having some tense moments. Quite apart from the standoff over Poland, major quarrels were breaking out between Britain and the United States. The root cause was the continuing efforts by United States political and military leaders to belittle Imperial Britain's role and to undermine its capacity to return to its pre-war position of imperial or colonial pre-eminence. It was that deeper conflict which bubbled to the surface through a steady stream of disputes over command roles, areas of operational responsibility and control in occupied areas, and the role of Communism in the areas liberated from Nazi control. However the extent to which their political interests and war time economies and operations had become enmeshed, and their determination to put an end to Hitler, the Nazi organization, its operations, its philosophy and its influence were sufficient to hold them together through such troubles. In the same fashion, the possibility that the three-way Alliance would disintegrate was mitigated by the desire to get the Soviets involved in the Pacific war. However, even that seemingly straightforward motivation was soon to become subject to calculations of interest which contained within them the potential for even more dramatic destabilization in world affairs.

In the Pacific the situation was also changing rapidly and the forecasts that the war with Japan would continue for at least eighteen months after victory in Europe were being revised with every territory which fell. Iwo Jima had fallen on February 22 and because the Americans were able to make their massive fire bombing raids against Japanese homeland cities almost at will from Tinian Island, military analysts were predicting that the war would end before Christmas. In fact senior members of the Japanese cabinet were hoping to end it within weeks. The invasion of Okinawa began on April 1 and even though there would be almost three months of ferocious fighting before the whole island was occupied, the loss of the island had to be conceded on April 4.

The Government of Premier Koiso fell on April 5 and Admiral Suzuki succeeded him. Peace feelers were already being passed through Sweden and to forestall them the Soviet Union advised the new Japanese government that it regarded the *Pact of Neutrality* as no longer valid. The message was clear and the Japanese government was stunned. In an effort to avoid a Soviet declaration of war – and not knowing that Stalin had already committed himself to a declaration of war in order to earn a bit of Japanese and Chinese territory – the new Foreign Minister, Togo Shigenori, authorized Prince Konoye and another senior statesman to approach the Russian ambassador in Tokyo, Jacob Malik. They were to offer to transfer certain Japanese rights on the continent to Russia as an inducement for peace. Malik was interested. Moscow was not. However, in spite of the fact that Soviet troops were already being rushed from the German

front to the east in preparation for the agreed declaration of war, Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov assured Japan's Ambassador Saito in Moscow that the Soviet Union still intended to honor the *pact of neutrality* during the remaining year.⁴⁶⁷

By that stage it was apparent to everyone that the war in Europe was in its final phase. Germany's military resistance virtually collapsed from April 2. Its communications systems had been shattered, all of its oil and coal supplies were in Allied hands, food supplies were totally blockaded as Germany's food bowls had been occupied one by one, refugees clogged the roads and any public facilities which were still accessible, and morale had totally disintegrated. The people could do nothing except wait for the inevitable unconditional surrender. The only factors which really slowed the Allied advances towards Berlin were the rate at which supplies could be brought forward and the need to clear the chaos as they pushed ahead.

There was widespread expectation within the Zionist movement that the end of the war in Europe and the full exposure of the nature of the Holocaust would bring general support for the idea of a national home for the Jews and the establishment of the State of Israel. Moshe Sharett, who later became Foreign Minister for Israel, hoped to secure Vatican support for the plan and sought an audience with the Pope to discuss the fate of Jews in Europe and the statehood proposal. It is believed that at their meeting on April 10 he proposed a special position in the future Jewish State for the Catholic Church but all he received was a firm rebuff.⁴⁶⁸ The Pope did not favour the establishment of a Jewish State and he was moving towards his own plan for the internationalization of Jerusalem.

In some respects the new president adopted a tougher stand than that taken by his predecessor, notably on the key point of Nazi philosophy: the Jewish question. This was in spite of a strong appeal by the Secretary of State only six days after Roosevelt's death. Stettinius warned Truman that it was very likely that "efforts will be made by some of the Zionist leaders to obtain from you at an early date some commitments in favor of the Zionist program." He was well aware that they would try to offset Churchill's coolness towards the Jewish community since Lord Moyne's assassination with increased support from the new president. And with an eye to the fact that the war in Europe was in its final throes he then warned that Truman should handle the issue with the greatest care and with a view to the long range interests of the United States. It was highly complex and involved "questions which go far beyond the plight of the Jews in Europe," he said.⁴⁶⁹

The dying days of the Third Reich were both chaotic and pathetic. Hitler ordered 'the traitors' all around him to continue fighting. Some did so, for absolutely no purpose. Thousands of people died every day for the sake of the pride of leaders on both sides of the front while Himmler and others tried to toss in the towel, and still others deserted.

On April 22 Himmler offered, through Count Bernadotte, to surrender to the Western Allies but to keep fighting against the Russians until the Western Allies took over the anti-Communist fight against the Soviet Union. Churchill rejected the offer, of course. But the situation was such that Himmler could not have persuaded the German officers or troops to that line of action if he

had been given the opportunity. On the eastern front that day General Steiner could not stir his army to mount a defence of Eberswalde against the Russians who simply rolled on regardless.

The Soviet armies totally surrounded Berlin on April 27. That day, Hitler's first and principal ally, Mussolini, was captured by Italian partisans as he travelled north from Milan to make one last stand. He had failed in a bid through the Archbishop of Milan and the Vatican to raise interest in a political settlement among the Western Allies. There was an argument among the partisans over whether the Fascist dictator should be handed over to the Allies or executed on the spot. It was resolved next day when he was gunned down by an execution squad. There was to be no chance for a second rescue. Mussolini's body, together with that of his mistress, was taken back to Milan and hung next morning, April 29, upside down on a butcher's hook in the city square.

THE DEATH OF THE SCOURGE

A few hours earlier, on the evening of April 28, Hitler wrote his political testament, married his mistress of many years, Eva Braun, and prepared to die by the bullet also, but at his own hand. About mid afternoon on April 30, 1945, after his wife had taken cyanide, he did the deed. His staff obeyed his final instruction that they destroy both bodies by incineration. It was a rather less glorious funeral than that arranged to honour Roosevelt, one of his key opponents, who had died only days before. No one seems to have commented on the fact that they had held the principal office in their respective nations in parallel for virtually the same length of time. Roosevelt took office on March 4, 1933; the final Reichstag election was held next day, March 5, and eighteen days later Hitler received the vote which gave him absolute dictatorial power. Now Roosevelt had died eighteen days before Hitler. The curtain had fallen on the final act of the parody of *Mein Kampf* and the Scourge of the much wider plot, the *Night Journey*, was dead. He had gone the same way as so many of the victims of his final solution. Except for one thing. They did not get a Requiem Mass but he did. When Adolf Bertram, by then the Cardinal Archbishop of Berlin, learned of Hitler's death he ordered all the parish priests of his archdiocese, in his own hand writing, "to hold a solemn Requiem in memory of the Fuhrer and all those members of the Wehrmacht who have fallen in the struggle for our German Fatherland, along with the sincerest prayers for Volk and Fatherland and for the future of the Catholic Church in Germany."⁴⁷⁰ Perhaps that Requiem really puts Hitler's funeral on a par with that of Roosevelt. Bertram's action was possibly intended to do so. It was totally consistent with Pius XII's insistence in *Divini Redemptoris* at Easter, 1937, that Hitler's renaissance was 'founded solely on Christianity'. (Chapter 20.). The cardinal could hardly disagree with his Pontiff. He had to support him, even if senior members of the hierarchy had declined to support Pius XI when he became too sympathetic with the Jews. And Pius XII had made provision for people, like Hitler, who might have wandered from the straight and narrow path once or twice in their lifetimes. Perhaps he had Hitler in mind when he released the encyclical *Mystici Corporis Christi* on June 29, 1943.

Let all men, therefore, abhor sin, which defiles the mystical members of the Redeemer; but should anyone have unhappily fallen, and if he has not by his obstinacy rendered himself unworthy of the fellowship of the faithful, then let him be welcomed most lovingly, and let a practical charity see in him a frail member of Jesus Christ. For it is better, as St. Augustine says, "to be healed within the organism of the Church than to be cut off from its body as an incurable member." "So long as a member still adheres to the body its cure is not beyond all hope; but if it has been cut off it cannot be cured or made whole."^{471 472} [See above, p. 40, emphasis added.]

The cardinal's exercise of his authority was consistent with several things: the misguided encouragement which Hitler had received from the Vatican throughout the war, Catholic Canon Law, and an encyclical of the church's Pontiff whom the church was required to believe was infallible and divinely appointed as the successor and Vicar of Christ, constituting, with him, one only Head. He had confirmed for all the world that Hitler was still a Catholic in good standing at the time of his death. The author of the parody of *Mein Kampf*, fulfilling his dual roles as the *instrument* which had flung the parody at the feet of the church, and the Scourge of the Qur'anic *Night Journey*, was indisputably an integral part of the amorphous Christian gel which was the *subject* of the parody. Hitler did not do anything or pursue any policies during his period of office which had not already been done, enacted into law, or pursued *outside* of the law by one or more Christian leader, head of church, head of state, industrialist or politician *except* to introduce the use of the gas chamber with its greater killing efficiency for the purpose of genocide.

Neither the church as a body or the leaders of the amorphous Christian gel (with a few notable exceptions) were able, or prepared, to recognize that fact or to see in it a statement of the church's abject failure and its causal contribution to the broken relationships and misconduct which had brought the world to the state which it was in. Without being able to recognize that fact they were certainly not going to be able to recognize the challenge of the parody to put their houses in order, to rethink the theology which had led to their erroneous self-understanding, and to set out on a new course, starting from scratch, in an attempt to fulfill their commission from Christ. That commission was simple. To go into all the world and guide humanity towards an understanding of their relationships with God and with each other: and to do it without putting loads on their shoulders and stumbling blocks in their way.

The Scourge was dead but Gog and Magog were still at war and the State of Israel had not yet been established to enable its people to show that they could fulfill their pivotal role in collaboration with their partners in the triangle of Abrahamic messianic faiths. In fact there was no guarantee that it would be established. The participants in the three interlocking 'plots' who were bringing all of the progressive challenges to the church together had all read their lines quite well so far, but there was little indication that they had understood their roles. In fact the reconstruction proposals which they were planning; their efforts to *reimpose* European imperial control; and their efforts to strengthen or to prop up positions of privilege and their capacity to

exploit, clearly indicate that they did *not* understand the circumstances of the war. The question was: how long would it be before the truth would dawn?

CHAPTER 26

THE GRAND DESIGN ... OR ... IT'S MY TURN TO PLAY POLICEMAN

After six years of war the victorious powers turned their attention to the post-war order. Whatever the outcome of their talks would be, one thing was certain. The world had changed, and there was no going back to 1939. The self-satisfied superiority of European Christian civilization had been shattered, along with its claims to leadership on the world stage. In Europe itself the Holocaust had exposed the shallowness of its pretensions to moral superiority for all to see, while across Europe's far-flung empires the prestige of European power had been stripped away, replaced by an awakening of nationalist aspirations which marked a fundamental and irrevocable shift in the relationship between colonizers and people colonized.

But one thing above all signalled the demise of the centuries-old Eurocentric world order and the ushering in of a new strategic balance in world affairs. Europe had been split in two, and looming massive on each other's horizons across the divide were the occupying armies of the two largest powers on earth. They represented two mutually antagonistic ideologies which had been brought together in wartime under an alliance of convenience. On one side was the United States, the scion of the Christian capitalist world and self-styled New Israel, and on the other was the Soviet Union, the world's first atheistic communist state. The mantle of world power had effectively passed to them, and how they would behave towards each other in peacetime would shape not only the future of Europe, but ultimately the entire world.

So the world waited with uncertainty and with some apprehension to see the shape of the new peace. With the war in Europe grinding to a bitter end and the defeat of Japan only a matter of time, a meeting began far away from both theatres of war. On April 25, 1945, at the San Francisco Opera House, delegates representing fifty invited nations met to debate the founding Charter of the United Nations Organization. Together they were to plan the institutions which would put into practice the principles by which the post war international order would be governed, and for which the war had been officially fought – in terms of the *Atlantic Charter* anyway. Those principles were the sovereign equality of peace loving nations and their right to self-determination. They represented hope for the world's many millions of war-torn and oppressed people who longed for justice, freedom, security and an end to exploitation. Their

meeting on the basis of such high ideals was the first of many steps that had to be taken if there was to be progress towards realizing the promise of the Messianic Age.

Unfortunately, however, the ideals existed in pure form only in the politicians' rhetoric. As if to erase any lingering doubts about where the real power lay, whatever independent steps the delegates might have had in mind were constrained by arrangements already made between the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union. In addition to the 'Big Three', China was present as a 'sponsoring power', but it had little effective input since its proposals were subject to the wishes of the others. France, offended at being left out of the Yalta Conference, rejected the offer to become a sponsoring power when its suggestions for amendments to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals were rejected by the Big Three. The agenda for the whole conference was effectively under the control of the victorious sponsoring powers, who, with the addition of France on May 4, decided what was and what was not to be considered, including any new amendments or proposals of their own. Any change to their agenda proposals required a two-thirds majority of delegates¹ All the delegates had to do was perform according to the script. They could do little more than tinker around the edges. Just as Roosevelt had envisaged, and Churchill and Stalin had agreed, the UNO was to be a show run by the big powers, with they themselves in the leading roles. There was no role for the countries facing defeat or for those which chose not to take sides in the war which was still being fought with as much bitterness as at any time – perhaps even more – or for those which were still under colonial or other foreign political control.

This was all said to be justified by the 'realities' of power politics. The advocates for the UNO had argued that the League of Nations failed because it was unrealistically idealistic. Though well intentioned, it had been reduced to a farcical debating forum racked by internal bickering because the decisions it made were not backed by the weight of authority which only the great powers were in a position to wield. The new organization, in contrast, would provide mechanisms which could avoid such problems. In addition to the legislative body in which all members had an equal voice, the General Assembly, there was to be an executive body, the Security Council. This would have as permanent members those nations with the power to command agreement and back their decisions with force. Unlike the old League of Nations Council, recommendations for the peaceful settlement of disputes would require only a majority of seven votes among its eleven permanent and non-permanent members, rather than unanimity. To sweeten the deal, however, and thus maintain the support and participation of the permanent members, they were each to have a power of veto over the Council's collective security decisions so as to protect their own interests. Security decisions were those involving diplomatic, economic, or military pressures against a country which was threatening the peace. In this way a compromise could be forged between the forces of idealism and self-interest which supposedly would be to the benefit of all.²

However, while such a compromise may have reflected the realities of a world as yet unable to live according to the principles of community rather than the dictates of power, it did little if anything to redress the crushing burdens of inequality and exploitation under which the vast

masses of humanity laboured. In fact, most of the world's colonized peoples were not even represented at the meeting. Their exclusion was an ironic comment on the attitudes of the great powers which were in sharp contrast to the UNO's expressed ideal of self-determination. The exclusion was not the fault of the delegates, but of the great powers who claimed the right to control the agenda on behalf of the countless numbers of people they did not represent, and whose real interests and aspirations they largely ignored.

Indeed, due to the self-interest of the two largest Western powers, discussions which were planned to take place before the conference on the issue of greatest concern to many of those countless millions – trusteeship proposals – had been impossible. Roosevelt had initially hoped that the UN could be given special responsibilities for exercising watch over all dependent territories to assist their progress to independence, not only those under League mandates. When that was mentioned at Yalta, Churchill hotly declared that he would not consider any suggestion 'that the British empire is to be put in the dock and examined by everybody.'³ Similarly, the US had its own self-interest reasons, apart from an ideological dislike of imperialism. It still wanted to dismantle the kinds of economic preferences which gave the colonial powers a big advantage, to ensure for itself unrestrained access to the resources and markets of countries under colonial control.⁴ But Roosevelt's views were not even to the satisfaction of his own armed services departments. They wanted to maintain unfettered US control of conquered Japanese Pacific territories which they believed essential to US security, and they resisted any proposal which would make the US accountable to an international body for its actions.⁵

Thus, as the conference opened, the great powers prepared once more to haggle over the future of much of the rest of the human race. But if the great powers ignored the real aspirations and interests of the vast majority of humanity, even the reasons for their actions had deeper historical roots. If the world was as yet unready to live as a community, a large proportion of the responsibility could be sheeted back to the organized religions of the world, and the Christian Churches in particular. If they weren't still intent on their traditional roles as convenient cheer squads for their associated state allies and sponsors, they were, with a few notable exceptions, busy on their equally traditional missions of self-interested political manoeuvring. However even if the churches of the world were not yet able to provide meaningful leadership and to give succour to the overburdened masses of humanity, at least now those masses might be left to be crushed in peace. Perhaps, if they were allowed – and that was a doubtful chance at best – they might also marshal the will and resources to slowly lift the burden through their own efforts.

As the conference opened, the plans of the great powers were already well advanced, and there was little evidence that the officially stated war aims of the treaty partners were providing much in the way of guidance. Each one manoeuvred to manipulate the shape of the post-war order to its maximum advantage. Britain and the other European colonial powers took the near-ending of hostilities as a signal to return to business as usual and to reconstruct their war-ravaged empires. Whether and to what extent they would be able to do that, however, would depend in large part on factors beyond their control. For a start, if the European powers thought

the ideals of the United Nations were little more than convenient tokens to be traded in the crooked business of international relations, their subject peoples certainly expected them to be taken at face value. They were prepared to fight to see that they were taken seriously. But just as significantly, the ability of the European colonial powers to reassert control over their colonial possessions would also depend on the attitudes of the two new policemen on the block, neither of whom had much time for old-style imperialism.

So far, however, there was little indication that they would attempt to replace it with anything much better. Indeed, as their carve up of the Far East at the Yalta conference showed, they were both on the take. The people of the United States certainly had their own idealistic vision of post-war peace and prosperity, but the new international economic and political order that the post-war planners of the Roosevelt administration were intent on establishing had far less to do with reforming interfaith and inter-racial relationships than with making the world safe for their own brand of capitalist democracy. The fact that such an order would firmly cement the United States in a position of world dominance could be happily glossed over by giving an assurance that what was good for the United States was good for the world. But whether anyone else would agree was another matter. The fact that the Soviets had themselves given no indication that they would pursue a more radical agenda in the colonial territories of the European powers was itself reason for pause. It suggested that they may be more interested in consolidating their position against a possibly hostile capitalist world and that they might not take too kindly to playing second fiddle to anyone. This basically reflected resentment that after Western efforts to suppress their self-determination at the end of the First World War, it was they who had suffered worst when they agreed to stay in the war against Hitler instead of suing for an armistice and, in doing so, had deflected Hitler's war machine away from Britain and, potentially, also away from the United States at a critical stage.

But if anyone in April 1945 was in a position to demonstrate the fundamental importance of the problems of interfaith and inter-racial relations which the war had laid bare, they had little hope of making themselves heard. The new situation in Europe was already dominating the agenda. In the chaos and destruction in the wake of the advancing Allied armies the people of Europe were once again contemplating the future of their ruined homelands, and recovery was expected to be slow. For many, the impending victory celebrations would provide a welcome temporary distraction, while others could do little but wait with uncertainty on the whim of their new masters. The agreements made at Yalta had left the shape of the post-war settlement in Europe only vaguely defined, and there was much yet to settle. Apart from the arrangement of zones of occupation, no decision had yet been made about how Germany would be governed, or even if it would survive in one piece. The vexing issue of reparations which had proved so troubling after the First World War was also left up in the air, along with the divisive issue of Poland's western borders. To resolve such issues peacefully and constructively would obviously require a good deal of goodwill and cooperation among the victorious powers – at least as much as they had shown to each other during the war, and definitely more than they had shown before it.

To those in the know, however, the evidence was far from reassuring. The common purpose that had held the Grand Alliance together was now about to be removed, and indications were that the mutual goodwill that had been fostered between the populations of the Western Allies and the Soviet Union during the war was being rapidly squandered by their leaders as each side attempted to shape the political, social and economic complexion of the post-war settlement in accordance with their own perceived interests. Even before the UN meeting got underway cracks began to appear in the facade of unity that the Allies had strenuously tried to maintain during the war. They were centred on the region that had once been intended as 'living room' for the Third Reich, and which now provided the buffer zone between the Soviet Union and the West: Eastern Europe. But those cracks only hinted at what was beneath. The Great Powers were walking on shifting ground, and a wary tread would be needed if the deepening mistrust and rift was not to open into a chasm that could make Europe, and perhaps the world, a battleground once again.

Any hope for some sane and rational reflection on the fundamental problems of world peace was rapidly disappearing in the slipstream of world events. Nevertheless, in spite of the turbulence prior to the San Francisco conference, some reassessment of interfaith relations just could not be avoided. As the end of hostilities approached there was a brutal realization of the scale of the horror inflicted by the most systematic mass extermination program in human history. With that realization, the Jewish question finally came to a head. The liberation of the concentration camps provided immediate, irrefutable and overwhelming evidence of the terrible facts that the Allied powers had tried for so long to ignore or suppress. Backed by all the technology and precision of modern science and industry, carried out with all the efficiency of a modern bureaucratic state, and operated with a brutality inspired by zealous commitment to a fanatical racial ideology based on religious belief, by the end of the war Hitler's killing factories had accounted for the deaths of nearly 6 million Jews. That was more than half of Europe's 10 million strong pre-war Jewish population. In addition millions of Slavs, Gypsies, homosexuals and other assorted 'sub-humans' and enemies of the Nazi state of every European nationality had also been slaughtered.⁶

AN OPPORTUNITY TO BUILD ON

For a world so long lulled into ignorance and apathy, the grainy black and white newsreel footage and the agonized newspaper accounts which had been deliberately suppressed and then manipulated were a profoundly disturbing revelation. They sent shock waves of revulsion and shame reverberating through the complacent self-image of a supposedly Christian civilization. The issues of racism and anti-Semitism had been forced squarely onto the public agenda in a manner that simply could not be ignored or passed over. For the citizens of the Christian world, whether religious or not, Hitler's genocidal madness meant that they had to confront the barbarous evil of racist xenophobia, along with the undeniable fact that it existed at the very heart of their supposedly superior civilization. The heavy-handed lesson provided so obligingly

by Nazi Germany was simple. The organized persecution and oppression of one group of people to satisfy the craze, greed or collective ego of another was no longer acceptable. History had shown that turning a blind eye and tolerating such evil allowed its insidious cancer to flourish and spread, with consequences that were tragically now no longer unimaginable.

Unfortunately, however, there were few indications that the lesson would be taken any further. Deprived of the facts behind the war and filled with the myths of its own wartime propaganda, it was too easy for the Western world to salve its wounded conscience by continuing to blame it all on one madman and the people that had followed him. "They" were the ones who had allowed it to happen, or so the reasoning went, and now "we" must be on guard lest it ever be allowed to happen here. Some deeper reflection on racist attitudes and beliefs was clearly necessary, but immediate responsibility could be placed elsewhere: partly in economic circumstances, partly in the things which had shaped German character perhaps, and certainly in the racist ideology of fascism. But the fact that the attitudes and actions of the Western Christian world as a whole, based on the church's selfunderstanding, had laid the basis for Hitler's genocidal madness and had allowed it to happen could, for the moment, be conveniently ignored. So could the wider implications of the parody of *Mein Kampf*. After all, everyone knew who the good guys were, and dwelling on the facts might just prove too complicating. There were empires to reclaim and a post-war order to construct. And even more disturbing for the longer term, there was a great ideological confrontation looming in which the facts might prove a distraction.

For Jews, on the other hand, the wider significance of Hitler's parody was as nothing in comparison to the immediate significance of the Holocaust, and they had little need to grapple with that. For them it simply represented the culmination of nearly 2000 years of bigotry, repression and persecution at the hands of their Christian neighbours, aided and abetted by the Christian churches and their allied states. In contrast to the Christian world, whatever soul-searching occurred in the Jewish community was sparked in some measure by an agonized sense that European Jewry, conditioned by centuries of abuse and persecution to accept its lot, had walked meekly to meet its fate. Others needed no such unwarranted self-recrimination to fuel their reaction. Living through the Holocaust, and the years of unheeded warnings which had preceded it – indeed, simply observing it all unfold – had forged a burning sense of rage and determination. Never again should Jews be forced to submit, meekly or otherwise, to the deadly whims of others, powerless to prevent the torture and slaughter of innocent men, women and children. Never again could Jews go undefended, and since the world had proved over and over again that it would not defend the Jews, they must be able to defend themselves.

To many more Jews it was now clear that the Zionists had been right all along. Jews must have a state of their own. It had to be a secure home in which they could not be forced to rely on anyone except themselves and themselves alone. It had to be a haven and stronghold for the entire world Jewish community. In the face of the evidence, the logic of the Zionist argument was now all but compelling, and with all other options apparently now exhausted, many more Jews were willing to fight more desperately than ever for that home upon which many Zionists

had long insisted, and which the Biltmore program had made official policy – a Jewish state in Palestine.

Despite the Zionist movement's intense lobbying efforts during the war, it had proved impossible to gain ground while hostilities lasted. Now, with their ranks swelling, the barriers of the Third Reich at last broken, and the White Paper immigration quotas soon to reach their limits, they moved quickly to take advantage of the opportunities that the end of the war provided. Around the world supportive Jewish communities swung their political clout and financial resources behind the Zionist program, particularly in America, which had now become the focus of world Jewry, and the Zionist organizations began a full scale assault on the ramparts of western policy makers with two immediate aims in mind. They wanted representation for the Jewish Agency at San Francisco, and if possible, unrestricted immigration to Palestine. This was more important for the longer term.

Following the Zionist Congress at Montevideo in January, 1945, Zionist groups from a number of American republics wrote to Roosevelt urging both objectives, while Rabbi Wise of the American Zionist Emergency Council also wrote to Stettinius. At a meeting with Truman on April 20 he voiced angry criticism at Stettinius' failure to reply. Whether stung by Wise's criticism, motivated by Congressional pressure, or persuaded by eighty eight rallies in support of a Jewish Commonwealth sponsored by the American Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Committee (the largest drew 60,000 people) Stettinius forwarded the names of those two organizations to be invited as consultants to the UN conference. A petition was organized demanding that Weizmann represent the Jewish people at the Conference, and the New Zionist organization publicized a declaration signed by 12 US senators urging that Palestine be proclaimed a Jewish state and that Jewish delegates be invited to join UN members at the Security Council. Then, in addition to the two official 'consultant' bodies, twenty four organizations in the United States sent delegations to the conference.⁷

It might not have been the result that the Zionists hoped for, but it was a start, and, at that time, an important factor had not come fully into play. In launching their public relations and political assault, Zionists now had a weapon that they had never before been in a position to exploit. It could prove decisive in the coming battle. It was western public opinion. As Zionist leaders had hoped and expected, public exposure of details of the Holocaust had led to widespread public sympathy for the Jews. It was only a short step for that sympathy to be translated into sympathy for the Zionist cause.

To quell its uneasy and unfocussed sense of guilt the Western world was ready to offer some kind of atonement for the suffering that had been inflicted. Unfortunately, however, it was just as ready to accept a solution to the Jewish question that would enable people to avoid being forced to identify the attitudes and actions which had led to Hitler's actions in the first place. Immigration to Palestine meant that there would be less Jewish 'Displaced Persons' to be relocated and assimilated elsewhere or resettled in their former homelands. With only a little readjustment to a map, the cost of recompense for the Holocaust could simply be foisted on

someone else. Regardless of guilt-induced sympathy for them, did anyone want an influx of those European Jews, with all the tension and opposition that it would inevitably lead to? Why stir up problems about anti-Semitism and immigration laws at home when they could go somewhere else? It was much easier to let a few Muslim Arabs give up a bit of land. They had plenty of it, and as the Zionists said, the Bible showed that it belonged to the Jews anyway, or so the reasoning went.

For the Zionist movement, however, there was little incentive to question such motives. Allowing DP's to emigrate to the West would only lessen the need for them to go to Palestine. And to make the most of Western public opinion would obviously require more than sympathy and a good excuse. It also required a united front. Presenting Palestine as the sole solution desired by the Jewish community would advance the credibility of Zionist claims enormously. Already a good beginning had been made. Support had grown, and feeling was strong, whatever other reasons complicated the picture, that the Zionist cause was just. Even among those who did not wish to emigrate from war ravaged Europe an independent Jewish state seemed fair restitution and, for the Diaspora communities outside Europe in particular, a symbol embodying the pride and aspirations of the world Jewish community in the face of tragedy and disaster. Nevertheless, despite the effects of the Holocaust, the Zionist program was still not universally supported among Jews. There were still significant streams of non-Zionist and anti-Zionist Jews, but their numbers were small and they could be largely ignored or 'worked on' to support the cause. But even among those survivors for whom the prospect of rebuilding their lives and communities among the bitter ashes of the Holocaust was unthinkable, many still preferred destinations other than Palestine. They would have to be convinced.

The crucial task for Zionist leaders was to convince the world, or at least those who made the decisions on its behalf, that there was no option, and that would still be an uphill task. For a start, Britain still controlled the mandate, and support from their old ally Churchill, while it still existed, had cooled. There was also the British Labour Party, but they were still in opposition and their credentials were yet to be tested. History had provided enough lessons to be suspicious of easy promises. In particular, the White Paper had demonstrated that when it came to the crunch, the British preferred Empire, oil and Arabs before Zionism, and there was no sign that it was about to give up the imperial ambitions for which control of the region, its canal and its oil had provided the key. On the contrary, the significance of the Middle East's oil reserves had increased. Not only was it still a crucial strategic resource, made even more so by the rapid advance into the mechanical age fostered by the war, it had now become a vital factor in the economic post-war reconstruction of Europe.

In addition, the new strategic balance resulting from the war placed the future of the region in a state of uncertainty which would certainly mitigate against any hasty decisions. Any hope that the US could be made to pressure Britain had to take account of the fact that the US had clearly signalled its intention to become the new mistress of the Middle East. Roosevelt had already committed the US to a policy of 'consultation' with the Arabs. The Soviet Union was sitting astride the frontiers of the Persian oil fields with its troops occupying northern Iran, and

it was already on record as opposing Zionism, and after the trauma of the inter-war period the British position on Palestine was not likely to be decisively moulded by the fate of a few million homeless Jews. The creation of the Arab League and the Alexandria protocol meant that the Arab world was publicly committed to fight if necessary for the historical claims of the Arab Palestinians, and in the context of competition for control of the region, offending the Arabs was not something any of the competitors could really afford to do. Beyond that – if the Zionists ever got that far – the *Atlantic Charter's* espousal of the principle of self-determination, to be written into the *United Nations Charter*, meant that the creation of a new state in Palestine would demand the consent of its Arab majority, and there was certainly no sign that they were about to give that.

Indeed, for the great powers the Middle East was itself only one part, albeit a very big part, of a much larger stage, and for the politicians and postwar planners facing the problems of the post-war world, the question of a Jewish state must have appeared as little more than a frustrating sideshow. Within a few decades there would be more than enough evidence to dispute such an assessment, but by then, to the terrible detriment of international and inter-communal relationships, the issues at the heart of the matter would have become obscured in the ideological haze of a geopolitical conflict fought to the brink of apocalypse. Ultimately the development of *that* confrontation would become a major factor in preventing the deeper reflection that was required to grapple with the problems that had been raised. For the most part honesty and recognition of the facts of history would be forsaken. The lessons of the war would be left largely unheeded. Hitler would remain little more than a convenient scapegoat, an aberration, his memory merely a stick to beat *down* the ugly head of racism whenever it threatened to appear or, just as unfortunately, to beat it *up* when it served a convenient political purpose.

TAKING STOCK IN EUROPE

For the moment, however, as the world prepared for the UN conference, war still raged and the Big Three intensified their backstage showdown over Poland, attention was almost entirely occupied by other matters. For Britain, winning the war which had been fought to save its empire had not solved its dilemma. The direct threat to its imperial position had been beaten off, only to be replaced by an indirect one of equal proportions. Its financial position was shattered, and it had lost its former position of influence in world affairs. One quarter of its total pre-war wealth was gone, foreign debt had increased by a factor of five, and it had been forced to liquidate half of its foreign investments, reducing its foreign earnings substantially. Its exports had been slashed by half, and its imports had risen by half.⁸ The bulk of its merchant fleet lay at the bottom of the ocean, its cities were devastated, and what remained of industry was worn down and largely geared to war-time production. In the face of the pressing financial and psychological needs of reconstruction, sharpened by a desire to reassert a semblance of power with which to compete with that of the Soviet Union and the United States, a return of colonial

possessions and the profitability of empire thus seemed all the more vital. India was already lost, along with Transjordan – the promise of independence being the price of their continued wartime support – and there was little desire to let the rest slip away.

However, any attempt to simply reassert control over the remainder would inevitably incur military and political costs, and in the financial climate that had resulted from the war such costs were something that Britain could ill afford. As with the other European colonial powers, imperial rule in Asia and the Middle East was under direct challenge from the nationalist independence movements which had taken firm root as a consequence of the war. In Asia in particular, where expectations of Asia's control of its own affairs had been raised by the early Japanese success and then cruelly dashed, the indigenous populations were not keen to get rid of one overlord only to see another return. The Arab world had also demonstrated its desire to assert its unity and independence through the establishment of the Arab League. Complicating the situation were the serious ethnic divisions which threatened a series of explosions from within. Apart from Palestine with its Muslim-Jewish-Christian mix, there were deep tensions between the Hindu and Muslim communities in India; between the Chinese, Indians and Malays in Malaya; and between Burmese and Karens in Burma. None of these situations offered the prospect of easy and peaceful resolution.

But Britain's imperial position was under further challenge. On top of the pressure from the US and Russia in the Middle East, there was also the problem of maintaining access to Suez. Egypt had signalled a desire for a renegotiation of existing treaties, and the Soviet's desire to exercise more control over the Dardanelles Straits was now evidence in British minds that they may be intent on muscling Britain out of the Mediterranean. The task of propping up Britain's puppet regime in Greece against its communist and leftist opponents had already demanded large military and financial resources, and there was little chance that the situation would improve. With the Soviets now in control of much of Britain's former sphere of influence in the Balkans, and communist influence firmly cemented in neighbouring Albania and Yugoslavia, much would depend on the outcome of Churchill's October 1944 conference and agreement with Stalin.

RUSSIA'S NEED FOR A BUFFER

But Soviet control of much of Central and Eastern Europe which resulted directly from Western insistence on keeping the war going, had brought problems of its own. Quite apart from the future of Britain's political and economic interests in the region, the Soviet Union's behaviour in consolidating its influence in eastern Europe, and in keeping western influence out, was raising alarm. Europe's security – and thus Britain's – was at stake. Soviet intentions for the future were unknown, and as yet no firm settlement had been reached, most crucially on the key question of Germany. For Churchill, convinced of Soviet designs to dominate post-war Europe, the need to meet the Soviets as far east as possible and to reach a settlement before "the armies of democracy melted" was now, in the dying days of the war, vital.⁹

For the Soviets, however, the shape of the settlement in Europe was no less important, and whatever Britain's grounds for concern at their ultimate intentions, their brutal imperialist stance towards Eastern Europe and their policy towards Germany equally reflected concerns of their own. Unlike Britain, the Soviet Union had been invaded by Germany twice – with the catastrophic Allied intervention after the first attempt – and the second attempt had come within a hair's breadth of succeeding. It had also left the Soviet Union even more physically and economically devastated than Britain.¹⁰ Another invasion simply could not be allowed to occur. Russia needed a buffer zone as much as it ever had.

In Stalin's mind, however, Germany would soon be in a position to try it again. As he warned his fellow European Communists in April 1945, Germany will recover, and very quickly... Give them twelve to fifteen years and they'll be on their feet again.'¹¹ From Stalin's point of view, Germany's potential to wage war in the future thus had to be minimized, and if that could be achieved in part by extracting vast sums in reparations which would at the same time help the Soviet economy recover, then so much the better. As for Germany's borders, the more Poland was shifted westward, the more space that would put between Germany and the Soviet Union, and whatever Britain's concerns, the fact that Soviet troops were already on the ground meant there was little, short of war that Britain could do about it. It was certainly not a case for another venture of the 1917 type.

But just as important as a land buffer was the need for a political buffer. The 'cordon sanitaire' which had been erected against the Soviet Union after World War I had been the conduit for the German invasion, as well as a source of German resources and raw materials which the Soviets now needed to reconstruct. It was thus equally vital in Soviet minds to ensure that the countries of Eastern Europe maintained a 'friendly attitude' so as to provide both a security buffer and the economic benefits of trade and resource extraction. In effect, the cordon sanitaire which, in between the wars, had become a "hotbed of anti-Soviet unrest"¹² had to be reversed, or as Stalin put it somewhat euphemistically to his European communist comrades in April 1945, there must be "unity of the Slavs" – by fair means or foul. "If the unity of the Slavs exists," Stalin declared, "no one will dare move a finger."¹³

However, as Stalin's injunction showed, the German question was by no means the only one occupying the minds of the Soviet leadership as it assumed an imperialist stance towards Eastern Europe. Hanging like a dark cloud over considerations of post-war peace were bitter memories of Western anti-Soviet policy since 1917.¹⁴ Despite their wartime cooperation, the Soviet leadership's views on the trustworthiness of the West had changed little. For one thing, the experience of western anti-bolshevism was still all too fresh.¹⁵ In 1917 the West had poured in thousands of troops against the new and unstable regime. It had refused to cooperate in the 30's, and in 1938 had tried to turn Hitler against Stalin. During the war itself, the opening of the second front had been delayed for more than two years, while the Red Army and the Russians bore the brunt of Nazi aggression and Stalin attempted a deal with Germany – with or without Hitler – in fear that the West would attempt to do the same.¹⁶ In 1945, despite the war-time cooperation of the western powers, there was no guarantee that the Western Powers would not,

sooner or later, take up where they had left off. Perhaps it would be sooner rather than later. After all, the Alliance itself had been a matter of convenience, reinforced by the fact that one of its leaders, Churchill, had been a prime mover in the pre-war anti-Bolshevik crusade. The fact that he had changed his stripes once only suggested that he was capable of doing it again. Similarly, many Americans, particularly on the right, saw the Soviet Union as the epitome of evil, in contrast to their own God-fearing country which was the embodiment of all that was progressive in the world. That attitude was reinforced and made more dangerous by the knowledge that the US was now without rival in might, which, as Stalin well knew, was a position soon to be backed up with the deceitful and supposedly secret exclusive control of the atomic bomb.

Underlining the situation dramatically was the contrast between American strength and the pitiful condition in which the war was leaving the Soviet Union. Another war was simply out of the question. What the Soviet Union needed was a period of consolidation. That need was made doubly imperative for the Communist Party in order to repair the damage the war had caused to the Soviet system of government. To deal with that, Stalin would soon have the propaganda machine working overtime, along with the labour camps. German occupation had undermined or destroyed Soviet authority, particularly in the non-White Russian regions. The general population expected improvements in living conditions, increases in personal freedoms, and rights to political consultation as a reward for wartime sacrifices. The mass of people were living in grim conditions, with severe rationing of food, clothing and housing, and working long hours. During the war the government had found it necessary to re-emphasize in propaganda programs the pre-Revolutionary traditions of the Russian people as well as to grant greater freedom to the Orthodox Church. By the end of the war, however, more direct methods were deemed necessary. The system of penal and forced labour camps was extended to the point where 10 million Soviet citizens were permanently interned. Special attention was given to the Red Army which had been exposed to 'corrupting influences' in central Europe and which had grown too rapidly for Stalin to impose rigid political control. Likewise, whole population groups from territories occupied by the Germans were interned. The Communist party was mobilized against army leaders and industrial managers whose power and prestige had been increased as a consequence of the war, while special schools were opened to teach Stalin's doctrines. The figure of 'Mother Russia', which had provided the basis for wartime propaganda, gave way to 'Glorious Stalin.'¹⁷

So with the future of East-West relations in doubt, during 1945 the Soviets proceeded to act unilaterally on the basis of the most favorable possible interpretations of the Yalta agreements. The reins were quickly tightened on Rumania, Bulgaria and Poland. In Germany the process of 'democratic transformation' of the Soviet zone was started as soon as possible. Stalin made it known that he no longer intended the division of Germany, and beginnings were made on the denazification of the administration, land reform, the expropriation of capitalist assets and the removal to the Soviet Union of large amounts of materials as war booty and reparations. Once

again, the local Communist Party, returning out of exile with the Red Army, was placed at the forefront of the process.¹⁸

But for the Western Allies, contemplating Soviet behaviour in early 1945, the great irony was that they themselves had handed the Soviets the capacity to do as they pleased in Eastern Europe because of the way they had conducted the war against Hitler. However that did not mean that the Soviets were intending to export their communist system, as many in the West increasingly feared. Full sovietization would require revolutionary change and would inevitably provoke a western backlash, and the situation prevailing at the end of the war meant that their actions of necessity had to be limited by the need to coexist with the West. Indeed, analyses prepared by the Soviet Academy of Sciences suggested that international capitalism would continue under American leadership for a very long time. On the other hand, however, the growth of American power relative to war-torn Europe would inevitably lead to a world-wide concentration of capitalist power in American hands which would strengthen anti-Soviet forces, most crucially in those areas such as eastern Europe which bordered the Soviet Union.¹⁹

Short of sovietization, therefore, the decisive requirement on the border regions was a friendly attitude guaranteed by internal social and political 'restructuring', and where the existing political forces proved less than amenable to a sharp leftward political swing, the presence of the Red Army – and the NKVD – were brutally guaranteeing the results that the Soviets were looking for. At the same time, however, given the impossibility of world-wide communist revolution, the existing capitalist order in the primary sphere of likely American economic expansion – namely Western and Southern Europe and China – had to be stabilized against the spread of American imperialist influence, even if that meant sacrificing the immediate development of the local socialist movements to the local national capitalists.²⁰ Thus, rather than pursuing international revolution the Soviets in effect aimed to divide the world into spheres of influence – with the American influence in its own sphere minimized, Soviet influence maximized, and a neutered Germany in the middle.

With regard to the American sphere of influence, the first signal had been sent in 1943 with the disbanding of the Comintern. More concrete steps had been taken at Yalta, where Stalin had given Roosevelt an assurance that he would deal with Chiang Kai-shek, rather than Mao Tse-tung, in return for territorial concessions and a promise to enter the war against Japan.²¹ Most dramatic, however, had been the cooperative behaviour of the Communist parties of Western Europe, whose major role in the resistance and in liberation had made it necessary to allow them substantial places in the post-liberation coalition governments. Not only had they actively aided the Allied forces in re-establishing government control, they had independently held back from revolutionary policies and favoured a parliamentary path to power. In France, for example, the Communist led resistance was estimated by Eisenhower to have been worth an extra 15 divisions during operation 'Overlord' – larger than De Gaulle's own forces. Their subsequent cooperation with De Gaulle, who had raced to Paris to prevent the possibility of a communist led liberation of the city, had actually enabled him to act to reestablish the powers of a centralized state. Similarly, in Belgium, intervention by Communist leaders in late 1944

prevented a possible revolution being put down by the British with bloodshed after a tense stand-off between the resistance and the occupation powers over the return of the unpopular exiled government had reached the point of revolutionary anarchy and a general strike.²² No doubt the fact of Allied military supremacy made immediate revolution impossible, but with Moscow's blessing they had thrown themselves wholeheartedly into the process of national capitalist reconstruction, often in the face of opposition from their grassroots members.

But even in the Soviet sphere of influence the full treatment was by no means inevitable. Soviet interference in Finland following the armistice had been kept to a minimum, and by late 1944 genuinely democratic elections had already been held. In part that was because the Finns had twice fought the Soviets to a standstill during the war, but just as important was the fact that the Paasikivi government had demonstrated sufficient sympathy to allay Soviet security concerns.²³

In Czechoslovakia the issues were more clear cut. As leader of the London exile government, President Benes had, after Teheran, clearly seen the writing on the wall, and instead of fighting the inevitable he had resolved to make a virtue of the new strategic situation brought about by the war. Wanting a decisive share in determining his country's post-war future he turned to Czechoslovakia's eastern neighbour, convinced that a sympathetic and cooperative attitude towards the Soviets could win for his country what the disaster of Munich had shown the western powers were not able to provide – independence and security.

In December 1943, before the Red Army crossed into Czechoslovakia, Benes had signed a treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union, under which Czechoslovakia agreed not to enter into any anti-Russian blocs in Europe and allowed the Soviets to be Czechoslovakia's sole protective power. As a further indication of his good-will, Benes expressed his intention to proceed with nationalizations, and agreed that one fifth of seats in a new provisional government should go to the Communists, whose support had grown substantially during the war from a pre-war electoral base of ten per cent. In return, Benes privately gained Stalin's commitment to non-interference in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs.²⁴

For his part, Stalin was as good as his word. As the eminent Cold War historian Wilfried Loth has remarked, 'Benes in general proved himself to be such a stalwart supporter of Soviet interests that Stalin did not even remotely consider replacing his government with a satellite regime.'²⁵ Indeed, due to Benes over enthusiasm – or perhaps negligence – the communists got a greater share of power than perhaps even Stalin expected. In final discussions with the Communists in Moscow following the Yalta conference in March 1945, on the eve of Czechoslovakia's liberation, almost one third of cabinet posts went their way. For Britain and the United States, however, who had thought that Benes' policy would result in Czechoslovakia falling into the Soviet orbit, that now seemed like evidence that their worst fears were being fulfilled. Neither country had supported the treaty, despite the fact that Benes had offered to sign an identical one with the British, and neither had taken up his offer to sign civil affairs treaties on the eve of the Soviet advance into Czech territory.²⁶ Nevertheless, despite their fears,

Benes' strategy had worked. A basic consensus was forged and a fragile basis for genuine democracy had been retained, along with independence. Tragically, it would avail his country nothing.

Benes' aims were wider than securing the immediate future of Czechoslovakia, however. Munich had occurred, he thought, because the West feared Russia more than it hated Germany, and unless the mutual hostility was bridged, the disaster would be repeated. Czechoslovakia's role was to be that bridge.²⁷ So far, despite Roosevelt's desire for cooperation with the Soviets and Churchill's October 1944 'percentages' agreement, there was little indication that the West was willing to meet it half way. They preferred bridges of their own design – if bridges were to be built at all.

Neither was it apparent that the other eastern European nations could learn from the Czechoslovakian example, as Benes had also hoped. Nations wishing to avoid the full force of the Soviet heel did not even have to venture as far as Czechoslovakia. Even in formerly fascist Hungary the Soviets had kept the pressure to a comparative minimum, allowing the formation of a four party coalition government under the leadership of Horthyite General Bela Miklos which promised strong social and economic reforms but guaranteed private property and trade.²⁸ Elsewhere, however, anti-Bolshevik sentiment ran too deep. It was fostered to fever pitch in no small part by the Christian churches, but it was compounded in Poland in particular by historically entrenched anti-Russian sentiment. The Soviets had actually bitterly reinforced this by their brutal attempts to counter or circumvent it with the Katyn massacre subsequent to the Warsaw uprising. Rationality and the spirit of cautious compromise had long been abandoned in much of the region, if it ever existed, and Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria were suffering the worst consequences as a result.

Nevertheless, in the inevitable cycle of action and reaction, such actions also had consequences, and by the closing weeks of the war, mistrust and uncertainty on both sides gave way to outright suspicion and confrontation. The conference at Yalta, publicly trumpeted as a triumph for post-war cooperation between the Allies, had in reality been nothing of the sort. If anything it had merely papered over deep differences.

However, the Soviets' position at the end of the war meant that those differences were now a permanent factor in international affairs, and their brutal control of Eastern Europe was not going to be dealt with overnight. Doing that meant first overcoming the Soviets' deep seated suspicions, which had been made quite clear by their accusations that the Western powers were attempting to negotiate a mild peace with Germany. But overcoming those suspicions completely would require great strength and foresight and a willingness to identify long-term national interests with those of the human race as a whole. Short-term material and political self-interest had to be forgone so as to allow the truth of benign intentions and real human interest to emerge, and real morality to assert itself to act as the judge of international behaviour.

The conduct of the Christian West had shown that this was never going to happen and the world had just gone to war to prove it. The best that people could hope for was a period of peaceful co-existence between rivals which would open a space for some rational reflection on the state of human affairs. That then might allow whatever truths were contained in various conflicting ideologies to be demonstrated in the long term one way or another by their success or failure in meeting the real needs and interests of all human beings – an approach surely suited to the nations of the West which were supposedly pluralistic and tolerant. But just what the immediate result would be now rested with the Western powers, and the United States in particular. Their response would largely determine how quickly the widening breach could be bridged – if it could be bridged at all.

But if British experience was any indication of American attitudes to ‘cooperation’ then the future of East-West relations was looking anything but rosy. As Britain’s leaders well knew, their ‘Atlantic cousins’ had plans of their own. In stark contrast to both Britain and the Soviet Union, the United States had emerged from the war as an economic and military powerhouse. Where Roosevelt’s New Deal had failed to shake off the depression, war production and the flood of refugees with their technology and research skills had succeeded with spectacular results. Long before the war ended it was clear that Britain was going to have to rely heavily on the United States for post-war assistance. But as the wartime experience of bargaining over Lend-Lease and the *Atlantic Charter* testified, the US was definitely not going to extend a helping hand simply in recognition of sacrifices that had made for the common war effort. And with its anti-Communist legions growing in force, neither was it likely to let the Soviets get in the way of its plans for the post-war order, despite Roosevelt’s personal attempts to assure cooperation. Haunted by the spectre of depression, and shaken out of its isolationist slumber by an unprecedented war which was widely seen as the result of these things the self-styled New Israel was intent on remodelling the world so that none of it would be allowed to happen again.

A “GET TOUGH” ATTITUDE: THE SAGA OF A-BOMB CONTROL

In the days immediately before the UN conference the confrontation between the Russia and the United States over Poland entered a dramatic new phase. The task of leading America into the new peace had fallen to the new president Harry Truman, who immediately pledged to continue Roosevelt’s policies. Previously excluded from foreign policy matters and, by his own admission, without much knowledge, it was about all he could do. His first act had thus been to declare that the San Francisco conference would go ahead as scheduled, resisting British suggestions that it be postponed until after the Polish dispute was resolved, and calming fears that Roosevelt’s death would weaken US commitment to the international organization.²⁹ Within days, in concert with Churchill, he then sent to Stalin a joint response (previously prepared by the State Department) rejecting Stalin’s offer of April 9 and demanding that the London Poles be consulted on the composition of the future government of Poland.³⁰

However, the simple fact was that for the Soviets, discussions which included the London Poles on equal terms were anathema. Historian Daniel Yergin has noted that even they would have had to agree with Molotov's characterization of them as "secretly an enemy."³¹ Nevertheless, in a series of meetings in the second half of April, with the conflict over Poland casting its shadow over the San Francisco conference, Truman and his top advisers attempted to determine a further course of action. Insecure in his new job and jealous of his presidential powers, Truman was determined to be firm and decisive. But in doing that he was reliant on advice, and that advice was to be tough.³²

At a meeting with Truman on April 20, US Ambassador to Moscow Averell Harriman repeated his new analysis of Soviet expansionist intentions in slightly more colourful language. In effect, what the United States was faced with, he said, was a 'barbarian invasion of Europe.' The Soviets weren't just establishing a sphere of influence, they were extending the Soviet system and taking what amounted to totalitarian control in satellite countries. However, they were weak and economically backward. They needed US assistance and were afraid of facing a united West, and thus could be made to yield if the situation was handled correctly.³³ Truman agreed: "The Soviets need us more than we need them", and if the US could not get 100 per cent of what it wanted on important matters, it should be able to get 85 per cent.³⁴

Truman's 'get tough' attitude was no doubt reinforced when rumours that the Soviets were about to conclude Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance with the Lublin government against American and British wishes were proved true the next day, effectively granting Soviet legal recognition to the Provisional Government and its unilateral westward shift of Poland's borders. The announcement only raised the tension a further notch.³⁵ In the meantime, however, Molotov had arrived in the US for the San Francisco meeting, and at an impromptu meeting of advisers on April 23, immediately prior to a scheduled meeting with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Truman rehearsed the gung-ho attitude he would take with Molotov. Agreements with the Soviets had so far been a one-way street and this could not continue – it was now or never. If the Russians didn't want to join the US in their plans for San Francisco they could go to hell. Most of the others present agreed with the two-fisted approach.³⁶

Secretary of War Stimson, however, did not. Neither an advocate of the UN or of America's global involvement, he was one of the few who saw an analogy between the Monroe Doctrine and the Soviet desire for a security sphere. In his view, as he later wrote in his diary, it was State Department clumsiness and the United States emphasis on "altruism" and "humanitarianism" rather than on "stark realities" which had caused the crisis. He might as well have called it hypocrisy – after all, the United States would hardly have tolerated the creation of a potentially hostile government across its own borders. But none of that was said. Stimson instead reminded his audience that in major military matters the Soviets had always kept their word – even gone beyond it – and that free elections in Poland were unlikely anyway. Poland was too big an issue to confront the Soviets on. The Soviets, perhaps, were being more realistic than the US about their security concerns, and rather than running the risk of antagonizing them with undiplomatic language it would be better to proceed with caution.³⁷

Stimson's suggestion fell on deaf ears. The only other opposition came from General Marshall, who feared that antagonizing the Russians might delay their entry into the Pacific war "until we had done all the dirty work."³⁸ However, the strength of that objection was quickly diluted by Truman's other military advisors. Joint Chiefs of Staff planners had already concluded that, though it would be valuable, early Russian entry into the war to divide the Japanese forces was no longer necessary to make the invasion of Japan feasible.³⁹

Fortified by the near unanimous advice, and confident of his position of strength, Truman let the Russian have it with both barrels at his meeting with Molotov soon afterward. After bluntly insisting that the Soviets carry out the Yalta agreement, he then flexed America's economic muscle as Harriman had advocated. The US, he told Molotov, intended to proceed with the San Francisco conference regardless, but American economic assistance depended on Soviet cooperation on other matters of mutual interest. "No policy in the United States, foreign or domestic, could succeed unless it had public support", Molotov was informed, and he hoped the Soviet Government would "keep this in mind." Molotov's attempts to respond were sharply rebuffed: an agreement had been reached, and Stalin ought to carry it out. Then when Molotov protested that: "I have never been talked to in that way in my life," Truman is reported to have said: "Carry out your agreements and you won't get talked to like that."⁴⁰ If anyone had planned to cause a bad impression of the new President in the eyes of the Soviets, they could hardly have done a better job.

The next day, Stalin delivered a message in language only slightly more diplomatic than Truman's. It was, in his view, American and British demands that were contrary to the Yalta agreement, and those demands suggested that Britain and the United States did not want to see a government in Poland friendly to the Soviet Union. However, unlike her allies, the Soviet Union shared a border with Poland, and could not agree to the existence in Poland of a government hostile toward it. Moreover, the Soviet Union was not consulted over the establishment of governments in Belgium and Greece, and it laid no claims to interference "as it understands the whole importance of Belgium and Greece for the security of Great Britain." Why, then, could the United States and Britain not take into account Soviet security concerns in regard to Poland? In closing, however, Stalin did something that none of the tough-talking Americans had expected. He reaffirmed his willingness to do everything possible to achieve a settlement, but made it clear that such a settlement had to be in line with Soviet interests. In his view, the only way out was to accept the Yugoslav precedent as a model for Poland.⁴¹

Contrary to American expectations, Stalin had shown that the Soviets would neither buckle nor break. But if Stalin's response had given Truman something to think about, it wasn't the only thing that did. At a meeting the next day – the day that San Francisco opened – Stimson, in the company of the Manhattan Project's director General Groves, gave the new President his first formal briefing on the atomic bomb. Surprisingly, though many of those around him knew of the bomb's existence, Truman as yet had not been officially informed. It was certainly a significant factor in Stimson's thinking and, no doubt for other advisers also. The Secretary of War had for some time been giving consideration to the implications of the new weapon in

regard to both the end of war and the post-war peace, and such thoughts had also been uppermost in his mind in advocating a cautious approach to the Soviets.

In contrast to Roosevelt's policy of exclusive Anglo-American control which had been set out in the secret Quebec agreement with Churchill of September 1944, Stimson believed that international cooperation on atomic energy was vital to the stability and peace of the post-war world. The agreement was so secret that even he, the secretary for war, was not aware of it although he had suspected its existence. He and other officials of like mind had tried repeatedly early 1945 to engage Roosevelt on the issue, but to no avail.⁴² With Roosevelt's death, however, the opportunity arose to push the cooperative line to Truman.

Before Stimson presented his case, however, Groves read from a twenty-four page memorandum summarizing progress on the Manhattan Project and the Murray Hill Area. He stressed two important points. First, a deliverable bomb was all but assured, and would be ready for testing some time that summer. Second, the United States and Britain together had virtually cornered the world's known market of fissionable materials, thereby ensuring that atomic bombs would not be available to any other country for the duration of the war and for an indefinite period beyond.⁴³ Stimson then read out his memorandum, the thrust of which was, on the surface at least, diametrically opposed to the aims represented by the Murray Hill Area. He firmly stated his appreciation of the enormous historical implications of the new weapon, outlined the possibility of an atomic arms race and the dangers of atomic war, and argued for some form of international cooperation in the field of atomic energy if the United Nations Organization was to work. Despite personal attempts by atomic physicist Neils Bohr to encourage Churchill and Roosevelt to adopt a policy of disclosure and cooperation with the Soviets in 1944 and early 1945, and similar attempts by Chairman of the US National Defence Research Committee, Vannevar Bush, to have Roosevelt include a section in the UN charter dealing with international scientific research, no dents had been made in the policy of exclusive Anglo-American control. The closest Roosevelt had come to overturning the policy of secrecy was immediately following Yalta, when fears that French scientists working in the Canadian section on the Manhattan project would leak information to a French colleague. However, Roosevelt's casual suggestion that the Soviets be informed on the grounds that De Gaulle might do so first was quickly squashed by Churchill.⁴⁴

It was clear to Stimson that world peace and the future of civilization itself were at stake. "If the problem of the proper use of this weapon can be solved", he wrote, "we would have the opportunity to bring the world into a pattern in which the peace of the world and our civilization can be saved." It was the importance of cooperation on atomic energy which had underlaid his earlier advice for caution in dealing with the Polish question. Though the memorandum didn't explicitly say it, it seemed to Stimson that antagonizing the Soviets with an overtly confrontational approach would seriously undermine such a possibility.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, however, he did not question the assumption that the bomb should or would be used – indeed, given the context of total war, that had never been seriously questioned by anybody. But more significantly, despite his apparent understanding of what was at stake, neither did he argue that

the aims of the Murray Hill Area were inconsistent with cooperation on atomic energy, or that an approach to the Soviets on international cooperation should be attempted *before* the weapon was used in the war. Instead, a more circumspect approach was crystallizing in his mind.

Towards the end of 1944 Stimson had formed the view that cooperation should not be offered to the Soviets until *after* the weapon had been demonstrated and the Soviets had in return demonstrated that they were worthy of being trusted. Uppermost in his mind had been genuine concerns about getting the Soviet Union as a secretive police state to comply with international inspection controls.⁴⁶ However, the hope that the Soviets might make domestic liberalizing concessions had faded, but the desire to find some way of adding the bomb to the United States' diplomatic arsenal had not. In effect, Stimson still wanted to use the offer of shared control of the bomb as a diplomatic weapon to extract some form of "quid pro quo", and for all his apparent sensitivity to Soviet security concerns, he was blind as anyone else to the fact that the Soviets might well consider that a threat – particularly if its first use in war was unilateral and unannounced.

Whether his plans were relayed to Truman at that initial meeting is not known, though that is unimportant. What is important is that in the following weeks Stimson certainly had opportunity to do so. By that time, as Soviet entry into the Pacific war became imminent, plenty of reasons could be found to support the plan of action he advocated – along with some enthusiastic boosters even more eager to let the Soviets know just who was boss. Many of those boosters in fact found themselves on the Interim Committee set up by Stimson and Truman to formulate official policy on atomic issues.

Indeed, for all the rhetoric displayed by Stimson and others about the desire to use the new weapon for the benefit of mankind as a whole, it was virtually inevitable that they would attempt to use it in a fashion that best served *American* interests. Of course, it could be said in their defense that whatever other reasons of self-interest motivated them, they really had the world's interests at heart – indeed, they had more or less come to assume that what was best for America was best for the world. But that defence only underscores the fact of their enormous arrogance, and no doubt the arrogance of the Western Christian civilization of which they were a vital part. (Indeed, one is led to wonder what exactly motivated Stimson when he cautioned in his memorandum to Truman that the fate of 'our civilization' was at stake.) But whatever the motivations of America's leaders, what is most disturbing is that for all their apparent awareness of the immense historical significance of the weapon they were about to unleash on an unsuspecting world, their unquestioning arrogance was so complete it never occurred to them for a moment to doubt their absolute right to use it in a unilateral attempt to shape the destiny of the entire world into a pattern of their own choosing.

So, on the same day. Stimson met with Truman on the atomic bomb; Stalin sent his telegram to Truman on Poland, and the conference which was intended to rid the world of the scourge of war and usher in a new era in international cooperation proceeded as planned – without the Polish government. Conference delegates were unaware that a weapon would soon be available

with the potential to completely change forever the basis of world affairs. On that same day US and Soviet troops were exchanging warm greetings as they met for the first time on the Elbe River. Unknown to the front line troops, however, the potent symbolism of their friendly exchanges was being undermined, and the good-will that was expressed on the front line in Europe found little reflection at the peace meeting in the San Francisco Opera House. The tensions that had been bubbling hotly behind the scenes suddenly became public.

Almost before the welcoming speeches were over a battle for prestige erupted between East and West. In line with an earlier Soviet request that the presidency should be held in rotation by each of the four sponsoring powers, Molotov immediately objected to Stettinius remaining in the chair for the whole meeting.⁴⁷ No sooner had that matter been settled when the decorum of proceedings was further marred by an ugly procedural debate over who was to participate. As was inevitable, the Soviets demanded the admission of representatives from the Lublin government. After a few days of angry debate the demands were dropped, and Molotov accepted a Belgian sponsored compromise which made provision for delegates from a Polish government reorganized under the Yalta agreement to attend before the Conference adjourned. However, Soviet demands to have Byelorussia and the Ukraine immediately admitted as participants were then blocked by Latin American countries under American tutelage demanding the participation of Peron's pro-fascist Argentina, which the Soviets then attempted to link with the admission of Poland. After days of fruitless and hostile argument, it was eventually agreed that Argentina and the two Soviet republics could attend – but not Poland.⁴⁸ It was not an auspicious start.

On April 30, the day of Hitler's death, Stettinius informed Truman that discussions on the composition of the Polish government at the San Francisco conference had reached an impasse.⁴⁹ The mood was not lifted when on May 4 Molotov confirmed that the Polish underground leaders arrested in March were being held in detention in Moscow, and an official Soviet newsagency stated the next day that they were awaiting trial on charges of "diversionary tactics in the rear of the Red Army."⁵⁰ The next day both the American and British Governments jointly announced that they would not continue discussions of the Polish issue until a full explanation of the arrests had been given. Two days after that, in reply to an earlier lengthy missive from Churchill which had been endorsed by Truman, Stalin provided an explanation in line with that already given, but in return stated flatly that existing British and American attitudes "exclude the possibility of an agreed solution to the Polish question."⁵¹

END GAME IN EUROPE

By this time, however, events in Europe were moving to their ultimate conclusion, and in the strained atmosphere the erstwhile Allies had been making some last minute bids for strategic advantage. Having succeeded in gaining a temporary 'stand fast' directive from the joint Chiefs of Staff after his unsuccessful attempts to change Eisenhower's military strategy, following Roosevelt's death Churchill had immediately gone to work on Truman to indefinitely prevent

any troop withdrawals.⁵² Truman, after consulting with the Joint Chiefs of Staff, at first refused to comply, but Churchill was not to be put off. On April 24, with the temporary directive still in effect, he had pressed his arguments concerning the need to first finalize arrangements on the occupation of Germany and Austria, and the President, fresh from his confrontation with Molotov and his meeting with Stimson, was at last inclined to agree.⁵³ On the 27, as the Soviets proceeded to tighten their circle around Berlin, a joint message had been sent to Stalin linking troop withdrawals in Germany to a satisfactory solution to the problem of Austria.⁵⁴

Stalin, however, was not going to be pushed around – he was obviously well aware of his own bargaining strength in Austria. On April 29 Radio Moscow announced that the Soviet commander in Austria had recognized a provisional government set up by former Socialist Chancellor of the Austrian republic Karl Renner. Though Renner's government appeared to represent all political elements as required by the Declaration on Liberated Europe, the Western Allies were nevertheless incensed – not only were the Soviets acting in blatant disregard of American and British calls for consultation, they were also refusing to allow western representatives into Vienna until zonal arrangements had been finalized.⁵⁵ Despite Western pleas that final zonal arrangements could not be made until observers had been allowed in, Stalin refused to budge.

To Churchill that only provided “a foretaste of what would happen” in a Soviet zone of occupation and made it all the more imperative to arrive before them wherever possible.⁵⁶ Already in mid-March he had communicated his concern to Eden that British and American troops should occupy Denmark before the Soviets, as well beat them to German atomic research installations near Stuttgart, and both of those objectives had been met.⁵⁷ Now, however, two further objectives seemed critical: Prague and Trieste. On April 30 the Prime Minister again cabled President Truman urging that the Western Allies participate in the liberation of Czechoslovakia. Once again, however, despite the State Department now giving its support for the idea, Eisenhower stuck to his purely military strategy and only crossed the Elbe after consolidating his position and obtaining Russian agreement to a limited advance. A request by the Soviet commander to liberate Prague was respected, even when on May 5 the people of Prague led by the communists rose in spontaneous revolt and requested help from the Americans nearby in Pilsen.⁵⁸

With regard to Trieste, where a tense situation was developing between the western Allies and Tito concerning control of the strategically important north-eastern Italian province of Venezia Giulia, Churchill was in a better position to make good on his demands. Both the US and Britain feared that Tito's claims for the former Austro-Hungarian province would be made a *fait accompli* if his partisan forces were first to arrive, and that that would arouse resentment among Italians against their weak government and cause a transfer of support to the Communists, as well as hinder the maintenance of western occupation forces in Austria to which the port of Trieste was vital. Moreover, if Tito was allowed to succeed he might try it again in bordering parts of Austria.⁵⁹ However, the Americans were still cautious, agreeing that General Alexander should proceed with his advance and then set up his Allied Military

Government only with Tito's cooperation, without which he should seek further instructions from the combined Chiefs of Staff. Tito withheld his agreement, claiming that the Yugoslav theatre of operations now extended over most of the region. This time, however, Churchill had his own man on the ground, and on April 30 the British CoS decided to let Alexander proceed with care, only halting to consult with the Combined Chiefs if he met Yugoslav forces who refused to cooperate.⁶⁰

On the same day, Churchill telegraphed Truman arguing that Alexander should take Trieste from the sea before saying anything to the Russians or Yugoslavs. With clashes between Allied forces and Yugoslav troops possible at any moment, the American suspected that Churchill might well be trying to get them involved in fighting the Yugoslavs and possibly the Russians, and Truman again urged caution, reiterating his earlier demand that Alexander consult with Tito and the Combined Chiefs before getting into a fight. On May 1, however, after informing Churchill that he was now sure that Tito would not withdraw his troops without Russian say so, Alexander continued to push forward, and that night, after meeting up with Yugoslav forces a few miles north of Trieste, British Commonwealth troops continued to the port and safely received the surrender of the German garrison.⁶¹

Despite hostilities being avoided, it was by no means an end to the crisis. Tito's troops also occupied the town and there was no sign that he was about to moderate his claims for the region. But however justified Churchill and his American counterparts might have been in expecting a drawn out power struggle with the charismatic Yugoslav leader, one factor in their analysis was characteristically wrong. Tito wasn't a front man for the Russians at all. In fact, there was little if any love lost between the independent minded Yugoslav and the Soviets, who opposed his actions, in the words of Daniel Yergin, as "dangerous and provocative adventurism."⁶² For Churchill in particular, however, Tito's actions were only one more link in an unbroken communist chain which now extended from Norway to Turkey, and with the prospect of American and Commonwealth troops soon leaving the European theatre to join the Pacific campaign, something had to be done to stem the tide of Russian advance and prevent her total domination of Europe.

On May 4 he cabled Eden in San Francisco, outlining his view of the European situation and reiterating his earlier strategy of postponing troops withdrawals. Now, however, he threw his net far wider: the Allies ought not to retreat from their present positions "until we are satisfied about Poland, and also about the temporary character of the Russian occupation of Germany, and the conditions to be established in the Russianized or Russian-controlled countries in the Danube valley, particularly Austria and Czechoslovakia, and the Balkans." In addition to that bargaining counter, he hoped to use the prospect of agreements over the exits to the Baltic and the Black Seas. To use them, however, it was "indispensable" that a meeting between the Big Three be held as soon as possible. "If [these matters] are not settled before the United States armies withdraw from Europe and the Western World folds up its war machines", he concluded, "there are no prospects of a satisfactory solution and very little of preventing a third World War."⁶³

Even in the undoubtedly fractious international situation, the main danger to the security of world peace was in all likelihood Churchill's belligerent anti-Communist paranoia. But before World War Three could start present hostilities had to end, and with the German military machine now crumbling virtually of its own accord, matters in Europe were rapidly drawing to a close. On April 29, the day before Hitler's suicide, Alexander had accepted the unconditional surrender of German military forces in Italy. On the 30th in line with Hitler's last will and testament, Admiral Doenitz was informed that he had been appointed the Fuhrer's successor, and on May 4 Montgomery accepted the partial capitulation of the northern forces of the Doenitz government for the Western Front only – after rejecting the offer of a capitulation on both fronts as outside his jurisdiction. On May 6 Eisenhower in contrast insisted on capitulation for both fronts, and at 2.41am next day the instrument of general unconditional surrender was signed. All hostilities ceased at midnight on May 8, with formal ratification by the German High Command taking place in Berlin in the early hours of the next morning.⁶⁴

FINDING THE RIGHT LEVER

Hitler's dream of an end to the Jewish Question and a thousand year Reich was at an end, but the world was not yet at peace. The war with Japan had not yet ended, and the Allies had yet to demonstrate that they could come to terms with each other over the post-war arrangements for Europe. More than that, they had yet to demonstrate whether they could cooperate in peace at all. And having faced the disastrous consequences of appeasing totalitarian Nazi Germany – a power with whom they had more in common than they cared to admit – the Western Allies were now drawing the first false lesson of the war: that totalitarian power must inevitably lead to unslakeable expansionism. Germany's expansionist foreign policy, mistakenly attributed to its totalitarianism, was now being projected on to the Soviet Union. The fact that the Soviets were in it for themselves no more and no less than the western powers was being rapidly submerged under a rising tide of blinkered anti-Communist prejudice. The only real difference, of course, was that the Soviets were less encumbered by moral scruples and not at all by domestic public opinion, and therefore in fact more consistent in their behaviour – brutal as it was. And in the competition for post-war spoils, that in fact gave them an advantage which no amount of phoney moral lecturing or muscular posturing on the part of the West could easily diminish.

Nevertheless, with the end of hostilities in Europe, new Western concerns came into sharp focus in the light of the perceived Soviet threat: the possibility that chaos in Central and Western Europe might lead to revolution and communist penetration, and the possible consequences in the Far East of Russian entry into the Pacific war. So while the citizens of the Allied nations joyously celebrated their hard fought victory over Hitlerism, harder heads were busy behind the scenes reassessing the uneasy strategic balance in global political affairs and calculating measures that could be taken to assure that their side came out on top.

Uppermost on Churchill's mind was the pressing need for a summit meeting. Already on May 6 he had cabled Truman requesting a meeting of the Big Three at the earliest possible

moment. Truman's reply on May 9, however, was disappointing. Though he agreed that such a meeting was desirable, it was "extremely difficult" for him "to be absent from Washington before the end of the fiscal year" on June 30.⁶⁵ To Churchill that seemed too late. He urgently cabled Truman on May 11, and again the next day. An "iron curtain" was drawn across the Russian front, he told the President on May 12. Already reports of troop transfers to the Pacific had reached the newspapers, and with the Russians already in substantial control of much of Europe and about to advance across half of Germany as American troops withdrew to their zone of occupation, "it would soon be open to the Russians in a very short time to advance if they chose to the waters of the North Sea and the Atlantic." A meeting with Stalin was essential at the earliest date possible, mid-June at latest. In the meantime, the present troop positions should be held.⁶⁶

Truman did not reply immediately, and in the meantime Churchill took steps of his own to bolster the West's position against the Soviets. He ordered the British Chiefs of Staff to stop reductions of the Air Force and slow that of the Army, and even attempted to hold fast to the Doenitz government in case German troops might be needed in the event of a Soviet advance to the North Sea.⁶⁷ However, while Truman may not have shared Churchill's desperate sense of urgency, he was far from idle. In the intervening days before his reply to Churchill on the 21st, a number of decisions would be taken with tremendous implications for the future. In fact, there is evidence to suggest that one of those decisions may have already been taken. The reason Truman gave to Churchill for postponing a meeting with Stalin was not his real, or even his primary, one. However, before that matter is dealt with, it is necessary to consider some of the other events and decisions that occurred within the US administration in the tense and busy weeks of mid-May.

In line with Ambassador Harriman's strategy to apply economic pressure to secure Soviet compliance with American plans, Truman on May 11 approved the curtailment of Lend Lease shipments not destined for use against Japan. Such a decision was also in line with previous demands by Congress as well as considerable public sentiment that Lend Lease should stop as soon as hostilities ceased, but there is no doubt that was also intended as a diplomatic weapon. However, it was not supposed to appear as a weapon. Harriman had been at pains to stress that "any implication of a threat or any indication of political bargaining" should be avoided. The object was merely to show that American economic largesse could no longer be expected as a matter of course, and thereby persuade the Soviets to take a more 'reasonable' attitude. Unfortunately for the strategy, however, in the anti-Soviet atmosphere that was beginning to permeate the administration the officials responsible for implementing the order were rather more keen to send a message, and the directive was carried out with such alacrity that even ships a sea were ordered to turn back. After bitter protests from both the Soviets and the British, who had also been affected, Truman countermanded the turnaround order, but the damage had been done.⁶⁸

Nevertheless, that episode did nothing to blunt American enthusiasm for using the economic lever. Already in April a definite policy of deferral had been placed on discussions of a post-war

loan to the Soviets⁶⁹, and in early May steps were taken to have reparations guidelines tightened. With mounting fears that economic chaos could lead to political revolution and communist infiltration in Western and Central Europe, the Soviets' figure of \$20 billion in German reparations agreed to at Yalta as a starting point for negotiations was effectively discarded in favour of an approach which placed primary emphasis on the need to maintain the German economy intact, even if it meant restricting reparations shipments to Russia. Reparations in the form of manufactured goods were to be kept as low as possible, and should first be used to provide for the basic needs of the German people and to pay for essential imports – the so-called “first charge” principle. In addition to helping stabilize post-war economic and political conditions in Germany, the new plan meant that the US could avoid financing the German economy as it had after WWI, and thereby also avoid indirectly aiding the Soviet Union. At the same time, it would be made clear to the Soviets that they could not expect massive shipments from the industrialized western zones without helping to feed the people in those areas in return.⁷⁰

The plan had other implications as well. Restricting reparations from current production was also intended to facilitate the State department's aim of German integration into the new international multi-lateral trading order – which effectively meant that that now had priority over aid to the Soviet Union, the United States' war-time ally.⁷¹ But even more significantly for the longer term, the plan now made disagreement with the Soviets almost inevitable. Since the Soviets were anxious to rebuild their own economy with the help of German industrial products, the exclusion of such products now made it extremely unlikely that agreement would be reached.⁷² Indeed, disagreement was made even more certain by the fact that Truman had already replaced Roosevelt's appointee as head of the American delegation to the Reparations Commission with a tough Texan oil operator, Edwin Pauley, on the basis that he wanted somebody “who can throw his weight around.”⁷³

RUSSIA IN OR OUT?

But while concerns about Europe had so far dominated the decision making process, attention was also beginning to shift dramatically to the situation in the Far East. So far, the secret Yalta Far Eastern agreements had been immune from the deepening standoff between the Allies. On April 15, ten days after the Soviet Union had announced its intention to abrogate its neutrality pact with Japan, Stalin reaffirmed his intention to declare war on Japan and recognize Chiang, and one week later – the day before his confrontation with Molotov on Poland – Truman had assured the Soviet Foreign Minister of his intention to keep Roosevelt's Far Eastern pledges. For security reasons, however, Chiang had not yet been told of the arrangements that had been made largely at his country's expense. The delay proved opportune. While Truman continued to postpone informing Chiang, the State Department on May 12 initiated a proposal for a review of the political implications of the Yalta agreement, and whether, given estimations of American

bargaining power and the need for Soviet military assistance, it could or should be reconsidered.⁷⁴

The questions that were raised indeed cut deeply. On the one hand, Soviet participation would in all inevitably involve them in the post-war settlement in Japan, possibly as an occupying power, as well as leave troops on the ground in Korea and Manchuria, thus further opening the Far East to communist influence. Already control of one fifth of China was in communist hands, and prospects were high for continued civil war. To American policy makers caught in an increasingly confrontational mood over the Soviet's refusal to toe their line in Eastern Europe, the threats the situation represented to American 'principles' in the Far East – not only in regard to Japan itself, but also a strong, pro-American and 'free' China, which would also be the economic gateway to the rest of Asia – were no doubt disturbing to contemplate.⁷⁵

On the other hand, however, though the defeat of Japan was now only a matter of time and now could be achieved without Russian assistance, Russian entry into the war was still considered to be of immense value, if only as a devastating shock to Japanese morale. US military planners were acutely conscious of the price that a planned invasion would extract in lives, and on that basis alone they were more than willing to get the Russians in to help them reduce the burden and shorten the war. Those concerns had been dramatically confirmed in early April when the Japanese fully unleashed their most ferocious and frightening weapon. To the Western mind, the kamikaze which appeared in numbers at the battle of Okinawa displayed a fanaticism almost impossible to comprehend, and along with the fanatical fighting that accompanied every inch of the US advance on the island, the suicide pilots demonstrated the desperate lengths many Japanese were prepared to go to in fighting to defend their homeland and Emperor. Of course, few in the West should have been too surprised given that the relentlessly reiterated demand for unconditional surrender left no way out.

However, there was always the prospect that the whole problem might be substantially avoided by a modification of the surrender terms to assure the position of the Emperor in post-war Japanese society, and an increasing succession of unofficial Japanese peace feelers, particularly after the Soviet denunciation of the neutrality pact and emanating mostly from diplomatic missions in Europe, lent increasing weight to that possibility.⁷⁶ Already American efforts to clarify the meaning of 'unconditional surrender' had been initiated as part of the psychological warfare campaign, and following Truman's announcement of victory over Germany May 8 a carefully worded presidential press statement had been released which softened an earlier hard-line speech to Congress on April 16 and implicitly emphasized that unconditional surrender applied specifically to the military.⁷⁷

However any further moves had to be weighed carefully. As later historical commentators in particular have argued, moving away from the 'unconditional surrender' formula raised the prospect of domestic opposition. Memories of Pearl Harbour – the American administration's propaganda version of it anyway – were still fresh. The war had been fought with unremitting

relentlessness on both sides and the most appropriate response seemed to many Americans (still ignorant of US pre-war provocation and the fact that their leaders were well informed of the stages of the Japanese offensive) to be to repay like with like. In addition, in view of the most recent demonstrations of Japanese intransigence, it also seemed to many Americans, that the demand for unconditional surrender was justified by a desire to exorcise the devil of militarism from Japanese society once and for all, but that was mainly the result of ignorance of Japanese history. The *Atlantic Charter* notwithstanding, there were those who argued that the only way to ensure that was to rid Japan altogether of its outdated Imperial traditions and replace them with those of a modern democracy – à la President Wilson's 'republicanisation' of Germany after World War I. Moreover, anything less than 'unconditional surrender' might generate feelings of betrayal among hard-line Japanese, leading to continued post-surrender resistance and post-war political problems along the lines of those which were exploited in Germany after WWI.

However, none of these problems can be seen in retrospect as insurmountable. Firstly, as historian Gar Alperovitz has documented, influential sections in the US media had by mid-May already begun to call for a reassessment of surrender policy, while by early June the Joint Chiefs were beginning to worry that the Japanese themselves might offer terms which were unacceptable to the administration but which the war-weary American public might be inclined to accept.⁷⁸ Moreover, the other issues were themselves not so much part of the problem as they were its solution. As early as March 1944, intelligence estimates had concluded that given the central importance of the Emperor to Japanese society, a surrender would in all likelihood be unenforceable if it was not backed up by Imperial sanction, which thus implied the need to maintain the Emperor on the throne.⁷⁹ Some form of constitutional monarchy was therefore widely considered the most likely option.

In fact, by April 25 Joint Staff Planners had concluded that "it is by no means certain...that 'unconditional surrender' can be brought about by any means...[T]he concept...is foreign to the Japanese nature." They recommended that unless "a definition of unconditional surrender can be given which is acceptable to the Japanese, there is no alternative to annihilation and no prospect that the threat of absolute defeat will bring about capitulation." However, in the absence of such a re-definition they concluded that "the invasion of Japan proper is considered the most suitable strategy to accomplish unconditional surrender or ultimate defeat", and on May 10, given the existing official surrender policy, the Joint Chiefs began planning for an invasion on the basis of the Planners' report. At the same time, however, they followed up the Planners' recommendation that a careful study of the surrender terms be made, and began a push to develop a proposal to clarify the 'unconditional' language. By May 12 general agreement had been reached that 'unconditional surrender' should refer explicitly to the armed forces and that explicit reference be made to the continued authority of the existing Imperial institutions.⁸⁰

But there was one final problem. The Planners' report of April 25 had concluded that the final blow which would induce the Japanese to accept modified terms, on top of the defeat of Germany and the increasing effects of the air-sea blockade and strategic bombardment, would

be Russian entry into the war.⁸¹ To many top US officials it seemed that if that would indeed be the decisive factor it might well be too late. However, to the select few privileged to know of its existence, another solution was on the horizon which carried with it both the prospect of an early end to the war as well as a demonstration to the Soviets – and anybody else who cared to watch – that the peace in the post-war world was only going to be made only on terms that were entirely acceptable to the United States.

One of the best available sources of information on thoughts and events within the Truman administration at the time are the detailed diaries of Secretary of War Henry Stimson. Confronted with the State Department initiative concerning proposals for a review of the Yalta Far Eastern accord on May 13, Stimson noted in his diary their “powerful connection” to the success of “S-1” – the atomic bomb. On the 15th, meeting with colleagues from the Departments of State and Navy, he argued that it was too soon to take a position on the issues that had been raised. The problem was, he thought, that Truman had already agreed to meet with his counterparts on July 1, and that it would probably be necessary then to “have it out with Russia” over political arrangements in the Far East. In his diary he wrote that “over any such tangled weave of problems the S-1 secret would be dominant and yet we do not know until after that time probably, until after that meeting, whether this is a weapon in our hands or not.” It seemed “a terrible thing to gamble with such big stakes in diplomacy without having your master card in your hand.”⁸²

Stimson need not have worried. Contrary to his assumption, Truman had not yet agreed to Churchill’s urgent requests for an early meeting of the Big Three, in spite of the fact that numerous senior American officials were also pressing him for such a meeting. On May 15, Harriman also stressed Churchill’s view that it should be held before substantial numbers of troops had been withdrawn to the Pacific theatre. However, Truman again postponed a meeting and it is no longer in doubt that he did so to allow the bomb to be tested. He admitted as much to Stimson on June 6.⁸³ Similarly, Robert Oppenheimer later recalled that, “I don’t think that there was a time where we worked harder at the speedup than in the period after the German surrender and [before] the actual combat use of the bomb.” The Manhattan Project scientists, he stated, “were under incredible pressure to get it done before the Potsdam meeting.”⁸⁴ And although Truman publicly maintained that the deferment was for domestic political reasons, citing his need to prepare a budget message before the end of the fiscal year, the diaries of former ambassador to the Soviet Union, Joseph Davies, also confirm that this was not his real reason, or at least his only one. Meeting privately with Davies on May 21, Truman informed him that he did not want the heads of government meeting until July. The budget was one reason. The bomb, he revealed, was the other. According to Davies’ account, “The final test had been set for June, but now had been postponed until July.”⁸⁵

That same day Truman had contacted Churchill with the message that within two weeks he may have more information bearing on a date and location for the proposed meeting with Stalin.⁸⁶ Presumably by then a more precise timetable for the test would be available. However, Truman was no doubt also referring to the results of another crucial diplomatic initiative he had

underway involving Roosevelt's former aide and close confidante, Harry Hopkins. In opposition to senior officials of the State Department, Truman had decided that Hopkins would be sent on a personal mission to Moscow to meet with Stalin – a task Hopkins had often undertaken for Roosevelt. Part of Hopkins brief was to fix a date for the proposed meeting.

It is also clear, however, that the Hopkins mission had a far wider significance, though exactly why and when Truman decided to recall the ailing former aide to active diplomatic duty remains unknown. Well known to and liked by Stalin, Hopkins was clearly associated with the policies and modes of operation of the former President, and given the context of the international situation and the tenor and outcome of the eventual discussions, his mission has been widely interpreted as an attempt by Truman to patch up the increasingly rocky relationship between the allies, as well as secure final agreement for Russian entry into the Pacific war.⁸⁷ Supporting such an interpretation is the fact that Truman had by now come to question the overtly confrontational approach he had earlier adopted at the urging of his aides, not least through its obvious in effect, but also through conversations and correspondence with former ambassador Davies, whose strongly sympathetic views towards the Soviet Union contrasted sharply with those of many of Truman's other advisors.⁸⁸ On the other hand, though there is no direct evidence available, it has also been suggested that Hopkins' mission to Moscow may also have been intended to stabilise the international situation to buy time until the bomb had been tested, as well as to gain the 'insurance policy' of a Russian commitment to the Pacific war in case the test should fail.⁸⁹

A THREAT TO THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE

Whatever the case, there was certainly a lot of patching up to be done if the erstwhile Allies were going to maintain even a semblance of cooperation in the post-war world. Already the bruising conflict over eastern Europe had gone so far as to threaten the new United Nations Organization even before it had been established, and now another dispute had emerged to again threaten the breakdown of the Conference, this time centred not on external events but on the provisions of the Charter itself. At issue was whether the permanent members of the Security Council had the right to veto the discussion of a dispute as well as any subsequent decisions related to enforcement actions – a point which would seriously diminish the ability of the organization to act in any dispute involving a permanent member. If, as the Soviet delegates held, the veto should also apply to discussions, it could also be used in situations involving a permanent member which might have otherwise resulted in a vote to institute peaceful settlement procedures, to which the veto did not apply. Faced with this interpretation, the United States, Britain and France were categorically opposed, and were determined to uphold their position at all costs. Unfortunately, so were the Soviets.⁹⁰

However, it was already clear that even if it ever got off the ground the new international organization was not going to survive the emerging standoff between East and West unscathed. In fact, two of the most influential members of the American delegation, Senator Arthur

Vandenburg and Assistant Secretary of State David Rockefeller, were keen to see that that was so. Vandenburg, a virulent anti-Communist and former isolationist whose opposition to the Yalta accords had only been silenced when Roosevelt had shrewdly made him a delegate to the UN conference, was now doing everything he could to counter what he saw as the appeasement of untrammelled Soviet expansionism.⁹¹ Rockefeller, Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs and intimately acquainted with the region through his family's enormous investments – not to mention political clout – was keen to have the Soviets excluded from the region so that the economic relationship between North and South America could continue to develop 'productively' without outside interference. Both were thus opposed to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals which gave the Security Council express authority over the use of regional security groupings for enforcement purposes.

To Vandenburg and Rockefeller, that arrangement spelled disaster: the end of the Monroe Doctrine and the beginning of Soviet interference in the Western Hemisphere. Latin America had only just set up its own regional security system under the Act of Chapultepec, and if the Security Council had ultimate responsibility for regional enforcement measures, that meant the Russians could exercise their veto, and who knew where that might lead? Faced with that problem they were intent on devising a means by which the Americas could be kept firmly within Washington's sphere, and firmly opposed others in the US delegation who feared that watering down the Dumbarton Oaks proposals too much would jeopardize the establishment of an integrated and effective world security system.⁹²

Given the Rockefeller connection, it is thus perhaps not surprising that in addition to American criticism the greatest opposition to the proposals emerged from within the Latin American delegations themselves. However, European nations also voiced their dissent, though for quite different reasons. Concerned at the possibility of a renewed threat from Germany and wishing to retain the right of immediate retaliation without prior Security Council assent, Turkey, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and France all proposed amendments. Eventually the Big Five agreed to an exception in the case of the aggression by the former enemy states of WWII, but that then only intensified demands by the Latin Americans that their own regional arrangements should be similarly treated. By then, however, Vandenburg and Rockefeller had devised a solution to their problem which also satisfied their opponents in the US delegation. Rather than adding another exception to the prior authority of the Security Council, they advocated an entirely new article. With slight modifications it was picked up by the British, and Article 51 was inserted into the Charter, affirming the inherent right of a state or group of states to take measures necessary for self-defense if the Security Council failed to prevent aggression.

The cost to the new international system was not insignificant. United Nations historian Evan Luard noted that the changes to the Dumbarton Oaks proposals embodied in Article 51 "made it substantially less likely that the new UN enforcement machine would ever come into use, and more likely that conflict situations would be dealt with in the traditional way, as for hundreds of years before."⁹³ In other words, the new guardian of global peace had had its teeth pulled in

what was essentially an exercise in American anti-Communist hypocrisy. The other great powers could of course see the advantages, with the Soviets in particular no doubt happy that any security arrangements they might care to one day make in their own sphere would also be safely shielded from western interference. But that didn't seem to have occurred to Americans like Vandenburg, who at the same time as hanging onto the Monroe Doctrine were championing hard at the bit to teach the dirty Bolsheviks a lesson in Eastern Europe. In the words of historian Walter LaFeber, "when he and Rockefeller finished with Article 51, they thought they had obtained the best of both worlds: exclusive American power in the New and the right to exert American power in the Old."⁹⁴ Which was, no doubt, one of the main reasons why the Soviets were happy to agree to it in the first place.

Thus, with the global security mechanisms of the United Nations virtually neutered, it was perhaps no surprise that a similar fate should befall trusteeship proposals. First, however, the United States had to satisfy itself further on the question of its own security. When on the eve of the Conference discussions on trusteeship arrangements eventually began, the US proposed a two tier system. The "normal" trust territories would be supervised by a new trusteeship council, and 'strategic' trust territories would be supervised, if at all, by the Security Council, where each permanent member had a veto. Whoever exercised control of the territory would say which of the two it would be. No-one else agreed, but a determined US saw its position eventually win out. Britain pointed out that the aim of international supervision – protecting the interests of trust territories' inhabitants – applied equally to strategic territories as to others, and that a separate scheme was unnecessary, while the Soviet Union, backed by China, argued that it was for the Security Council to decide which territories were to be designated security areas.⁹⁵

A MATTER OF TRUST(EESHIP)

However, the big questions centred on the scope and powers of supervision to be granted to the Trusteeship Council. In opposition to Britain and France, Roosevelt had hoped that the Council could be given responsibilities for exercising watch over all dependent territories, not only those under League mandates, and assisting their progress to independence. Now, however, the situation had changed. Already in late April Roosevelt's strongly held policy of an international trusteeship and eventual independence for Indochina had been abandoned by the State Department, who now opposed the strong communist element in Indochina's nationalist movement and wanted to strengthen relations with France as a bulwark against Soviet influence in Europe. The decision was actually made against the strong opposition of the State Department's own Division of Far Eastern Affairs, which argued that the Authority of the European colonial powers in Asia had been damaged to the point where nationalist forces could no longer be stifled. However, their views were overruled by those of the Office of European Affairs.⁹⁶ At San Francisco the US therefore swung in behind the European colonial powers in their bid to protect themselves from undue interference in their colonial affairs. All attempts to extend the trusteeship system to include colonial dependencies were opposed by the Big Five,

and all effective control over trust territories was firmly kept in the hands of the administering powers. Nevertheless the US insisted on a general non-discrimination undertaking, to prevent the establishment of preferences like those given in colonies.⁹⁷

Moreover, having accepted that there would be another section of the Charter dealing with the 'civilizing' responsibilities of colonial powers in all non-self-governing territories, Britain and France, this time against opposition from the Soviet Union and China but with support from the United States, succeeded in having any reference to eventual independence kept out. Instead, a US compromise proposal on the declaration on non-self-governing territories which was eventually accepted referred only to the goal of 'self-government', while the objectives of the trusteeship system were broadened to refer to independence, the protection of human rights, and of course, the wishes of the people concerned.⁹⁸

But while all that was being debated in the rarefied atmosphere of the San Francisco Opera House, France was providing a timely reminder of just what it all still really meant. In 1941 France and Britain had jointly declared the independence of the former French mandated territories of Syria and Lebanon, and since the French were not about to forego their privileges lightly, with British backing they sought treaties to define France's position in the post-independence states. However, neither of the newly independent states was keen to start negotiations, which had not begun until after Yalta, and by early May no French proposals had yet been forthcoming either. French reinforcements were on their way to the Levant instead. That did not suit the British, who had enough problems in the region as it was, and feared that such provocation would lead to disturbances that would draw in their own troops stationed there and disturb communications lines to the Far East. However, Churchill's rather disingenuous protestations to de Gaulle that Britain had no designs on the area and that British troops would be withdrawn as soon as new treaties were in operation fell on deaf ears, and on May 17 French troops landed at Beirut.

What followed, as Churchill later put it, was "an explosion." The Syrian and Lebanese Governments immediately broke off negotiations and declared that all foreign troops would be asked to leave. Disturbances rapidly escalated, and by the end of the month the French, with air and heavy artillery support, had occupied the Syrian Parliament, the fighting resulting in over two-thousand dead and injured. On May 31 the British were asked to intervene, a cease fire was arranged, and on June 3 the French garrison at Damascus was withdrawn from the city. On that basis, treaty negotiations resumed.⁹⁹ So much for independence, the protection of human rights, self determination and the wishes of the people concerned. It was business as usual.

STICKING TO UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER

As the British were busy trying to patch things up between the French and their former Levant minions, another attempt at reconciliation was also in progress in Moscow. On May 28 Harry Hopkins arrived for some straight talking with Marshall Stalin. A frank and confident tone was soon established between the two men, and where Hopkins identified Poland as the issue most

troubling for the United States, Stalin made known the major sources of Soviet concerns, particularly Poland, the admittance of Argentina to the UN, and the cut-off of Lend-Lease aid. He stated categorically that if the termination of Lend-Lease was “designed as pressure on the Russians in order to soften them up then it was a fundamental mistake.” If the Russians were “approached frankly on a friendly basis, much could be done...reprisals in any form would have the opposite effect.”¹⁰⁰

With that warning on the table, talks proceeded fruitfully over the next ten days. Stalin quickly promised that Russia would enter the war against Japan by August 8 if the Yalta agreements were kept, but stated that no troops would be committed until final agreement on the detail of the Yalta accords was reached with China. In addition, he again gave his assurance that he favoured a stable China united under Chiang – making clear his skeptical attitude to the Chinese Communists and the USSR’s limited interests in the region. He also assented to a four-Power trusteeship for Korea. Ominously for the Americans, but no doubt shrewdly from his own point of view, Stalin also expressed an interest in a share of Japan’s occupation – a useful lever in the diplomatic tug-of-war over Eastern Europe. In response to an urgent cable from Washington, Hopkins also broached the subject of the impasse over the Security Council veto at the UN Conference. In an evident display of unconcern at the significance of the UN, Stalin cleared it up on the spot in an impromptu debate with Molotov, conceding the Soviet position.¹⁰¹ A date was also set for the Big Three conference, to begin at Potsdam in occupied Berlin in mid-July. When advised on June 1 of the proposed date, Churchill was almost beside himself in exasperation at the lateness of the conference. He wanted it a month earlier, but Truman was adamant.¹⁰²

However, the big issue was Poland, and in a complete reversal of all that had gone in the months before, days of strenuous discussion produced a preliminary agreement. Four representatives from the London Poles and the internal resistance, including former premier Mikolajczyk, would travel to Moscow to negotiate a new cabinet formula with representatives of the Lublin government. Despite the fact that no agreement was reached on the timing of elections, it appeared that the stalemate had been broken.¹⁰³ By June 21 the Poles had agreed upon the make-up of a new cabinet heavily weighted towards the Lublin group – a satisfactory outcome for the Russians, but hardly for her allies. Nevertheless, on July 5 the new government was recognized by the United States and Britain, despite the lack of desired guarantees on elections or pluralistic democracy.¹⁰⁴

Given the attitude demonstrated by the western powers in the previous months, it was an amazing turnaround. It is possible that Britain and the United States, after pursuing the issue to the brink, had decided for the sake of post-war cooperation with the Soviet Union that it was better to cut their losses and accept the inevitable. Then again, perhaps they believed that negotiations at the forthcoming Potsdam conference would somehow help tilt the balance sheet back in their favour, and that the Soviet Union could be made to see the advantages of bending to the West’s point of view.

There was certainly one United States official whose thoughts on ‘cooperation’ ran along those lines, and he was convinced he had the tools to make it happen. James F. Byrnes, Truman’s Secretary of State-designate, took office on July 3, two days before the decision to recognize the Polish government. But well before then he had involved himself extensively in high level policy-making on issues surrounding the bomb. As Truman’s close confidante and personal representative on the Interim Committee set up by Stimson and the president after their April 25 meeting, he was perfectly placed to influence thinking on the use of the new weapon. And as Secretary of State-designate it was Byrnes who would be dealing with its foreign policy implications.

WHAT USE FOR A BOMB?

So it was quite appropriate when on May 28 three scientists from the Manhattan Project, Leo Szilard, Walter Bartky, and Harold Urey, met with Byrnes at his South Carolina home to discuss atomic-bomb related issues and Byrnes revealed his thinking on the bomb’s usefulness. According to Szilard, Byrnes “did not argue that it was necessary to use the bomb against the cities of Japan in order to win the war. He knew at that time, as the rest of the government knew, that Japan was essentially defeated...[His view was] that our possessing and demonstrating the bomb would make Russia more manageable in Europe...”¹⁰⁵

However, the question of the bomb was not unrelated to the war in the Pacific, as Byrnes was of course also well aware. Though Japan’s defeat might have been inevitable, there was still the question of how to go about securing it. That involved issues of time as well as cost, both of which had been brought into sharp focus when on May 25 the Joint Chiefs of Staff had approved the next stage of military operations in the Pacific War – the invasion of Japan. A directive was issued to Pacific Commanders for a landing on Kyushu, set for November 1, as a preliminary to a final invasion of the Tokyo Plains set for late the following year. However, that first date was still more than five months away, leaving plenty of time to explore alternative means to end the war. Of much greater significance was Stalin’s re-confirmation that Russia would enter the war by August 8 – approximately one week after the end of the meeting of the Big Three – provided agreement could be reached with Chiang. That date not only imposed a tighter deadline on decisions, it left the exact price to be paid for Russian assistance unknown.

So while Hopkins and Stalin were proceeding with their tête-à-tête in Moscow, others were busy in Washington seeking the President’s ear on the subject of a negotiated end to hostilities in the Pacific. On May 28, as Byrnes met with the atomic scientists, former president Herbert Hoover met with Truman to urge a clarification of surrender terms, as did Joseph Grew, the Undersecretary of State. Grew in particular used more than one reason in advocating a negotiated end to hostilities. As former ambassador to Japan he believed that the war had resulted from failed diplomacy, and he wished to avoid the prospect of the country being devastated either by invasion or atomic weapons. He was also among the administration’s most hard-line anti-Soviet alarmists, and he was sure that a devastated and alienated Japan could be

of no use to anyone but the Soviets. Both Hoover and Grew stressed what the Joint Staff planners and various American intelligence analyses had already concluded, that the greatest obstacle to surrender was the belief on the part of the Japanese that it would involve the removal of the Emperor and the institution of the throne. In addition Grew suggested an immediate statement of modified terms to capitalise on the psychological impact of the firestorms that had again been unleashed on Tokyo by American Superfortress bombers on the 26th and 27th.¹⁰⁶

According to Grew, Truman indicated that his thoughts had been “following the same line.” If so he was in good company. The following day US diplomatic intercepts picked up a message to Molotov from Japan’s Ambassador Sato stating that “as a result of America’s attitude, we have no choice but to continue to fight.” From Moscow, Hopkins also reported a similar sentiment from Stalin. According to the Soviet leader, “if we stick to unconditional surrender, the Japs will not give up.” The Americans understood that Stalin was in a position to know – as the Soviets had told them, Japanese representatives were at that very moment in Moscow making offers which they hoped would keep the Soviets out of the war.¹⁰⁷

In the event Grew’s advice was rejected, and in a scheduled speech on June 1 Truman gave no hint of Grew’s proposals. On the contrary, he reiterated that nothing would force the United States “to settle for some compromise short of unconditional surrender” – a tougher line than that displayed in his statement of May 8 where at least some indication a been given of a humane fate for the Japanese people.¹⁰⁸ Given the earlier moves towards softening the meaning of unconditional surrender, as well as the intercepted message from Sato and the advice from Stalin, the turnaround is difficult to understand. However, other events which had occurred over the preceding couple of days cast an interesting light on the matter.

After meeting several times in May, the Interim Committee had met on the weekend of May 31– June 1 for some final deliberations on the crucial questions of how the bomb should best be developed, used and controlled. Its conclusions, first conveyed to Truman by Byrnes on the 1st, were that while the US went full steam ahead in developing its own atomic energy and weaponry programs, work on the bomb should not be disclosed to any other country until it had been used against Japan.¹⁰⁹ In other words, no attempt at cooperation with the Soviet Union should be initiated until after the bomb had been dropped.

Just what connections exists between Truman’s speech – which Byrnes is known to have had a hand in drafting – and the conclusions of the Interim Committee, if any, are unclear. It is apparent, however, that the circumstances of each show a remarkable and suggestive symmetry. In short, the decision to issue an uncompromising statement to the Japanese was one which would virtually guarantee that the Japanese would fight on until the bomb had at least been tested. It may of course be argued that it was too early to tell whether a statement of modified terms would have the desired effect, and that it was felt that any such statement would be better issued in conjunction with either the bomb – either before or after its use – or a Soviet declaration of war, or perhaps both. However, that argument must be balanced against the fact

that the statement which was issued actually retreated from even the minor elaboration of terms included in Truman's May 8 statement on unconditional surrender – the significance of which would not have been lost on the psychological warfare experts. And just as importantly, it also must be seen in the light of fact that the Interim Committee's deliberations are known to have been influenced decisively by Byrnes – whose attitude has already been documented.¹¹⁰

Three aspects of the Committee's deliberations bear elaboration. First, it is clear that in tackling a number of crucial and interlocking questions – how the new weapon and the new source of energy behind it was to be internationally controlled; how much technical knowledge about the bomb should be revealed to the world; and when – or if – such disclosure should be made – the Committee's answers were made dependent on the response to another: namely, how long it would take the Soviet Union to produce a bomb if secrecy was maintained. In other words, the historical new source of energy and power was – to some members of the committee at least – first and foremost an opportunity to squeeze competitive advantage over America's chief rival.

Secondly, in estimating the lead time over the Soviet Union it is also clear that Byrnes for one was decisively influenced by General Groves' efforts to corner the world market on fissionable materials and thereby ensure an Anglo-American monopoly on atomic weapons regardless of any system of international control. Where members of the Committee's Scientific Panel and two the administration's most senior scientific advisors projected that the Russians could develop a bomb in three to five years, General Groves thought 20 years. As recorded in his memoirs, Byrnes concluded that "any other government would need from seven to ten years, at least, to produce a bomb" – by which time, as Robert Oppenheimer had told the Committee, the United States would have advanced to the next stage of atomic weaponry – the thermo-nuclear or hydrogen bomb.¹¹¹

Third, in deciding how to use the bomb against Japan – an issue which had not been on the Committee's original agenda – it is clear that no thought was given to the question of whether it should in fact be used. The main consideration was how to make the maximum impression. For that reason the ideas of a demonstration and prior warning were discarded, without any real attempt to separate the two. As one member rather numbingly reasoned, the "number of people that would be killed by the bomb would not be greater in general magnitude than the number already killed in fire raids [on Tokyo]." Thus, despite the Committee's agreement that the bombing would not concentrate on a civilian area, the most desirable target was identified as a vital war plant employing a large number of workers surrounded by worker's homes. And to top off an afternoon's work, it was also decided that the two bombs which would be available in August would both be used – thus condemning the destruction of two cities with a single decision.¹¹²

On June 6, at a meeting to discuss the recommendations of the Interim Committee, Stimson and Truman also briefly discussed the quid pro quos that might be extracted for taking the

Russian's into atomic partnership. They agreed that a fitting exchange would be the settlement of the Polish, Rumanian, Yugoslavian and Manchurian problems.¹¹³

Nevertheless, many of those whose work had made the bomb possible were at the same time working to reverse the emerging thrust of US atomic policy. On June 12, Manhattan project scientists in Chicago forwarded a memo to members of the Interim Committee registering their opposition to its recommendations. Disputing the assumption that the United States could maintain a substantial lead over the Soviet Union in atomic technology, they argued that the only security against nuclear attack could be through effective international control, which would be all but impossible if sudden and unannounced use of the weapon was made against Japan. Therefore, they argued, a demonstration in the presence of representatives from other countries including Japan should first be attempted. If Japan failed to heed the demonstration, United Nations sanction could be obtained for its use, to better conscience and better effect.

In response, the Interim Committee directed its Scientific Panel to consider the memo. The panel, whose views on the likely lead-time over the Soviets had already been given, in reply stated that "we can propose no technical demonstration likely to bring and end to the war; we can see no alternative to direct military use." At the same time, however, it also suggested that "before the weapons are used, not only Britain, but also Russia, France and China be advised that we would welcome suggestions as to how we can cooperate in making this development contribute to improved international relations." However, in stating it views the panel members stressed that they had "no claim to special competence in solving the political, social and military problems which are presented by the advent of atomic power." And, of course, their statement was made without any knowledge of the current strategic situation or of intelligence reports on intercepted Japanese diplomatic cables.¹¹⁴

THE RIGHT PRIORITIES

While US administrators were digesting the Interim Committee's recommendations in Washington; the Japanese government was digesting Truman's speech in Tokyo; and Hopkins, concluding his meetings with Stalin in Moscow; Generals Eisenhower, Montgomery and de Lattre de Tassigny met with Marshall Zhukov in Berlin in early June to confirm arrangements regarding the occupation of Germany. Zhukov made it clear that the Soviets would not allow the four-power control machinery to go into operation until all troops had been removed to their respective zones, thus effectively ending Churchill's attempts at postponement.¹¹⁵ With agreement reached on that issue, on June 5 a series of proclamations were issued dissolving the old German government and creating the Allied Control Council, giving supreme authority to the Allied Commanders-in-Chief. All decisions on matters of common policy were to require unanimity until Germany was again a single unit.¹¹⁶

However, with only broad agreements on four-power policy having been reached at Yalta concerning the dissolution of the armed forces and denazification, each zone commander thus had considerable leeway in governing his zone, and differences in approach quickly emerged.

While Soviet soldiers busily organized social activities and sporting events with their former enemies as part of a concerted propaganda campaign to foster goodwill towards the Soviet Union – as well as to counter the effects of their earlier atrocious behaviour in raping and pillaging their way across Germany – the Western powers in contrast showed little desire to woo the defeated Germans, or even treat them humanely. Instead, they banned political activity, promulgated strict non-fraternization orders, and in a magnificent display of selective historical amnesia and denial undertook a concerted propaganda campaign to reinforce the notion of ‘collective guilt’ for Germany’s crimes – a special kind of guilt which, of course, magically disappeared at Germany’s borders. The first two were quickly reversed, however – it soon became apparent that non-fraternization was unenforceable as well as counterproductive, and the ban on political activity was lifted when fears were raised that it was leading to the strengthening of underground communist movements with links to the east.¹¹⁷

At the same time as Allied policy in Germany began to diverge, a more ominous note was also beginning to be heard in Moscow where the Reparations Commission proposed at Yalta was attempting to come to an agreement on the single matter of greatest importance for Germany’s future under four-power occupation. With the gung-ho American commissioner Edwin Pauley leading the charge, and the British also insisting on the ‘first-charge’ principle for reasons similar to the Americans but particularly so as to avoid further drain on their financial resources, discussions soon broke down completely.¹¹⁸ Aggravating the atmosphere of division were denunciations of the Soviet Union by the Americans in particular for not even bothering to wait for the commission’s findings. The accusations were of course correct: Soviet dismantling teams had started removing plant and equipment straight after surrender, targeting coal-mining installations, railway repair shops, power stations, electrical works, locomotive factories and similar technical plants, in many cases crating and carting off entire factories from Berlin as well as their own zone.¹¹⁹

However, what the Americans ignored in taking their high moral tone was that the Soviets weren’t the only ones engaging in such practices: as former US Ambassador Davies later noted in his diary, “the French are carrying off everything but the kitchen sink”, while the Soviets themselves later tartly pointed out at Potsdam that American and British units had removed from the Soviet zone more than 10,000 loaded railway cars plus expensive industrial equipment.¹²⁰ But what made a complete mockery of their stance was the fact that a ‘reparations’ program on a much vaster scale had been going on under the cover of utmost secrecy since the Allied landing on Normandy – one which would have enormous world-wide repercussions for decades to come.

Indeed, had they been aware of it, the sordid and sorry tale of Allied attempts to grab as much scientific and technical loot from Germany as they possibly could would have been enough to make the Reparations Commission representatives blanch in embarrassment. Or perhaps not – after all, they might have seen a fine distinction between the removal of physical property and the mere appropriation of materials for their intellectual content, which of course happened to include the people whose brains contained the richest loads of all.

The roots of the massive grab operation that eventually saw thousands of Allied personnel scouring the ruins of Europe for the jewels of German scientific and industrial prowess in hot competition with the Russians – as well as each other – had grown initially from a belated recognition by Britain and the United States that German technical advances were in many ways superior to their own.¹²¹ In response to a burgeoning demand for access to German scientific and technical know-how to further the war effort and provide for post-war defense developments, the Allied Command in Europe had, in July 1944, established special units known as ‘T-Forces.’ Responsible for capturing and defending technical intelligence targets, they were directed by the Combined Intelligence Objectives Subcommittee (CIOS), a joint Anglo-American body controlled by the military which sent out experts to assess and exploit captured targets.¹²²

THE SCIENTIFIC GRAVY TRAIN

However, the military weren’t the only ones interested in German science and technology. As it had after WWI, industry was also keen to jump on the gravy train, and by October 1944 a CIOS subcommittee had been established to draw up a “grey-list” from requests by British and American government departments for economic and industrial intelligence targets of “vital post-war interest.” At the same time, Washington had formed the Technical Industrial Intelligence Committee (TIIC) as a civilian feeder organization to CIOS, empowered to receive, approve and administer all governmental requests for information on processes, patents, inventions and engineering know-how. The TIIC quickly organized sub-committees in the fields of rubber, metals and minerals, chemicals, building materials, war utilities, railroads, forest products, machinery, textiles, aeronautics, medicine and communications, and by January 1945 300 TIIC specialists – newly commissioned as Army officers and often drawn from the ranks of the very corporations which had initiated requests for intelligence from the TIIC – were awaiting shipment to Europe. In the same vein, the British established an Industrial Objectives subcommittee, but their efforts to coordinate an industrial intelligence campaign were amateurish beside the Americans.¹²³

Indeed, as in so many other respects, the British had surrendered an early lead in the field of technological plunder as well. Fearful of being left behind, the better organized and resourced Americans had cranked up their vast bureaucratic machinery to virtually swamp the British effort, and the nominally cooperative program had increasingly taken on the tone of an out and out competition for the spoils.¹²⁴ However, the hottest competition was with the Russians, whose attitude had been clearly signalled by September 1944. As Russian troops had advanced towards the Blizna missile centre in Poland Churchill requested to have a joint Anglo-American team inspect the site in the interests of ‘Allied cooperation.’ The request had been granted, but Soviet stalling tactics had resulted in the site being almost totally cleared before the inspection team arrived. What remained was packed in crates, which on arrival in London were revealed to

contain rusting aircraft parts – obviously, the Soviets thought about as much of ‘Allied cooperation’ in matters of cutting-edge military technology as Churchill did.¹²⁵

So with the competition hotting up, each of the US armed forces soon acquired its own intelligence groups to add to the T-Forces. The Army had its Enemy Equipment Intelligence teams, the Naval Technical Mission was established to collect information useful in prosecuting the Pacific War, while the Air Force – late to join the game – established in April 1945 the aptly named ‘Operation Lusty’, with several hundred mobile teams to target aviation medicine, rocket and jet propulsion, air photography, radar and communications systems. For their part, the British had to make do with the 30 Assault Unit, the equivalent of the US Naval Technical Mission.¹²⁶

With all these groups and more running around at the front madly hunting for German technology and the German technologists who could explain its secrets to them, it was hardly surprising that the situation got completely out of hand. Not only did they get in the way of front-line activities, an almost cut-throat rivalry developed as everyone competed to make sure that their country – and their organization – got the goodies, despite the official CIOS policy of sharing the spoils. Similarly, the US and Britain both found themselves in competition with the French, who were taking steps of their own to maintain a hold on ‘their’ Germans or the military and industrial secrets they had left behind.¹²⁷ In addition, everyone accused the other of private plundering as representatives of Allied industrialists attempted, often with government support but outside government channels, to sew up deals with German and other European companies with ties to the Nazi war machine – in some cases within weeks and even *days* of the Normandy landing.¹²⁸ And everyone found themselves in competition with the Nazi hunters of the Allied war crimes investigations units, who wanted many of the scientists and technicians for their part in suspected war crimes.

But the greatest rivalry was with the Soviets, and in the days immediately prior to surrender and the weeks immediately after, opportunities to capture targets – and particularly the personnel who were the key to the exploitation program – had increased. The Alsos mission, responsible for Allied intelligence on the German atomic bomb program, after following the US 7th Army into Heidelberg had dashed across the front of the 1st French Army and on to Munich – 20 miles in front of US forces – and on the way rounded up the leading figures of German physics including Otto Hahn and Werner Heisenburg, while at the same time confirming Germany’s failure to make any meaningful progress on the bomb. The Air Force’s ‘Operation Lusty’ had taken control of the Hermann Göring Aeronautical Research Institute, including the scientist responsible for the swept wing, as well as experts in jet and rocket fuels and the use of wind tunnels. Even more staggering had been the discovery of the IG Farben scientists responsible for developing a previously unknown German nerves gas with the capacity to kill in minutes.¹²⁹

But the biggest treasure of all was found in Bavaria, deep within the intended Soviet zone of occupation. Indeed, while Eisenhower’s decision not to cross the Elbe and instead head south to

Hitler's mythical 'national redoubt' had frustrated Churchill, it had delighted the scientific intelligence specialists. Secreted in the Bavarian Alps was the vast underground V-2 rocket construction complex at Nordhausen, and first on the scene had been a group from the US Army Ordnance Department's Enemy Equipment Intelligence Service working as part of the Department's top secret rocket and missile program, 'Project Hermes.' Arriving on April 11 on the heels of the US 1st Army, they had found what one member described as a "magician's cave", filled with precision machinery and V-1 and V-2 rockets in various stages of assembly. Nearby in the town of Oberammergau they found the leading scientists of the rocket project, including Werner Von Braun. They also found the wasted human remnants of Camp Dora, the SS controlled slave labour camp attached to the complex, where at least 20,000 prisoners had been killed through starvation, disease or execution either in constructing the mile long underground cavern from an abandoned salt-mine or in subsequent work on the assembly lines.¹³⁰ The intelligence men weren't concerned with that, of course – that was the concern of the pitifully under resourced seven member war crimes team that arrived days later, and who would soon forget about the patchy and inconclusive work they had done at Nordhausen by the time they reached their next investigation.¹³¹

With the Soviets due to take over the area in July, time was short, and on May 22 the order for mass plunder had arrived. In a spectacular operation the newly liberated slave workers were hired to salvage 400 tons of equipment, and over an eight day period requisitioned trains and trucks moved the material to Antwerp for shipment to the War Department's White Sands firing range in New Mexico.¹³²

Of course, the Americans weren't the only ones doing it: the British and French stole from the Russians, each other and the Americans as well. But the game of beggar-thy-neighbour's-Germans had soon shifted from the technology to the technologists themselves, and with the arrival of the Soviets imminent, the usual practice of on the spot exploitation of the scientists was abandoned in favour of their 'safe relocation' to the Western zones. For the most part this was accomplished in a hurried and disorganized way, and often without clearance, in spite of considerable uncertainty about the legality of the procedure. Nevertheless, a rich harvest of talent numbering in the thousands was taken, and by the time the Russians arrived in early July, they found the entire region virtually bereft of university and industrial staff. From the Junkers plant at Dessau CIOs teams took, among others, the entire staff of engineers; from the Zeiss optical works in Jena they took six professors and eighty three doctors of science. From Nordhausen alone, the Americans directed the evacuation of more than one thousand technicians and their families. In addition, Lasby notes that others were taken from the Technical Academy of the Luftwaffe in Bas Blankenburg, the Siebel Aircraft Company at Halle, the Telefunken Electronics facility at Eisenach, the Askania Aviation works at Morrsleben, the IG Farben Factory at Bitterfield, and the Leuna fuel plant at Merseburg.¹³³ Bowers notes that 1,300 technicians and their families were transported from Leipzig and Jena from the optical instruments works.¹³⁴ Not all of the German scientists were keen on leaving their homes and families. More than a few were persuaded at gun point. Others showed a strong desire to avoid

capture by the Russians, fueled in part by Hitler's anti-Communist propaganda and tales of Russian brutality. Some like Von Braun even assisted in the selection of personnel to be removed, while others directed the British and Americans to hidden caches of documents and equipment and wholeheartedly participated in debriefing sessions. Often these caches had been prepared for this very purpose, to be used as bargaining tools and to be sold to the highest bidder.

With the scientists from the British and American as well as Soviet zone now safely in custody and crowded into specially designated camps, the question of what to do with them became pressing. The answer, of course, was obvious. Already an unofficial bidding war had broken out in the field to counter official French and Soviet offers of employment and emigration, and by early June a program of recruitment had been informally approved by the US Joint Chiefs of Staff. Similar moves were underway in Britain, where taking the scientists back to England was seen as the only way to combat the American vacuum cleaner tactics.¹³⁵ Neither country had in fact waited. The Americans had already imported a number of Germans useful for their contribution to the Pacific war, while dozens were already in England under 'indefinite interrogation.' Still, the appearance of cooperation was maintained: the British were informed of American plans and assured that the scientists would be screened to eliminate war criminals and undesirables, and the British Chiefs of Staff approved the plan in principle, with the conditions that only Germans useful in the Japanese war would be recruited, and the two countries establish a negotiating committee to eliminate competition.¹³⁶ None of those conditions, including the screening out of war criminals, quite came to pass.

Indeed, while the hunt for scientists had been proceeding apace another hunt had also been going on, often in competition with the first but with far fewer resources at its disposal. In comparison to the massive scale of the technical plunder operations, the war crimes effort can be described at very best as pathetic, with the contrast offering an illuminating commentary on the real priorities of the western powers in their prosecution of the war. Despite repeated Allied declarations of firm resolve to hunt down and prosecute war criminals, by the end of hostilities only slightly more than a handful of war crimes investigations teams had been formed.¹³⁷ And until May 12 the American teams did not even possess official authorisation to pursue crimes against anyone but Allied personnel.¹³⁸

Behind such apathy, of course, lay a long history of official neglect – a tale well chronicled by author Tom Bowers in his book *Blind Eye to Murder*. Only in late 1944 had a comprehensive plan along with an investigative agency emerged from within the US War Department – where the American buck had eventually landed – and only at the instigation of a number of senior officials who were motivated in large part by the fate of the Hungarian Jews, as well as anger at the State Department for colluding with the British in denying Jewish refugees entry into Palestine.¹³⁹ In contrast to the British approach, which was restricted to war-time crimes against Allied personnel and German nationals – and thus excluded Jews, whose German nationality had been revoked – American policy was now to prosecute all crimes committed in Germany since 1933, including atrocities committed on racial, political, and religious grounds. To enable

this, new international crimes based on the concept of natural law such as 'crimes against humanity' and 'waging aggressive war' would be declared, and national laws would no longer be a defense against conviction under international law – they would simply be declared unlawful. In addition, each of the Nazi organizations e.g. the party, the SS, the SA and the Gestapo, would be prosecuted at a proposed tribunal as organizations, and on conviction each of their members would automatically become convicted as criminal co-conspirators.¹⁴⁰

The triumph of US policy was made a *fait accompli* when on February 1 1945 it was announced to the public. Having been forced into accepting the American initiative, however, the British continued to fight a desperate rearguard action to limit the damage, and on March 23 Lord Wright announced in the House of Lords that the target of the United Nations War Crimes Commission was to prosecute ten per cent of war criminals.¹⁴¹ His action was probably redundant because half-hearted moves to establish a British investigative agency had only begun the week before, while the American military, as reluctant as the British to take on the task, had already restricted the number of personnel to be assigned to the American agency and were refusing to approve any sort of directive until the issue of an international trial of Germany's leaders had been sorted out.¹⁴² That only occurred on May 5, when the War Department's plans for such a trial were approved by Eden and Molotov in San Francisco.¹⁴³ By then, however, the investigative agencies with their puny resources were already positioned well behind the eight-ball, and with the glamour job of preparations for Nuremberg taking up most of the time and attention of Washington and London, little effort could be spared for the effort of finding collective evidence against less celebrated war criminals. As it was, organization was virtually non-existent,¹⁴⁴ and many of the culprits simply took advantage of the chaotic postwar conditions to simply melt into background mass of uprooted humanity that was by then drifting around the shattered ruins of Europe or collecting in Allied DP and POW camps, soon to be released.¹⁴⁵

If the Allies had taken a less apathetic approach to the issue at the time, the controversy that erupted in later decades over the belated prosecution of war criminals could have been lessened, if not averted. Of course, the whole issue would have been a lot simpler if the West itself had a better record on war crimes, both in terms of its own breaches of international law and its WWI behaviour in using the issue as propaganda, and had it not, in fact, been waging war largely for reasons other than those given in its propaganda. But the fact is, the Western Allies often showed more endeavour in *recruiting* ex-nazis and fascists than in examining their records for evidence of war crimes and atrocities, and in due course the effects of that policy would extend far further than having to fend off accusations of harbouring war criminals. Recruiting German scientists and technicians was only the beginning. In their desire to get an edge on the Russians, the Western powers also recruited hundreds of ex-nazis and fascists to work as anti-Communist intelligence operatives. In doing so they naturally fell prey to the Soviet counter intelligence system which took the opportunity to penetrate western intelligence by placing double agents who compromised it for many years.

But the Allies' failure to pursue war criminals and bring them to trial showed that there was no real change from the attitudes which had enabled Hitler to pursue his Final Solution in the first place and the Jewish community was in no mood to simply forgive and forget on the basis that some 'higher purpose' dangled before them. Increasing world wide realization that reports of the number of Jewish victims in the Holocaust were correct and belief that the Christian democratic countries could have done much more to save Jews coupled with the lack of action in bringing war criminals to justice and fueled the growing mood of militancy in US Zionist ranks. On June 14 a report to the State Department from the Office of Strategic Services noted that these factors contributed to a prevailing movement towards extreme Zionism. Its authors concluded that the perception of a need for emigration and rescue was growing, along with disillusionment with the United States Government, and that the pro-Roosevelt Jewish public was taking its revenge at the ballot box. The authors also noted that leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council could pass from Rabbi Wise to the more militant Rabbi Silver.¹⁴⁶

Reflecting that mood, a Conference of the Mizrahi, Zionism's religious wing, in early June demanded that the American Zionist Emergency Council be reorganized to include the militants and that Rabbi Silver be returned to political leadership. Rabbi Fishman told the Conference that two former British High Commissioners for Palestine should be prosecuted for war crimes for keeping Palestine closed to the Jews. Within weeks Ben Gurion informed the State Department that the Jewish Agency could no longer accept anything less than the granting of all their demands, including the immediate establishment of a Jewish State.¹⁴⁷

Zionist pressure on Christian members of Congress and on the administration from sympathetic American Christian groups increased at the same time. On May 18 United States Senators Taft and Wagner circulated a letter in the name of the American Palestine Committee, a Christian body, asking Senators to sign a letter to president Truman urging that immediate steps be taken to open Palestine to Jewish immigration in preparation for a democratic Jewish Commonwealth. Another member similarly petitioned members of the House of Representatives. They emphasized the humanitarian benefits of such a policy, sought to place the two houses of Congress on record as recognizing the "Hebrew nation" as one of the United Nations, and urged all "Hebrews" who wished to do so to "return to their national territory of Palestine" and to "reconstitute this territory within its boundaries as a free state."

Acting Secretary of State Joseph Grew was made aware of the petition and immediately attempted to head off Truman. Disputing its humanitarian effects, he emphasized that it went beyond any previous US commitments and that it might have embarrassing results, particularly since the Arabs were united in opposition to French policy in Syria and the Lebanon, and the US was urging restraint on the French. A moderated version of the letter was finally signed by 54 senators and 250 representatives. It asked that the president use his influence with Britain to open Palestine to unrestricted immigration and colonization, and urge all interested governments to join the US in moving "toward the end of establishing Palestine as a free and democratic commonwealth at the earliest possible time."¹⁴⁸ At Truman's request it was kept out

of the press and not made public. Their American counterparts were being just as compliant as Chamberlain's press barons and Britain's press lobby.

A SINGLE COUNTERSTROKE

However, in the build-up to Potsdam it was the behaviour of the Soviets which was commanding the attention of the western Allies, although that, too, was beginning to throw a spotlight on the Middle East. In June the Turkish ambassador met with Molotov in Moscow for talks on a new treaty. Both the Turks and the British were aghast at hearing the Soviet price: the return to Russia of areas yielded to Turkey in 1921; agreement between the two governments on revision of the Montreux Convention prior to any international agreement; and Soviet bases on Turkish territory in the Straits within range of the Bosphorus. In addition Molotov hinted that if Turkey broke its alliance with Britain those conditions could be softened or even abandoned.

The Turks, with British support, firmly rejected the Soviet proposals. When the British asked the US to join them in a protest to Moscow, the Americans, having their own agenda, preferred to wait, judging the talks to be 'exploratory' and believing that such a show of support for the Turks would be regarded by Moscow as provocative. However Eden saw the Soviet demands as the first stage in an attempt at outright subjugation, and he was convinced that a firm line in Turkey was necessary to avoid similar demands elsewhere in the Middle East.¹⁴⁹

The country uppermost in the British Foreign Minister's mind was Iran. At Yalta the Soviets had refused to discuss future relations with Iran, and in the months that followed the chief concern of the Iranian government was possible Soviet interference in the north. Under the 1941 *Tripartite Treaty* internal security against pro-German subversion was Iran's responsibility, and on May 19 the Shah, being reluctant to ask Soviet permission to move troops into the Soviet-occupied area to quell disturbances for fear of establishing a precedent, asked that all foreign troops be withdrawn.

However that produced more dilemmas for both the young Shah and his American backers. Troop withdrawals were not technically required under the *Tripartite Treaty*, and while Iran still desired the presence of US forces, the Americans wanted to move their troops to the Pacific theatre, but Britain wanted to keep troops in south-western Iran to protect the oil fields and the refinery at Abadan. But unless both the British and US troops were removed the Soviets would stay, and the Shah feared that if they stayed much longer the north might be brought under permanent Soviet control, or worse, that the Soviets might intervene to install a new government loyal to Moscow.

In the event, the US Persian Gulf Command was terminated on June 1, and the Shah and his American allies were faced with an even more acute dilemma. Disastrous economic problems were fuelling popular disaffection, and corruption and poor administration were compounding difficulties in stabilizing the new government in the face of competing British and Soviet backed factions in the Majlis. The Shah then complained to the US Ambassador, immediately prior to Potsdam, that he was afraid to install a vigorous Prime Minister because the Soviets

would accuse him of fascism, but if he didn't, administration would become even less effective and Soviet supported groups would gain in influence.¹⁵⁰

This dilemma was simply the first of a type which would become commonplace over the next forty years, as a succession of more or less unregenerate and undemocratic regimes, backed to the hilt by Western powers and competing vested interests, were forced by popular discontent and the threat of leftist, communist or communist-backed takeovers into ever tighter boxes of their own making. Indeed, it was a dilemma already being faced by Britain's puppet regime in Greece, where civil conflict had continued in spite of an agreement in February which ended the conflict between the leftist ELAS and the British and their rightist allies. As in Iran, the Greek conflict was linked to disastrous economic conditions, administrative incompetence, and gross corruption in the British-backed government, but the basis of it was that the rightists had sought to continue as if the (Varkiza) agreement had not even existed. Between February and July, as royalists, including many nazi collaborators, gained increasing control of the army and bureaucracy, as many as 20,000 members of the left and centre were arrested or executed.

Despite the repression, however, the leadership of the Greek Communist Party, the KKE, fell in with their Western European comrades in June and tactically chose to purge the party's militants, to pursue a parliamentary role, and to publicly recognize British dominance in the eastern Mediterranean. At the same time, the KKE joined with other Greek leftist and centre groups in demanding that planned elections be postponed because the state machinery was controlled by the right. Thus arose the Greek version of the dilemma: stability could not be assured until an elected government had the moral power to enforce it, but the British-backed government lacked the moral credibility to hold elections. Making the situation worse was the fact that many former ELAS members had fled into the mountains and some had crossed the border into Yugoslavia where Tito was providing training camps for the KKE.

If full-scale civil war was to be averted something had to be done, so on July 13 Britain and the US made a proposal to the Greek Prime Minister: joint US, British and Soviet supervision of elections. For the Americans, who had previously declined to get involved in Greece, their confrontation with the Soviets at last provided the motivation. Free and fair elections in Greece were necessary if they were to gain similar assurances for Eastern Europe, and thus not only prevent the solidification of a Soviet sphere of influence there but also prevent the Soviets from creating a precedent for recognizing unrepresentative governments elsewhere.¹⁵¹

Those aims were hardly consistent with the West's own behaviour in consolidating its own sphere of influence in Western Europe and the Americas, but the West did not want to debate that. Nor did it matter that the Soviets, in line with their agreement with Churchill, had studiously avoided having anything at all to do with Greece, or that their actions in Turkey and Iran were motivated by Great Power interests little different to those of the West: access to a warm-water port, oil, and border security. Nor, apparently, did it matter that the Soviet's methods in Turkey and Iran were no different to those of any other Imperial power. From the Western point of view, what mattered was that these disparate crises could all be shown to be

expressions of one underlying factor: Soviet communist expansionism. Indeed, Soviet-fueled fires seemed to be burning on almost every front – not only in Greece, Turkey, Iran, and the whole of Eastern Europe, but Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, and the Far East as well. Palestine, at any rate, seemed removed from the general conflagration, at least for the moment. The problem was, however, that there were simply not enough powerful diplomatic hoses to go around. So, faced with an awkward and demanding negotiating partner whose actions threatened their own plans for post-war peace and order, US political leaders were looking to another means to help neutralize the amorphous threat of Soviet expansionism in a single counterstroke – the atomic threat – masked as an offer of atomic partnership.

Of course an attempt to use control of the bomb as a diplomatic lever did not require that it be used in combat, but US political leaders believed that the credibility of that threat would be immeasurably enhanced if it was. However other people were pursuing policies with the potential to end the war before the bomb was ready or required. On June 9, the Joint Chiefs of Staff approved the final draft of a proposal for an “Immediate Demand for the Unconditional Surrender of Japan” which was prepared following its earlier May 9 decision to pursue modified surrender terms. Arguing that uncertainty over Russia’s future actions might lead Japan to sue for peace within a few months in order to prevent occupation – a correct assessment – the proposal was designed partly to preempt any such initiative. Addressed to the Imperial Japanese government, the proposed statement called for the “unconditional surrender of all Japanese armed forces under the authority of the Imperial Japanese Government and High Command.” This effectively acknowledged the continued legitimacy of the Imperial regime, and thereby removing the primary obstacle to Japanese surrender. The JCS recommended that the demand be made at a time when “the Okinawa operation has progressed sufficiently to insure its success.” ¹⁵²

Okinawa fell on June 21, but the proposal for an early statement was rejected by Truman, despite the fact that many of his advisers were arguing that time would be needed for its full meaning to be understood. ¹⁵³ The president’s reasoning, according to his memoirs, was that a statement issued later from Potsdam “would clearly demonstrate to Japan and to the world that the Allies were united in their purpose [and that] by that time, also, we might know more about two matters of significance for our future effort: the participation of the Soviet Union and the atomic bomb.” ¹⁵⁴

That retrospective “explanation” is more notable for what it omits than what it contains. In the first place, of course, it sidesteps the central issue of whether a later statement would contain a modification of terms. It sidesteps the issue of whether the Soviet Union would be included as a signatory, and thus fails to take into account the deep ambivalence felt by US officials towards the participation of the Soviet Union in the Pacific war. Both of those had a great bearing on the decision to drop the atomic bomb.

However, another statement in Truman’s memoirs highlights a crucial aspect of his understanding of these relationships. Noting that his “immediate purpose” in going to Potsdam

was “to get the Russians into the war against Japan as soon as possible”, he further explained that “if the test [of the atomic bomb] should fail, then it would be even more important to us to bring about a surrender before we had to make a physical conquest of Japan.” In other words, Truman by his own account was well aware that Russian participation could end the war without an invasion and without the use of the atomic bomb.

That fact had again been highlighted by General Marshall at a crucial White House meeting on June 18 at which military plans for the proposed Kyushu invasion were finalized and approved with the Joint Chiefs. Assessing developments which might bring the Japanese to capitulate, Marshall advised the president that “an important point about Russian participation in the war is that the impact of Russian entry on the already hopeless Japanese may well be the decisive action levering them into capitulation at that time or shortly thereafter if we land in Japan.” In other words, as intelligence analyses were less cautious in arguing, Soviet entry into the war would in all probability end the war altogether. At the very least it would make a lengthy and costly invasion unnecessary. A pre-conference ‘Estimate of the Enemy Situation’ prepared by the US-British Combined Intelligence Committee noted that “an entry of the Soviet Union into the war would finally convince the Japanese of the inevitability of defeat”, and that “to insure the survival of the institution of the Emperor, the Japanese might well be willing to withdraw from all the territory they have seized on the Asiatic continent and in the southern Pacific and to the practical disarmament of their military forces.”¹⁵⁵

Marshall’s analysis, however, unlike the intelligence reports, made no mention of any clarification of the surrender formula which was by now widely regarded as being indispensable to securing Japanese capitulation. For example, a State department memorandum presented to the president around this time concluded:

*Every evidence, without exception, that we are able to obtain of the views of the Japanese with regard to the institution of the throne, indicates that the non-molestation of the person of the present Emperor and the preservation of the institution of the throne comprise irreducible Japanese terms....We are disposed to agree with the view that failure on our part to clarify our intentions in this regard, or the proclamation of our intention to try the emperor as a war criminal and to abolish the institution of the throne, will insure the prolongation of the war and cost a large number of human lives.”*¹⁵⁶

To that end, by late June almost all top US officials around Truman were in agreement that some clarification of terms should be attempted at Potsdam, and by the eve of the US delegation’s departure in early July, a draft surrender proclamation had been drawn up and approved by the Secretaries of War, Navy and State. The proclamation followed the Joint Chiefs’ proposals in explicitly calling for the unconditional surrender of the Japanese military under the authority of the existing Japanese government. It called on the Japanese government to permit the occupation of their country in order to ensure its complete demilitarization, announced the intention to restrict Japanese sovereignty to the four main islands, and threatened inevitable and complete destruction if they failed to accept. On the other side, it assured the

Japanese that they would not be exterminated as a race or destroyed as a nation; that they would be permitted industries needed to sustain a reasonable standard of living; and that occupation forces would be withdrawn once their objectives had been accomplished and a truly representative and peaceful government had been instituted. It also added an explicit assurance that the Imperial institutions could be maintained. The initial draft stated that any postwar Japanese government “may include a constitutional monarchy under the present dynasty if the peace loving nations can be convinced of the genuine determination of such a government to follow policies of peace which will render impossible future development of aggressive militarism in Japan.” This was later changed at Potsdam on the advice of the joint Chiefs of Staff to read “subject to suitable guarantees against further aggression, the Japanese people will be free to choose their own form of government.” ¹⁵⁷

The option to include the Soviet Union as a party to the proclamation was left open and the draft was written without any dependence on the use of the bomb. The proclamation could be changed if and when the atomic test proved successful, although just how remains unclear, probably by toughening the warning of imminent destruction. As Stimson noted in a covering letter when he delivered it to Truman on July 2, the draft proclamation would have to be “revamped to conform to the efficacy of such a weapon if the warning were to be delivered, as would almost certainly be the case, in conjunction with its use.” Whether he intended the proclamation to contain a warning explicitly referring to the bomb, and even whether the proclamation containing the warning would be issued prior to an atomic attack, rather than after, is not specified. ¹⁵⁸ It is highly unlikely, however, that any such warning was intended to refer explicitly to the new weapon. Along with a demonstration, that had already been ruled out.

However another matter previously ruled out was included. In response to the concerns of the atomic scientists and the suggestion of its Scientific Panel, the Interim Committee on June 21 reversed its earlier decision about not informing the Russians on progress with atomic weapons. It recommended unanimously that the president tell Stalin that the US government was working on the atomic bomb and expected to use it against Japan, and that he broach the subject of international control for later discussion. That was not the only decision reversed at the meeting. It was also recommended that clause two of the Quebec agreement on atomic energy signed by Roosevelt and Churchill be revoked. Under that clause Britain and the US had agreed not to use atomic weapons against a third country without the consent of the other. Clearly, the United States wished to retain the unilateral right to use the bomb after the war as it saw fit. Nevertheless, on July 4 the niceties were preserved and formal British consent to use the bomb on Japan was obtained. ¹⁵⁹

CHURCHILL REJECTS A PROPOSAL ON PALESTINE

On June 25, two months after it opened, the San Francisco conference closed with the signing by delegates of the new *UN Charter*. Ratification by each of the member nations was scheduled for the following weeks, with the UN's first official session to open in New York in early 1946.

With Zionist militancy rising in the United States, a report was received in Whitehall on July 1 from Ambassador Halifax in Washington outlining his analysis of American attitudes towards the Palestine issue. He noted the widely held belief that Britain's wartime adherence to the White Paper had impeded the salvation of many Jews, and he argued that Zionists would be able to carry with them both liberal humanitarians and anti-Semites. In Halifax' view, "the average citizen does not want [Jewish Displaced Persons] in the United States and salves his conscience by advocating their admission into Palestine." In addition, he also noted that Zionists would be able to play on anti-imperialist sentiment, adding that killing Jews would "violently inflame" public opinion, but as there was no Arab constituency to counter the Jewish vote, violence against Arabs would not. He also emphasized the position of Jews within the administration, as well as the extent of the Jewish vote in New York which could be decisive in election years. He suggested, therefore, that while the State Department might be inclined to the Arab case, US sympathy for British interests in the middle East would be greatly prejudiced, and he proposed that Britain offer to share its mandatory responsibility with the US, or at least attempt to associate another great power with Palestine.

Churchill's response is instructive. In an incredible display of bitter resignation, or perhaps blind weariness, the man who had battled so long and hard to keep the Empire intact wrote to the Colonial Office and Chiefs of Staff, "I do not think we should take the responsibility upon ourselves of managing this very difficult peace while the Americans sit back and criticize...I am not aware of the slightest advantage which has ever accrued to Great Britain from this painful and thankless task. Somebody else should have their turn now." In sum, it was an indictment of Britain's entire Middle Eastern policy.

However, while the Secretary of the Colonial Office sympathized with Churchill's sentiment he acknowledged some likely effects on Britain's strategic interests, the analysis of which he left to the Foreign Office and Chiefs of Staff. Between them they prepared a long list of disastrous consequences: Palestine was a bottleneck of land communications and a main centre of air routes for the Empire, as well as the location of a key oil terminal, and US control of Palestine would mean British dependence on them for maintenance of its vital strategic interests in the area; there would be no direct access to Transjordan, British bases in Iraq would be isolated, and land routes through the Persian Gulf would be subject to US consent. The Foreign Office also noted that politically the US would regard any such offer with suspicion and would be unlikely to accept. Moreover, the Russians would demand a share, and the Arabs would consider the move a victory for Zionism.

In sum, the FO suggested, "abdication on Palestine would be regarded in the Middle East as symptomatic of our abdication as a Great Power, and might set in train a process which would result in the crumbling away of our influence throughout this region." The CoS concurred. Handing over the mandate would lead to a loss of Britain's "predominant position" in the Middle East and "the psychological effects of this on world opinion are incalculable."¹⁶⁰

But whatever the desires of Whitehall, other developments suggested that keeping the Americans out of affairs in Palestine was not going to be a simple matter. Already President Truman was taking steps which would soon have a profound effect on Britain's position in the Holy Land. On June 22, in response to Zionist pressure, he had directed America's representative to the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, Earl Harrison, to pay special attention to the situation of Jewish displaced persons in his investigation into the conditions in all DP camps in the US zone in Germany,¹⁶¹ and Senator Wagner discussed the American Palestine Committee resolution with the President on July 2, and also wrote urging him to raise the issue at Potsdam. In reply, Truman referred to the matter as a "problem of profound significance in world affairs", and promised "early consideration of the issue."¹⁶²

Truman's actions weren't the only ones presaging trouble for the British. In mid-June, agents of the Jewish Agency's immigration office, Mossad, arrived in Italy and, linking up with Zionist groups which had begun to spontaneously organize in the camps of Europe, began systematic planning for large-scale illegal Jewish immigration to Palestine.¹⁶³ Similarly, while in the United States, Ben-Gurion was also making practical arrangements to meet the main challenge he foresaw as eventually facing the Yishuv – war with the Arabs. On July 1 in New York he met with seventeen Jewish millionaires sympathetic to Zionism and asked them to set up a special fund to meet the Yishuv's defence and immigration needs. A committee headed by businessmen Henry Montor and Rudolph Sonnenborn was formed to establish a fictitious company called the Sonnenborn Institute. Ostensibly set up to deal in agricultural and medical equipment, it was also intended to commission experts to buy up, at bargain prices, obsolete military equipment and machinery from munitions factories closing down at the end of the war. According to Cohen, the Institute eventually became, in effect, the American arm of the Hagana.¹⁶⁴

POTSDAM

On July 6, with a draft surrender proclamation in hand, the US delegation to the Three-Power peace conference embarked on the *USS Augusta* on its ten-day journey to occupied Germany. Unknown to those aboard, however, a dramatic new development had been set in train which cast all preceding deliberations on the Far East in an entirely new light. On July 12, as the *Augusta* reached mid-Atlantic, US intelligence intercepted a cable from Japanese Foreign Minister Togo to Ambassador Sato in Moscow which stated: "we are now secretly giving consideration to the termination of the war." The next day another intercept confirmed that the move was coming from the highest possible authority: "His majesty the Emperor, mindful of the fact that the present war daily brings greater evil and sacrifice upon the peoples of all belligerent powers, desires from his heart that it may quickly be terminated." The second cable also confirmed the assessment that continued insistence on unconditional surrender was blocking Japanese capitulation: "so long as England and the United States insist upon unconditional surrender the Japanese Empire has no alternative but to fight on with all its strength for the honour and existence of the Motherland." The cable concluded: "it is the

Emperor's private intention to send Prince Konoye to Moscow as a special envoy with a letter from him containing the statements given above. Please inform Molotov of this and get the Russian's consent to having the party enter the country."¹⁶⁵

Just what Konoye was to propose remained unknown. He never went to Moscow. Sato was forced to leave his message with a Soviet Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs under the pretense that the Foreign Minister was busy preparing for his departure for the Big Three meeting. Though the Japanese did not realize it, the Soviets had no interest in what they might have had to say. A request to mediate in surrender negotiations would have interfered with the Soviets' wish to enter the war and thus to stake a claim in the occupation of Japan, as well as consolidate whatever gains could be had in Manchuria and Korea. There was little Japan could offer them that they hadn't already been given or had it in their power to take. However neither the Japanese nor the Soviets were aware that the American delegation on board the *Augusta* was also in possession of the contents of the cables, thus laying the basis for a complicated two-way charade when the Allied heads of Government finally met at Potsdam a few days later.¹⁶⁶

At 5:29:45 am on July 16, at roughly the same time as the US delegation arrived at Potsdam in the outer suburbs of Berlin, the first atomic explosion in the history of humanity took place at a test site in the New Mexico desert 200 miles south of Los Alamos and 60 miles from Alamogordo. The test site was code-named Trinity. Though those who chose it were no doubt unaware of its appropriateness, no better name could have been found to represent the issues which had been the direct reason for the project coming into being – Hitler's persecution of the Jews – and which had decisively shaped the great hostilities of which the project was a part. In his first words of reaction to the event, however, Robert Oppenheimer eschewed the biblical images of his Jewish heritage in favour of a quotation from Hindu scripture: "I have become a destroyer of worlds."

First brief news of the successful test reached the president and new Secretary of State Byrnes in Potsdam on the evening of July 16. At noon on the 17th Stalin called on Truman and stayed for lunch. The conversation touched on various subjects which were on the conference agenda, but of primary interest to the Americans was the situation relating to the Far East. Truman received Stalin's assurance that the Soviet Union would enter the war on August 15, regardless of the outcome of the conference. Stalin also reported that he had not yet reached agreement with Chinese Foreign Minister T.V. Soong, who had arrived in Moscow on June 30 for negotiations over the implementation of the Yalta Far Eastern accords. Talks had now been suspended for the period of the Potsdam Conference. No mention was yet made either of the bomb or of the Japanese request for Soviet mediation.

DON'T LET THEM STOP NOW!

Significantly, however, the Americans already knew the status of the Soong negotiations, since Soong had reported everything to the US Ambassador in Moscow and had sought guidance on how the accord was to be interpreted. Just as significantly, the Americans also knew that Stalin

would not commit Soviet forces to the Far Eastern theatre until final agreement was reached with China. Thus arose the opportunity for another game to be played out. Having received Stalin's assurance that Russia would enter the war, the Americans were now going to do their best to make sure that it didn't.¹⁶⁷

Later on the afternoon of the 17th official discussions began. Uppermost on the agenda were the major outstanding issues of the European peace. Seizing the offer to chair the conference's plenary sessions, Truman ran through the United States' proposals. Regarding Eastern Europe he immediately went on the offensive, demanding the immediate reorganization of the governments of Bulgaria and Rumania to include representatives of all significant democratic elements, with the Big Three to consider how best to assist any resulting interim governments in the holding of free and unfettered elections.¹⁶⁸ The president also outlined proposals for the normalization of relations with Italy, which envisaged the eventual release of Italy from Allied custody and its admittance into the United Nations, as well as free elections to install a new government with popular support that could attend to the rapid improvement of the by now disastrous domestic economic conditions. That, of course, was an attempt to consolidate Italy's position within the Western fold – a policy guaranteed to warm the heart of the Vatican. Proposals were also presented for the Four-Power administration of occupied Germany which reflected a decisive shift in US policy away from a repressive approach towards rehabilitation. A moderately strong and united Germany was now considered essential to stabilise Western Europe economically and politically and to act as a bulwark against further Soviet encroachment on the continent.¹⁶⁹

Among other US proposals, the most important was for the creation of a Council of Foreign Ministers to include China and France as well as the Big Three, which would be responsible for preparing peace treaties with ex-enemy states prior to a general peace conference, as well as any other matters referred to it. In part the proposal was motivated by desire to avoid the disorder of Versailles, where too many voices had reduced peace negotiations to a bickering shambles. However, it also had another significant dimension – the first Foreign Minister's conference would occur only after the demonstration of the bomb. The proposal received relatively speedy endorsement. London was chosen as the permanent seat for the Council, and the first meeting set for the September 1, 1945.¹⁷⁰

Prior to that decision, things also began to move in relation to the Far East – which was not in fact on the official conference agenda. Following the first plenary session Stalin had informed Churchill of the Japanese peace overtures, asking him to raise the matter with Truman on the grounds that he did not want the president to think that the Soviets wanted to act as an intermediary. Churchill obliged the next day. Truman and Byrnes then met with Soviets, and Stalin gave them a copy of the letter presented by Sato with the message from the Emperor. Truman, of course, gave no indication that he had already seen it. Stating that he had no regard for the good faith of the Japanese, he suggested Stalin should decide how to reply. Stalin stated that in view of the fact the Soviet Union was not yet at war with Japan, he should reply that the

letter was vague and that he could not give a conclusive reply. Truman agreed. That night in Moscow the Japanese received the Soviet response.

That effectively gave the Americans the green light to proceed with the finalization of their proclamation to the Japanese. Significantly, Admiral Leahy, head of the JCoS, submitted a memo to Truman suggesting that the existing text relating to the retention of the constitutional monarchy be changed on the basis that it could be construed as a threat to the present Emperor. The memo read in part: "From a strictly military point of view consider it inadvisable to make any statement or take any action at the present time which would make it difficult or impossible to utilize the authority of the Emperor to direct a surrender of the Japanese forces in the outlying areas as well as in Japan proper."¹⁷¹

While matters related to the Far East appeared to be proceeding cordially, it soon became apparent that there was little on the official conference agenda that the Three could agree on, including the most important issue on the agenda: Germany. Before any proposals could be considered another matter had to be dealt with – namely, what was meant by Germany? Was it to be divided, and where were its frontiers? Those questions inevitably dragged in the hotly disputed issue of Poland's borders, which despite the political agreement reached between Stalin and Hopkins was yet to be resolved. Eventually after two days of heated argument assent was given to Truman's suggestion that Germany should be defined by its pre-1937 borders, not including Austria, and without much ado the idea of partition was dropped once and for all. The important aspects of the American proposals dealing with the political and military control of occupied Germany also received general assent. Four basic principles were agreed to, providing for: disarmament and demilitarization; denazification; education of the German people to accept their total defeat and responsibility for their position; and preparation for Germany's democratic reconstruction and the reintegration of a peaceful Germany into international life. In addition, the US also proposed that all weapons and facilities for their production should be seized or destroyed. After brief discussion, with no mention of the cut-throat competition for technological spoils which was well underway, it was decided that specialized research facilities should be held at the Allies' disposal or destroyed, and the Three agreed to share in their use.¹⁷²

That last issue had been effectively swept under the carpet, but there were others not as easily ignored. Recalling a few days later the agreement to divide Germany according to its 1937 borders, Truman suggested that it seemed that the Soviets had given the Poles a zone of their own, which had vastly complicated matters. He was friendly towards the Polish Provisional Government, and full accord could be reached on what the Soviet government wanted, but it ought to be achieved by consultation. Stalin argued that a final decision could be left to the Peace Conference, as had been agreed at Yalta. Truman was happy to agree, but Churchill was adamant, and no agreement was reached.¹⁷³

As the stand-off on Poland emerged among the three leaders, an equally heated argument was going on elsewhere at the conference over the economic principles which would govern

Germany – particularly reparations policy. Discussion of that had been soured by the acrimonious breakdown of the Reparations Commission in Moscow and the dispute over Poland made it worse. Having repudiated the Morgenthau Plan, the Americans were now in favour of the economic as well as political rehabilitation of Germany, and the British were in substantial agreement. At the same time, neither Britain nor the United States wished to be forced to pay for German reconstruction, and thus also indirectly subsidize the Soviet Union. Both were thus committed to the ‘first charge’ principle, which required that German export earnings pay for essential imports before reparations could be considered, as well as to the idea that reparations be allocated to each of the powers according to an overall percentage of an unspecified total to be drawn from Germany as a whole.

The Soviets, however, wanted Germany to meet its reparations obligations first and have imports restricted to what was left, and they wanted a fixed sum to be exacted to ensure the outcome and prevent the Germans from cheating on their responsibilities – as the Americans had agreed at Yalta. The United States and Britain in response argued that too many elements of Germany’s future could not be forecast – too much German property had been destroyed to meet Russian demands, there was the question of frontiers, and, of course, they did not want to pay. So discussions got nowhere.¹⁷⁴

However, the tangle of issues centred on Germany and Poland was not the only one causing a deadlock. The Foreign Ministers had also reached a stalemate over American proposals for Eastern Europe. Molotov wanted immediate recognition of the countries of Eastern Europe on the basis of their contribution to the war against Germany, and claimed that Allied supervision of elections was unnecessary. More attention needed to be paid to the chaotic and anti-democratic situation in Greece, he said. Eden and the British were incensed. The Russian charges were a travesty of fact! Soon afterwards the issue became entangled with Italy, with Molotov demanding that the Eastern European states be included in the proposals, but only after the Americans had attempted to compromise by restricting their proposals to a request for Allied supervision of elections, now also to include Hungary. None of these positions were acceptable to everyone, and another impasse had been reached.¹⁷⁵

The conference appeared to be stalled. However, on the afternoon of July 21 reports were received of the very successful atomic test, and these caused a significant change in attitude among the American delegation. The results were immediate.

At the plenary session immediately after receiving the reports, Truman markedly stiffened his attitude towards Eastern Europe, repeatedly refusing to discuss the matter further. After reading Grove’s report the following morning Churchill admitted to Stimson that he could now understand why the president had appeared a “changed man” the previous afternoon. He stated that he now felt the same way and, told Stimson he was inclined to “use it as an argument in our favour in the negotiations.” Similarly, as Alperovitz puts it, “Stimson... was momentarily so moved by the initial indications of its [i.e. the bomb’s] power that he advised Truman that the weapon might enable the United States to force the Soviet Union to abandon or radically alter

its entire system of government.”¹⁷⁶ However, the Americans weren't yet prepared to put the bomb on the table. Instead, they pulled down the shutters.

On the same day as Groves' report, Stimson received a message that the bomb would be ready for use in the first clear weather period of August. The next day Truman wrote the order for its use and the following day a cable carrying Truman's signature was sent from Potsdam to Chinese Foreign Minister T.V. Soong advising that he should return to Moscow to continue negotiations with the Soviets, but stand firm and make no further concessions. Though Soong was unaware, his negotiations were to be used as a delaying tactic to prevent Soviet entry into the war. A draft of the surrender declaration was also cabled to Chiang Kai-shek for his approval. The assurances for the status of the Emperor were omitted and no mention was made of the bomb. That same day, July 23, it was confirmed that the bomb would be ready between August 1 and 10, probably August 4 or 5.¹⁷⁷

Also on the 23rd Byrnes floated a new proposal on Germany. Instead of all three sharing in what could be had from all of Germany, as had been agreed at Yalta, each would draw from its own zone, with possible barter between them. There would be no fixed target and the idea of percentages was dropped. The implication was that because the Russians occupied predominantly agricultural areas, the West would get the lion's share. Molotov knew that if the Three failed to reach agreement, the result would virtually be the same. There was almost nothing for the Soviets.

Throughout the war, policy on Germany had been dictated by the need to cooperate with the Soviets to ensure that Germany could be kept down. The bomb had now changed that and, from the American point of view, cooperation was no longer needed. Referring to the bomb in the security context of reparations, Byrnes told former Ambassador to Moscow Joseph Davies, “in the last analysis, it would control...”¹⁷⁸ The Americans made it clear that they were prepared to leave the conference if no further agreement could be reached. It was a case of take it or leave it.

Or not quite. Before anything further could be dealt with, the conference was suspended while the British delegation returned home to await the outcome of the 1945 general election. Prior to his departure Churchill made a further attempt to secure agreement on the issue of Poland's western borders, and it was reluctantly decided to invite the Poles to the conference. Their presence on the 24th changed nothing and on the 25th after one last attempt to change Stalin's mind, Churchill departed for home. He did not return. The Conservatives were voted out of office. Labour was in power.¹⁷⁹

Prior to the departure of the British Truman had taken steps to deal with another delicate matter. Following the plenary session on the 24th he casually informed Stalin, in private, that the United States had recently come into possession of “a new weapon of unusual destructive force.” Stalin, according to Truman, merely replied that he was glad to hear it and hoped that the Americans would make good use of it against the Japanese. Those observing felt that he clearly did not understand the import of Truman's advice. They were wrong. As documents

released from Soviet archives have shown conclusively, Stalin not only knew about the successful test of the bomb, he had known almost as soon as Truman – and in almost as much detail.¹⁸⁰ Truman's motives in approaching Stalin in that manner were, however, clear. Telling Stalin too much about the bomb risked the possibility that the Soviet Union would rush to declare war against Japan. In the event, however, Truman's lack of candour failed to prevent an early Soviet attack. What it did do was effectively kill the prospects for postwar international cooperation on atomic weapons controls before any proposals had even been tabled.¹⁸¹

On July 26 the *Potsdam declaration* was issued. The conference resumed on the 28th with Churchill's wartime deputy, Clement Attlee, as the new British Prime Minister and former trade unionist and Minister for War Production, Ernest Bevin, as Foreign Minister. Pending their arrival, Byrnes had busied himself on a new set of proposals. On the 30th he put them on the table. What he proposed was a package deal, comprising three papers dealing each with German reparations, the Polish frontier, and the positions of Italy, Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary and Rumania. They comprised the final US position. If they weren't accepted as a whole, the Americans would leave on August 1. The era of the atomic bully boy had arrived.

With respect to German reparations, Byrnes maintained his earlier offer. Each power was to satisfy its claims by removing capital equipment from its own zone. In addition, the Western powers would agree to transfer to Russia a fifth of the surplus capital plant located in their zones, half of which would be exchanged for food and coal delivered from the Russian zone to western Germany. The issue of what constituted total available surplus capital was left to the Allied Control Commission to work out. With respect to Poland, the western border was to remain as it had been assigned by the Russians on an interim basis, pending a final German peace treaty. With respect to Italy and the states of Eastern Europe, peace treaties would be left to the Council of Foreign Ministers. The question of recognition was papered over with a vague formula which asserted that "the three governments agree to examine each separately in the near future, in the light of conditions then prevailing, the establishment of diplomatic relations with Finland, Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary to the extent possible prior to ratification of peace treaties with those countries."

The Soviets had little choice but to agree, and following a final four hour plenary session on July 31 in which minor changes to reparations percentages were agreed, the package received assent. In effect, it was an agreement to postpone agreement. All the major decisions had been left for the future.

There is only one possible explanation as to why the Western Allies might have believed it worthwhile to postpone the major decisions of the conference: they thought that a significant new factor would be introduced into the international equation between the time the conference ended and the time when the issues would again be picked up. And there was only one thing which would have provided such a factor: the atomic bomb.

CHAPTER 27

WE'VE MADE IT ... THANKS TO HITLER'S GENTLE PERSUASION

The war was over. The bomb had been dropped. It need not have been. The leaders of the United States, Britain, the Soviet Union and Japan all knew that. But the leaders of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union each had their reasons for not disclosing it. It would have totally undermined their justification for their conduct in the closing stages of the war. And none of those three could afford to let the Japanese be heard saying it. So Gog and Magog set about disentangling themselves. The people of Gog (or was it Magog?) in Germany and Japan were in a state of total shock, abject and total subjugation after total defeat, totally demoralized and in disgrace because the victors said the whole fiasco had been their fault right from the start. But the partners of Magog (or was it Gog?) were also in a state of disarray, squabbling between themselves over the spoils of victory and over whose socio-economic system was to prevail.

As after World War I, so after World War II: the great European colonial powers wanted a return to the prewar situation and an assurance of control in and over their rightful overseas 'possessions' which they had expected to regain from the dastardly aggressors – plus a share in the colonies, dependencies and mandates of the defeated powers which formed part of the bounty of war – and all without too much of a struggle from their restless subjects. One question had to be resolved: for the purposes of colonial largesse was Italy to be counted as one of the victors or the vanquished? There was soon to be some degree of disappointment all round. Their churches knew that there was a lot of bridge building to be done, but they hoped to be able to return to all of the areas from which they had been expelled – in collaboration with the returning powers of course – and the Vatican nurtured its aim of Catholicizing each of Russia, China and Japan in the process. The churches were also to be sorely disappointed.

In sharp contrast, America wanted none of that European pipe-dreaming. As it had made clear in setting its preconditions for joining the Alliance and in the negotiations about how to win the war, the great 'New Israel' wanted those European powers to stay out of Asia, Central America, Latin America and Africa so that it could fill those enormous power vacuums by one means or another – preferably without armies – exploit their resources and take advantage of the other economic opportunities which its dominance of the world capital market would ensure under its proposal for a world free trade system. But, because of its fear of possible Soviet

influence in South East Asia, it had been cornered into agreeing to the return of the European powers during the closing stages of negotiations for the establishment of the United Nations and the Trusteeship Council at the San Francisco Conference. (Chapter 26) The war in the Pacific had started as Britain's dual purpose war to maintain its place in the Far East and to distract Japan from intervening in favour of Germany in a move against Russia which would have further weakened Britain's security. But when Britain became dependent upon US support to maintain its position and was forced to disclose how weak its position was, the emphasis changed distinctly. Then when Churchill refused to consider a negotiated peace when Japan was in front, and forced an expansion of the war it had become, in reality, America's war against Japan for the status of top dog in Asia.

Naturally the US administration was happy to retain its working relationship with the Vatican which had become very intimate and had developed a degree of mutual dependence during the previous six traumatic years. It was also happy to recognize a working relationship with the other wings of the church as well, but they were not very well organized. They were fragmented and they didn't really have much political clout. However they could all be very helpful in its struggle with Socialism and Communism and they could be ignored when their influence was not vital or when their interests in human rights might even be an embarrassment or a distraction. And there was the matter of the Christianization of Japan. Its resistance had been so great that this was a task barely started. Now was the time. This was the opportunity. Japan could be occupied for as long as it took, and the churches would certainly have a role in that.

However Russia wanted nothing to do with either of those grand plans. It had its own grand plan. A world of centrally planned and coordinated national economies in which resources would be used more or less uniformly for the benefit of all people, under the guidance of the Soviet Union as senior partner, of course, and it would look after the church in its own way. And the countries of Asia, Central America, Latin America and Africa wanted nothing to do with any of the European, American or Russian plans. They simply wanted their independence and they wanted to determine how they would develop, how (and with whom) they would trade and how they would worship for themselves. They couldn't have it. The great powers said that everything should be the same as before the war. Or most of them, anyway. That swirling, highly agitated mix of conflicting interests guaranteed that there would be no easy transition from war to peace. Not everyone could have everything that they wanted. There were too many conflicting interests. The power brokers in all three sectors of the victors' camp were quick to realize this and there was deep seated mistrust between them.

TIME FOR A BIT OF PLANNING

One thing was certain. Every country which had been physically, economically or socially affected by the war would need a greater degree of planning – and government participation in the planning process – than had previously been the case. With the exception of the Soviet Union, the general practice had been for governments to concern themselves only with the

provision of basic infrastructure such as roads, port facilities, water supply, sewerage, education, allocation of land, a system of currency exchange, a system of civil and criminal law and justice, defence, and a system of taxation to finance these things. There was no such thing as a uniform approach to any of these things. Systems and practices had evolved on the basis of local communal or cultural customs, perceived needs, the availability of finance and technology, the level of demand related to total population density, the physical and climatic environment, religious belief, and the extent of isolation or foreign contact and intervention. Change had been taking place gradually and at an accelerating rate in response to population growth and increasing density, the development of technology and, in particular, more extensive foreign contact and intervention due to developments in transport and communications. From the occurrence and impact of some of these matters during the previous four hundred years it is apparent that change was circumstantial and not spontaneous, that no one pattern suited every situation or every community's needs and self-understanding, and that the larger and more complex a society became, the greater its needs for social and economic organization became.

For example, a 'simple' rural community generally had little need for organized welfare or support services because extended family cohesion and support was strong. With urbanization such cohesion and support began to breakdown and the need for organized services became greater. This was illustrated by the way in which colonies of people suffering from communicable diseases which were (at that time) incurable, notably leprosy, were left to fend for themselves on the fringes of urban areas. The need became greater still as modern transport made freedom of movement and relocation easier and weakened the extended family still further. Population growth made the need for organized health services greater, but it was Europe's devastating wars, starting as early as the Crusades, which led to the organization of hospitals. Then its ghastly high-tech wars from the mid-nineteenth century prompted the establishment of regular professional nursing services. But even when the need for a particular service was well established, the way in which it should be provided was subject to great debate. Education and the roles of the church and the state illustrate this. So do transport, power generation and supply, and communications. Some countries, in each of Europe, the New World and Asia, left these to individual initiative, and where the profitability of an enterprise was likely to be good, private investors were eager to grasp the opportunity to introduce and sell the service. But where population density or likely profitability were low, the government was expected to fund and administer the same services as a national obligation. Then there was the matter of land allocation and the exploitation of resources.

LAND, RESOURCES AND COMMUNITY

Systems of land ownership and rights, or tenure, and the way in which agricultural production was organized evolved slowly until the fall of Constantinople and the push for colonies, but the tempo then changed and at the end of the Second World War the situation was very complex and confused. A brief review of those years helps put the matter in perspective.

As humanity progressed from a nomadic to a settled lifestyle the matters of land use and land tenure became fundamental to the idea of 'community,' and then, as systems of government also evolved, the allocation of land and rights to use it became a primary function of community leaders or 'government.' In many, many cases the 'ownership' of land fell into the hands of a few wealthy and powerful families, and oppressive feudal systems came to dominate much of Europe. This led from social tension to crisis, to revolution, and, with the church heavily involved and benefiting from the system, the situation became complex indeed. In other cases, when mechanization began and techniques such as irrigation required a lot of planning, effort and money for development, the fragmentation of land holdings led to inefficiency, low production and equally serious social problems. This meant that reform to their land tenure systems could never be far from the minds of government, and the first serious attempts at reform can be traced to six or seven hundred years *before* the church even came into existence, in biblical Judah, Greece and, later, Rome.

The church can claim that Jesus did not draw up a program for a new world order, that he did not give directions for the administration of justice, or overturn the system of masters, slaves and hired workers, and that he did not demand either the total surrender of personal property to the community or the state, or a more just distribution of property. On that basis it can claim that it had to use its own corporate judgement in exercising the authority which it claims to exercise on his behalf. But it is the land use philosophies and regimes of Rome and Greece which it subsequently became involved in, and it did have the guidelines of Jesus' teaching ministry to work from. Jesus' advice to one wealthy young man was to sell everything and give the proceeds of his property to the poor if he wanted to inherit eternal life. He then remarked that it was easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of God. [Mark 10:17–27] One of the early fathers of the church, Gregory of Nazianzus, who had a key role in defending the Nicene Creed against attack at the Council of Constantinople, probably had that in mind when he maintained that private property and covetousness contributed to the 'Fall,' but he did not advocate the abolition of private property. He pressed instead for the sharing of property and wealth, saying that Christians should contribute to communal property and acts of charity. Thomas Aquinas (chapter 8) later maintained that private property was rooted in positive law through human reason and that the common good was served by everyone having disposition of his own property. However he qualified that by saying that private property exists to serve the common good, and superfluous property should be distributed as alms to the needy. In fact the church also had the precedent of Judah to which it should have paid more attention.

The system of land use and tenure which the Prophet Ezekiel laid down for the Hebrew people to adopt when they returned to Judah from their exile in Babylon was logical, practical and fair. It provided for the allocation of land on a tribal or community basis, with hereditary transfer and use on a needs basis; for the needs of the dedicated religious community; for the urban needs of the community-at-large; and for foreign settlers and refugees as well. (See Ezekiel chapters 45, 47 and 48.) That regime provided stability and the basis of a system which

could have been adapted to allow for population growth while avoiding the capitalization of land and the inequities and problems which soon became apparent under alternative regimes. If the church wanted to get involved in the socio-economic systems of the empires with which it became enmeshed and to provide for the stability of its religious organization – which it did – it could have taken that Judaic system into the big wide world with it. And if it wanted a ready made basis in theology for its decision, this was it. But it did not. It wanted to make up its own as it went along. It wanted to distance itself from Judaism.

Outside the Holy Roman Empire during the centuries which followed there was continuing movement and change in first one direction, then another. However within the Holy Roman Empire there was no real movement for reform, because of the intimate relationship between the church and the empire, until Luther and his colleagues became embroiled in disputes between the peasants and the princes. (Chapter 10) Subsequently, while the Age of Enlightenment blossomed during the century between the English and the French Revolutions, a number of great thinkers began to raise issues relating to the land tenure and land use to cope with, or to lead, social and economic development. Public debate became a complex mix of religion, law, land rights and politics as they sought to make sense of the oppressive feudal and urban landlord and tenant systems as a first step. In fact an important trigger was *water* and *floating property*, not land.

THEOLOGY GETS IN THE WAY AGAIN

A Dutch Calvinist lawyer and theologian, Hugo Grotius, was asked to write a legal opinion for the Dutch East India Company in defence of an action brought against it for the seizure of a Portuguese vessel. In a treatise *On the Law of Prize and Booty* he stated the defence that the operations of the kingdom of Spain and Portugal had deprived the Dutch of their trading rights and were contrary to free access to the oceans for all nations. That would hardly seem to be a controversial stand to take, but the Arminian controversy over Calvinist understanding of predestination was building up, and to imply free access to anything and the right of seizure of property ran counter to some interpretations of predestination. He was asked to write another paper for the Province of Holland which was in dispute with the Calvinist majority of the States General for the Netherlands over related issues. A fine point of theology was again dividing a nation. Grotius was seen to be a part of the opposition to the dominant Calvinist understanding so in 1618, together with provincial leaders, he was arrested. Some lost their heads. He was only thrown in gaol for life. The following year the States General convened the Synod of Dort (chapter 12) which resolved the debate in favour of the dominant Calvinists. 'Election' was pronounced unconditional. Free will was on the outer. Grotius could stay where he was. He did, for another two years. Then he escaped. While in gaol he had started drafting an introduction to the jurisprudence of Holland which he finished in exile and published in 1631. It was so influential that it became the basis for the laws of South Africa. On the matter of land, Grotius insisted that it was lawful for the state to expropriate private property, provided its action was

for a public purpose and that just compensation was paid. That was contrary to the prevailing Calvinist view that if a man was predestined to own property it could not be taken from him.

Thirty years later a German Lutheran professor who had trained in theology but turned to law, Samuel von Pufendorf, built on the work of Grotius and refined the theory of property rights and their origin. Property, he said, was founded in the physical power put into effect in the seizing or occupation of property, but to convert the fact of physical power into a recognized right required the sanction of the state. Both occupation and state approval were therefore necessary, in his view, to make a property legitimate. Then, turning to the question of people as social beings, he said that every individual has the right to equality and freedom on the basis of human dignity and there is no such creature as a 'natural slave.' Master-servant relationships could exist only on the basis of an agreement between them. The Synod of Dort's pronouncements on predestination were taking a beating, but he didn't stop there. In 1687 he published *Of the Power of the Christian Religion in Relation to the Life of a Citizen* in which he set out the civil superiority of the state over the church, the freedom of conscience of the individual and the need for tolerance, although he supported the church's authority in ecclesiastical matters. The churches took him seriously. His views became the basis for revised church council structures and, eventually, church-state relations in Germany. However he did not have any success in another direction. Like Grotius, he was among the very first ecumenists. When Grotius led a trade embassy to England he took the opportunity to discuss with King James I the need for reunion of all the Christian churches. Von Pufendorf was not quite so adventurous, but he pressed for the formation of a United Protestant Church through the merging of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches.

Eighty years later, during the 1760's, realizing that England's laws were in no shape to cope with the pressures of increased population and social tension, Sir William Blackstone, the first person to offer lectures in English law at an English university, decided to codify its existing laws in a four volume set of commentaries. One volume, *Things*, dealt with the law of property. Property was, he said, along with life and liberty, *an absolute right* of an *Englishman*. By an *Englishman* he appears to have meant an English new businessman. The nobility had already lost their right to demand money from freehold tenants. The point of tension had therefore shifted away from the relationship between the lord and the free landowner and towards the relationship between the landed gentry and the growing number of wealthy urban businessmen who wanted to acquire land. Blackstone was certainly not a reformer. If anything, the effect of his work was to maintain the *status quo*. He was consolidating the trend towards possessive individualism which was peculiar to the Western World and away from recognition of communal needs and rights. He was in tune with the idea that a state could declare 'title' to land, regardless of its existing use or the interests of other parties, and without considering that the granting of such title was, in fact, the appropriation of *common land* or land on which other peoples may have roamed, grazed or enjoyed unspecified benefits. He was therefore in tune with the sordid 'age of discovery' triggered by the papal bull *Rominus Pontifex* (chapter 9) which was based on the idea that a European monarch could simply declare sovereignty over

territory unseen, and then deliver personal 'title' to it – complete with the minerals or other sources of wealth which lay on or beneath the surface. Perhaps that is why his *Commentaries* were eagerly accepted as standard references and some of his ideas were taken up, in due course, in amendments to the constitution of the United States.

But some thinkers disagreed with Blackstone's approach and Jeremy Bentham promptly wrote a critique, referring to "the antipathy to reform" as the "grand and fundamental" fault in Blackstone's work. Later he took a distinctly different approach, supporting usury, broadening the understanding of property and legislation, and saying that any conduct or legislation *could* tend to produce pleasure and happiness for the common good or help to avoid the pain, misery and unhappiness which mischief may cause. It follows from that, that conduct of legislation may also have the opposite effect and tend to *cause* unhappiness and misery instead. In property matters, he said, the object of legislation must be "the greatest happiness for the greatest number."¹ Two of the other great philosophers of the age – Immanuel Kant and Georg W.F. Hegel – also entered the property debate to some extent although they are better known for their influence in other areas. When Kant stepped from morality, law and physical geography into religion, he was soon in dispute with the Prussian authorities on the right to express religious opinions. He was charged with misusing his philosophy to the "distortion and depreciation of many leading and fundamental doctrines of sacred scripture and Christianity." In contrast, Hegel's philosophy was so firmly grounded in Christian belief that he saw the idea of Godhead as having passed through nature worship and art before it reached full expression in Christianity so that religion was approaching the stage of absolute knowledge and the authoritarian stance of the church was justified by its role.

RELIEF FROM FEUDALISM

However, Bentham's comments show that the pace of change had not satisfied everyone. Within months of the publication of his *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* the National Constituent Assembly in France had decreed the abolition of feudalism (August 4, 1789) and introduced the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (August 26); the king had refused to ratify it; the Parisian mob had marched on Versailles, and the French Revolution was in full swing. (Chapter 13) Two months later the new regime had forced through the abolition of the feudal system, nationalized the lands of the Catholic Church to pay off the public debt, and begun the redistribution of land. Three years later Bentham was honoured with French citizenship. But civil peace was still some years away and among Napoleon's early moves after he assumed power was the codification of the abolition of feudal rights under the Napoleonic Civil Code of 1804. From that point, the countries of Europe lurched from one change to another and the industrial revolution, accompanied by the early stages of the world wide population surge, made mineral and petroleum extraction and urbanization in a colonial and imperial environment issues of major importance alongside the

use of land for agricultural production. The pressure for land tenure reform increased dramatically.

So did the range of *motives* which drove the movements for reform. The abolition of feudalism was joined by conflicting pressures to change the mix of private, communal or cooperative, and public ownership; demands for rights of access to extract resources; the need to protect the farming classes or the remaining peasants from subjugation by (and dependence upon) those who might be in a position to exploit them; the right to alienate agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes, urbanization, and the need for transport and service easements; the allocation of areas for public access, recreation and protection of the environment; and, in the overseas colonies, the establishment of 'reserves' for indigenous populations. In America the Spanish had simply 'segregated' the indigenous population – that means pushed them off their lands; the Dutch authorities had entered into formal treaties with the Indian populations; the French had introduced a modified feudal system; and the British had simply 'bargained' with who ever appeared to be the rightful owners, and in due course their resistance had led to indigenous Indians being forced onto reserves in some regions such as Virginia, New England and Plymouth. It was not until 1763 that the concept of *Indian land title* was introduced to reduce the encroachment onto those reserves by land speculators and miners.

Property rights for married women were established in the United States in 1839. Easement rights which ended the idea of absolute or exclusive rights of ownership, were introduced in England in 1848, but these weakened the rights of existing property holders so their rights had be clarified in a series of acts during the later years of the nineteenth century. And at the same time Marx and Engels' Communist Manifesto (chapter 14) delivered a resounding attack on the basic concept of private property. They maintained that private property was nothing but a device in social warfare between the capitalist classes and the proletariat which enabled the proletariat to be kept in subjection through the exploitation of their labour. Soon after, in 1861, Russia took its first imperial step to reform by allocating land to emancipated serfs on a collective or communal basis, and a series of further steps were taken from 1905, progressively converting and dividing the collective farms into individual private holdings. In due course the enormous demands placed on land as a physical asset and as the primary factor in human industrial settlement became so great that various Western governments realized they had to intervene more systematically. The first of many comprehensive town planning and housing acts was introduced in England in 1909. Then, with the Bolshevik Revolution, Russia went through a crash program of disastrous peasant land takeovers which led, during the 1920's to the compulsory introduction of huge collectives.

THE DEPRESSION AND 'TEMPORARY' PLANNING

The situation then changed dynamically with the impact of the Great Depression. The collapse of the United States and world economies at the end of the 1920's drew attention to the lack of consideration given to economic planning during the *Versailles Treaty* negotiations. Right

through that period Western government involvement in domestic economic planning had been generally limited to providing agreed public works and essential services; basic education; the minimum social and welfare services to satisfy the basic needs of the population; and an environment in which the private sector could function as it wished. The system of taxation was supposed to provide those essential services (in addition to a justice system, civil policing and national defence) with minimal interference in the monetary system. But the extent of social dislocation and trauma made it necessary for governments to take steps to increase employment through public works programs and import controls to protect local industry, and to strengthen the welfare support systems. The most dramatic government intervention took place in the United States under Roosevelt's New Deal. (Chapter 18)

At the same time Americans began to realize that the idealistic definitions in their constitution were not appropriate for a situation of land saturation in the modern industrial world. Under Roosevelt's New Deal in the 1930's (chapter 18) they reluctantly accepted the first *Restatement of the Law of Property in the United States*. Whereas property rights had been sacrosanct and state interference or regulation had been vigorously opposed, the law was changed so that federal and state regulation of the economy could no longer be challenged on the simple ground that it constituted a deprivation of property rights. The courts began to uphold direct restrictions on the use of property which were imposed under zoning and planning regulations.

Then the Second World War required quite dramatic government intervention in economic planning. At first the need to recruit men for the armed services provided some social relief and tightened national economies in a number of countries by soaking up the unemployment which remained as the world climbed out of the Depression. But that pattern was short lived as the continuing need to recruit led to a shortfall in manpower available for industry and the introduction of manpower planning and direction, and the recruitment of women into the Western world's work forces for the first time. Then the management of resource supplies became necessary so that raw materials were channelled preferentially into military supplies, armaments and munitions rather than domestic consumer goods. This was followed by direction of manufacturing capacity, tight controls on housing and non-essential construction, and measures to stimulate food, fibre and other agricultural production. Public works virtually came to a standstill. Tight monetary controls were complemented by savings campaigns; and the rationing of foodstuffs, clothing and petroleum fuels – even the introduction of daylight saving – had both a resource management and a finance management aspect.

So: when the world found itself moving into a post war era the victor nations knew exactly what they had to deal with in national economic plans including currency control, resource supplies, welfare services, infrastructure – and land tenure. They were geared up to deal with them in their own domestic economic planning, even if it meant a lot of disputes and financial restraint. And having identified the land tenure arrangements which best suited *them* from their long experience in an evolving industrial pressure cooker atmosphere they knew exactly what land tenure system they wanted to *impose* as they asserted, or reasserted, their imperial

authority in their colonies, dependencies and trust territories. They were all geared up to slip into their new neo-colonial roles.

RADICAL CHANGES

However many of the countries outside of Europe, notably the smaller countries in and around the Pacific, had for a long period enjoyed well established and well understood systems of traditional *communal* land tenure which were equitable and stable in an agricultural environment and which they saw no reason to change. Others had systems of traditional *feudal* land ownership which were certainly not equitable. But under both of these systems ownership of extractable resources usually lay with the holder of the land and the payment of royalties was a matter for negotiation. The first colonial era had therefore opened up a whole new area of debate. The land being commandeered or 'acquired' and settled was assumed to be vacant, or at least subject to the whims of the colonial power in those areas in which it could impose its will. In areas where colonial administration had not yet become effective it was 'finder take all.' But once colonial administration took effect, exploitable resources were regarded as the property of the crown to be allocated as it wished. The concept of title to land took on a whole new meaning with the systems of the imperial power being imposed, possibly with virtual absolute title, various forms of leasehold, and mining rights subject to crown allocation, fees, taxes and perhaps royalties. In countries in which the colonial power had been able to expropriate only part and not all of the land, traditional and new Western systems operated side by side.

In all cases the dice was loaded heavily in favor of the foreign 'developer' who held the weapons, the technology and transport to markets or processing plants, the wages sheets and all the goods which the meager wages paid might buy. That fact ensured 'peace,' or at least acquiescence and what passed as political stability. There was no great debate about the provision of infrastructure and services under non-representative colonial government, partly because the church missions were always there alongside the government, eager to demonstrate through the provision of schools and basic health care that they were doing God's work and to take advantage of those services in either evangelism or proselytizing (depending where they were) with the full protection of the colonial government. But once either elected representative government or self-government was achieved, real debate about whether infrastructure services were a national responsibility, a church responsibility or a commercial opportunity gradually surfaced – enmeshed in the question of whose land it was all taking place on and what compensation would be paid. Then when the war came and for a time it looked as if Japan's plan for a New Order in East Asia was about to be realized they sat it out and waited for better times. They were to be disappointed. When the victors prepared to resume their roles as (neo)colonial powers they did all they could to camouflage or suppress the expectations of a new order, and they did not take account of the fact that until midway between the two world wars, a mere fifteen years earlier, they also had much simpler economic and planning arrangements themselves.

Naturally, with the end of the war everyone, whether they were in Europe, the New World or the colonies of Asia and Africa, wanted an end to controls and rationing, and in the Western World this implied an end to centralized planning. But breaking the links between planning and controls was not easy. Rationing could not be lifted until consumer goods supplies returned to normal, otherwise the inflationary pressures would have been excessive, and considerable re-investment was required to enable a return to consumer goods manufacturing. Public works and housing had run down so that resources and manpower made available by the discharge of service personnel had to be channelled into those areas. In the case of housing, the planning emphasis had to be on providing adequate numbers of houses rather than their size and quality, and deficiencies in domestic production had to be offset by increased imports which then required increased exports to balance foreign exchange. Government intervention in economic planning could not be avoided. The need to balance the demand and supply of goods and services, savings, manpower and foreign exchange was as great as ever.

The private investment sector was therefore perfectly happy to support economic planning – when it suited its purposes. It was happy to have regional development which was aimed at a better urban-rural relationship, provided that it was stimulated by tax incentives, grants, concessions, depreciation allowances, assisted migration, and public housing to encourage such settlement – if it did not compete with the private sector. It was also happy to have government investment in non-profitable transport extensions to service the regions, and in communications which required high investment with uncertain short term returns. But it was not happy to have controls on its activities which were planned to avoid the side effects of those activities or to ensure responsible balanced investment in the national interest. Its argument ran that market forces would look after the national interest by filling any gaps as these widened and naturally become “attractive.” Things like pollution controls, land clearing, timber felling and mineral extraction controls to avoid environmental degradation and undesirable social impact were unacceptable. So were employment policies designed to avoid social pressure on disadvantaged groups such as those suffering disabilities, and minority indigenous and other ethnic groups facing isolation and rejection because of either blatant racism or language difficulties. The churches and charities were supposed to provide for such groups.

But the thing which the private sector opposed most was continuing direction of resources, production, finance and manpower: the basis of a socialist planned economy. It was not very difficult to merge the concepts of centralized planning and state ownership in the public debate, and in a very short time anything which looked like rationing, control or direction was labelled ‘communist,’ and the pattern of political campaigns was set for years to come. And in the international arena the Bretton Woods institutions (chapter 25) would ensure that any country which was tempted to ‘stray’ away from the free enterprise Capitalist track would be suitably discouraged – especially dependent territories and those in the trusteeship system. In the area of planning there was therefore very little which the Western Allies and the Soviet Union could agree upon.

HEADS OF AGREEMENT

There were, however, a couple of things they could agree on.

The *first* was that the Jews would have to go without their own state. They, too, were expected to return to their pre-war status. They could share Palestine with the Palestinian Arabs and call it their 'homeland', but they would have to be content to have most of their surviving people resettle in the countries of Europe from which they had been displaced, or in other countries around the world. But not Palestine. They had to realize that it would be too disruptive for a completely new state to be carved out of the limited territory occupied by Arab peoples under a mandate agreed to after World War One. But the Zionist organizations around the world did not see it that way. They believed they had received a promise from Britain; that their suffering at the hands of *firstly* Christian Europe and *secondly* Hitler, entitled them to preferential treatment. They also believed that the Allies, because of their non-intervention at critical times, had a responsibility to make good Britain's promise and the preferential treatment to which they were entitled.

The *second* thing that the great powers *could* all agree on was that there was a greater need than ever for an international body which could help to regulate world affairs to the extent that it prevented wars, maintained stability, and in a vague sort of way protected human rights and ensured development. They certainly could not agree on what defined 'stability', 'human rights' or 'development.' Everyone had their own perceptions. Everyone expected the world to agree to their definitions and aspirations. And everyone hoped to either *retain* their favoured positions *or* to use the mechanisms provided by international agreement to slough off their disabilities and *attain* a favoured position also. Under the stimulus of a series of earlier discussions and declarations a total of 51 'Original Members' therefore adopted the Charter of the United Nations on June 25, 1945, two months after the conference opened in the San Francisco Opera House (chapter 26) while most of them were still at war with Japan.^{2,3} The UN Charter then came into effect on October 24, 1945, when a majority of the signatory countries had ratified it. The aims, principles and proposed organs were indeed good. To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war ...to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights ... the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small ... self-determination of peoples ... justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and ... international law ... social progress ... tolerance ... armed force shall not be used ... economic and social advancement of all peoples ... sovereign equality of all its members ... all administered through a General Assembly, a Security Council, an Economic and Social Council, a Trusteeship Council, an International Court of Justice and a Secretariat. However the built-in facts of life, the dominant influence of the major powers and their presumption that whatever was best for them was, by default, best for the whole world ensured that (irrespective of the complications of veto powers) the fulfilment would not match the dream.

DECOLONIZATION? PERHAPS.

The influence of the American campaign for decolonization which Roosevelt had pushed so hard during the lobbying which brought the US into the war, was evident in the drafting of the Declaration Regarding Non-Self Governing Territories, the International Trusteeship System and the composition and functions of the Trusteeship Council. That push was motivated by three basic factors. One was America's sympathy for people under colonial rule as a consequence of its own colonial experience and its struggle for independence. Another was genuine humanitarian concern for the human rights of non-European peoples. And another was the want, or perhaps determination, of dominant financial and industrial leaders in the United States to get the European powers out of Asia and Africa and to keep them out in order to open their markets for US 'participation' - 'decolonization' - and to do this in such a manner that there would not be a power vacuum which could be filled by Soviet-style communism.

But the intention of the European powers to stay put and to regard the colonial control of non-European countries as the norm was also evident in the drafting of the declaration. It states: "Members of the United Nations which *have or assume responsibilities* for the administration of territories whose people have *not yet attained a full measure of self-government* recognize the principle that the *interests of the inhabitants of those territories are paramount*, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation *to promote to the utmost*, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, *the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories ...*" The members undertook to *respect the culture* of the people concerned, to *ensure their just treatment*, to *develop self-government*, to *take account of their political aspirations*, and to make no distinction between the rule of their metropolitan regions and the territories. However a number of facts were being conveniently ignored. Colonial status was not 'normal'; all such 'territories' had at some earlier stage been self-governing even if their forms of government were very elementary; they had either been invaded and subdued or annexed; they had deliberately been made dependent upon the administration of the occupying powers; and the rights of many *indigenous* populations within the 'great powers' had been suppressed even more than the rights of people in their colonies and territories. The same circumstances also applied to a number of other countries which now gloried in the status of independent members of the United Nations.

The people of the great powers very conveniently forgot the circumstances in which they had become colonial powers and the motives which had driven them, or their forebears, into that status. In earlier chapters we noted the ebb and flow of waves of people across Europe, each of which contributed to the evolution or the development of the racial and ethnic mix of the continent. Some of those waves were invasions for the purpose of extending imperial boundaries to acquire tribute (taxes), to improve imperial security, to secure supplies of resources or simply to trade. The government of the invaded areas sometimes involved the appointment of a provincial governor supported by an imperial garrison, but more often it involved a tribute-paying suzerain or vassal relationship. In some cases the invasions were

basically large scale migration for resettlement and did not involve the imposition of foreign government or suzerainty. There was usually continuity of contact by land between the imperial power and the subordinate power. In fact the extent of an empire was determined by the limits of direct physical contact and the empire's ability to secure its perimeter, or its boundaries. The exceptions were when the territories were on opposite sides of the Mediterranean or when only elementary short-distance navigation was necessary to maintain contact by sea. And there was usually little difference in the primary racial composition of the populations. If we apply the accepted primary terms for the Euro-Afro-Asian land mass of 'white' for the populations of the Europe-Near East ecosphere, 'black' for that south of the Sahara, 'yellow' for China and East Asia, and 'Dravidian' for the Indian sub-continent, then there were substantial invasions or incursions by yellow peoples, but little contact with, or influence from, either Dravidian or black peoples.

A UNIQUE SYSTEM ...

This means that the European colonial era began in unique circumstances. The European powers were prompted by papal reaction to the Muslim occupation of Christian Constantinople; they were responding to domestic population pressures and the need for either food or space, or both; and they were able to take advantage of developments in sailing ship design and navigation technology which were then taking place. (Chapters 9, 10 & 11) Thus, when they burst through the boundaries of their ecosphere and made incursions into the ecospheres beyond, there were several factors which had *not* applied when other peoples invaded Europe. First: they were going into areas with which they did not have continuous land contact. This mean that if they were going to stay and settle they had to establish systems of government or administration different to those which applied when there was unbroken land access. Second, the people with whom they came in contact were racially distinctly different. Third: those people did not have the firearms technology with which to oppose them. To the Europeans they were therefore regarded as backward. That 'backwardness' was then linked, in the European mind, to their racial difference to suggest to the Europeans that the people they had "discovered" were of an inferior race. The European "discoverers" then related this to a fourth factor: religion. Their church had always insisted – and made them repeat it regularly in the *Athanasian Creed* – that anyone other than a Christian was inferior. (Chapters 2 & 3) They needed no more proof than that. These people, apart from some in the Indian sub-continent and the islands of Indonesia where Islam was already established, were not even from one of the other Abrahamic faiths. They were therefore to be treated as subjects, or chattels, or to be dispossessed, or to be simply disposed of if they were a nuisance, according to the degree of their inferiority which the Europeans assessed. Such policies were implemented forthwith.

The factor which determined whether a 'new' territory would be governed as a colony, with the governor backed by a regiment or two, or under suzerainty as a 'protectorate' maintained by the threat of naval intervention, depended partly on the primary purpose of the settlement, the

degree of difficulty to be faced in imposing control from Europe, and on the likely competition for control from other European powers – the ‘security’ factor. If it was a reasonably strong community with some military capacity of its own, and if expanded trade was the primary concern, then a protectorate was fine. But if resource extraction, large scale primary production and settlement, or the establishment of a penal settlement were the main aims, then colonial governance was essential. It was also essential if there was likely to be a takeover bid by another of the European powers, and at times that ‘threat’ was used as the justification for the establishment of small private armies by wealthy colonial settlers when their real purpose was the suppression of indigenous communities or security from other squatter settlers.

However the situation had not been static before the colonial era burst and it certainly was not static afterwards. The establishment and control of the new-style colonies and protectorates which were beyond the unbroken and secure land perimeter of an empire was *made possible* because of the availability of long-distance ocean-going sailing ships. Thus it was the same factor – sailing ships enhanced by the addition of navigation aids and mobile firepower – which changed the concept of ‘*empire*’ from a continuous land mass with a secure perimeter into a cluster of scattered and disparate communities which had only *one thing in common*: they were all controlled from a distant central point. Gradually a second factor emerged as they were all progressively ‘settled’ or occupied and controlled by an elite minority community which had either migrated, sought refuge, or been transported from the imperial heartland or “home country.” These people imposed and entrenched the administrative, legal and commercial practices and trade restrictions of the imperial power, and, with them, the ethics and religious beliefs, practices and self-understanding of the people who happened to control the empire at the time of occupation. That second factor was a sense of cohesion or affinity with other units of the empire, coupled with a corresponding acceptance of the need to defend that connection against intrusion by competitors and an inevitable sense of animosity towards anyone who was not part of that empire. Europe’s bigotry and hang-ups were exported *en masse* and these soon built new barriers between adjacent communities. These became particularly important in the case of small enclaves which assumed particular religious character when these were sandwiched between larger states which were aligned with an empire of a different religious persuasion. Quite unwittingly a series of triggers were being placed which would contribute to massive explosions in the current phase of the trouble in the triangle. Thus the European Colonial era introduced considerations into world affairs which had not been present in earlier phases of imperial expansion and competition.

... FULL OF BENEFITS

The value of a colony or a protectorate and the benefits from retaining control of it, changed progressively with advancements in technology, especially in transport, communications and industrial chemistry. With those changes went massive commercial investment which, if it had been made at home, would be regarded as a commercial risk. In the atmosphere of an overseas

adventure the investors anticipated bigger gains from their investments than they normally could expect at home, and while they knew there was greater risk involved, they were not prepared to see their investment as a risk venture, and the imperial governments were expected to provide security as well as opportunity. Security, protection of privilege, or defence against competitors became an ever increasing burden. Then another spiral began. As additional colonies were established further and further afield, the primary purpose of some of them became security and service for the trading fleets or defence for others which had become very attractive take-over targets for other colonial powers or overthrow and ejection by the host countries or their neighbours. Aden became, for Britain, a service and security post on route to India and beyond; Singapore became, likewise, a security base for the Far East, and additional posts were needed to secure the privileges which it had extracted from China. The European colonial powers – and Britain in particular – were re-learning the lessons of ancient Rome. The costs and problems of securing a multitude of colonial outposts were even greater than the costs and problems of securing an unbroken imperial land perimeter. A weakness in the middle of a network, as in the case of Palestine and the Suez Canal, meant that the entire network may unravel. The greater the level of colonial investment became, the greater became the home country's *dependence* on the production and profit from it, and the greater the security required to sustain it.

The concept of a benign colonial presence is nonsense. A colony exists only to serve the interests of the imperial power. If it no longer provides a benefit, whether direct or indirect, the imperial power can, and does, walk away. Even if it goes of its own free will and accord and then provides support or development assistance from a distance there is always a price tag. Strings attached. But at the same time, although colonial rule and exploitation generate antagonism and nationalism within the subordinate country, it builds an elite and a middle class which benefits from the imperial presence and investment, becomes dependent on it, and is reluctant to see a reversion to independence or a cast off. If there has been a reasonably enlightened policy of infrastructure development, especially in education, health and transport, the colony can have experienced a greater rate of real economic growth and community development than would otherwise have been the case. But that is not necessarily the case. Nor is it justification for either the original colonial intrusion or continued colonial status. So: when the United Nations planners set out to prepare guidelines for the management of colonies, trust territories and dependent territories, the question of decolonization was not at all straightforward. The war had complicated matters considerably.

The great powers all confirmed, by wanting to hang on to their colonies and dependencies and by being prepared to fight to stay, that the benefits of being there far outweighed the costs of colonial administration. Their want to stay was even greater than before the war. The emphasis in back room politicking over how to win the peace shifted heavily towards integrated economic planning and forward strategic defence. The devastation left in the wake of the war made it absolutely essential to think planning instead of accepting that free market forces would put everything right. Governments had to be involved as well as private enterprise.

Reconstruction and further development to ensure employment for the repatriated armies as well as the growing population would require far greater quantities of raw materials than had previously been required or readily available. It was well known that many of those raw materials – resources – were more readily available in the non-Western world – the continents of Africa, Asia and the Americas – than in Europe. That required consideration of several big issues: how to ensure access to them; how to stop the central planners of Soviet style economics from getting control of them first; and how to maintain the momentum of the overheated production capacity which had been built up in the United States to cater for the needs of the war, so that the US economy did not collapse into another heap of unemployment. As the war drew to a close there were already people in the West saying that Europe could only be rebuilt without another social catastrophe with careful integrated planning. Without it there would be political upheaval and demands for Soviet style economic control and centralized ownership of resources and direction of production. But such central planning was anathema to the free enterprise operators of the Western world. The United States had got on famously without it, due to the massive resources available almost without scratching the surface, and it was not about to change now.

These issues provided the backdrop for discussions about decolonization and which classes of territories should come under the direct supervision of the United Nations Trusteeship Council. The big issue was whether *all non-self-governing colonies and dependencies* should be subject to the authority of the Council in addition to territories held under mandates from the League of Nations which were still in operation, and those which would be declared trust territories as a result of the Second World War. The division of non-self-governing territories into two or more groups was as Ross points out, artificial, lacking any rational foundations and solely due to accidental historical circumstances.⁴ They were all products of the European colonial era and the philosophy and self-understanding of the amorphous Christian gel. The ‘accident’ was whether they were unfortunate enough to have been colonized by one of the powers which had been defeated in war from the time that international intervention (or government) in such matters began to take effect through the League of Nations and its successor the United Nations. Those which had been colonized by powers which were defeated in war *prior* to that time had simply changed hands as a part of the bounty of war.

A QUESTION OF DEVELOPMENT

The non-self-governing territories all fell within the so-called under-developed areas – those in which circumstantial technological development had not taken place at the same rate as in the more ‘advanced’ countries, even though some, notably India, had a very rich heritage and extensive commercial systems. They had not concerned themselves greatly with the technology of warfare and this contributed to the ease with which they were subjugated. They included 750 million people,⁵ or close to one third (31 per cent) of the world population of about 2,405 million at the end of the war, but this figure fell by approximately half to an estimated 395

million people, or about 16 percent of the world population when India was belatedly granted its independence in August 1947, two years after the end of the war. If one accepts the proposition that integration into the economic and political systems of the dominant powers is either desirable or necessary and that it can and should be carried out at the fastest possible speed, then it follows that a certain level of economic and social development is "a necessary precondition for a satisfactory transition to self-government."⁶ However that proposition is debatable and will in due course bring us back to the question of human understanding of the relationships between humanity and God, and the rights and responsibilities which flow from that relationship. But in the circumstances of the close of the Second World War debate tended to polarize between those of the anti-colonial group who argued strongly in favour of increased technical and financial assistance to the remaining colonial areas, and those who argued that political independence is the best stimulus to economic progress and that every colonial administration should be ended. There was an overriding assumption that whatever form of government was decided upon, the developed world retained the 'right' to exploit the resources of the under-developed world and that the governments of those territories had to be 'advanced' enough to accept that 'right' and to manage the fruits which were supposed to flow from it and the development of their domestic economies.

The framework for the trusteeship arrangements was basically determined between the United States and Britain, and the right to exploit the territories was not at issue – only the form of government, the extent of international supervision and the role for the prewar colonial powers. Roosevelt and Hull pressed for all non-self-governing territories to be subject to United Nations supervision, and that provision was included in a preliminary draft proposal by the State Department in 1943. However Churchill resisted the proposal, claiming that it was interference in Britain's affairs, and the US Army and Navy Departments did not like it either. The issue was therefore left open during the four-power negotiations at Dumbarton Oaks late in 1944 and the final arrangements were agreed at Yalta in February 1945, leaving only two months for the other 47 governments to consider them before they met in their rubber stamping exercise at San Francisco in April. The non-mandate territories would be subject to UN supervision only if the colonial powers voluntarily agreed.⁷

The position which was eventually adopted in drafting the trusteeship arrangements, (chapter 26), was that the arrangements which Britain and France had negotiated in the heat of battle with the mandated territories of the former Turkish Empire, (Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq), were allowed to stand and they moved towards independence; and the remaining twelve territories which were still governed under League of Nation's mandates became trust territories administered by the mandatory powers, subject to the oversight of the Trusteeship Council. There were some exceptions. Territories which had been administered by Japan were to be transferred to the victorious powers. Italy eventually retained trusteeship only over its portion of Somaliland, and it was reluctantly acknowledged that South West Africa would continue to be administered as a mandated territory by South Africa which refused to acknowledge the role of the Trusteeship Council. The other non-self-governing territories, the

colonies and dependencies, were to continue under existing arrangements except that the colonial powers were obliged to foster their greater *well-being*, as distinct from independence, the UN gained limited powers to supervise that obligation, and the colonial powers were *invited*, but not obliged, to report on their administration to the Trusteeship Council.

The net result was that twelve countries gained United Nations authority to administer a total of 88 non-self-governing territories which included eleven trusteeships and one continuing mandate. They were: Britain 49 (including 3 trust territories); France 27 (2); Portugal 8; United States 8 (1); Netherlands 4; Australia 4 (2); New Zealand 3 (1); Belgium 2 (1); Spain 2; Italy 1 (1); Denmark 1; South Africa 1 (a continuing mandate, not a trusteeship). But even the 'right' to administer particular trusteeships involved disputes. The prizes were worth arguing over and the process of approving trusts was long drawn out. Eight trusteeship agreements were approved by the General Assembly in December 1946, two during 1947 and one, Somaliland, hung in an occupied limbo until December 1950: five and a half years after the war ground to a halt.⁸ Two trust territories each remained split between Britain and France instead of being merged: Togoland and Cameroon. One, Nauru, involved a three-party trust because three countries (Australia, Britain and New Zealand) were jointly reducing it to a rugged mound of exposed rock as they carted away its phosphate resources. And one, the Italian sector of Somaliland which had been cut into three sectors by Britain, France and Italy as they contested control of the Horn of Africa, was not resolved until Italy's 'rights' as the former colonial power (victor or vanquished?) had been resolved at the expense of its sparring partners. Twenty million people lived in those trust territories.

There was an underlying implication that the colonial powers should not only strive to achieve *good colonial government* in the sense of taking a paternal and human interest in the needs and aspirations of the 'native' peoples, but that they should eventually end their colonial rule. It was also generally agreed that good colonial rule was not a substitute for self-government and that the long term aim should be self-government. However this was not written into the agreement and at first it looked as if little had changed, in terms of attitudes and philosophy, since the days when sailing ships anchored off sandy beaches and governors, backed by a posse of soldiers armed with single-shot muzzle loaders, parleyed with local chiefs for the rights to settle and drive them off their land. Leaders who had never experienced the complexities of Western political and economic systems and whose people had never held a telephone hand set or signed a cheque were expected to negotiate over the future of their resources and the welfare and way of life of their people with high-powered executives from the board rooms of the Western world.

The appearance of little change was reinforced by the fact that even though the United States – the Western World's champion of decolonization – was concerned that the European powers had been so weakened by the war that they may not be able to reimpose their authority in South East Asia, it agreed to support their return. It was more concerned that Communist groups were gaining a strong position in Indochina and that the door for American access to markets and resources might be shut, first there and then elsewhere, and this led it to pursue a strategy of

forward defence, or virtual encirclement of its perceived philosophical and economic enemy, by declaring that the Pacific was an area vital to its defence. It was confident of retaining bases in the Philippines, Alaska and Hawaii, but it wanted additional bases as well. The United Nations promptly obliged. Having declared the Pacific an area of strategic significance under its own direct supervision, in 1947 it awarded trusteeship over the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Micronesia) to the United States, with the exception of the key island of Guam. This was excluded from the trust territory and designated an unincorporated territory of the United States.

NO GREAT HASTE

The principle of decolonization was thus being honoured in the breach, but few people expected that there would be significant change in the foreseeable future. About one third of humanity was expected to continue living without self-government in spite of the acting out of the parody of *Mein Kampf*. The signatures of the delegates of fifty⁹ UN founding member states were barely dry on the charter on June 26, 1945, before some members sought to reimpose or to consolidate their power over their colonies and territories which they had been relieved of during the war. When popular opposition to their return began to gather momentum, member governments used fierce reprisals to suppress them and turned to the politics of anti-Communism to justify them. Some of the colonial powers retained codified cultural differences so that the indigenous peoples of colonies were prevented from rising above the status of second class citizens, and some sought to delay the process of decolonization as long as possible. Typical of such situations were the French 'reprisals' in Algeria in 1945 (in which 45,000 Algerians were killed compared with 108 Europeans) which kept the country in submission for ten years; efforts to reimpose British rule in Burma and Malaya, and Dutch rule in the East Indies. In addition there was Australia's effort to avoid the prospect of a resurgence of Aboriginal influence and indigenous territorial claims, and to avoid such matters becoming a focal point for Asian interest in settling and developing Australia's vast northern and western regions, after it had rejected approaches by Jewish organizations for such settlements during the war years. (Chapter 25) Its efforts centred on a policy of forced social and economic integration and the removal of half caste (mixed race) children from their families.

Only four countries in the Near East and South East Asia gained their independence and were admitted to the United Nations between 1945 and 1948 when the issue of the partition of Palestine had to be resolved. They were Thailand (1946), Pakistan (on the partition of India) and Yemen (1947), and Myanmar (formerly Burma, 1948).^{10 11} Except for Egypt, Ethiopia and Liberia, the only African country to achieve 'independence' prior to 1956 was Libya (1949, admitted 1955). The circumstances of those countries clearly establishes that what was acceptable as 'independence' and what was an acceptable criteria for admission to the United Nations were matters of the strategic interests of the major powers and the way in which each country could be expected to vote on important issues in the UN General Assembly. All of the fine and noble words in Roosevelt's first inaugural speech about international neighbourliness

(chapter 18) had been ditched in favour of *realpolitik*. The ditching process started when strategic considerations for the United States made it necessary for the Roosevelt administration to prop up Britain as a buffer for America against potential Nazi expansionism and to use deception to draw its own people into the war against Japan. (Chapter 24) It was firmly in place and virtually irreversible from the time that Churchill opted to reject a negotiated peace while Japan was ahead and to expand the war.

Egypt had been nominally independent since 1922 and was admitted as a founding member of the UN in 1945 in spite of the fact that it was still effectively an occupied British protectorate. Similarly Ethiopia had been nominally independent since 1906 and was admitted a founding member of the UN in spite of being occupied first by Italy in 1936, then by Britain, in 1941, and remaining under Britain's control until 1948 when it regained autonomy. Liberia was no more than a satrapy of the United States and a convenient base for international commercial manipulation. Quite clearly, as the war finally drew to a close and control of the Middle East assumed greater significance for the United States with its self-imposed strategic dependence on Saudi Arabia, matching Britain's dependence on secure control of the Suez Canal – neither of them wanted a new major power block developing in North Africa any more than France wanted to relinquish its grip on the region. Independence for the countries straddling the Aegean, Greece and Turkey, on the northern perimeter of the Mediterranean was fine as long as they could be persuaded to remain at peace with each other and were both aligned with the countries of the Western Block. But independence for the countries on the southern perimeter was quite a different matter. They were clearly at loggerheads with France, Britain and Spain, and they had a common Muslim heritage which made the potential for regional cohesion very real.

There was no great haste to proceed with decolonization, but there was more urgency in making reforms to land tenure systems – to facilitate development, of course, not foreign investment and resource exploitation. Japan was first, in 1946; then came South Korea, 1949; Taiwan, 1949–53; and South Vietnam, 1955. Reform followed in other countries as political change occurred.

However the impact of the parody of *Mein Kampf* and the negative responses to it by the colonial powers was such that the process of decolonization, once triggered, could not be reversed and the division and antagonism between the Western powers and the Soviet Union ensured that the Soviet Union would use every initiative it could to undermine the colonial powers and accelerate the process. The 'Cold War' was not officially in place, but every move which the Western bloc made to restrict the Soviet Union was countered by a move to weaken the Western position. That deep antagonism camouflaged that fact that although the Soviet Union was intent on encouraging communist systems wherever it could, the Russians had a long standing history of opposition to colonialism which possibly stemmed from their reaction against attempts to colonize them. (Chapter 8) Whatever the reason, the Russians never seriously undertook colonization in the New World, and when Peter I the Great sent Vitus Jonassen Bering into the northern sea that bears his name, interest was in scientific discovery,

not overseas territory. Later, when the problem of protecting and perhaps expanding Russian occupation was placed before Catherine II the Great in 1769, she declared: "It is for traders to traffic where they please. I will furnish neither men, nor ships, nor money, and I renounce forever all lands and possessions in the East Indies and in America."¹² Now, in the mid 1940's, the Soviet Union was just as good at being two-faced, talking up and talking down matters of principle on the basis of realpolitik, as were its wartime allies. It actively promoted independence and self-government in Asia, Africa and Latin America while it suppressed it with brutality in Eastern Europe where it needed its buffer.

THE POWER VACUUM ... AND JAPAN

So: the Zionist organizations set about planning how to achieve a self-governing Jewish State while the great powers settled down to regulate the world's affairs. And as they did so the US President, Truman, had one particular concern: to keep the Soviet Union out of Japan and Asia. At Potsdam he used some slick foot work in a bid to keep the Russians from having any part in the control of post war Japan even though that had been agreed as its right in return for entering the war to help subjugate Japan. America's changed attitude was consistent with its competition with the European powers in Asia during the nineteenth century and with its prewar aim of replacing them and 'containing' Japan. US officials aimed "to fill the Pacific power vacuum, to forestall potential Soviet aggression, to assure American supervision over the occupation of Japan and to restore regional stability as rapidly as possible." They pressed for decisive action knowing very well that each of the victors would have to use every means available to them to persuade both their own people and the people of the countries which they had "relieved" or occupied that their particular plan was the only one to pursue and that they had to get behind it as if their lives depended upon it. Their pressure, coupled with Truman's dogmatic attitude at Potsdam, contributed to two decisive actions. The first was Russia's invasion of Manchuria between the two bomb drops to ensure that it *could* have a say in the Japanese settlement. The second was Truman's decision to entrust leadership of the occupation of Japan to General Douglas MacArthur; to designate him Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) on August 14, 1945, the day of the Japanese surrender; and to direct that he be given complete command and control in Japan. The United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan was foisted on the Allies on August 29, the day before the major forces of occupation landed and three days before the formal surrender was signed. It was to be the basis of all occupation policies.

The Allies were assured by American officials that the development of those occupation policies would be a cooperative effort, but they were told quite firmly that when there were differences in approach the policies of the United States were to apply. That was certainly the situation during the following three or four months. Then, in response to clear dissatisfaction among the Allies, the United States took the initiative to establish a Far Eastern Advisory Commission (FEAC) in Washington in October, and the decision was subsequently taken on

December 27, 1945, at the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers, to reconstitute FEAC as the Far Eastern Commission (FEC) with a statutory role instead of a merely advisory role. The commission was organized during the first two months of 1946 and met for the first time on February 26. In reality the establishment of that commission made little difference because, as its terms of reference show very clearly, with the United States providing the chairman and being the occupying authority, and with the commission based in Washington and not Tokyo, the US still directed and dominated the occupation of Japan.¹³

The Far Eastern Commission was to “formulate the policies, principles, and standards in conformity with which the fulfilment by Japan of its obligations under the Terms of Surrender may be accomplished.” Those terms had already been laid down by the US. It was to “review, on the request of any member, any directive issued to the Supreme Commander ... or any action taken by the Supreme Commander involving policy decisions within the jurisdiction of the Commission.” ‘*Review on request*’ is hardly the same as authority to direct. The Supreme Commander was already being directed by the top US officials on the authority of the president. It was also to “*consider such other matters* as may be assigned to it by agreement ...” The commission was *not* to make recommendations concerning military operations or territorial adjustments and its *activities* were to “proceed from the fact that there has been formed an Allied Council for Japan and (it) will respect existing control machinery in Japan, including the chain of command from the United States Government to the Supreme Commander and the Supreme Commander’s command of occupation forces.”¹⁴ What ‘*activities*’? The functions of the United States Government included preparing directives “in accordance with policy decisions of the Commission and *shall transmit them to the Supreme Commander through the appropriate United States Government agency.*”¹⁵ The US government could issue ‘interim directives’ on any matter it wished and the process of review and determination of policy upon which the US government was then to act was such that it was hardly worth the trouble.

REPARATIONS

However before there could be any transition from war to peace, or at least at the same time, there was the matter of retribution. Everyone knows – because history tells us – that the victor always take his spoils in imposing a peace settlement or during the course of a period of occupation. This ‘peace’ was to be no different. And everyone knew – because the Allied governments and their media kept telling them so – that the war in the Pacific was entirely Japan’s fault and that the vanquished must pay for the cost of the victor’s war and be tried for all his war crimes. Out of 41 policy decisions reached by the FEC between February 1946 and August 1947, 17 dealt with reparations, or how the bounty was to be carved up; nine dealt with other economic and financial affairs; six with constitutional and legal reform; four with aliens in Japan; two with war criminals; two with strengthening of democratic tendencies; and one with disarmament (actually, atomic research).¹⁶

But in addition the US and its allies had to justify the use of atomic bombs against Japan. Not just one, but two. At the time of the occupation only those at the highest levels of government of the Big Three knew that initiatives had been taken by Japan to submit to the Allies' demands prior to the Potsdam Conference, that the Russian reply to the Japanese overtures had been drafted after they had been discussed by the Big Three, and that the Japanese government was only haggling over the details of the *terms* of surrender: not over the *fact* of surrender. Only those few people knew that the negotiations had been deliberately obstructed by the US to give it the time to drop a bomb or two. Neither did anyone else know that the timing of the actual surrender was *not* determined by either the dropping of the bombs, or the fact that when the Soviet Union abrogated its pact with Japan and launched its invasion of Manchuria, the Moscow channel (which the Japanese Government looked to for negotiation of the terms of surrender) was closed. They could not know, because the fact was concealed, that the emperor had disregarded his personal position, personally overruled his divided cabinet, and insisted upon the surrender. But, given the circumstances, if they had known they probably would still have accepted the US line that the cabinet decision was further justification for the use of the bombs. They would not have seen the US circumvention of discussions as a simple tactic to enable it to use the bombs and, by a demonstration of its power, gain what it believed would be an unchallengeable position in negotiations with the Soviet Union. (Chapter 26)

On August 10, 1945, the day after the second bomb, the Japanese Government demanded from the United States a declaration clarifying the future position of the Emperor and confirmed its willingness to surrender on the understanding that the *Potsdam Declaration* was not a demand which prejudiced the prerogatives of the emperor as Sovereign Ruler. The Japanese government then gave the world an even clearer indication of its intention next day when Sukarno and Hatta, leaders of the Partai Nasional Indonesia, who had been imprisoned by the Dutch before the war and released by the Japanese in 1942, were invested with full powers to establish an autonomous government. However, that was treated by the Allies as a bit of side play before the European powers would return to take back what was rightfully theirs and the Americans certainly wanted no distraction from the plan in hand. Their response that day to the Japanese demand was vague. It required that the emperor and the government follow MacArthur's orders, and that the future form of Japanese government would be decided by the free expression of the will of the Japanese people. With cabinet still not able to agree, the Emperor determined that the surrender would proceed.¹⁷ It was formalized on August 14, and that day, while the United States prepared to reconstruct another defeated country, the flag of Indonesia was raised by Sukarno and Hatta as they prepared to reconstruct their own newly independent one. But in view of the 'managed' information available to them, the people of the West still saw that as a bit of side play, (perhaps expanded just a bit), and waited to see how the US would treat the dastardly Japanese.

ALLIED CAMOUFLAGE AND SELF-JUSTIFICATION

The only justification for the dropping of those bombs which the majority of the world's ordinary people would understand was that the Japanese were so depraved and barbaric that they had to be taught a lesson. The Americans therefore had to demonstrate that the Japanese were about to be dragged into compliance with the standards of the morally vastly superior Western Christian World without the West having to suffer enormous casualties in a drawn out invasion. It was a case of the white man's burden all over again.

The victors therefore set about several parallel programs all at once: war crimes trials; domestic economic reconstruction; international political reorganization; international economic reorganization; the competitive exploitation of personnel and resources from the occupied vanquished countries, and the competitive intelligence networking which that required. Overlaying the whole network was a constant stream of well orchestrated propaganda, integrated with the war crimes trials program, to maintain the myths and beliefs which had been built up during the war about the exclusive responsibility for the war of that depraved, sub-human race. Sometimes material, new and old, was deliberately fed into the system by people in key positions. Very often ordinary lower level leaders and the ordinary media simply perpetuated the misinformation and attitudes which they had already been fed and had absorbed during the period of the war. In due course, for reasons of politics, commerce or both, many of them would want to reverse the bigotry and hatred which they were helping to perpetuate but, as after World War One, it would be a long, slow and painful process. That process would be made all the more difficult by their unwillingness to admit to the mass manipulation and injustices which had been carried out, the perceived need to show that it was the Japanese ethic which had changed for the better during the post war period, the political need to play down the international consequences of the use of the atomic bombs while they sought to justify their development, and the very personal need to preserve the image of their own integrity and their own self-understanding. But very few people think about how the consequences of their actions may warp relationships, rebound on them, or expose their motives to critical judgement by future generations, so in 1945 the prevailing US and Allied response to rumblings of discontent and minority judgements was to suppress them or to ride roughshod over them. The future could look after itself.

There was a marked difference between the way in which German atrocities in Europe and Japanese atrocities in Asia were handled by the Allied governments and their media manipulators. By coincidence the Allied Declaration on Punishment for War Crimes (chapter 25) was issued on January 13, 1942, one week before Heydrich's Wannsee Conference on Hitler's Final Solution which had been deferred from December 9 in view of the outbreak of the War in the Pacific. Subsequently every ounce of propaganda value was squeezed out of every atrocity by Japanese forces, but, as we have noted, there was deliberate suppression of reports of German atrocities against the Jewish communities of Europe for some time, even after the operation of the gas chambers had been confirmed, in order to accommodate British and

American domestic political considerations. The BBC broadcast a report from the Warsaw Ghetto while it was under crushing siege on June 2. On September 9 Pastor Marc Boegner's effort to end the deportation of Jews from Vichy France was rebuffed by Premier Pierre Laval with the words "I do not want a single foreign Jew to remain in France. Some countries take a high moral tone with me, but when I say to them, 'All right – you take them', they back out of it ...". Some weeks before that exchange, in August, both the British and US governments had received confirmed reports – which the US State Department sought to suppress – of gas chamber mass killings. It was then that the US State Department refused to provide funds to assist refugees to escape or to finance an exchange of prisoners for Jewish refugees, giving as one of the reasons that it would relieve Hitler of the need to finance 'support' for part of his population. And in spite of having those confirmed reports in their hands it was not until December 17, 1942, that the British and US governments formally acknowledged that the mass murder of Jews was taking place in Germany and the occupied European countries. Later, when it mattered, the Allies could not bring themselves to recognize that in July 1942, at the height of all that 'activity' the Japanese government had refused point blank to bow to German demands that, as a treaty partner, it should introduce the techniques of the Total Solution in occupied China, and that it was not until February 18, 1943, that Japan finally buckled to German pressure and introduced ghettos for 'stateless (Jewish) persons' in China. (Chapter 25)

Only a few months later, in mid 1943, following a meeting of the Big Three in Cairo, a UN War Crimes Commission was set up in London. It published a white paper with a recommendation that suspected Japanese war criminals should be arrested for trial before an International Military Tribunal for the Far East. Two years later the objectives or principles on which the occupation of Japan was to be based were incorporated in the *Potsdam Declaration* which was issued on July 26, 1945, together with a statement foreshadowing trials for war crimes and crimes against humanity. That declaration was actually issued two weeks *before* the London Agreement which provided for the establishment of the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal to try Nazis for crimes committed during the war in Europe which had already ceased three months earlier. The declaration and the agreement were drafted concurrently and were intended to serve broadly the same purposes, but there are distinct differences and their implementation was quite different. The first objective of the occupation of Japan, as drafted in Washington *prior* to the Potsdam Conference, was to eliminate Japan's ultranationalism and militarism so that it could never again "become a menace to the United States and to the peace and security of the world."^{18 19} A more honest statement of that objective would have been to ensure that Japan never again "become a competitor of the United States for the domination of the Asia-Pacific region." Two consequential objectives which flowed from that related to religion: the elimination of ultranationalistic and militaristic ideas and movements, and the establishment of the principle of religious freedom.²⁰ We shall come to those matters shortly.

THE ROUND-UP AND WAR CRIMES TRIALS

A Military Government under General Douglas MacArthur was established in Japan on September 2, 1945, three days after the major forces of occupation landed, and the pressure to get the process of justifying US action and aims under way was so great that the round-up and arrest of suspected war criminals began the same day. Within two weeks 39 key political and military figures had been arrested, including Prime Minister Togo and his entire 1941 cabinet, but a directive with detailed instructions for the establishment of an International Military Tribunal (IMT) and procedures for the prosecution of suspected war criminals was not sent to MacArthur by the US Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) until September 22, three weeks after he took over. MacArthur was directed to prepare and promulgate a charter for the IMT and that the responsibility for prosecutions was to be placed in the hands of an International Prosecutions Section (IPS) of SCAP. Specifically he was instructed that no action was to be taken against the Emperor for war crimes; three classes of war crimes were to be defined; and charges could be laid relating to any crimes committed since the Mukden Incident in China on September 18, 1931.²¹ That was in spite of the fact that the crimes did not exist in international treaty at the time of the Mukden Incident, nor had they even been defined at the time that MacArthur was instructed to act on such crimes. At least it was consistent with the decision that charges could be laid against Germans for any of these newly defined crimes committed from the date that Hitler assumed power in 1933.

The Nuremberg trials of German war criminals began early in November. They were conducted before a tribunal for which each of Britain, the US, the Soviet Union and France were involved in the appointments of judges and prosecutors, and three classes of crimes were jointly defined. Then on November 30, Truman, not the Allies jointly, appointed a chief prosecutor, Joseph B. Keenan, for the key Tokyo trials. The IPS was established, by MacArthur, on December 8. Then, in accordance with the JCS directive that *all* trials of major war criminals were to be held before an IMT, MacArthur approved directions for the establishment of the IMT, and its charter, on January 19, 1946. But the charter and the definition of the three classes of crimes were subjected to amendments until April 26, one week before the Class A trials began on May 3. The three classes of crimes were, broadly; class A, crimes against peace; class B, 'conventional' war crimes; class C, crimes against humanity. Two of the classes were newly defined, viz., 'Crimes against Peace' and 'Crimes against Humanity.' Crimes against Peace related to the "planning, preparation, initiation, or waging of a declared or undeclared war of aggression, or a war in violation of international law treaties, agreements, or assurances, or participation in a common plan or conspiracy for the accomplishment of any of the foregoing." Crimes against Humanity were defined as "murder, extermination, *enslavement*, deportation or *other inhumane acts* committed *before or during* the war, or persecution on political or racial grounds in execution of or in connection with any crime within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, whether or not in violation of the domestic law of the country where perpetrated." ²²

COMMAND RESPONSIBILITY: A PRINCIPLE TO ESTABLISH

In the meantime, in contradiction of the directive that all major crimes were to be tried before an IMT, General Yamashita who had circumstantially found himself Commander of all of the Japanese forces in the Philippines at the time of the surrender, was charged as a war criminal on September 25. That was three days after the directive had been issued. He was arraigned on October 8 and his trial (which is best described as a 'world media event') began three weeks later. That was before the Nuremberg trials began, *before* the charter and definitions of three classes of crimes for the Far East had been approved, *before* the IPS had been established, and *even before* a chief prosecutor had been appointed. He was tried before a US military commission of five officers, none of whom were trained lawyers, accused of being *responsible for 113 crimes* (each of which would later be classified as 'class C' crimes) which had been committed by forces in the Philippines, *none of which he was alleged to have committed personally or even condoned*, and many of which had been committed before he had even taken command. He was found guilty and sentenced to death on December 7, 1945, the day *before* the IPS was established. On February 4, 1946, two weeks after MacArthur approved the charter for the IMT under which he, himself, was appointed the sole authority for review of decisions by the tribunal which was still being established, MacArthur confirmed the commission's findings and the sentence. Yamashita was hanged on February 23, after pleas for commutation had been rejected first by the Supreme Court of the Philippines and finally by the US Supreme Court. Why the US Supreme Court? The Philippines was firmly back under US control as a colonial possession. The grounds for the pleas included: that the military court which heard the case was not properly constituted; that the hearing had been rushed (it was said, under pressure from MacArthur); that evidence was accepted without regard for the rules of admissibility; and that the conduct of the trial contravened the intention of the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution. The death penalty was carried out while amendments to the charter were still being made and it was still *more than two months before* the trials of alleged class A criminals began. That was the classification under which many authorities believed a person in his position ought have been tried. A precedent of enormous international importance had been set by unprecedented methods. But the US was desperate to show the world, especially allies such as Australia and the Asian countries which were being 'relieved,' that they were acting against such barbarity.

The principle of command responsibility, previously accepted in international law in certain circumstances, had been applied at a level at which it had never been applied before. Its application at the very highest levels of national responsibility was *fait accompli* – by courtesy of a court of very dubious jurisdiction in very dubious circumstances. Decisions in the major Nazi War Crimes Trials, then in progress at Nuremberg before a tribunal with impeccable legal credentials, were not handed down until October 1. In those trials, of the *twenty two* persons charged, twelve were sentenced to death, seven to terms of imprisonment and three were acquitted. Yamashita had indeed received rough justice.²³ His show trial had been arranged in haste, it was conducted in a pressure-cooker political atmosphere in which the Allies'

determination to establish a precedent which could be – and was – applied subsequently in the Philippines and elsewhere was a key factor, and it reeked of injustice. But it gained the massive world wide publicity which was the intention of US authorities. Every drop of media sympathy for the superior Western Christian ethic was milked relentlessly, and this had the effect of justifying US action against the ‘depraved, inhuman Japanese’ – at least in the eyes of most of the citizens of America and its Allies – and helped to satisfy the lust for revenge in those countries which had been whipped up by the propaganda machinery as an instrument of the war effort.

It is especially significant that the precedent-setting trial was conducted in the Philippines. The US was desperate to hold on to its colony to use it as a spring board to fill the temporary power vacuums in Europe's turbulent Asian colonies. The Yamashita show trial, being an initiative of the United States, had, by any normal standard of reasoning, also committed the US legally and politically to accepting the application of the command responsibility precedent in future cases involving its own forces. How could it initiate such a trial if it were not prepared to have its own leaders tried on the same basis if the circumstances arose? It had taken the moral high ground. But in due course it would want to distance itself from that precedent when leaders whom it had placed in power and sustained in power through corrupting intervention were tried on the basis of that principle. And when its own political leaders ordered actions which would have devastating and most inhumane consequences for civilian populations there would be no talk of the application of such a principle.

Trials of Japan's major Class A war criminals finally began on May 3, 1946, eight months after MacArthur's arrival. The verdicts were handed down on November 12, 1948, thirty months after the trials began, and of the twenty eight persons charged, seven were sentenced to death, eighteen to terms of imprisonment, one was declared unfit to stand trial, two died before their trials, but none were acquitted. During the entire program of Japanese war crimes trials about 2,200 trials were conducted. They involved about 5,700 accused persons of whom about 920 were condemned to death and 3,000 to terms of imprisonment, although some sentences were commuted on review.³⁴ Apart from Tokyo, major programs of trials were conducted by the American Eighth Army at Yokohama (about 30 Class B and 950 Class C); in the Philippines by both the US army and the Philippines government; in the Marianas; and by Nationalist China, Britain, Australia, the Netherlands and France.

Russia apparently kept few records of trials concerned with the war on its Pacific front, although some trials were conducted at the border town of Khabarovsk following the invasion of Manchuria and, in spite of having been in the war against Japan for only eight days before the unconditional surrender, it took more than 375,000 Japanese prisoners, both soldiers and civilians, including almost the entire Kwantung Army. Unknown thousands were killed but the bulk were transported to forced labour camps to speed up reconstruction and get production moving – much in the manner of the labour camps for which the Japanese were being tried.³⁵ That situation was allowed to drift into the background – until its former Allies wanted to use the information against the Soviet Union. In the first instance heavy emphasis was placed on the

statistics that out of 132,000 prisoners captured by Japan 27 percent (about 35,500) died in captivity compared with only four percent of the 235,000 *prisoners of war* (about 9,500) taken by the Germans.²⁶ The figure was certainly not flattering or one which the Japanese people were proud of, but why not compare it with the millions who were killed by other means?

POLITICAL DRIVE

However statistics alone do not tell the story of the Japanese war crimes trials. Neither does the statement that after the horrific show trial of Yamashita the Allied leaders, military personnel and court members “proclaimed before and during a trial their own, and their government’s deepest resolution to secure and maintain the highest standards of justice” and that “demonstrations of even handedness and compassion by far outnumber recorded instances of palpable injustice.”²⁷ They were conceived as an exercise in politics rather than justice. They were designed to establish, in the public mind, that responsibility and guilt for starting the war lay with Japan; to extract retribution; to provide a deterrent against countries wanting to rock the boat in future and against large scale physical abuse of people; and to demilitarize and democratize Japan along western lines to restore ‘stability’ (or Western domination) to East Asia as quickly as possible.

The political drive behind the trials is demonstrated by the fact that the Allies knew that only a “symbolic handful” of senior Japanese leaders could be brought before an international tribunal.²⁸ It was eventually agreed that to keep the trials within practical limits, the Allies and the countries which Japan had occupied, making up the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE) should each indict two Class A suspects to stand trial. Most of those who were considered but not ‘nominated’ to stand trial in that top leadership class went free, because they had not committed crimes for which they could be prosecuted under either Class B or C. But then neither, on the evidence submitted at their trials, had General Yamashita or those who were tried as Class A criminals.²⁹ Even so, there was much debate about the final list. Some countries, notably Australia, wanted Emperor Hirohito indicted because of his symbolic authority for all of the nation’s affairs. However Truman had already determined that he would *not* be tried and MacArthur supported that position for very practical reasons. He warned that Japan would disintegrate and be ungovernable if the Emperor was tried, and that an additional one million troops would be required for the occupation, possibly for an indefinite time. In addition the administration regarded the existing form of Japanese government as necessary so that it would act as “executor” of American policy.^{30 31}

The judgement in the trial of the 28 Class A prisoners – the top leaders whose trials were to be ‘symbolic’ of justice – was flawed because it was prepared by seven judges working in collaboration and not preparing individual judgements, and the dissenting judgements by three other judges were deliberately suppressed.³² They were not read in open court;³³ the full proceedings of the trials were not published for many years and eventually they were only published because of private efforts. Under the tribunal’s charter technical rules of evidence

were not applied and in some trials even hearsay evidence could be admitted;³⁴ ³⁵ dubious translations of official documents were tendered by the prosecution at times ³⁶and official records of cabinet meetings over fourteen years which undermined prosecution claims of a conspiracy were discounted on the basis that they may have been prepared in such a manner as to eventually suggest the innocence of cabinet members involved. ³⁷ The definition of crimes against humanity was changed only days before the trials began at the 'suggestion' of the US Chief Prosecutor in order to widen the range of circumstances in which prosecutions could be launched,³⁸ but defence evidence of war crimes by the Allies was declared inadmissible. ³⁹

Each of these were indeed very serious matters, but one of the facts which discredit the United States most and questions the motives behind the war crimes trials more than anything else is the deliberate decision that persons involved in human guinea pig biological warfare experiments were to be exempt from prosecution. A fact which discredits the United States is the way in which US officials and Zionist figures colluded in aborting plans for trials of large numbers of Nazis involved in similar crimes against humanity and, in particular, genocide. But that revolved around events in the United States in November, 1947, which helped to determine the future of Palestine and the establishment of the State of Israel, more or less coincidental in time with these events in Japan. They will be discussed later in this chapter.

NO QUESTION OF PRINCIPLE

The world had been outraged by reports of prisoners of war and civilians being used, tortured, killed and even dissected alive without anaesthesia in biological warfare and so-called 'medical' experiments. Such matters were given considerable prominence in the early stages of the Nuremberg trials and it was expected that the same would apply in the Japanese trials, especially in the case of the Harbin experiments in China. In these, more than 3,000 Chinese prisoners of war and Chinese, Korean and Russian civilians were killed in appalling circumstances in experiments carried out by Japan's special purpose 731st Regiment directed by Lt. General Shiro Ishii. When the Russian invasion began the regiment tried to destroy its facilities, gas the remaining prisoners and conceal or destroy the on-site evidence of its work – but not its research records. A few of the Japanese surrendered to the Russians and were tried, but most of the 3,600 troops were able to return to Japan. The research workers took their results with them and General Ishii made a deal with the American occupation authorities: immunity from prosecution in return for the research papers. ⁴⁰ There was to be a blanket of silence over the matter. That deal is essentially the same as many made as the Allies swept through occupied Germany and seized (if they could) or 'recruited' and arranged deals where necessary for both research reports and the scientists who had prepared them. (Chapter 26)

The blanket of silence was so effective that when evidence of biological warfare trials was tendered by a prosecutor at the Class A trials (whether deliberately or inadvertently is not clear) it was withdrawn when the *presiding judge* pointed out that it was not part of the indictment. ⁴¹ Only *one* officer, Medical Captain Hisachiki Tokuda, was subsequently charged with a category

8 offence (medical experiments carried out on prisoners of war). Facing a Class C trial at Yokohama, Tokuda was actually charged on a series of counts in five of the eleven categories in Class C and found guilty on six counts. He was sentenced to death, but when his case was reviewed by SCAP the sentence was commuted to life imprisonment.⁴² Thus, in spite of the great hullabaloo about dastardly biological warfare experiments not one person was actually charged, tried, found guilty and executed on the basis of such offences. General Ishii's deal with the American authorities did not become public knowledge until after his death by natural causes, but the story of the regiment was published in 1982.⁴³

What use the US authorities or any commercial operators made of the research results which the US had bought at such a damning human cost has never been officially disclosed. However allegations were later made by China that some of them were applied against North Korea during the Korean War. Chinese authorities claimed that US planes dropped quantities of bacteria and bacteria-laden insects over Korea and North East China between January and March 1952 and gave much publicity to the testimony of captured US airmen who purportedly flown the planes, and to photographs which were alleged to be germ bombs. A group of scientists from Sweden, France, Great Britain, Italy, Brazil and the Soviet Union were appointed by China as an "International Scientific Committee" to investigate the allegations. Their report, published in September 1952, concluded that:

*The peoples of Korea and China have indeed been the objectives of bacteriological weapons. These have been employed by units of the USA. armed forces, using a great variety of different methods for the purpose, some of which seem to be developments of those applied by the Japanese during the second world war.*⁴⁴

It was later revealed that most of the airmen had confessed only after being subjected to physical abuse, and the content and authorship of their testimonies has been seriously questioned, but eighteen years later, in 1970, the *New York Times* reported that the US had prepared quantities of nerve gas at about that time. It reported that during the Korean War, when US forces were overwhelmed by "human waves" of Chinese, "the Army dug into captured Nazi chemical warfare documents describing Sarin, a nerve gas so lethal that a few pounds could kill thousands of people in minutes. ... By the mid-nineteen fifties, the Army was manufacturing thousands of gallons of Sarin."⁴⁵ In any case it can certainly be assumed that someone intended to put the Harbin results to use because it was the American administration's intention to reach or to stay at the front in every field of science and endeavour, including medicine – except if there was likely to be a public backlash because Americans had been used as guinea pigs in the testing involved – and that brings us to another possible reason why the war crimes trials for biological warfare and medical experiments were scuttled.

The US and British administrations and US and British drug companies were, *at that time*, involved in human guinea pig trials in Australia in the development of drugs for anti-malarial and other uses. Drugs tested during the experiments were later marketed internationally by the giant British chemical company ICI and manufactured by the American chemical company

Winthrop. The experiments began in 1943 and continued until April 1946 by when, six months after the Japanese surrender, more than 850 healthy, injured and convalescing men had been used. They included Jewish refugees from Germany and Austria who had been interned in Britain and forcibly despatched to Australia on the *Dunera* in 1940 (Chapter 24), alien German and Italian internees in Australia, disabled Australian soldiers and soldiers recovering from illness or injuries as well as volunteer serving Australian troops. While the tests were conducted under close medical supervision by the Australian Army's Medical Research Unit, and it is not clear from published reports whether any of the human guinea pigs died during the actual tests, some were deliberately forced almost to the point of death in tests to determine the remedial capacity of drugs and their toxic side effects, many suffered effects which remained with them throughout life, there was no systematic post-experiment supervision, and some were refused war service pensions or repatriation benefits. US authorities were prepared to use only small numbers of volunteer prisoners in state penitentiaries for such trials and British authorities thought it was "too risky to deliberately infect its own soldiers with recurring malaria", so the Australian Army, the junior partner in the exercise, "trawled convalescent depots and military hospitals for volunteers" when new British and US drugs required testing.

Records of the MRU's three years of experiments at the unit based at Cairns, Queensland, were taken to London after the war and other documents and personal files of the human guinea pigs were "scattered" among several government authorities. Some cannot be located at all. It is ironical that the unit had to be established to find an alternative to quinine when the Japanese gained control of the source of that naturally occurring drug in Java, and that the drug eventually selected for use in its place, Atebrin, was the product of German research in 1931. But the unit was kept operational after the alternative was confirmed and beyond the end of the war at the request of US and British authorities in order to test additional drugs.⁴⁶ Clearly none of the three governments were eager to have their records in experimentation on humans scrutinized in connection with Japanese war crimes trials on the subject.

CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

However the big question is not whether the 'right number' of Japanese officers and politicians were tried for war crimes or crimes against humanity, or whether the right mix of crimes was included in the trials. The big question which has exercised a few minds in recent years is the relationship between those who exercise political direction of acts of war, genocide and the use of weapons of mass destruction, and those who have the responsibility to carry out those acts. This has become an issue in the wake of genocide in Africa and Europe, and wars in the Middle East. The Western World, and in particular leaders in the United States and Britain, have made great efforts to pin responsibility for such matters on national leaders and to bring them to justice for crimes against humanity, citing the precedence established by the war crimes trials of the Second World War. Among those targeted have been Africa leaders whose armies have ravaged the helpless rural populations in neighbouring countries, President Saddam Hussein of

Iraq for use of gas in the repression of some populations of that country, and Serbian leaders for the unrestrained massacre of Kosovars. Such efforts to highlight and to prevent such atrocities in future are admirable. However they have shown much greater reluctance to pursue leaders in the Western Hemisphere whose links in carrying out such crimes may be traced to the Western powers, such as General Augusto Pinochet of Chile, or former Nazis against whom allegations of war crimes are well documented and who made their homes in the West under Western protection and patronage. Is it because they are concerned that the spot light could drift onto the conduct of the Second World War by the Allies?

Consider: first, the decisions by Britain in 1939–40 to reject a whole series of peace overtures from Hitler, quite early in the war, when death, casualties and destruction on a massive scale could have been avoided if its leaders had been prepared to debate the fundamental issues behind the war and to make concessions to its colonies and dominions. Or: second, the decision by Roosevelt and Churchill in negotiating the Atlantic Charter in August 1941 to insist on unconditional surrender. Or: third, Roosevelt's deception in using his own people as decoys to provoke a Japanese attack in order to take the United States into war in December 1941. Or: fourth, the decision by Churchill to reject the opportunity for a negotiated peace and a review of the colonial structure of Asia when Japan was in front – thus escalating the war and extending it by three years from April 1942 in order to prop up its unsustainable colonial position. Or: fifth, the decision, essentially taken by Truman, to circumvent Japan's overtures for an armistice to enable the real life and death demonstration of a couple of atomic bombs in August 1945.

In the case of the third and fifth situations noted, the deaths, casualties and destruction directly attributable to the decisions taken can be quantified reasonably easily. In the other cases the proportion of total deaths, casualties and destruction which occurred *after* those decisions were taken can be estimated very approximately. The wider consequences are still unfolding and can be assessed in retrospect. But none of these decisions were regarded *in the West* as crimes against humanity. At the time, the world-at-large was not even aware of them because of the conspiracy of silence. Eventually, as limited information trickled out, they were justified on the basis of *the need, from a Western perspective*, to maintain the status quo – a position of privilege and dominance. Together they represent the greatest tragedy of history: the Western World's unwillingness to recognize the parody of *Mein Kampf*, the unfolding of the Qur'anic Night Journey, or the existence of the trouble in the triangle. Until the West – the amorphous Christian gel – is prepared to recognize that, to work through the significance of it, and to work within a new understanding of the relationships between humanity and God, the world is condemned to live in an ever tightening spiral of crime against humanity.

But that, also, is jumping ahead. We shall come to it soon enough. We are still at the point of the United States occupation of Japan and the conduct of the war crimes trials. A secondary 'cost' of aborting those trials was the forfeiture of an excellent opportunity for America's model Christian politicians and propagandists to exploit the claimed contrast between their exemplary ethics and conduct and that of Japan's depraved Shintoists. That brings us to another item the

United States had running on its agenda in parallel with the multi-purpose war crimes trials: the completion of the Christian Reconstruction of Japan which had started in earnest following Commodore Perry's 'visit' in 1853, (chapter 15) only to be aborted ninety years later with the closure of all Christian missions following the outbreak of the War in the Pacific.

MACARTHUR, THE OCCUPATION AND THE EMPEROR

To put the events of 1945 in perspective the key events of earlier history can be restated very briefly as follows. Francis Xavier arrived in 1549, followed twenty years later by the Jesuits whose corrupt trading and intrigue against the Buddhists led to the edict of expulsion in 1587, then a few deaths along the way before a second edict of expulsion in 1614 and the total closing of Japan's borders in 1638. Roughly two centuries passed before the US, jealous of the preferred trading position which the European powers had gained by force in mainland Asia, sent Commodore Perry to visit Japan in 1853 to offset the advantage the European powers had gained by forcing a treaty on Japan. One Catholic and four Protestant missions followed him six years later. But America became distracted by its famous Civil War, withdrew and left Britain to refill the power vacuum by pounding Kagoshima flat in 'retaliation' for the reported persecution of a Christian community. It didn't matter that they were not British. They were Christians. Japan's humiliation led to its own civil war, the collapse of the Shogunate in 1868 and the rise of the emperor in 1871. Britain confirmed again, with great determination and with gun ships at the ready, the normal, formal and strong links between state and church: no Christian missions, then no trade or diplomatic missions either. That linkage could not possibly have been stated any more definitely. Japan's reaction was to formally establish its own state religion. Shinto. Twenty years later, 1889, it strengthened that link further by writing it into the new Meiji Constitution.

Article III of that constitution read: "The Emperor is sacred and inviolable." It appears that the Japanese had simply lifted it straight out of Catholic doctrine on the Divine Right of Kings. They must have felt they were in good company and the words of the constitution did *not* say that the emperor was divine or a personification of God. However a commentary which was later published to help people understand the new constitution has been translated to read: "The Emperor is *Heaven-descended, divine and sacred*; He is pre-eminent above all his subjects. He must be revered and is inviolable ... Not only shall there be no irreverence for the Emperor's person, but also shall he not be made a topic of derogatory comment nor one of discussion." ⁴⁷ (Emphasis added.) The church had long claimed *divine authority* for its Popes by virtue of their being successors to Peter the Apostle and therefore Christ's personal deputy on earth, and by the laying on of (very human) hands. That claimed authority was in turn a substantial basis of the Vatican's policy of Ultramontaniam, or the control of the church in every country under the Roman figurehead, and the authority to invest, and to exercise authority over, monarchs. But by using the expression 'Heaven-descended, divine and sacred' the Meiji commentator had actually jumped ahead of the Vatican – by just a few years. It was not until

1929 when Pius XI was addressing the clergy of Rome on the occasion of the signing of the Lateran Treaty that he caught up with Japan by describing the person holding the office of Pope as "holding the Divine Commission and being the *Divine Representative*, (who) cannot be subject to any earthly sovereign."

During the 1930's, the nationalistic military leaders of Japan took full advantage of the thrust of that 1899 commentary and the teachings of a particular cult of Shinto, the Kokutai Cult, to inculcate and strengthen the strong devotion to the land of Japan and a high level of personal discipline which had long been a characteristic of the Japanese ethos and self-understanding. They were building on the widely held idea that the emperor was a *symbol* of the nation itself.⁴⁸ The Allies then attributed the strength of all that was either good or bad in Japan's self-understanding and the rigidly disciplined armed forces to that clause in the constitution and not to the people who had taken advantage of it. Partly for that reason, and partly to demonstrate that by means of their victories they were acting on their responsibility to extend the influence of the church and Christianity world wide, they set out to dismantle the Japanese religious base and to place Christianity in its place. It did not matter that for some of them, such as Winston Churchill, their support for the church was little more than a political convenience and a Constantinian facade. It also gave them another plank with which to support their claims that the war in the Pacific had been all Japan's fault. They could deflect some of the blame onto Japan's national religion rather than its people and its leaders, and the idea of the 'God-Emperor' was played up in the American press.⁴⁹ The religio-political cult that had been built up around the alleged mystical divinity of the emperor was widely recognized in the West for what it was: "a device for securing absolute loyalty and obedience from the people in response to what was alleged to be 'His Imperial Majesty's Will.'" The military leaders had achieved great influence through the supervision of State Shinto and had used it as a political instrument to facilitate Japanese control over the Korean Peninsula.⁵⁰ In doing so they were simply following a well beaten path. The church had been along it many times before.

However, while the conceptual relationship between the Emperor and the nation might ultimately have to be downgraded to suit the Allies' purposes, it was also that relationship which made the emperor potentially of great value to the Occupation forces. As already noted, they wanted to be able to use the very influence which they were hell bent on dismantling. Therefore they could not dispose of, harm, remove, bring to trial or even denigrate the emperor. Their 'management' of him had to be determined on a day to day basis.⁵¹ This was hampered by a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of Shinto and the relation of Shinto to Japan's ultranationalism and militarism, and that misunderstanding was perpetuated by the way in which SCAP framed one of its major directives to the Japanese government – the 'Shinto Directive.'⁵² The management of Japan's religious affairs and its future relations with the Western powers was then complicated enormously by MacArthur's personal intervention and misuse of his role as Supreme Commander. But his intervention was made easier by the religious self-understanding prevailing in the United States, the uncertainty and diverse attitudes

to religion across the Allied countries, and the inability of the Western World's churches to play their traditional missionary roles in the wake of the war.

RELIGIOUS SELF-UNDERSTANDING: THE VICTOR NATIONS

THE UNITED STATES

The religious revival, or dependence on a religious presence, which had been triggered or induced in the US by Pearl Harbour continued when the war ended. It was consistent with America's religious history, with the concept that its founders had escaped from the divisive and restricting influences of European Christianity, the rise of the Protestant work ethic, and the community's self-understanding as the New Israel. When the war ended in victory in 1945, Americans prided themselves that their belief in God set them apart from atheistic communism.⁵³ They felt more than ever that they were God's chosen people, that the result of the war reflected that fact and that it was deserved because of their superior conduct and ethics. The Reformed churches certainly encouraged them to think in that manner and to think that it was their right to determine the course of future world events and to benefit from that course. The Catholic Church was not so arrogant in that respect. Its hierarchy was very conscious of having had a foot in both camps and of the 'promise', or at least the opportunity, for the Catholicization of the Soviet Union and the absorption of the Orthodox Church which had not been fulfilled as a consequence of Hitler's defeat. The number of people joining churches and regularly attending worship continued to rise strongly as both church membership and attendance show. Church membership rose from 40 per cent of the population in 1910, to 63.4 per cent in 1959. Average weekly attendance rose from 37 per cent in 1940 to 49 per cent in 1955.⁵⁴ Evidence suggests (see below) that this attendance rate is well over double the attendance rate for Britain during the late 1940's. Politicians in the US competed to outperform each other in displaying their Christianity. God "was being made into an ally of the United States against communism and in support of (its version) of 'free enterprise'⁵⁵ and also against any regional or commercial competitor of the United States. Business executives would attend worship together, pray together, then adjourn to their homes or to a club to discuss their methods of subverting the policies and laws of other countries. It hardly mattered what policies or personal conduct they pursued. As long as they were demonstrably Christian all else would be forgiven. The Evangelical concept of personal salvation was alive and well.

The United States had not been occupied or torn asunder by mass evacuations, refugee movements or interfaith tension, nor had it been bombed. Thus it did not have a traumatic reconciliation process to work through, nor a massive building reconstruction program to undertake.

When World War II finished the US had what appeared to be unlimited financial resources to either put into foreign church reconstruction or domestic building programs, and personnel available for either local ministry or foreign mission enterprises. Was this not evidence of how

good God had been to America's faithful Christians? Their land was secure and flowing with milk and honey. Outlay on new church buildings rose from two percent of residential construction costs in 1946 to eight percent by 1958.⁵⁶ Put another way: if the cost of one church centre was about the cost of three houses, then in 1946 one church was probably being built for every 150 new houses, but by 1958 the ratio was about one new church for every forty new houses.

The flood of people into the pews was such that in places where individual denominations did not yet have, or could not afford to build and staff their own churches, people got together and sponsored 'community churches' on a non-denominational or inter-denominational basis and this tended to blur the doctrinal and liturgical differences between them. But at the same time the churches were aware that de-Christianizing influences were affecting the nation and the vigorous home mission movements which the churches had spawned during the previous forty years, concurrently with the ecumenical movement, began to take on new form and gather new momentum and financial independence as evangelical movements. The mainstream churches seem to have been less aware than many of the leading evangelists that those de-Christianizing influences had in turn been spawned as a result of the widespread abuse of the free enterprise system to which the churches had tied themselves so effectively. In fact they enjoyed that 'partnership' so much (benefiting from large grants by prominent business identities) that the power brokers of business and politics were able to exploit them and their 'alliance' with God, quite deliberately and quite cynically, to help entrench and extend their system universally. It was a little more subtle than the paraffin marketing ventures of the missionary era in China. A little.

There were some churches which stood against the tide of exploitation, which sought to put principle before expediency by placing a strong emphasis on social responsibility. Prominent among them were the Society of Friends (Quakers) and the Jehovah's Witnesses. The witnesses had shown quite strong growth in adherents in the three years since the establishment of their first Bible College (chapter 25), being able to claim a 40% increase in the number of preaching witnesses spread around the world. A few years later the more progressive mainstream churches would begin to distance themselves from the abuses of the free enterprise system by carefully monitoring their own investments and developing programs to offset some of the abuses. But that was still a matter for the future when the Allies were occupying Japan and the vigour of Christianity in the United States was in sharp contrast to the state of the churches in other occupying countries and in the European countries which had previously been the powerhouse of worldwide missionary movements. We shall consider Britain, Holland and France (the major European powers bidding to return to Asia); Australia (America's biggest Pacific ally in the war against Japan), the Soviet Union (numerically the biggest ally of all and formerly the dominant Orthodox country), and the two Christian belligerents, Germany and Italy, (one being the seat of the Reformation, and the other, the base of the Roman Catholic Church).

BRITAIN'S MANIPULATION OF RELIGION

In Britain, in spite of programs of church and cathedral building, the development of industrial chaplaincy schemes and the encouragement of men's, women's and youth groups, the church had not recovered from the demoralizing impact of World War I which had badly shaken its complacency and undermined public confidence in it. Attendance and popular support, especially for the officially established Church of England, slumped further during the Depression years and the churches were struggling to recruit candidates for the ministry when they became embroiled in the abdication crisis and then World War II. The demand for chaplains for the armed services meant that parish services were cut and the massive social dislocation of extended industrial working hours, large scale evacuations from urban areas to rural areas because of air raid attacks and the closure of many urban schools each contributed to a further run-down in the life of the churches and Sunday observance.⁵⁷ That run-down was a factor in the timing of the decision to establish the British Council of Churches, in 1942, although it would have been established in due course as the churches moved to cooperate in post-war reconstruction and in religious, social and international concerns through the World Council of Churches which was in process of formation. But at the same time Britain's politicians, military leaders and churchmen had become sharply conscious that the personal discipline and social ethics inculcated in youths through Sunday School and religious education provided a basis for discipline which was absolutely vital in both the armed services and industry in time of war. This led to some interesting decisions when the mass evacuation of youths from urban schools to rural areas revealed the "colossal religious ignorance" of many of them.⁵⁸ And more.

The "religious illiteracy as well as other ignorance and the lack of discipline and decency of many youths who had been reared in slums" and who, if the war continued, would have to serve in the armed forces or work in munitions factories, led directly to the Education Act of 1944.⁵⁹ This raised the school leaving age to sixteen years – in spite of the urgent need for young people to enter the work force – and introduced compulsory religious education in state elementary and secondary schools. These schools were required to open with corporate worship, daily, and to schedule the teaching of religion as a lesson period in the normal timetable. The syllabus was to be based on the Bible and it was to be undenominational, but parents could formally request that their children be given denominational instruction. Religious knowledge was made a prerequisite for teachers' certificates and provision was made for government officials to inspect the teaching of religion. The dual system of state and church schools was retained but the establishment of denominational church schools was encouraged by provision for the state to pay half their construction and maintenance costs. Very soon the Vatican was able to take advantage of that precedent in its bid for state-subsidised Catholic schools in other countries. However in Britain, as in the United States, "one effect of the war was to quicken movements already in motion which made for de-Christianization"⁶⁰ in spite of the government's bid to prop up the church in the interests of national security. It is doubtful whether Nazism (or National Socialism as such) was a major influence in that process because of the steps which

the government had taken to ban the Nazi Party and to counter its propaganda, and the fact that the nation was at war with the principal political face of the movement. In any case, attendance at weekly church services continued to fall and recruitment for the clergy fell below the numbers required to maintain parish services at pre-war levels. Reports for the late 1940s (the few years immediately following the war) show that for all denominations only between fifteen and twenty percent of the population attended church “fairly regularly” and another forty percent attended “occasionally.” And a Gallup poll taken in 1957 showed that 14% had been to church the previous Sunday and 28% had been within a month ⁶¹ That must be compared with the 39% attending church *weekly* in the US in 1950 and 49% in 1955.

During the war years the Church of England had organized a movement called “Servants of Christ the King” in an effort to influence secular industrial and professional communities, and following the war there was some growth in local evangelism, notably among conservative evangelicals, in Industrial Mission work, tertiary student organizations, and group worship in “house churches.” There was also a program to recruit and train pastors to fill the gaps left in the dwindling ranks of the clergy, and some revival within the monastic orders. However attendance figures suggest that these efforts to overcome ‘outmoded’ parish systems had very limited impact. Similarly, vigorous efforts in industrial evangelism were mounted by the Methodists and other Reformed denominations; a limited number of lay training colleges were established by the Student Christian Movement, the Christian Frontier Council and the YMCA working in collaboration; and the Moral Rearmament Movement (MRA) of pre-war US origin had a significant impact in some sectors of the community for a few years, notably among university graduates, but these appear to have had only limited impact in enticing people back into the pews. Overall, even though the MRA was opposed to the excesses of both Communism and Capitalism, and it was widely seen as an ‘anti-communist ally of the church’, the overall effect of these movements may have been to attract people towards social activism and political socialism.

HOLLAND

Holland, having been occupied by Germany and under Nazi administration from an early stage of the war, shows the contradictory impact of Nazism and the world war. Between the two wars the percentage of people who *disclaimed* any association with religion continued the steady rise which had begun about the turn of the century. The figures were: 1909, 5%; 1920, 8%; 1930 (during the Depression but before the rise of National Socialism and Hitler), 14^{1/2}%. ⁶² That trend suggests that even though the number of *confirmed* members of the Netherlands Reformed Church was rising steadily and the membership of the Roman Catholic Church had risen by one third (attributed to high birth rates and not conversions ⁶³), by the beginning of the war probably between 20% and 25% of people would have dissociated themselves from any religion. The Netherlands Reformed Church of the 1930s has been described as “without spiritual leadership and without a voice,” a bureaucratic organization “without a clear message

or purpose,” “pastor-centred ... often theologically divided, very Bourgeois,” and with a decreasing influence in the country.”⁶⁴ That was a very promising environment in which Hitler’s approach to religion could gain acceptance, and soon after the occupation it was put to the test when the people were required to conform to the anti-Jewish policies and measures imposed by the Nazis.

At first the majority acquiesced. In the face of a very powerful and successful victor they saw little reason to do otherwise. However leaders of the churches spoke out promptly, repeatedly and often with the Reformed and Roman Catholic churches working in collaboration. Key statements including criticism of Nazi policy on the Jews, a new statement of Confession and statements of Christian responsibility in the face of oppression were issued in October 1940, twice in 1941, January 1942, and three times during 1943. These provided a base for the resistance movement, placed church leaders in considerable danger so that many pastors were imprisoned or thrown into concentration camps, and provided a strong stimulus for lay leadership in Holland. That leadership was a major factor in the re-invigoration of the Netherlands Reformed Church and would prove important in the years following the war when it retained its vigour while those in some other countries relapsed under the impact of political reconstruction. At that stage the Dutch Catholic Party declared itself no longer a church party and sought the support of Protestants on the basis of its policies, but very few responded. The Netherlands Reformed Church was playing a leading role in ecumenical affairs, establishing contact with churches in other countries, and it developed new social vigour and a new synod structure which took effect in 1951. At the same time the Reformed churches, together with the YMCA, were involved in the establishment of a Federation of Lay Training Centres in Holland and, as a result, Dutch lay leadership became better informed on matters of theology than their counterparts in many countries. Similarly, several Dutch Protestant theologians were making a major contribution to the restatement of early Reformation thinking and relating this to contemporary foreign mission enterprise in collaboration with the International Missionary Council. In spite of this, and probably because of their preoccupation with the struggle for Holland to reimpose its grip on the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) the Dutch were not as prominent in foreign mission ventures as several other European nations.⁶⁵

FRANCE

In France, the country which had provided more missionaries for foreign fields from the fall of Napoleon to the fall of the Third Republic than any other country, the Roman Catholic Church was still struggling to recover from the consequences of the disestablishment of the church in 1905, the Vichy Government under Nazi occupation, and probably more de-Christianizing influences than any other country in Europe. The Catholic Action Movement had commanded an extensive network of organizations during the 1930s but it had been virtually inactive during the middle years of the war, after the fall of France, and the church had been shocked by an assessment published in 1943 that only ten percent of the adult population were practicing

Catholics, that at least a quarter of the population was effectively atheist, and that the entire working class suffered from almost total lack of religion.⁶⁶ In other words much of the population was simply accepting the policies of the Vichy Government under Nazi direction from a lack of alternative leadership. France could be characterised as worse than either Britain or Holland. Already, in 1941 and 1942, the Assembly of Cardinals and Archbishops and the Theological Faculty had protested about official policy towards the Jews, including the sterilization of Catholics who had married Jews across the banned interfaith (said to be inter-racial) boundary, and they did so again in 1943. One can assume they received much the same response as Pastor Marc Boegner when he approached Premier Pierre Laval in September 1942.

A system of worker-priests was set up, so was a mission to rural areas. The existing orders of the Little Brothers of Jesus and the Little Sisters of Jesus were expanded and in January 1944, in anticipation of post-war social upheaval, the Paris Mission was set up in a bid to reach the urban population through unorthodox programs. Then, in a bid to improve the situation by spreading the work load among the diocesan bishops as well as the Cardinals and Archbishops who had dominated the Catholic system, responsibility for religious education, lay training and Catholic Action was diversified and a secretariat of bishops was established in 1946.⁶⁷ In the meantime there had been a determined effort to reactivate Catholic Action, and in 1945, faced by a very real challenge of Communist influence through trade unions, the church hierarchy had engineered the amalgamation of several church-related political parties into one which had grown out of a student-organized resistance movement in 1944, the Popular Republican Movement (M.R.P.). Thus, as the Pacific War drew to a close and the occupation of Japan became an issue, the church in France was deeply engrossed in its domestic confrontation with Communism and with the expectation of an opportunity to restore its shattered organization in French Indo China. That opportunity would not come for some years, and although the recovery in training for missions would be rapid so that by 1957 France was again providing 20% of all Christian missionaries,⁶⁸ it was certainly not in a position to place much immediate emphasis on missions in Japan in the post war half of 1945.

AUSTRALIA

In Australia, where one of the dominant effects of the 'hate Japan' campaigns of the war years had been to reinforce the White Australia policy, and where troops returning from overseas were either disillusioned with religion or had found new interest in non-Christian faiths, the task of the churches to regroup was complicated by the demands for rehabilitation and re-settlement, rapid industrialization, and mass migration programs which were about to begin. Before the war the Church of England had held a pre-eminent position in the community with about forty percent of the population registered as C. of E. Another forty percent were divided among other Reformed traditions and there was a significant level of mistrust and antagonism between those 'blocks', totalling about eighty percent of the population, and the remaining twenty percent who were Roman Catholic. [The Jewish community numbered less than one percent and there were

very small numbers of Orthodox Christians, Muslims and people of other faiths.] Under the influence of its history as a penal settlement, church attendance in Australia had generally been relatively low. Even vigorous recruiting and clergy training programs, local evangelism campaigns, a dramatic increase in home and inland mission programs, and the organization of a massive 'Mission to the Nation' in 1953 by the Methodist Church did little to change that. In 1961 only one person in ten attended religious services "with any degree of regularity." ⁶⁹ That is about one half the attendance rate in Britain or about one fifth of that in the United States.

In the early phase of the assisted migration program there was a very heavy emphasis on migration from Britain in a very deliberate attempt to maintain the ethnic balance and the 'White Australia' concept. However, for several reasons, there was an equally deliberate change in the migration pattern from British to predominantly Southern and Eastern European migrants. That change brought with it a significant change in the pattern of church affiliation and attendance. Of the one and a half million migrants who arrived in Australia between 1945 and 1956, 47.5 percent were Roman Catholic, there were large numbers of Orthodox Christians and significant numbers of people of other faiths. This meant that the relative strength of the major denominations shifted significantly and the strongly disciplined Roman Catholic church developed much greater political and social influence. That process had actually started in 1945 with the National Catholic Rural Movement and the National Catholic Social Movement both promoting Catholic policies vigorously among organized labour and in rural lobbies in close collaboration with the church hierarchy. It was quite consistent with the Vatican's policies on social action which had been spelled out in 1929, but it coincided with the establishment of the International Committee of Catholic Charities which was set up in May 1945 to coordinate relief and resettlement of the victims of war, and with the vigorous push to strengthen Catholic Action world wide which Pius XII initiated at that time. That push provided the main spring for the initiatives taken in Australia. (See below, under references to Italy.)

THE SOVIET UNION

The Soviet Union, America's other major World War II ally, was intent on ensuring that its revitalised Christian church was supportive of the state and that it had good relations with Orthodox churches in other countries. After the rapprochement between Stalin's government and the Russian Orthodox Church in June 1941 at the time of the Nazi invasion, the position of the church had gradually improved. Most Christians accepted the decision of their Patriarch, ignored vigorous Nazi propaganda which was designed to entice them into an underground fifth column in support of Germany – and *Divini Redemptoris* which had contributed so much to the crises of the previous four years – and supported the Soviet government. There were, as was to be expected, crises when Archbishop Polycarp in the Ukraine broke his ties with Moscow to establish an autocephalous church and when some Orthodox priests in the occupied territories, no doubt anticipating a sweeping German victory, accepted an allegiance with Germany. The Ukrainian church was not recognized by the Nazis and its adherents suffered massacres twice:

first as the Germans moved east and regarded them as subversive elements to be eliminated to make way for German settlements, and secondly as the Russians moved back west and regarded them as traitors. In other occupied areas those priests, and their followers, who had accepted the presence of the Germans, even if they did not actively support them, were also regarded as traitors and massacred as the Soviet troops returned. It was only after a period of great confusion and terror that the Soviet government recognized that many of the Orthodox clergy and Christians in those occupied areas were in fact fighting against the Germans. They were then, somewhat reluctantly, accepted as underground resistance forces and supplied with arms and food.

In September 1943 Stalin agreed to the convening of a sobor to elect a Patriarch for all Russia. Sergius was elected. The church then issued a call for Russians world wide to fight against Hitler in support of their home land; the government discontinued the publication of anti-religious newspapers; established a council to direct relations between the state and the church; and, in June 1944, permitted the opening of a theological training institute. In early 1945, with the end of the war in sight, another sobor was held, this time with a number of observers from foreign churches, including each of the Orthodox churches in Greece, the Middle East, North Africa, the Balkans and even North America. A new statute for the Russian Orthodox Church was approved, providing for a structure of diocese, deaneries and parishes directed through a Council for Orthodox Church Affairs. In quick succession the new patriarch, Alexius, made visits to most of the Orthodox churches in the countries represented at the sobor and the churches of countries then under Soviet occupation were either granted autocephalous status, recognized as exarchates, or brought under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Moscow. Then, in 1946, in spite of protests from the Vatican, the Galician Uniate Church in an area which had been part of pre-war Poland was induced to break its ties with Rome and to renew its association with the Russian Orthodox Church. However the expatriate Russian Orthodox Churches in Western Europe and North America remained independent and did not align themselves with Moscow and, while they established relations with the Russian Orthodox Church, the Greek Orthodox Church and the Ecumenical Patriarch at Constantinople also remained independent.

In spite of the fruitful relations which the Soviet government had established with its own and other Orthodox churches it was painfully aware of the way in which the church had previously been used by both Russian conservatives and Western governments to undermine both its authority and communism generally. It was also painfully aware that the Roman Catholic Church's highest priorities were still to counter the influence of communism and to gain control of the Orthodox Churches in Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union was therefore not at all eager to see an extension of Christianity by missionary activity in Japan or anywhere else, unless it would enable it to gain a bit of diplomatic leverage. It was no different, in that sense, to the other countries in the victorious alliance.

RELIGIOUS SELF-UNDERSTANDING: THE VANQUISHED NATIONS

GERMANY

The churches of Germany, focal point of both the Reformation and the conflict of World War II, were in total disarray when the war ended. Because of the ebb and flow of mass population movements and displacements across Europe the monolithic Roman Catholic Church was in a relatively stronger position than before the war. In Western Germany its nominal share of the population was 45% compared with about 33% before the war and in Eastern Germany, where Christians had to adapt to life under Communist rule, its share of the population was much lower.⁷⁰ But it had to overcome the enormous credibility gap caused by the Vatican's concordat with Hitler's regime, its ambivalence in its dealings with the Nazis and the Western Allies, and its expectations of the benefits which would have flowed from its relationship with Hitler if he had succeeded in his plans. In spite of his efforts to hijack the church's extensive education network, many more Catholic clergy than Protestants had joined and supported Nazi organizations, no doubt encouraged by his Roman Catholic affiliation, the similarity between the stream of anti-Semitic statements in the Jesuit press and Nazi propaganda, and the Vatican's insistence that support for Hitler was the most effective way of countering Communism, about which it was paranoid. One measure which had the effect of diverting the attention of Catholics from these controversies was the promotion of the Liturgical Movement and the recitation of the Breviary. At the same time it helped to offset the shortage of clergy and access to churches, and to retain cohesion within the Catholic community. But at the same time the Protestant churches had their own form of credibility gap to overcome, even though they had always been under greater threat because of Hitler's association with the Catholic Church and because a mere 5% of Protestant clergy had any direct connections with Nazi organizations. A great effort was necessary to reconcile the divisions between the Evangelical and Confessing wings on one hand and the German Faith Movement and the Faith Movement of German Christians which had sought to rationalize Christian theology and National Socialism on the other. This reconciliation could not be achieved through a simple mechanism such as increased dependence on prescribed liturgy because that was not a mechanism of worship which the Reformed churches, generally, were comfortable with.

The leadership of all of the churches had been weakened by deaths, casualties, imprisonments, expulsions, evacuations and, in addition, the requirement to provide chaplains for the armed services. Somewhat surprisingly, in view of their known opposition to the Nazi government, their involvement in resistance movements and the prior commitment of the Catholic Church to provide chaplains for the German army, some 45% of all Protestant clergy were required for military duty and this placed heavy demands on elderly and infirm clergy to service parish needs. Even so, chaplains were only posted to the army and navy. The air force had none.⁷¹ A very high proportion of church properties were in ruins; their people were in a state of shock after the bulk of the population had been coerced into widespread acceptance of

Nazi philosophy and the degrading policies which the Third Reich had pursued, and attempts to bring the entire church under Nazi control. This tended to break down barriers between the people on opposing sides of the Reformation barrier and lead to greater cooperation than there had previously been in such matters as the shared use of buildings and pastoral care of congregations.

However those who remained firm to the principles of the Confessing Church and provided the backbone of the Resistance gained strength and determination from their experience and from their belief that their faith and their stand had been vindicated. A large number of theologians, biblical scholars and church historians of the German Protestant Churches were prominent in stimulating a new self-understanding within the church and theological reassessment during and following the war. The list is enormous but they included Martin Niemöller, Dietrich Bonhoeffer (executed, 1945), Rudolf Bultmann, Jürgen Moltmann, E. Kasemann and Paul Tillich, with whom Karl Barth must be included because of his long association with the church in Germany. In due course they would be joined by a number of Roman Catholic theologians, but once the peak of the crisis had passed the churches' main interest was reconstruction and a return to what they were comfortable with. In the Roman Catholic Church dissent and reassessment would be suppressed in an effort to maintain and build on a position of privilege. Among the Protestant Churches it would be suppressed for a different reason: an effort to maintain the ecumenical momentum and to move towards the 'One Body of Christ' which everyone yearned for. And the church could use the writings of some of those theologians to justify a 'no change' attitude.

One of them, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, was a remarkable model of commitment and selflessness in the face of adversity and a threat to faith. A Lutheran by upbringing, he studied theology in Berlin and, later, in the United States just at the time that Hitler was struggling towards power in his home country. He was 33 when Hitler seized power. He took an anti-Nazi stand and went to London as pastor to the expatriate German community but returned to Germany to help train pastors for the Confessing Church, saying that he would have no right to participate in the reconstruction of Christian life in Germany after the war if he did not share in the time of trial by its people.⁷² Banned by the Nazis from teaching at the University of Berlin, he went to the US to teach at the Union Theological Seminary in 1939 but returned to Germany after only a few months. Prominent among leaders of the ecumenical movement, he also became involved in plotting a change of government, acted as a conduit for messages to Britain via church leaders in Sweden. He was arrested on suspicion of direct involvement in plots to assassinate Hitler, imprisoned from April 1943, thrown into concentration camp in February 1945 after files had been discovered which confirmed his involvement in the plotting, and he was executed on April 9, four weeks before Germany's unconditional surrender.

Bonhoeffer's *Letters from Prison* and other writings led to controversy and confusion among theologians, some of whom had been personal colleagues, but they also provided inspiration for many people in a time of trouble and they help to illustrate the depth of the problem confronting the church. Because of the incisiveness of some of his writings he was regarded as an iconoclast

who wanted to dismantle the established church,⁷³ saying, for example: "Those who are recognized as authorities are only bearers of an authority belonging to the community, bearers of an office, bearers of a Word. They are not the office itself, nor the Word itself."⁷⁴ But, like Karl Barth (who actually found some of Bonhoeffer's letters disturbing and "a thorn in the flesh"⁷⁵), when it came to pursuing a line of argument which might undermine peoples' faith (or the church, which was often assumed to mean the same thing) which was so important to him, he became a rank conservative. So: in *Christology* he was at pains to justify Trinitarian belief. In the introduction he acknowledged that: "... christology remains unique. It has no proof by which it can demonstrate transcendence of its subject. Its statement that this transcendence, namely the Logos, is a human person, is presupposition and not subject to proof ... (but) ... christology is the centre of all disciplines."⁷⁶ He then proceeded to discuss and to justify the contemporary teaching about Christ, moving from one of the church's developed statements to another (for example: "Because Jesus Christ is man, he is present in time and space; because Jesus Christ is God, he is eternally present"⁷⁷) with theological gymnastics which would have done justice to Thomas Aquinas' *Treatise on the Truth of the Catholic Faith, against Unbelievers*. (Chapter 8) He posed a series of questions, such as: "How could God suffer in Christ – and still be omniscient and omnipotent in him?" On that, his comment was: "The answer to these questions must be so given that it does not place the deity of Christ in question, nor make nonsense of his humanity."⁷⁸ And in discussing the Word of God under the heading 'Positive Christology' he said: "Rather than something added, this Word coming down from God is that man Jesus Christ himself. And therefore, because Jesus Christ is also God's judgement on himself, he points, at one and the same time, to both God and to himself."⁷⁹ But a key statement comes towards the end, under the heading 'The Historical Christ': "The humiliated God-Man is the stumbling block for the Jews, i.e. for religious, upright men."⁸⁰ In that, he got it very wrong. The humiliated God-Man is the stumbling block for *the Christians*.

Germany's Roman Catholic Church reactivated most of the structures and organizations of the pre-war period as quickly as it could and, with the help of its world wide connections through the Vatican, its rehabilitation, restoration and welfare services, and social or political action organizations were soon in full swing. These included Catholic Action, Bonifatius Verein, the Catholic Workers' Movement, Caritas, newspapers and book publishers, and a re-invigorated Liturgical Movement, but only a small part of the Catholic school system because the Federal German Republic provided for church-supervised religious instruction in all schools, and all high schools and universities were to be state institutions.⁸¹

On the other hand the top priority of the Protestant churches had to be reorganization. The leaders of the Confessing Churches soon took effective control. Leaders of the German Christians and the Faith Movements who were discredited through their cooperation with the Nazi regime were soon removed from office and barely three months after the surrender, in August 1945, the Evangelical Church in Germany (the EKD) was established as a loose federation of the Landeskirchen plus the Moravian Church, with Bishop Otto Dibelius of Berlin as chairman of its council. The other 'Free' or independent Protestant churches remained

outside the EKD but established working links with it and its member Landskirkchen as members of the Committee of the Christian Churches with Martin Niemoller as its head, and some confessional groups were established within the framework of the EKD. Only two months later the EKD was welcomed into full fellowship with Protestant churches in the countries with which Germany had been at war when the general secretary of the World Council of Churches (still in process of formation), W.A. Visser 't Hooft, and representatives of a number of major churches and national councils of churches met with the EKD council in Stuttgart. At that meeting, after outlining the path of the world crisis which arose in part from the Treaty of Versailles, the council gave clear notice of the policy which was to become its hallmark. It pleaded for Christians to unite "to establish relations between peoples on the basis *not* of revenge and retribution but of forgiveness and trust and thus to seek to counter the alienation from God and the hostility to Christ which twice in a generation had brought disaster to peoples and states originally founded on Christian principles."⁸²

An early initiative of the EKD was the establishment of Hilfswerk as an umbrella agency of all non-Roman Catholic churches in Germany to provide welfare, refugee resettlement, church restoration and social action programs with very strong lay participation. In addition some of the pre-war Protestant organizations were revived, such as the Inner Mission and the Gossner Mission, and new ventures were established, including a series of youth villages operated through the YMCA; the Ecumenical Sisterhood of Mary; and a series of eighteen Evangelical Academies, five of which were in East Germany (the German Democratic Republic). Recruitment for ministry was not a problem but servicing the numbers of young students and those of mature years who enrolled for theological training for the ministry was. For six years the number of candidates offering for Protestant ministry rose strongly, possibly reflecting the fact that under the Nazis the theological faculties of universities were closed to Confessing Church students. They reached a peak in 1949–50 before falling away. To cope with the numbers and to tailor their training to the pastoral needs of the time a series of church colleges (Kirkliche Hochschulen) for theological training, and a separate series of Pastoralcolleges providing specialized training in theology and ministry for pastors as an alternative to universities were established. In addition an ongoing system of Kirchentags or lay pastoral training programs was also established.

As in World War I, so in World War II German Protestant Missions in most countries were closed and only a few missionaries were able to remain active through the support of the International Missionary Council and the Orphaned Missions Fund. Formal contact between the German and other Continental mission societies was re-established in 1946 and in 1947 German delegates attended the IMC meeting at Whitby. Clearly, the German churches and related mission societies were not in a position to offer missionaries for placement in Japan at the time of the occupation and in any case the victorious Allies would have seen no basis on which to agree that they could do so.

ITALY: VANQUISHED, VICTOR OR TURNCOAT OF CONVENIENCE?

Now, Italy. Because it is the home of the Roman Catholic Church we must look at it from three points of view: things which the Catholic Church did which related to Italy in a domestic sense; things which the Vatican did as the controller of its world wide religious network; and things which the Vatican did to maintain its power base or its temporal authority. During the war the Pope and the Curia had tried as best they could to play down (in the countries of the Western Alliance) the fact that they had a concordat with Germany and both a treaty *and* a concordat with the government of its historical host country, Italy. It was hard to avoid being seen to favour, or to respond to the demands of the country within which they ran their land-locked mini-city-state without port, air or road access or any means of communication except radio, other than by courtesy of the country's Fascist dictator. The task was made even harder by the fact that German Jesuits had become particularly influential on academic questions under Pope Pius XII⁸³ and this showed in such practical and political areas as reporting on Jewish affairs in the Vatican press. But one of the immediate consequences was that when Italy entered the war in June 1940, the Vatican had to establish a purchasing office in a neutral center. It chose Portugal's capital, Lisbon. It stayed there for four years, until after the 'friendly' German forces had been expelled from Rome in June, 1944. At that time the Pontifical Commission of Assistance was also established, essentially for refugee support. These moves both helped to reinvigorate the Italian operations of the Catholic Church.

A SHIFT OF GEAR: THE LITURGICAL MOVEMENT

On March 24, 1945, still a month before the American break through at Bologna, Pius XII issued the encyclical *Motu proprio Quotidianis precibus*, promoting the Liturgical Movement and the recitation of the Breviary in a transparent bid to focus peoples' attention on the form or practice of worship and to distract them from the greater controversy over the role and activities of their clergy and the church which was obviously about to erupt with the impending defeat of the Nazi regime and the collapse of the current phase of Fascism. And in a bid to further the Vatican's policy of Ultramontanism and to cement its grip on the world wide church by focussing attention on Rome, he announced the discovery of what was purported to be the grave of the Apostle Peter under the high altar of the cathedral of St. Peter, in Rome. Then in May, following Germany's agreement to unconditional surrender, he announced the establishment of the International Committee of Catholic Charities to coordinate relief work, with its headquarters not in Rome but in Paris where it could be expected to attract more sympathy and support. He also began more actively promoting Catholic Action which, during the war, had become fragmented under regional leadership and brought it under the direction of the church hierarchy to ensure continuity of Catholic political intervention and a recovery in its political influence. As already noted, there was an immediate response in countries such as France and Australia. Some months later he moved to establish a Papal Commission of bishops in Italy and new statutes were announced (in 1946) to revive the national, diocesan and parochial structures

with greater lay participation and direction. A large number of organizations based on occupations or professions were established and a network of local civic committees was soon in operation organizing annual Catholic Action conferences.

DEIPARAE VIRGINIS MARIAE

Another important move came on May 1, 1946, when Pius XII canvassed the bishops on the possibility of defining the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary as a dogma of faith. In his encyclical *Deiparae Virginis Mariae*,⁸⁴ he referred to long term veneration of Mary, widespread invocation of her assistance, and the faithful vying with each other in ever renewed demonstrations of ardent piety toward the Queen of Heaven. He noted that two volumes of petitions received between 1849 and 1940 had “reached the Holy See, all begging that the bodily Assumption into heaven of the Blessed Virgin should be defined and proclaimed as a dogma of faith” and that “almost two hundred fathers” in the Vatican Council in 1870 [out of some 800 present] had “fervently requested it.” He said that in line with papal responsibility to “keep away everything adverse to this Kingdom (of Christ) and to support what ever may promote it, (he) had to examine most carefully whether it would be *lawful, convenient and useful* to support with Our authority” the proclamation of the Assumption as dogma. He asked the bishops to inform him “about the devotion of your clergy and people (taking into account their faith and piety) toward the Assumption” and whether the proclamation is “*desired* by your clergy and people.”

There was no question about theological honesty or integrity. Just the desirability, lawfulness, convenience and usefulness of promoting it. It was a classic case of dogma being determined on the basis of likely impact on the religious and political numbers game without regard for the impact on interfaith relations at the very time when the world was struggling – really struggling – to understand and to disentangle the worst crisis in human history: a crisis which had occurred as a result of the abuse of religion and interfaith relations. It was also a classic illustration of the fact that the Vatican could not understand how the world crisis had come about and, because of its deeply entrenched self-understanding, it did not understand its own responsibility for, or role in, the evolution and impact of that crisis. The only thing to be said in its favour is that very few other people did either.

TEMPORAL AUTHORITY, THE LATERAN TREATY AND CIVIL GOVERNMENT

A consideration of far greater significance resulted from the fact that Pius XII, in his various roles under his predecessor, Pius XI, had, together with Pius XI, come to the view that contemporary Italian and German authoritarian forms of government were ‘normal’⁸⁵ and were the forms which most closely complemented the Vatican’s want to be the equally authoritative moral enforcer for the world in association with such governments. He only grudgingly moved away from that view and came to accept ‘democracy’ as an alternative. (Chapter 25, ‘Another change of heart’) He did not necessarily equate ‘democracy’ with ‘capitalism’ which he had

vigorously supported against 'communism.' This is evident from his Christmas Allocution, dated December 24, 1944, *Democracy – True and False*.⁸⁶ Referring to the “universal upheaval” which had brought mournful groans of sorrow from “the heart-rending anguish of oppressed individuals and countries” Pius XII noted that “an ever-increasing number of noble souls” were determined that it should mark “a starting point for a new era of far-reaching renovation – the complete re-organization of the world.” He said: “While one may well discuss the worth, the feasibility, the efficacy of various proposals, and suspend judgement about them, it is for all that plainly true and evident that this movement has begun ... and peoples have awakened as it were from a heavy sleep.” They had, he said, “taken a new attitude toward the State and toward those who govern – they ask questions, they criticize, and they distrust. Taught by bitter experience, they are more aggressive in opposing the concentration of power in dictatorships that cannot be censured or touched, and in calling for a system of government more in keeping with the dignity and liberty of the citizens.” Then, clearly implying that the change could have been avoided, that it was not intrinsically necessary, and that it was not necessary to change the whole system, he said the multitudes “are today firmly convinced ... that *had there been the possibility of censuring and correcting the actions of public authority*, the world would not have been dragged into the vortex of a disastrous war, and that to avoid the repetition ... we must vest efficient guarantees in the people themselves.”

Quoting from an 1888 encyclical of Leo XIII he said “it is *not forbidden* to prefer temperate, popular forms of government, *without prejudice, however, to Catholic teaching on the origin and use of authority*,” and that “*the Church does not disapprove* of any of the various forms of government, provided they be by themselves capable of securing the good of the citizens.” [Emphasis added] In other words Pius XII was saying: ‘change if you must, but I prefer the old way.’ He directed attention to “the problem of democracy” and said: “Our aim is to examine the norms by which it should be directed ... and democracy ... admits of various forms, and can be realised in monarchies as well as republics.” Then came a caution. Because “the democratic form of government appears to many a postulate of nature imposed by *reason itself* ... the demand ... for better democracy ... can have no other meaning than that citizens shall be increasingly placed in a position to hold their own opinions, to voice them, and to make them effective in promoting their general welfare.” He did not say in so many words that the Church would lose its influence and its control. He didn't have to. If “reason itself” prevailed, where would that leave the church? Then as he worked through a couple of contradictory concepts he noted firstly that “the masses ... become an easy plaything in the hands of anyone who seeks to exploit their instincts and impressions,” and secondly that the masses “are the capital enemy of true democracy and of its ideal of liberty and equality.” And reverting to the thrust of previous encyclicals that all peoples are *not* equal, he said: “In a people worthy of the name *those inequalities which are not based on whims but on the nature of things – inequalities of culture, possessions, social standing* – so long as they are not prejudicial to justice and mutual charity, *do not constitute any obstacle to the existence and the prevalence of a true spirit of union and brotherhood*.” Then: “If men, using their personal liberty, were to deny all dependence on a

superior authority possessed of coercive power, they would ... cut the ground from under their own dignity and liberty for they would be *violating the divinely-ordained order of beings* and purposes.” Put another way, Pius was saying: ‘rule by those who are privileged and dominant is the God-given norm.’

He insisted that the dignity and authority of that *absolute order of government* was conferred by God through its participation in the authority of God exercised through the Church. Experience showed, he said, that “every legislative body ... should have within it a group of select men ... chosen because of their solidly Christian convictions (and) where such men are lacking, others come to take their places to make politics serve their ambition, and to a quick road to profit for themselves, their caste and their class.” But neither that absolute order of government, nor absolute monarchy, were to be confused with “state absolutism” in which “there is no right of appeal against it to a higher law which binds in conscience.”

Then, with an eye to the facts that while more than 90% of the Italian population were baptised Roman Catholics only 20% of them were practicing and almost 50% of the population then supported either Communism or Socialism, Pius XII said: “*If the future is to belong to democracy, an essential part in that achievement will have to be given to the religion of Christ and to the Church.* She is the mouthpiece of our Redeemer and the institution which carries on His mission of saving men. She teaches and defends *supernatural truths* and communicates to men the *supernatural helps of grace* in order to *actuate the divinely-established order* of beings and ends which is the ultimate foundation and directive norm of every democracy.” So everything was dependent on *the Church*: the Roman Catholic Church. Democracy couldn't even be set in motion without a touch of the church's magic.

Pius XII had served notice to the world, yet again, that any country or any peoples who wanted government without the Church of Rome would face a determined and well orchestrated battle. He was not responding to the Cold War. The real war was still far from finished. German forces still occupied half of mainland Italy and it would take another four months of grueling bombardment before they would be forced to capitulate when American forces finally broke the German frontier at Bologna. The Italian Fascist government had realized where its fortunes lay more than a year earlier. It deposed Mussolini and arrested him in July 1943, signed an armistice in August, then swapped sides and declared war on Germany in October, only to find it was powerless to do anything to expel the Germans without an Allied invasion. A landing was made near Rome in January, 1944, and the city was occupied on June 4. Then in October the Allies agreed upon ‘spheres of influence’ in the Balkans. Rumania, Bulgaria and Hungary were to be under Russian influence, Greece was to be under British influence, and Yugoslavia under joint influence.

At that time, as Pius XII prepared his allocution, there was certainly no such thing as a ‘cold war.’ The concept had not even been dreamed up. The people of the West were lauding the Soviet successes in pushing the German armies out of Russia and back across Poland – and the wonderful cooperation between countries with such different political systems. Tension over the

zones of influence was still a thing of the future. In fact Pius XII was most unhappy with the adulation which was being heaped on the Russians and he was providing one of the major ingredients which would fuel tension over the question of zones of influence, and in the postwar period his unrelenting anti-communism would "fit perfectly into the Cold War mentality of the West."⁸⁷

It was not a cold war but a very real war which was looming in Italy over the shape of its post war constitution and the role of the church which was uppermost in his mind. The existing constitution was of no consequence. It had not been in operation from the time of the Allied occupation. There would be a lot of hard bargaining and outbreaks of civil war before a new one would be settled. There were a lot of people, and not only the Communists, who did not want a role for the church written into the Italian constitution. If the Vatican and the state of Italy were totally separate and independent temporal powers, as the Vatican claimed and as was recognized in the Lateran Treaty, why should one be obliged to accept a role for the other? The state of Italy and its people – especially those in business – were very happy to accept the benefits of pilgrimage, or tourism, which flowed from the special character of Rome as the seat of Roman Catholic Christianity. The extent of that 'pilgrimage,' and the value of it, would fall considerably if the Vatican were ejected or lost its special status. But there were many who were not happy to accept the conditions which went with it: exclusive recognition of Roman Catholicism as the religion of the nation; compulsory Catholic religious education in all schools; a total ban on divorce; and, of the greatest potential irritation in the post war environment, that all bishops were to be Italian speaking Italian subjects and that they were to take an oath of loyalty to the state. This ensured that the church would be forever imposing what the state required and that the state would forever be under pressure to legislate in accordance with the church's very restrictive social teaching. As a working relationship it was little different to that in the most oppressive days of the Holy Roman Empire.

It was fundamental to Vatican self-understanding and to its ability to impose its policy of ultramontanist that the constitutional links with Italy had to be maintained and the Vatican knew that to do so was going to be very difficult. After Mussolini had been deposed and imprisoned by the Fascist Grand Council then rescued and installed as puppet governor of Northern Italy, partisan armies quickly formed to help the Germans on their way home. No more than one third of the 70,000 or more partisans were either Christian Democrats or Fascists, while about two thirds were under the command of Communists and sympathetic to their cause, or Socialists or other anti-Fascists. When the Germans were driven out of Milan it was the partisans who occupied the city before the Allied forces arrived. Immediately after the war the country was administered by a loose coalition of anti-Fascist parties led by Ferruccio Parri, and for a time the northern region was swept by waves of purges, massacres and counter-purges by both the anti-Fascists and the Fascists. In the circumstances it was clear to the pope and the Vatican hierarchy that the support of the United States and Britain was essential if the links between the Vatican and the state of Italy were to be maintained. This had a major bearing

on the pope's new 'alliance' with Churchill and his change of heart towards democracy which he reluctantly announced in his 1944 Christmas broadcast. (Chapter 25)

A TOUCH OF FOREIGN AID

In November 1945 Parri was forced from office and a Christian Democrat, Alcide De Gasperi, the Foreign Minister favourably disposed towards the US, took office as Prime Minister. DE Gasperi entered parliament as a deputy in 1921 but in 1927 he was gaoled for four years by Mussolini for anti-Fascist activities. However in 1929 he was released as a result of intervention by Pope Pius XI during the negotiations for the Lateran Treaty and appointed a librarian in the Vatican. His main tasks on taking office as prime minister were to agree a peace treaty with the Allies – while the Americans were the occupying power – to determine a new constitution and to determine the relationship between the Vatican and Italy. A referendum was agreed to determine the fate of the monarchy. Echoes of Germany after the First World War. King Victor Emmanuel III, having reigned during the Fascist era, abdicated in favor of his son who became King Umberto II. Umberto's reign was cut very short. The referendum in June 1946 recorded 54 per cent in favor of a republic. A peace treaty was drawn up and ratified in September 1947 in terms much more favourable than would have been the case if Italy had not changed sides in mid 1943, or if it had decided to retain the monarchy, or if it had retained a left wing coalition government. The new constitution took effect in January 1948 – with the Lateran Treaty of 1929 confirmed – and with elections set for April 18. Italy and the Vatican were also confirmed as the focal point for anti-Communist fervour in Europe and American aid and investment flowed freely.

In fact Central Intelligence Agency money flowed so freely that it “swung the results of the Italian election to the right.”⁸⁸ The US signed a ten-year treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation with Italy – the first such treaty that it signed after the war – and during the three or four weeks before the election there was a Hollywood-style American bombardment of the air waves, the press, the unions and every human nerve centre. It included a letter writing campaign coordinated by The Committee to Aid Democracy in Italy which involved churches in America and the American Legion mailing up to ten million items. The US Justice Department served notice that any Italian who was known to have voted for a Communist candidate would be excluded from entry to the US. Both US and British warships were frequently anchored off major Italian ports and Time magazine published a widely distributed editorial expressing the sentiment that “The US should make it clear that it will use force, if necessary, to prevent Italy from going Communist.” Gifts which had been collected in the US were distributed freely from a ‘friendship train.’ The CIA and the Italian-American Labor Council worked closely with the Christian Democrats and subsidized the campaigns of anti-Communist unions and candidates. By its own later admission the CIA gave \$US1 million to centre parties, but it is thought that the actual figure was closer to \$US10 million. Truman announced the ‘transfer’ to the Italian government of 29 merchant ships, most of which it had seized during the war anyway. The US

approved an additional \$US18.7 million in “interim aid” to Italy, then made a “first payment” of \$US4.3 million as “wages” for Italians who had worked “voluntarily” for the occupation forces. Then followed two shipments of grain, value \$US8 million; the promise to allocate \$US31 million in gold to replace gold looted by the Nazis during their occupation of Rome (which the pope had described as orderly); and, only four days before the election, the announcement of a series of grants to the Italian Ministry of Fine Arts.

All of that was complemented by a fraudulent smear campaign against Communist candidates which involved quite a bit of document forgery and accusation of scandalous sex and fascist or anti-church conduct, backed up by a blitz of American ‘culture’ of the type which the pope had objected to in making his reluctant shift from the support of authoritarian governments to democracy. It was merely a taste of what was in store for other countries.⁸⁹ But the most sordid aspect of the whole campaign was that the unresolved issue of the trusteeship for the former Italian colony of Somaliland became a matter of competitive propaganda between the US and the Italian Communists. United Nations approval for an Italian trusteeship would show the world that Italy had sloughed off its Fascist flirtation with Nazi Germany and that it was again a respected member of the international community and worthy of such responsibility. A country which would sponsor such a trusteeship was, naturally, Italy’s friend and a good model to follow. The US government even stated that it favoured Italian trusteeship over some of its other African colonies such as Ethiopia and Libya,⁹⁰ in spite of the fact that Ethiopia, having been relieved by the Allies in 1941, had actually been an original member of the United Nations with its membership dating from November 13, 1945!

However, in addition to the CIA’s direct contribution to the anti-Communist campaign, it may have collaborated in another program which shows in the records as a Vatican contribution. Mgr. Giovanni Battista Montini, Undersecretary of State and later pontiff as Pope Paul VI, arranged “financing for an organization of Catholic civic committees dedicated to countering Communist influence and campaigning for the Christian Democrats.” He provided a start-up fund of a hundred million lira through the Vatican Bank, and financed it through the sale of *surplus United States war material*.⁹¹

MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

While the Vatican’s primary focuses in Europe were the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the church throughout the continent, the suppression of communism, and the strengthening of the church’s political thrust by the consolidation and expansion of lay participation through Catholic Action, it did not lose sight of missionary enterprise. In due course, in 1951, Pius XII sought to shift the emphasis heavily in that direction and issued the encyclical *Evangelii Praecones*.⁹² He referred to the fact that “this year also there is a great increase in the generous help and support given by Our children to the missions” and said: “Your charity can certainly be employed in no better cause since it is thus destined to propagate the Kingdom of Christ and to bring salvation to so many still outside the Fold.” He linked it very deliberately to Catholic

Action, saying "we exhort ... not only missionary priests but also those laymen who 'with a great heart and a willing mind' collaborate with the missionaries in the ranks of Catholic Action." And: "Although it is clear that Catholic Action should exercise its influence primarily in promoting the works of the apostolate, its members are not prevented from *joining other organizations whose purpose is to reform social and political life* according to the principles and teaching of the Gospel; in fact their participation not only as citizens, but as Catholics also, is a right which they possess and *a duty to which they are bound*." However, like the Protestant churches, the Vatican was forced to rely heavily on support from the United States in the period immediately following the war and the recruitment and training of priests and other religious for mission fields was stepped up a notch.

It is very difficult to compare figures for missionary placement published by different authorities because they are often prepared on different bases, and it is difficult to even determine the total number of Christian missionaries working in 'foreign missions' in the years following World War II. However there was a widespread belief that Christian missionary traffic was all one way and had to be that way: from Europe to the rest of the world. The situation was summed up by a Swiss theologian even thirty years after the war with the words: "Europe is Christianity: Christianity is Europe."⁹³ But while France retained its pre-eminence as the provider of Roman Catholic missionaries from Europe, with strong contributions also from Belgium, Ireland and the Netherlands, the church was accelerating its efforts to recruit and train clergy in non-European countries and the influence of the United States was growing rapidly. By the 1950s the Society for the Propagation of the Faith (a fund raising and promotional body of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith which directs the Roman Catholic Church's world wide mission operations) obtained more than two thirds of its income from the United States (the society's expenditure represented about one fifth of total Roman Catholic mission expenditure)⁹⁴ and by 1956 about 20% of all missionary priests were drawn from there.⁹⁵ At about the same time two out of every three Protestant missionaries world wide were from the United States.⁹⁶

Also at the same time, the Protestant churches and the Ecumenical Movement were relying heavily on funds from the United States. The World Council of Churches accepted a substantial gift from John D. Rockefeller Jnr., son of the founder of the Standard Oil conglomerate, in February 1946 which enabled it to establish the Ecumenical Institute at Chateau de Bossey, Switzerland, and various US sources contributed heavily to the funding of international ecumenical conferences, a fact which enabled American delegates to exercise disproportionate influence on many occasions. The Commission of the Churches on International Affairs was also established in 1946 under the joint auspices of the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches with the help of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in the United States.⁹⁷ Thus, writing in the context of Christian missionary endeavour, Stephen Neill could say in 1964: "This is beyond question the American century. The increasing dominance of the United States in the political affairs of the world is reflected in the vigour, generosity, and vision of the American Churches in the field of Christian missions." The fact that by 1963 the

non-denominational Sudan Interior Mission, which drew its workers mainly from the traditionally conservative 'Bible Belt' of the mid west of the US, had grown to be probably the biggest Protestant missionary organization in the world provides another illustration of that dominance.⁹⁸ Thus, as the United States set about its very deliberate Christian Reconstruction of Japan in September 1945 with MacArthur at the helm, it, and he, were almost uninhibited in the policies they could implement, knowing that they were assured of strong domestic support. The money and the people would just keep coming.

THE CHRISTIAN RECONSTRUCTION OF JAPAN

Clause six of the *Potsdam Declaration* stated that the authority and influence of those who had deceived and misled the people of Japan into embarking on world conquest "must be eliminated for all time ... for we insist that a new order of peace, security and justice will be impossible until irresponsible militarism is driven from the world." Clause ten then noted that the Allies did not intend to destroy Japan as a nation or enslave its people "but stern justice shall be meted out to all war criminals, including those who have visited cruelties upon our prisoners"; all obstacles to "the revival and strengthening of democratic tendencies" shall be removed; and "freedom of speech, of religion, and of thought, as well as respect for the fundamental human rights shall be established."⁹⁹

It could be concluded from those clauses that the Western World's sense of responsibility had progressed with lightning speed since Britain applied its pressure on Japan to recognize its particular state-church link and since the United States so recently imposed an embargo on oils supplies to Japan, effectively precipitating the Japanese decision for war in the Pacific. But it could also be concluded that the signatories to the declaration (the Presidents of the US and China and the Prime Minister of Britain) had a very short memory for the history and conduct of the Christian Western World, the Vatican's innumerable efforts to *inhibit* freedom of religion, speech and thought, the *Oath Against Modernism*, and its various other measures to suppress human rights and freedom, including the straight-jacket social encyclicals of a mere ten years before the outbreak of World War Two. And what of its hunt for additional church-state links through concordats like those with Mussolini and Hitler – at exactly the time that the Japanese generals were trying to harness religion for their purposes? Perhaps the Allies would have argued that they had opposed the Vatican's forms of state-church links as well – but they could not do so with any credibility. And what about the clause of the United Nations Charter which the United States had just ratified with its call for the respect of culture? That was just a minor inconvenience. It was not to be an impediment to change if the victor wanted it.

The Allies had taken full advantage of those assorted measures when it suited them but they now expected Japan to adopt the particular contemporary mind set which had come to suit their purposes, and pronto! There is a sense in which, by establishing a Religious Division within the Supreme Command for the Allied Powers (SCAP) the Allies were adding yet another dimension to state-church relations. SCAP took on the role of supervising important aspects of the work of

the Japanese Ministry of Education through the subordinate US Eighth Army Headquarters in Yokohama. Their stated reason was that there was already a religious section in the ministry which required a parallel occupation structure, but the driving motive was to establish a version of religious freedom which the Allies saw as a fundamental requirement of a democratic society. It was a radical shift in thinking from 'political stability requires religious conformity.' But they determined to separate Shinto from the State in the mistaken belief that the teachings of Shinto were 'inimicable (*sic*) to the peace of the world' and that Japan's ultranationalism, militarism and aggressiveness were rooted in and spiritually undergirded by a State Shinto Cult.

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In any case, the *Potsdam Declaration* had much the effect in Japan which the Allied declarations on Germany had had in that country. It so horrified some of the senior military figures in cabinet that, not knowing that the United States had developed an atomic bomb, they sought to prevent the Emperor from proceeding with surrender and also sought to hold back from the negotiating table and to fight on in an effort to achieve more acceptable surrender terms. Their decision gave the US exactly the 'justification' it was determined to provoke so that it could assess the destructive capacity of its latest weapon in real life-and-death warfare and demonstrate its unchallengeable authority to the whole world. But when the Soviet Union, through which they were hoping to negotiate with the Allies, reneged on the non-aggression pact between them, declared war and invaded Manchuria on August 8, (between the two bombs), it actually strengthened their determination to do so and coup plotting began.¹⁰¹ The emperor then took the matter into his own hands and advised cabinet to accept the surrender terms to avoid further death and destruction. On August 10, his government advised the US that it was willing to surrender on the understanding that the *Potsdam Declaration* did not prejudice the prerogatives of the Emperor as a sovereign ruler. But in spite of two facts, firstly, that Truman had already decided not to abolish the Japanese Imperial system and to use the authority of the incumbent emperor as an instrument of the occupation policy and, secondly, that former Ambassador Grew had pressed for the inclusion of a clause to the effect that Emperor Hirohito *would* continue as Emperor, Truman *could not* make such a declaration because of domestic political considerations.¹⁰² Nevertheless the Emperor proceeded to broadcast acceptance of the Allied terms to his people, the landing of occupation troops began on August 30, and military government became a fact on September 2.

The structure of the Occupation and the personal beliefs of a highly authoritarian Supreme Commander then complicated the reshaping or reconstruction of the nation. General Douglas MacArthur wore three major hats. He was Supreme Commander of the Supreme Command for the Allied Powers; he was Commanding General of the Armed Forces, Pacific (later the Far East Command); and he was also Chairman of the Allied Council for Japan. He was therefore responsible jointly to the Allies as a group and to Washington, but as the Allies had delegated responsibility for the occupation to the United States he could wear which ever hat he wished and his power was virtually absolute. SCAP-the-person became synonymous with SCAP-the-organization.

THE TOKYO CHARTER

The London Conference authorised SCAP-the-organization to draw up the Tokyo Charter for the organization and conduct of War Crimes Trials. It also authorised SCAP-the-organization to establish a structure and procedures for the administration of Japan under occupation. Then when SCAP-the-person approved the Tokyo Charter by executive order on January 19, 1946, it included provision for SCAP-the-person to appoint the eleven judges required for the trials from names submitted by the governments which were signatories to the Instrument of Surrender. Furthermore, when SCAP-the-organization appointed staff to key senior positions in the SCAP General Headquarters they received letters from the US War Department saying that General MacArthur had expressed an urgent need for their services and they were to be known as “advisors of General MacArthur.”¹⁰³ In reality they formulated policy which was subject to the Supreme Commander’s approval and which they then communicated to the Military Government units of the Eighth Army which implemented it with a different line of command back to the Supreme Commander. No one except the head of the religious division got anywhere near the Supreme Commander – he only rarely – and the Supreme Commander took little notice of their advice and recommendations, and did not consult them. Nowhere was MacArthur’s dominance of the occupation more evident than in the field of religion. Although he did not get involved with detail he frequently expressed views on the subject which had to be taken into account by the Religious Division,¹⁰⁴ and even though policy development originated in that division, “in the last analysis all the important policy statements were CIE or SCAP decisions.”¹⁰⁵

Apart from the severing of official links between the State and Shinto, the Allies’ official policy was for total religious freedom and the Religious Division attempted to implement this. However the intention and trustworthiness of the official policy was called into question by MacArthur’s disparaging remarks about indigenous faiths, his constant promotion of Christianity, his determination to make the occupation a “practical demonstration of Christian ideals,” and most of his written statements which endorsed the Christian movement and appeared to the Japanese to be in violation of official policy.¹⁰⁶ He had a simplistic view of the Bible, drew on personal associates and visitors for his information, used spurious figures for the number of Christians in Japan to boost its apparent influence, publicly endorsed the distribution of Bibles (calling for ten million copies to be distributed instead of the one million which an evangelical group had planned), and accepted the post of honorary chair of a fundraising committee for the International Christian University.

TREATMENT FOR COMMUNISM: A THICK LAYER OF AMORPHOUS CHRISTIAN GEL

In an inverted cargo cult approach he would later say that through the ravage of destructive defeat the Japanese had come to “the bewildering realization of the complete failure of their own past faith,”¹⁰⁷ but in his official address at the signing of the surrender documents on September 2, before he had even set foot on land, he said the problem of Japan was

“fundamentally theological” and involved a “spiritual recrudescence and improvement of human character.” However it was not long before he exposed his other motive – base politics – and his determination to prevent Communism from making inroads into Japan using any weapon at his disposal. Religion included.

MacArthur wasted no time at all in beginning his Christian Reconstruction of Japan. The Basic Directive for Post Surrender Military Government in Japan was not issued until November 3, 1945, two months after he arrived and took command, but on the afternoon of September 2, with his derogatory remarks about religion in the nation still ringing in peoples' ears, he instructed Colonel Ken R. Dyke (soon Brigadier General) to take charge of all public information media and the re-education of the Japanese people and to write his own general orders based on material received from the Joint Chiefs of Staff. After becoming operational three weeks later Dyke's Civil Information and Education Section (CIE) became a special staff section of SCAP responsible for advising the Supreme Commander on “policies relating to public information, education, religion, and other sociological problems of Japan and Korea” on October 2.

Only two days later, on October 4, a SCAP instruction, *The Civil Liberties Directive*, was prepared and issued in the name of the Supreme Commander ending all discrimination and restrictions on religious practice and organizations. Two laws under which the religious community had been regimented and mobilized for the war effort were revoked. One was the Religious Organizations Law. The other was the Peace Preservation Law. All persons imprisoned for reasons of religious faith were required to be released, and organizations and agencies which had been established for purposes of religious mobilization, including the Indoctrination Bureau, were dissolved. Shinto was not mentioned in the directive and arrangements were foreshadowed to enable incorporated religious bodies to retain their status. There was some dissent within the CIE's Religious Section about how the directive should have been worded, but there appears to have been consensus among the leaders of faiths who were consulted that the actions being proposed were reasonable; the general public seemed surprised and pleased by the directive, and the Shrine Board of the Ministry of Home Affairs called for the prefectural governors to comply with the directive. However there was dissent within the government, the Higashikuni Cabinet fell, and it was the task of the new cabinet to implement the directive.¹⁰⁸

But on October 8, a crisis erupted. In a radio broadcast interview intended for domestic American consumption the Chief of the State Department's Division of Far Eastern Affairs said that Shintoism as a state religion would be done away with. This was picked up in Tokyo and newspapers carried headlines such as “Shinto Official Status Abolished.” Secretary of State Byrnes tried without success to clarify the statement but great distress was caused throughout Japan. Although there was a national organization of Shinto priests there was not, at that time, a national organization of shrines which could respond to this dramatic development in US policy. There soon was. Members of the Conference of Young Shintoists convened a meeting of leaders from the major Shinto organizations and pressed their case for the SCAP policy to be

modified. They did not succeed, but they established the Association of Shinto Shrines which SCAP had to recognize and with which it had to relate during the years which followed.¹⁰⁹

In spite of that disturbance SCAP pressed on with its – or his – policy of Christianization and on October 24 the Ministry of Education was directed to eliminate discrimination against Christians by reintroducing Christianity to St Paul's University and Middle School. But non-discrimination was a luxury which Shinto organizations were obviously to do without. On November 6 the use of Neighbourhood Associations to collect funds for Shinto shrines or festivals was banned, eleven officials who had discriminated against Christianity were dismissed and banned from future employment in education, and 78 institutions were placed under surveillance. Then on November 20 the Japanese Cabinet approved a policy for the management of shrines and a series of financial and organizational changes which it believed would satisfy the demands implicit in the State Department broadcast. It submitted an English translation of the policy and changes to the CIE at SCAP on November 28.

THE SHINTO DIRECTIVE

However the demands of management of religion in Japan in terms of SCAP's intentions were such that on that very day, November 28, the Religious Section within the CIE was supplanted by a special Religions Division. Its 'mission' was to expedite the establishment of *religious freedom* and to maintain liaison with religious organizations "in order to insure their understanding of and cooperation with the information and education objectives of the Supreme Commander." The person, not the organization. But the responsibilities of the new division specifically included two contentious items: prohibiting Japanese government sponsorship, support, perpetuation, control and dissemination of Shinto; and formulating policies relating to the return of Christian missionaries to Japan and Korea.^{110 111} Its augmented staff continued the seven-week task of intense consultation and the drafting and seven-times repeated redrafting of the 'Shinto Directive' which had begun immediately the controversy burst and it was issued on behalf of the Supreme Commander on December 15. They had been given no advance warning of the State Department's broadcast; no guidance except the *Potsdam Declaration* and a copy of the Secretary of State's 'clarification' of the broadcast; and, initially, three weeks in which to produce a directive – in spite of the fact that the new constitution for Japan was still in an early stage of drafting.¹¹² The person chiefly responsible for the drafting, W. K. Bunce, sought to provide "a rational basis for the eradication of Shinto Nationalism without interfering with harmless religious practices"¹¹³ and to expand the disestablishment of Shinto into the universal principle of the separation of "all religions, faiths, and creeds from the state." In doing so he gave the directive a universal character which the State Department had not anticipated and which was generally ignored.¹¹⁴

It was not described in such terms but it provided a framework for the final phase of the Christian Reconstruction of Japan. Its aims as stated in the final approved directive were to free the Japanese people from compulsion to believe or profess to believe in a religion or cult

officially designated by the state; to end compulsory financial support of an ideology which has contributed to their war guilt, defeat, suffering, privation, and present deplorable condition; to prevent a recurrence of the perversion of Shinto theory and beliefs into militaristic and ultra-nationalistic propaganda designed to delude the Japanese people and lead them into wars of aggression; to assist them in a rededication of their national life to building a new Japan based upon ideals of perpetual peace and democracy.

The directive required: an end to any support or sponsorship of Shinto by any level of government; an end to official financial assistance to shrines or to any functions or services provided through them (private assistance could continue); an end to propagation or dissemination of any ultra-nationalistic or militaristic ideology through the doctrines of *any* religion; the abolition of the Shrine Board and the Religious Functions Order; the closure of all Shinto educational and training institutions and the diversion of their properties to other uses (except that privately funded schools could continue); the censoring of all educational manuals, text books, and government guidelines and instructions to eliminate any references to Shinto doctrine; the ending of school visits to shrines; the removal of 'God-shelves' (Kamidana) and other Shinto symbols from all schools and other official structures; an end to the practice of visiting shrines to report appointments to official positions and other matters or to participate in any ceremony or observance as a representative of government; and it specified which branches or aspects of Shinto could be continued and which were to be abolished. It specified that "Sect Shinto will enjoy the same protection as any other religion" and that Shrine Shinto would be granted the same position after the 'cleansing' operations required by the directive had been completed, but it prohibited the use of terms such as 'The whole world under one roof' and 'the greater East Asia War' which implied any aspirations for Japan to gain a dominant world influence through Shinto. President Roosevelt and his successors were permitted to promote the idea of "one world" under US patronage¹¹⁵ (in spite of the Monroe Doctrine and its implicit promotion of continental or regional independence without interference from other power blocks), but not the Japanese.

Among the teachings, beliefs and theories which were to be expunged were the doctrines that: the Emperor of Japan is superior to the heads of other states because of ancestry, descent or special origin; the people of Japan are superior to those of other lands on the same basis; the islands of Japan are superior to other lands because of divine or special origin; and any others which tended to "delude the Japanese people into embarking upon wars of aggression or to glorify the use of force as an instrument for the settlement of disputes with other people."¹¹⁶

In a lengthy memorandum to the SCAP Chief of Staff which accompanied a draft of the Shinto Directive a brief history of developments in State-Shinto relations from 1971 was set out and it was noted that: "No other modern nation ... has attempted to secure social and political cohesion through the strength of a ceremonial nexus that was normal in occidental culture 2,000 to 4,000 years ago. Nor has any other modern religion attempted to utilize such ritualistic agencies for vivifying and achieving the primary ends of national life."¹¹⁷ However that note requires significant qualification and interpretation. To begin with, it did not mention nor take

account of the US and European intervention, using Christianity as an excuse, which precipitated Japan's civil war and the rise of State Shinto. (chapter 15) It appeared to take the religion clauses of the amended US Constitution and the 1946 constitution of the Philippines (with which it has been compared) as the norm for non-Japanese countries, ignoring the history of religious interaction in those countries and in particular the fact that colonial America had been shaped by people escaping religious torment and the consequences of church-state links in their own countries.

To consider the legitimacy of using the Shinto Directive as a means towards the Christian Reconstruction of Japan we can look at each of the clauses of the directive, set out above, in turn. Sponsorship of Christianity was no less real under papal concordats or in countries such as Britain in which the monarch was constitutionally the head of the church than it was under Japan's State-Shinto links. Japan's use of religion for promoting nationalism and militarism was little different to Britain's 'God, King and Country' propaganda and the provision of a special edition of the New Testament for British troops in World War I with a personal message from the king commending the value of the Bible and "the *courage* to be gathered from the daily reading of it."¹¹⁸ Britain not only used its public purse to support certain religious functions, but the senior clergy of its State Church were granted seats in the House of Lords and exercised very real and very nationalistic political influence. But what about the Education Act which had been passed only the year before, under which the teaching of the Christian religion was made obligatory in British schools in order to instil discipline into students who were soon to become cannon fodder in Britain's war? It was precisely the same mechanism which was now to be struck out of the Japanese system.

The gross misrepresentation of the history of the Crusades, the Inquisitions and the colonial conquests of Latin America, Africa and Asia by the European Christian powers in text books which were still being used through virtually the entire Western education system was far more extensive than any historical omissions and misrepresentations by Japanese educators. So was the political misuse of the church and religious faith in the suppression of non-European non-Christian cultures. The use of 'God-shelves' and religious symbols in Shinto relates directly to the use of crucifixes, Madonnas, other icons and prayer beads in Christian worship, and the veneration of ancestors as models of conduct and ethics is, at the very worst, no different to the Christian veneration of saints. One logical corollary to the prohibition of government representatives taking part in any religious ceremony or observance in Christian countries would be that the legal profession would forgo its parades and church services to mark the beginning of each legal year. Then the patronising abuse of the concept of "The White Man's Burden" to justify and promote the exploitation and rape of the non-European world in the name of civilising and Christianizing its people makes a mockery of the Allied prohibition of references to the Japanese concepts of 'The Greater East Asian War' and 'The whole world under one roof.'

And finally: the prohibition of references to the teaching that the Japanese Emperor, people and land were superior to others because of "ancestry, descent or special origin." The Shinto

Directive ignored both the teaching of the Athanasian Creed and the similarity between the Shinto concept of Japanese Imperial divine links and papal claims to divine authority and the linked concept of the Divine Right of subordinate kings in the Christian world. Perhaps MacArthur had not read the pope's Christmas address, just a year earlier. If he had, he chose to ignore references to "Catholic teaching on the origin and use of authority (and) the divinely-ordained order of beings and purposes (and) that absolute order of government ... conferred by God through its participation in the authority of God exercised through the (Catholic) church" with its "supernatural truths." Perhaps two bodies were not allowed to make the same claims. The church got in first. However, even if the drafters in the Religious Division of SCAP were painfully conscious of that similarity it would have been absolutely impossible for them to recognize it in a document which was to be the Allies' means of dismantling Japan's religious system and entrenching their Christian colonial dominance of the overall Asian region. Certainly they did not know about the Pope's want to dogmatise the Assumption if it was "lawful, convenient and useful" to do so. His encyclical *Deiparae Virginis Mariae* was not published until six months after the Shinto Directive.

The publication of the Shinto Directive was stage managed very carefully indeed. So well that it did not prove to be the 'bomb shell' which the CIE chief expected. The Japanese government and Shinto authorities had adjusted to the demands which they expected to be made and, in fact, the draft which they submitted to SCAP on November 20 took account of almost all the demands which were made. The US press generally praised the document – it was going to produce the results the US was looking for – and although reaction in Japan was mixed, the general public accepted it – because the Emperor had told them to.¹¹⁹ Truman's assessment had been correct. America could not do without the Japanese imperial system even if the Supreme Commander wanted to make more sweeping changes to accommodate his Christianization plans.

FILLING THE SPIRITUAL VACUUM: THE IMPERIAL RESCRIPT

MacArthur had already told four visiting Protestant leaders that Japan was a spiritual vacuum. "If you do not fill it with Christianity it will be filled with Communism. Send me a thousand missionaries."¹²⁰ Four years later he was still pressing that view, a press report noting: "General Douglas MacArthur hopes to Christianize Japan as a first step toward saving Asia from Communism."¹²¹ But on December 15, 1945, the very day that the Shinto Directive was released, he urged the Catholic Church to increase its request for missionary admissions a hundred-fold. Then on December 29 he cabled Washington that *his* policy was to permit the return of as many missionaries as possible. The Religious Division of CIE was in a cleft stick. It had already advised the Chief of Staff, prior to the release of the Shinto Directive, on a schedule which could be the basis of a policy for the return of missionaries. During the first six months of 1946 each missionary organization would have been permitted entry for one missionary or, if it had been represented before the war, up to 20 percent of the number serving in Japan in 1940.

During the second six months of 1946 the quota would be another one or an additional 40 percent of the prewar number. From the beginning of 1947 there was to be no limit.¹²² However the word of the Supreme Commander was generally taken both by SCAP staff and Japanese officials as the SCAP policy they had to follow, whether it was in the form of a directive or not, such as his expressed wish that representatives of the Pocket Testament League be given any assistance they might need.¹²³ The penalties for 'acts prejudicial to the Occupation objectives' or 'violations' which could be interpreted as 'failure to carry out' any requirement were imprisonment for up to ten years or fines up to 200,000 Yen.¹²⁴ Augustine and his heresy hunters would have been proud of their latter day 'saint.'

On January 1, 1946, Emperor Hirohito issued an Imperial Rescript which eased the task of the Occupation forces considerably and assisted MacArthur in his bid for Christianization. Whether he issued that rescript on his own accord, knowing it to be in the nation's interest that he do so, and the extent to which he responded to pressure from MacArthur's staff has been widely debated and is not clear from the records available. It was a masterly, inspiring statement of the peaceful direction which the nation was embarking upon and a call for unity in pursuing that direction. But the key statement was that which became known as his 'Declaration of Humanity' which should have finally dismantled *all* concepts of the Divine Rights of Kings and not only that which had been used to harness the authority of the Japanese Imperial Person. The Emperor said, in part: "The ties between Us and Our people have always stood upon mutual trust and affection. They do not depend upon mere legends and myths. They are not predicated on the false conception that the Emperor is divine, and that the Japanese people are superior to other races and fated to rule the world."¹²⁵

With the Shinto Directive in effect the Religious Division staff set about drafting a host of consequential regulations within the even-handed framework which they believed to be the Allies' intention. On February 2, 1946, a memorandum was addressed to the Chief of Staff of SCAP and circulated to other divisions of the CIE stating that it was *not* the mission of the Religious Division to propagate Christianity, but to separate Shinto from the State and to establish and preserve religious freedom for *all* religions. It acknowledged that the division was to advise on the return of missionaries but said its only interest was to see that they "do not become a burden on the occupation forces" and it did not represent religious organizations in the US or in Japan.¹²⁶ That was consistent with its scheduling advice two months earlier. But two weeks after the Shinto Directive was issued the Education Division of SCAP, (not the Religious Division), issued a Religious Corporations Ordinance and followed with instructions to the government to suspend immediately all courses in morals, Japanese history and Japanese geography and not to revive them without permission.¹²⁷ Then, on November 25, 1946, MacArthur advised the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington that "It is the policy of *this theatre* to increase greatly the Christian influence and every effort will be made to absorb missionaries as rapidly as the church can send them into the area."¹²⁸ While accurate figures are not available for the entry of missionaries, the official clearances were: for the 17 months from the occupation to the end of January 1947, 243; for the remaining eleven months of 1947, 255; then

1948, 707; 1949, 804; 1950, 1,171 including some repatriated from Korea after the outbreak of war in that country. That was a total of 3,180 Christian missionaries. In contrast, during that period entry permits were granted for one Buddhist priest, one Muslim 'missionary-businessman', one Jewish rabbi and one Mental Science Institute representative, each of whom required special approval to circumvent the terms of the missionary regulations.¹²⁹ So much for freedom of religion.

That misuse of the Christian religion for political purposes by MacArthur, in league with those member countries of the Allied Commission which were Christian, was in the same mould as Constantine's reconstruction of Rome, Napoleon III in French Indo-China, or Britain's *Balfour Declaration*. It was also just as deliberate a reconstruction of a country's religious system using military authority or intervention in the interests of the conqueror as was the papal reconstructions of Scandinavia and Latin America or Hitler's reconstruction of Germany, although much less violent than either. It was also as deliberate as the Muslim imposition of Islam in Asia Minor, the introduction of Judaism in the Khazar Khanate, or Akbar's intervention in India, but it was neither as successful nor as constructive as any of those.

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM – AND A NEW US-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP

Parallel with that religious reconstruction program and the higher profile program of retribution through the war crimes trials, MacArthur was implementing several other crash programs. As far as America's Allies were concerned the main purposes of the occupation were simply demilitarization and the development of a stable relationship with a Japan which would not rock the Western World's boat. But MacArthur's agenda was different. If the United States was to achieve its war aim of not only filling the political and economic power vacuums in Asia but of dominating it, and if it was to ensure that there could be no challenge to its seat at the pinnacle of world affairs, then the biggest economic power house in Asia had to be compliant, reasonably friendly towards it, preferably modelled on the American ideal, and definitely accessible for both markets and resources. His crash programs therefore covered demilitarization, the political structure, economic reform and education – and land tenure reform. That was vital.

The most basic reform – constitutional reform – was therefore a matter of priority and the United States made this patently clear to the Japanese government and business leaders even before the occupation – even before a surrender would be accepted. The Meiji constitution had to go. The Japanese were invited to draft a new constitution for themselves, but when this proved unacceptable, as expected, MacArthur's government section prepared its own draft and presented it to the Japanese government. It was placed before the first postwar Diet in April 1946, complete with the Emperor's endorsement in advance. It was promulgated on November 3 and took effect on May 3, 1947.

The US had reluctantly accepted that it could not do to Japan what it had done to Germany at the end of the First World War – eliminate the monarchy – so it had to accept that if there was

an emperor there could not also be an elected president. But the role and status of the emperor was downgraded, the people were told that sovereignty now lay with them, and to prove it they were presented with a 31-article bill of rights in which Article 9 renounced "war as a sovereign right of the nation" forever and pledged that "land, sea and air forces" would "never be maintained." The Emperor was no longer "sacred" or "inviolable." He was simply the "symbol of the state and of the unity of the people." A bicameral Diet was introduced, the peerage was dissolved and the House of Peers was replaced by a House of Councillors, with power concentrated in the House of Representatives. The Privy Council was abolished. The prime minister was to be chosen by the Diet from its members who would be elected on the basis of universal suffrage, and an independent judiciary was established together with the right of judicial review.

But the electoral provisions of the constitution were stacked against strong, stable government, and Japan was faced with a series of governments in quick succession. True, the first government of Yoshida Shigeru (1946–47) was at a disadvantage because it had to force through all of the reforms required by MacArthur, but its Socialist successor, led by Katayama Tetsu (1947–48) was no more successful. That didn't matter. The United States didn't want a socialist anyway. Neither was the first government of Ashida Hitoshi which lasted only five months in 1948. Then when Yoshida regained power in the third election within a year, backed by US interests, he was able to cling to it until 1954. An important reason was the way in which the land tenure reform was carried out, and the combination of the two factors – the electoral and land tenure reforms – led to a constitutional crisis in the 1990's.

DEMILITARIZATION

The demilitarization of Japan was even harsher and more humiliating than that which had been imposed on Germany at Versailles. Germany had been permitted to retain an army of 100,000 troops and specified limited armaments for its defence, but under the 'Bill of Rights' pledge imposed on Japan that land, sea and air forces would never be maintained, its entire military command structure was eliminated. Its armed forces, both in Japan and overseas, were disarmed and demobilized, and their officers were stripped of their commissions during the early months of the occupation – except for those which were required to help the US Marines secure the cities and ports of China until the Chinese Nationalists could take over and prevent a Communist Party government from being formed. (See below: *The challenge of China*) Even the Home Ministry with its prewar powers over the police and local government was abolished; the police force was decentralized and its authority was curtailed. Japan was not only occupied: it became subject to United States suzerainty and totally dependant on it for its defence. Defence dependence automatically meant the inability to develop its own foreign policy and therefore Japan had to bow to US pressure, accept its strategy for the area, and form regional alliances with Taiwan and South Korea. Naturally the United States 'agreed' to maintain and staff defence bases in Japan. It was 'purely coincidental' that this gave the United States

strategic dominance of the entire East and that, because of that enormous high-tech US military presence, Japan became a prime target for another atomic attack once Soviet Russia achieved nuclear capacity and the Cold War reached its peak. On both counts, an unwelcome foreign military presence and interference in the nation's foreign policy, crises were being set up and put into store for the next generation to cope with.

In line with their policy of retribution and of placing the blame for the war on Japan, the Allies had planned to exact heavy reparations, but in view of the US self-interest need to establish the best basis for its future relations with Japan, and in a misguided bid to discourage support for 'subversive' Communist elements in the South East Asian countries which would have received some of the reparations, that plan was soon changed. SCAP decided to review the reparations demands. The revised plan still required the forfeiture of Japanese assets overseas and a small number of war plants, but reparations were otherwise largely limited to agreements reached between Japan and those in Asia who wished to pursue claims after the peace treaty was signed.

ECONOMIC REFORM

In the horrific pounding which was inflicted on Japan in the extended period prior to the surrender, Japan had suffered the destruction of about one hundred cities; its war dead rose to two million; and its industrial production was crushed to just ten per cent of its pre-war level. Seven million people were repatriated from overseas. They were mainly demobilized armed forces but there were also large numbers of civilian employees who were required to leave to minimize Japanese influence in the countries which had been "relieved." The result was unemployment on an enormous scale, widespread poverty and near starvation, rampant inflation, and a level of crime such that Japan, with its strict ethics and high level of personal discipline had never experienced.

The American assessment was that in such an environment political democratization within an anti-Communist society would require economic and social changes as well as Christianization and reconstruction. MacArthur believed that because nearly half of Japan's farmers were subsistence tenants, there was little hope of achieving it without significant changes in the ownership of land. Therefore in 1946, within months of the occupation, SCAP imposed a hasty program of land reform which was designed to convert tenants into owner-farmers. The bigger city-based landlords were forced to forfeit a high proportion of their holdings to the government on terms of part cash and bonds redeemable thirty years later which amounted to expropriation, and land was sold to tenants on favourable terms. They were protected by contracts, rents were set at a maximum of 25 per cent of production, and their land was designated "inalienable." As American legislators and courts had already decided ten years earlier, such a designation was untenable, and it was reversed only four years later. But in addition, tax incentives and price support, or subsidies, ensured that the majority of the nation's new owner-farmers quickly gained control of their land.

However the average holding was of a meagre 2.5 acres (1 hectare) so that without subsidies and government-maintained high agricultural prices the farmers could not have survived and the entire reform would have been untenable. Productivity per person fell compared with productivity under the old regime, even though yields per acre increased through sheer hard work. Mechanization was very hard to justify on such small areas and employment of labour was unrealistic. The farmers – enormous numbers of them on such small plots – therefore formed a powerful conservative lobby which resisted agricultural trade liberalization. Having just gained their own plots they were hardly likely to call for land tenure reform. Another crisis, this time in international trade relations, was being generated and put into storage until a later date, but MacArthur achieved his immediate objective. The Japanese countryside prospered and rural voters became the mainstay of the conservative Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) when it was formed in 1955 – made even more powerful by both the electoral reforms, which had given the vote to both the farmers and their wives, and the agricultural price supports which had become politically immovable. These were major factors in ensuring that Japan became a consumer-based economy within a few years.¹³⁰

The dissolution of the zaibatsu, Japan's great financial houses, had also been an early SCAP priority, but this disappeared as Japan's cooperation became more important in the deteriorating international atmosphere and the Cold War became the focus of American attention. The zaibatsu had been regarded as Japan's most likely war makers, but in view of the perceived need for an economically viable and friendly non-communist Japan they were soon regarded as essential for economic recovery. Out of about 1,200 organizations listed for investigation and possible dissolution, a mere handful – less than thirty – were broken up, although the major holding companies of the zaibatsu empires were dissolved. Their assets and component parts were made available for public purchase. However none of Japan's banks were broken up and they proved to be the centres for a measure of industrial and commercial reconsolidation after the occupation ended.¹³¹

Another basic plank of SCAP's plan to keep Japan on the non-communist path required the reorganization of industrial labour. A new Ministry of Labour was established in 1947 and trade union and labour relations laws were modelled on Roosevelt's New Deal legislation. At first a strong union movement was encouraged but because many of its leaders were either socialists or communists who had been released from prison by the occupation there was soon a purge – prompted by a plan for a general strike in 1947 and Cold War paranoia. SCAP ordered the government to deprive government workers, including those in communications unions, of the right to strike and a new labour organization, Sohyo, the General Council of Trade Unions of Japan was sponsored to offset the influence of the Congress of Industrial Labour Unions of Japan (Sambetsu Kaigi).¹³²

SCAP regarded the Education Ministry as another source of nationalistic influence and, as already noted, directed that it discontinue courses which had that tendency. Its proper role was to be a key promoter of democracy, US style. The Fundamental Law of Education, 1947, guaranteed academic freedom, extended compulsory education from six to nine years, and

provided for coeducation. The supposedly elitist system of channels for vocational training, higher technical schools, and universities was replaced by standardized grade levels and automatic progression through the American structure of elementary, lower secondary, higher secondary, and undergraduate higher education. The establishment of prefectural universities was encouraged and within twenty years Japan was a world leader in tertiary education.

So: with an occupation regime such that no other country had ever been subjected to, Japan's new relationship with the United States had been fairly well cemented in place within three years of the occupation. The United States was free to go its own way in Asia, and Japan's course in the world had been charted for it, but it would take many more years before the bitter antagonism which had been generated towards it by the deliberate actions and policies of the Allies could be overcome. The crash program of war crimes trials was still in full swing, and certain aspects of those trials serve to illustrate the differing approaches of the governments and religious regimes involved, and the way in which the Christian military powers had sought to denigrate the Japanese and the religion of Shinto by cross-referencing their actions and by avoiding debate about their own.

THE COMFORT WOMEN

The matter of Japan's 'Comfort Women' had caught the Western World's imagination and attracted a great deal of publicity. It was not difficult to establish that the coercive recruitment of about 100,000 women, mainly from Korea, and their transportation to other countries with the Japanese armed forces to work as prostitutes was rape, a form of slavery and a crime against both the women and the countries concerned. It was a very short step to connect that with their non-Christian religious influence. But, as in the case of the biological warfare experiments, no one faced trial primarily on the basis of responsibility for the comfort women program. The reasons become apparent as we consider the background to the Comfort Women affair, details of the occupation and the conduct of the war trials. Several important issues which were largely and deliberately ignored must be noted at this point.

First: massive abuse of women by Allied troops in the countries in which the Allies fought, whether against Japan or Germany. Second: at the time of the war crimes trials American, British and Australian troops were 'enjoying the services' of Japanese women – or exploiting them – in occupied Japan in a revised version of the Comfort Houses organized with the full knowledge and agreement of the Allied (US) Military Government. Third: rape outside the Comfort House system was even then being committed by American and Australian troops in Japan at a rate comparable to that reported anywhere during the war. These issues clearly involved war crimes for which Allied officers should have stood trial in the same way as the Japanese. But they did not. The victorious allies were only interested in retribution against the vanquished and not in getting to the bottom of war crime.

Concerning the first issue: abuse of women by Allied troops. As already noted, a number of countries of the Western Alliance, including Australia, had to struggle to cope with pathetic

ignorance of sexual matters among many of their serving soldiers prior to their enlistment; the suppression of their sexual activity, and psychological maladjustment which had resulted from the repressive social and moral regime which prevailed between the two world wars. In Australia, on the outbreak of war the defence forces took steps to offset those problems through education and counselling. Their aim was to produce disciplined troops who would act responsibly in the theatre of war, and to minimize the social and medical problems of war for families and communities both in Australia and in those countries in which Australia was to fight. It did so against opposition from the church which maintained that sex education was not appropriate, that it would draw attention to a problem unnecessarily, and that it would encourage undesirable sexual activity. However the steps taken were only partly successful.

By the time Japan entered the war in December 1941 with its cadres of 25 to 30 carefully supervised Comfort Women per 1,000 troops accompanying its armies, the sexual activity of Australian troops was such that there was an overall rate for all venereal disease infections in the Australian army of *67 cases per 1,000 troops*. The rate in the Middle East was about *82 cases per 1,000 troops*. During 1942 the rate of infections among troops in Syria actually rose by some 18 per cent to about *97 cases per 1,000 troops* and a senior medical officer reported that the problem of venereal disease was still serious, "especially with the Australians who appear to be either more promiscuous or more careless." These rates compare with an estimate of *133 cases per 1,000 troops* in the Middle East in 1916 and it is therefore clear that the measures which the army introduced had a significant effect. During the Palestine campaign in 1916 the 'constant treatment' rate had reached a peak of 24 per 1,000 and it is quite apparent that with an average period of hospitalisation of three weeks the fighting efficiency of the army was reduced and it is difficult to quantify the social consequences of the infections for both the host countries and Australia.^{133 134}

In a carefully conducted investigation in Tripoli, at a time when 13,500 Australian troops were based there, 11,955 'attendances' were monitored at supervised brothels during a 12-week period. No estimates are available for intercourse with prostitutes outside the supervised brothels, rape or 'voluntary intercourse' with other women. However, during that 12-week monitored period 134 cases of suspected venereal disease were reported. That is a rate of 10 infections per 1,000 troops in a very short period. Many of those cases were attributed to intercourse with women *not* in the supervised brothels and it can therefore be assumed that there was a very high rate of unreported rape whether it involved physical force or simply coercion. In spite of the measures taken there was real cause for alarm even on the home front where the troops could be expected to be less promiscuous. The rate of confirmed venereal disease infection among troops based in Australia in 1942 was 19 per 1,000, compared with a rate for those based in the South West Pacific, where contact with the local population was restricted, of only 2 per 1,000.¹³⁵

In spite of the seriousness of these reports, in the circumstances of the time, the available records suggest that overall, British, American and Commonwealth troops were relatively restrained in their conduct towards women in the countries in which they fought as relieving

forces rather than as invading or occupying forces. The British established brothels in North Africa and India. In Tripoli, to provide for their composite armies with troops drawn from the colonies and dominions, they set up different brothels for troops of different races and for officers and enlisted men. In India they were for officers only – and after a time they were closed on orders from London. American military chiefs considered operating brothels for their troops but the decision was taken not to do so – because a public outcry was expected at home. American troops were therefore left to find and take advantage of any ‘facilities’ or sex workers who were available – or to simply rape their way through the community.

But it cannot be said that the troops of any countries acted with greater or lesser ‘ethical restraint’ than others when they were forces of invasion or oppression. In view of their atrocities against the Jews in situations such as Crystal Night in November, 1938, and as a consequence of the manipulative use of media reporting during World War I, the people of the Western Alliance expected beastly conduct from German invaders. It was therefore no surprise when Molotov presented a report to the Allies in January 1942 of large scale rape of Russian women by German troops as the Nazis steamrolled towards Moscow. That report was later used at the Nuremberg war crimes trials, together with reports of rape of Jewish women on a massive scale during the subjugation of Poland and in the concentration camps. In fact the Nazis favoured organized brothels for their troops, too, and a plan was prepared to staff brothels in Warsaw with Polish Jews. It was only scrapped when senior authorities remembered that intercourse between an Aryan German and a Jew was a criminal offence under the Nazi’s Nuremberg Race Laws.

However the beastly conduct continued when the tables were turned and the Russians (Communists and Christians in league) were on the offensive. Claiming that they were taking revenge for what the Germans had done in their country, Russian troops rampaged through Berlin committing grotesque acts of rape on an atrocious scale which were not documented until the 1960s. And when they joined the war against Japan just in time to share the spoils of victory and invaded Manchuria they committed mass rapes in a similar bestial manner in spite of the fact that no Japanese troops could have been involved in rape against Russians simply because they were not at war until the Russian invasion.¹³⁶

And the restraint which the British, American and Commonwealth troops had shown when they were fighting in friendly or neutral countries disappeared when they became forces of occupation in enemy territory themselves. They were no longer influenced by the need to maintain appearances because they were ‘relieving’ peoples from the oppression of Japanese invasion to enable their ‘return’ to one or other of the European imperial folds or to American colonial or neo-colonial status. In any case, given the circumstances of war and their training for battle, the troops would not have been conscious that the Japanese invasions had occurred as a consequence of Western policies, and that they were, in part, dependent on the cooperation of the people of the colonies to enable the *recovery* of those territories for the imperial powers.

RECREATION AND AMUSEMENT FOR GIs

So, the second issue: the exploitation of women in occupied countries as prostitutes. The Japanese government had a very good understanding of the pattern of sexual conduct and rape in war, the effectiveness steps which had been taken to minimize rape by its own troops, and the suffering already imposed on Japanese women by Russians during the invasion of Manchukuo which had begun on August 8, 1945, sandwiched between the dropping of the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima on the 6, and the second, on Nagasaki, on the 9th. Its people also had a heritage of very strict personal and social ethics. It therefore held discussions within days of the announcement of its surrender on August 14, 1945, and well before the arrival of Allied occupation forces or the signing of formal surrender documents on September 2, to find ways of dealing with the expected problem of mass rape by Allied troops. On August 17 the governors and police chiefs of all prefectures were instructed to procure women from geisha houses, brothels and night clubs to work as prostitutes in a system of somewhat grand 'comfort houses' for the occupying forces. Four days later, on August 21, Prime Minister Higashikuniomiya held a meeting with several ministers, including those for health, internal affairs, the foreign ministry and legal affairs at which thirty million yen was allocated for the establishment of the 'Recreation and Amusement Association' (RAA) which was to be ready for the 'benefit' and pleasure of the occupation forces. The first of hundreds of RAA brothels opened on August 27 in suburban Tokyo.

The expansion and operation of the RAA continued under the supervision of the Allied Military Government of General Douglas MacArthur and more than 20,000 women had been 'drafted' into the RAA within four months, by Christmas 1945. The numbers reached a peak of 70,000 within another three months. There were simply not enough practicing prostitutes, geishas and other hospitality workers available to satisfy the demand – or the lust – of the victors. Thousands of high school students were among the other women who were forced to work in the brothels of the RAA. The students included many who had survived the bombing of Hiroshima because they had been drafted into munitions factories towards the end of the war but who had lost their entire families in the bombing. The system was disbanded on March 27, 1946, officially on the grounds that it was contrary to the principles of the 'new democracy' which military governor MacArthur was intent on establishing. However there are other reasons why the system was disbanded. One was to halt the rapid spread of venereal disease among the American forces and to stifle criticism at home. It was impossible to adequately supervise such a vast network.¹³⁷ But it should have been obvious that if the RAA could not be properly supervised there was no hope of supervising either the conduct of the troops or the network of informal brothels to which they turned and which therefore expanded rapidly, and the situation became worse. So to the other reason.

On July 26, 1945, only 18 days after publishing the London Agreement which included the Statute for the Nuremberg International Military Tribunal (German war crimes trials), the London Conference of the Big Four Powers published the *Potsdam Declaration* that Japanese

officials would also be prosecuted for war crimes. Subsequently, on January 19, 1946, General MacArthur, as Supreme Allied Commander in Japan, issued an executive order approving The Tokyo Charter which included the jurisdiction, constitution and functions of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East. The charter gave the Supreme Commander sole authority to appoint the judges for the tribunal, from names submitted by countries which had signed the 'Instrument of Surrender, plus India and the Philippines. It included, as noted above, two newly defined classes of crimes, 'Crimes against Peace' and 'Crimes against Humanity', as well as the previously recognized 'War Crimes.' [Crimes against Humanity were defined as "murder, extermination, *enslavement*, deportation or *other inhumane acts* committed *before or during* the war, or persecution on political or racial grounds in execution of or in connection with any crime within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, whether or not in violation of the domestic law of the country where perpetrated."]¹³⁸

However, although MacArthur approved the charter on January 19, it was not issued until April 26, and in the meantime the RAA was ordered to be disbanded on March 27. The Tokyo Trial of 28 Class A defendants, with eleven international judges sitting as a tribunal actually began on May 3, a mere seven days after the charter had been released. Charges were only brought against persons for "offences which included crimes against peace." No proceedings were brought under charges classed as 'war crimes' or 'crimes against humanity.' Any conduct and any events which logically would have been dealt with under those classes were dealt with only if the person held responsible could be charged under the dragnet of 'crimes against peace.'¹³⁹ The majority judgement was published in November 1948, but the complete proceedings, including the dissenting judgements, were not published until thirty three years later – 1981 – after one of the judges, B.V.A. Roling, and a Dutch professor, C.F. Rutter, undertook to edit and publish them in 1977.¹⁴⁰ One effect of that sequence of events, coupled with the very deliberate and careful choice of terms in the charter, was to avoid any comparison of the conduct of the Japanese army and its political and military leaders with the conduct of the American and other Allied armies, and their political and military leaders.

This is consistent with MacArthur's view that the trials should have been limited to responsibility for the "treacherous attack on Pearl Harbour" which should be "avenged" and branded "a grave violation of the laws of war."¹⁴¹ It is hardly credible that MacArthur was not aware of the circumstances of the deliberate incitement of the Japanese to attack Pearl Harbour and of the sequence of events at the time, especially considering that he was one of the privileged people in the circle of "the splendid arrangement" and that Governor Dewey had planned to make it a key item in his presidential election campaign in 1944. (chapter 24) The choice of terms in the charter is also consistent with MacArthur's position that the trials were "epochal proceedings designed to formulate and codify standards of international morality."¹⁴² That position surely should have called for substantial international publicity of the kind which was generated for the trial of General Yamashita rather than the deliberate suppression of reporting and international discussion which took place. Given the way in which the Allies had exploited the issue of the abuse of captive women in Comfort Houses for the Japanese Army,

and continue to exploit it fifty years after the war, the abuse of Japanese women through the RAA system was indeed a ghastly matter which MacArthur and his colleagues were not eager to have on the legal record. But it leads to an even more significant matter.

THE RAPE OF JAPAN

The third issue: rape committed by the Allied occupying forces. In spite of the fact that their countries were no longer at war, the provision of RAA brothels did not prevent rape any more than the comfort houses for Japan's troops had. American soldiers engaged in mob rape from the day they landed in Japan, August 30, 1945, and four cases were reported at Yokosuka, in the prefecture of Kanagawa, on that day. The first attack, against a mother and daughter at gun point, occurred in a private house at 1 pm, just three and a half hours after the marines landed. In another attack 27 soldiers gang raped a woman to near death. But that was just the beginning. In the first ten days from that landing, in the prefecture of Kanagawa alone, 1,336 cases were reported. Children were raped in front of their parents and pregnant women were raped on their delivery beds in maternity hospitals. Tanaka states: "If we extrapolate those figures to cover the whole of Japan – and if we assume that many rapes were unreported – then it is clear that rape by the American forces was occurring on a scale comparable to that of any other force during the war." ¹⁴³

However some areas were occupied by Australian, New Zealand and Indian soldiers under the command of British officers. In one such area, Kure, Hiroshima, a prostitute who agreed to a request by police to act as a "firebreak" for the Australians so that young women would not be raped, reported: "The Australian soldiers were the worst. The dragged young women into their jeeps, took them to the mountain, and then raped them. I heard them screaming for help nearly every night." ¹⁴⁴

The debate about whether Japan's system of Comfort Women for its troops was a greater war crime than the systems of male gratification implemented or permitted by the Allies is therefore certainly not at all one-sided. It is especially noteworthy that at the time that charges of mass-rape and rape in the form of enforced prostitution by Japanese forces in China, the Philippines and elsewhere were being heard and judged in the Tokyo War Crimes Trials, and those responsible were being sentenced, "the same practice was continuing throughout occupied Japan, with the active participation of Allied forces, and the approval of the high command of the occupying forces." ¹⁴⁵ A mere 247 American soldiers in all of occupied Japan and Europe were prosecuted for rape in the second half of 1945. ¹⁴⁶ The hypocrisy of the great white Western Christian powers was palpable as they sought to justify their own role and conduct in the war, especially the dropping of 'the bombs'; to extract retribution from the vanquished; to maintain the myth of their own lilywhite purity and Japan's exclusive guilt; to link that guilt with the inferior religious beliefs and ethics of its people; and to impose new systems of ethics, government, commerce and economics on them.

When it came to the crunch the troops of the Allied Occupational Forces were no different to those of the Axis powers. They reacted to exactly the same psychology of war. They felt obliged to strengthen the bonds of combat with their comrades by proving beyond doubt their masculinity in the presence of each other, to demonstrate their dominance over their enemy, and to further humiliate that enemy by physically violating its women in the presence of its men.¹⁴⁷ In very large measure they were taking part in a re-run of the reconstruction of Germany after World War One, and one of the final stages in the Christian Reconstruction of Asia, except that, with the benefit of hindsight, the victors permitted the Japanese monarchy to remain in a modified form to avoid the backlash which was to be anticipated if a vital link in the nation's self-understanding was totally dismantled as it had been in Germany's case. But in Japan's case there was a much more definite religious component linking the monarchy and the national self-understanding. The victors had to negotiate their way around it very carefully, even if they did not understand it properly.

NO AVALANCHE OF CONVERSIONS

MacArthur's attitude to the Tokyo Trials was consistent with his policy to facilitate Christian missions in Japan and the vigorous efforts which were made under his direction to suppress the Shinto religion by "prohibit(ing) Japanese government sponsorship, support, perpetuation, control, and dissemination of Shinto", thus enforcing its elimination from the school system and severing the link between Shinto and State. The West was to be allowed to link religion and state, but not the East. The staff of the religious division of the Civil Information and Education Section of the military government was to "maintain liaison with religious organizations in order to insure their understanding and cooperation with the information and education objectives of the Supreme Commander" – to Christianize Japan as expeditiously as possibly as an aid to achieving his political aims – while they preserved a facade of expediting "the establishment and preservation of religious freedom and encourage(ment) for the Japanese people to develop a desire for such freedom."¹⁴⁸

His policy can hardly be described as a success, and the real consequences may well become evident as the new millennium unfolds. It has been said that all the Japanese government's wartime rules fell to the ground with its military collapse in 1945; that the moral and spiritual shock of the defeat was incalculably severe; that "in revulsion against the system that had brought them to such disaster many Japanese seemed prepared to accept the American way of life entire, and the Christian Gospel as part of it;" and that "out of this mixture of frustration and hope a great Christian movement might develop."¹⁴⁹ That is an inappropriate description of the situation which, as we have seen, was a consequence of the policies and actions of Western Christian powers over a very long period, deliberately compounded by the policies and actions of the Supreme Allied Commander. Taking advantage of those policies "almost every mission under the sun pressed into Japan" and although the rush of the first five years was not sustained, by 1963 there were more than 4,000 Protestant missionaries in Japan – about one tenth of the

world Protestant missionary endeavour in a country with two per cent of the world population. Almost all were from the United States.¹⁵⁰ In addition there were about 500 Roman Catholic missionaries from America.¹⁵¹ Those numbers were probably close to the peak which appears to have been reached during the period 1962 to 1970.¹⁵²

A GENERATIONAL GULF AND THE RISE OF CULTS

However, in spite of the number of missionaries being so large, the expected landslide to Christianity did not occur and the "rather superficial religious interest of the immediate postwar years soon died away." Indications are that the number of Christians in Japan had grown to about 750,000 by 1963 in a population of ninety million, but that the Japanese had "soon began to be occupied with their economic reconstruction to the almost total exclusion of everything else."¹⁵³ MacArthur, showing his disappointment in November 1949, expressed the view that Japan would not be Christianized in any conceivable period of time, that pride of race, if nothing else, would prevent most Japanese from becoming Christian, and that Buddhists and Shintoists could only have continuing existence in Japan if they "are accepting those fundamental principles of moral conduct and right living which he (had) so often attributed to Christianity."¹⁵⁴

One of the immediate consequences of the deliberate denigration and undermining of Shintoism and the attempted imposition of the victor's religion was that a gulf developed between the youth of the post war period who rejected many of the principles which had guided their elders prior to the war, and their elders. Three quarters of the student generation rejected the concept of religion. Many were attracted to the alternative philosophy of Marxist Communism which was the very thing MacArthur was trying to avoid by imposing Christianity. The remaining minority were fragmented into sub-groups who explored a number of religions with open minds. Some were attracted to Buddhism, others to Christianity, and yet others to new syncretistic cults which appropriated ideas from each of the major religious faiths and Spiritism, notably from Latin America.¹⁵⁵

The growth of such cults and sects as a result of the establishment of religious freedom had certainly not been anticipated by SCAP or the American Administration. They were "a constant problem" for the Religious Division which had no policy in place to deal with them and they could only be treated as a legitimate part of the Japanese religious scene. When one group was found to be under police investigation a further inquiry had to be undertaken to ensure that their religious freedom was not being restricted by the government. This was not exactly what MacArthur had in mind as 'religious freedom.' His intention was simply the unrestricted right of access and proselytizing for Christian missions. He could be justifiably concerned that the number of registered religious denominations rocketed from 43 when the new regulations were introduced in 1945 to 720 in 1951, but it was a consequence of his own policy decision. (From 13 Shinto, 28 Buddhist and two Christian, to 258 Shinto-type, 260 Buddhist, 46 Christian and 156 'others.')

¹⁵⁶ The largest of the 'new' sects, Soka Gakkai, was actually founded in 1931 but

when its leader was gaoled it had virtually lapsed until his release in 1945. Strongly nationalistic in approach and millenarian, it offered an alternative to both the old religions (which had either been discredited or dissolved) and Christianity, the victor's religion, which was rejected because of that and because it had not been proven in Japan. By 1965 Soka Gakkai claimed 13 million members and had developed a powerful political base, with its representatives being the third largest voting block in parliament after the Liberals and the Socialists.

The Office of the Attorney General took action to dissolve three allegedly ultranationalistic societies on one occasion, but 'freedom' meant 'freedom.' The Minister for Education, expressing the Religious Division's position, intervened to advise that fraudulent and harmful actions of a religious group would be subject to criminal law, but "whether a given religion was good or bad could be left to natural selection, and that religion itself should be granted complete freedom." ¹⁵⁷ That was a principle which it was difficult for MacArthur to argue against. After all, the US was the origin of a number of religious movements and non-conventional sects, some of which, although unwelcome initially, had evolved into major organizations exercising considerable influence. They included the Mormons, the Theosophical Society, Christian Science, Jehovah's Witnesses, the Hare Krishna movement and the Black Muslim Movement, and their freedom and right to worship and evangelize was guaranteed by an amendment to the Constitution. Freedom of religious practice also meant, naturally, freedom to export the religious beliefs involved by setting up core groups or 'missions' in other countries. But when some of the new sects which had originated in post war Japan appeared in Western countries they were not generally welcomed by the 'establishment' and steps were taken to bring them under surveillance and to suppress them. The Western world had to face yet another of the many challenges within the overall religious debate.

But as always it tried to camouflage, avoid or nullify one of those challenges: the challenge of Islam, which was a different matter altogether. For the churches the challenge was to find ways to evangelize the teeming millions of the larger of its two partner faiths and to bring them within the fold of the 'saved', or within one of the many folds, anyway. For the politicians the challenge was to isolate the religious faith and movement from the push for decolonization and to prevent the development of power blocks or tight-knit alliances. For the commercial interests the challenge was to find a way around the anti-exploitation philosophies and policies inherent in Islam to enable the exploitation of the copious resources locked away in Muslim-dominated countries. A new round of manipulation was about to begin, but for the moment the Western World's eyes were on China.

THE CHALLENGE OF CHINA

China was regarded by all of the churches as a very special case. Being home to one fifth of the world's people and having been either disregarded or inaccessible (depending on whose point of view one takes), it was clearly both an opportunity and an obligation for *the church* (or

churches) to introduce the Gospel to its people. The number of Protestant missionaries in the country peaked at more than 8,158 in 1925, but it had then been reduced sharply by forced withdrawals under enormous political pressure for two years or so. There was then a recovery as a result of Chiang Kai-shek's marriage to a Christian and his adoption of Christianity by Methodist baptism in 1930. (Chapter 17) Roman Catholic missions also benefited from the relaxation of political pressure and the combined effects of this and the pope's vigorous new policy on missions produced growth of about 30% in the number of declared Roman Catholics from 2.5 million to 3.3 million between 1930 and the outbreak of war. By then there were some 2,000 "native priests" and 3,000 "foreign clergy."¹⁵⁸ However the relaxation was followed by another bout of suppression in the areas controlled by the Japanese after their invasion of 1937 and many Christian workers fled, either to the security of the western regions or out of the country.

The fact that many Christian workers were able to stay in remote regions of the country enabled a prompt response when the Japanese were expelled following their surrender to the Allies on August 14, 1945, and Christian forces emerged from exile, both in the remote regions and overseas, and in spite of the political turmoil and civil war wracking the country they set to work wherever they could to reconstruct, to restore, and to renew. They were helped by the fact that the Soviet Union still recognized the Nationalist government of Chiang Kai-shek, signed a treaty of friendship with it on the day of the Japanese surrender, and called for a coalition government involving Mao Tse-tung whom they regarded as "a mere agrarian reformer."¹⁵⁹ But China had become the object of a tug of war between the anti-capitalist-anti-foreigner forces of the Chinese Communist Party, and the Capitalist forces of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang government in league with the United States which, like the churches and the non-denominational missions, saw China as either the biggest opportunity, challenge, responsibility or prize on offer, depending on their perspective ... except for the elimination of Communism and the return of the Soviet Union to the Christian Western World's Capitalist fold. The United States therefore did not want a coalition.

In fact China was such a special case for the US that it formed a *very special* working relationship with the armies of the *Japanese* who were so dastardly that it had been necessary to bomb them into submission with *two* atomic bombs. Those armies were not expelled and told to swim back to Japan. They were not even disarmed. They were integrated into a US plan for Chiang Kai-shek's half of the Chinese forces, the defeated and humiliated Japanese, and the US marines to jointly "protect" major Chinese cities and ports which Japan had occupied during the war from the other half of the Chinese forces: Mao Tse-tung's Chinese Communists. And while they remained, the US transported between 400,000 and 500,000 of Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese Nationalists far and wide across China and Manchuria by planes and ships to occupy cities and strategic facilities they could not have reached otherwise. Two weeks after the Japanese surrender, when the Nationalist forces occupying Peking were surrounded by Communist forces, only the arrival of US marines prevented their defeat. Similarly, while Mao's forces moved into the suburbs of Shanghai, expecting to take control of it from the Japanese in

occupation, US transports dropped Chiang Kai-shek's paratroops into the city to seize control. The civil war was soon in full swing. Truman ordered that 50,000 marines be sent to guard railways, coal mines, ports, bridges. Naturally they suffered casualties. The official US line was that they were disarming the Japanese forces. Eventually they did so, but at that time many of them were jointly guarding key facilities with the Japanese whom they were supposed to be disarming.¹⁶⁰ Truman justified "using the Japanese to hold off the Communists" in these terms:

It was perfectly clear to us that if we told the Japanese to lay down their arms immediately and march to the seaboard, the entire country would be taken over by the Communists. We therefore had to take the unusual step of using the enemy as a garrison until we could airlift Chinese National [Chiang's] troops to South China and send Marines to guard the seaports.¹⁶¹

In January 1946 there were 100,000 US personnel still in China trying to consolidate Chiang Kai-shek's slim hold on partial central government when the US government thought it best to change tack. It knew that Mao's forces were better disciplined, had made a major contribution to the war against Japan, and had worked closely with the United States, providing intelligence and rescuing and caring for airmen shot down in Japanese occupied territory. It also knew that, according to assessments by the Office of Strategic Services, the bulk of Chiang's effort had been directed against his Communist colleagues, not against the Japanese; that he had tried to block cooperation between Mao's forces and the US; and that "his regime was full of officials who had collaborated with the Japanese and served in their puppet government." Taking the line that the government was acting as a mediator in a civil war rather than the principal backer of one party, Truman sent General George Marshall to negotiate a cease fire and to try to set up some sort of coalition government, just as Stalin had proposed.¹⁶² The United States had learned very little from watching Britain – and collaborating with it – only a few years earlier as it struggled to balance its involvement with China and Japan in the Far East, and Palestine in the Middle East all at once. It was doing exactly the same. The difference was that Britain had been trying to secure its position as it slid deeper and deeper into a war which it did not understand and which its self-understanding prevented it from avoiding, whereas the United States was trying to secure its position as it *took advantage* of the very same war which it did not understand any better.

In the meantime, in the areas under Nationalist control, the churches had been reopening hospitals, schools and universities as quickly as possible and, in April, 1946, Pius XII established a Chinese hierarchy incorporating twenty archdiocese and 79 diocese (said to be the largest number in any one country) under a newly appointed Chinese cardinal. The new hierarchy replaced a system of vicariates apostolic, and an internunciature was placed in Peking. However six months later the situation deteriorated markedly. The tenuous 'coalition' had been little more than a truce because, believing that he could still rely on US backing, Chiang Kai-shek gave Mao Tse-tung no meaningful role in government. Fighting between Chiang's Nationalists and Mao Tse-tung's Communists resumed in October. At first the US imposed an arms embargo in a bid to restrain Chiang Kai-shek but it was to no avail. Chiang

pressed on and in March 1947 his forces captured the stronghold of Yen-an, deep into Central China. But without a flow of US aid he had overextended his communications and was dependent upon exposed railways. He desperately needed more political help from somewhere. He appointed an ambassador to the Holy See. This was quite consistent with his previous policy because, although all of his established links had been with and through the Protestant churches in America, his government had actually sent an envoy to the Vatican in 1943, at the height of the war, to bid for Roman Catholic support in its struggle with Japan. This time his concern was Communism and not the Japanese. Truman responded in May. The US resumed supplies on the basis of a policy of "neutrality against the Communists." Both wings of the church benefited and by the end of the year Protestant missionary numbers had recovered to about 3,000 persons, or about half the immediate pre-war number.¹⁶³ By the time the Communists were able to proclaim the People's Republic two years later the number had risen to 4,062.¹⁶⁴ However the tide began to turn against Chiang's Nationalists and the churches at the end of 1947 when the Communists were able to mount a sustained counter attack and cut Chiang's lines of communication. His forces were left isolated in the cities and many of them simply deserted and melted away.

THE CHANGING WORLD SCENE

During those first two or three years of "peace" the world situation had become unbelievably complicated as it stumbled from one situation of conflict to another. The United Nations was supposed to be on hand to moderate any crises which developed, but its influence was very limited because of the manner in which it had been set up, the conflicts of interest which divided the dominant powers of the Security Council in a way which undermined its moral and political authority, and the fact that it was *not* a truly representative body. When the charter came into effect on October 24, 1945, the fifty one members represented only two thirds of the people of the world. The other one third were not represented. Some of them – about nine per cent of the world population – were said to be represented by the colonial powers who exercised sovereignty over them. Some, the vanquished, were not considered worthy of representation. Some had chosen not to participate in the victors' club on the conditions of the invitation: to become a party to the war which they had been able to avoid! But a close look at the membership makeup shows that the voting representation was very unbalanced indeed when considered on each of three bases: dominant ethnic composition, dominant religion, and dominant political orientation.

Concerning ethnicity or, loosely, racial heritage. It has been claimed, repeatedly, that the founding members of the United Nations "represented all geographic areas of the world"¹⁶⁵ because the fifty which were represented at the San Francisco conference was made up of nine continental European states, 21 American republics, seven Middle Eastern states, five British Commonwealth nations, two autonomous Soviet republics in addition to the USSR, two East Asian nations, and three African states. But *geography* does not reflect the reality. The *UN*

member countries in the sector which was then regarded as the white European or white dominated world, and which was made up of Europe (including Eastern Europe and White Russia), the Americas, and the British dominions of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, accounted for only one quarter of the world population but enjoyed three quarters of the votes in the United Nations. On the other hand the *UN member countries* from Asia, Africa and Oceania (excluding Australia and New Zealand) which accounted for almost half of the world population enjoyed just under one quarter of the votes. However the bulk of the other 25 per cent of the world population which was not represented, including Japan and most predominantly Muslim countries, was also in Asia and Africa, and this shows that control of the United Nations' affairs was even more unbalanced than the apparent composition suggests. The approximate total population split was: Europe and the Americas, 35 per cent; Asia and Africa, 65 per cent.

Concerning the member country's dominant religion. The total Christian population at that time can be estimated at about 29 per cent, but Christian countries held 76 per cent of the votes in the UN. [See note ¹⁶⁶ for details.]

Concerning political orientation. The non-Communist powers effectively controlled – or sought to control – 44 votes, while the Soviet Union and its suzerain or satellite block had only seven votes. Under the rules proposed by the Western Allies, the Soviet Union would have had only one vote, but a compromise of three votes was agreed to, and the additional votes were held by the Soviet Republic of Byelorussia (now Belarus) and Ukraine. It was not until the breakup of the Soviet Union that the constituent republics were each admitted in their own right, so that they now hold a total of eleven votes. In the meantime the political population balance had lurched heavily away from the West when Communist parties gained control in China and then in a succession of neighbouring Asian countries. But the voting power did not lurch with it. China's population was greater than all of Europe which had 14 founding-national member votes but it was entitled to only one vote, and in due course the Western powers insisted that the fleeing Chiang Kai-shek take that vote with him to Taiwan which assumed the title of Nationalist China

With the United Nations in place on that basis in mid 1945, the people of the Western World were quite content to settle back to making love, not war, and to look on with admiration as MacArthur set about his Christian reconstruction of Japan, as Chiang Kai-shek took his rightful place as leader of a great new democracy in China, and as the European powers returned to their rightful roles as rulers of colonial empires in Africa and Asia. They noticed that some of the Asian colonies were a bit upset at the return of the British, the French, the Dutch and the Portuguese, and there were even some rumblings in Africa – mainly among the Arabs – but they were not too worried at first. The South East Asians, the Africans and the Arabs could not run their own countries, they told themselves. They would need the superior white Western Christian powers to do that for them, and they would soon realize that, and things would return to normal. After all, article 76 of the Charter of the United Nations placed an obligation on countries administering a trust territory to promote the economic and social welfare of the

indigenous peoples and to foster their progressive development *towards* self-government or independence. The word 'towards' confirmed what everyone knew: the natives were just not ready for self-government or independence.

But the people of South East Asia and Africa did not see it that way at all. Hitler's parody of *Mein Kampf* had exposed the fact that the great white Western Christian powers had the same frailty and equal immorality and self-interest as Hitler, even if *he* had ended up on his own funeral pyre with the whole world against him. For a time he, and Japan in league with him, had broken their chains and given them a glimpse of independence. They liked what they saw, and although they did not want to substitute Japan for one of the European powers, they were determined that the Europeans would not come back. The powers most heavily involved were Britain, France and Holland. It is not feasible, nor necessary to examine in detail the circumstances of each of their colonies and territories, and the nature of the amorphous Christian gel and the implications of the parody of *Mein Kampf* are illustrated by the circumstances of a few: Britain's India and Burma; France's Indochina; and Holland's Dutch East Indies.

COLONIAL POLICY: PHILOSOPHY OR PERFIDY?

Britain began the Second World War with a remarkable empire – or 'family' within a Commonwealth of nations – which included, in addition to great slabs of Africa and the self-governing dominions, several colonies and dependencies in South and East Asia and the Pacific. Chief among them were India, Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo, plus the leased territory of Hong Kong which was administered as a colony, and territorial rights in China under treaty which were never counted in the official imperial pecking order. Its wealth and power had largely been built around them during its heydays in the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and that was why it had gone to war. It could not let them slip through its fingers. It is one of the ironies of the parody of *Mein Kampf* that the interests which were most at risk and most vulnerable, and which actually precipitated some of Britain's most critical decisions as it floundered into war were not in the major colonies which were striving for self-government and independence, but in those last named territories which were held by the most tenuous imperial links. It is similarly ironic that the ones which were the first to gain their independence were the ones which Britain most wanted to cling to, and the last to go was not one of the territories it claimed by annexation, but the territory which it held under a fixed term lease from a nation which soon changed from ally to political foe and therefore should have had few qualms about breaking the lease.

The idea that they should understand or develop a 'philosophy of empire' was something that does not seem to have bothered the leaders of any of Europe's great powers. The impulses or *stimuli* which propelled them all into imperial mode have been discussed progressively (chapters 9, 16, 18 & 19) and it is clear that the basic *motive* was always self-interest and the competitive urge, tempered by national self-understanding. This explains why there was no

cohesion or consistency in the policies which each power pursued from one colony to another and from one period to another and, also, why there were differences in emphasis in the policies of different powers at the same time in adjacent colonies.

Britain and France rushed headlong into colonialism in intense competition – competition for resources, power and prestige – and not wanting to be left behind. Both were highly exploitative in the approach to a territory over which they gained control, and neither could be said to be humane in their attitude to the peoples they subjugated and then ruled – trading them and their territories from time to time like any other chattel to suit their own purposes, usually in settlement of war claims. But from that point they tended to take different directions. Britain recognized that its territories were appendages which each required a separate administration. France treated them as territorial extensions of France just as in the days of the Franks and the Romans. It was as if they were continuous with its continental land mass with no water barriers – possessions just as firm as Bretagne or Gascogne – and with administration fully integrated. The British appointed governors or governors-general who were responsible to cabinet through a secretary of state for the colonies, implying that there was a need for coordination with a number of other departments. France also appointed governors or governors-general but it made it perfectly clear what their role was: they were responsible directly to the minister for trade and they were obliged to support French agrarian (food bowl) enterprises as well as resource extraction wherever they were.

Concerning culture: Britain had been able to avoid the worst excesses of Europe's religious wars but, like the Vatican, it had adopted the position that it had a responsibility to superimpose Christianity over whatever religions it found in its colonies, so, being on the Reform side of the fence, it did so in competition with the Vatican. It was imbued with the idea that, in Rudyard Kipling's words, it had to carry "the white man's burden" of civilizing or Christianizing (they were regarded as the same thing) wherever they went. That policy was usually fairly easily implemented through support for its church if none of the Abrahamic traditions or the other long-established Eastern traditions were already present, but if they were, there were grave implications. On the other hand France, having endured some of the most bitter and devastating of Europe's religious wars, did not recognize the obligation in the same way. It was perfectly happy to take advantage of the religious factor, as in the case of Napoleon III's manoeuvring in Indochina (chapter 15), but in other respects it was more 'tolerant' or, at least, more accommodating.

But there was another aspect to "the white man's burden" which Britain did not welcome. When national independence movements began to take more substantial form in the years following the First World War it found that it might sacrifice control of its colonial milking cows if it was not prepared to either assist them directly or introduce economic policies which would enable them to accumulate development funds in their own accounts for the development which some political theorists said was a prerequisite for self-government. At first it was not prepared to do either, but when it actively resisted change and was not prepared to offer India dominion status in 1926 when it granted that status to Australia, New Zealand, Canada and

South Africa at the Imperial Conference in 1926 (chapter 20), it found that passive movement turned to positive pressure. Three years later, in 1929, the Commons passed the first Colonial Development Act and the government allocated small amounts for economic development under the control of the colonies. France did not take similar action. However when the Second World War burst they both found it advisable, out of sheer self-interest, to introduce more liberal policies for two reasons. First: without such a change it was very likely that the colonies would rise in revolt, refuse to help their "mother countries" and all would be lost anyway. Therefore in 1940, at the very time it could least afford it financially, Britain increased funding under the Colonial Development Act and approved the use of the funds for social as well as economic projects. Second: both powers were desperate for increased production of raw materials and income from the colonies for their own survival and this could only be achieved by stimulating further development.

However there was to be no admitting self-interest in the new policy: certainly not for public consumption during parliamentary debate on the appropriation of moneys. The British Colonial Secretary, Malcom MacDonald, insisted that: "The peoples of the colonies are not merely content to be His Majesty's subjects, they are positively happy to be His Majesty's subjects." Britain's media obligingly carried illustrated reports to confirm what the minister said, and to show how much better off the natives in former German colonies were than when they were under German administration before the First World War. Britain's official policy towards Africans was, MacDonald said: "to teach them and to encourage them always to be able to stand on their own feet," and its overall colonial policy was inspired by the love of freedom for others as well as for the British. And turning specifically to Nigeria, then one of the most technically and commercially advanced of Britain's colonies, he justified continuing colonial administration on the grounds that the country was "not ripe for self-government."¹⁶⁷ There was careful camouflage of the fact that cabinet had, on several occasions, considered deals to cede some African colonies to Germany in a bid to appease Hitler only a year or two earlier, (Chapters 20, 21), but at least there was none of the arrogant deprecation shown by Churchill during Gandhi's bid to negotiate a better deal for India nine years earlier. (Chapter 23)

In fact, once France had fallen under German control and the Vichy French government was collaborating with Japan in Indochina, the only sources of support General DeGaulle could rely on for his Free French Movement were the African colonies. Once those policies were introduced, they could not be reversed and political change had to keep pace with the new approach to economic and social development. Britain modified the composition of legislative councils which it had established in the African colonies to include more Africans, but it still sought to restrain demands by keeping the numbers of appointed and elected members balanced in its favour. For its part, France proposed consolidating the concept that colonies were a land extension of France by granting them the status of overseas territories of France within a French Union under the Fourth Republic. So: the four illustrations.

THE INDIAN SAGA¹⁶⁷

Britain's policy of 'defending the faith' or preferentially promoting English Christianity and denigrating other faiths caused serious problems in India. While other issues were also involved, it was a major factor in the mutiny by the Bengal army in May, 1857, which was the trigger for a nation-wide spate of insurrection. Some of its endeavours were laudable, no doubt, such as its effort to stamp out widow immolation and infanticide, but the approach of both the church and British authorities was flawed. The establishment of privileged enclaves, and the provision of incentives linked to an alternative set of religious rites was not the way to go. It simply added to the list of grievances against imperial policy and provided a base from which nationalist and independence movements evolved.

After a year of violence countered with repression, the government was able to announce the end of the uprising and to move into reform mode. In August 1858 the Commons passed the Government of India Act, transferring power from the British East India Company to the crown and vesting it in the Secretary of State for India and the India Office, and it established the post of viceroy. It followed that dramatic change in administration with an equally dramatic change in policies which was proclaimed by Queen Victoria only three months later. First: political unification through princely state annexation was at an end. The princes were free to run their affairs as they wished, as long as they swore allegiance to the British crown. The implementation of any unifying programs was therefore hampered by the presence of about 560 enclaves of autocratic princely rule scattered through the nation because of British fears of another mutiny and the government's decision to use the princes as a bulwark against an expected tidal wave of revolt. That decision served Britain's immediate aims, but the ultimate consequences were catastrophic because it was the basis on which the future of Kashmir was determined at the time of partition. Second: the government would no longer intervene in religious affairs. The reason was the same: fear of renewed mutiny. The government recognized that orthodox Hindu and Muslim reaction to the combination of its previous policies and the methods of proselytizing used by Christian missionaries had been important in triggering the revolt.

Planned socio-religious *reform* was discontinued for about thirty years but social attitudes of white imperial superiority remained unchanged, and sympathy for, and some understanding of, Indian life and culture gave way to suspicion, indifference, and fear. British civil servants remained aloof and isolated from the "native contamination" of the crowded cities in secure military towns with straight roads wide enough for cavalry to gallop through as necessary. The Indian army was reorganized and the proportion of British troops was doubled from 16 to 32 per cent, and Indian soldiers of different faiths and castes were mixed in each unit to avoid the cohesion which had been apparent in the Bengal mutiny.

Significant industrial development took place during the next few decades and the bulk of India's massive railway network was established, but as its main purpose was to transport minerals and the produce from mechanized large scale agricultural production (both of which

were under British ownership) to ports for export to Britain, the social consequences were mixed. The benefits did not flow down to the ordinary Indian population. Three universities were established, in Bombay, Bengal and Madras, and an effort was made to raise the intellectual calibre of British recruits to the Indian Civil Service but the changes were made in such a way that Queen Victoria's intention of an end to discrimination in the selection of civil servants was easily circumvented. Examinations for the services were held only in Britain and only for males aged 17 to 22 who could meet a list of conditions. In a service of well over a thousand officers only one Indian candidate was accepted in the first ten years after the announcement. When a handful were admitted during the 1870's they were made painfully aware that they were unwelcome second class citizens and a pretext was found to dishonourably discharge one of the brightest, Surendranath Banerjea. From loyal servant he changed to nationalist agitator.

At that time a number of provincial political associations were being formed in Bombay and, after teaching for a while Banerjea became editor of a newspaper, founded the Indian Association of Calcutta, then convened the first Indian National Conference in 1883. The Indian National Congress was founded in Bombay two years later. At that time a young teenager named Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, having been married at the age of thirteen, was struggling to catch up with his studies after taking a year off from school to become accustomed to his new responsibilities. He matriculated in 1887, then entered Bombay University to study law in a language which was foreign to him. At that stage Gandhi was not a nationalist, nor an anti-government activist. Because of his father's civil service background he saw England as "a land of philosophers and poets, the very centre of civilization." His attitude would change gradually under the impact of his experience in England and, subsequently, South Africa, (Chapter 16) but the attitudes of many of his peer group were already hardening. A leader of the movement for revolutionary nationalism, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, was gaoled for sedition in 1897, and after his release he stepped up his efforts to mobilize orthodox Hindus to take a keener interest and pride in the religious, cultural, martial, and political glories of pre-British India. At that time The Arya Samaj, a reformist Hindu society, was having a strong influence, stressing the call of its founder, Swami Dayananda Sarasvati, to "reject the corrupting medieval excrescences of their faith, including idolatry, the caste system, and infant marriage, and to return to the original purity of Vedic life and thought." Dayananda said that such corruption had weakened India's society and destroyed its capacity to resist foreign invasion and subjugation.

That linking of the nationalist movement with Hinduism, which was a consequence of the policies which the British had adopted, disturbed Muslim members of Congress and steps were taken to establish the Muslim League. It met for the first time in 1906 and immediately sought the establishment of designated Muslim electorates to represent the special national interests of the Muslim minority. That was agreed to by the viceroy and put into effect in 1909. Whether his agreement was calculated to pursue the old policy of divide-and-rule or whether he simply reacted to circumstances is open to debate. However it certainly had a divisive effect, and on the basis of Churchill's later remarks about Britain's policy in India (chapter 23)¹⁶⁸ it would appear

to have been quite deliberate. Britain was heading for trouble with progressively deepening division in the colony as it moved through the First World War, the Depression and the chaotic 1930's towards the Second World War. (Chapters 20, 21, 22, 23)

When the Second World War ended, Indian leaders of both Hindu and Muslim persuasion, whether they had been ready to cooperate with Britain during the war or not, were all very conscious that Britain had only been able to maintain its grip on the country because of United States intervention. From late 1942 onwards, US arms and planes had streamed into Calcutta and Bombay, bolstering British India as the major Allied launching pad against Japanese forces in Southeast Asia and China. Only because of that, the British raj had been able to remain firm in the face of growing Indian opposition, both violent and nonviolent. Indian industry grew rapidly. During the war the output of electricity doubled and Jamshedpur became the British Empire's foremost producer of steel. Indian shipyards and light-manufacturing plants flourished in Bombay, as well as in Bengal and Orissa, and, although attacks had been threatened for the same reason that Darwin was bombed (to deny the United States the use of the base) the Japanese never launched air attacks against either Calcutta or Madras which were well within their range from Burma. In mid-1943, the new Viceroy, Field Marshal Lord Wavell, imposed full martial law which remained in force for the duration of the war. No progress was made in talks between Gandhi and Jinnah to resolve Hindu-Muslim differences over Britain's policies, and, in June 1945, soon after the war ended in Europe, Wavell convened a political conference in Shimla. No agreement was reached which could bridge the gulf which Britain's conduct had caused between the Hindu-dominated Congress and the Muslim League.

Only two weeks after that conference collapsed, Churchill lost office and Clement Attlee formed a Labor government in Britain. Its immediate concern was to find a political solution to the Hindu-Muslim conflict which would enable the British raj to withdraw its forces and as many of its assets as possible. The new government was less concerned with Indian national and human rights than with its assessment that India had become more of an imperial burden and a liability than any real advantage for Britain.

When elections were held at the end of the year the Muslim League, led by Jinnah won all 30 seats reserved for Muslims in the Central Legislative Assembly and most of the reserved provincial seats as well, on a platform of demands for Muslim regional autonomy. This undermined the Attlee government's wish to transfer power smoothly to one national administration which, it hoped, could then resolve the internal disputes. After sending a cabinet delegation on a fruitless visit to assess the situation it adopted a plan for a three-tier federation with a minimal role for a central-union government in Delhi. Its powers were to be limited to foreign affairs, communications, defense, and finance for matters affecting the whole federation. The subcontinent was to be divided into three major groups of provinces: Group A, the Hindu-majority provinces; Group B, the Muslim-majority provinces; and Group C, the Muslim-majority Bengal and the Hindu-majority Assam. The group governments were to have a high level of autonomy, and within each group the princely states were to be integrated into

their neighbouring provinces. Provincial governments were to have the option of changing to another group depending on the outcome of a popular vote.

The plan soon struck trouble. The soldiers of the influential Sikh population of the Punjab were fiercely opposed to the British raj but they were widely recognized for their wartime role in the British army, and they hoped that this would entitle them to the status of an autonomous group. When they were placed in group B, with the Muslims, they objected because of antagonism dating back to oppressive 17th century efforts by the Mughal emperors to convert their gurus to Islam. In March, 1946, their leader, Tara Singh, demanded a Sikh nation-state to be called either Sikhistan or Khalistan. However the British delegation had no time or energy to focus on either the demands of the Sikh separatist movement or those of the Muslims for an independent Pakistan. Under pressure from London they simply wanted to finish their task. Both Jinnah and the Congress leaders reluctantly accepted the proposal, but Nehru, at his first press conference on being re-elected president of Congress, announced that no constituent assembly could be "bound" by any prearranged constitutional formula. Jinnah read Nehru's remarks as a "complete repudiation" of the plan, which had to be accepted in its entirety in order to work. He convened the league's Working Committee, which withdrew its previous agreement to the federation scheme and called for the "Muslim Nation" to launch "direct action" in mid-August 1946. India collapsed into a year of bloody civil war. Hindu-Muslim rioting and killing started in Calcutta and soon engulfed the subcontinent.

Lord Louis Mountbatten succeeded Wavell as viceroy in March 1947 with instructions from the government to transfer power no later than June 1948. He soon decided that the situation was too dangerous to wait that long and, fearing a forced evacuation of British troops still stationed in India, he opted for partition based on a plan that would divide the Punjab and Bengal virtually in half, rather than risk the total breakdown of further political negotiations and the mutiny of Indian troops. Gandhi opposed partition and urged Mountbatten to offer Jinnah the premiership of a united India rather than a separate Muslim nation but Nehru and senior Congress colleagues would not agree. The Indian Independence Act was then passed by the Commons in July 1947, ordering the demarcation of the dominions of India and Pakistan by midnight of August 14–15. The first – and the biggest – chunk of the world's largest empire was not so much released as cast adrift. With only two weeks to do it, two boundary commissions worked desperately to partition Punjab and Bengal in the most acceptable way but they could not do it in a manner which would avoid massive dislocation. As soon as the new borders were known, ten million Hindus, Muslims, and Sikhs fled from their homes on one side to supposed safety on the other. Panic and hatred resulted in the deaths of one million people in history's worst communal massacres. Sikhs, caught in the middle, suffered the highest casualty rate.

Two new nations began life in the worst possible circumstances, but in spite of the massive bloodshed which they had become hardened to, it was the death of one man which shook them – and the world – as much as years of interfaith fighting. Mahatma Gandhi. The symbol of non-violence, the person who had steered the entire subcontinent towards self-esteem under the crushing weight of the raj, who recognized the best in each religion and ignored the worst, and

the person who had struggled vainly to keep the diverse population of the world's second most populous nation together was assassinated by a religious fanatic only a few months after partition took effect. Prime Minister Nehru, deeply affected, told the world: "The light has gone out of our lives and there is darkness everywhere." The people agreed. India and Pakistan would live with the ongoing prospect of war between them over the fate of Kashmir which had been placed in an untenable position by the way in which partition was finally determined, but conscious of Gandhi's legacy and that Nehru was trying to provide similar enlightened leadership, not only did India's flood of religious hatred and violence recede but also some progress was made toward communal reconciliation and economic development. Contrary to the principle proposed for the group plan but then abandoned, which allowed for a level of self-determination in that a province could move from one group to another on the basis of a referendum, the princes were given authority to determine which nation their principalities would join. Against the wishes of his overwhelmingly Muslim population, Kashmir's ruler determined: India.

And the two nations would later become three. The two Muslim regions, separated by a thousand miles, quite different in circumstances and problems, could not be governed as one and East Bengal chose to go its own way as Bangladesh. None of this need have happened if Britain had been prepared to relinquish control of India prior to, or shortly after the outbreak of the war. Certainly there would still have been severe and testing difficulties for the government of an independent India to resolve as a result of its colonial history – in particular Britain's policy of divide and rule – but nothing approaching the scale which the partitioned states faced in 1947. Their problems were compounded successively by Churchill's stubborn insistence that the British Empire was not to be broken up, which exemplified the self-understanding of his portion of the amorphous Christian gel; then his refusal to act on Roosevelt's advice after Japan entered the war, thus expanding the scale, devastation and impact of the war as already discussed; his ruthless enforcement of martial law to enable India to be used as a war base by both Britain and its prop, the United States; and then the Attlee government's ill-considered rush to quit when the country had passed its use-by date. It was costing Britain more to hold it than it returned as a colony.

THE BRITISH SOUTH EAST ASIAN SAGA¹⁶⁹

Burma or, at that time and again now, Myanmar, was the first of Britain's mainland Asian colonies to become enmeshed in its war in the Far East. The Burma Road supply route to China was a focus of action while Britain was manipulating its complex relationships with China, first to try to keep Japan *out* of the war cycle, and subsequently to try to draw it *in*. (Chapter 24) And Burma had certainly not passed its use-by date, but the conduct and consequences of Britain's colonial policies – especially in relation to religion – had fueled the rise of independence movements from the moment it completed its three-phase annexation of the country and eliminated the monarchy in 1885.

Myanmar was certainly not an under-developed territory which Britain could say was occupied by backward natives who needed to be 'lifted' by the great Christian powers of Europe as part of 'the white man's burden.' It was home to a series of fabulous, wealthy and highly organized kingdoms based solidly on the ethics, culture and traditions of Buddhism, and it was a major centre of trade in Asia while Europe was still wallowing in a mire of religious corruption in the Middle Ages. Its national life centred on a system of Buddhist temples and monasteries, estimated at between three and four thousand at its peak, with complete integration of church and state in what has been called a symbiotic relationship. Its government centred on the *Hluttaw* (Place of Release), a body which had executive and judicial functions and over which the king presided as head of state, patron of Buddhism, and appointor of the primate – a combination of roles not unlike that of the British monarch as Defender of the Faith. Primary and higher level schools were attached to the monasteries and Buddhism provided the basis of a highly organized but male-oriented education system and a national way of life. Literacy among males was high, but among females it was not. As with all of Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, Myanmar's first contact with Europe was during the early sixteenth century competitive rush for spoils which largely coincided with the Reformation and Europe's torrid round of religious wars. Then during the seventeenth century its foreign trade was stimulated by intense competition between the Portuguese, Dutch, British and French. But its fate was sealed by that same competition. A series of wars rolled through the region, making and unmaking dynasties, then during the eighteenth century Siam (Thailand) was drawn into the conflict and China, alarmed about its neighbour's growing power, invaded Myanmar several times without success.

Then it was Britain's turn to 'protect its interests.' Friction developed between Arakan, in the western region of Burma, and the British in Indian Assam. Myanmar occupied its smaller neighbour, then its army moved on to Assam to put down counter attacks which had been launched from there. When it did so a second time in 1823, the first of a series of three Anglo-Burmese wars resulted in Britain occupying the northern and southern coastal regions of Burma, but not the middle. Accusations by British traders of extortion gave Britain the excuse to occupy the middle section in 1852. Then, to take advantage of the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 it encouraged the mass clearing of the Irrawaddy delta mangrove forests for rice production, and planned to push a shortcut, or a 'golden road' through the mountains to South China. In 1885, the year that India's Congress was founded, prompted by nothing other than sheer colonial greed, Britain made a clean sweep of the whole country on the grounds that the king had offered a trade treaty to France which threatened Britain's monopoly of the Burmese teak forests.

The proclamation of the annexation of the whole of Burma as a British colony took effect on January 1, 1886. The monarchy was abolished; the colony was attached to India as a province; the capital was shifted to Rangoon; and the links between the state and the Buddhist church system was severed. The Defender of the Faith certainly could not be seen to be defending Buddhism, and by shifting the capital to a different centre, the connection between the government and the system of the *Hluttaw* and the Buddhist hierarchy was severed very

definitely. Christian missions were encouraged and given financial assistance; free secular schools were opened as well as mission schools to discourage attendance at the monastery schools which no longer had state support; lessons were introduced which criticized and denigrated Buddhism and its culture; the status of the monks was deliberately undercut and their prestige was undermined; discipline fell away, and there was a rise in both crime and guerrilla activity. This 'justified' a five-year crackdown with mass executions of guerrillas and rebel monks, and other atrocities by British troops. Villages were burned; headmen and their families were exiled; and strangers were appointed as the new headmen in a program of pacification. More than 30,000 British and Indian troops were engaged in the program which was not declared complete until 1890. So much for Queen Victoria's 1858 proclamation that there would be no further intervention in matters of religious belief and worship within British India!

After such a program of ruthless suppression in what is, by nature and philosophy, a pacifist society it was natural that some time elapsed before the evolution of a nationalist movement with organized leadership. It was equally natural that in due course the focus of that movement was religion, culture and education. The Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA) was established in 1906 and set about establishing a number of schools and encouraging renewed recognition of Burmese tradition and Buddhist culture. At that time it was not anti-government. But after the First World War, when Britain introduced some reforms in India but withheld them from Burma, the situation changed. Some of the students of those schools had reached university and graduated. Barristers among them roused the people to a nationwide protest which included a boycott on British goods. Students at Rangoon University went on strike, supported by the Buddhist clergy and secondary school students. The government backed down and amended the contentious and restrictive University Act. The strike was thus settled – superficially. When many of the striking students refused to return to government or mission schools the YMBA opened its schools to the strikers and renamed them 'national' schools. Some constitutional reforms were granted, reluctantly, by Britain in 1923 but it was too late. The rising nationalism was gradually intensifying and taking on distinctly anti-British sentiment. A radical student group began organizing protests in what became known as the Thakin ('Master') movement, and when a peasant revolt erupted in 1930 because of the effects of the New York stock market crash and the consequent Great Depression on Asia's rural economies, the peasants turned to the young Thakins for leadership.

The peasant's troubles were basically a consequence of the policy which the British authorities followed when they set out to convert the Irrawaddy delta into a rice bowl for Europe. The price of rice more than doubled from 1857 to 1890, and continued to increase until the depression. The area under rice production rose from approximately 60,000 acres in the 1850s to nearly 10,000,000 acres in 1939. That 166-fold increase in production caused a significant shift in population from the northern heartland to the delta and the basis of wealth and power shifted also. British banks would not grant mortgage loans on rice land, the government had no policy for establishing land-mortgage banks or for agricultural loans, and to finance land clearing and cultivation farmers had to borrow from moneylenders, most of whom

were from Madras, in India. Interest rates were exorbitant. Rice prices were high in the international market, but local prices were kept down by a handful of British firms which controlled the wholesale trade and by Indian and Chinese merchants who controlled retail trade. With land values and rice prices soaring, the moneylenders foreclosed on mortgages at every opportunity.

Dispossessed farmers could not find employment, even on the lands they had forfeited, because thousands of Indian labourers came to Burma eager for work at even low wages. Burmese villagers, unemployed and lost in a disintegrating society, took to petty theft and robbery and they were soon marked as lazy and undisciplined. The level of dysfunction in Burmese society is shown by a dramatic rise in homicides during the early decades of the 20th century. Burma's annual homicide rate was second only to that of the United States. Thus, although the Burmese economy and transport infrastructure developed rapidly from 1890 to 1900, most Burmese did not benefit from it. A railway ran the length of the Irrawaddy valley, and hundreds of steamboats plied the river; but both systems were owned by British companies. Government roads had been built, but they were for rapid troop transport. A British company worked the ruby mines to near exhaustion. Oil and timber were also monopolized by two British firms. This all meant that the balance of trade favoured Burma, but with little benefit to Burmese people or society.

When university students again went of strike in 1936, they also turned to the Thakin movement for inspiration, and two of their leaders, Aung San and U Nu, joined the movement and were soon prominent in its leadership. A year later, as Britain struggled to isolate its crises in the Far East from those in the Middle East and Europe, it separated Burma from India and gave it a constitution. But that did not have the desired effect. It made the situation worse because the Burmese, suffering ruthless repression, quite astutely took it to mean that their country would be excluded from future reforms in India. (Chapter 20)

On the outbreak of war in Europe the young Burmese leaders, like the Japanese and the Chinese, saw an opportunity to bargain, or put pressure on Britain for more reforms – as the price for their support against Germany. Britain simply saw it as subversive blackmail to be suppressed and issued a warrant for Aung San's arrest. He fled to China seeking support from radical groups, but received it from Japan instead. With a promise of Japanese support for Burma's independence he returned to Burma, recruited 29 others, and went with them to Japan for military training. When the Japanese reached Bangkok in December 1941, Aung San announced the formation of the Burma Independence Army (BIA), and there was strong support for the Japanese when they advanced into Burma in 1942 and quickly occupied the country.

The Japanese appointed former prime minister Ba Maw head of state with Aung San and U Nu in cabinet, and with Aung San as commander of a reformed Burma Defence Army. In 1943 the Japanese declared Burma a fully independent sovereign state but, in the manner of all occupying powers, they maintained firm military rule. However, seeing the writing on the wall when the Allies gained the upper hand in the war, Aung San and the Thakins formed an anti-

Fascist coalition, contacted Lord Mountbatten and, in March 1945, took their army, renamed the Burma National Army, over to the British and fought with them until the Japanese surrender in Burma in May. At that point the British military administration and some members of the prewar Burmese government demanded that Aung San face trial for treason, but Mountbatten intervened and no action was taken. However after the formal Japanese surrender and the return to British civil administration Aung San was arrested. With Burma about to erupt in rebellion it required the British government to change the governor in order to have the decision reversed and settle the country. Aung San was then included in a new cabinet; talks were commenced which led to an agreement being reached in January 1947 for the transfer of power to a sovereign state; and in June the decision was made that the new nation would leave the British Commonwealth.

However the situation was so confused and so bitter that groups at both ends of the political spectrum were opposed to the terms of the settlement. The Communists broke away and went underground, and the conservatives went into opposition. Aung San, then *de facto* prime minister, and six other cabinet members were assassinated on July 19, on the orders of an extremist conservative former prime minister, and the country plunged into crisis. The British governor asked U Nu to form a new cabinet; a new constitution was drafted; and on January 4, 1948, Burma became a sovereign independent republic, *outside* the British Commonwealth. So ended 62 years of colonial rule which had started because certain British traders, backed by their government, insisted that a vibrant, responsible and effective kingdom should be subjugated – out of sheer greed – and that government, hand in glove with its churches decided that it should be converted from Buddhism to Christianity. It was another illustration of the amorphous Christian gel at work – *par excellence*. Another of the most sparkling jewels in the British imperial crown had been lost. It was one of the jewels east of Suez which Britain had gone to war to prevent from slipping out of its grasp, and the harder it tried to cling to its jewels, the deeper the dungeon of war became and the more certain it was that they would slip out of its grasp.

THE FRENCH INDOCHINA SAGA¹⁷⁰

France progressively imposed suzerainty over the three countries of Indochina – Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia – as protectorates between 1858 and 1893, at about the same time that Britain was doing so to Burma. France took full advantage of assorted wars between the Indochinese group and Burma and Siam, both of which had been trying to expand their empires, by intervening to help resolve border disputes. However in each case their status soon changed.

In the case of Vietnam, persecution of the Catholic community was used as a pretext for French intervention in 1858, the introduction of special “missionary” passports to help the process along (chapter 15), followed by a full invasion the following year to capture Saigon. Eight years later it succeeded in occupying the whole of southern Vietnam and annexing it as the colony of Cochinchina. It then precipitated another war in 1883 to secure first Hanoi and

then Annam and Tonkin as protectorates, and in 1887 it was able to amalgamate the two regions under one governor general. King Norodom of Cambodia, having accepted protectorate status in 1863 was forced, at gun point, to sign an agreement in 1884 transforming his country from a protectorate to a full French colony. Laos was the last of the trio to fall to France. In a weakened state it had come under the control of Siam, and in order to avoid war with the French in Vietnam after a series of naval 'incidents' in the Mekong River, Siam agreed to cede the bulk of Laos – everything west of the Mekong – directly to France in 1893. Within a few years France had taken control of the remaining area, east to the border with Burma, and between 1904 and 1907 it formally annexed each of the three Laotian states. It had little interest in their territory except as a buffer between resource-rich Vietnam and Siam.

Having gained control of the entire area of Indochina France established an Indochinese Union under which the three subjugated royal houses retained their status as heads of governments in a federal system in which the central government was responsible for foreign affairs, defence, customs, finance and public works. In fact, the French Governor-General, Paul Doumer, who took up his post in 1897, held all the power. He deposed and replaced Vietnamese emperors at will, and all important government posts were staffed with French officials. That situation persisted even in the 1930s, after reforms and concessions had been made to placate local nationalist sentiment. Vietnamese officials held only minor positions at very low salaries.

The French policy was unabashed rapid and systematic exploitation of coal, minerals, rubber and rice for French industry by French investors and a market for tariff-protected goods of French industries. Construction of railroads, highways, harbours, bridges, canals, and other public works, all built by the French, was planned solely for that purpose. The development of local industry was limited to the production of goods for immediate local consumption: breweries, distilleries, small sugar refineries, rice and paper mills, and glass and cement factories. The largest venture was a textile factory at Nam Dinh, which employed more than 5,000 workers. Because the aim was immediate high returns for French investors, very little profit was reinvested.

Irrigation works, chiefly in the Mekong delta, quadrupled rice production between 1880 and 1930. It was a minuscule increase compared with that in Burma, but during that period consumption of rice by peasant families fell – and not due to the substitution of other foods. Land was either sold to the highest bidder, without regard to the rights of peasants in the area, or at nominal prices to Vietnamese collaborators and French speculators. Two new classes developed: landlords, and landless tenants who worked the landlords' fields for rents of up to 60 percent of the crop, compared with the maximum of 25 per cent which SCAP set under the land tenure reform program which it imposed in Japan a few years later. Market control and exploitation was such that peasants who owned their land were rarely better off than the landless tenants. Their share of the export market price was less than 25 percent. As in Burma, the peasants lost their land during the Depression, almost systematically, because they were unable to repay loans from landlords and moneylenders at exorbitant interest rates. By the mid 1930's 45 per cent of the land was owned by less than three percent of landowners, while small

peasant farmers who made up about 70 percent of the owners, held about 15 percent. In a country in which, before colonization, the economy and the social system had been based on small-holder family farming, an estimated half of the population was without land by the start of the Second World War.

Direct and indirect taxes levied by France to finance public works to support export industries disadvantaged the small holders further, and in addition forced labourers were employed for public works, on rubber plantations and in the mines under scandalous working conditions, with low wages, and poor medical care. At the height of the Depression there were close to 100,000 people working the mines of Vietnam. Social legislation introduced under pressure from the French Chamber of Deputies during the late 1920s was rarely enforced. In 1939, no more than 15 percent of all school-age children received any kind of schooling, and about 80 percent of the population was illiterate. In contrast, before annexation the majority of the people were literate to some degree. With a population of 20,000,000 in 1939, Vietnam had one university, with less than 700 students. Few Vietnamese children were admitted to secondary schools which were intended for French children. In 1939 there were 2 doctors per 100,000 Vietnamese, compared with 76 per 100,000 in Japan and 25 in the Philippines. Medical care was, however, well organized for the French in the cities. The social consequence of French colonial policy was that, apart from the landlords, no property-owning indigenous middle class developed in Vietnam. Such exploitative and neglectful policies meant that Capitalism and its evils appeared to the Vietnamese to be solely a product of foreign rule. Together with the lack of Vietnamese participation in government, this profoundly influenced the nature and orientation of the national resistance movements. Therefore although the focus of the initial French 'intervention' was religion, it was around economic and social issues that the nationalist and independence movements developed in French Indochina, in contrast to the religious focus in British India.

Nguyen Sinh Cung, later known as Ho Chi Minh, experienced the worst of those issues. Born in 1890, while the war of annexation was fresh in everyone's minds, his childhood was spent in wretched circumstances in the village of Kim Lien but from age 14 he was able to attend grammar school in Hue for five years. From 18 to 28 he saw a lot of the world: teaching, serving an apprenticeship, working as a cook on a French steamer which visited various African ports and the American cities of Boston and New York, and living in London for two years. He moved to France in 1917 and worked in assorted jobs at the height of the war, became an active socialist, organized a group of Vietnamese living there and, in 1919, in his first significant political act, addressed a petition to the Versailles Peace Conference, demanding that the French colonial power grant its subjects in Indochina equal rights with the rulers. It was totally ineffective, of course, but he was immediately recognized by politically conscious Vietnamese. The following year, inspired by the success of the communist revolution in Russia and Vladimir Lenin's anti-imperialist doctrine, Ho Chi Minh joined the French Communists when they formed a party separate from the Socialists. In 1923 he moved from France to Russia, where he took an active part in the fifth Congress of the Communist International in 1924. His statement

to the congress set out his belief in the importance of the revolutionary role of oppressed *peasants*, as opposed to industrial workers. He went next to Canton, a Chinese Communist stronghold, where he recruited the first cadres of the Vietnamese nationalist movement, mainly Indochinese exiles, later called the Thanh Nien.

When Chiang Kai-shek expelled the Chinese Communists from Canton in April 1927, Ho Chi Minh travelled via the Soviet Union, Brussels and Paris to Siam where he served as a representative of the Communist International for two years. The decision to form an Indochinese Communist Party was taken by members of the Thanh Nien meeting in Hong Kong in May 1929, and others, in Hanoi, Hue, and Saigon undertook the organizing work until February, 1930, when Ho Chi Minh returned at the height of the Depression and presided at the founding of the party Vietnamese (later Indochinese) Communist Party (PCI). The founding of the PCI coincided with, but was not directly linked to, a violent anti-French uprising. However in a reaction typical of those in entrenched repressive power – ‘don’t fix the problem, kill the messenger’ – Ho Chi Minh was blamed and condemned to death in his absence as a revolutionary. The French sought his extradition from the British in Hong Kong but he was able to get to Moscow. Five years later the seventh Congress of the Communist International sanctioned the establishment of a Popular Front alliance with the non-Communist left groups against Fascism; and a moderate line was adopted until repression recommenced in Indochina following the defeat of Léon Blum’s Popular Front government in France in 1937.

Ho Chi Minh was in China with Mao Tse-tung when the Vichy French administration reached agreement with Japan for the stationing of 30,000 troops in Indochina, and the use of all major Vietnamese airports made Indochina the most important staging area for all Japanese military operations in Southeast Asia. In view of that agreement the French administration was allowed to remain in office under Japanese suzerainty. In May 1941, six months before Pearl Harbour, at Ho Chi Minh’s urging, the Communist Party formed a broad nationalist alliance, the League for the Independence of Vietnam, which later became known as the Viet Minh. Then, after a short period in gaol by courtesy of Chiang Kai-shek, Ho Chi Minh began to collaborate with the US Office of Strategic Services and provided information on Japanese troop movements in Indochina. At the same time, he sought recognition of the Viet Minh as the legitimate representative of Vietnamese nationalist aspirations. When the Vichy French were disarmed and interned, with some executions, in March 1945, because of Japanese fears that French forces might turn against them, the last French-appointed emperor of Vietnam, was allowed to proclaim the independence of his country and to appoint a Vietnamese national government at Hue, with the real power remaining in the hands of the Japanese military command. Then, following the Japanese surrendered in August, the communist-led Viet Minh ordered a general uprising, and, with no one organized to oppose them, they were able to seize power in Hanoi. Emperor Bao Dai abdicated and declared his fealty to the newly proclaimed Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

However the French were determined to restore their own colonial presence in Indochina and, with the aid of British occupation forces, seized control of Cochinchina. Thus, at the

beginning of 1946, there were two Vietnams: a communist north and a non-communist south. Negotiations between France and Ho Chi Minh led to an agreement in March that the Viet Minh government would be recognized as a free state within the French Union and that French troops would be withdrawn progressively over five years. But because their policy difference were great, France reneged on that agreement in June and proclaimed Cochinchina (South Vietnam) an autonomous republic. In an effort to resolve their differences Ho Chi Minh went to Paris and a second agreement was reached in September, but the peace was soon broken when a French cruiser opened fire on Haiphong in November after a clash between French and Vietnamese soldiers, and nearly 6,000 Vietnamese, mainly civilians, were killed. Ho Chi Minh bowed to demands for retaliation and the First Indochina War began in December, 1946. Further negotiations were fruitless and the war dragged on.

As in Vietnam, so in Laos, the Japanese interned the Vichy French administration in March 1945 and proclaimed the nation independent a month later. But upon Japan's defeat two opposing groups fought for control and the situation was not resolved until the French returned in 1946, expelled one group, recognized the other – but sought to reimpose control from Paris. In due course it moved towards negotiations for limited self-government. And in Cambodia the Japanese pressed Prince Norodom Sihanouk to declare independence also. He did, and appointed a prime minister, but on their return in October 1945 the French re-imposed their direct control, calling the country an autonomous state within the French Union, but being unwilling to give the National Assembly any real power. That situation was also untenable, deep divisions opened up, turmoil set in and Cambodia was on course for civil war. France's Indochinese Union was no more, but the French were determined to hang on.

THE DUTCH EAST INDIES SAGA¹⁷¹

While Japan was being reconstructed in the American version of the Christian image, and India was breaking loose from its colonial bondage, the Dutch were trying to reimpose their authority over the great complex of island states and territories which they had ruled as the Dutch East Indies. But the four years after the war proved to be a time of transition to Indonesian independence. Urged on by the departing Japanese, there was a prompt resurgence of independence movements which had begun to develop before the first world war as a reaction to the heavy-handed and all-pervading imperialism of the Dutch – and been firmly suppressed.

The origins of the movement actually lie in a 1908 attempt by an elitist group, Budi Utomo, to find an accommodation between Javanese traditional culture and aspirations and the 'modern' culture of the imperial Netherlands. That provided the stimulus for the establishment of two groups in 1912, an Islamic Association, (Sarekat Islam), and a Eurasian Indies Party, (Indische Partij), and the Indies Social Democratic Association in 1914. It adopted a Communist platform in 1920, encouraged by the success of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, then changed its name to PKI, (Partai Komunis Indonesia), in 1924. In the meantime the Dutch government had sought to harness, or subvert, the influence of these new organizations by a

policy much akin to Britain's divide and rule tactics in India. It established a consultative body known as the People's Council, (Volksraad), with some appointed members drawn from the existing organizations and others elected on the basis of three racial divisions: Dutch, Indonesian, and "foreign Asiatics." The People's Council was not intended to greatly influence government. That was an imperial Dutch prerogative. It was little more than a debating society to enable the local population to let off steam and to prevent the organization of a cohesive power base on which the independence movement could build. The quite predictable outcome was the development of inter-racial and inter-faith tension and discord which would only worsen over time. When groups within Sarekat Islam and the PKI tried to flex their muscles during the 1920's they were easily crushed, but the Dutch policy of repression stimulated the establishment of another group in 1926, a Bandung-based 'general study club' with a young graduate engineer, Sukarno, as its general secretary. Under his leadership 'nationalism' took on new meaning. He shifted the emphasis in the independence movement away from parties seeking change within a framework of Islam or communism towards a broadly-based struggle for independence and, in collaboration with a radical student-based Indonesian Union, (Perhimpunan Indonesia), set up the Indonesian Nationalist Party, (Partai Nasional Indonesia or PNI).

For his efforts Sukarno was gaoled for four years in 1929 but released after only two. By then the PNI, under government harassment, had fallen apart and two new groups had formed: Partindo and New PNI, led by Mohammad Hatta and Sutan Sjahrir. Constantly hounded by the government, some groups, including Partindo, cooperated and accepted People's Council membership, but others resisted and Sukarno was exiled to the outer islands in 1933. A more radical group was established in 1937, Gerindo, but when the situation in Europe worsened and Holland was threatened it took the view that support of Holland against Nazi Germany was more important than immediate independence.

Following the Japanese occupation in 1942 the situation changed radically. The Dutch, who occupied all administrative positions, were interned and this provided opportunities for career paths and professional positions which had never before been available to Indonesians. Sukarno and Hatta both accepted positions in the military administration and although, in view of the wartime circumstances, all power still rested with foreigners, the Japanese made political concessions to accommodate nationalist aspirations and received support from the nationalists in return. Sukarno was appointed chairman of Putera, the Centre of the People's Power, but among his roles was to organize compulsory labour programs which were seen as a backward step. However any antagonism towards that and the restructuring of Putera faded in October 1943 when a volunteer defence force was established, equipped and trained by the Japanese, and several youth organizations were formed, and in September 1944 the Japanese announced preparations for the Indies administration to undertake self-government. Little had actually been done between then and when it became apparent that Japan's defeat was imminent, but in August 1945 Sukarno and Hatta were summoned to Japanese regional headquarters Saigon and promised the immediate transfer of power and independence.

On returning to Jakarta Sukarno and Hatta came under strong local pressure to proclaim independence without waiting for a Japanese announcement, but they declined to do so until the British forces accepted the surrender of the Japanese garrison on August 17. They then proclaimed the establishment of a republican presidential government with a Central Indonesian National Committee which formed an ad hoc parliament to which Sukarno's appointed cabinet members were answerable. In fact the British forces which accepted the surrender on behalf of the Dutch were in effective control of the capital, but spontaneous revolution and guerrilla warfare against their occupation swept the Indonesian islands and it took several months and major battles at Bandung and Surabaya before they could claim the country was secure. The returning Dutch were forced to negotiate an agreement with republican representatives for the transfer of sovereignty 'in due course.' But the agreement was vague and virtually valueless. The Dutch, determined so stay, decide to put down all opposition by force. They desperately needed the resources and financial returns from their East Indies empire to enable reconstruction programs to proceed in the Netherlands. Guerrilla warfare continued but the Dutch were determined not to let go. However the nature of a 'police action' in July 1947, prompted the United Nations to intervene. An agreement was reached between the Dutch and the nationalists in January 1948.

It would be appropriate to pause at this point and turn to the Middle East where the trouble in the triangle was entering a new phase, but for the sake of continuity we will stay with Indonesia for one more step. In spite of that agreement, the authority of the Dutch was always under challenge and they resorted to another police action in December, 1948. That action strengthened the resolve of the diverse nationalist groups ranged against them; led to greater coordination between those groups; made it impossible to recover full military control of the country; cost Holland the sympathy of the US; and led to a round table conference in The Hague. The outcome: an agreement was reached in August 1949 to transfer sovereignty over the entire colony to an independent United States of Indonesia. But the haggling took some time because the prize was big. The Dutch were not just about to walk away, and they achieved an agreement which was loaded in their favour. A treaty was signed in November and took effect at the end of December that year. It provided for a federal government in which the republic, based on Java, sat with fifteen autonomous states which were set up by the Dutch and which retained much of the power. Sitting across that structure was a Netherlands-Indonesian Union which further diluted the authority of the federal government.

But: the territory of West Irian was excluded from the transfer. Legitimate reasons would have been geographic separation and ethnicity. The people of West Irian are almost entirely Melanesian Papuans and their country is only the western portion of the major land mass which includes Papua New Guinea. The real reason was the regions' resource wealth including the largest concentration of copper in the world; petroleum, gold, uranium and nickel; plus some of the world's most valuable tropical rain forests with ebony, sandalwood and cedar, together with a host of 'lesser' species including sago, breadfruit, coconut, nipa palm and rubber. The fate of West Irian was to be decided at another conference the following year.

In addition the treaty contained guarantees for Dutch investors which had the effect of allowing the bulk of income to continue flowing to Holland and not Indonesia, and the new nation accepted a debt to the Netherlands of 4,300,000,000 guilders! Great trials and tribulations lay ahead, but at least, officially, Indonesian was independent.

So: during the first two or three years of "peace" following the surrender of Japan the world was left to recover from its war of Gog and Magog and to establish new relationships under the dominant leadership, or influence, of the United States which was drugged by its own self-understanding. The only power in a position to moderate that influence was the Soviet Union, and it was being very deliberately isolated by the Western powers who were increasingly adopting a 'cold war' stance. Or was it the only power? Islam was waiting in the wings.

IN COMPETITION WITH ISLAM

Actually the mainstream churches didn't talk much about Islam. Ordinary clergy were uncomfortable and on the defensive when they were queried by their parishioners. All one needed to know was that Islam didn't have 'it', which meant 'personal Salvation, to which there was access only through Christ, the Son of God.' They said it was a religion for the backward people of the Middle Eastern deserts and the tropics of Africa and parts of Asia and it would never spread to the 'educated areas' where there was European influence. They were probably not aware that Islam was the religion of the majority of the population in 43 countries. They said it was a subject that was better left to the missionary societies and the churches who were in immediate contact with Islam. The trouble is, a great deal of missionary activity has been conducted on that basis and when evangelism has been coupled with the provision of schools, hospitals, faith healing and, in some regions, commercial ventures – all backed up with foreign or colonial government support – it has been inevitable that the communities involved have had difficulty distinguishing between competing or conflicting concepts. What is 'Christian religion,' what is 'Christian civilization,' and what is Western culture and commercial or political practice? When is a facility or a service which has been provided by the missionaries (or by an authority in association with the presence of the missionaries) a service which has been provided for the community out of a commitment to Christian teaching? When is that same facility or service a benefit provided as a consequence of accepting (or as an inducement to accept) Western enculturation and economic and political encroachment? Can you have one without the others? Is the acceptance of the presence of the missionaries (or the church) a price to be paid for accepting Western encroachment or intervention? Asked a different way: is the church riding in on the coat tails of Western commercial or political intervention?

In many regions of Africa and Asia the competing faiths of Christianity and Islam have been introduced concurrently but by different means. Until quite recent years Christianity has generally been introduced by foreigners of totally different racial origin, arriving as trained professional preacher/teachers, ordained or 'set apart' for their task, with new technology, new methods, and seldom staying for more than a few years or long enough to establish a 'cause.'

They have been seen as introducing a new 'Christian civilization' which had two components: a religion and a socio-economic cum political system which were in a symbiotic relationship, mutually dependent but not fully integrated. The introduction and imposition of 'Christian names', the nature of Christian liturgy and the concept of personal salvation sealed through baptism and communion also led to the ready identification of people as 'Christian' or 'non-Christian' and therefore tended to be divisive because of an assumption, sometimes implied and sometimes expressed, of 'superiority' or 'difference': "You, too, can enjoy the benefits and privileges of Christianity if you join us!" That attitude was so widespread that in many parts of Africa "any man who wished to be regarded as civilized was almost bound to become a Christian."¹⁷² On the other hand, Islam has generally been introduced by lay people, traders or travellers, either returning from contact with Islam in an established Muslim region, or foreigners of racial origin and culture not totally dissimilar to the locals. They may not have had the professional presentation of their Christian counterparts when they talked about theology, but they enjoyed a natural rapport and there was no basis on which they could be accused of 'white missionary paternalism.' They were also seen as introducing a new 'Islamic civilization' but in a quite different context. Islam was seen as a fully integrated system of beliefs and practices encompassing worship and the whole of personal and community life in a 'brotherhood' and in a manner which did not involve a radical change from the existing culture and sense of community. This was especially the case in urban areas and there was seldom an implied opposition to, or rejection of, the African or Asian cultural background as being in some sense inferior.¹⁷³ Neither were they seen to be backed by foreign financial resources (at least not until the mid 1970s).

This competition and differentiation between peoples on the basis of their faiths naturally leads to tensions within a mixed community or between adjacent communities, but these remain latent or submerged when social, political and economic circumstances are stable or when one group has the authority to impose and maintain law and order, even if it is discriminating against the other group. However when stability is lost, or when the dominant group loses its authority, the consequences can be serious. And yet, either from ignorance of the possible consequences or a total disregard for them which has been induced by the church's self-understanding, evangelical and missionary groups in some regions have continued flaunting their Christianity and taunting Muslims with it. For example, in Nigeria in the late 1970s and early 1980s Christian fundamentalists in the north of the country caused considerable tension with aggressive missionizing and propaganda. Confident and assertive, they "paraded in front of Muslims in predominantly Muslim towns such as Zaria (with) the slogan, 'I've found it' – 'it' being Jesus or the truth – thereby provoking the Muslim response 'Islam only.'"¹⁷⁴

When the war ended and the great white Christian powers sought to reimpose their authority in Africa and Asia they had quite a bit of catching up to do. Even though it lacked an organized missionary endeavour and the financial backing of the Christian missions had suffered because of a European-induced mind-set against it, Islam was in the middle of a thirty-year growth period which saw the number of its adherents in Africa double between 1928 and 1958. Over

the same period Protestant Christian numbers rose by about 27% and Roman Catholic by about 54%.¹⁷⁵ One factor which appears to have acted in its favour in a southward penetration from North Africa was Islam's association with nationalism and the fact that its adherents had survived deliberate second class status under French administration. This aspect of its nationalism did not spring directly from the links between Arab Nationalism and the Prophet Muhammad's call for submission to God's Will which led to the establishment of Islam. It related to the way in which various protectorates in countries such as Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco had developed from the protection of European nationals in those countries on the basis of a *modus vivendi* between Muslims and non-Muslims. It is illustrated by the situation in Algeria, conquered and colonized by France, in which adherence to Islam was adopted by the authorities as the criteria to discriminate between the *colon* and the *indigene* in matters of civil and political rights. The *indigene* was defined as a *Muslim* and became a second-class subject, deprived of citizenship and inflicted with the *Code de l'indigenat* under a definition by the Senatus Consulte in 1865. The deprivations became even more apparent after the anomaly of the native Jewish community was abolished with naturalization under a special decree in 1870.¹⁷⁶ That method of discrimination clearly implies that no European would adopt Islam.

But there was another anomaly introduced at the end of the second world war as there had been after the first. When the churches wanted to reassert their influence and restrict that of Islam and looked for the support of their states in that endeavour they were often thwarted. It was the turn of the United States to decide that religious tolerance was a new factor to be taken into account – when it suited its purpose. As the British Defender of the Faith had been required to sacrifice the interests of that faith to secure Britain's position in Palestine, so the US, the 'New Israel,' found it necessary to be more circumspect in dealing with both Muslims and Jews when it declared Saudi Arabia (or at least the oil hidden beneath its sands) to be of 'vital interest.' (Chapter 25) At one point Secretary for the Navy James Forrestall feared the consequences of angering Ibn Saud so much that he advised Truman to "ditch Israel" in order to guarantee the Saudi king's loyalty and his oil,¹⁷⁷ advice which Truman ignored, and other advisers would later maintain that to promote Islam was a dangerous long term solution. However Truman could be confident that he had made the right decision because when his predecessor, Roosevelt, and Ibn Saud reached agreement for an American air base at Dhahran in 1945 the king had penned a note in the margin of the agreement: "I urge my descendants to maintain the friendship of our American brothers and to renew this agreement."¹⁷⁸ The American administration therefore appears to have taken little notice when the first Muslim Brotherhood group was established in Jerusalem in 1946 but, with the support of the Palestinian leadership, there were five additional groups operating by the end of that year.¹⁷⁹

Without realizing it, the United States was building and manipulating a set of complex relationships such that within a generation it would have made its own security no less dependent on the stability of the Middle East than Britain had a generation earlier through its equally self-interest based *Balfour Declaration* and the manipulation which was associated with it. The lessons of its religious heritage were lost on its decision makers – commercial and

political – and they demonstrated no more insight into the implications of the trouble in the triangle than the other participants as they sought to control the decolonization process which had been set in train and the reconstruction of the world economic and political systems.

POPULATION PATTERNS, PARENTHOOD ...

All of those developments appeared to be taking place in a dynamically evolving environment quite different from that which the world had known before Gog and Magog went to war. To start with, the world population was growing at a rate and in a manner which had not been generally understood before the war. Between 1939 and 1945 the population had risen from about 2,200 million to about 2,400 million – an increase of nine percent. That increase was in spite of the fact that up to 112 million persons, over five percent of the 1939 world population, had been enlisted and away from home for several years; that deaths and missing persons, presumed dead, totalled 58 million or 2.6 percent of the world population; that a further 35 million persons or 1.6 percent had been incapacitated or wounded, and that this trauma had sharply depressed the birth rate during the war.¹⁸⁰

Actually the world war had caused little more than a blip on the long term pattern of human evolution and population growth, but the leaders of the world's dominant Western powers had not been inclined to view the world from a long term perspective. Their sights were fixed almost exclusively on gaining maximum benefit from the short term situation as they saw it. That meant a continuation of uninhibited exploitation of everything and everyone over whom they could gain control, taking full advantage of the rapid acceleration of scientific and technological developments stimulated by the war, with absolutely no regard for conservation of resources with the future of humanity in mind. This was justified by the need to feed, clothe, house, transport, and provide employment for the returning ex-servicemen without undermining the employment of the masses of women who had been drafted into the workforce to help the war effort, and at the same time build or rebuild neglected or destroyed infrastructure while converting munitions production capacity into consumer production capacity and expanding it to meet the demands of the expected population growth. That was some task. The future could look after itself.

The return of the ex-service personnel and the sudden relief from the trauma of the war soon led to the expected dramatic rise in the birth rate and a “baby boom” which dramatically offset the depressed birth rate of the war years. Demography soon became a study of great importance as economists, sociologists, financiers, industrialists and politicians all realized the enormous complications, challenges – and opportunities – which the new situation involved.¹⁸¹ Supply and demand levels for food, consumer goods, housing, finance, education and health services, and employment all had to be assessed against a dynamically fluid pattern of circumstances. First there were the changing relationships between the proportions of pre-school children, youths, adults of both reproductive and post-reproductive age, retired persons and the infirm aged in war ravaged countries and the impact of the baby boom.

A few figures serve to illustrate the situation. In the United States the birth rate rocketed to 26 per thousand persons per year and stayed above 24 for fifteen years before falling gradually to the prewar rate of 18 per thousand. The ages at first marriage and first births fell at the same time, as did the death rate per thousand, making the net impact on population growth even greater.¹⁸² In Taiwan, where the pre-war birth rate had been 40 per thousand, the birth rate fell at first to 38 per thousand in 1947 but then rose to 50 by 1951 – among the world's highest rates – before falling to 36 in 1963. However the death rate fell even more dramatically from 18 per thousand in 1947 to five per thousand in 1968. The result was that by 1968, 90 percent of the population was in the nominally 'productive ages' from 15 to 64 compared with 68 percent in the United States.¹⁸³ In Japan, which the Western World was generally unable to comprehend because of the attitudes and policies which had been generated and sustained over the long period which we have traced, the population leapt from 72 million in 1945 to 80 million in 1948, under the impact of demobilization of its overseas armed forces, repatriation of overseas citizens and the post war baby boom. Its birthrate peaked at 34.3 births per thousand persons in 1947 and stayed at 33.5 in 1948 after which, under the influence of crisis management by the government, it fell to 28.1 in 1950 and only 17.2 by 1957.¹⁸⁴ That was seven births per thousand persons or 30 percent *lower* than the birthrate in the United States at that time.

... AND POSTWAR SOCIAL CHANGE

But parallel with the new awareness of population dynamics there was an urgent need for a new understanding of human gender relationships. In the industrialized countries, especially those torn by war, and in other countries which had also been ravaged, women had been expected, required and willing to play much more prominent and demanding roles than had been their lot pre-war when they were expected to remain submissive in a male dominated society. In fact the systems of government and commerce had become increasingly dependent on their participation in the manual labour work force, light industry, clerical work, non-combat service roles, community support and service organizations, and in professional roles, notably nursing, para-medical services and school teaching. This required higher levels of education, training and skill development than had been the case before the war, but it also transformed them into an income earning class which gave them independent demand capacity that had not previously been the case. Women therefore generated new market potential in their own right and became the subject of marketing campaigns quite separately from the established patterns of domestic markets.

All of these factors had the effect of raising the expectations of both mature aged and young women. The mature aged were not prepared to revert to their pre-war status and the young were not prepared to accept it as a starting point. The ground swell of the Women's Liberation Movement was slow in starting but progressively Feminist writers built on the work of prewar activists such as the Pankhursts and demanded greater recognition, the removal of restrictions on employment and education, and equality with men in all aspects of community and political

life. Their struggle would have been much more difficult if it were not for the social and economic consequences of the war and if it were not exploited by commercial interests. But change is a never ending process and over the next few years new concepts and social and political considerations became apparent. These required reconsideration of religious attitudes, not only for the Christian church but also for other major religious communities, notably Muslims and Hindus, among whom the role, personal conduct and attire of women had been influenced by a blend of regional or national culture and religious understanding to a more conspicuous extent than in other faith communities.

Western Christian urbanized peoples first had to become accustomed to the idea of 'working mothers.' It was hardly a new concept for rural communities, especially in countries lacking in technological development, but urbanized Western Christians were accustomed to the ideas that the family unit was based on one male breadwinner supporting the family from paid employment, and that the only proper role for a woman (other than in religious service) was as a mother at home nurturing children and attending to the needs of her husband. This was reinforced by the teachings of the church. Assumptions about close-knit three-generation extended families gave way to acceptance of mobile, independent two-generation nuclear family units, very self-centred and with greatly weakened family and cultural ties. The issues of residential care for the aged and infirm, single parent families, 'latch-key kids', child day care, 'street kids', juvenile delinquency, 'junkies', birth control, abortion, communal living, civil marriage and simplified divorce followed in quick succession.

Then a host of other new words began to creep into everyday language: jet engines, rockets, missiles and satellites; television and facsimiles; hovercraft and hydrofoils, catamarans and containers; computers, commuters and credit cards; contraceptives, genetic engineering, electron microscopes, clones, cat scans and transplants; plus plastic, tourists and terrorists. These things were all associated with, and complicated by, the flood of new technology which was about to engulf the world – the Western World first – which would change business opportunities and the way people lived and worked. Each of these things required new approaches by the controllers of commerce and industry, and the broader community, to the provision and funding of services and infrastructure. Should governments be responsible for them and, if not, who should be? Each issue in turn had major implications for the role and structure of government, how governments raised their revenue, and relationships between governments, how they fought wars – and how they justified them. Together these and similar issues, unfolding progressively over a generation, served to refocus attention on the two major alternative approaches to economic, social and political management which were in vogue – Capitalism and Communism. The manner of that refocusing was just as dramatic as the economic collapse between the two world wars, and the extent and intensity of debate, especially at academic level was remarkable. However the controllers of finance, economies and the means of production in the Western World managed to confine the debate to essentially power-block political terms, strongly supported by the Catholic Church which was running its parallel agenda.

But the circumstances had changed dramatically. Just one hundred years earlier, when the world's messages, passengers and goods and chattels were still carried by sailing ships and horse drawn carriages it took not less than two months for a message to reach Sydney from London on the big, fast, specially built clippers. And that was very fast compared with the travel time of eight months and one week for the first fleet in 1787–88, or the normal sailing time of four months during the first half century of settlement. Wars were fought and won or lost in Europe before people in Australia or New Zealand even knew they had been declared. Change came very dramatically in 1871 when a submarine cable was laid from Darwin to Java, enabling Australian messages to be retransmitted through cables which already connected Asia and Europe. Transmission delay for urgent messages virtually disappeared overnight: from two months to a mere few hours. Beam wireless was introduced in 1927, providing more or less instant communication, followed by the first telephone link which provided for normal conversation in 1930, just as Hitler's Nazi Party stormed into contention as an alternative government for Germany, and Pius XI released *Casti Connubii*.

For a short time there was a prompt flow of well informed information around the world and the news-reading public benefited from it, but only until the informal systems of censorship or press self-regulation began to take hold, followed by formal government censorship. (chapter 20, *'The conspiracy of silence.'*) It was some time into the war before the general public realized that it was being fed 'sanitized' versions of what the authorities believed was appropriate for them to know in order to ensure the response the government wanted. However when government censorship was no longer in effect and the world tried to return to normality after World War II, leaders in the world's capitals – and their voting public – knew within minutes when an insensitive action had been taken which was likely to lead to tension between nations. This had a remarkably salutary influence on most politicians who knew that their every move and decision was under scrutiny. But at the same time it meant that action and reaction were also remarkably swift, decisions were often taken in haste and without adequate consultation or information in an effort to preempt opposition or intervention and to retain the initiative, and there was a widespread sense of frustration and disillusionment because many members of the public believed their information was being manipulated as much as ever. Consciously or unconsciously religion was being swept into the background and the Western World was being 'de-Christianized' at an accelerating rate.

If they had studied history a little more closely, world and church leaders would have realized that the world population of about 2,400 million at the end of the war was more than five times the population when the papal standard bearers had set sail, and almost ten times the population when Christ was conducting his ministry. Put another way, about one in ten of all the humans who had lived *anywhere* since the time of Christ were alive at the end of World War II and this gave the church a wonderful opportunity to think more closely about the role of systematic religion and the role of the church in particular. In some areas, notably among the churches who were forging ahead with plans to establish the World Council of Churches, there was vigorous debate about the direction the church should take. There were new initiatives

taken in social action and the refugee resettlement programs of the churches were very important indeed. But the major emphasis was placed on rehabilitation of their domestic organizations, recruitment and training for the ministry, assistance with church reconstruction in war devastated countries, a bid to return to countries from which they had been evicted during the war and, yet again, to ride into Japan and China on the chariots of the victorious armies.

While the Christian reconstruction of Japan was going ahead and people in the West were happy to read about the Japanese war crimes trials with a certain degree of smug self-satisfaction, they were so pre-occupied with settling back into their own changing socio-economic backyard that they gave little thought to what was happening elsewhere. They did, of course, know that their own leaders were jockeying for position as relations between West and East deteriorated, and they also knew that the Jews and the Arabs were getting all hot and bothered about the little piece of disputed land called Palestine. Most people probably thought: "Pity they can't settle it a bit more quietly."

FOCUS ON THE MIDDLE EAST

So, with the world's political and industrial leaders jockeying for position and trying to focus on a number of major issues all at once in a bid to resolve them to their own advantage, we can pick up the threads of action in the Middle East again, beginning with a related matter in the Soviet Union. In mid-April 1943 the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee (JAC, chapter 25), under great pressure to raise funds for both the Soviet Army and civilian support programs, sent a delegation led by its chairman Solomon Mikhoels, to Britain and North America. Their program required them to talk to a range of Jewish organizations and business people, and naturally they talked with Zionist organizations and were briefed on the campaign for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine and on the latest reports of gas chamber atrocities by the Nazis.

When they returned to Moscow late in 1943 they found great enthusiasm for the Biltmore Program and for a continuing campaign to force the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. However, encouraged by their discussions in the United States, and knowing that the Soviet Armies were expected to recover the Ukraine and the Crimea within a few months, Mikhoels promoted a plan for the settlement of Jews in the Crimea with the idea that it would eventually be designated as a Jewish Republic within the USSR. On February 21, 1944, a four-page proposal to that effect was addressed by the JAC to Molotov, who had already been consulted on the draft and whose wife, Mm. Zhemchuzhina was also a member of the committee, appears to have drawn the Foreign Minister into 'the affair' in something of a conspiratorial atmosphere. The JAC noted that Jews who were scattered throughout the Nazi occupied areas of Russia and Eastern Europe were unlikely to be able to resettle in their original homes after the war, that they would have to be settled somewhere, and that as the Crimea would be available soon after the Germans were expelled, it was an ideal region in which to settle the Jews. Mikhoels apparently had insider's knowledge that the Soviet authorities were already planning the forcible deportation of the resident Crimean Tartars. The committee noted, in effect, that the

BiraBidzhan scheme had failed because Jews did not wish to settle there in view of the distance, geography and harsh climate. It said the proposed Crimean Jewish settlement would be a highly productive complement to the national economic plan; that it would be in the national interest, and in conformity with the spirit of the Lenin-Stalin national policy. It was not proposed as an alternative to Palestine but in addition to it or to complement it. In the circumstances it was indeed a naïve proposal. The Jewish question was at the heart of the war; Jews had been alternately oppressed and favoured over a long period and especially during the German-Soviet tug-of-war over Poland; and many people were convinced that even an oppressed religious community should not be favoured with an autonomous state or a republic in preference to some of the Union's oldest ethnic groups.

However the JAC proposed the immediate establishment of a commission to develop and implement the scheme as soon as the region had been relieved, and it made no attempt to keep the proposal confidential within the government. Perhaps that was part of a strategy to build a base of popular support. The proposal was soon widely known and drew opposition from many prominent Jews, not only because it might undermine the case for Palestine but also because they feared an adverse reaction from non-Jews and the Soviet authorities at the rather irrational (or presumptuous) proposal. In spite of that, without waiting for approval from Stalin or any relevant authority, a member of the JAC visited the Crimea in May, immediately after it was recovered from the Germans by Soviet troops, to conduct an economic study. However it was a dead issue. It was never officially rejected. It simply was not approved and an investigation into the JAC was ordered. Stalin was very conscious of the strategic and economic importance of the Crimea and he was very bitter at the manner in which Zionists had undermined the prospects for BiraBidzhan. He saw members of the JAC as having infiltrated the Soviet Information Bureau as agents of American Zionism and in an attempt to establish an outpost of American Imperialism on the shores of the Black Sea in a manner which would pose a direct threat to the security of the Soviet Union. Its chief, Lozovsky, its chairman, Mikhoels, and Mm. Zhemchuzhina were all arrested. Lozovsky was shot, Zhemchuzhina was exiled, and working relations between Stalin and Molotov were undermined.¹⁸⁵

With the war clearly drawing towards its final stages, Churchill was able to devote more thought to the future of Palestine. This was the problem which had resulted from Britain's political manipulation of the interfaith question to gain an advantage during the First World War and which had made it almost impossible for Britain to juggle its Far East and European theatres of interest as the threat of another war built up. It had also made necessary the conspiracy of silence which further complicated its problems precisely because neither Churchill nor the government as a body understood what the problem was. He now planned to replace the rejected Peel Plan with an alternative scheme of partition more favourable to the proposed Jewish state which would include the Negev and have the right to arrange migration without restriction, and in which the United States would be involved. In November, 1944, he discussed his plan with Dr. Weizmann and suggested that Weizmann discuss it further with Lord Moyne, the British Minister of State in the Middle East. Two days later, before that meeting

could take place, Moyne was assassinated in Cairo by two young members of the extreme Zionist Stern Gang in a bid to put pressure on Britain to quit Palestine and abandon the Arabs. Churchill's reaction was to advise parliament that if the Zionists tolerated such crimes he and others who supported it would have to reconsider their attitudes.¹⁸⁶ However as shocked as the world was, it was distracted by the pace of other events and a potentially precipitous crime had less impact on international relations than it might otherwise have had. A few weeks of critical distractions included the German V-2 rocket bombing of London, the re-election of Roosevelt, the commencement of the US aerial bombardment of Japan, the British liberation of Athens, the beginning of the US liberation of the Philippines, the Russian liberation of Riga, and the crushing of the Warsaw uprising by the Germans.

For a time the crisis in Palestine seemed to settle down. The mainstream Zionist leadership were badly shaken by Moyne's assassination. They clamped down on the more extreme elements within their ranks, largely because Churchill and Moyne were close personal friends and they feared a reversal of the British prime minister's position. At the same time the Jews of Palestine welcomed Weizmann's first visit to the territory since 1939 and his wise and moderate counsel also helped to settle the tensions. They also welcomed the new policies on Palestine which British Labor leader Clement Attlee steered through the party conference in December, 1944, only weeks after Churchill's conversation with Weizmann. Those policies were deliberately planned to be favourable to the Zionist cause in an effort to out-bid the Conservative Government in the campaign for national elections which were only a few months away. Attlee espoused the reasoning that the concept of a Jewish National Home made no sense unless Jews were permitted to enter Palestine in sufficient numbers to become the majority. This, he said, required schemes to encourage Arabs to leave, well compensated, and it may require the deliberate transfer of population to other Arab-held territories. He also said Britain should examine the possibility of extending the boundaries of Palestine in agreement with Egypt, Syria and Transjordan. This was even more favourable to the Zionist cause than the scheme its leaders had demanded in the Biltmore resolution of 1942.¹⁸⁷ Even though he came from a completely different social and philosophical background to the Conservatives who had been involved previously, Attlee's reasoning was still anchored in the days of colonial empires trading other people's land. He had hardly progressed from the Berlin Conferences of the 1880s, Britain's carve-up of the Middle East between the world wars, the cabinet proposals for trading pieces of Africa in return for Hitler's favours in January 1938, or the ignominious Munich Agreement of September '38. (Chapter 21) So, in anticipation of easy negotiations ahead regardless of which party would be in power after the elections, the situation remained surprisingly stable during the early months of 1945.

A NEW MAN IN THE WHITE HOUSE

Then, in April '45 Roosevelt died and was succeeded by Harry Truman. The new president was fair game for a bit more pressure, especially in view of the fact that he had acceded to the office

through the death of his predecessor, he had not been actively involved in foreign affairs and he did not have a strong personal electoral mandate. He would be regarded as a caretaker president until he won a presidential election in his own right or until he consolidated his position by virtue of strength of personality or a dominant approach to decision making. The Zionist lobbyists, in common with other pressure groups, recognized this. At the same time they recognized the constantly shifting relationship between global, regional and domestic considerations in US strategic policy making and the way in which the nature of conflict in the Middle East impinged on each of these. They also recognized that in spite of the fact that colonial or imperial authority and responsibility rested in Europe at that time, United States policy could have a major influence on both the nature of the *conflict* in the Middle East and the nature of *foreign-power-presence* in the region. With a British general election imminent they determined to exploit the potential for US influence to the full.

At that time America's global strategy was the major factor determining its Palestine policy, more or less as it had at the time of its agreement to the *Balfour Declaration*, except that religious *sentiment* was having less impact and realpolitik was having more. It was not apparent that within one generation the pattern would be reversed: that the consequences of its relationship with Israel and Palestine would become a major factor determining its global strategy. And it was not conceivable that within two generations the United States would be in the same position as Britain had been in 1939: that its dependence on stability in the Middle East would weaken its grip on its 'empire' – the network of threads controlling the world economic system and its own political integrity.

So. When Truman assumed office it soon became apparent to those interested that the new untested president had a loose decision making style, lacked confidence in foreign affairs and was therefore heavily reliant on his professional advisers, especially in the issue of Palestine in which he had no direct interest, but he was also responsive to friends outside the formal structures of government. He was surrounded by a team of national security, State Department and White House advisers among whom – for a variety of reasons – none supported the idea of establishing a Jewish State except two pro-Zionist staff in the White House. They were the Special Assistant for Minority Affairs, David Niles, and the Special Counsel, Clark Clifford. Three years later they were to be pivotal in the president's decision making on the question of a Jewish State but in the meantime the Zionist lobbyists had many barriers to overcome and they concentrated their efforts on members of Congress, the press, the two major political parties and the exploitation of personal access to the president. They played on the Democrat's fear that the Administration's anti-Zionist position would undermine the party at the 1946 congressional and 1948 presidential elections, noting that 80 percent of the American Jewish community supported the proposal for a Jewish State even though two major Jewish organizations, the American Council for Judaism and the American Jewish Committee, were either opposed or neutral in the debate.¹⁸⁸

Within weeks of Truman assuming office, while the Allies debated the reconstruction and future administration of a devastated Germany, and while Churchill led a caretaker government

pending the British general election, Niles persuaded Truman to send an investigator, Earl G. Harrison, to Europe to report on the condition of the refugees and displaced persons. Then on July 24, 1945, at the Potsdam Conference Truman handed Churchill a memorandum. In it he stated that the US was interested in the British "finding it possible without delay to take steps to lift the restrictions of the White Paper on Jewish immigration into Palestine" and asked Churchill to send him his views on the settlement of the Palestine question.¹⁸⁹ That was the last day but one of Churchill's term in office, in the context of critical negotiations between Truman, Churchill and Stalin over the redrawing of the Polish map and the movement of several million people backwards and forwards across new Polish, German and Russian borders.¹⁹⁰ It was also the very day that Churchill met Polish leaders to discuss the border questions – and the day that Truman confided in Stalin what the Soviet leader already knew, that the US had exploded an atomic bomb. At that time Harrison was still pursuing his investigations into the question of Jewish refugee resettlement.

When Truman received Harrison's report in August, 1945, the Attlee Labor Government had taken office in Britain but was still finding its feet. Truman backed Harrison's recommendation for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jewish refugees to Palestine – against the wishes of the new British PM – and unleashed a political storm. Ben Gurion demanded that the refugees be admitted immediately and that the Labor government honour its election undertaking and declare Palestine a Jewish State. Truman then confirmed his support for the demand for the admission of the refugees but the British Government, realizing very quickly that it was not feasible to honour its election pledge, told Truman that such an action would amount to the abandonment of the White Paper and alienate the whole Arab world. It would make the administration of Palestine impossible and prejudice both British and American interests in the region.

The British view coincided with an assessment by Ambassador Henderson for the US Secretary of State on August 24. Henderson discussed four options for Palestine: an independent Jewish commonwealth; an independent Arab state; partition under the Trusteeship system; and a proposed trusteeship agreement for a unified Palestine. He ruled out the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth as dangerous to the interests of the US, a violation of the wishes of a large majority of the current inhabitants, placing in jeopardy American economic interests including its oil interests in Saudi Arabia and other Arab countries, and introducing the possibility that the Arab countries might impose an oil embargo in support of demands for Arab sovereignty in Palestine. Henderson's preferred option was a trusteeship agreement reached by (and presumably therefore guaranteed by) Britain, the US, the Soviet Union and France under which Palestine would have special status as an international territory administered by Britain.¹⁹¹

A BRITISH-AMERICAN ENQUIRY

Britain suggested a joint British/American enquiry in order to find a compromise. Angered by the delays in refugee migration, extremist Zionists in Palestine seemed determined to show that Britain would not be able to govern Palestine whatever course it pursued. It could not govern, by its own admission, if it admitted the 100,000 refugees. It would certainly not be able to govern if it did not admit them. In September/October coordinated terrorist attacks were launched against the Palestine railway system, naval vessels and the Haifa oil refinery. In early November, about the time that the Arab Higher Command was re-established by the former Mufti, Husseini, and Jews in Tripoli were assaulted with about one hundred deaths, Truman agreed to a joint enquiry. He accepted Attlee's contention that the US could not dictate terms to Britain if it was not prepared to become involved and take some responsibility. The setting up of a twelve-person Anglo-American Committee was announced on November 13, 1945, and it promptly began extensive investigations in Europe and the Middle East.

In December, while the committee's investigations were proceeding, Truman gave orders for the admission of Jewish refugees into the United States to be speeded up but, because it would have weakened their claims to Palestine, the Zionists gave the order only lip-service support, stonewalling occurred in various places, the necessary legislation was delayed and virtually nothing was done. An Arab representative made it clear to the committee that European Zionist Jewry was pursuing "alien imperialist, materialist or revolutionary ideas" and, "like the colonists of old, they were seeking to dominate, and claiming to civilize an 'unprogressive' area, relying on help from the imperialist powers including the United States."¹⁹² At the same time, while the committee was actually conducting investigations in the Middle East, several streams of power politicking were apparent. The British endeavoured to divide and rule by favouring the adjacent Arab states in order to reduce their support for their kin in Palestine and make it easier for Britain to negotiate with the Zionists. The British also applied pressure on the French to quit the Middle East; and the Zionists applied more pressure on Britain to quit Palestine. In December 1945 Britain and France agreed (with marked reluctance on the part of France) to withdraw their forces from both Syria and Lebanon to enable them to achieve the full independence which was implicit in their being admitted as founder members of the United Nations. This was confirmed in March 1946 and the withdrawals began. Similarly, Britain announced that Transjordan would be elevated to the status of a sovereign kingdom and this was confirmed in a treaty signed by Abdullah with Britain on March 22, 1946.

When the Anglo-American Committee submitted its report on April 20, 1946, its decision to adopt Harrison's proposal for the prompt admission to Palestine of 100,000 refugees exposed the hypocrisy and motives of those in America who had blocked Truman's relaxation of refugee entry requirements. It is noteworthy that a mere five thousand refugees were admitted into the United States under Truman's plan within six months of the release of the report.¹⁹³ The committee also adopted the 1939 White Paper proposal for the easing of land ownership

restrictions, but its key proposal was the establishment of a UN trusteeship with the longer term aim of a binational state with Arabs and Jews together.

When Truman greeted the report warmly and pressed Britain to act on the refugee target the Zionists accepted it, but without much enthusiasm; the Arabs were outraged and demanded that Palestine be proclaimed an independent Arab state; the British government reacted with anger, saying the report had to be considered as a whole, not piecemeal; and the Secretary General of the Arab League announced that even though Palestine was an essential part of the Arab homeland, the Arabs would accept the existing Jewish community and give all Palestinians, of whatever religion or community, full rights of citizenship in a Palestinian State. He also highlighted the fundamental cause of the whole crisis for world Jewry, saying that it resulted from European anti-Semitism and that it was in no way the responsibility of the Arabs. However he said that although Palestine had already accepted more Jewish immigrants than most people considered reasonable, if the UN devised a scheme under which its member states would each accept a quota of Jewish immigrants the Arab states would each take part or contribute funds. Zionist agitation for more migration to Palestine was, he said, inspired mainly by political motives, not humanitarian, and the Zionists were determined to discourage displaced Jews from settling anywhere other than in Palestine.¹⁹⁴

In May 1946 the British Government formally rejected the Anglo-American Committee's migration proposals and this virtually ended the prospect that any agreement for settlement could be reached between the Jewish Agency and the British authorities in Palestine which would be acceptable to the Arabs.¹⁹⁵ In June the British authorities in Palestine arrested key leaders of the Jewish Agency (except Ben Gurion who was overseas at the time) in order to coerce them into a workable agreement and two weeks later, in retaliation, the Irgun blew up the British military headquarters in the King David Hotel, killing almost one hundred people. With relations already at rock bottom the British commander forbade his troops to have any dealings with Jews. In this atmosphere, fearing increased Russian influence in the Muslim world if the Palestine Question was not resolved, Truman agreed to a cabinet committee of British and US members, the Morrison-Grady Committee, to 'evaluate' the work of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry.

THE MORRISON-GRADY ATTEMPT

The Morrison-Grady Committee was forced to wallow in an ever-more confused sea of conceptions and misconceptions about the competing faith and ethnic communities, vested interests, and information and misinformation. The proposal it produced in July 1946 provided for semi-autonomous provinces in a scheme which would have entrenched British authority and curtailed the authority which the Jewish community already had for its own affairs. Amid claims that the committee had exceeded its authority in formulating a completely new proposal, and with hostility on all sides Truman was under pressure to reject the Morrison-Grady plan.¹⁹⁶ He floundered gradually towards acceptance of partition and, with the British Government

continuing to press the Morrison-Grady plan, he progressively became the focal point of negotiations and politicking, and the United States was increasingly committed to a major share of the responsibility for the ultimate settlement. This was especially so after Truman, in his bid to derail the Morrison-Grady plan, proposed that the US would finance much of the cost of transporting refugees for resettlement in Palestine and sent a mission to London to work out the details.

The situation for the Zionists was approaching crisis point and on August 2, 1946, the rump of the Jewish Agency Executive met in Paris for a crucial meeting knowing that in the US they were being regarded as a nuisance and the public and politicians were tiring of hearing 'Palestine.' Ben Gurion was present but Weizmann declined to attend for health reasons. Knowing that Truman's support was vital, spurred on by Niles who warned them in a phone call that Truman would "wash his hands" of Palestine unless they produced a reasonable, realistic plan, and being very conscious of the additional pressure on Britain because of the situation in Iran and Turkey they eventually modified their territorial ambit claim. They explicitly rejected the Morrison-Grady plan as a basis for negotiation and accepted the principle of the partition of Palestine into two states, one Jewish and one Arab, saying the Jewish Agency was prepared to discuss a proposal for the establishment of a Jewish state "in an adequate area of Palestine" provided that there was agreement to the immediate admission of 100,000 refugees, administrative autonomy and relaxation of immigration controls in the area designated for the Jewish state. This broke the stalemate and encouraged Britain to appoint a pro-Zionist Colonial Secretary, to resume talks with Dr. Weizmann and to propose another London Conference with both the Jewish Agency and a delegation from the Arab countries.

But the effort required for the Jewish Agency executive to find a compromise position was not without trauma. It was split. One group, the moderates, led by Goldmann with Rabbi Wise and the absent Weizmann, favoured negotiating on the basis of the Morrison-Grady plan with a view to eventual partition. Rabbi Wise admitted to a "harrowing sense of guilt" over his 1937 decision to oppose partition because a Jewish state may have saved many lives during World War II. And Rabbi Fishman, another opponent of partition, maintained that adhering to the Biltmore Program at that point would mean abandoning those Jews who were in the process of fleeing Eastern Europe. The hardliners, led by Ben Gurion, regarded the Morrison-Grady plan as a sell-out and pressed for partition as a basis for negotiation, and subsequently, ten days after that debate, Rabbi Silver resigned from the executive.¹⁹⁷

The situation was regarded as so critical that Goldmann flew from Paris to Washington on August 5, 1946, and met Acheson, the person then heading Anglo-American negotiations, to present the new Jewish Agency proposals.¹⁹⁸ Truman gave them his nod of approval three days later and advised Attlee by telegram that he could not support the Morrison-Grady plan. Attlee promptly asked him to reconsider the matter but on August 12 he reiterated his decision, telling Attlee he hoped the pending London Conference might produce something he could support along the lines of "certain suggestions which have been made to us." Attlee's response was that the Morrison-Grady plan would be the basis for talks in London and while the Jews and Arabs

were free to suggest counter proposals the outcome had to be one which the British could effect within their own resources. The joint Anglo-American initiative was effectively dead.¹⁹⁹

ANOTHER LONDON CONFERENCE

The pace of politicking in the US quickened but the British Colonial Secretary Hall was not aware of that when he issued invitations on August 15 for the London Conference. When it opened on September 10 both delegations were makeshift affairs because the British refused to release gaoled Zionist leaders to attend and the Arab Higher Command did not take part because Britain refused an invitation to the Mufti. The Arab delegation (Egypt, Iraq, The Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Transjordan and Yemen plus the General Secretary of the Arab League) presented a united front, demanding that the mandate be terminated and that a unitary state of Palestine be established under which the Jews would enjoy guaranteed minority rights. Immigration should be stopped and future immigration policy should be a matter for the 'successor government', they said. They rejected the Morrison-Grady plan because the establishment of an autonomous Jewish province within Palestine would give the Zionists an irreversible demographic, economic and political advantage which would lead inevitably to the demand for, and the establishment of, a Jewish state. They believed that this would become a bridgehead for further Jewish expansion in the rest of Palestine and subsequently into Transjordan, Syria and the rest of the Arab world. The British, while they rejected the Arab demands on immigration and continued parallel talks with the Zionists, agreed to a sub-committee continuing work on the constitutional aspects of the Arab proposal. The sub-committee worked until October 2 when the work of the conference was adjourned to December 16.²⁰⁰

Truman's constant shifting ground while the London Conference was in progress, his contradictory statements and his tendency to move in and out of the arena of bureaucratic policy formulation made Britain's position more difficult. With each change of attitude he gave one side or the other, usually the Zionists, a new negotiating ploy and a chance to raise the pressure on Britain. He was becoming increasingly concerned about strains within the Western Alliance which was moving steadily into a cold war confrontation with Russia, and there was an election in the offing, too. Britain's talks with Weizmann had already been complicated – almost sidelined – by the parlous state of Britain's economy, its inability to finance its defence commitments in Greece and Turkey in the eastern Mediterranean region without prejudicing domestic programs, and its urgent need to avoid antagonising Muslim communities in three other related regions.

In Region one, India, the country over which it had struggled to maintain its imperial grip for so long. Britain was struggling to avoid chaos because of conflict between Muslims and Hindus which was largely a consequence of firstly, its policies which had been designed to enable it to divide-and-rule during the colonial era and, secondly, its policies during World War II. Britain's war time offer of dominion status after the war in return for support during the war was a dead

issue. India demanded nothing less than full independence and civil disobedience surged at the end of the war. A strong sense of nationalism fuelled events such as a mutiny of Indian naval ratings in February, 1946 and persuaded the Attlee Government that it was time to withdraw. General elections were held in April to establish an Interim Government with a view to eventual independence. But it was not able to reconcile the conflicting demands of Muslim and Hindu leaders. In August 1946 a convention of Muslim League parliamentarians confirmed the demand for the partition of India to provide for a separate Muslim State of Pakistan. Anything which Britain did in Palestine which antagonised the Muslims could make it impossible for Britain to exit the Indian sub-continent with any semblance of honour.

Region two centred on Egypt which was eager to be recognized as the leader of the Arab world. Negotiations for a new treaty had broken down over the question of control of the Sudan, occupied by Britain since 1936 under an Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. Britain had promised it independence. But the situation was complicated by colonial policies followed since an Anglo-Egyptian Condominium was established in 1898 in a bid to keep the French out. One major effect of those policies was to isolate the southern regions of the Sudan which had been dominated by Christian missions from the Muslim dominated northern region which adjoined Muslim dominated Egypt. Similarly, anything which Britain did in Palestine which antagonised the Muslims could generate deep enmity in Egypt and prejudice the future of the Sudan.

Region three was centred on Iran, another Muslim country bordering the Soviet Union and which generated great benefit for Britain. It had been jointly occupied by Britain and Russia in 1941 in a bid to destroy its "neutrality" or what was regarded by the Allies as a German-Iranian alliance, the Shah abdicated, and the new Shah (his son, Mohammed Reza Khan) ruled under tutelage to the Allies until the end of the war. Then, with the cold war between the former allies becoming more intense, Russia had again sent tanks into northern Iran. It already exerted influence through the Tudeh Party which it had placed in control of autonomous regions in the north western provinces of Azarbaijan and Kurdistan, sandwiched between the Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan and Turkey; and in August it applied pressure on Turkey to agree to a new regime in the straits from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean. British and US interests were again under threat. The American assessment, handed to Truman on August 15, 1946, was that the immediate Soviet aim was control of Turkey and that if that was achieved it would be difficult for the US to prevent Soviet control of the whole of the Near and Middle East. US diplomatic intervention followed on August 19 and the Soviet proposal to Turkey was withdrawn.

Greece and Turkey were clearly of increasing strategic importance to planners in each of Moscow, Washington and London. As a result of the Iranian crisis, continuing strained relations with the Soviet Union, and the increasing cost of subsidising the corrupt and financially inept Greek elite, Attlee was persuaded that it was time for Britain to withdraw from Greece and to agree to the United States being a partner in the Eastern Mediterranean but, in addition, the British Ambassador in Turkey suggested that the US should also be brought into that country.²⁰¹ At the same time, in a memo on August 23, the US Joint Chiefs of Staff had proposed to the President that the US should assist Turkey with technical aid and permit it to buy military

equipment.²⁰² Talks between British and US military commands began on September 10, 1946, the same day as the London Conferences between Britain, the Arabs and the Zionists. The US confirmed that it regarded Middle East oil as vital and it was agreed that a strategy should be prepared for implementation in the event of the outbreak of a third world war.²⁰³ On September 21 Bevin and Byrnes agreed that it was Britain's responsibility to supply military equipment directly to Turkey, Greece and Iran, but if Britain failed to do so the United States would. The pace of action and reaction was accelerating! The US State Department immediately requested policy papers covering political and economic as well as military assistance, but on September 24, 1946, Special Counsel Clifford delivered a major report to Truman which had already been in preparation.

Based on consultations with the Secretaries for War, State and Navy, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the CIA and other specialists this Clifford/Elsey paper argued that the Soviet Union's long term aims were the economic, military and political domination of the entire Middle East, that there were limits to possible (working) relations with the USSR, and that military power was the only language its leaders understood. Compromises and concessions would be taken as a sign of weakness and encourage new and greater demands. Clifford and Elsey concluded that the main deterrent to Soviet attacks on areas vital to the security of the US would be military power; the US should support and assist all democratic countries endangered by the Soviet Union but military support in the event of an attack should be the last resort; economic support was a more effective barrier to communism, and this required the American public to be fully informed about US-Soviet relations. After reading that report Truman was concerned that it was so hot that if it became known it would blow the roof right off the White House. He ordered that the 20 copies which had been made were to be collected and placed in a safe!²⁰⁴ In the meantime the USSR was placing more competitive pressure on both Turkey and Iran for bilateral cooperation and the crisis in Iran was deepening and on October 1 the United States formally established a Mediterranean naval force for the first time which, within two months would include an aircraft carrier, three cruisers and eight destroyers, making the US the biggest naval power in the Mediterranean.

'MEN OF GOODWILL.' IN POLITICS?

On the same day, after much vacillating over who should participate in the adjourned London Conference and whether the Jewish Agency would continue to demand partition as the basis for discussions, Weizmann and Goldmann met Bevin in a final effort to have a Jewish Agency delegation formally involved in the conference, to have the detainees released and to have those being held as illegal immigrants on Cyprus released and admitted into Palestine under the existing quota scheme. Bevin warned them that Britain was prepared to turn the issue over to the United Nations rather than risk the lives of its young soldiers, but that the last point could be discussed further in the context of an agreement on law and order in Palestine. Subsequently the release of the detainees on Cyprus was agreed.²⁰⁵ But then on October 4, Yom Kippur, in spite

of Britain's urgent request that he not do so, Truman gave tacit endorsement to Ben Gurion's partition plan in an election campaign move designed specifically to outbid his Republican opponent, Governor Dewey.²⁰⁶

Truman issued a statement in which he referred to both the Morrison-Grady plan for provincial autonomy and the Jewish Agency's counter proposal for partition and the immediate entry of 100,000 refugees, and then noted: "From the discussion which has ensued it is my belief that a solution along these lines would command the support of public opinion in the United States. I cannot believe that the gap between the proposals which have been put forward is too great to be bridged by men of reason and goodwill. To such a solution our government could give its support."²⁰⁷ Seething with fury, Attlee immediately sent a telegram in terms which have been described as "one of the most scalding communications a British Prime Minister has ever sent to a President of the United States."²⁰⁸ The opportunity for direct participation of the Jewish Agency in the adjourned conference was lost, and the emphasis in Zionist lobbying and negotiations thereupon lurched heavily towards the United States.

On October 18 and 21 the State Department received strategic reports it had ordered in September on each of Iran, Turkey and Greece.

The report on Iran emphasised the need for the US to provide positive encouragement and assistance if Iran were to be prevented from falling completely under Soviet domination and rescued from its existing state of partial subservience. In their submission the Joint Chiefs of Staff had said that Iran was of major strategic interest not only for its oil but also because it was a 'cushion' against Soviet advances in the Middle East and one of the few favourable areas for 'counter offensive action' (or containment) against the USSR. They were precisely the reasons why Stalin wanted it under Soviet influence. The Iranian Prime Minister's concessionary attitude to Soviet interests in Azerbaijan, Soviet requests for the establishment of a joint Irano-Soviet airline to service northern Iran, and requests for elections to test a proposed Irano-Soviet oil agreement (the price for Soviet withdrawal) in the Majlis had already been the trigger for uprisings in the south and demands for the expulsion of Tudeh supporters from cabinet. With the naval fleet behind him, US Ambassador Allen now applied pressure through the Shah for the prime minister to either dismiss the Tudeh supporters or resign. They were dismissed. But for a short time there was still strong Soviet influence in the north until the Shah appealed for direct military aid. Byrnes approved an offer to sell arms worth \$10 million to Iran on October 28; the State Department endorsed other measures on Iran which were included in the reports; and by mid December the two Soviet-sponsored autonomous regions in the north had collapsed.

The report on Turkey described it as the most important strategic factor in the eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East. If the Soviets were to achieve their objectives in Turkey, both Greece and Iran would be dangerously exposed. The military advisers believed that in spite of its unity and its effective military force, Turkey could not stand alone in the face of the Soviet war of nerves which required it to maintain large military forces which were a drain on its economy. Greece was also seen as a deciding factor in the future orientation of the Near East

and Middle East. It was the only Balkans country which was not then subject to Soviet hegemony and, with Turkey, it formed the only obstacle to Soviet domination in the Mediterranean. If Greece were to fall under Soviet influence first (through Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria) the USSR would be able to exert irresistible pressure on Turkey and the role of the United States as the defender of United Nations principles (as it interpreted them) would be seriously damaged. Greece needed external support and if the British were to withdraw it would be seriously weakened. On October 30, British officials in Washington were advised that the United States would be happy to provide whatever military assistance for Turkey and Greece that Britain was not able to provide.²⁰⁹

In one sense that advice was very comforting for Britain. It was a clear indication that Britain's immediate security was not at risk if it was unable to maintain its presence in the Near East. On the other hand it was very disturbing. It was an equally clear indication that if it made a decision to withdraw it would forfeit the bulk of its influence both in that region and in the United Nations – and the benefits which flowed from that influence – to the United States for the foreseeable future.

In another sense that advice illustrated that the rules of the war game were exactly the same as before World War I and World War II. He (or they) who controlled the Balkans held the key to the Middle East and all its resources. The players were simply changing roles. Case I: the changing Entente, dominated by Britain, versus the Central Powers. Case II: the Allies, including the Soviet Union, versus the Axis Powers. Case III: the Western Alliance, dominated by the United States, versus the Soviet Union. And the Jewish Question (or the Christian Question) was still at the centre of the board.

In the circumstances Britain simply could not contemplate any settlement of the Palestinian question which would alienate any Arabs, either Muslim or Christian, or Muslims in any non-Arab countries. On October 25, 1946, Bevin tabled three options for cabinet to consider if the negotiations with the Jewish Agency and the Arabs failed: to impose a solution acceptable to one of the parties (meaning, in the circumstances, the Arabs); to surrender the mandate and withdraw; to propose a scheme of partition in which part of Palestine would be joined to Transjordan. Then on October 31, in spite of the Jewish Agency's denunciation of terrorism, the Irgun Zvai Leumi blew up the British embassy in Rome and there were panic press predictions of assassination attempts in Britain itself.

During November Bevin visited the USA and noted hostility towards his policy. But he also noted that the US was 'drifting' even though it tended to favour partition.²¹⁰ During December as debate raged within Whitehall he seriously contemplated referring the Palestine mandate to the United Nations. Britain did not have the resources to impose a solution which offended both the Arabs and the Jewish Agency. Partition would offend the Arabs, but anything less would be unacceptable to the Zionists and would be unlikely to command support from the United States. Any change which varied the terms of the mandate required a two-thirds majority in the UN General Assembly, and any lesser result would require reference to the Security Council where

either the US or the USSR were likely to exercise their veto. The Colonial Office, having lost the case for provincial autonomy, advocated partition but the top priority for the Foreign Office was to maintain the goodwill of the Arabs. So, under strong pressure from the Foreign Office and the Chiefs of Staff, cabinet opted to arrange a three-way conference – Britain, the Zionist Organization and the Arab Higher Command – but there was widespread despondency about the outcome and a growing expectation that it would be necessary to refer the problem to the United Nations.²¹¹

Cabinet would have been conscious that Greece had referred incursions from Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia which were fuelling civil war and increasing the threat of Soviet domination to the United Nations on December 3. In fact there were concurrent destabilizing developments in each the four sets of regional conflicts outlined above, and a number of mandates, trusteeships and independence proposals were also before the United Nations and several of them involved Britain. On December 13 the General Assembly adopted agreements relating to New Guinea (Australia), Ruanda-Urundi (Belgium), Cameroons (part, French), Togoland (French), Western Samoa (New Zealand), Tanganyika (British), Cameroons (part, British) and Togoland (British). These countries and others in South East Asia and elsewhere which were involved in struggles to throw off one colonial yoke or another were watching the negotiations over Palestine very closely. They were looking for any action or any decision which might provide a precedent.

A PALESTINE PRECEDENT?

Palestine encapsulated and epitomised all of the struggles and aspirations of oppressed or subject peoples throughout the world in a unique set of circumstances. It involved two disadvantaged peoples, one of which was trying to re-colonize the territory of the other and in doing so was committing further oppression in an effort to overcome the oppression which it had suffered. There would therefore have been a greater than usual international interest in the affairs of the 22nd World Zionist Congress in Basle from December 9–24. Lobbying for executive positions which were the key to negotiations with Britain was just as intense as lobbying over the policy to be adopted in those negotiations. Weizmann denounced the terrorists and American extremists, and opposed Ben Gurion's policy of conflict and confrontation. Ben Gurion emphasised that he would not serve on an executive which was not prepared to wage an armed struggle against the British. Major groups which were pressing for partition sought to replace Weizmann as President by a collective leadership of Weizmann as Honorary President, Ben Gurion as chairman of the executive and Silver and Fishman as joint vice-chairmen. This failed. But the hard-line delegates pushed through resolutions reaffirming the Biltmore Program and opposing Jewish Agency participation in the London Conference. Weizmann thereupon resigned and the position of President was left vacant. Silver was made chairman of the US section of the Jewish Agency and Wise was eliminated from the official leadership. Clearly, negotiations with Britain were headed for a rocky road.²¹²

To complicate matters, on December 19, while the congress was still in session, the UN General Assembly approved a US proposal that a Commission be established to investigate the situation in Greece, beginning its on-the-spot investigations on January 30, 1947. By then the US was providing military assistance to the Greek government but, unknown to the US or Britain, Russia was trying to limit Yugoslavia in its ambitions to seize Salonika even though such an outcome would weaken the position of the Western Alliance and assist the Soviet Union. Stalin later told Tito's representatives that the venture had no prospects of success, asking: "What? Do you think that Great Britain and the United States, the most powerful state in the world, will permit you to break their line of communication in the Mediterranean? Nonsense!"²¹³ The waters of the Near East and the Middle East were becoming rapidly more and more murky.

At the beginning of January 1947 the British cabinet Defence Committee accepted recommendations from the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Field Marshall Montgomery, that a tougher policy in Palestine was required. He proposed a new strategy of mobile troop columns, all in radio contact, able to move into the scene of a terrorist attack at once and comb it thoroughly. Searches would be permitted at any time, with or without notice, with the aim of causing such disturbance that the Yishuv would turn against the terrorists and confidence in the administration would be restored. In fact Britain's talks with Weizmann broke down completely, and at the end of January about 2,000 non-essential personnel were evacuated and all remaining civilians were housed in special security compounds.²¹⁴

When the reactivated London Conference opened on January 27 it was against the immediate background of that evacuation of non-essential personnel from Palestine and growing chaos in the whole region. The very next day the government released a white paper announcing that Britain was withdrawing from Burma and many observers took that as an indication that more such decisions were imminent. However cabinet approached the conference with a degree of flexibility. It had decided to discuss future independence for a single binational state, but it had also decided that if the conference failed the matter would then be referred to the UN. An Arab delegation attended but it was weakened by the absence of the Mufti (whose presence was still rejected by Britain) and the Secretary General of the Arab League (who excused himself on the grounds of ill health). They refused to compromise, reiterating their 'inflexible demand' that Jewish immigration should be halted and that partition should not be discussed. The Zionists refused to attend the formal conference but proposed parallel discussions with cabinet ministers (to which Britain agreed) saying they would not define their territorial aims for a separate Jewish State if their immigration demands were met and restrictions on land purchases were lifted.²¹⁵ These attitudes soon confirmed that there was no basis for agreement.

In a last desperate bid to find a solution a few weeks later, Britain proposed the establishment of two locally self-governing provinces, one Arab and one Jewish, under British mandatory control for five years. Jewish migration would be set at 4,000 persons per month for two years (192,000), with any subsequent migration to be agreed to by Britain, the Arabs and the United Nations.²¹⁶ There was still no basis for agreement. The Arabs were apparently comfortable with

the matter being referred to the United Nations, but the Zionists, whose delegation included Ben-Gurion and Goldmann, sought to avoid reference to the UN with a tactical retreat to a pre-1939 policy which Britain rejected. The conference and parallel discussions closed on February 13.²¹⁷ Cabinet met next day to decide on action and some ministers expressed support for partition but the majority view was that any pro-Zionist policy would provoke an Arab uprising in Palestine with hostility in the Arab world and possibly throughout the Muslim world. They also recognized that a policy of full support for the Zionist claim was unlikely to be acceptable to either public opinion or the British forces in Palestine and, although the Chief of Staff again opposed that course, cabinet opted to refer the matter to the United Nations on the basis that if the UN proposed a settlement which was acceptable to Britain it would be at liberty to surrender the mandate.²¹⁸ The collapse of Anglo-Egyptian negotiations, the decision to withdraw aid from Greece and Turkey, and the impending withdrawal from India showed that Britain no longer had the "will, ability [or] rationale" to uphold such strategic ambitions in the Middle East and rendered the Chiefs of Staff strategic arguments obsolete.²¹⁹

ECONOMIC END-GAME: QUIT PALESTINE

This was confirmed on February 18 when the government made two dramatic announcements. The first related to a severe economic plan for the coming year which was set out in another White Paper: 'Economic Survey for 1947.' The second was that Britain was referring the Palestine question to the United Nations. The dour prediction in the economic White Paper was that failure of the plan might mean that the foundations of Britain's national life might never be restored. In such a dire predicament cabinet had decided, on Dalton's advice, to "put an end to our endless dribble of British taxpayers' money to the Greeks."²²⁰ Concerning Palestine, Bevin told the Commons: "We shall explain (to the UN) that the mandate has proved to be unworkable in practice and that the obligations undertaken to the two communities in Palestine have been shown to be irreconcilable. We shall describe the various proposals which have been put forward for dealing with the situation ... We shall then ask the United Nations to consider our report, and to recommend a settlement of the problem. We do not intend ourselves to recommend any particular solution." Then only two days later, on February 20, the government also announced that Britain would withdraw from India not later than June 1948 and that Lord Louis Mountbatten was appointed Governor General to oversee the process.

But the British government had also decided to put the matter of support for Greece to the US administration in such a manner as to incite it to assume responsibility for propping up the Greek government – and to leave it with no acceptable option. On February 21 Britain's ambassador delivered two notes to the State Department. In one, it advised that it could only maintain Greece's armed forces until March 31. In the other it advised that Turkey required military and economic assistance which Britain could not provide. They were dated exactly five months after Bevin and Byrnes had agreed that it was Britain's responsibility to supply military equipment directly to Turkey, Greece and Iran, but that if Britain failed to do so the United

States would. Out of despair at its own parlous situation as a consequence of World War II and fearing further loss of status, Britain, the country which formerly wore the mantle of the most powerful imperial nation the world had known, was trying to coerce the United States into sharing the costs of restoring some semblance of international stability. It was also as a consequence of that war that the United States now found itself wearing the mantle of the world's most powerful nation ever which had been stripped from Britain. And a few months later it would become apparent that the British decision to force the US to pick up the Greek financial burden had infused complications into the Anglo-American relationship.

But the United States did not pick up the mantle spontaneously out of the kindness of its heart. The State Department was already well briefed on developments in the Eastern Mediterranean. It knew from its own diplomatic and military sources that the Greek government was perilously near breaking point, that its popular support was being eroded by corruption, inefficiency and economic chaos, and that there had been a resurgence of guerilla activity. The Soviet Union was held mainly responsible for that situation and it was expected to be a major beneficiary from it. The State Department went into action. It prepared a general program of assistance which was endorsed by Truman who immediately invited Congressional leaders to meet him and key members of his administration on February 27. That meeting was a bid to gain the support of the newly-elected Republican-dominated congress for a program which it was expected to reject on the basis that it was determined to reduce government spending. Acheson stunned the group by telling them that: "Like apples in a barrel infected by one rotten one, the corruption of Greece would infect Iran and all to the east, and to Europe through Italy and France, already threatened by the strongest Communist parties in Western Europe. ...Not since Rome and Carthage had there been such a polarisation of power on this earth." Truman was thereupon urged to make his appeal to Congress in similar fashion.²²¹

THE TRUMAN DOCTRINE

On the same day that Truman met Congressional leaders, and in view of the American response and sharp criticism and ridicule from Churchill, the British government briefly reopened negotiations with the Zionists in the forlorn hope that the threat of referral to the United Nations would prove sufficient incentive for them to take a more flexible attitude. It was to no avail. ²²² Then on March 12, as he leap-frogged from consideration of one related crisis to another, Truman took his major step towards securing congressional approval for the Greek support program. He defined the principle upon which United States foreign policy would henceforth be based: the Truman Doctrine. It must be the policy of the United States, he said, to support free peoples who are resisting subjection by armed minorities or outside pressures. He asked Congress to approve \$400 million to help Greece and Turkey. It did. His 'doctrine' was said to mark a distinct break from the long-standing policy under which the US would not make commitments to support the government of another country during peace time. It was, in fact, merely a formal break with past policy because it had been breached in-the-honouring prior to

the United States entering both world wars and quite specifically only a few months before in the provision of assistance to the Shah of Iran in October 1946.

The Truman Doctrine certainly legitimised United States participation in collective security agreements and so-called 'forward defence strategies' with military bases in other countries. This was a strategy which otherwise was only available in peace time when two countries were in an imperial or colonial relationship. Thus the Truman Doctrine also legitimised the 'imperial reach' ambitions of the United States without it having to attempt formal imperial expansion in a world setting in which it had played a major part in the dismantling of other powers' empires. It has subsequently enabled the US to exert political and economic pressure in circumstances in which it would otherwise have clearly been seen as 'the big bully' and to justify United States intervention in numerous situations around the world whether a government, or the freedom of its people, have been seriously at risk or whether it has been the commercial interests of United States enterprises which have been at risk. But in March 1947 it was the vehicle which enabled Truman's US to pre-empt the power vacuum in the Eastern Mediterranean which would have resulted from Britain's decision to withdraw and to accept that its international influence was on the decline.

The United States administration had been kept constantly informed of the progress of Britain's talks with the Arabs and the Zionists and on every aspect of the situation in Palestine but, even in view of such critical circumstances in the region, getting US agreement to the formal procedure to hand back the mandate was not an easy task. It required a decision by the General Assembly which was only likely to be made after thorough investigation. The Assembly was not due to sit until September and the US was opposed to it being convened at an earlier date to appoint an ad hoc commission on the grounds that the Soviet Union could use the occasion to embarrass the US and Britain over their involvement and political manoeuvring in Greece and Turkey.

A UN SPECIAL SESSION ...

In spite of that opposition the British government asked, in a formal letter of reference dated April 2, that in view of "the desirability of an early settlement in Palestine" a Special Session of the General Assembly be convened to appoint a Special Committee "to make recommendations under article 10 of the Charter, concerning the future government of Palestine."²²³ As mandatory power it was admitting that it could no longer administer the mandate which it had politicked so hard and long to gain. It could not hand Palestine to either the Jews or the Arabs, and it could neither impose nor negotiate the redrawing of the map of the Middle East, as it had been accustomed to doing, to secure a territorial settlement to the crisis which its ultimate dual manipulation of religious interest and belief had triggered.

It was just thirty years after a key British adviser, Sir Mark Sykes, had met Zionist representatives on February 7, 1917, to discuss a proposed sovereign Jewish State in Palestine in return for maximum Zionist cooperation during World War I which was to include pressure to

bring the United States into the war and to keep Russia in it. But none of the key players, Britain, the Western Powers, the Soviet Union, the church, Jewish religious authorities or Muslim religious authorities fully understood the significance of the events in which they were involved. The British Government ought have been chastened by the realization that the capacity of the Jewish community to apply political pressure, developed under duress over hundreds of years, which it had sought to direct at the United States government for Britain's ends in 1917 was again being directed at that government, but to Britain's disadvantage. It would admit that "the obligations undertaken to the two communities in Palestine have been shown to be irreconcilable." But only that. It would admit no fault, blame or responsibility. Neither would the church. They were all piled onto Hitler, 'the Jews' or 'the Arabs' – except to the extent that Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin tried to deflect some blame onto the United States. In an address to the Commons a week after making his formal announcement he accused Truman of "causing an impasse in solving the Palestine question by playing *domestic politics* with the issue."²²⁴ ²²⁵

It was another case of a remarkably short memory for history. Bevin must have been aware that by the end of World War II the Jewish population in the US numbered some five million persons; revelations of the death camps and the plight of the refugees had effectively transformed Zionism into the dominant mood of this strategically placed minority; fund raising drives on behalf of the European survivors and the Palestine sanctuary were raising \$100 million a year by 1947 (far surpassing the philanthropic efforts of any other American charity or of any other American ethnic group); and that the importance which American political leaders placed on the Jewish vote in New York, Illinois, Pennsylvania and other states with sizeable urban Jewish populations exerted a markedly pro-Zionist influence on the White House and Congress.²²⁶ Or was Bevin saying it was alright for Britain to play politics with religion but not for the United States? In any case, Britain's announcement that it was surrendering or reneging on its mandate did nothing to quell the disturbances.

Unfortunately, but quite naturally, it was difficult for most people to focus clearly on Palestine because a lot of other maps were being re-drawn at the same time. The Paris Peace Treaties which were finalized in February, 1947, resulted in territorial changes for Finland, Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria and Trieste, but much bigger changes were imminent on the Indian sub-continent. It was within days of the conclusion of the Paris Peace Treaties, and under enormous pressure, that Britain had announced that it would withdraw from India not later than June 1948 and Lord Louis Mountbatten was appointed Governor General to oversee the process. Mountbatten very quickly concluded that the partition of India into separate Muslim and Hindu states was the only policy which could bring peace or stability and he therefore worked to persuade Congress to accept that policy. It did so reluctantly. The principle of partition of a nation on the basis of religion was thus recognized internationally – although the church had long since sought to force it upon the world by default through its policy of ghettoization which was expanded and reflected in Tsarist Russia's establishment of the Pale of

Settlement – and the Zionist case for the same policy to be applied in Palestine was strengthened enormously.

Upon receiving Britain's request for a special meeting of the General Assembly the Acting Secretary General sent telegrams to all 54 other members asking them to notify him if they concurred in the summoning of a special session for the purpose. Thirty nine replied 'yes', Ethiopia replied 'no' and 14 did not reply. When the Special Session opened on April 28 three matters proved divisive: the purpose of the appointment of a UN Special Committee, its composition, and whether the persons appointed to it should be directed by their governments or work as a committee of experts on the basis of conscience. But in addition, the AZEC, acting independently of the Jewish Agency, stepped up pressure on the US government to link its aid plans under the new Truman Doctrine to a solution in Palestine. It bombarded Truman and Marshall with telegrams and blanketed the religious and secular media in order to raise the profile of the Zionist cause. On May 1, Arab states tried to introduce a resolution calling for the termination of the mandate and a declaration of Palestinian independence, but they were defeated by 24 votes to 15, with 10 abstentions. Several working committees were appointed to consider Britain's request and how to proceed. Then, the day after the formation of the committee was approved, the Soviet delegate, Andrei Gromyko, amazed everyone, perplexed the United States and raised the expectations and morale of the Zionists when he confounded the universal assumption that the Soviet Union was virulently opposed to Zionism. He acknowledged the historical roots of both Arabs and Jews in Palestine and argued that no solution which ignored the lawful rights of either people could be ignored and argued that no solution which ignored the lawful right of either people could be justified. He said that a binational state was the solution "most deserving of attention" but concluded that if such a state was found impracticable, the alternative of partition would have to be considered.²²⁷

... AND THE BIRTH OF UNSCOP

On May 15, three months after the dramatic British announcement, an eleven member United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, (UNSCOP), was appointed. It was comprised of representatives of Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, India, Iran, The Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, Uruguay and Yugoslavia. However, in spite of strong opposition from Arab countries, its terms of reference did not correspond with Britain's letter of request. The matter on which it was required to report to the Assembly was *changed from* "recommendations, under article 10 of the Charter, concerning the *future government* of Palestine" to the much more general "the *question* of Palestine." It was directed to investigate "all questions and issues relevant to the *problem* of Palestine", to give "most careful consideration to the *religious interests* in Palestine of Islam, Judaism and Christianity" and to make "such proposals as it may consider appropriate for the *solution of the problem* of Palestine." The representative of Lebanon reflected the views of most Arab countries when, in reserving his country's position on the matter, he complained about the changes, referred to the "essential (and) dangerous

indefiniteness which permeates this entire document,” and noted that all references to Palestinian independence had been “severely suppressed from the terms of reference.” ²²⁸

UNSCOP met for the first time in New York on May 26. Three days later, May 29, the UN General Secretary circulated a letter from Britain asking all countries to do all in their power to discourage illegal immigration into Palestine while the matter remained sub judice. That letter was provoked by information which had reached the British authorities on May 1 that a ship was being prepared for a special illegal immigrant voyage to Palestine. The plan for the voyage had been hatched in New York months earlier. The 5,000 ton *President Warfield* which had been used as a Chesapeake Bay ferry had been purchased and refitted by the Sonneborn Institute to take up to 5,000 passengers. A Methodist minister from Massachusetts, John Grauel, formerly a correspondent for the Protestant Episcopal Press publication *The Churchman* was recruited as the vessel's publicist and it sailed for Port-de-Bouc to prepare for its critical voyage.

RAPID ACTION: RELIGIOUS PARTITION AND EUROPEAN RECOVERY

Then there were a couple more major distractions on the world scene.

The first was the announcement on June 3, after intensive investigations and negotiations by Mountbatten, of firm proposals for the plan for partition of India, *on the basis of religion*, into two independent states of India and Pakistan. The proposals were promptly accepted by both the Muslim League and Hindu dominated Congress, and establishment of the principle of partition on the basis of religion was *fait accompli*. (See above: ‘*The Indian Saga*’)

The second was a speech on June 5 by the US Secretary of State, General George Marshall, at Harvard University. Marshall outlined a plan for a Program of European Economic Recovery involving the progressive economic integration of the nations of Europe in a free market economy, with financial assistance from the United States. The Marshall Plan had been launched.

Both of those matters require discussion before we can follow UNSCOP further, because they were about to have considerable impact on the UN's consideration of the future of Palestine.

THE MARSHALL PLAN: NOT PHILANTHROPY, DEFENCE OF US CAPITALISM

The ‘plan’, or more correctly a loose framework for a plan which could form the basis for negotiations, was the outcome of initiatives and discussions within the State Department and among other authorities over some months which had, in due course, been coordinated by Dean Acheson and brought to a presentable form at a meeting between Marshall and key staff on May 28. It was a response to the fact that recovery from the war in Europe was taking much longer than expected and to a number of ‘triggers’ which all occurred in March 1947, including Britain's precipitate withdrawal from Greece following the release of its economic crisis White Paper; the termination of UNRRA's operations; a report on Germany's recovery submitted by

former President Hoover which “touched off a mighty debate within the Truman Administration” over the way in which German recovery should be managed and related to the economic and security requirements of its neighbours, and the endorsement by the UN General Assembly of a proposal to establish an Economic Commission for Europe.²²⁹ It was presented as a vision for the future, a break with America’s isolationist past, and its assumption of world leadership in a bid to help save Europe. It was vigorously promoted and much-vaunted as ‘The Marshall Plan’ and it led, in due course, to the formation of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) and the American Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) as channels for massive American financial assistance, mainly for countries in Western Europe – some \$13.3 billion over four years.

But the Marshall Plan in fact “rested squarely on an American conviction that European economic recovery was essential to the long term-interests of the United States”²³⁰ and “an effective European Recovery Program is essential to American security.”²³¹ There were two main aspects to that conviction. One was that the United States required Europe as a major trading partner to sustain its own export-oriented economy, otherwise its own economy would collapse. Europe’s agricultural production was only 83 per cent of 1938 levels, its industrial production was 88 percent, and its exports were only 59 percent.²³² At such levels Europe could not purchase US exports at a level to sustain the US economy and it could not trade its way to recovery by financing its capital requirements as well as foodstuffs from its exports. The other was the twin threat from Communism. There was no doubt that the rising popularity of the communist economic philosophy would flow from Europe to the US if its own economy was not sufficiently buoyant to satisfy its people and its own political economy would therefore be under threat. But similarly, the establishment of a number of strong centrally planned economies in Europe, with trade concentrated in reciprocal arrangements, would have tended to exclude trade with the US, delay its recovery and make it more susceptible to pressure for the establishment of similar central controls at the expense of the private capitalist operations. From the US perspective Communism could not be permitted to succeed in Europe. The Marshall Plan was thus essentially a plan to protect the United States from another economic collapse such as it suffered following World War I and to offset the growing influence of Communism, but it required the European nations to take initiatives in cooperative planning and economic policies within a free market system.

And that – cooperative planning and economic policies within a free market system – was another related major issue which was on the table at the time and which was not going according to the wishes of the United States. As already noted, although the US was quite capable of operating its own system of trade barriers, it had complained repeatedly that it was at a disadvantage because of Britain’s Imperial preference trade system, and it had insisted – to the point of making its support for Britain in the war, the Atlantic Charter, and the Lend Lease program dependent upon it – that the system be dismantled and that so-called free trade prevail. In association with the establishment of the Bretton Woods Institutions it had pursued trade discussions aimed at reaching agreement to the concept of world free trade or, more correctly,

setting up a system of international trade regulation with the first aim of eliminating tariffs. It was proposed that a specialized agency to be known as the International Trade Organization (ITO) should provide international control over trade restrictions for the purpose of expanding world trade and contributing to higher living standards. However it was apparent that what was acceptable to Europe was not acceptable to the United States, and *vice versa*. Therefore while haggling continued towards a draft agreement, eventually called the Havana Charter, a provisional agreement for the phased reduction of tariffs was reached and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade took effect in 1947, (officially, on January 1, 1948). During that year a total of 53 countries then signed the laboriously-negotiated Havana Charter, but it was eventually abandoned. The United States Congress refused to ratify it.²³³

So: in the middle of haggling over the fate of world trade and how quickly a package could be put into effect to prevent the United States from sliding into a state of depression, Allen W. Dulles, one of the key figures involved in the campaign for the United States to adopt the Marshall Plan, wrote in a book which was intended to strengthen the campaign and overcome resistance from the conservative business sector that:

*"It is not a philanthropic exercise. It is far more than that. ... It is an integral part of American policy. It is based on our view of the requirements of American security and it is a logical development of the trends of our foreign policy over more than a century. ... we have little choice but to proceed vigorously with the Marshall Plan ... (and) ... this is the only peaceful course now open to us which may answer the communist challenge to our way of life and our national security."*²³⁴

There was fear that the power vacuum left in central and western Europe by the defeat of Germany might be filled by an expanding Soviet Union unless the United States assembled the components of a viable balancing power. The vacuum had to be filled – in terms of the view from Washington – by rebuilding economic and political systems strong enough to forestall aggression and defeat Communist parties whose rise to power seemed the most likely way for the Soviets to extend their influence. This was a tacit admission that Soviet expansion by armed aggression was *not* expected, but that the US alliance with the Vatican would assume even greater importance in the battle for the minds of people to prevent the establishment of governments aligned with Marxist economic policies through normal democratic electoral processes. The anti-Communist bogey was alive and well, being fed on a mixed diet of Capitalist self-interest and Vatican fear of a theological challenge.

As Michael Hogan describes the situation: "American interests dictated an active role in rebuilding Europe ... (its) ambition subsumed economic, political and strategic interests in a larger design much like the one that had guided Republican policy makers in the 1920s. The Marshall Planners would replace the old European state system with what they saw as a more viable framework for achieving their policy objectives on the Continent. They would do so by applying the American principle of federalism and using it to create an integrated European economy similar to the one that existed in the United States." The idea of an economic United

States of Europe was not new, having already been the aim of a number of unification movements in Europe, but influential American planners believed it would not only bring benefits to the US and meet its goals on the Continent but also provide a framework to control the Germans, contain the Soviets, limit Communist inroads, dissolve class tensions and set the continental countries on the path to a multilateral system of world trade. This would all be within a framework of liberal capitalism, free trade and democracy, and those who pursued totalitarian policies or who were regarded as 'enemies of the market place' could not also be 'friends at the council table.' It was a deliberate effort by America to remake the Old World in the image of the New.²³⁵

But even though most policy makers within the administration saw the development of the new policy on Europe as a means of bolstering Western Europe against Communist subversion and Soviet aggression, the group of relatively junior State Department officials who actually initiated the whole policy planning debate took a broader view. They saw the possibility that it might prepare the ground for a great-power accommodation on the Continent. They were alarmed by the trend at that time towards the division of Germany and Europe into exclusive blocs, an outcome which they thought would sow the seeds of future conflict, and they hoped to fashion an all-European political settlement from which would emerge an integrated economic and political order. They believed that this approach, if it was organized through supranational institutions of regional coordination, could harness Germany's power, allay French and Soviet security concerns, and prevent the division of Europe into rival economic and political blocs. At the same time the introduction of more liberal intra-European trade arrangements and currency convertibility could, they believed, "unleash the latent productive power of European enterprise and bring the continental countries into line with American plans for a multilateral system of world trade. This was the way to a "creative peace" rather than "an uneconomic self-sufficiency that would raise the spectre of autarchy, prevent recovery, and foster the kind of political instability that benefited the Communists." ²³⁶

Everyone agreed that the mechanism for control and utilization of the resources of the Ruhr was an important aspect of any plan for European recovery. It had been an important consideration in two world wars. However debate raged on both sides of the Atlantic over whether it should be a region of Germany operated under a system of nationalized enterprises; a region under international supervision used to encourage integration of the French and German economies as a bridge to wider economic union in Central Europe; a region of Germany operated under international supervision so that Germany's neighbours would each have access to its resources with disputes resolved by an international authority on a Europe-wide basis; or a region jointly controlled by the four 'powers' – Germany, France, Britain and Russia. At a conference of Foreign Ministers in Moscow the American delegation supported a proposal under which the Ruhr would remain part of Germany with a supra-national agency set up to prevent Germany from using the resources of the region as an 'economic club' with which to dominate Europe. ²³⁷ But quite clearly such a plan would have meant economic benefit to Soviet Russia and consolidated its influence through the Communist parties of Central and

Western Europe, and such an outcome was contrary to the wishes of powerful figures including Marshall and the Dulles brothers, Allen and John Foster.

Allen Dulles was in a particularly strong position to influence policy consideration. At the time of President Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945, he was head of the Office of Strategic Services unit in Switzerland and negotiating the surrender of German forces in Italy, known as 'Operation Sunrise.' In spite of orders from the new Truman administration that he should cease contact with the Germans the surrender took place on the basis of those negotiations on April 28. Subsequently when Germany finally surrendered in May 1945 he was appointed head of OSS operations in Germany and he was there through the period of negotiations over the Allied occupation and division of Germany. Then, while holding a number of influential civil offices, he was involved in the establishment of the United Nations headquarters in New York and in November 1946 he was elected president of the New York-based Council on Foreign Relations and became chairman of its Security and Armaments Group (SAG).

THE DULLES POLICY: 'INSULATION' AGAINST COMMUNISM

Allen Dulles' astute assessment was that Germany was vitally important to any European economic recovery, that Europe could not return to normality or prosperity with Germany disorganized, that it would be the site where the future predominance of the Soviet or American economic and political systems in Europe would be determined, and that clashes between the US and the USSR were almost inevitable. But his conclusion from that was that the 'insulating' of the two systems offered the only prospect for a lasting peace. According to Wala, discussion at a SAG meeting on May 28, 1946, at which Dulles advocated the unification of the three western zones of Germany, became in effect a nucleus for future American policy in Europe. The clear implication was that the Soviet Union would have to reject a proposal for the reunification of Germany and that if it were offered it would provide the trigger for the 'insulation' of the two systems. And the State Department edged towards the formulation of an American plan for recovery in Europe, changing to top gear after Marshall and his delegation – including Dulles – returned from the conference of Foreign Ministers in Moscow in late April 1947.²³⁸

When the Marshall plan-in-outline was announced on June 5 there was no spontaneous outpouring of support within the United States where, according to Dulles, "the significance of Marshall's speech was not grasped immediately." The immediate and somewhat cynical Soviet response was one of antagonism to the US interfering in European affairs and resistance to "interference in the domestic affairs of small nations by the big powers." There was no doubt that the US, Britain and France were dabbling in the affairs of small nations in Europe, the Middle East and Asia, but the Soviet Union was equally guilty of direct intervention in the affairs of small nations such as Yugoslavia, Hungary and other Eastern European and Central Asian nations in its bid to secure its grip on the region. However the British and French governments also reacted quickly and somewhat more favourably, and there was an exchange of

diplomatic communication across the channel. They each saw that the new direction in US policy could be “a milestone” in European history, depending on how the policy related to the Soviet Union and the consequent impact on European politics, and an opportunity for them to recover some of their lost economic and political strength.

Anglo-US relations had been disrupted by a number of disagreements including whether Britain should be treated as a separate economic power or an integrated unit of Europe, especially as a large “piecemeal” Anglo-American loan agreed to in 1946 was regarded as a failure.²³⁹ The French government's response was largely determined by its struggle to suppress rapidly growing domestic support for Communism. However their response was portrayed for US consumption as somewhat enthusiastic. Although Britain's response, along with France, had been prompt it was made in the context of an unresolved debate over the question of an Anglo-Western European customs union which had been in progress for two years. Bevin was convinced that Britain's security depended on close cooperation with the United States as well as with Western Europe and the government grasped at an opportunity to recover some of its dwindling authority and dissipated economic power by participating in the process which Marshall had initiated, rather than by standing aloof from it. It hoped to persuade the US that there were special grounds for it to receive assistance without being ‘lumped’ together with Europe and being reduced to “a mere appendage” of the US with a relationship with it comparable to the one ‘between the USSR and Yugoslavia.’ It also hoped to reconcile its ties to the Commonwealth and the Sterling area with its membership of a Western European group.²⁴⁰

Both governments, of Britain and France, therefore consulted the State Department and in doing so triggered a flurry of politicking in the US administration. On June 12 Marshall announced that his proposal was intended to encompass the *European* portion of the Soviet Union. Three days later former President Hoover (whose major report in March had argued that German economic restoration was necessary for European rehabilitation) wrote to the Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee to point out that there would be great danger if the US were to drain its own economy and impair productivity. He said that unless “this one Gibraltar of economic strength is maintained chaos will be inevitable over the whole world” and “as the result of our rate of giving and lending we are over-exporting goods and cannot continue at such a rate with our present production and consumption without further evil consequences to our stability.”²⁴¹ On June 17 Bevin flew to Paris for discussions with the French government, and on June 22 Truman appointed a series of three committees to study US resources and capabilities in relation to the Marshall Plan. While intense discussions continued between the US, Britain and France an invitation was extended for Molotov to join in further talks in Paris. By the time he arrived on June 26 some of the ‘smaller nations’ of Eastern Europe, including Poland and Yugoslavia, had shown tentative interest in cooperating in the Marshall Plan while Britain and the US, unable to reconcile some of their major differences, had turned to the preparation of a paper which summarised their areas of agreement and therefore provided a basis for further negotiations.

Molotov had good reason to suspect that Britain and France had conspired with the US to devise a plan which would disadvantage the Soviet Union. When it desperately needed a strong Soviet war effort against Germany, the US had agreed to include the USSR in the Lend-Lease plan. (Chapter 24) The first loan, approved by Roosevelt on October 30, 1941, was for \$US1billion with no interest and no repayments to be made until five years after the end of the war,²⁴² and loans in cash and kind had reached \$US10billion (compared with \$US16billion²⁴³ for Britain and total US war expenditure of \$US349billion²⁴⁴) about the time of the German surrender, after which, on August 17, 1945, aid to the USSR was terminated “abruptly and not very diplomatically.” Subsequently, between the end of the war and the approval of the Marshall Plan, the US expended or appropriated a further \$US15billion to relief and reconstruction ²⁴⁵, but when the Soviet government, whose need for reconstruction funds was certainly at least as great as the Western Allies, requested a further \$US6billion in loans on the same terms as the Lend-Lease loans the request was rejected. Late in 1945 the Soviet government indicated that in the circumstances it regarded the troop losses which it had suffered in the fight against Germany and Japan as recompense for its Lend-Lease debt and the whole matter ‘stalled.’ ²⁴⁶

Against that background, and with the general understanding that if an aid program were to benefit the whole of Europe the Soviet Union would be entitled to a substantial share of the aid, the talks quickly became “mired in differences over the American demands.” Of major concern were five issues: America’s demands for European integration; German re-integration; German participation in the recovery plan prior to the four powers reaching an agreement on a German Peace Treaty; whether France was prepared to forego reparations in order to raise the level of German industry and encourage European recovery; and whether Russia was prepared to make concessions to enable the countries which Bidault termed its ‘hungry satellites’ to take part in the plan.

With none of these issues resolved, with the US not prepared to announce its conditions or its guarantees under the plan, and with the Soviet Union unwilling to relinquish control of the economies of its Eastern bloc ‘satellites’ there was a stalemate. Molotov’s counter proposal was that the Europeans should draft their own recovery programs, that the US should announce its conditions and guarantees and that negotiation of US aid should then proceed. When this was rejected he announced on July 2 that the Soviet Union would not collaborate in the integrated plan for the revival of the economies of Europe because it would mean that smaller countries would lose their former economic and national independence at the dictates of the United States. He withdrew from the conference and warned that American policy would divide rather than unify the Continent.²⁴⁷

DIVISION! WHERE DOES THE BLAME LIE?

The political and propaganda battle by the Western Powers of the USA, Britain and France “to heap all the blame on the Soviets” for the division of Europe began in earnest.²⁴⁸ Within hours

of Molotov's announcement, invitations to a conference in Paris on July 12 were sent on behalf of France and Britain (as a joint initiative with the US) to 22 of Europe's 27 sovereign countries. The invitations had obviously been prepared in advance in anticipation of the Soviet withdrawal – which Bevin and Bidault had both hoped for ²⁴⁹– because they set out a proposal for a European Committee with six sub-committees to be set up in a self-help framework with assistance from the United States and in consultation with the United Nations. The sub-committees were to deal with food supplies and agriculture, power, transport, raw materials, equipment, and iron and steel. The countries excluded were the fascist-leaning Franco's Spain; Germany, because it was under divided administration; and the Soviet Union because it had withdrawn. After much dissension within the Eastern bloc over whether to participate, fourteen countries accepted their invitations (although the Scandinavian countries attached the conditions that the conference would not bypass the United Nations, interfere with their trade in Eastern Europe or compromise their neutrality), making the total of European participants sixteen, and nine declined. The “insulation” of the two political and economic systems which Dulles was so eager to see was beginning to take effect. In quick succession, between July 3 and 29, trade pacts based on a barter system were signed between the Soviet Union and six of the countries which the West soon labelled as ‘satellites.’

In the meantime, although the British and French secured support for the establishment of the Committee on European Economic Cooperation (CEEC), the Paris Conference and a subsequent tripartite US-British-French conference in London were marked by acrimonious debate over the nature and purposes of the Recovery Program. In particular France pressed for its security and independence to be protected and made a major issue of the impact of Germany's preferential industrial redevelopment on reparations transfers – the very issue which Bidault had refused to discuss with Molotov. Britain and the US remained at loggerheads over the recovery of Britain's position as the main benefactor in a linked Commonwealth economic bloc; there was no consensus on the relationship of Britain, France and Germany within the proposed structure; and the US aim of Soviet containment hung like a pall over every discussion.

At the same time the political response within the United States was such that legislative approval for a large scale foreign aid program to finance the Marshall Plan seemed unlikely. When the administration had reached broad agreement that the plan and the necessary finance budget should be pushed through Congress a campaign with multiple prongs, some aimed at each of the conservative Republican business community, the broad voter base, and Congress itself was agreed to. However little had been done until a House Select Committee on Foreign Aid was established on July 15, three days after the convening of the sixteen-nation conference in Paris which went on to constitute the CEEC. Then on September 22 the US administration received a jolt to its confidence when the CEEC report was received with an estimate for the extent of US aid required: \$US29billion. Under-secretary of State Clayton was immediately directed to negotiate a reduction in the estimate and, with growing concern that the plan would be thrown out by Congress, a Committee for the Marshall Plan to Aid European Recovery was

established with a former Secretary for War (Henry L. Stimson) as chairman and on October 1 another former Secretary for War (Robert P. Patterson) was approached to form a Citizens' Committee for the Marshall Plan. The formation of that committee was still a matter of correspondence between senior political figures when the manifesto of the Cominform – the nine Communist-governed countries of eastern Europe – was announced on October 5 as a Soviet response to the establishment of the CEEC. It's claim that the Truman-Marshall Plan was only a farce and “a European branch of the general world plan of political expansion being realized by the United States of America in all parts of the world”²⁵⁰ made it all the more necessary for the promoters of the Marshall Plan to defend and conceal the motives of self-interest on which the plan was actually based. But their task was made somewhat easier because Yugoslavia and Poland, two of the countries which had shown interest in the Marshall Plan, were among the eight which had been co-opted into the Comintern by the Soviet Union. Their inclusion offered an excellent opportunity for divisive manipulation. The others were Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, plus the Communist Parties of France and Italy.

Accordingly, on December 10, a vigorous effort was initiated to recruit “four or five top-level business executives as ... aggressive witnesses” to appear before the Senate Select Committee on Foreign Relations. Dulles was one of them. By the time Truman submitted an executive report to Congress on December 19 the CEEC estimate had been pared down to \$US22billion over a four year period. Then, according to Wala: “Energetically, persuasively, and intelligently, using lobbying, advertisements, and business strategies ... Dulles and the other members of the Committee [for the Marshall Plan] accomplished their envisioned goal and induced Congress to believe that the American people overwhelmingly supported Marshall's initiative.”²⁵¹ Thus an American initiative – the Marshall Plan – which had national self-preservation and aggrandisement as its primary purpose well-camouflaged under a veneer of humanitarian aid, became a major factor in the division of the world. And, also in Wala's words: “*The Committee for the Marshall Plan, created to sell the Marshall Plan to a reluctant public and a skeptical Congress, represented the most explicit attempt to shape public opinion during the beginning of the Cold War.*”²⁵² [Emphasis added.]

AN OBSTACLE TO DECOLONIZATION, NEW WORLD SHAPE

The importance and success of the Marshall Plan have generally been debated and disputed in economic terms and it has been said that although it was aimed at remaking Europe in an American mode “the participating countries were not clay in the hands of American potters” and “in the end America was made the European way.”²⁵³ However to consider it in that limited context is not enough. Its long term impact on world social and political relationships was enormous and it disrupted the reshaping of the world community which was already under way. World history is littered with attempts by nations to expand their power, to exploit other people and their resources, and to build empires with which to gain pre-eminence. It is also marked – or marred – by the efforts of the church to develop such universal power and influence that it

could become the sole determinant of the world's morals and ethics and its social, economic and political systems. Now, at a critical stage in world development, when the trouble in the triangle was reaching its dramatic pivotal point, the self-defensive interests of the United States and the church coincided. The actions which they would take during the next generation either in collusion, in collaboration or simply coincidentally would compound the world's problems and make it increasingly difficult to disentangle the trouble in the triangle but, at the same time, even more urgent that it should be disentangled.

Dulles began drafting his book *The Marshall Plan* during December 47, intending it to be a campaign centrepiece, and it was completed and ready for the publisher some time in January 1948. However the committee so skilfully exploited Congressional fears of the rising influence of communism in Europe, including the cabinet crisis in Czechoslovakia which led to Communists gaining control in February, while the Aid Bills were before Congress, that the Bills were given an unexpectedly easy passage through Congress in March. It was therefore deemed unnecessary to proceed with publication of the Dulles book. While the Bills were before Congress the Commander-in-Chief, European Command, General Lucius Clay, "reached for the panic button" when he read an intelligence report on the rising influence of the Communists, and triggered a 'war scare' in Washington so that "near hysteria gripped the US Government." Contrary to all other advice, including that of Allen Dulles who was one of those who reviewed the intelligence reports, Clay wrote that: "... I have felt a subtle change in the Soviet attitude which I cannot define but which now gives me a feeling that it [war] may come with dramatic suddenness. ..." ²⁵⁴ Although the CIA didn't fully agree with him, it was happy to take full advantage of his report and the panic in Congress and the campaign for the Italian elections in April (see above, '*A touch of foreign aid*') was one result.

The eventual publication of *The Marshall Plan* in 1993 as a contribution to historical study ²⁵⁵ was of enormous importance. It exposes, for all the world to see, the motives behind the self-interest plan and the manipulation which not only enabled the United States to avoid a national economic and socio-political catastrophe but also enabled it to consolidate and extend its economic and political influence. In addition the plan precipitated the restructuring of Europe to a pattern which was unlikely to have been implemented otherwise and entrenched the gulf between two competing economic and political systems instead of encouraging diversity and development. And as we shall see, some other consequences of the United States' dominance of world affairs and its determination to retain a position of dominance, was that the first stage of the decolonization process which had already commenced was distorted; the process of globalization was accelerated; self-determination and independence movements were suppressed (contrary to the intentions of the United Nations); and an era of ethnic tensions on a scale which was not anticipated was unleashed.

In chapter one of *The Marshall Plan* Dulles set out an explanation of the rise of the European powers, concentrating on the value of their empires, especially Britain's, and said a healthy and prosperous Europe was essential if there was to be peace in the world. He then discussed the factors which, he said, would limit Europe's influence in relation to the Soviet Union and the

rest of the world, and set out the pattern of US economic intervention which was required from both America's and Europe's point of view. Some extracts illustrate the dominant philosophy on which the US has planned and worked since the end of the Second World War, and the reasons why the push for decolonization faltered and then took a new direction. Self-determination came into play much more quickly than the Western world expected when the UN trusteeship arrangements were agreed to, but political colonialism was succeeded by foreign economic domination in a manner which has led progressively to political turmoil in the decolonized world. This has made the people of the economically developing non-western world and their leaders appear incompetent in the eyes of the Western world and has led to massive indebtedness with economic and social crises for which the Western world's medicine has been more of the same.

Dulles noted that:

*The British had had the good fortune to start off in the modern era with an empire, a sea-going tradition, a steam engine and great supplies of coal and iron. The Americans had had the good luck to start with an enormous country, plenty of resources and little interference.*²⁵⁶

*Since 1750 Europe's population has nearly quadrupled. Foreign sources of raw materials were being developed as populations to process them in Western Europe grew. Tariffs for the most part were low.²⁵⁷ ... England, as the great manufacturing, industrial and financial centre of the Empire, got raw materials from everywhere and sold the product everywhere.²⁵⁸ ... On the surface it seemed as though the Empire was unshakable – but under the surface a great revolution was taking place. ... Britain exported not only goods for use but also machinery and process, as well as the know-how. It was certain to follow, as night follows day, that the very countries which took machines and processes from Britain must presently begin to manufacture for themselves.*²⁵⁹

Then, after some discussion on the First and Second World Wars and the US contribution to production patterns:

An effort was made between World War I and II to restore the old Europe, but it was a Europe gerrymandered by a rigid application of the rule of self-determination and characterized by extreme nationalism, untempered by economic good sense.

*The principle of self-determination, high and noble in itself, has dangerous implications in the economic field. There is good reason to believe that Woodrow Wilson himself appreciated this. The Fourteen Points, the basis for the peace, did not advocate any broad principle of self-determination. The people of Austria-Hungary and of Turkey were to be assured "autonomous" development. It was only later, as nationalism got out of hand, that autonomy came to signify independence. And with this came the idea that all peoples everywhere should be entitled to transform themselves into nationally sovereign states despite the economic and the human wreckage that this principle carried with it in many parts of the world. Self-government implies self-restraint and must be imbedded in traditions of tolerance. When we start out to give this principle worldwide application overnight, we are subjecting the economy of the world to a grievous strain, as we found in the days between the two wars and as we find today.*²⁶⁰ [Emphasis added.]

Dulles was illustrating with great clarity the dominant self-understanding of the amorphous Christian gel that the rest of the world existed for its benefit and that anything which rocked its boat was bad. He was saying, in effect: 'We can go and grab their resources, but we must not share our technology with others. We might lose our advantage. It's OK for *us* to steal other people's technology under the guise of reparations or as the trophies of war (chapters 17, 26) but don't share it around. The others might catch up.' He then put it quite plainly, saying of Europe:

It will need to pool its resources, reduce its cost of production, develop a large measure of free trade within the European area, reduce its population by emigration, and redouble its efforts to develop in those areas of the world where it still has overseas and colonial possessions, particularly Africa, new sources of raw materials, commodities, and wherever possible, foodstuffs. The spirit of enterprise which built up the British Empire needs to be rekindled. There are still economic worlds open to peaceful conquest.²⁶¹ [Emphasis added.]

The parody of *Mein Kampf* was still unfolding. Dulles seemed oblivious to the fact that he had spelled out exactly the policies which Hitler had sought to put into effect and for which the world had supposedly gone to war. The only difference was, as already mentioned, (chapters 18, 19), that Hitler did not want to do it in Africa. He wanted his source of resources and his space for emigrants, his *Lebensraum*, on his doorstep in Eastern Europe. Dulles really warmed to his subject later in the book.

... Western Europe does not produce metals and minerals in sufficient quantity to satisfy its own requirements and is to some extent competing with the United States for the exportable surpluses of Latin America and the British Dominions. Consequently, the homelands of the sixteen nations would not be able to assist us directly in this respect.

However the colonial territories of these countries have important underdeveloped resources. Here production might be expanded so that the normal world markets would not be affected. The critical materials in the Herter committee's²⁶² estimation include tin from the Far East; nickel, copper, lead and zinc from Canada; manganese, chrome ore and asbestos from South Africa; manganese and mica from India; cobalt and tin from Belgian Congo; and manganese from the Gold Coast ...

That we have a national need for these strategic materials is already recognized. We don't propose to be caught again in another emergency where we are dependant on the maintenance of long sea lanes to reach supplies essential to our protection. The United States is already committed to a large scale program for the stockpiling of strategic materials. ... [but] ... As the Herter committee ... states, "large stockpiles can be accumulated only by expanding total world production."

*We should not take a defeatist attitude about the resources of the world. The great era of exploration and development which preceded World War I ... is not necessarily at an end. Africa holds out great opportunities. Over the years, through exploration, development, reclamation, and the use of modern techniques in turning deserts into gardens, Africa may yet prove to be the salvation of a Europe that is starving for new sources of raw materials. America's skill and technique, its engineering and organizational genius, might well be linked with that of Europe. In this way we can help Europe to develop new resources for its own recovery, and Europe can help us by developing materials in short supply in the United States.*²⁶³

Without realizing the significance of his remark, and showing a lack of understanding of human and international relations, an assumption that armed might must always prevail, and the same pathetic US-Euro-centricity of thinking which characterizes the amorphous Christian gel, he had already written:

*As to petroleum products, the need for the conservation of our own diminishing oil resources points to the desirability of building up these imports at least to balance any exports we may send to Europe.*²⁶⁴

Then finally, dealing specifically with US foreign policy, Dulles wrote:

*Fortunately there is no reason to believe that Russia contemplates overt military aggression. ... If Russia moves it will be far more subtly. By bringing about the internal disintegration of the states which she wishes to incorporate, she hopes to absorb them into her direct sphere of influence without resorting to open warfare. Today Russia's major effort is directed against West Europe for today it is vulnerable. This then becomes the area for the employment of strategic American economic power. We must recognize, however, that tomorrow Russia might shift the pressure from Europe to the Middle or Far East. Our announced policy ... is to help towards building up the economic life and defensive power of threatened states to a point where these subtler Soviet methods will be ineffective. Our help is to be primarily through economic and financial aid. It is to be given to support free people who are attempting to resist subjugation. ... we do not propose, if we can help it, to permit a great power, with a system incompatible with ours, to overrun Europe or Asia.*²⁶⁵

Self-interest reigned supreme. And having already confirmed, without realizing it, that his policy for the US was hand in hand with Hitler's, he also confirmed the validity of Japan's bid to eject the European colonial powers from Asia. He wrote:

Looking back, historically, our first major objective in foreign policy was to get Europe out of the North American continent so as to have no unpleasantly strong neighbours right here in our midst. ... The second great objective was to get and keep Europe out of this hemisphere; hence the Monroe Doctrine, and later the war with Spain.

If it was justified for the young Europe, the New Israel of the United States, with exactly the same racial, ethnic and cultural heritage as old Europe, to want the European powers out of its region, how much more justified was it for Japan, with a distinctly different racial, ethnic and

cultural heritage to want to eject the overbearing European intruders from its region? As if to undo the implicit admission which he had just made, Dulles went on to write:

*The Open Door in China was in some respects the counterpart in Asia of the Monroe Doctrine in South America. But here it took a somewhat different turn. The Open Door was not an exclusion act, but a Sherman Anti-Trust Law in foreign relations. We wanted no one to have a monopoly, but everyone to have reasonable equality of opportunity within a framework which protected the integrity and sovereignty of China. It was emphasis on this latter development of the Open Door policy, the insistence on Chinese national integrity, which was the forerunner of the Hull policy, and eventually brought us into conflict with Japan.*²⁶⁶

Pathetic perpetuation of a myth. Dulles may not have had an intimate personal knowledge of the processes which Roosevelt had overseen in his bid to take the United States into the war by courtesy of an attack by Japan, but he was certainly well informed. He had served much of the war years as head of the Office of Strategic Studies and at the time that he wrote that book he was one of a team of three lawyers jointly drafting the legislation for the establishment of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).²⁶⁷ Unfortunately such tactics work because people can only retain a certain amount of historical detail, and the success of policies of selective reporting, misinformation and conspiracies of silence, underpinned by the self-understanding of the amorphous Christian gel, had been well demonstrated during the previous ten years. In addition he was writing for an audience whose immediate interest was exactly the same as his: propping up and building on a position of privilege.

THE ORIGINS OF THE ARMS RACE

That pattern of events which unfolded progressively from 1947–48 could not have occurred in the manner it did if the United States had not been, for a crucial period, the only power armed with nuclear weapons. It must therefore be noted again that the development of nuclear weapons at the time and in the circumstances that it occurred was a *direct outcome* of the trouble in the triangle. (Chapter 22) While no American leaders, either political or religious, were prepared to recognize the nature of the trouble in the triangle or its theological significance they were very quick to use selective religious belief to justify the secretive and exclusive control of nuclear weapons. It was argued or implied that the technology had been entrusted to the New Israel – the leading Christian nation which was rapidly becoming Judeo-Christian – under some Divine imperative and therefore only the United States could be trusted with nuclear weapons. This, according to its self-understanding, confirmed or justified America's 'right' to make the rules for the rest of the world and to act as both its policeman and its judge as well as its director of operations. It was God's own country. But as we have seen (chapter 14) the development of Communism was a very direct challenge to the Christian church and its amorphous Christian gel, and a significant factor in the trouble in the triangle, the development of the American work ethic and the economic systems linked with it occurred

under the umbrella of the American self-understanding as the New Israel, and the confrontation between the US-led Western Christian World and the Communist Soviet Union was therefore also an aspect or an extension of that trouble in the triangle.

The United States could not have maintained its arrogant stand towards the Soviet Union if there had been military parity and the whole pattern of relationships and developments would have been different. And the manipulation of information and public opinion which the administration found necessary to ensure the passage of the Marshall Plan was just as blatant, just as serious, and driven by much the same motives, as the British government's manipulation of information and the media during the years immediately prior to the Second World War. At one level the plan was promoted as self-sacrifice in the interests of humanitarian aid, while at another level it was promoted as a counter to the Soviet threat – in spite of the fact that Dulles and the US government acknowledged that “there is no reason to believe that Russia contemplates overt military aggression.”²⁶⁸ American planners were so pre-occupied with self interest that no key officials seriously considered the threat that a comprehensive and transnational European recovery program might pose for Soviet security.²⁶⁹ But, after Molotov had withdrawn from (or been manoeuvred out of) the Paris conference, Dulles acknowledged that as a participant in any plan for European reconstruction Russia could have claimed a substantial share of any credits or new lend-lease aid and admitted that the decision Russia had to make was difficult and dangerous.²⁷⁰ He wrote that Russians were afraid of military encirclement, determined to expand their territory and influence, and arrogant in their doctrinaire conviction that in Marx they had a full set of answers for the future. ²⁷¹ When the United States forced the Soviet Union into a decision for ‘insulated’ development, confident that it could restrain its rival by virtue of its exclusive nuclear capacity, it left the Soviet Union with no option but to develop its own military capacity as a counter balance and ensured that a nuclear arms race would result. At the same time there were other countries which, regardless of whether they had any expansionist ambitions of their own, were not prepared to be dictated to by the US as the sole nuclear power. The United States had already undermined any moral claim which it could have made to be the international policeman.

However the depth of antagonism which the US demonstrated towards Russia, the economic division of Europe, US efforts to prevent normal relations between Russia and its Asian neighbours and to prevent ‘Communist infiltration’ into other Asian countries (especially considering that the bulk of the Soviet Union was in fact Asian) and America's blatant propaganda use of a threat from Russia, had a snow-balling effect. The perceived need to avoid a threat became the argument and the justification for the development of increased nuclear arms capacity and more advanced nuclear technology. Thus the Soviet Union could only attain nuclear weapons capacity and military and political parity and security in a mad scramble which became economically debilitating and led to much irresponsible technical corner-cutting. This in turn led to a series of crises for Europe and the whole world some years later, notably the degradation of the Chernobyl nuclear reactors and the Russian fleet of nuclear submarines, which helped to focus world attention on the follies of over-exploitation of nuclear technology.

However in apportioning the blame for that situation the Western World's politicians have focussed very narrowly and with great glee on the apparent failures of Marxist theory and Communist practice rather than on the origins of the crisis.

It has been argued that the origins of the arms race and the Cold War lie in Russia's decision in 1943 to place agents in the West to obtain American nuclear research secrets by buying them, by espionage or by blackmail. In one sense that is correct, and once negotiations towards atomic arms control broke down in 1946, relations between the US and the USSR deteriorated steadily and a technological and arms race was inevitable. But responsibility for the breakdown in negotiations did not rest solely with the USSR. The US Congress, military authorities and the White House could not agree over the sharing of nuclear research or, as the hard liners put it, 'giving away nuclear secrets.' The 'Fortress America' mentality was taking hold and influential figures, including politicians, could not see that a policy of bluff and secrecy was unsustainable. They were moving towards an air offence strategy which was designed to hold the world to ransom and in submission by exploiting the destructive and psychological power of atomic weapons. Peace, or the absence of war anyway, would be maintained because the United States would hold the balance of terror.

When a committee was appointed to draft proposals for the international control of atomic energy, it produced the Acheson-Lilienthal Report which called for a UN authority to survey and control all uranium deposits and ensure that atomic research was conducted for peaceful purposes only. It proposed that when controls were in place, the US would relinquish its arsenal and make its scientific information available to the world community. But Truman's security adviser, Baruch, insisted that no member of the Security Council should be able to veto a UN decision on an issue of atomic use or weapons. His insistence that the UN had to accept the US plan without change was unacceptable. The Soviet Union called for the immediate prohibition of all manufacture and use of atomic weapons and measures to ensure compliance, but without a change to the Security Council veto system. This meant that the United States would have to give up its monopoly and make public all of its data in return for a promise of compliance. Gromyko, for the Soviet Union, insisted that what the United States was asking for was that all other countries reveal the state of their own research before it would give up its arsenal. The cause of international control of atomic energy was set back a long way and the world was heading for a long period of sustained fear of atomic war on an un-grand scale.

Other factors which contributed to the arms race and the cold war included Russians insistence on total control of Poland; the decision by the Western Powers to integrate the British and American zones of occupation in Germany into one economic zone, announced in May 1947; and the subsequent unilateral decision announced by the United States in July 1947 to end punitive measures against Germany and to make West Germany economically self-sufficient. Affairs in Europe were becoming a game of 'tit for tat' between the USA and the USSR. When the Communist Party seized power in Czechoslovakia, backed by the Soviet Union, in February 1948, to prevent the Benes government from participating in the Marshall Plan, the Western Powers hit the panic button.

Britain's Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin had been pressing the idea of an organization of Western European states since December, and he now told his colleagues that the situation was so critical that the next six to eight weeks (to the end of March or mid April) would decide the future of Europe. He said that resolute action was necessary to prevent the slide from crisis to crisis which had characterized the 1930's and prevent the sovietization of Europe. Talks began in Paris on March 4. A week later Bevin told the US and Canada that a Western European alliance was not the real answer and that they, plus all of the Atlantic coast countries of Europe should establish a formal alliance. However, six days later, March 17, the more limited Treaty of Brussels was signed. An agreement between the nations of Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom, it provided for collective defense, cooperation in social, cultural and economic matters, the establishment of a West German government and the introduction of a West Germany currency. The Russians thereupon walked out of the Allied Control Council and the situation became more tense. Secret talks began in Washington on March 22 and, on April 1, US, British and Canadian delegates endorsed a Pentagon proposal for a North Atlantic Pact with US participation.²⁷²

However, getting a United States' commitment to military involvement in Europe was a different matter to accepting its assistance and intervention under the Marshall Plan. Serious reservations began to surface in Washington and on April 6 Bevin told Attlee:

We shall be lucky if the President and the American Senatorial leaders pronounce in favour of a treaty binding the US for the first time in history to accept positive obligations in the way of the defence of her natural associates and friends. ²⁷³

Some hard bargaining was about to begin. It was election year again and Truman could not afford to have the issue of funding for the European Recovery Program confused by possible American involvement in a military alliance in Europe. Then during June reports reached London and Washington about tensions in the Comintern which might weaken the Soviet Union's position and reduce the pressure from Communists in the Western countries. Russia was trying to draw Poland and Yugoslavia back into line after their flirtation with the US and the West over the Marshall Plan. It was having difficulties. Yugoslavia had mixed motives for wanting to follow a more independent path. Tito did not like the idea of being totally subject to Russian policy; he saw the possibility of his country being the focal point for a group of Socialist or Communist countries in South Eastern Europe; and he wanted to be free to mix his economy and to relate to any other country. He could not. Or so he was told. Yugoslavia was expelled from the Comintern, its headquarters were moved from Belgrade to Bucharest, Romania; and in a bid to undermine Tito's personal position, Yugoslavia was placed under a Soviet embargo. Stalin determined to tighten his grip on the other satellite or suzerain states.

On June 24, he retaliated against the Western powers for their action in merging the western zones of Germany. It was announced that as a consequence of their action the four-power administration of Berlin was null and void, and the Western Allies no longer had any rights in the city. An immediate military blockade was imposed on all roads and rail routes from the

western occupied sectors to Berlin. A military build up began so that during the months which followed, Soviet forces in East Germany were increased to 40 divisions compared with eight Allied divisions in West Germany. It was immediately apparent that the treaty partners could do little to break the blockade on their own, short of a war which would do them no good at all, and the Soviet Union had complete control of the German capital. The US response was prompt. Next day, the 25th, Britain was advised that talks towards a NATO Pact could begin in Washington on the 29th, only three days later, involving Britain, Canada and the Brussels Pact powers,²⁷⁴ and on the 26th it began an airlift of food, fuel, machinery and other supplies into West Berlin, in cooperation with Britain. The airlift would continue for eleven months and deliver 2.3 million tonnes of supplies at a cost of \$US224,000,000. It would take nearly that long for the twelve countries concerned to agree to the structure, politics, costs and operational responsibilities of a pact, but NATO came into existence on April 4, 1949. That was not the reason for the lifting of the Soviet blockade. Nor was the adoption of a constitution for the Federal Republic of Germany on May 8. The Western powers had imposed a counter blockade, cutting all communications with East Germany and placing an embargo on all strategic exports from the Soviet Eastern bloc. The economic impact of that counter-blockade was greater than the political benefits which the Soviet Union might gain by keeping its Berlin Blockade going.

But those issues do not identify the origins of the arms race crisis and the Cold War. They exacerbated the arms race and were part of the Cold War. The origins of the crisis lie in a series of decisions by the United States. The first was its decision not to disclose the development of the first atomic bomb to Soviet leaders. The second was to use the bomb, twice, against Japan when it was totally unnecessary. That decision exposed US motives and intentions to use its 'secret' weapon to achieve an unassailable position of privilege in world affairs. The steps which it had taken to prevent other nations from having access to fissionable materials then confirmed that intention. Then the systematic exploitation of the economic and technical benefits which had fallen into its lap as a consequence of the Second World War – to enhance its nuclear capacity in a bid to entrench its position as the world's leading post or neo-colonial power – and the subsequent callous manipulation of the European Recovery Program (the Marshall Plan) to avoid the collapse of its own economic system, simply confirmed Soviet determination that it would not be subjugated. And a glance further back shows that the real origin of the crisis – the issue which provided the opportunities for the United States to take advantage of – was the failure of the church and the associated powers of the white amorphous Christian gel, Britain in particular, to recognize the trouble in the triangle and the parody of *Mein Kampf*. The longer they remained unrecognized, and the more strident the efforts of the United States to take advantages of their unrecognized consequences, the more complex and critical the consequences became, and the more difficult to unravel them.

There is little doubt that human history and world development would have taken a substantially different direction if the United States had decided to share the mass of nuclear technology which had become available to it as a consequence of Hitler's rise to power and his unrelenting pressure on the Jewish community in Germany prior to the outbreak of the Second

World War as a vital piece in the jigsaw puzzle of the trouble in the triangle. Such a decision would have fostered the use of nuclear physics preferentially for peaceful purposes. However, the United States chose to promote and exploit an image of itself as the pinnacle of Western Judeo-Christian culture, understanding and commitment, and the idea that its pre-eminence was a prerequisite to world security and peace. Its propagandists ruthlessly misrepresented or ignored the history of international relations, the factors which determined the evolution of Marxism and Communism, the United Nations' commitment to decolonization and self-determination, and the pattern of exploitation of foreign resources. It found ready disciples among those countries which aspired to similar wealth in the shadow of the pinnacle through political and economic alliances, as well as reluctant collaborators such as Britain.

In the Western World few people were inclined or able to refute the American position and those in the United States who tried to do so were denigrated as 'Commies', ostracised and often hounded out of office or business. The Cold War and the arms race were becoming a total distraction and the justification – or the excuse – for the West to tighten its grip on the countries of the degraded colonial empires while the crisis in the Middle East rolled on and also became entangled in the web of East-West intrigue. So: back to UNSCOP and Palestine.

UNSCOP, STERN AND THE EXODUS AFFAIR

About the time that the Marshall Plan received its first airing at Harvard, after some days of meetings in New York, and in a bid to pacify Arab feelings by distancing UNSCOP from the hub of Zionist advertising, the decision was taken that the committee should make on-the-spot investigations in Palestine. When members arrived on June 15 they found deepening chaos. The extremist Zionist Irgun and Stern terrorist groups were targeting the British, without much discrimination; the British military forces were responding; and militant Arab groups were targeting the Jews. UNSCOP knew that the efforts of extremist Zionist organizations to disrupt British administration in Palestine and to increase the flow of illegal immigrants had deeply divided the Jewish community in the United States as well as antagonising Britain; public sentiment in Britain was turning against the Zionist cause and the government's attitude had hardened.

Then in the early hours of the morning on July 12, the *President Warfield* sailed from the port of Sete where it had taken on board 4,500 refugees from camps in Poland and Germany whose only 'payment' for the voyage was an undertaking that they would fight.²⁷⁵ The vessel sailed without a pilot but the French authorities had given Britain an assurance that it would not be permitted to sail. So much for international cooperation in discouraging illegal immigration. Bevin protested and French Foreign Minister Georges Bidault agreed that France would cooperate if the British obliged the ship to return to France. It was sighted by British aircraft and a Royal Navy vessel shadowed it, demanding on July 16 that it surrender. It made contact with Hagana by radio, was renamed *Exodus 1947* and sailed on, being boarded by marines from two of four destroyers which were sent to intercept it in the early hours of July 18 in

international waters off Haifa. The hand-to-hand battle which followed was broadcast live to the world by Hagana's transmitters for two hours until, just when the navy commander was about to report failure, retreat, and advise the British army in Palestine to be ready to arrest the crew and passengers when the vessel beached, the senior Hagana officer ordered the captain to place the vessel under British command. He believed it was achieving its primary purpose of demonstrating to the world how helpless the Jews were in the face of British cruelty and he did not wish to risk the passengers' lives. As it was three died, 28 were hospitalized and about 200 needed first aid.

Every drop of propaganda value was squeezed from the grizzly episode by the Revd. John Grauel as the UNSCOP chairman and two members, plus numerous reporters and cameramen witnessed the arrival of the vessel in Haifa under escort and the transshipment of the battered refugees onto British ships for their voyage back to France. As a result of that incident the UNSCOP chairman, Emil Sandstrom, decided that the committee should visit refugee camps in Europe before submitting its final report to the United Nations.

A provisional report had already been provided to the governments directly concerned, and the British cabinet was due to meet two days later, July 20, to consider it. When it met, the majority report, favouring partition, was regarded as "manifestly unjust to the Arabs" and the minority report, favouring a two-state federation, as "fundamentally marred" because it called for a high level of cooperation which was not considered achievable.²⁷⁶ The Colonial Office had estimated the cost of maintaining order under the mandate at 30 million pounds per annum,²⁷⁷ and the Chiefs of Staff were still against withdrawal unless the Arabs could be convinced that it was dictated by Britain's refusal to implement a solution which was unjust to them, in which case "there is some hope of recovering a part of our strategic position and requirements." The result: the decision to withdraw was approved "with an air of anti-climax ... automatic and virtually uncontested."²⁷⁸

Then when the refugees reached Port-de-Bouc on July 29 the French would only accept those who disembarked voluntarily and all but a handful of them refused to do so. After two more days of horrific press reports of "a floating Auschwitz" and British naval brutality (aggravated by the gruesome murder of two British army sergeants in Palestine following the hanging of two Irgun guerillas for their part in the mass escape of Jewish and Arab prisoners) the British government made an error of political judgement which it had been very carefully manoeuvred into. It decided that the refugees who refused to disembark in France would be sailed on to Hamburg, Germany, and forced to return to displaced persons' camps.²⁷⁹ The long-running adverse publicity for Britain was given a further boost when the refugees were forcefully disembarked on September 8. It is said to have "sealed public support for partition in America."²⁸⁰ But their immediate experience of the *Exodus 1947* incident had a more significant influence on some members of the UNSCOP team, notably the Swedish chairman, Sandstrom, Garcia-Granados of Guatemala, and Simic of Yugoslavia, who are said to have been convinced that an extension of the British mandate was not an option.²⁸¹ To add to Britain's woes, it was during that long-running *Exodus 1947* episode, on August 14-15, and while the

UNSCOP was completing its investigations, that Britain formally handed independence to India and the partition of that country into Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan proceeded. The process and the consequences of that partition were certainly traumatic. But it was *fait accompli*, which was what the Zionists had hoped to see, and it also had a substantial impact on world opinion.

However the members of UNSCOP were not unanimous in their recommendations when the committee's three-part report was published on August 31, 1947. It was hardly to be expected that they would be. But the way in which they divided is significant. Part A of the report contained eleven recommendations of a general nature which all eleven members supported, plus one recommendation from which two members (Uruguay and Guatemala) dissented and one member did not record an opinion. The contentious recommendation was that "(the proposition) be accepted as incontrovertible that any solution for Palestine cannot be considered as a solution of the Jewish problem in general." Regardless of the fact that 'the Jewish problem' was not defined, it was a remarkable acknowledgment that after almost two thousand years of Christian anti-Semitism the 'problem' which Hitler had failed to solve through his version of a 'final solution' was not going to be solved by whatever decisions the United Nations reached on the future of Palestine – Jewish State or no Jewish State.

AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINE, BUT IN WHAT FORM?

In essence the recommendations on which all eleven members were unanimous were: that the mandate be terminated and that Palestine be granted independence at the earliest practicable date; that the United Nations should administer the territory during a brief transitional period; that a system for preserving and securing the sacred nature of the recognized Holy Places should be established; that steps be taken to resolve the problem of distressed European Jews; that there be guarantees for fundamental freedoms, human rights and the settlement of disputes by peaceful means under a basically democratic constitution; and, that the economic unity of Palestine should be preserved and foreign powers should renounce all rights and immunities for their nationals which were obtained under 'capitulations' of the Ottoman Empire.

The principal recommendations or the 'majority report' was set out in Part B. The majority report was supported by the representatives of seven countries: Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, Netherlands, Peru, Sweden and Uruguay. The alternative recommendations or the 'minority report' was set out in Part C, supported by India, Iran and Yugoslavia. The eleventh member, Australia, declined to support either proposal. The majority report proposed a highly complicated form of partition and economic union with an Arab state, a Jewish state and the City of Jerusalem under international trusteeship. The two states were to remain under British administration (under UN auspices) with elected constituent assemblies for a transitional period of two years beginning on September 1, 1947. After the transitional period they would each become independent with their own elected governments, provided they had met complicated constitutional requirements and agreed to a treaty of economic union and pre-determined patterns of Jewish immigration, citizenship, religious, minority and human rights, and the

protection of Holy Places. Under the Treaty of the Economic Union of Palestine a Joint Economic Board would be established consisting of representatives of the two states and members appointed by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. The City of Jerusalem would be, in effect, the common capital for both states. After the transitional period it would be administered under international trusteeship by the United Nations.²⁸²

Under this proposal each state was to be comprised of three segments devised so that the majority of Jews in the existing population would be within the boundaries of the three Jewish state segments and, likewise, the majority of Arabs in the existing population would be within the boundaries of the three Arab segments. The boundaries of the segments intersected at two points which would provide crossing points and enable continuity of travel from one segment to another within either Jewish or Arab territory. However the Jewish segments accounted for 56 per cent of the land area of Palestine although the Jewish population at that time was approximately one third of the total. About 100,000 Jews would be resident in the Arab segments. The Arabs segments accounted for only 43 percent of the land area although the Arab population was approximately two thirds of the total in Palestine. About 500,000 Arabs would be resident in the Jewish segments, making up nearly half their population. [Jerusalem, the international trusteeship zone, was about one percent of the total area.] Based on the existing patterns of productivity and the anticipated patterns of development it was expected that under the Economic Union the Jewish state would subsidise the Arab state for at least ten years.²⁸³ Clearly, the complexity of the majority plan ensured such a sociological and security nightmare that the representatives of India, Iran and Yugoslavia were so concerned that they prepared the alternative plan, part C, and although the Australian delegation shared their concerns, Australia abstained from voting with them.

The minority report proposed that after a transitional period of not more than three years an Independent Federal State of Palestine would be established with Jerusalem as its capital and two states, one Arab and one Jewish. Administration during the transitional period would be the responsibility of an authority appointed by the United Nations General Assembly and during that period a constituent assembly would be elected by popular vote on a broad electoral basis. Its role would be to devise a constitution for the federal state, providing for a head of state, a federal parliament with two chambers, an executive government, governments for the Arab and Jewish states, and a federal court. The division of powers between the federal and state governments would be similar to that of other federated nations, with the federal government's responsibilities including defence, foreign relations, immigration, currency, taxation for federal purposes, transport, waterways and communications. State government responsibilities would include health, education, housing, police, agriculture, taxation for state purposes, commerce, industry and land permits. The electoral system would provide for members of one house to be elected on the basis of proportional representation with a common roll for the whole population, and for the other, for equal representation of Arab and Jewish citizens of Palestine. Legislation would require the approval of both houses, with provision for breaking constitutional deadlocks. There would be a single Palestinian nationality and citizenship. An international commission

would determine the rate of migration into the Jewish state during the transitional period and a permanent international commission would supervise the Holy Places.²⁸⁴ The boundaries of the two states were totally different to those proposed in the majority report. Each state had two segments instead of three; there was no direct access from one segment to the other, but such access was probably not regarded as necessary in a federal system as opposed to a partition plan; and the area of land in each state was more closely related to the ethnic proportions of the population.²⁸⁵

THE MINORITY EXPERIENCE

It is significant that the three countries whose representatives favoured a federation of two states instead of partition, were each currently embroiled in traumatic domestic struggles or negotiations involving ethnic division or attempts by outside powers to impose condominium government. They were saying very clearly, from the immediacy of their own horrific experience, that partition was not the best way to go. There had to be a better way forward. But the attitude of the majority of UNSCOP members and the subsequent vote of the General Assembly made it clear that the most influential powers were looking for a quick fix which complemented their own interests.

One of the three, India, was in chaos with pitiful rivers of refugees flooding from one part of the sub-continent to another and virtual civil war in the border provinces which had been partitioned between India and Pakistan while UNSCOP was actually at work. Ultimately there were half a million deaths and about 10 million people were converted into refugees. In the second, Iran, the young shah and its government were struggling to unify the country again after several years of tutelage under the Anglo-Russian wartime condominium, during which the Communist Tudah Party had formed an autonomous region in Azarbaijan and Kurdistan with Russian support. Now, while the UN debated the partition of Palestine, the Russians were again protecting the Tudah Party. But the situation in the third, Yugoslavia, one of the Balkans states which forms a bridge between Europe and the East, was the most complex.

Yugoslavia, carried the evidence of being swept by countless waves of armies, immigrants and refugees as empires rose and fell, as the great invaders from the East sought to colonize Europe and European monarchs and marauding crusaders sought to retaliate. Its earliest settlers were the Illyrians and the Thracians, but Celts, Greeks, Romans, Huns, Bulgars, Avars, Slavs, Byzantines, Croats, Serbs, Nemajids and Ottoman Turks all left their marks – or their scars. The Ottoman Empire was actually approaching its peak in the Balkans at the time that the Reformers were trying to make the Vatican see sense and, as already noted (chapter 10) the Muslim challenge was so strong that when they sacked Belgrade in 1521 and went on to defeat the Hungarians in 1526 the need for cohesion against them was a factor in the pope's alliance negotiations with the Christian princes and Martin Luther's survival. The history of the region during the next four hundred years was just as complicated, and the two Balkans Wars of 1912 and 1913 were a prelude to World War I in the sense that they gave the major powers of Europe

the justification they needed to try to extend their own interests by military means. During the next eighty years integration and disintegration of ethnic communities and nations in the Balkans would follow like marbles tumbling in a lottery barrel.

When World War I finally ground to a halt, Serbia, Montenegro and the territories of Slovenia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Vojvodina (formerly part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire) were united under a democratic constitution as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. However, in response to Croatian demands for the formation of a federation in 1929 the king, Alexander I, renamed the kingdom *Yugoslavia* (Land of the South Slavs) and assumed dictatorial powers. Hostility between its various ethnic communities was aggravated, Croatian separatist movements developed out of resistance to Serbian domination and Alexander was assassinated. The instability encouraged competitive intervention by both Hitler and the Soviet Union and, on the initiative of the new pro-Axis king, Yugoslavia signed the Axis Pact in 1941. Two days later the government was overthrown and ten days later Germany occupied the country. An independent state of Croatia, incorporating much of Bosnia-Herzegovina, was set up under a puppet fascist government which enjoyed the intimate support of both Italy and the Vatican – and committed some of the worst atrocities of the war up to that time against its Jewish community (Chapter 24) The balance of the Yugoslavia was partitioned between Germany, Italy, Hungary and Bulgaria. A complex resistance movement evolved, dominated by two rival groups. The monarchist 'Chetniks' were based in Serbia. The 'Partisans' were communist-led but included many non-communist Croats, Serbs and Muslim anti-fascists. They were led by Marshal Tito.

Very soon the whole of what had been (for only thirteen years) Yugoslavia was racked by civil war as well as guerilla war against the German forces of occupation. Croatian Ustashe units pursued a policy of genocide against the Serbs and the Chetniks responded. During the later stages of the war both Russia and Britain supported Tito who occupied Belgrade in October 1944 and set up the Anti-Fascist National Liberation Council as a provisional government. In late November 1945 Tito, having won an election which had been boycotted by the monarchists, abolished the monarchy and established a multinational state consisting of six countries and two autonomous regions on a Soviet model under the name The Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Opposition was crushed, but to prevent Serbian domination of the federation Tito gave both Kosovo and Vojvodina the status of semi-autonomous provinces within Serbia. Then, with the support of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia annexed much of Italy's Istria under the Paris Peace Treaties of February 1947, already referred to above.²⁸⁶ The world watched in awe of Tito. The West was critical of his ruthless methods but it admired the way in which he was moulding such disparate ethnic communities into a nation. It also admired that way in which he had been prepared to explore participation in the Marshall Plan even though he was firmly committed to the notion of Socialist planning and controls and headed a Communist government. For Tito, partition was not on the agenda on the basis of either economic interests or ethnic lines. Neither was it on the agenda of the Arabs.

A PLAN TO REJECT, OR ACCEPT?

Immediately the UNSCOP report was published the Arab delegations rejected both proposals. They maintained their consistent position that Palestine was an integral part of the Arab world; that Jews were welcome as citizens but the imposition of a Jewish state was not; that the United Nations, as an instrument set up and controlled by the United States and Europe had no right to grant the Zionists any portion of their territory; and that "the Western World was seeking to salve its conscience for the atrocities of the war and was paying its own debt to the Jewish people with someone else's land."²⁸⁷ Saudi Arabia and Iraq lodged proposals with the General Secretary for the termination of the mandate and the recognition of Palestine as one independent state. Zionist organizations which had also opposed both plans at first soon realized that they could not gain sovereignty over Palestine in one step and that their best option was to accept the majority proposal for partition, in principle, and to work from there. They intensified their lobbying to gain United States support for terms which were even more favourable, especially in relation to their claim to Jerusalem. The White House was inundated with telegrams and petitions.

Debate within the State Department also intensified. Its research and intelligence unit objected to the majority plan because the Jews had been favoured by a jerrymander of the fertile areas and the Arabs would have neither a seaport nor a capital city. In addition the plan would establish two theocratic states in which the majorities would appear to have special privileges. The unit expected that under the Islamic system the Jewish and Christian minorities in the Arab state would be better off than the Muslim and Christian communities in the Jewish state. It also expected that Zionist opposition to the minority plan would be less menacing to world peace than Arab resistance to the majority plan, and the danger to US interests would be less. William Eddy, Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, agreed that the implications of a theocratic racial Zionist state were important and that the majority plan was not viable, partly because of the lack of an Arab port. But he went further. He said that under the majority plan the Zionist state would not be able to defend itself, it would therefore intensify its efforts for expansion and it was only in this sense that immigration was an issue. Acceptance of the majority plan would be "an endorsement of a theocratic sovereign state characteristic of the Dark Ages" and contrary to the US philosophy of a "non-clerical political democracy without prejudice to race or creed." The loss of good will within the Arab and Muslim world could reach to Indonesia and Pakistan, he said; the Arab League would be aligned with the Soviet Union for survival as the US had found expedient from 1942 to 1945; and the US would be involved in police operations in a hostile area.²⁸⁸

However, even considering such advice, the State Department felt that it could not actively oppose the majority plan. To do so would be seen as a reversal of the Truman's apparent endorsement of partition in his Yom Kippur statement and it might also damage the UN's prestige which the US administration was keen to support as a tool for collective leadership and as a means of enhancing post-war US leadership. But in addition it was assumed that in spite of

the change in Soviet attitude which Gromyko had expressed in May, the Soviet Union would still oppose partition and the plan would not receive the required two thirds majority.²⁸⁹ In other words the US could 'have its cake and eat it, too.' The president would earn kudos for having supported the partition plan and the country would avoid the consequences of partition by default! On September 4 the Postmaster General, Hannagan, pressed Truman to call for the admission of 150,000 Jews into Palestine on the grounds that it would help fund raising for the Democratic National Committee²⁹⁰; and on September 10 the president appointed a pro-Zionist, General Hilldring, to the US delegation to the United Nations on the advice of Niles that it would balance the views of the State Department with at least one "vigorous and well informed individual in whom you ... and American Jewry have complete confidence."²⁹¹ One presumes that Hilldring was present on September 15 when Marshall briefed the US delegation on the State Department's position, acknowledged that a non-committal position would draw criticism and instructed them not to show their hand until it became absolutely necessary. He said that the British would not implement partition and that any initiative by the US to do so would mean sending in its own troops to.²⁹²

AN AD HOC COMMITTEE, AND BRITAIN'S DECISION

Then on September 17, the day the General Assembly resolved to set up an ad hoc committee on Palestine because UNSCOP did not provide a single clear cut recommendation which the Assembly could consider and accept, reject or modify, and because of the alternative formally proposed by Saudi Arabia and Iraq, Marshall commended UNSCOP on its report. He went further than he had advised the delegates to go, saying that while the decision of the Assembly must properly await the detailed consideration of the ad hoc committee report, the government of the United States gave great weight not only to the recommendations which met with unanimous approval of UNSCOP "but also those which have been approved by the majority of that committee."²⁹³ The British were not pleased and the Arabs took it to mean full American support for partition.

Six days later, on September 23, the General Assembly formally appointed a cumbersome ad hoc committee of the whole assembly (one representative from each member country) to enable exhaustive concurrent debate on all of the relevant matters: the original reference by Britain, the UNSCOP report, and the alternative proposed by the Arab countries. It would also provide a clear indication of the likely result of a formal vote in the General Assembly. It therefore facilitated lobbying and the use of pressure tactics by the Zionists in a bid to influence the result. That lobbying reached an unprecedented scale after September 26 when the British cabinet decision was conveyed to the General Assembly (in ad hoc committee) by the Colonial Secretary, Creech-Jones. "In order that there be no misunderstanding of the attitude and policy of Britain I have been instructed by His Majesty's Government to announce, with all solemnity, that they have ... decided that in the absence of a settlement they must plan for an early withdrawal of British forces and of the British Administration from Palestine." He could not

have been more direct, but he also warned the Assembly that it must define clearly the means by which its recommendations were to be implemented ²⁹⁴ because Britain was not prepared to impose by force of arms a settlement which was not acceptable to both the Arabs and the Jews of Palestine. ²⁹⁵ The Zionists knew that the US was in a strong position to influence the decisions of a number of countries, and they were well aware of the conflicting advice which was swirling fiercely around Truman.

The arguments of those opposing partition have been summarised thus. ²⁹⁶First: the enforced establishment of a Jewish state would seriously damage America's relations with Arabs and Muslims throughout the world, perhaps permanently. There were already signs of a cooling of America's friendship with the Arab states which was being blamed on the Zionists. Second: the US could not afford to alienate the Arabs because Europe depended on their oil which was essential for the Marshall Plan; because US oil firms and others operating in the area would be hurt; the US needed military access to the area and the base at Dhahran in Saudi Arabia; an energy crisis could be precipitated in the US. Third: Arab opposition made partition unworkable and if it were instituted the Palestine problem would become a permanent feature of international politics, with the US required to contribute militarily and financially. Fourth: the idea of a Jewish state was contradictory to the United Nations Charter and American principles of self-determination, and it would increase tension between Jews and Gentiles in the US. Fifth: partition would lead to extremism in the Arab world. Sixth: the chaos in Palestine which was certain to result would assist the Soviet Union with two alternative scenarios; either the Arabs pushed towards alliance with Russia, or the Jewish state becoming a Soviet ally. The way ahead, according to opponents of partition, was to give the moderate Arabs and the Jews time to find common ground, possibly within the framework of a trusteeship of some form.

The basis of the pro-Zionist arguments was that partition was equitable. It offered each side a state; it would ensure protection for the Holy Places of Jerusalem for members of all religions; and it would provide a haven for the refugees in Europe. It was implicit in the third clause that there was no alternative 'haven' and that opposition to Jewish refugee settlement elsewhere would be sustained. It was also claimed that with US support a Jewish state would become a bastion of democracy in the region; this would enhance America's new role in the world; and, for the position of the young United Nations to be enhanced as a neutral body, the report of its independent special committees had to be taken seriously. ²⁹⁷

On October 6, although he was under acute pressure, Truman refused a direct request from Hannagan that he authorise an official statement of intent on partition, but three days later, October 9, when he was advised that the Arab League Council had instructed its member states to despatch troops to the borders of Palestine, he hardened his attitude in favour the Zionist cause. He instructed the State Department to support the partition plan. Marshall was forced to reluctantly abandon his efforts to find an alternative, and on October 11 the US representative on the Palestine committee of the UN ad hoc committee announced that it was the president's decision to endorse the basic principles of partition, subject to certain amendments. The Zionists rejoiced, but it was a moment of bitter disappointment for the Arabs. ²⁹⁸

A RUSSIAN VOLTE-FACE

Then, quite unexpectedly, on October 13, everyone's established reasoning on the outcome of both the impending vote and partition was thrown into disarray when Soviet delegate Tzarapkin endorsed the majority proposal. A two thirds majority for partition suddenly appeared more probable. In spite of Gromyko's statement in May everyone was taken by surprise. What were the Soviet Union's motives? According to another Soviet delegate the new approach was to obtain United Nations recognition of the right of minority peoples to set up their own states. It would be a precedent for Russian support for independence movements of Near East minorities such as the Kurds.

Everyone had a view. A Saudi Arabian delegate said Soviet support for partition was prompted by a desire to establish a precedent for an Armenian state at the expense of Turkey, and probably other splinter states under Russian domination. Many observers, including the Syrian Minister to Moscow, saw it in a more sinister light. It was an attempt by the Soviet Union to cause chaos in the Middle East, to ensure the destruction of US influence in the area, to hasten the withdrawal of British troops and establish a Soviet bridgehead in their place, and to establish a precedent for similar action in Kurdistan, Azerbaijan and even Macedonia.²⁹⁹ Britain and America arrived at similar optional interpretations. It could be that the Soviets regarded the Middle East as a low priority relative to Asia and Europe because it was "unshaken politically or economically by war and enemy occupation, shielded by the firm US stand in Greece, Turkey and Iran, bolstered by strong US and British interests ... and controlled by a feudal anti-communist class." On the other hand it could be that the Soviets saw partition as an opportunity for its troops to help implement the program; the Jews might be considered as "the only immediately useful tool to 'soften up' the area for eventual straight Communist cultivation"; and partition might best serve Soviet interest by securing British withdrawal and ensuring that no other troops replaced them, at the same time launching an unsettling dispute calculated to create difficulties for both the British and the US.³⁰⁰ In the words of historian Steven Spiegel: "Suddenly, the two superpowers seemed to be competing for the Zionists' favour. The demands of the Jewish-Arab conflict in Palestine diverged from the administration's other global and regional exigencies."³⁰¹ In any case the Soviet announcement helped to diminish the credibility and effectiveness of the State Department's line of resistance – its wish to see partition defeated in the General Assembly and replaced by a scheme of trusteeship.³⁰²

Lobbying increased strongly as the date of the ad hoc committee vote, November 25, approached, not only to secure the necessary votes, but to ensure that the division of territory if the plan was adopted would favour the Zionist cause. A proposal was under consideration for the Negev, a narrow wedge of land sparsely populated by Bedouin, to be transferred to the Arab territory. The wedge included the small port of Eilat at the head of the gulf of Aqaba, and the route of an oil pipeline from the refinery port of Haifa, via Jaffa, to Eilat, and it would provide a land bridge between the territory allocated for a Palestinian State and the Arab states of North Africa, Jordan and thus Saudi Arabia. It had been agreed that the US would sponsor the change.

The Zionists were opposed to it, because without that wedge of territory they would not have a port which provided access to the Indian Ocean via the Red Sea and independent of the Suez Canal which, although it was controlled by Britain, was a part of Arab territory. In promoting their case they talked only of their plans for the agricultural and industrial development of the area, but that was a minor consideration. Security was the real issue. Truman was therefore persuaded to meet Chaim Weizmann secretly on November 19 and to 'discuss' the instructions which had already been given by the State Department to the US delegation at the UN. He did not countermand the State Department instructions. He simply bypassed the State Department and 'suggested' to the delegates that if it appeared that the US was alone in supporting the proposal, which was due to be tabled next day, it should not be submitted for consideration. A presidential 'suggestion' was as good as an order. The delegates got the message. The proposal was dropped.³⁰³

A DIFFERENT KIND OF 'GENTLE PERSUASION'

Then, when the ad hoc committee report was put to the vote, the result was one short of the two thirds majority necessary. An unprecedented avalanche of lobbying with bribery, extreme political pressure and blackmail such as has not otherwise occurred, burst upon the United Nations. There were four days to the final vote. To be sure of securing the vote the Zionists set out to persuade delegates to change from 'No' to 'Abstain' or from 'Abstain' to 'Yes.' As part of the process United States officials and businessmen and even two Supreme Court justices were pressured into threatening trade or diplomatic disadvantage to a country which did not change its vote. Truman was totally opposed to such tactics, but he was powerless to prevent it. He was effectively locked out of the process.³⁰⁴ Six countries were subject to "special pressure" – Haiti, Liberia, the Philippines, China, Ethiopia and Greece – all of whom were heavily dependent upon US economic support or commercial investment.³⁰⁵ Direct bribes of up to \$US75,000 were offered to two delegates; others from Latin America were told that a vote in favour of partition would greatly increase the chances of a Pan-American road project; and others were threatened with the withdrawal of investment funds for commercial developments; and French and Chinese diplomats were told that the outcome could affect interim support under the Marshall Plan.³⁰⁶

However the most blatant cases involved the blackmailing of Nelson Rockefeller to force him to apply pressure on several Latin American countries. Rockefeller, who later secured election as governor of New York (1959–73) and vice-president of the United States (1974–77), was a grandson of the founder of the Standard Oil conglomerate and no stranger to power politics and corruption in the oil industry. From 1935 he was director of Creole Petroleum, a Standard Oil affiliate with large holdings in Venezuela, and from 1936 he was associated with both the Chase National Bank and a Rockefeller family partnership with the Schroder Bank of New York which has been described as a Nazi front and a key institution in the Fascist economic "miracle." Chase National secured \$US25 million for Nazi Germany in 1939, and

provided information on thousands of Nazi sympathisers in the United States for the use of Berlin's propaganda machine. In 1940 Rockefeller was appointed coordinator of inter-American affairs at the State Department, and in 1944 he was elevated to assistant secretary of state for the American republics.³⁰⁷

During the whole of that time, except for a few months, the Rockefeller-controlled Standard of New Jersey shipped oil to the Nazis through Spain; and operated in partnership with I.G. Farben of Germany in the development of synthetic gas and rubber, and Rockefeller promoted the idea that whichever side won the war the United States had to safeguard its international position by the use of "economic measures that are competitively effective against totalitarian [meaning Communist] techniques." In 1942 Truman, then a senator, described the behaviour of the Rockefeller companies as "treasonous" and in August 1945, after Rockefeller had defied Truman and engineered membership of the United Nations for the Fascist state, Argentina, he was dismissed from his State Department posts. His political and corporate strategy has been described as: "to use his bloc of Fascist nations to 'buy' the majority vote at the UN to favour US-sponsored resolutions" on the basis that the Latin American block represented nineteen votes to Europe's nine at that stage. He made no apologies for using strong-arm tactics, insisting that unless the United States "operated with a solid group in this hemisphere, we could not do what we wanted in the world front."³⁰⁸

Then on September 22, immediately after the UN had resolved to operate as an ad hoc committee on Palestine and the British government had announced its decision to return the mandate, a US Federal Judge, Charles Clark, issued a legal opinion concerning Standard Oil in a civil action then before the court. He said: "Standard Oil can be considered an enemy national in view of its relationship with I.G. Farben after the United States and Germany had become active enemies." The Zionist lobbyists were quick to take advantage of the situation. While the critical vote was pending, a delegation called at his office with proof that he personally had committed treason against the United States. Not only had he allowed Standard to ship oil from South America to Hitler's Germany while he was in charge of Latin American intelligence operations and had a seat on the Proclaimed List Committee, but he had been implicated with Allen Dulles in the smuggling of Nazi war criminals and money via the Vatican to Argentina. The Zionist delegation had documentary evidence including bank records with his signature and transcripts of conversations with Nazi agents. Their proposition was simple. Silence in return for votes in favour of partition by the Latin American bloc. But Rockefeller was an experienced negotiator. Aarons and Loftus cite Western and Israeli sources for their report of the exchange which followed.

Rockefeller skimmed through the dossier and coolly began to bargain. In return for the votes of the Latin American bloc, he wanted guarantees that the Jews would keep their mouths shut about the flow of Nazi money and fugitives to South America. There would be no Zionist Nazi-hunting unit, no testimony at Nuremberg about the bankers or anyone else, not a single leak to the press about where the Nazis were living in South America or which Nazis were working for Dulles. The subject of the Nazis was closed. Period. Forever.

The choice was simple, Rockefeller explained. "You can have vengeance, or you can have a country, but you cannot have both." His choice of the word "vengeance," not justice, left the Jews in no doubt where he stood. ... Ben-Gurion's representative was heartsick. Counter-blackmail had not been in the game plan. He made a telephone call to try to obtain guidance. It took several hours before the reply came back: "Yes." There was really no choice to give Rockefeller whatever he wanted. On behalf of the still-unborn state of Israel, the promise was formally given to let the Nazis go free.³⁰⁹

After Rockefeller made phone calls to "every dictator, caudillo, and businessman he had in his hip pocket and told them the facts of life" Brazil and Haiti switched from 'No' to 'Yes'; Nicaragua, Bolivia and Ecuador switched from 'Abstain' to 'Yes'; and Argentina, Colombia and El Salvador switched from 'Against' to 'Abstain.'³¹⁰ The final vote was thirty three in favour, thirteen against, with ten abstentions and one vote declared invalid. The Zionists were overjoyed. The Arabs were dumbfounded.

The resolution as carried provided for Britain's mandate to terminate as soon as possible, but not later than August 1, 1948, and for British forces to withdraw progressively. A UN Commission was to be set up to administer the territory during a transitional period until the establishment of provisional governments for each of the two states, one Arab and one Jewish, plus a Special International Regime for Jerusalem. These were to come into existence two months after the withdrawal of the British forces. There was provision for cooperation between the states in certain matters and for the establishment of an economic union, and each was to make a declaration guaranteeing freedom of religion and association, and protection for the holy places of all religions. It all looked very good ... on paper. Britain announced that it would withdraw and hand authority to the commission on May 14, 1948.

THE BITTER REALITY: THE NIGHT JOURNEY AND MAIMONIDES

Britain's fears were soon realized. Only days after the vote for partition was carried, pogroms occurred in Aden (Yemen) and Aleppo (Syria). There were 82 deaths and hundreds of homes and communal facilities destroyed in Aden, while in Aleppo twelve synagogues, 150 houses, 50 shops and five Jewish schools were destroyed.³¹¹ Within a week the Arab League met in Cairo and resolved to prevent partition by force and its members agreed to contribute arms and volunteers for an Arab Liberation Army to be raised in Damascus under the command of a general seconded by Iraq, Ismail Safwat Pasha. Subsequent disagreements lead to that force being fragmented into three guerilla units and the eventual failure of the plan.

The period of five and a half months of ill-disciplined warfare, preliminary skirmishing for territory and politicking for funds and armaments after the UN vote and before Britain's departure were marked by bitterness, hatred and terrorism which reached levels not even known in Palestine during the Second World War and at that critical time Britain totally abrogated its responsibility for the welfare and security of the peoples of the mandated territory. To most people in the Western World from whom the reality of history had been well hidden, it appeared

that the people of the Middle East were simply disorganized malcontents who were squabbling over faiths of no consequence in desert regions which would do nobody any good, and Britain would be well rid of the whole problem. However the fundamental problems of the region, the number and nature of independent states, the structure of their governments, the conflicts of interests between them and the way in which the trouble in the triangle of messianic faiths had focussed on Palestine were all basically a consequence of Britain's use of the *Balfour Declaration* in a bid for control of resources and political advantage.

Britain did not realize that by its actions it had brought together the Qur'anic Night Journey and Maimonides' expectations of the establishment of the State of Israel and that it had been a main player in the parody of *Mein Kampf*. It did not even recognize any of them. Its church said they were of no consequence anyway. So, in 1947–48, after its bid at interfaith manipulation had back-fired so dramatically it had no more resolve than to minimize its losses, evacuate its own citizens with as little trauma as possible, and to leave the Arabs and the Jews to resolve their problems as best they could. The basic policy guidelines given to its last High Commissioner for Palestine, Sir Alan Cunningham, by a British government which was convinced that partition would not work and that the Arabs would gain the upper hand, were “to keep the situation as calm as possible consistent with a minimum involvement physically,” to “have nothing to do with partition in any way, shape or form,” to align Britain's interests in the Middle East as closely as possible with the Arabs, to implement existing restrictions on Jewish migration, and to leave law and order to the partitioning parties except in the pursuit of Britain's interests.³¹² The consequence of the British withdrawal from the bulk of normal policing duties from December 1947 was an unending blood bath as Arab and Jewish terrorist groups committed horrendous atrocities against each other's communities.

Britain was washing its hands of the crisis which it had caused in pursuing the role of a protective umbrella for Zionism, but the United States, urged on by people with the philosophy exhibited by Nelson Rockefeller and Allen Dulles, was floundering into precisely the same situation for precisely the same reason. Put simply, the reason was greed and the want to exploit and control the region and its resources without regard to national, corporate or personal responsibilities, and in total disregard of religious teachings, the history of interfaith relations and the religious self-understandings of the three partners in the troubled triangle of Abrahamic messianic faiths. The self-proclaimed *New Israel* had lost the plot of its own self-understanding. Instead of looking for the fundamental reasons for the crisis and then seeking to work through them logically, it had eagerly grasped the umbrella role as Britain cast it aside.

DISRUPTION AND CONFLICT: THE RIPPLE EFFECT

Truman and his advisers were well aware that the war between the Palestinian Arabs and the Jewish Agency in Palestine was not going to be resolved easily and that it was likely to explode into full-scale warfare and through sparks or flares in all directions at any moment. They simply followed the well established big-power practice of trying to put the fires out one at a time. The

US administration had received conflicting advice on the question of whether American partisan involvement in the Middle East would involve a threat to national security ever since it began to compete with Britain for petroleum concessions. Then, by declaring the defence of Saudi Arabia to be vital to the security of the United States so that Congress could authorise direct Lend Lease funds for that country and thus secure oil concessions for its commercial operators, the administration had made itself vulnerable to pressure in such matters. Therefore in view of its strong support for the plan to provide a Jewish homeland by the partition of Palestine it should have been no surprise that Arab interests sought to disrupt American oil interests in the region.

On January 6 1948 the president of the Socony Vacuum Company advised Defence Secretary Forrestal that his company and other oil interests were discontinuing work on a pipeline in Saudi Arabia because of the unrest over US support for the Zionist cause. Six weeks later his concerns were given more substance by a tentative decision by the Arab League to deny American companies pipeline rights until the United States altered its policy on Palestine, and the announcement that the Syrian prime minister planned to visit Riyadh to seek Ibn Saud's cooperation in punitive action against Aramco. The State Department adjusted its Middle East policy accordingly. On February 24, with the support of the Secretary of State, Ambassador Warren Austin asked the UN Security Council to consider whether there existed in Palestine a threat to international peace and security. He said the US was ready, in principle, to consider the use of force to restore peace but not to enforce partition. This brought such a strong response from the Zionist lobby that President Truman issued instructions that he did not want to be approached by any more spokesmen for the extreme Zionist cause. However in response to a personal approach from a former business partner he agreed to meet Chaim Weizmann at the White House on March 18.

In circumstances bordering on intrigue, without the State Department being advised of their meeting, Weizmann pleaded for the lifting of the embargo on arms supplies to the Jewish Agency and for continued support for the UNSCOP partition plan. The two men reached a personal understanding based on the need for justice without bloodshed, the full implications of which are unclear, and Truman agreed that the US would continue to support partition.^{313 314} In fact this was not the first occasion that Weizmann had made urgent personal contact with Truman at short notice. As already noted, he had intervened four months earlier, in November 1947, to prevent the transfer of the Negev from the Jewish sector to the Arab sector in the UNSCOP partition plan.³¹⁵ However on this second occasion Truman did not act quickly enough.

PROMPT RESPONSES TO A BID TO CHANGE COURSE

On March 19, with the prior approval of Marshall and the prior knowledge of the president, but without knowing of Truman's private conversation with Weizmann, Ambassador Austin recommended to the Security Council that it suspend the partition plan and convene a special

session of the General Assembly to consider a temporary trusteeship over Palestine without prejudice to the character of the eventual settlement.³¹⁶ The Zionist response was immediate: a deluge of wires and petitions to Truman, parades of Jewish war veterans, and advice from the Jewish Agency that it would oppose with all its strength any postponement of "Jewish independence." That term, as already noted, was not consistent with either the spirit of UN deliberations on the partition plan or the history of territorial occupation when viewed in the context of other independence movements, but it was given credibility by the injection of the trusteeship question into the debate. The response of other members of the Security Council was a mixture of confusion, disbelief and hostility, with Britain suspicious that it may lead to an extension of the mandate and fearful of an upsurge in anti-British violence.³¹⁷

On March 25 Truman issued a statement to clarify – or modifying – the position. He said that the US "vigorously supported the plan for partition with economic union recommended by UNSCOP and by the General Assembly." He went on to say: "Unfortunately, it has become clear that the partition plan cannot be carried out at this time by peaceful means. ... If the UN agrees to [United States] trusteeship, peaceful settlement is yet possible; without it, open warfare is just over the horizon."³¹⁸ He also said that as a matter of national policy US troops were not to be used.³¹⁹ Then on April 1, with only six weeks of the mandate to run and with Britain determined not to extend it, the council agreed to convene the General Assembly for mid-April. And on the same day, with the Palestinians gaining more ground as the British forces withdrew and the Jewish military position weakened, Ben Gurion, acting on the advice of the Haganah operations commander, persuaded the Jewish Agency cabinet to support his decision and ordered an all-out offensive to capture all high country and all Arab towns which controlled vital roads or communications facilities.³²⁰

A CAUSE + ARMS = STRENGTH

Then, as the date for his declaration drew close Ben Gurion was supremely confident that the forces available to the Zionist Jewish Agency could survive any offensive which the Arabs were able to mount against them and that they would be able to gain territory additional to that allocated to the Jewish State by the United Nations. This was in spite of the fact that while the Arab states were able to negotiate for arms quite openly, the Jewish Agency had to circumvent the British and US arms embargoes. It did this quite effectively. Within days of Truman refusing to lift the US arms embargo the first shipment of arms purchased by the Hagana from Czechoslovakia (which had come under Communist control only weeks earlier) sailed from the Yugoslav port of Sibenik and arrived in Palestine on April 3, concealed beneath a cargo of onions. About the same time a vessel carrying arms purchased from the same source by Syria was intercepted by Jewish frogmen and sunk. Its cargo was salvaged by Hagana and transhipped to Palestine. A DC3 aircraft chartered privately in the US carried 107 tons of arms from Czechoslovakia to Beit Daras in Southern Palestine in the following seven weeks. And under a contract also signed in April the Czech government agreed to supply ten Messerschmitt

109 fighter aircraft and to provide training facilities so that between 50 and 75 Israeli pilots could be trained by American volunteer instructors during the following five months.³²¹

Perhaps the most obvious factor in the Jewish Agency's favour was the fanatical fervour of its troops who were highly motivated by the intense determination to see a Jewish Homeland, or state, established in a manner which would relieve their community of the oppression of life under the heel of Christian Europe and preserve their race or their faith, according to their particular perspective, for time immemorial. Added to that were the agency's fund raising capacity, especially in the United States; the high level of training and experience which its forces had already achieved; the advantage of defending relatively small, compact zones; and its experience of, and readiness to use, psychological warfare against exposed civilian populations.

ARAB COHESION UNDERMINED

But the most important factor was the lack of cohesion among the Arab states with uncertainty about the primary reason for opposing the establishment of a Jewish State which resulted directly from their colonial history. Were they going to war to maintain the territorial integrity of the Arab world? Was it to come to the aid of the Palestinian people? Was it to defend Islam against Western Christian arrogance? Was it to suppress political Zionism as an aberration of Judaism? Was it to gain territorial advantage out of the collapse of the British mandate without regard to the promise of independence for the small Palestinian population? Or was it to establish or strengthen a position of leadership within the Arab world?

The young Arab League was dogged by all of those considerations as its members debated the approach to take to the war with 'the Zionist entity' – the State of Israel in course of establishment. In fact none of the countries bordering the new state had the same systems of government which they had at the time of the mandate negotiations and in some cases their boundaries had also been radically altered by colonial or international intervention. The mandate over Palestine which the League of Nations granted to Britain in the post-World War One carve up of the Ottoman Empire covered territory from Mount Hermon in the north to the headwaters of the Gulf Of Aqaba in the south, and from the Mediterranean coast to points about 420 kilometres north east of Jaffa (half way to the Euphrates) and about 360 kilometres south east. While the bulk of the population and productive areas were to the west of the River Jordan and the Dead Sea, which formed the spine of the mandate, the area to the east was three times as large. The British Government, having to juggle its conflicting promises, found it necessary to frustrate Zionist ambitions to occupy the East Bank as well as the territory from the Jordan to the Mediterranean and, by that means, reduce the potential for friction with the Arabs. It therefore took steps to ensure that the mandate included authority (in Article 25) for it to administer the eastern region differently from the western region. The regions thereafter became known as "Palestine" and "Transjordan" even though, for purposes of the mandate, they were fully integrated as "Palestine." In 1921, even while negotiations continued, Britain closed the eastern region to Jewish settlement and recognized Abdullah Ibn Husayn, a son of the Sharif of

Mecca, as Emir of Transjordan. Then in May 1923, before the mandate officially came into operation in September that year Britain reorganized Transjordan as an autonomous state with all powers except foreign affairs and defence. But the term "Transjordan" does not occur in the mandate documents. The expression used was "the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine as ultimately determined."

The immediate consequence of this was that when the question of partition arose after the Second World War, the Mufti of Jerusalem and Abdullah both saw themselves as the rightful protectors of the Palestinian people and the rightful claimants of the territory allocated by the United Nations for an Arab state. The Mufti, who had escaped in June 1946 from a prison in France where he had been held pending a war crimes trial, saw himself as the appropriate person to lead a Palestinian state, while Abdullah was eager to re-unite the peoples separated by Britain's action. The Mufti did not want the armies of the neighbouring countries to conduct his war for him, knowing that armies of occupation directed politically from outside, and having enormous authority of their own, are very hard to send home. Thus he wanted the Arab countries to help finance and provide volunteers for an army which he would have under his ultimate control. He had re-established the Arab Higher Command in Cairo for this purpose and the Arab League decisions of December 1947 were exactly as he wished, except that he wanted to name the commander and not have in charge of it an Iraqi general responsible to the Arab League.

In February, 1948, the Mufti moved the Arab Higher Command to Beirut and sought support from Arab governments to convert it into a Palestine Provisional Government equal in status to the Jewish Agency. He announced that the Arabs considered the partition resolution null and void and sent his cousin, Abdul Khader Husseini (Abou Moussa) to Palestine to establish the Palestinian Guerilla Army with the plan to isolate Jewish villages, blockade the road from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and to lay siege to Jerusalem. It has been claimed that he also said that the Jews would be pushed into the sea,³²² but this does not appear to have been established beyond reasonable doubt and it is denied by those close to him at the time. But Britain found the idea of a Palestine led by the Mufti, with or without a Jewish state, totally intolerable because of his collaboration with Hitler during the war and set out to encourage any pro-Palestinian action by the Arab countries which would exclude the Mufti.

Abdullah had not been prepared to support the Mufti's plans in any case and he had approached the British Government, through its High Commissioners in Transjordan and Palestine, seeking its support for his annexation of the West Bank portions of Palestine which had been allocated for an Arab state. The assumption was – and this gained support from some other governments concerned – that Egypt would add the Gaza Strip to its territory and Lebanon would similarly claim the region of West Galilee. Britain supported the plan because the interests of the Palestinian Arabs would be looked after by Arab governments but there would be no Palestinian government in conflict with the Jewish State. So did Iraq, largely because it was ruled by a relative of Abdullah as a result of appointments made by the British when they were trying to consolidate their influence by placing friendly Hashemites in charge

of small countries across the Arabian Peninsula. But the proposal also raised fears in Egypt that Abdullah was seeking to usurp the leadership role within the Arab world which Egypt was assuming, especially as the care of the spiritually important Mosque of the Dome on the Rock would become his responsibility. This led to concerns that he should be stopped and that the Mufti should be supported in his bid to lead the Palestinians, or, failing this, Egypt should strengthen its own position by absorbing the Gaza Strip into its territory.

Just at the same time, the UN Committee on Jerusalem published a proposal that the Internationalized zone should be administered in three boroughs – Jewish, Arab and demilitarized – with the old walled city constituting the demilitarized borough and being administered by a UN appointed governor assisted by an elected council. This brought some changes in attitudes towards the internationalization of Jerusalem within the opposing camps. The Arabs remained opposed to the general proposal, but the Jews, prompted by the fact that the city was virtually under Arab siege, agreed to it as the lesser of two evils, subject to the condition that the Christian powers provided an international security force to police the scheme. Such a condition was consistent with other actions of the Jewish Agency which appeared contrived to drive a wedge between Christian and Muslim communities and authorities and to blur the distinction between ‘Arab’ and ‘Muslim.’ It was widely thought to be in the Jewish interest to generate the misunderstanding that all Arabs were Muslim and that the few Christians present did not take part in movements for Arab or Palestinian nationalism, thus discouraging foreign Christian support for the Arab cause. When that condition was greeted with a notable lack of enthusiasm in all quarters the Jewish Agency asked for a force of five thousand United States marines, but the US administration found this unacceptable in an election year. The British High Commissioner to Palestine, Sir Alan Cunningham, then responded to the Jewish Agency’s tactic by writing personally to a number of Christian Archbishops seeking their support for a force of three thousand troops. The Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury tried unsuccessfully to generate public debate by writing to the London Times, but the Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York, Cardinal Spellman, was among those who did not respond at all.³²³

Also at that time the Jewish Agency’s intelligence infiltration of the British army and the offices of the Arab League was such that it knew every detail of Britain’s attitude and actions in the crisis, its support for Abdullah’s bid for the Arab territory, and the plans of the Arab League.³²⁴ This was quite apart from the fact that Abdullah had held a secret personal meeting with Golda Meyerson and a Zionist delegation in November, shortly before the UN partition vote, at which they had discussed their “common enemy”, the Mufti, and the Zionists believed they could rely on his support for the establishment of the Jewish State.^{325 326} They knew, for example, that on January 9 Britain had approved arms contracts to enable Iraq to discharge its responsibilities to the Arab League in relation to Palestine.³²⁷ They also knew of strained relations between Britain and both Egypt and Iraq as they renegotiated treaty arrangements in the knowledge that an independent state of Palestine would no longer be subject to British-imposed conditions which still applied to both existing nations.

In Iraq's case the rejection in Baghdad of a revised treaty which had been agreed in London in February – within a few weeks of the approval of the arms agreement – brought the fall of the Iraqi government and the invalidation of arrangements for the supply of further arms. In Egypt's case, a draft treaty which had been signed two years earlier, in 1946, provided for the progressive withdrawal of British forces to be completed by September 1949 but this now appeared very tardy in view of Britain's total withdrawal from Palestine in a matter of a few months. In addition, at the United Nations in August 1947, Egypt had unsuccessfully challenged Britain's right to change Condominium arrangements for the administration of the Sudan which Britain had governed for some time as a dependency. Egypt wanted, and Britain had previously supported, the union of Egypt and the Sudan into one nation of the Nile Valley. But with changing circumstances Britain now favoured curtailing Egypt's influence and sponsored independence for the Sudan. To reduce the tension somewhat Britain agreed to withdraw its troops from the Nile Delta and to restrict them to the Suez Canal Zone.³²⁸

In the circumstances, with the Zionists feeling the need for a secure umbrella, the pressure on Truman continued to increase. Weizmann wrote to him on April 8, three weeks after their second private meeting, warning of the consequences of not implementing partition and declaring that "the choice of our people is between statehood and extermination." Throughout Palestine, but especially in Jerusalem, violence, sabotage and terrorism had been rising progressively during the early months of 1948, and the Arab Liberation Army had severed the water supply to West Jerusalem. Busses, private houses, public buildings, hotels and the offices of the *Palestine Post* were all bombed, quite apart from known military targets.

BIRTH PANGS OF A REFUGEE CRISIS

However, at the same time that the Arabs seemed to be securing some strategic advantage, Arab emigration out of the areas allocated to the Jewish State began to increase. It was led by the propertied classes out of fear of the loss of assets and personal rights but ordinary working people soon followed their example. Then, on April 9, just as Truman was reflecting on Weizmann's letters, the first of two of the bloodiest and most dastardly massacres of the period rocked the region. It triggered a flood of Arab emigration which resulted in the near-legendary Palestinian refugee crisis. It reinforced the hatred on both sides, and it strengthened the resolve of many Arab authorities to prevent the establishment of the Jewish State. It was the Deir Yassin Massacre.

The villagers of Deir Yassin, about five miles west of Jerusalem, had stood aloof from the struggles over partition, refused to support the Arab Liberation Army in its attacks on Jewish targets, and signed a non-aggression pact with neighbouring Jewish settlements. But on that day, forces of the Irgun and the Stern Group entered the village and massacred 254 defenceless civilians including about one hundred women and children. Many of the bodies were then mutilated and thrown into a well.³²⁹ Many factors have been suggested in a bid to explain or to justify the action, including the suggestion that the village had been harbouring members of the

Arab Liberation Army. But it is well established that there was great jubilation among the hard line Zionist terrorist forces about the way in which that action struck fear into the entire civilian Palestinian population and accelerated the exodus of refugees.

In the circumstances, and considering an enormous weight of evidence from many reputable authorities plus the nature of the Hagana's *Tochnit Dalet* (Plan D, providing for the annexation of captured Arab territory),³³⁰ it is reasonable to conclude that there was a deliberate systematic and calculated campaign in certain Zionist quarters to drive Palestinians not only from areas which were allocated to a Jewish State but also from West Galilee, the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv corridor and certain other areas which could subsequently be annexed. The campaign was based on intimidation, psychological warfare and the fear that such incidents as Deir Yassin would be repeated, and the expectation that depopulated areas could quickly be repopulated with Jewish settlers. Despite all the later Israeli protestations to the contrary, there is little room left for doubt in view of a letter from Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Shertok (Sharett) to then President Weizmann in August 1948. He expressed his determination to "explore all possibilities of getting rid, once and for all, of the huge Arab minority which originally threatened us. ... What can be achieved during this period of storm and stress will be unattainable once conditions stabilize." He then noted that a group of senior officers was already working on the study of resettlement possibilities for the refugees in other lands.³³¹

Retaliation followed swiftly. Only three days after Deir Yassin, Arab forces ambushed a Jewish convoy travelling under Red Cross colours to Hadassah Hospital and the Hebrew University on the outskirts of Jerusalem. Seventy seven Jewish doctors, nurses, teachers and students were killed.³³² The policy of the British authorities to make no preparations for the transfer of power to their successors – the Jewish Agency and the Palestinians or to the UN-appointed Committee of Five – and of not intervening in civil disturbances unless British personnel or facilities were at risk contributed to the deepening crisis. Those policies were already a matter of national disgrace and Britain came under renewed attack because in the Hadassah Hospital incident a nearby British military post did nothing until it was too late.³³³

With only four weeks to the end of the British mandate the Council of Thirteen, the Jewish Agency and the Hagana were desperately preparing for the assault which they knew would come from several countries, and those countries had to cope with a flood of refugees from Palestine. Estimates vary greatly for the number of refugees who fled Palestine between the decision for partition and the end of the mandate, but it was certainly several hundred thousand.³³⁴ Britain complicated the diplomatic and military situation even further by demanding that Abdullah withdraw the Arab Legion from the West Bank territory which it had already occupied, without requiring the six or seven thousand foreign recruits in the Mufti's Arab Liberation Army to be repatriated. It's decision was apparently linked to its efforts to smooth its own relations with Egypt which did not wish Abdullah to gain an advantage from the ending of the mandate.³³⁵

The countdown continued. The Jewish forces gradually got the upper hand in their struggle with the Arab Liberation Army, broke the blockade of the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem road, regained control of several major towns, defeated the Arabs in parts of West Galilee, and really only had to worry about the siege of Jerusalem. The leaders of several Arab countries, Iraq, Lebanon, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, are said to have moved to a non-interventionist position and there was an expectation in some quarters that the UN would intervene when the mandate expired, separate the belligerents and force the Jewish State to adhere to the agreed partition plan. But the recapture of Haifa and Tiberias and a real threat to the Arab community at Jaffa galvanized the Arab League into action. It summoned a meeting of military commanders to prepare a plan for intervention by regular Arab armies but it was only a week or so before the end of the mandate that there was any certainty that the much-talked-about Arab invasion of the Jewish State would actually take place.

A strategy was prepared which would have had Transjordan's Arab Legion invade alongside the Iraqi forces, south of Lake Galilee, to move westward towards Haifa, but Abdullah would have nothing to do with it, insisting that the Arab Legion would re-occupy the regions of the West Bank which Britain had just forced it to vacate. In any case that plan became redundant when the Jewish forces occupied the balance of West Galilee. A loose understanding was therefore reached that Lebanese forces would invade West Galilee, the Syrians would invade to the north and south of Lake Galilee, the Iraqis would invade north central Palestine on the northern flank of Transjordan's Arab Legion which was targeting Jerusalem and the West Bank, and the Egyptians would invade through the Gaza Strip and Beersheba. In view of the fact that he directed the best equipped and trained army – and in spite of the fact that there was no effective strategy in place – Abdullah reluctantly accepted the role of Commander in Chief and only days before the British withdrawal the Arab League promised him a war chest of up to three million pounds Sterling in deference to his role.³³⁶

DOMESTIC IMPACT

Coinciding with Weizmann's plea to Truman and the massacre at Deir Yassin which triggered the refugee crisis, the president's special counsel, Clark Clifford, assessed the future of Palestine as having a big impact in ensuring the 'stunning victory' of an American Labor Party candidate, Leo Isacson, over the Democratic Party candidate in a district election in which 55 percent of the constituency was Jewish. Henry Wallace had spoken in support of Isacson and claimed that "Truman still talks Jewish, but acts Arab." Clifford, became alarmed that the president's re-election campaign was in jeopardy because of the change in policy from immediate partition to trusteeship, especially with the strength of the public awareness campaign organized by the Zionists with rallies against 'oil politics' and a barrage of protests to congressmen.³³⁷ His fears were compounded by a series of memos which he received from Max Lowenthal, a consultant to the White House and a close associate of the Jewish Agency, the first on May 7. Lowenthal bluntly called for recognition of the Jewish State even before May 15,

saying that this would “free the administration of a serious and unfair disadvantage” in the November elections.³³⁸

The administration was, as usual, receiving very pointed advice from other quarters as well. On May 1, Pope Pius XII issued the encyclical *Auspicia quaedam* in which he referred to the holy places in Palestine which, he said, had long been disturbed, adding: “Indeed if there exists any place that ought to be most dear to every cultured person, surely it is Palestine where, from the dawn of antiquity, such great light of truth shone for all men ... We desire, therefore, Venerable Brethren, that supplications be poured forth to the most Holy Virgin for this request: that the situation in Palestine be at long last settled justly, and thereby concord and peace be also happily restored.”^{339 340} It is possible that in invoking petitions to the Holy Virgin the pope was simply pursuing the progressive expansion of Mariology as he had since his enthronement. However he could hardly have used an expression or called for a practice which would drawn attention more effectively to the fact that the Zionists were confronting a mixed population with people of two faiths in tension. Further division could only strengthen the Zionist case, not weaken it. In fact the pope played directly into the hands of the Zionists who were seeking to drive a wedge between the Muslim and Christian Arabs and to exploit the gap. The pope's intervention in that manner was confirmation that the Vatican had not given up its 1920's bid to secure a preferential position, or even control of Jerusalem in spite of the previous pope having denigrated it in loudly proclaiming the Lateran Treaty in 1929. In any case, Clifford need not have worried about outside interference. According to Richard Allen, Truman had already decided to push through a Palestinian policy in line with his personal views and sympathies. Eight days earlier he had secretly arranged for a message to be conveyed to Weizmann to the effect that he favoured a reversion to American support for the UNSCOP partition plan and that “if this led to the proclamation of a Jewish State, he would recognize it immediately.”³⁴¹

A DESPERATE BID FOR PEACE

Not everyone wanted to rush headlong into war. In a bid to broker a last minute peace deal or, some say, to strengthen his position in the Arab world, Abdullah held another secret meeting with Golda Meyerson and a fellow representative of the enemy, Ezra Danin, on May 11 in Amman. All three took a great risk in holding the meeting, but especially Mrs Meyerson who travelled disguised as a peasant woman. Abdullah pleaded with the Zionists to postpone the declaration of the Jewish State and to accept instead an undivided Palestine with autonomous Jewish areas. When Mrs Meyerson rejected the proposal Abdullah, in a most direct warning of what lay ahead, said that he had intended to honour his original agreement not to invade Jewish territory, but in the circumstances, being “one among five” he had no alternative and “I cannot act otherwise.” In an apparent bid to counter that argument Mrs Meyerson told the king that the Jews were his only friends, and, acknowledging that, he said he had “no illusions on that score” and he knew the other Arabs and their “good intentions.” He added that he firmly believed that Divine Providence has restored the Jews “... a Semite people who were banished to Europe and

have benefited by its progress, to the Semite East, which needs your knowledge and initiative. ... But the situation is grave and we must not err through hasty action. Consequently I beg of you to be patient." When Mrs Meyerson again rejected the plea for a delay in the declaration of Jewish statehood the king said he deplored the coming bloodshed and destruction and invited her to come and see him again – during the fighting if need be.³⁴²

While Mrs Meyerson returned to Tel Aviv for a meeting of the Zionist Council of Thirteen next day, the Arabs continued their preparations for battle; Truman and his advisers finalized the text of his statement recognizing the sovereignty of the State of Israel; and the armies of Egypt, Jordan, Iraq and Syria massed on their borders with the proposed State of Israel, poised to invade immediately the British mandate ended and Jewish sovereignty was declared.

Actually two critical meetings were held next day, May 12, in time zones six hours apart. The first was the meeting of the Council of Thirteen in Tel Aviv which ran on late "through the night." Immediately the council had decided to proclaim the establishment of the State of Israel a phone call was made to Weizmann in New York who is said to have endorsed the decision with the words: "Proclaim the state, no matter what happens."³⁴³ In view of the secret message from Truman his confidence and insistence is not surprising.

The second meeting, which began in the White House, Washington, at 4 p.m., (10 p.m. Tel Aviv time), and at which Truman consulted his key advisers on whether to recognize the State of Israel immediately it was proclaimed – surely somewhat tongue-in-cheek – was marked by bitter clashes between Marshall and Clifford. Marshall objected to Clifford being present, saying that the subject was a serious matter of foreign policy and not one of domestic politics.³⁴⁴ Clifford, responding to the pressure from Lowenthal, tabled a draft presidential statement for immediate release which actually drew on some of the words from Lowenthal's latest memo to his assistant, George Elsey. It was to the effect that the US would recognize the Jewish State immediately it was proclaimed. His aim was basically to steal a march on the president's Republican opponents with a gesture which "would be amply repaid by Jewish votes and contributions," but he also believed it would outmanoeuvre the Soviet Union.³⁴⁵ The possibility that he was aware of Truman's secret message to Weizmann cannot be ignored.

However the Undersecretary of State, Lovett, who was certainly not aware of the message, objected. He said that such a statement would be "highly injurious" to the United Nations in view of the fact that it was still considering American sponsored alternatives for the government of Palestine. It was like buying a pig in a poke because it was not known what kind of Jewish state would be set up, and the president's prestige would suffer because it was "a very transparent attempt to win the Jewish vote." ³⁴⁶ Marshall's feelings were so strong that he told Truman that if he followed Clifford's advice, he (Marshall) would vote against him if he were to vote in the presidential elections. ³⁴⁷ Truman, who was known to be increasingly favouring Clifford rather than Marshall as a source of advice, apparently closed the meeting with the comment that he was inclined to agree with Marshall and that he would "sleep on it", but he

then confided in Clifford that after a short cooling off period he would return to his suggestion.
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Next morning, May 13, Truman did not use Clifford's statement at his regular press briefing but the cooling off period did not last long. That morning he received another personal letter from Weizmann, written within hours of the phone call from the Council of Thirteen in Tel Aviv, in which Weizmann asked him to "promptly recognize the Provisional Government of the new Jewish State."³⁴⁹ He was certainly briefed on the Council's intention to proclaim the new state from the time that the British mandate expired, but it appears that he may not have been briefed on the plan to issue the proclamation eight hours early, and certainly not on the name for the state or its claimed boundaries. In fact although there was collaboration between the White House and the Zionist authorities there was also confusion. Truman met the president of B'nai B'rith, Frank Goldman, on the morning of the 14th, and then ordered that a statement be prepared for issue immediately the proclamation took effect. Clifford worked on it from about 11.30 a.m., asking the representative of the Jewish Agency, Eliahu Epstein, to provide a formal letter of request for recognition, and consulting him on vital details to be included in the statement.³⁵⁰

THE VATICAN'S INTEREST IN JERUSALEM

Another message was also in circulation that morning. A Vatican 'opinion' on the subject had been published in Rome that morning in *Osservatore Romano*. It read in part: "*Modern Zionism is not the true heir of Biblical Israel, but a secular state ... therefore the Holy Land and its sacred sites belong to Christianity, the True Israel.*"³⁵¹ [Emphasis added.] The pope had not been satisfied with the response to his encyclical of a fortnight earlier. In view of the close working relationship between the Vatican and the White House it is impossible that at least one or more of the three people concerned with the drafting of the president's message – Truman, Clifford and Epstein – were not aware of that 'opinion' when the drafting of the president's message began. We know from archival material relating to other situations which has been released that, on occasions, draft versions of messages which were about to be published were passed between Rome and the White House before they were published, sometimes even with an invitation to comment on them.³⁵²

Read in isolation that preposterous claim may appear to be either a simple flight of theological fancy or a heavy handed bid by the Vatican to secure more direct control of a host of holy places based on an extravagant misreading of history while the political situation was so fluid. However a closer reading suggests that it was a deliberate extension of the thrust of the encyclical *Auspicia quaedam* which had been issued only two weeks earlier and that it was a serious bid to justify a claim to Jerusalem and substantial surrounding territory to enable the re-establishment of the headquarters of the Catholic Church in the event that the Curia was forced to vacate the Vatican. In a lecture at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in 1966 the Rev. Dr. Carl Hermann Voss said that if Italy had gone Communist after World War II the Pope had

intended to establish a new Vatican City in Jerusalem and that this was one aspect of the Catholic Church's negative attitude to the establishment of Israel in 1948.³⁵³ At the Italian national elections in April 1948, while the future of Palestine still hung in the balance, the Communist-Socialist alliance gained 182 seats in the Italian Assembly compared with the ruling Christian Democrats 307 in spite of a vigorous anti-Communist crusade by the church and the massive intervention by the United States discussed above. (See: '*A touch of foreign aid*') At the time that *Auspicia quaedam* was issued the Communists were still gaining influence and the prospect that both the *Lateran Treaty* and the *Italian Concordat* could be annulled by a future government was very real.

INDECENT HASTE ... AND A PRECEDENT TO REMEMBER

In any case during their hurried consultation on May 14 Epstein very astutely told Clifford that although he was prepared to take responsibility for issuing a request for recognition, he could not do so until the state had been proclaimed and had a provisional government.³⁵⁴ His letter of request was actually issued without the knowledge of the Council of Thirteen and without its authority; it referred to the boundaries as proposed in the UN partition resolution and was therefore in conflict with the council's intention; and, as drafted, it included the term "the Jewish State." This had to be changed by hand as the letter was being rushed to the White House because Epstein's secretary heard a radio news report that the name "the State of Israel" had been announced in the 4 p.m. Tel Aviv proclamation, (10 a.m. Washington time).³⁵⁵

Truman ordered that the statement be ready for issue a few minutes after 6 p.m., Washington time, when the British mandate was to expire. However the Secretary of State was **not** advised of this until between 3 p.m. and 4 p.m. and the undersecretary was not authorised to tell Ambassador Austin at the United Nations until 5.40 p.m., (2.40 pm in San Francisco).³⁵⁶ Truman's press secretary read the statement to media representatives at 6.11 p.m. Half an hour later, Austin, having retired to his room in disgust, left a member of the US delegation to read the statement to the UN General Assembly while it was actually debating the internationalization of Jerusalem and the future government of Palestine in the terms of the US sponsored trusteeship resolution.³⁵⁷ No foreign governments, not even Britain, had been advised. They were not trusted to hold the information confidential until the presidential statement was released to the world. Members of the UN General Assembly were stunned. The Cuban ambassador had to be restrained from going to the podium to announce his country's withdrawal from the UN, and US delegates were so embarrassed that it was feared by the White House that they might resign en masse.³⁵⁸

The situation bore an uncanny resemblance to that in London on October 31, 1917, when Chaim Weizmann, having played a major part in negotiating the *Balfour Declaration*, waited outside the British Cabinet room while the government actually ratified the declaration. On that earlier occasion the British government had seen 'a window of opportunity' in the desperate situation of the Jewish community and had sought to manipulate that community for its own

imperial benefit. It had established a relationship of interdependence between Britain and the Zionist Movement; it had become the protector of that Movement; and it had tied the future of its imperial interests – and the interests of the world – to the decisions which it would subsequently make as a consequence of that relationship. On the later occasion, responding to the domestic political interests of its incumbent president, the United States had assumed the role of protector of Zionism which Britain had formally and finally rejected, and it had unwittingly adopted a posture of interdependence with Zionism in exactly the same manner as Britain forty years earlier. Its power brokers believed that they could control the nature and the outcomes of that relationship but they had actually demonstrated very clearly that the Zionist Movement could influence the outcome of any presidential election in which its interests were at stake and, as a corollary, that it could ultimately determine the policy of the US government in all matters relating to the State of Israel and events in the Middle East.

By issuing his statement of recognition of Israel in such indecent haste, Truman had enabled the Zionists to establish their state without having to formulate answers to a number of questions, the two most fundamental of which bore an uncanny resemblance to questions with which the Vatican was confronted in imposing its policy of Ultramontanism. (Chapter 15) It is only a case of substituting one name for the other. Firstly, what is the relationship between the State of Israel [or the Papal State], and Jews [or Catholics] who are citizens of countries throughout the World? Secondly, what is the relationship between the State of Israel [or the Papal State] and other states in which Jews [or Catholics] reside? But in addition, by issuing his statement of recognition of Israel in such indecent haste, Truman had shown that the United States would usurp the responsibility and the authority of the United Nations – the victors' club for which it had been a prime sponsor and architect, almost without a second thought. It was determined to play director, policeman and judge of the world's affairs. The US had imposed acceptance of the legitimacy of a state, the form of which had not even been announced, on not just the United Nations but the whole world, and in doing so it had ignored the wishes and the feelings of a substantial proportion of the world's people. This was not the first occasion on which the United States had acted in that manner and it was certainly not to be the last. But, because of the circumstances, this was the critical occasion on which the US served notice to the whole world more clearly than on any other occasion that it had to play to rules which the US would determine until it lost its grip or, in other words, until such time that world relationships would be changed by a major upheaval. And it was smugly confident that as long as it retained control of the nuclear arsenal there could be no such change in world relationships nor a challenge to its position.

By his action, Truman had strengthened the position of the World Zionist Organization and the provisional government of the State of Israel enormously. But in doing so at the expense of the Palestinians and in disregard of the interests of those peoples who claimed a special attachment to the city of Jerusalem, he had also ensured that the barrier between Israel and its neighbours would be strengthened progressively so that it would take a massive amount of politicking and a series of 'bought peaces' to keep it in place, or either enormous good will or

enormous force to break it down. One of his successors – or a leader of Israel – may eventually decide, like Britain, that the benefits from maintaining that barrier no longer justify the cost, but that point has not yet been reached and the indications are that when it is, the trauma for the United States will be far greater than in Britain's case. However, Truman and his administration had hit the self-destruct button just as surely as David Lloyd-George and his administration had by negotiating the *Balfour Declaration*. The consequences of manipulating the Jewish community for third party self-interest is just as firmly built into its role as the principle instrument through which Divine Will shall prevail is as definite and as decisive as the consequences for that community when it breached its covenant and triggered the 'penal clause' of the Qur'anic prophecy of the *Night Journey*. This was referred to in chapter six, and it will be discussed again in '*Reflections in a wine glass*.' Basically it is a matter of relationships undermined and strategic decisions made which play into the hands of those affected by the broken relationships.

In retrospect the secret Abdullah-Meyerson meeting, and the critical meeting of the Council of Thirteen next day in Tel Aviv to which Mrs Meyerson returned and reported,³⁵⁹ assume the same importance in confirming and demonstrating the Zionist decision to transgress against the people of Palestine, in breach of the Covenant of Sinai, as did the Seventh Congress of the Zionist Organization in Basle in 1905. It was at that congress that the decision was taken to proceed with settlement in Palestine without waiting for the agreement of the authorities concerned and in total disregard of the Qur'anic prophecy of the Night Journey. The meeting of the Council of Thirteen was the last chance to avoid another war over the issue. But it was only confirmation. It was not the trigger for the action of the Night Journey. Gog and Magog had already had their war. It simply helped to reinforce the validity of Maimonides' expectation of the return to Israel. Stage one was all but complete. It was shown to be at dawn on May 15, within hours of Ben Gurion's declaration and Truman's statement of recognition, when the Arab armies crossed the new borders and were at war with the State of Israel. There were 10,000 Egyptian troops, 4,500 Arab Legionnaires, 7,000 Syrians, 8,000 Iraqis and 3,000 Lebanese – a total of 32,500 troops – confronting 30,000 troops of the Jewish Hagana.³⁶⁰ Stage two, the progressive movement towards the Messianic Age still seemed a long way in the future. But at least the Jewish community could say: "*We've made it ... thanks to Hitler's gentle persuasion.*"

However there were other people who could say the same thing. The acting out of the parody of *Mein Kampf* had resulted in the people of India and Pakistan gaining their independence and even membership of the United Nations. It had been a long and bitter struggle, and dreadfully tragic in the home run, but they had made it. So had the people of Yemen. And the people of Myanmar (Burma). And there were many other colonies and territories of the European powers which would soon be able to say the same. It was inevitable. The colonial era was in its last throes. That had not been Hitler's intention, and the people of those countries may not have been conscious of the way the situation had unfolded, but it was an integral part of the parody. It was an integral part of Maimonides' vision that in due course the world would live at peace in harmony. Harmony required an end to master and slave-nation relationships. An end to

exploitation of one people by another. It was not apparent to the world at that time but, by unwittingly being caught up in the fulfilment of the Qur'anic prophecy of the Night Journey, the Jewish community was, *equally unwittingly*, the catalyst for the ending of the imperial phase of colonialism. The economic phase still has another stage to run.

Then there was another country whose people should also have been saying: "*We've made it ... thanks to Hitler's gentle persuasion.*" The United States of America. But its people expressed it slightly differently.

Britain had gone to war in a desperate bid to preserve its empire. But because it could not understand the basis or the origins of its crisis, the harder it tried to hang on, the greater the task became. It could have preserved much of its empire intact if it had been prepared to treat with Hitler and with the Japanese at any of a number of points as the war progressed, as we have seen. But it was caught in a tightening spiral of its own making and, as we have also seen, short of recognizing and unraveling the trouble in the triangle it could not reverse the spiral and preserve its empire. In any case, if it had reversed the spiral, the processes of doing so would have required an end to the long established colonial policies of the amorphous Christian gel. It was now the empire which was unraveling instead. Not the trouble in the triangle. The empire had already lost some pieces and it was about to lose the lot over a period of another thirteen years.

It was America, the ally which had reluctantly agreed to support Britain in its war – out of pure self-interest – that was the big winner. The longer the war continued and the more precarious Britain's position became, the stronger America's position became. The United States had not only helped to ease the European powers out of Asia: it had taken firm suzerainty over Japan. As a result it did not have to pursue a continuing contest with Japan for dominant influence in Asia. It was assured of the dominant role itself, and because of the economic policies which it had succeeded in putting in place, first through the Atlantic Charter and the Lend Lease program for Britain, then its back-door entry into the Middle East's oil estates, next the Bretton Woods institutions and finally the Marshall Plan, it was in an unassailable position – provided it played its cards to best effect and prevented the Soviet Union from getting under its guard. The world was both its source of supply and its market place. Virtually its footstool. And its exclusive hold on atomic weapons meant that no one could resist it or compete with it. The 'New Israel' had indeed been richly blessed and everyone knew that it was because of its devotion to Christianity. It was getting its just rewards. Apart from that dastardly attack on its little annexed island territory of Hawaii by Japan it had come through the war without a scratch. America was God's own country and the opportunity to assume world leadership had been entrusted to it. Britain had thought that, when its far flung empire circled the globe. But it lost the plot. The Germans had also thought that when they went to war with the Kaiser in 1914. They had been imbued with the German Protestant belief that German history was a unique and most significant part of revelation.(Chapter 16) They were wrong. They received a rude shock. But America definitely was. By the Grace of God, or by courtesy of the trouble in the triangle, it now had the A Bomb which had been proposed and built with the aim of knocking out the

scourge before he could complete his 'Final Solution.' Unprecedented power and authority lay within its hands. It was the New Israel which had been blessed with the opportunity to reach for the pinnacle of world authority. It had done so, and the world was expected to recognize that: "*We've made it!*" The trouble was, it was already hell-bent on misusing that authority.

Volume III

Part 6

FIFTY WASTED YEARS: TWIN PARODIES POINT THE WAY AHEAD

CHAPTER 28

Here comes the Messianic Age !

“One of the greatest duties of the Jewish people is the attempt to enter the promised land, not by means of the conquest of Joshua, but through peaceful and cultural means.” With that statement in a speech at the Hebrew University in 1929 Judah Magnes reflected the passionately held belief of many ordinary Jews throughout the world, both religious and non-religious. Similarly, he reflected their personal aspirations when he wrote about immigration, settlement on the land and Hebrew life and culture. “If you can guarantee these for me, [he wrote] I should be willing to yield the Jewish ‘state’ and the Jewish ‘majority...’ Palestine can help this [Jewish] People perform its great ethical mission as a national-international entity. But this eternal and far flung People does not need a Jewish State for the purpose of maintaining its very existence. ... Much of the theory of Zionism has been concerned with making the Jews into a ‘normal’ nation in Palestine.”¹

And yet much that the Zionist community, world wide, had done to bring about the establishment of their Jewish State was anything but ‘peaceful and cultural’. An easy transition from an environment of rabid anti-Semitism and carefully orchestrated oppression, with constant fear, pain and sorrow in Europe, to a bountiful and self governing utopia in the Promised Land which Theodor Herzl had portrayed in *The Jewish State* had proved to be an illusion. There had been bitter resistance from the greater proportion of the Christian church, a total breakdown in relations with the Arab world, increased anti-Semitism culminating in the Holocaust, the collapse of the British mandate in very acrimonious circumstances, and the use of terrorist tactics by some units of the Zionist defence forces as violent as those to which the Jews of Europe had been accustomed. Finally there was an enormous struggle to raise sufficient support in the United Nations to force through a vote to partition Palestine in order to establish the State of Israel. That struggle had required the support of the United States in a systematic program of political and economic coercion against the smaller member states of the United Nations which has already been discussed. (Chapter 27: *A different kind of gentle persuasion*) This led progressively to a relationship of interdependence between Israel and the United States which is unique in world history, which can be characterized as ‘the US-Israel Alliance.’ It continues to play a determining role in world affairs. Subsequently the politics of survival, consolidation and expansion have involved Israel in policies and programs just as harsh and oppressive as those under which the Jewish community suffered prior to the Holocaust. The conduct of the State of Israel has become a parody on Herzl’s *The Jewish State* in much the

same way that *Mein Kampf* was a parody on the amorphous gel of Western Christianity, and this serves to illustrate further the nature of the trouble in the triangle.

However much of that still lay ahead at four o'clock on the afternoon of Friday, May 14, 1948, when David Ben Gurion rose to address two hundred specially invited guests in the Tel Aviv Museum eight hours before the British mandate was officially due to end. He could not wait until midnight to proclaim the establishment of the State of Israel because Orthodox Jewish religious law forbade any activity or functions on the Sabbath, and he feared the consequences of deferring the declaration to a later date. From the point of view of on-site practicalities, bringing the declaration forward a few hours probably didn't make much difference. There was already a power vacuum in Palestine because the British High Commissioner, Sir Alan Cunningham, his staff and the remaining British forces had begun vacating their quarters – begun their evacuation might be more appropriate – before sunrise that morning only a few hours after Sir Alan had broadcast a farewell speech at 9 pm on the 13th.²

One of the last pre-departure actions of one British staff officer was to ceremonially deliver a key to the Zion Gate into the Old City of Jerusalem to Rabbi Weingarten, the senior Jewish citizen in the Jewish Quarter. It was a symbolic gesture of good will, probably prompted by the pro-Israeli sympathies of the High Commissioner, which the officer is said to have marked with the statement: "From the year AD 70 until today a key to the gates of Jerusalem has never been in Jewish hands. This is the first time in eighteen centuries that your people have been so privileged."³ It is doubtful whether the officer realized the irony in his action and his remark. He may have intended his action to be what many Jews were looking for: a symbolic gesture of Divine Deliverance. On the other hand he may have been giving the departure ceremony political overtones, implying that Britain had made good its *Balfour Declaration*. But as a representative of the Defender of the (English version of the Christian) Faith he was placing a key to the city of profound importance to the people of each of the three Abrahamic messianic faiths in the hands of a person of one of the competing faiths which Britain had sought to manipulate for its own ends through the *Balfour Declaration*. It was the city which Pope Pius XI had denigrated when he announced the Lateran Treaty and his sovereignty over Vatican City in 1929. (Chapter 17) It was also the city which his successor, Pius XII, had been considering as an alternative base for the Vatican when there was a distinct possibility that a Communist government may be elected in Italy and revoke the Lateran Treaty. (Chapter 27: *The Vatican's interest in Jerusalem*) Britain was not officially, or in fact, handing the city into the control of the Jewish community and to have done so would have been quite contradictory of the policy of the government at that time. By decision of the United Nations, and in a bid to make an unworkable situation workable, the city was *not* to be controlled by the people of any one religious or ethnic community. It was to be an international zone administered, provisionally, by a UN Commissioner. The key ought therefore have been handed to that body. But when war determined the fate of the old city it actually came under Jordanian control and the Zion Gate did not provide access directly to and from Israel but through the demilitarized zone, commonly called 'No man's land'. As the little ceremony took place bitter battles were being fought

between the Jewish and Palestinian Arab communities for control of Jerusalem and the city had been under siege for some time, Arab armies were poised around the borders of Palestine ready to begin an invasion next morning, Golda Meyerson (Meir) had conducted an astonishingly successful fund raising tour of the United States, and other emissaries of the Jewish Agency were in Europe and the US pressing for the best bargains they could achieve in arms purchases which they hoped would make the ceremony of the key a prelude to reality.⁴

However politicking and disagreement about if and when the Zionists should declare the establishment of a Jewish State or whether they should accept an American sponsored truce to allow more time for negotiation on the future of Palestine had delayed their decision until a mere two days before the declaration was issued. The function was therefore organized at very short notice and Ben Gurion read the declaration from a typed sheet stapled to the parchment scroll which was being prepared as the official document. A meeting of the Council of Thirteen, the supreme body which had been constituted to succeed the Jewish Agency Executive and to act as a provisional government in the event that a state was proclaimed, had been held in Tel Aviv on May 12. The basic question to be decided was whether to accept the US-sponsored proposal for a truce which was then being debated in the UN General Assembly or to proceed with the proclamation of a state. There was a real prospect that if a truce was accepted Palestine would simply fall under US trusteeship in place of the British mandate and that a Jewish state might never be proclaimed. But against that there were the alternative prospects of *either* a breakthrough in negotiations towards peace and a better level of understanding, *or* a pause which would enable the Zionists to import more arms and thus have a better chance of success in a war with the Arabs. With only ten of the thirteen members of the council present the motion to accept the truce proposal was lost when only four members supported it.⁵ The consequential questions of whether to proclaim boundaries to the new state, what it should be named, and when to make the proclamation were then dealt with.

Some members favoured recognizing and proclaiming the borders contained in the United Nations resolution, but Ben Gurion opposed this. He said that while the Jews had been prepared to accept those proposed borders, with many reservations, the Arabs had not and therefore, in his view, they had forfeited the right to a partition plan. He was confident of victory in the war which lay ahead and he wanted 'practical' borders based on either the territory which the Jews then controlled or those which might be gained from war. His view prevailed. On the choice of the name for the new state – Zion, Israel, the State of the Jews or The Jewish State ⁶ – Ben Gurion's view again prevailed. But on the timing of the proclamation it did not. An Orthodox participant insisted that as the time for the end of the British mandate, midnight Friday/Saturday, fell in the middle of the Sabbath the latest time at which the proclamation ceremony could begin – if it were to take effect immediately the British mandate was terminated – would be 4 pm on Friday afternoon. That was agreed.⁷

Orthodox Jewish religious belief had determined the time for the proclamation of the Jewish State and it would have a dominant and dramatic influence on the laws of the nation as time passed, but it was Zionist philosophy rather than the tenets of Judaism which had powered the

juggernaut towards immediate recognition of the new state and which would determine its attitude to international affairs and the politics and actions of survival. This is illustrated by Collins and Lapierre's description of the guests invited to the ceremony. "The backgrounds of those men were as diverse as the race they represented. ... They were bound together by a common faith, Zionism, a common heritage, Jewish history, and a common curse, persecution."

⁸ It is noteworthy that Zionism came first and was elevated to the status of their faith. Judaism came second as an aspect of their common heritage, and the diverse supporters of both were, together, identified as a race, regardless of the fact that the racial connection between Judaism and its adherents had been eliminated by two factors, proselytizing in North Africa, the Near East and Europe, and the adoption of Judaism in kingdoms of totally dissimilar backgrounds by the personal choice of rulers. (Chapters 5 & 8.)

ISRAEL: THE CENTRAL FACT OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

That description by Collins and Lapierre is well justified in view of the declaration drafted and read by Ben Gurion in Tel Aviv that afternoon. It contained a minimum of references to religion either as the basis of the new state or to indicate the religious significance of the event which it marked. This is remarkable considering that the event – the establishment of the State of Israel – was the central fact of the Christian Era. It was, and is, the central fact of the Christian Era for several reasons. It elevated Judaism, from which Christianity arose, and the Jewish State to centre stage in world affairs and in doing so established the circumstances which would, in due course, require the church to reassess its fundamental theology and its self understanding in collaboration with Jews and Muslims whether it wishes to or not. The church cannot avoid that reassessment.

As we have seen, the establishment of the State of Israel happened as a consequence of policies adopted and actions taken by the Western Christian nations which were linked to their long-standing Christian self-understanding and in which they took full advantage of that self-understanding in pursuing their own and the church's loudly proclaimed divine obligations. In addition, while the Christian church had maintained that by divine decision the event simply could not and would not happen, and while the Jewish community at large saw it as a matter of divine prerogative and an indication of the impending arrival of the Messianic Age, it represented the convergence of prophetic expectations generated within both Judaism and Islam (the validity of *both* of which the church disputed) and in so doing it clearly implied divine influence, intervention or authority on the path towards a foreshadowed outcome. To argue that the establishment of the State of Israel is purely a matter of earthly coincidence or human effort and that it therefore had nothing to do with divine intervention is, at best, to admit that the church did not know what it was talking about and that it could not influence the outcome anyway. At worst it is a denial of its long held belief and vigorously pressed claim that the fate of Israel (never to be restored) and the fate of the Jews (to remain in abject dispersion) were matters of divine decision. To illustrate this we have only to recall the pronouncement by

Osservatore Romano in support of Pope Benedict's bid to gain international support for the disallowance of Britain's plans for Palestine at the time of the Peace Conferences, in 1919. [See above, chapter 17, p. 31R.] *Osservatore Romano* stated that *the Jews had been dispersed by divine decree and would return to Palestine only after they had converted to Christianity*. It continued: "*The salvation of Israel will arrive when all the nations open their souls to the hope of the Kingdom of God. ... (But) even when East and West fully join the Catholic Church and the Jews accept Christianity, there will still be no assurance that the Jewish nation will rise again.*"⁹ If the church denies the validity of such pronouncements over a very long period, or admits that it was wrong and says that it merely made a mistake, then it has admitted to losing, or to never having had, the divine authority and absolute knowledge on which it has based its claims – both theological and political. In that case its entire doctrinal basis is undermined, beginning with the Doctrine of the Trinity, so that it must start all over again and admit that its claims have no more validity than those of any of the faiths which it has so strenuously denigrated.

However, of even greater significance, the establishment of the State of Israel is consistent with two things, both of which, according to the church, had no validity. The first was the Covenant of Sinai. The second was the Qur'anic prophecy of the Night Journey. As already noted (chapter 6) the New Covenant proclaimed through the life of Jesus of Nazareth did not in any way invalidate the *permanence* of the Covenant of Sinai. Christ simply conveyed an additional covenant to the same community which had been party to the Covenant of Sinai. That covenant was a complex of appointment or status, by virtue of being chosen; responsibility within a special role; protection; judgement and subjection to penalty; permanence; *and* recovery or rehabilitation. Permanence, coupled with a penal aspect which did *not* mean the end of the covenant, clearly points to recovery or rehabilitation. The church had long denied both the permanence and the possibility of rehabilitation – except that it saw a permanent status of rejection and degradation. And, as also noted in that chapter, while the Qur'anic prophesy of the Night Journey carried a penal aspect in the event of transgression, that was only one aspect of Israel's relationship with God and it in no way affected the permanence of the covenant relationship.

The multiple aspects of the covenant relationship indicated by the Night Journey can be summarised in these points.

First: humanity is still in a stage of social or communal evolution, and the Jewish community was predestined to act as the focus – or a 'lightning conductor' – for divine intervention in the event that the dominant power or powers of the time – at any future point – would act in a manner which justified such divine intervention.

Such acts by the dominant powers would be contrary to the spirit of the Gospels and, basically, that means oppressing or exploiting other peoples. The intervention would have two basis aspects. One would be judgement and discipline or retribution. The other would be to protect, establish or re-establish the human rights of the oppressed or exploited peoples. Such

interaction would progressively lead humanity towards stable, harmonious relations in such a manner that all humanity is enabled to understand, and to act according to its relationship with God. Human rights, in the context of this interaction, means the relationships, support and interpersonal conduct, including access to the basic requirements of life, which are illustrated by either the Hebrew (or Mosaic) law, the Gospels, or the Qur'an, all of which are in the same spirit and are essential vehicles for, or components of, the revelation of Divine Will. Jesus, and those whose work contributed to the New Testament, built on the Hebrew Bible in its entirety. Muhammad, and those whose work contributed to the Qur'an, built on both the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament. None stands on its own. They were never intended to. They are progressive and interlocking. They cannot be adequately understood in isolation.

Second: as a community of faith they were to be – and are still to be – a body or an instrument, or a trigger, through which the continuity and the nature of Divine Law could be demonstrated for all humanity to see and to understand, without there being rigid rules of conduct or restrictions imposed on humanity which would contradict the God-given human capacity and opportunity to make value judgements and decisions, and to act in total free will.

Third: the Jewish community may, in due course, lose its patience with the consequences of being the focal point or the target for other people's misconduct – the suffering and distress caused by it – or lose its confidence in God to protect them. In that event it may respond to the oppressive pressure of the dominant community in self-defence or out of self-interest. In doing so, it may, itself, transgress against its neighbours.

If such transgression occurs, but only if it occurs, the fourth aspect or 'penal clause' of the prophecy would come into effect.

Fifth : the penal clause is an integral aspect of the Covenant, not an end in itself, and, as the words which Moses attributed to God indicate, divine punishment is a phase which does not affect the permanence of the Covenant of Sinai. The Jewish community is still bound in its special relationship with God in the terms of the Covenant as the community through which humanity will be enabled to better understand its relationship with God and to experience the Messianic Age in terms of Maimonides' understanding.

The expression 'through which' is vital to an understanding of this aspect of the covenant. Not every enabling action has been, or necessarily will be, a positive action on the part of the Jewish community. Any such action, or combination of actions, taken within the totality of the Abrahamic community is, in effect, an action *flowing through* the same community because of the integrated nature of the triangle and the origins of both Christianity and Islam within the context of Judaism. All three are streams of the same faith: Yahwism.

The events leading up to the return of the Jewish community to Palestine illustrate each of those aspects of the Covenant relationship.

The 'lightning conductor' role of the community is illustrated by the way in which the misconduct of the amorphous Christian gel which was directed at it built towards a peak concurrently with the European Colonial Era.

The Dreyfus Affair (chapter 15) was the aspect of misconduct by the amorphous Christian gel which finally caused the community to lose its patience and its confidence in God and to establish the World Zionist Organization which became the instrument of transgression against its Arab neighbours in Palestine. (Chapters 16 ff.)

The 'penal clause' following transgression is illustrated by Hitler's attempted 'Final Solution.' That was the climax of the parody which was *Mein Kampf*: the parody the church's self-understanding and the conduct of the amorphous Christian gel. Hitler had said repeatedly that *he* would put into effect the program which the church talked a lot about but failed to put into effect. In doing so he acted out the role of the Scourge of the prophecy of the Night Journey, but the church was unable to recognize it because of its arrogant self-misunderstanding and the constraints of the web of doctrine and dogma which it had woven around itself.

The 'trigger' for the demonstration of Divine intervention and for movements towards the realization of Divine Will is illustrated by two things. The first is the way in which the Jewish community became the focal point for the Second World War which, due to reaction against the conduct of the Western powers, brought the *imperial phase* of the colonial era to an end. The second is the way in which it was also the trigger for a resurgence of Muslim self-understanding, self-esteem and cohesion which had taken a battering under the impact of the amorphous Christian gel during the Colonial Era. As we have already seen, the Muslim community and its faith had already been written off by the church-at-large, especially after the successful elimination of the Ottoman Empire as a consequence of the First World War and the subsequent dissolution of the Sultanate by Ataturk. The proclamation of the State of Israel triggered a renaissance in both Hebrew scholarship and Islamic scholarship and a recovery in Muslim business enterprise. This means that, overall, it triggered a reshaping of the triangle in such a manner that the church can no longer deny its reality and its importance. As with other influences which have been noted, and especially the fact that the 'penal clause' was not the be-all-and-end-all of the covenant relationship, the renaissance in Islam was not an end in itself either. It is simply one more phase in a never-ending process.

The permanence of the covenant relationship is illustrated by the way in which the Jewish community, represented by the State of Israel, continues to be the focal point *of* crises and *for* crises which will determine the future course of world relationships and events.

However we are still waiting to see the full flowering of the final aspect: leadership in the move towards a better understanding of humanity's relationship with God. By its corporate conduct the State of Israel has become a parody of Herzl's *Der Judenstaat* in the same way in which *Mein Kampf* was a parody of the church.

ROUGH ROAD TO THE MESSIANIC AGE

Fortunately there are clear indications that we can anticipate a continuing renaissance of Jewish scholarship and faith, and that (in the same way that it became a lighting conductor for the effects of the misconduct of the amorphous Christian gel) in responding to renewed awareness

of the Covenant and divine inspiration, the Jewish community will become a catalyst to enable humanity to move towards a better understanding of its relationship with God and its responsibilities. That being the case, in due course humanity *will* experience the Messianic Age in terms of Maimonides' understanding. However there are also ample signs of a rough road ahead before we reach that point. That is why the people of all three faiths must move quickly to understand the nature of the trouble in the triangle, even though, because of the issues involved in the development of its self-understanding and the conduct of the amorphous Christian gel, the greatest responsibility rests on the church. There is no point in sitting back and waiting for illustrations of divine intervention accompanied by fearsome supernatural phenomena such as Moses' experience of the burning bush and his call to bring the sons of Israel out of Egypt. (Exodus 3) Nor the experience of divine proclamation of the Covenant on Mount Sinai (Exodus 19); the Disciples' experience of the Transfiguration (Matthew 17); Pentecost (Acts 2); Muhammad's Night Journey, or Thomas Aquinas' experience on the journey to Lyons which he was never to complete. (Chapter 8) It can be recognized in the affairs of humanity through the trauma, the tragedy and the triumph of human relations as the trouble in the triangle moves inexorably towards a climax.

The proclamation of the Jewish State was therefore even more central to the Christian Era than the life and ministry of the Prophet Muhammad through whom Islam was established and the triangle of Abrahamic Messianic faiths was complete. The proclamation of the Jewish State brought the three faiths into a relationship which they had never before experienced. It was therefore a remarkable opportunity for theologians or historians of religion to make a considered statement about the relationships between the three Semitic Messianic faiths and about how the world had stumbled into the complex situation which resulted in the establishment of the State of Israel. Such a statement could have changed the course of the trouble in the triangle, precipitated the reassessment of messianic theology and interfaith relationships which continues to become more urgent, and ushered in a new self-understanding on the part of the institutional church instead of a long period of defensiveness and the steady decline in its influence. Regrettably that opportunity was lost. Certainly there was another opportunity pending, because 351 delegates who would represent 147 independent churches from forty four countries at the formative assembly of the World Council of Churches were preparing for debates which would determine the course of the ecumenical movement – and define the self-understanding of the world's Protestant churches – in Amsterdam just three months later.

Those 351 people were struggling with a mass of papers based on the theme "Man's Disorder and God's Design". Their starting point was the statement that the church is "to place the efforts at world reconstruction in a totally different perspective by announcing the stupendous fact that God Himself is at work rebuilding His own order amid the disorder of man." They had been bluntly reminded by the Provisional Committee of the Council some months earlier that "the Churches of Christ have failed in preventing man's disorder" and that therefore "our first and deepest need is not new organization, but *the renewal, or rather the rebirth*, of the actual

churches.”¹⁰ [Emphasis added.] It was a remarkable honest, self-deprecating and insightful appreciation of the situation, even prescient, and it demonstrated humility which was quite rare in the history of the church. It was uplifting. It was pregnant with possibilities and it augured well for a new understanding of the role of the church. But, as was to be expected, there were those who saw it as being way out in front. Too far in front. Out of touch with the mainstream church. Distinctly revolutionary. Influenced by the trauma of the war and reacting in much the same manner as the International Missionary Council when it met in Jerusalem – among a lot of Muslims and Jews – twenty years earlier. (Chapter 17) They would try to rein it in, in due course. Restrain the dynamics. Put the emphasis on personal salvation. ‘The church’ should not try to reshape the world. Not the Reformed churches, anyway. They should leave that to the Vatican. It was doing very well since the pope embraced Western Democratic Capitalism. (Chapter 25, *Another change of heart*, and chapter 27, *Temporal Authority, the Lateran Treaty and civil government*.)

ONE RETURN: MANY UNDERSTANDINGS

For reasons which we shall consider shortly, every group involved in the crises leading to the establishment of the State of Israel was compromised by its role in the crises, or deeply divided, or both, and no one who really cared could shout loud enough to be heard. It has been said that the use of a few religious expressions in the Israeli declaration of the establishment of a modern, democratic and secular state was a sop to the feelings of religious Jews. But on the other hand it has also been seen as “a sincere declaration of religious faith, whether or not a faith subscribed to by all the signatories.”¹¹ However when we use English language translations to consider the meaning or intention of the declaration we have just as great a problem as when we consider the meaning of passages from the Qur’an, such as the *Night Journey*, discussed in chapter six, or the New Testament *Revelation of John*. Three translations of the declaration consulted for this book show significant differences in the use of terms and therefore in the meaning of key passages. They even use different titles for the same document.

In the first translation, used by Laqueur and Rubin in the *Israel-Arab Reader* ¹² under the title ‘*State of Israel Proclamation of Independence*’ the proclamation opens with the words: “The Land of Israel was the *birthplace* of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious and national *identity* was formed. Here they achieved independence and created a *culture* of national and universal significance. Here *they wrote and gave the Bible* to the world.” There is no reference to God, or divine will, or to a Jewish understanding of a universal *role* for the State of Israel. Indeed there is no reference to the constitution having any basis in *religious faith*. The only reference to faith as such is that the Jewish people, “Exiled from the Land of Israel ... remained faithful to *it* in all the countries of their dispersion, never ceasing to pray and hope for their return and the restoration of their *national freedom*.” It refers to Jews striving through the centuries “to go back to the land of their fathers and regain their statehood”; to Herzl and the First Zionist Congress; the *Balfour Declaration*; the Holocaust and efforts by survivors to reach

Erezt-Yisrael; and the United Nations resolution “requiring the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine” which it described as an “unassailable” right. It then formally proclaims “the establishment of *the Jewish State in Palestine*, to be called Medinath Yisrael (The State of Israel)”, sets out the principles of equality on which the state will be based, appeals for the support of the United Nations and admission “into the family of nations”, invites Arab cooperation for the common good, and calls for the Jewish people all over the world “to rally to our side in the task of immigration and development, and to stand by us in the great struggle for the fulfilment of the dream of generations for the *redemption of Israel*.”

The use of the very ambiguous expression ‘the redemption of Israel’ is a transparent bid to woo people of many persuasions, because it can be interpreted in several ways. It can be read as a reference to the saving of the Jewish people from exile and oppression; the salvation of the people with the coming of the Messiah and the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth; the advance of modern society towards greater freedom, tolerance and social justice; or as the return of the Jewish people to its homeland.¹³ The proclamation closes with the statement that: “With trust in the *Rock of Israel*, we set our hands to this *Declaration*, at this Session of the Provisional State Council, on the soil of the Homeland ...”

The second translation, in *Critical Documents of Jewish History* by Isaacs and Olitzky uses the title ‘*The Declaration of the Establishment of the State of Israel 1948*’¹⁴ and in the same vein there is no reference to God, or divine will, or to a Jewish understanding of a universal role for the State of Israel, or to the constitution having any basis in *religious faith*. The reference to the faith and hope of the Jewish people includes the notion of their being exiled *by force*, and has a changed emphasis in that they “kept faith *with their Land* in all the countries of their dispersion, steadfast in their prayer and hope to return and here revive their *political* freedom.” However both translations bear a close resemblance to the terminology used in various pre-messianic cultures or so-called ‘primitive’ religions such as that of the Australian Aborigines which have become the focus of controversy between occupying western governments acting on behalf of resource extractive corporations, and indigenous peoples struggling to gain recognition for their legitimate rights. In the circumstances of 1948 it was a reversion of convenience for those supporting the establishment of the State of Israel in spite of the rights of other people. We shall come to it again, in due course.

Similarly, the only reference to a religious basis for the establishment of the State of Israel in both translations is the clause that the State of Israel “will be based on [rest upon] the foundations of liberty, justice and peace as conceived [envisioned] by the Prophets of Israel ...” Even the way in which the term ‘Prophets of Israel’ is used is ambiguous so that it could be read to either include or exclude Maimonides and later Jewish writers of the Christian Era of, say, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, according to the reader’s perspective. Again, in the second translation the preparation of the Holy Scriptures is attributed to human effort with no suggestion of Divine Inspiration, but there is a change in emphasis: “In the Land of Israel the Jewish people *came into being*. In this land was shaped their spiritual, religious and national *character*. Here they lived in sovereign independence. Here *they created* a culture of national

and universal import, and *gave to the world the eternal Book of Books.*” The declaration then concluded with a similar statement calling on “Jewish people throughout the Diaspora ... to be at our right hand in the great endeavour to fulfill the age-old longing for the redemption of Israel”, and the clause “*With Trust in the Rock of Israel*, we set our hands [in witness] to this *Proclamation*, at this session of the Provisional Council of State, on the soil of the homeland ...”

However in the third translation, quoted by Jacobs in *The Jewish Religion* under the title ‘*The Declaration of Independence of the State of Israel*’,¹⁵ some distinctly different terms are used which have the effect of increasing the religiosity of the declaration and the universality of Jewish influence, and which impute a reference to God as well. The key difference is that the expression “Placing our trust in the *Almighty* ...” is used in the conclusion in place of “With Trust in the Rock of Israel ...” But in addition the term “*Eretz-Israel*” is used in the reference to the birthplace of the Jewish people and in some other instances. In particular it is used in a reference to the UN resolution on the partition of Palestine, thus: “On 29 November 1947, the United Nations General Assembly passed a resolution calling for the establishment of a Jewish State in Eretz-Israel; the General Assembly required the inhabitants of Eretz-Israel to take such steps as were necessary on their part for the implementation of that resolution.” The use of the term ‘Eretz-Israel’ (and to a lesser extent the use of the term ‘Land of Israel’ in the second translation) is in clear conflict with the UN resolution as set out by Laqueur and Rubin¹⁶ in which the term ‘Palestine’ is used consistently, coinciding with both the terminology and the boundaries of the mandate.

Furthermore the use of the term ‘Eretz-Israel’, although it has Biblical and therefore religious connotations, is quite inappropriate and quite misleading because it refers to a concept for which there is no consistent, formally or generally agreed definition. It also implies historical possession of the land in a sense in which any other people are present only under sufferance and with no legal rights. It has been used in a variety of circumstances to refer to either the entire region occupied by Israelites at some time during the pre-Christian era, the restricted area of the Biblical Northern Kingdom, or the territory nominated in the Biblical promise to the people of Israel.¹⁷ Since the rise of Zionism the term has also been used in the manner of an ambit claim for territory for the State of Israel, the most notable of which were Herzl’s idea of *Altneuland*, and the term has also been loosely applied to the proposal made by the Zionist Organization for a Jewish National Home in Palestine during League of Nations mandate negotiations in 1919. Herzl’s *Altneuland* incorporated territory bounded on the west by the Mediterranean, from Beirut to the Euphrates, Palestine, the Transjordan and Sinai, thus taking in parts of modern day Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Jordan and Egypt.¹⁸

Herzl took as the basis of his proposal the concept recorded in both the Abrahamic Covenant and the Covenant of Sinai which came into effect during the reign of King Solomon. Genesis 15:18–21 reads;

HERE COMES THE MESSIANIC AGE !

That day Yahweh made a Covenant with Abram [the patriarch's original name] in these terms: 'To your descendants I give this land, from the Wadi of Egypt to the Great River, the river Euphrates, the Kenites, the Kenizzites, the Kadmonites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Rephaim, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Girgashites, and the Jebusites.'

That promise was followed, as we have seen, by a comprehensive set of conditions and qualifications, notably, Genesis 17:9; "God said to Abraham, [his name having been changed by divine decree] 'You on your part shall maintain my Covenant, yourself and your descendants after you, generation after generation.'

Exodus 23:31–33 reads;

"For your frontiers I shall fix the Sea of Reeds and the Philistine Sea, the desert and the river; yes I shall deliver the inhabitants of the country into your hands, and you will drive them out before you. You must make no pact with them or with their gods. They must not live in your country or they will make you sin against me; you would come to worship their gods, and that would be a snare from you indeed."

However those verses are preceded, in verses 23:27–30, by:

"I shall spread panic ahead of you; I shall throw into confusion all the people you encounter; I shall make all your enemies turn and run from you. I shall send hornets in front of you to drive Hivite and Canaanite and Hittite from your presence. I shall not drive them out before you in a single year, or the land would become a desert where, to your cost, the wild beasts would multiply. Little by little I will drive them out before you until your numbers grow and you come into possession of the land."

There was no suggestion that they were to occupy that territory by warfare. The worshippers of idols would vacate it circumstantially so that it would become a base for the establishment of the community through whom all of humanity would progressively be enabled to understand their relationship with God. In due course, as recorded in Kings 5:1; "Solomon extended his power over all the kingdoms from the river to the land of the Philistines and the Egyptian border. They brought tribute and served him all his life long." That tribute-paying relationship indicates that while Abraham's successors did exercise control over – even if not govern – the whole region for a time, that control was contrary to the Covenant which required that they *not* make pacts with pagans. In due course a proportion of the community did revert to, or take up, idol worship and defiantly flaunt the Covenant during the period which led up to the Babylonian exile in the eighth century BCE. But it is not necessary, here, to explore the implications of a totally exclusive covenant area, or the manner in which the Jewish community might have progressively extended its influence and fulfilled its role (of enabling all humanity to better understand its relationship with God) if a different approach had been taken to the expansion and consolidation of the kingdom.

However, the circumstances during that era, covering the thirteenth to the tenth centuries BCE, were quite different to those in which the Zionist Organization was planning to "return" to it or to occupy it by coercion in the twentieth century CE. The people who were then settled

there were, virtually totally, from one or other of the monotheist faiths, and mainly Muslim's whose belief in the unity and absolute authority of God is beyond question. The Zionist Organization's proposal was either less ambitious than the 'ambit claim' of its founder, Herzl, or it was restrained by contemporary political, and diplomatic considerations. However it still included territory to the north of the eventual mandate boundary, as far as Sidon in Lebanon, and the land known as the East Bank, between the River Jordan and the Hejaz railway from Damascus through Amman to Maan.¹⁹ It does *not* appear to have been influenced by the fact that monotheists from Judaism's daughter faiths were settled in place of idol worshippers. Thus the use of the term Eretz-Israel implied a continuing Zionist intention to achieve territorial expansion and it aggravated fears among the Palestinians and Arabs in countries adjoining Palestine that they were in danger of another round of imperialism and subjugation.

ONE PROCLAMATION: A RANGE OF INTERPRETATIONS

The selective and at times ambiguous use of words in some translations of the proclamation by the Council of Thirteen suggest that there was a definite attempt by both the drafters – that means, essentially, David Ben Gurion – and the translators to represent the declaration as one of religious significance without weakening its impact as an overwhelmingly political statement. The formation of Jewish nationalism and nationhood, the "creation" of its culture and the writing of the Bible was quite deliberately credited to human effort without any recognition of Divine intervention or inspiration, and any reference to religious faith as the basis of the constitution of the new nation was studiously avoided. This appears to have been done to avoid exposing and aggravating the deep divisions within the Jewish religious community over the question of the desirability of Jews returning to Palestine and their right to re-establish a state of Israel except by divine intervention, as they perceived it, and whether the course of events leading to the establishment of the State of Israel could be construed as the result of such divine intervention. Similarly it concealed the conflict between the wings or streams of the Zionist movement over basically the same issue – whether restoration or redemption could be orchestrated by man or should be left to divine determination.

The declaration was drafted with heavy emphasis on political rights, self determination and independence for the oppressed Jewish minority in language calculated to appeal to the emotions of Americans. In fact the expression a 'Proclamation of Independence' which implies breaking away from an existing sovereign power in the manner of the Americans was not especially appropriate in the circumstances because the United Nations had already agreed to the establishment of a Jewish State, there was no unanimity within the worldwide Jewish community on the need for an independent Jewish state, and the real dispute was between the Zionists and their neighbours, *not* the international authority. But the term 'independence' was exploited with skill, building on Herzl's vision of a Jewish State and the right to national restoration on the land which their forebears had previously occupied, taking full advantage of the American proposals to either establish a trusteeship as a temporary measure to defuse the

crisis or to appoint a UN Commissioner for Palestine to mediate between the parties and to “promote agreement on the future government of Palestine”.²⁰ And more pressure was applied to the world community to accept the declaration by the reference to the notorious *Balfour Declaration*. In spite of the fact that sections of the Zionist Movement had mounted a “hate Britain” campaign between 1945 and 1948 in order to gain cohesion among Jewish organizations in America²¹, Britain was reminded that it had initiated the move to establish a Jewish national homeland and that it therefore had a responsibility to support the event now that it was occurring.

However the rest of the world was expected to take note of it as if that 1917 action by Britain, the bastion of Western Christian civilization, had been the pinnacle of selfless intervention, providing the ultimate seal of respectability – instead of being the classic case of international political manipulation. That was the sentiment implicit in the statement by the British officer who handed a key to the Zion gate to Rabbi Weingarten. Two could play the same game. That reference was supposed to acknowledge the *right of national restoration* – a term which was not used in the *Balfour Declaration* – which was then confirmed by the League of Nations in its mandate decision which “accorded international validity to the historical connection between the Jewish people and the land of Israel, and to their right to re-establish their National Home.”²² (The clause “...recognition has thereby been given to the historical connexion of the Jewish people with *Palestine* and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home *in* that country; ...” was actually used in the preamble to the articles of the mandate. ²³)

There was also heavy emphasis on race as a major issue in the establishment of the state, with the term ‘race’ juggled and used in two ways: to define Jewishness as a racial and not a religious factor, while acknowledging the *diversity* of races within the religious community. Clearly, if the guilt complexes of the Christian West were to be harnessed most effectively and if its consequent sympathy was to be maintained, the Holocaust had to be portrayed as a matter of racial and not religious prejudice. The Holocaust was also said to “prove beyond doubt” or “to prove anew” the compelling need to solve the problem of Jewish ‘homelessness’. This was a distinct shift in emphasis from the Zionist response to Arab charges only nine months earlier when the UNSCOP recommendations were published and, having decided to accept the majority recommendation as the minimum basis on which they would surrender their claims to the balance of Palestine, they lobbied with great vigour for its adoption. At that time they said that their movement and its program neither began with the war, nor derived their legitimacy from the Holocaust.²⁴

In any case, the “proof” of their claim was not sustainable because the environment had become progressively more favourable for the remnant Jewish population of 226,000 (about 27 per cent of the 826,000 displaced persons rescued from the Nazi concentration and death camps) to be re-settled *either* in the countries which had been their homes before their incarceration, or elsewhere.²⁵ The Zionist Movement had strenuously resisted British proposals to facilitate re-settlement in Europe, branding them “a fresh betrayal” to which they would

never submit.²⁶ It also exerted strong pressure on the displaced persons for them to apply to go to Palestine, and resisted the opportunity for greatly expanded admission of displaced persons into the United States until after the State of Israel had come into being.²⁷ After that aim had been achieved people were more free to make their own choice. In the same vein, references to the role of the Jewish community, and especially its armed forces during the Second World War were designed to exploit the Allies' inability to debate their motives and war aims, and to establish that the Jewish community had championed freedom and peace against the forces of Nazi evil, rather than being the *focal point* of that evil.

But neither was there any mention of "the Jewish Question" or Jewish-Christian relations and Christian self-understanding which had been the root cause of the evil of the Holocaust and the 'homelessness'. Any direct or implied criticism of the Christian church would have been very counterproductive. In fact the statement of ethical and moral principles of liberty, justice and peace on which the new state was to be run, with a guarantee of social and political freedom and equality for people of all religions within the new state, and an undertaking to safeguard the holy places of all religions, appears to have been drafted primarily with the church in mind, and with a dual purpose. Firstly, it was a bid to placate the church and show that it need not worry about the safety of its people or the security of any of its secondary assets. But secondly, consistent with Zionist efforts to deprecate and reject Muslim claims to Jerusalem on religious grounds, it was also a bid to minimize Christian support for the Arab cause which might flow from international acceptance of the special Muslim interest in Jerusalem by indicating that Islam's holy places would be protected as well as those of the church. Zionist leaders were very conscious of the impact of the Muslim presence on the meeting of the International Missionary Conference in Jerusalem in 1928, but they would have been equally conscious of the fact that impetus for the establishment of the International Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews also came from that conference.²⁸ With the World Council of Churches in the process of formation they were eager to avoid any discussion of religious or human rights issues which might encourage closer relations between Christians and Muslims or undermine sympathy for the Jewish cause within the WCC.

So the declaration was read to a carefully selected audience in Tel Aviv and broadcast to the world while President Truman sought to extract maximum political advantage from it and the 32,500 Arab troops arraigned along the borders of the new state prepared to move at dawn. As we have seen, enormous and very successful pressure had been brought to bear on Truman and his administration during the final days of the British mandate in order to tie the United States to the Zionist cause and to ensure that it became Israel's protector, and shock waves reverberated across the United States and through the United Nations at the indecent haste with which the United States bowed to that pressure and prematurely recognized the new state. The members of the United Nations – together with the bulk of the world which had *not* been party to the decision making – waited anxiously to see what the consequences would be.

WORLD SUPPORT?

Immediately battle was joined, the world, and especially the Western World, was flooded with media reports purporting to show that the Arabs, with overwhelming forces, were defying a rightful decision of the United Nations which had the backing of an equally overwhelming majority of its members. According to those reports, and on the basis of such strong world wide support for the new-born State of Israel, the United Nations had a responsibility not only to intervene but to restrain the Arabs and to force them to recognize Israel. Politicians were subjected to enormous pressure to ensure that they supported that line. In fact the 'strong world support' was illusory. The composition and imbalance of the United Nations at the date of its formation has already been discussed. (Chapter 27, *The changing world scene* and note #163.) Between the founding of the UN and the vote to determine the future of Palestine three years later only an additional seven countries had been admitted as members, but one, Siam (Thailand), was ruled ineligible to vote because certain formalities had not been completed correctly, and the other six, raising the total number members to 57, did not greatly change the balance. Four of the new member countries were Asian while only two were European. Twenty years after the Palestine vote, membership had more than doubled, increasing by 66, to 123. During the next 31 years membership increased by a further 65, to the present (year 2000) total of 188.

However an analysis of the voting pattern puts the matter in perspective. The 33 votes cast in favour of partition satisfied the constitutional requirement of two thirds of the votes cast, certainly. But those 33 votes represented only 28 per cent of the population of United Nations member countries (the United Nations community), or only 20 per cent of the total world population. In contrast, the 13 votes cast against partition represented 33 per cent of the UN community, or 24 per cent of the world population. To those must be added the 10 members which abstained and the one member whose vote was not counted. They represented 38 per cent of the UN community or 27 per cent of the world population. Added together, the delegates who *did not* vote in favour of partition represented 72 per cent of the UN community or 52 per cent of the world population. This means that, in broad terms, the people whose delegates *did not* vote for partition, plus those who were not represented in the vote at all, outnumbered those whose delegates actually voted in favour of partition by about four to one. [For further details of the voting pattern see note ²⁹]

But that is far from the full story. If the well-supported reports which were cited in chapter 27, *A different kind of 'gentle persuasion,'* are correct, then two groups of countries were subjected to enormous pressure to change their voting intention from that indicated by their votes in the preliminary (ad hoc committee) vote. The first group included eight countries, said to have been approached by Nelson Rockefeller under pressure from the Zionist Organization or the Council of Thirteen. Of those, five, representing more than four per cent of the UN community, changed to 'Yes' from either 'No' or 'abstain.' They were Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador, Haiti and Nicaragua. The other three, Argentina, Colombia and El Salvador changed from 'No'

to 'Abstain.' If those countries had not changed, the result would have been: 'Yes' 28, 'No' 15, 'abstain' 13, excluded 1. The second group included six countries, said to have been approached by United States civil servants, diplomats or business people. Of those countries, one, Haiti, was approached by both groups, so it cannot be counted twice. Another, Greece, refused to change and voted 'No.' Of the other four countries, two, the Philippines and Liberia which, together, represented less than two per cent of the UN community, voted 'Yes,' while the other two, China and Liberia which, together, represented more than 31 per cent of the UN community, abstained. If those countries had not changed either, the result would have been: 'Yes' 26, 'No' 17, 'abstain' 13 and excluded 1. The vote would have been lost. Partition would not have taken place at that point, and negotiations could have continued under United Nations direction. There would not have been a spontaneous outbreak of harmony but, at least, there would have been a breathing space to allow passions to cool and a bit of reflection.

And still there was another factor. The Cold War and US-Soviet relations. The fact which had brought the Zionist Movement within striking distance of a vote in favour of partition was the unexpected change of attitude by the Soviet Union. That change was attributed to the onset of the Cold War, the Soviet Union's reaction to the Marshall Plan, and its want to harass the United States by re-shaping relations with the countries of the Middle East – especially after what Stalin perceived as US interference in Soviet affairs through the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee (JAC) by encouraging moves for a second Jewish State in the Crimea. (Chapter 27, *Focus on the Middle East*. The JAC was dissolved in November 1948, six months after the proclamation of the State of Israel) The Soviet decision to change its vote on the partition question was already a direct consequence of the trouble in the triangle, so it is appropriate to note both the direct and indirect impact which that decision had on the vote. The *direct* impact was the transfer of three votes from 'No' to 'Yes.' Without that change the result would have been 'Yes' 23, 'No' 20, 'Abstain' 13, making the gap between that vote and the achievement of a two thirds majority of votes cast quite unbridgeable in the few days between the two votes. Therefore the *indirect* impact of the Soviet Union's decision was that it closed the gap to the point at which the Council of Thirteen and the Zionist Movement considered an all-or-nothing effort was worthwhile.

It is reasonable to assume that if the Soviet Union had not changed its voting intention, the Zionist Movement would not have mounted the campaign which it did. The trauma for the two groups of countries would have been avoided and the atmosphere for future negotiations would have been much less poisoned. There were 13 countries involved, and all were non-Western except Greece. They were all in situations of dire need, and it was their needs, their positions of insecurity and their dependence on help from the international community which made them so susceptible to coercion. It was that susceptibility which was exploited by the Zionist Movement and the United States in order to satisfy two things: the Zionist ambition to set up its Jewish homeland at the expense of the Arabs, and the US' want to consolidate its position of political dominance, and to strengthen its grip on worldwide resources. The transgression already discussed at length was being extended and pursued with vigour, and the United States was not

only party to it, it was the facilitator with hidden agendas from which various groups expected to benefit. Furthermore, it had taken a firm grip on the handle of the Jewish community's umbrella which Britain had cast aside. It's politicians were beginning to enjoy the role – actively competing for it – and they would soon find that they were bound to it. They would be unable to let it go or to quit. Addiction to opium would seem easy to quit in comparison. It has been reported, quite widely, that Truman was very unhappy with the tactics which were going to be employed to coerce countries into supporting the partition resolution, and that he instructed that members of the administration were not to be involved. But he had helped to prepare the ground work. Perhaps in the early stages he was just swept along by his political advisers and those who wanted to take full advantage of the resources and strategic potential in what they saw as US political interests and 'security.' That would be consistent with a personal diary entry noted below. But he was soon fully committed to the process, dependent on it for his political survival, and quite incapable of quitting.

NO. A WESTERN CHRISTIAN PHENOMENON?

Looking at people-on-the-ground and not votes in assemblies, it is apparent that without the Soviet change of heart and without the subsequent United States coercion for changes, the population split would have been: 'Yes' 14 per cent of the UN community (10 per cent of the world); 'No' 77 per cent (55 per cent); 'Abstain' 7 per cent (5 per cent); excluded 1 per cent (1 per cent) *plus* the 29 per cent who were not part of the UN community.³⁰ That raises the question: what was the "strong world wide base of support for partition?" The answer is now quite apparent. It lies in the basis of founding membership of the United Nations and the political clout and motives of those who planned it that way: the dominant powers of the white Christian Western world of the amorphous Christian gel. The reluctance of the colonial powers to take decolonization seriously until it was forced upon them, their equal reluctance to admit new members to the United Nations, and their resistance to major economic and social changes which the non-Western world has sought to introduce only serve to reinforce the belief that the United Nations Organization and the organs associated with it – the Bretton Woods Institutions and the World Trade Organization – were proposed and established as instruments to maintain the privileges and dominance of the white Western amorphous Christian gel.

That political philosophy is reflected in the pattern of votes for the partition of Palestine, also. There simply is no evidence for the much-touted "strong world wide support" for partition. It simply did not exist. Even the country which had precipitated the entire crisis by its *Balfour Declaration*, Britain, abstained from voting. Only twenty years earlier, while he was Colonial Secretary, Churchill had boasted about striding through the Middle East setting up states and kingdoms and redrawing boundaries to suit Britain's convenience. Now Truman was aping him. Going down exactly the same path. Manipulating and exploiting other people and their national interests in the apparent interests of the United States. During the previous few years both Roosevelt and Truman had demonstrated very clearly that the United States intended to make

all the major decisions for the world and act concurrently as its director, policeman and judge. (Chapter 26) Now, in the most critical situation possible, Truman was imposing the State of Israel on the world – the central fact of the Christian Era – against the wishes of the vast majority. He was doing it for basically the same motives as Lloyd George had pursued the *Balfour Declaration*, and he had no more idea of the implications and the consequences for his country and the world than Lloyd George had thirty years earlier.

The concept of trouble in the triangle was totally foreign to Truman as it had been for Lloyd George. Whatever his level of personal faith and religious commitment, Truman was against flamboyant shows of religiosity, but he was in the middle of a presidential election campaign which he was not expected to win, and he was proving just as susceptible to religious pressure and just as ready to take advantage of religious interests for political purposes as any of his colleagues or predecessors. He, and the Zionists, were very happy to take advantage of the Western Christian guilt complex over the Holocaust to push along the partition program, to serve their own ends and to salve the communal Christian conscience at the same time, and allow the Arabs to pay the bill. But the rest of the world did not see that it was appropriate to impose another wrong on a different community as a simple way to solve the Christian problem. That is reflected in the voting pattern also. Only six countries outside of the recognized Christian bloc supported partition and all of those had a Christian heritage. Five were the countries of Eastern Europe which were then under Atheistic Communist governments, and three of which were still counted in the Christian world communion despite their having come under Communist governments in the post war period. The sixth country was Liberia which, although its dominant religious life was still Animist or tribal, had strong Christian influence in its political and economic life. Furthermore, seven of the 27 Christian countries which voted in favour of partition only did so under duress: six, the Nelson Rockefeller factor, and the other, the Philippines, the Washington diplomatic and administration sledge hammer. Not one country, anywhere, which did not have a Christian heritage voted to partition Palestine. The other 24 UN member countries which included, nine Muslim, two Buddhist or Confucian, one Hindu, and one Communist country, plus another eleven Christian countries, either voted against partition or abstained. The ten members who abstained instead of voting against the resolution included five of the other six countries which had been subjected to coercion. There is therefore no way to describe the partition of Palestine other than as a phenomenon of the twentieth century amorphous Christian gel. Instead of confronting and helping to resolve the trouble in the triangle, the reaction of the Western world's Christian community in the wake of the parody of *Mein Kampf* served only to exacerbate the trouble considerably. [The voting pattern on the basis of religion is set out as a table in note ³¹]

A personal diary note for February 8, 1948, at a time when Truman was under enormous pressure, is very illuminating.

I go for a walk and go to church. The preacher always treats me as a church member and not as the head of a circus. That's the reason I go to the 1st Baptist Church. One time I went to the Foundry Methodist Church, next door to the 1st Baptist, because Rev. Harris was

Chaplain for the Senate when I was VP He made a real show of the occasion. I'll never go back. I don't go to church for show. I hate headline hunters and showmen as a class and individually. It's too bad I'm not a showman. My predecessor was, and I suppose profited politically by it. Fate put me here, and fate can keep me here or put me out – and out would suit me better.³²

A mere three months after penning that diary note, Truman had committed himself, the United States, the Arab Palestinians and the world to that massive transgression with one eye fixed firmly on the campaign for the presidential election which was due six months later, and the other equally firmly fixed on what his advisers saw as the national interest. It was of little consequence, as far as he was concerned, that in the same way that Britain had been in league with the Zionist Movement in initiating a transgression against the Arab neighbours of Jewish settlers in Palestine, he was then in league with the Zionist Movement in confirming, reinforcing and extending that transgression into a full blown engagement. That transgression was fuelled by “the national interest” which, simply translated, means the greed of the United States for the resources of the world which far exceeds anything which the imperialists of Britain ever contemplated. It was about to trigger a series of progressively deepening crises which would focus the world's attention on the State of Israel as the pivot point in a crisis in relations between the people of the three parallel streams of Yahwism.

That crisis has risen and fallen in a series of waves since 1948 and it will inevitably continue to do so, for the reasons we have traced – relating to the Jewish community's somewhat unwelcome covenantal role – in exactly the same manner that Britain's crisis spiralled out of its control between the two world wars. It is within the capacity of the United States to break the cycle – if it has the will – just as it was within Britain's capacity to do so if it was prepared to surrender imperial privilege, but there is no indication at present that the United States has such a will. Its self-understanding as the power rightly sitting atop the pinnacle of economic imperialism, is even more deeply embedded than was Britain's as the principal colonial imperial power. The answer is to disentangle the trouble in the triangle, but the realization will soon dawn that in doing so the privileges of economic imperialism will be dismantled, too. Which comes first? Disbelief that this could possibly be the fate of the New Israel? Or deep-seated resistance to surrendering a position of privilege in the interests of world peace? In fact that resistance has been around for quite a long time already. That raises the next question. Is there any greater hope that the church will recognize the crisis for what it is and then move to disentangle the web of ill-founded doctrine and dogma which, having provided the basis for each of the church's self-understanding, the self-understanding and misconduct of the amorphous Christian gel, and the trouble in the triangle?

That is jumping ahead again. There is still a lot of history to consider. We are only at the point at which the embryonic State of Israel was attempting to take control of the centrepiece of the triangle: the City of Jerusalem.

AN UNEQUAL BATTLE?

On the basis of the approximate equality of numbers of troops engaged in the full scale war which burst immediately after the proclamation of the State of Israel, the advantage would normally have been strongly in favour of the Jewish – by then officially Israeli – defenders. However this war was not a series of set piece battles fought across well-established defensive lines and positions. Although the Arab forces had been gathered in the haphazard manner already described, and although they had the problems of colonial baggage and long arduous supply lines, they had a very material advantage in arms and the availability of aircraft. Thus, while the Israelis waited for the unloading of pre-negotiated shipments of arms immediately the British blockade ceased to have effect, Transjordan's Arab Legion and the Egyptian army soon had Israel in a very precarious position. However they failed to press home their advantage and force an Israeli surrender because, according to the standpoint of various observers, they either lacked the will for the task in hand, or the competence, or they were prevented by superior strategies coupled with lack of coordination and support from their allies.

The Lebanese forces were directed by a government which was deeply divided because of the religion-based structures for political independence negotiated by France in November 1943 in its efforts to divide and rule. Under the agreement reached, the post of President was to be held by a Christian and the Prime Minister and Speaker were to be Muslim. As a consequence of tension between the Muslim and Christian parties over their attitudes to Israel the Lebanese forces made a push into the portion of Galilee allocated to the Jewish State, captured, lost and recaptured the frontier post of Malkiyah, and then, from June 5, adopted a holding posture until the eventual cease fire. Similarly, after moving swiftly through a series of settlements on both sides of the Jordan River the mechanized Syrian brigade reached the oldest kibbutz in Palestine, Degania, south west of Lake Galilee and the action appeared to be flowing in its favour. But after a virtual one-shot battle in which an 1870's vintage howitzer scored a direct hit on the leading Syrian tank the brigade withdrew and Syria thereafter concentrated on securing disputed territory and access to the water supplies of the Jordan River in far northern Galilee. The Iraqis succeeded in driving a wedge three quarters of the way to the Mediterranean through Beisan and Jenin and could have cut the northern Israeli territory in half but, after a series of skirmishes, they also opted for a holding action until the cease fire. Thus the Transjordanians and the Egyptians were saddled with the main load of the war effort.

The Egyptians, whose government apparently believed that the UN would intervene and that little real fighting would be required, were organized in two brigades. One brigade drove inland through Beersheba and Hebron to reach Bethlehem on May 22 where they relieved the Arab Legion (which had already occupied the town) for other action and advanced to the suburban fringe of Jerusalem where they dominated the other roads to the Negev which was thus totally isolated. The other brigade drove through Gaza to within artillery range of Tel Aviv, by far the largest Israeli city, the loss of which would have resulted in a prompt Israeli surrender. Then, by a clever night time flanking operation which caused confusion within the Egyptian brigade and

by the release of misinformation which caused consternation in Cairo, the Israeli commander coerced the Egyptian government into ordering another holding operation and Tel Aviv was no longer in danger.³³ In the meantime some units of the Arab Legion entered the Old City of Jerusalem on May 19 while other units moved on the totally besieged city from both the north and the south, almost breaking through into the New City through both Mea Shearim and Ramat Rachel which was the scene of the bloodiest battles of the whole war. In four days the kibbutz changed hands five times and in hand-to-hand bayonet charges troops had to climb over piles of bodies to press their attacks, but when Ramat Rachel finally remained in Israeli hands it ended the immediate prospect of Arab forces capturing the New City. Then the heroic construction of a truck route around Latrun, the site of an almost equally bloody battle to break the blockade of the Jerusalem-Tel Aviv road, enabled the first supplies to reach the city by road on June 9, two days before the agreed truce took effect. Both of those incidents were in keeping with the tradition of valiant single-minded defence of Jerusalem built on two thousand years of bitter battles. However, in a decision which sent shock waves through not only the Jewish population of Palestine but also the Diaspora, the Jewish quarter of the Old City and the greatly venerated focal point of Jewish worship, the Western Wall of the ancient Hebrew Temple, had been surrendered to Arab forces on May 28 by its Hagana defenders.³⁴

While the fighting was in progress the utter confusion which had gripped the UN as a result of Truman's announcement of recognition of the State of Israel gradually gave way to some sort of understanding that the conflict had to be resolved by mediation or negotiation. Britain had declined to support a cease fire order – the UN had no means of enforcing such a thing even if there had been agreement – and suggested the appointment of a mediator with power to recommend a settlement.³⁵

On May 20, the day after the Arab Legion entered the Old City of Jerusalem, the Security Council adopted Britain's mediation proposal and appointed Count Folke Bernadotte, a nephew of the Swedish king and president of its Red Cross organization, as mediator. When Count Bernadotte arrived in the Middle East a few days later he immediately proposed a month-long truce for negotiation. While the Arabs were receptive to the idea, the Israelis – whom Bernadotte saw as ignoring UN authority and with whom he had sharp disagreements – were not prepared to accept limitations on immigration during a truce period. After some days it was agreed that a truce would take effect on June 11 (by which time the Israelis hoped to have recovered some ground from the exhausted Arab forces) with two conditions, neither of which could be enforced even if the countries which provided truce supervisors (the US, France and Belgium) were serious about them. One was that no additional weapons would be brought into the fighting zone. The other, that immigrants of military age on both sides would be housed in camps under UN supervision.

When the truce took effect the situation was somewhat confused, but of territory allocated to the Jews the Egyptians controlled the Negev with a lot of desert and few people; the Lebanese held the Malkiyah border post; the Syrians controlled small areas in North Galilee; and the Iraqis held the strategically important wedge through Beisan and Jenin towards the

Mediterranean which straddled proposed Jewish and Arab territory. In addition the Transjordanians held the Old City in the proposed international zone as well as the Palestinian West Bank. But the Israelis had gained a firm hold on the New City of Jerusalem in the proposed international zone and a wedge along the Tel Aviv-Jerusalem road as well as a patchwork of other territory in the zone allocated to an Arab state. Ignoring the conditions of the truce, Israel pressed ahead to strengthen its army and Ben Gurion succeeded in imposing a substantial army reorganization. Production from its own munitions factory was increased, it received arms and planes from supporters in Britain and the United States as well as other countries, and it purchased supplies from both France and Czechoslovakia which also made available an airport for the freighting of supplies.³⁶ This supply pattern made a mockery of the work of the UN Truce Commission which consisted of representatives of the US, France and Belgium.

In response to that situation the Arab League greatly strengthened the anti-Zionist trading policy which it had adopted in December 1945. Under the policy as originally drafted, members boycotted the purchase of goods produced by Zionist firms in Palestine but under the modified policy they boycotted the supply of goods and services to Israel and the establishment of business ventures in that country. Their intention was that in addition to severing trade between Israel and its immediate neighbours the tougher boycott would discourage any countries from supplying Israel with weapons, industrial and consumer goods by virtue of the threat of loss of trade with the much larger block of Arab countries. However it was inevitable that it would be some time before Western countries would take the boycott seriously, that it would therefore take some time for the boycott to have any significant impact on supplies reaching Israel, and that Israel would respond quickly and establish an Anti-Boycott Office.³⁷ In their tit-for-tat boycott-anti-boycott manoeuvring both the Arabs and the Israelis had the example of an excellent tutor to follow: the United States. After it entered World War II the US established a Board of Economic Warfare for 'the mobilization of foreign trade'. In addition to engaging in 'preclusive buying' of critical resources such as mercury, chromium and wolfram and stockpiling them to keep them out of German and Japanese hands it coerced neutral countries into freezing Axis assets; it took steps to ensure that all Brazilian and Bolivian rubber was reserved exclusively for the US, and it applied economic and political pressure to ensure that German companies, including airlines, were required to 'retire' from Peru, Ecuador, Bolivia and Brazil.³⁸

TRUCE, INTRIGUE, CLOAKS ... AND DAGGERS

During the truce Iraq, Syria and Egypt each increased their troop numbers in Palestine – by a total of about 13,000 – but they did not greatly strengthen their armaments, and while Iraq pressed the Arab League to prepare for further war when the truce expired, both Transjordan and Egypt argued against any further hostilities, being confident that the UN mediator would provide an acceptable solution.³⁹ At that time international sympathy and media reports were

generally favourable to Israel, but the Vatican press maintained a pro-Arab stance. On June 8 the Director General of Israel's Foreign Ministry, Walter Eytan, reported: "The Catholic Church is opposed to the custody of the holy places being vested in the Jews, the Protestants, the Greek Orthodox, and the Moslems (*sic*) – in this order; i.e. the Moslems, although not exactly desirable, would be in the eyes of the Church the least objectionable custodians."⁴⁰ Stories similar to those which had circulated at the time of the Black Death in the fourteenth century began to appear, linking Zionists with measures which have since become known as biological or germ warfare. On June 19 *Civiltà Cattolica* reported that two Zionist emissaries had been arrested in Gaza, charged with poisoning the city's wells. "According to written evidence", it said, "they have also thrown typhoid and dysentery germs into several watering places. Rumour has it, in fact, that the Jews rely for their victory upon the sanitary havoc of the Arab states. Such facts would certainly not enhance their good name."⁴¹

On June 27, almost three weeks into the truce period, Bernadotte tabled proposals which bore little resemblance to the partition plan which the UN had sought to implement. He proposed a union of Palestine and Jordan – in fact a return to the original League of Nations mandate territory – in which two autonomous regions, one Arab and one Jewish, would each have full control over their own affairs including immigration and foreign relations, subject to the right of the union authorities "to promote common economic interests, to operate and maintain common services, including customs and excise, to undertake development projects and to coordinate foreign policy and measures for common defence." Jerusalem was to become part of the Arab state with "municipal autonomy" for the Jewish community. The Vatican raised no objections and appeared comfortable with the proposal, apparently anticipating that the Mufti would establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican as one of his first actions following victory.⁴² The Negev which had been allocated to the Jewish State under the UN plan as a result of the pressure applied through Truman was also to be included (in whole or in part) in the Arab region. Perhaps in return, West Galilee was to go not to the Arabs but to the Jews. The port of Haifa in the Jewish territory and the airport of Lydda in the Arab territory were both to become free ports.

However the Israelis and the Arab League both rejected the proposal. The Jews were especially disturbed by the inclusion of Jerusalem in the Arab region. They were no longer prepared to accept either the internationalization of Jerusalem or the limits of the boundaries laid down by the UN.⁴³ To demonstrate that, and to put a seal on it with the legal niceties of sovereign government accepted by dominant international usage, only three days later, June 30, the Provisional Government issued its first Abandoned Areas Ordinance. It defined any place conquered by the Israeli armed forces, or deserted by all *or part* of its inhabitants, as an 'abandoned area' appropriated to the state of Israel, no matter where it lay in relation to any of the border proposals. That was a mere six weeks after the proclamation of the State of Israel in such questionable circumstances and flying in the face of the United Nations and its truce negotiators.

As there was no realistic basis for a peace settlement in sight it was no surprise that hostilities recommenced on July 8. The breaching of the truce was initiated by Egypt whose forces attempted to break through the Israeli defences towards Tel Aviv. However it was no surprise to foreign observers that as the boycott had been totally ineffective to that stage, the initiative swung heavily in favour of Israel with its strengthened defences and increased offensive capacity on all fronts. By the time Bernadotte was able to arrange a second truce on July 18 Israel had recovered or occupied all of the area allocated to a Jewish State in the UNSCOP plan except for part of the Negev and a small pocket on the Syrian border, and in addition it had occupied almost all of West Galilee, broken the siege and reinforced East Jerusalem and occupied a substantial corridor between Tel Aviv and Jerusalem which had been allocated to an Arab state. A week later, confident that they had the upper hand in the war and broad Western World sympathy (if not support) for what they were about, the Israelis thumbed their nose to the UN, announced that the New City of Jerusalem was occupied Jewish territory and that there would be no internationalization, and appointed a military governor. Naturally Transjordan followed suit and incorporated the Old City into its territory.

Although Israel rejected the authority of the UN over its affairs, it was perfectly happy to take advantage of the opportunities which it provided, and early in August it asked Bernadotte to convey an invitation to the Arab governments for peace negotiations. However any prospect of a lasting peace settlement through a union or a commonwealth had been squandered, and the Arab League rejected the approach, saying that its members could not recognize the existence of a Jewish state in Palestine. But Bernadotte persevered. He said that the establishment of Israel was a reality which could not be reversed but its boundaries should not be rigidly controlled by the UN partition resolution. He restated the territorial basis of his own earlier proposal except for the key point that Jerusalem would be internationalized instead of being part of the Arab region, and he pressed for the return of all Arab refugees to their homes in Israeli-controlled territory with a guarantee of the political, economic, social and religious rights of both Jew and Arab in the territory of the other. In spite of the fact that the chief power broker, the United States, had by then given its support to the proposal, all parties to the conflict rejected it.

Bernadotte then returned home to Stockholm to fulfill commitments at the International Red Cross Conference from August 13. While he was there he was in daily contact with UN secretariat staff on Rhodes and the truce monitoring head quarters in Haifa. He took a brief break to spend some time reflecting on the situation, refined his proposals to solve the crisis, and began drafting a major 73-page report which he apparently worked on from September 1 while he shuttled between various capitals of Europe and the Middle East in his hunt for peace. The very shaky truce in Israel and Palestine was holding. The Israeli Government and the Arab governments were also doing some reflecting and planning. And so were the delegates of the 147 churches represented at the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches which met in Amsterdam from August 22 to September 4.

A SHIFT IN FOCUS TO THEOLOGY – AT LAST!

That assembly was one of three events which took place while the uneasy truce held in and around Israel which had potential to refocus the world's attention directly on the question of the church's self-understanding and Messianic theology. The first was the discovery of a few ancient manuscripts which became known as the Dead Sea Scrolls. The second was the imposition of Apartheid by the Malan government in South Africa which had been elected on the basis of a platform of separation of communities by race – supposedly on the basis of Christ's teaching. The third was that long-delayed assembly to confirm the establishment of the World Council of Churches and to chart its course. There was also a fourth event which directly challenged the claim of the Vatican wing of the church to paramount teaching authority on matters of ethics and morals and therefore also indirectly challenged the basis on which it made that claim: its self-understanding. That was the publication of the book *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, better known as 'The Kinsey Report'.

FIRST, THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

In late 1946 or early-1947, while the UN Special Committee on Palestine was visiting the country for discussions with opposing groups and preparing alternative plans for its future, a group of Muslim Bedouin goatherd youths discovered a cave fourteen miles east of Jerusalem, in the rugged mountain country along the western shore of the Dead Sea, in which a number of very old scrolls had been placed for safe keeping. They held a number for some time before handing some of them in March 1947 to an Assyrian Christian cobbler in Bethlehem which was then under Arab Legion control as a result of the collapse of British administration and security the town. From there they were taken to the Syrian Orthodox Monastery of St. Mark in the Old City of Jerusalem. After some discussions the Metropolitan bought some of the scrolls and consulted Professor Eleazar Sukenik at the Hebrew University. Unknown to the churchmen Sukenik visited Bethlehem and obtained additional scrolls from the same source. By coincidence it was November 29, 1947, the very day that the United Nations voted to establish a Jewish State by partition of Palestine. Sukenik recognized the antiquity of the scrolls and concluded that they were probably connected with a sect of Essene Jews who were known from the work of Roman geographer Pliny (23–79 CE) to have lived in the area at the time of the Apostles. By February 1948 discussions had been widened to include senior figures at the Syrian Church, the Hebrew University, the American School of Oriental Research and Professor Albright at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, USA, to whom some scroll material was smuggled instead of being handed to the Jordanian Archaeological authorities who were officially responsible for the area. However it is reasonable to assume that the confused political situation and the dangerous military situation (with open warfare between Jewish and Arab forces as the British wound down their operations) made archaeological field work hazardous and cooperation very difficult, and that this was a factor in that course of events. Like Sukenik,

Albright immediately recognized the importance of the discovery, describing it as “the greatest manuscript discovery of modern times.” ⁴⁴

Several references to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls were then published in quick succession. The first appeared in *The Times* of London, April 12, 1948, and was based on a press release by the American School of Oriental Research. It said that the scrolls had been dated “about the first century BC” and suggested that one of them was “a manual of discipline of some comparatively little-known sect or monastic order, possibly the Essenes.” On April 25 the *New York Times* identified the discoveries as being made by Bedouins in a hillside cave near En-Geddi, halfway down the western shore of the Dead Sea, and referred to material which was held by both the American School and the Hebrew University. Next day Sukenik sought to correct inaccuracies in the American reports by announcing his purchase of some of the scrolls. Then, virtually on the eve of the proclamation of the State of Israel and only months before the first assembly of the World Council of Churches, the finds were formally announced in the April issue of the *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* with a comment by Albright that: “It is easy to surmise that the new discovery will revolutionize intertestamental studies, and that it will soon antiquate all present handbooks on the background of the New Testament and on the textual criticism and interpretation of the Old Testament.” ⁴⁵

Although there was no great public discussion of the matter at that time it triggered great excitement among Biblical scholars at the prospects of what may be disclosed by documents from the immediate area of the founding of the faith and from the immediate era of its founding. But it also triggered consternation among the churches at the prospect that it might *be construed as a providential boost to the status of Judaism*, cast doubt on the heritage and divinity of Jesus of Nazareth and therefore undermine the basis of the church’s Trinitarian doctrine and self-understanding.

Seven scrolls were found in the first cave, further large finds made progressively from 1949 and some material was located as late as 1958. Some preliminary transcriptions and photographs were actually published in 1948. The complete contents of several scrolls were published in 1950–51 and by 1954–55 most of the material had been transcribed and published. The list of books and articles on the Dead Sea Scrolls is now about 2,000. However it has been said that “too many of the popular works were simply rather naïve attempts on the part of Christian apologists to counter what they feared were attempts to undermine the faith of believers,” and there have been hotly debated claims that “there is still a partial boycott on the Dead Sea Scrolls on the part of New Testament scholars ...” ⁴⁶ However, although the discoveries had sent shock waves through the church, insufficient translation had been completed before the first WCC assembly for the content or implications of the scrolls to be studied widely or in depth.

NEXT, THE KINSEY REPORT

It has been said that “the Kinsey Report has done for sex what Columbus did for geography.”⁴⁷ It was published May 1, 1948, the same day that the encyclical *Auspicia quaedam*, on the holy places in Palestine, was published as part of the competitive politicking by the Vatican and the Zionists to influence Truman’s decision on recognition of the State of Israel. (Chapter 27) Professor Kinsey’s report earned rapturous acclaim from many scientific authorities and social scientists, but waves of indignation, shock and horror from those who either supported the church’s rigidly imposed teachings on sexuality and personal conduct or feared the consequences of questioning the recognized patterns of social conduct. America is said to have “roared with outrage” and “energetic attempts were made to discredit Kinsey’s methods and motives, and the House Committee on Un-American Activities accused him of espousing the Communist doctrine of free love.”⁴⁸

The Kinsey Report was a social beacon of such enormous importance that some appreciation of it enables us to better understand the drama of changing attitudes towards the church, and its rapid decline in status in the West, during the critical third and fourth generations of the twentieth century. It presented the results of extremely carefully planned research in the United States over nine years, from mid 1938 to 1947. That research was undertaken as a result of students at Indiana University raising questions with Professor Kinsey concerning the norms of conduct which were in vogue during the 1930s in the wake of the series of social encyclicals. (Chapter 18, *Casti Connubii*.) It was the first comprehensive study of human sexuality ever undertaken, and it showed that the sexual activity, responses and conduct of white males in the United States, and the consequences of that conduct, bore little relationship to the cultural norms which were influenced most directly by the church’s teaching and canon law. The fact that it was undertaken – that it had to be undertaken – was a direct consequence of the church’s self-understanding and the impact of its straight-jacket mentality. After the initial debate subsided other researchers in the United States and elsewhere were able to undertake additional studies and within a few years these enabled law makers and social scientists to make changes which, on one hand, freed people of many neuroses but, on the other hand, facilitated exploitation of human sexuality by commercial interests which is contributing to social and community dysfunction and antagonism towards the West wherever the commercial excesses of the amorphous Christian gel impact. We shall come to that in due course, having in mind that the publication of the Kinsey report also came in the wake of Pius XII’s reluctant accommodation with democratic Capitalism, and coincided with the celebrations which followed the Italian elections in which he and the Vatican had, quite happily taken full advantage of the excesses of American commercial largesse in order to beat off a direct electoral challenge from atheistic Communism. (Chapter 27, *Temporal Authority, the Lateran Treaty and civil government*, and *A touch of foreign aid*.)

Among the basic findings of the report were that maximum sexual activity among white American males occurs between the ages of 16 and 20, after which it falls progressively. This

contradicted the established assumption and teaching in America and the rest of the Western World during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that maximum capacity and activity were reached in the 20s and maintained through the 30s and that only the sinful engaged in any sexual activity, including masturbation, prior to marriage, at whatever age. That was shock enough, but it showed that the six primary forms of sexual outlet among males which were already recognized, (masturbation, nocturnal emissions, heterosexual petting, heterosexual intercourse, homosexual relations, and intercourse with animals other than humans), were practiced by males in all age, social and education groups and by both single and married persons. The stereotype white Christian male was no longer. It had to be admitted – with much distress – that the pervasive cultural environment entrapped most men in a pattern of dishonesty and deceit, and that the prohibition on sex education and open, frank discussion, and the dominant systems of moral teaching forced almost all youths into that situation. To varying degrees they then experienced fear, guilt complexes and psychological disorders, with difficulty in adjusting to contact with females and married life. With a thorough analysis of the data collected, it identified the factors which influenced the level of activity in each of those forms of sexual release. They included social and occupational status, years and level of education, marital status, urban and rural environment, age and circumstances at the onset of adolescence, confinement to a single-sex environment, cultural background, religion and superstition.

Data for each type of sexual activity by males was set out in the report on the basis of which of three levels of education they reached: grade school only, high school, or university. It showed that there were differences between groups for each type of practice. Overall, 92 percent of males practiced masturbation, but the groups were, in order; those who had attended grade school 89%, high school 95%, university 96%. With intercourse before marriage the pattern was quite different: those who had attended grade school 98%, high school 84%, university 67%. In the case of same-sex activity the researchers went to great length to explain that the practice of homosexuality is not a matter of “all or nothing” and that a person’s physiology is not the only factor involved. A number of stimuli and psychological considerations are also involved and while a small proportion of men, about four percent, practice sex only with other males, there is a significant proportion of men who may engage in homosexual practices at some time in their lives and for varying proportions of their total sexual activity. Of all the data provided on the subject, the most straightforward is that for males who remain single from age 15 to 30. Of those, the percentages who have some sexual experience with another male are: those who attended grade school 45%, high school 55%, university 40%. In each group the number who engaged in same-sex contact and the frequency of such contact falls somewhat between age 21 and 25, and the researchers concluded that some persons in these groups make a deliberate effort to adjust to heterosexual activity during those years.

In discussing the role of religious belief and teaching on attitudes to sex and patterns of sexual behaviour Kinsey notes that “Talmudic references ... make masturbation a greater sin than non-marital intercourse (and) there were excuses for pre-marital intercourse and for extra-marital intercourse with certain persons under the Jewish code, but no extenuation for

masturbation.” He contends that the very severe condemnation of masturbation in the Talmud, on which the teachings of both Judaism and Christianity are based, reflected “the reproductive motive in the sexual philosophy of the Jews” at that point in their history. In other words what was being condemned was masturbation *practiced as an alternative to intercourse*, because it offered no possibility of a resulting conception, and not masturbation as a natural or intrinsic factor in human sexuality.⁴⁹ However Catholic teaching has consistently portrayed masturbation as a carnal sin, sometimes specifically declared to be more sinful than fornication.⁵⁰

Figures are provided to compare the sexual activity of Catholics, Protestants (all together) and Jews, but not other faiths because their numbers were not sufficient to provide reliable data. Persons in each of the three faiths were recorded as ‘devout’ or ‘inactive’ according to the regularity of their attendance at worship. The *pattern* of sexual activity for each of these groups was not significantly different from the pattern for the total population, but the *frequency* of activity differed in two ways. *Within each faith* those recorded as devout engaged in sex significantly less often than those recorded as inactive. The research did not provide a definite explanation for this, but Kinsey refers to some evidence that “some portion of the devoutly religious individuals have repressed rather than sublimated sex histories.”⁵¹ *Between the faiths* the frequency of sexual activity by unmarried males varied within an identifiable and changing pattern which reflected the level and nature of parental guidance and understanding of sexual responsibility. Three age ranges were assessed: adolescence to age 15; 16 to 20; and 21–25. Within each age group, those males who were *inactive* in their faith community engaged in sex *more frequently* than those who were devoutly religious. But the pattern of activity did not remain constant for males of each faith community as they moved from one age range to the next. During adolescence to age 15, Jewish youths engaged in sex least frequently, and Protestants most frequently. But by the time they reached the age range 21 to 25 the trend was reversed and Jewish men who were not active in their faith community engaged in sex more frequently than either Protestants or Catholics. [See note ⁵² for a summary by age and faith community.]

About three quarters of Catholic youths in one large survey reported having had no discussions about sex with their parents at all.⁵³ This figure is probably indicative of the situation in the Protestant churches as well and is consistent with a finding that there was “abysmal ignorance” among most young couples embarking on marriage who had been left to discover sex for themselves from school yard and street talk and were very hesitant about broaching the subject with their children.⁵⁴ Their hesitation was reinforced by the general prohibition on sex education which was a statutory offence in some states, although some states had very progressive sex education programs. An extra-curricula program of life education was introduced in all schools in Pittsburgh in 1940 and by 1944 the number of pregnancies occurring among girls in both public and parochial high schools had been cut in half.⁵⁵ However the church was still the primary source of their sexual philosophy and understanding for most students, especially in church-run schools.

Kinsey notes that as a result of the severe condemnation of homosexuality in the Talmud there has also been a history of condemnation of homosexuality in the Christian church. But there has been more discussion in Christian religious literature about the sinfulness of masturbation and intercourse before marriage than about homosexuality. He says: "Consequently, it is not unusual to find even devoutly religious persons who become involved in the homosexual without any clear understanding of the church's attitude on the subject." While the Jewish community maintains its position on the basis of Biblical and Talmudic interpretation, "the Catholic church more often bases its interpretations on a natural philosophy which may be re-interpreted from time to time but which has always emphasized the abnormality or the perverseness of sexual behaviour which occurs outside marriage." Kinsey continues: "These restraints on sexual activities are well recognized among devout Catholics, and often have major effects on the personalities of these individuals."⁵⁶ He notes that Jewish groups discuss sexual matters publicly with less restraint than most other groups and that the freedom with which they were happy to record and to discuss their personal details for his research "has surprisingly little relation to the extent of the overt activity in their individual sexual histories."⁵⁷ In this connection we can note the importance which devout Jews place on training their sons for the celebration of their Bar Mitzvah and the openness of discussion at that time about the responsibilities which come with adolescence and sexual maturity. From that it can be concluded that the relative sexual restraint shown by devout adolescent Jewish youth is a result of the sense of responsibility which they are encouraged to develop. This is in sharp contrast to a similar level of restraint linked to sexual repression resulting from dogmatic indoctrination and fear of sin in the case of the devout Catholic adolescent youth.

Earlier in their report the Kinsey researchers contrasted their findings in America with the ease of sexual adjustment for youths in so-called primitive societies which have not acquired Western sex taboos and said: "The problem of sexual adjustment for the younger male is one which has become especially aggravated during the last hundred years, and then primarily in England and America, under an increasing moral suppression which has coincided with an increasing delay in the age of marriage."⁵⁸ But it was especially galling for the church to be told that: "Boys who live in private boarding schools, and even boys who attend public or private day schools that are restricted to the single sex, face some of the same sexual problems as the boys in a penal institution." And: if adolescent years are spent in an institution where there is little opportunity for a boy to develop his individuality, where there is virtually no privacy and where all his companions are male his sexual life is very likely to become permanently stamped with the institutional pattern. The report discusses sexual behaviour which is proscribed in the criminal codes of America (and other countries such as Australia) and notes that at least 95 percent of youths could be convicted as sex offenders if the law were enforced.^{59 60}

Kinsey noted that most of the population refuses to recognize the jurisdiction of religious courts which, in previous periods, were very powerful and the influence of the church is therefore more indirect. However it continues to exert a wide influence on the whole community because its teachings and attitudes have been written into long-standing criminal

law. Its teaching, and therefore the laws formulated on that basis, are clearly out of touch with reality. For example, the US Naval Academy Regulations, June 1940, made evidence of masturbation sufficient grounds for refusing a candidate admission to the academy at Annapolis and yet the people who would be required to make such decisions would almost certainly come from the group which, on the basis of data for both occupation and education, regularly practice masturbation. The people who most often formulate laws and sit in judgement on crimes committed under them are likely to be drawn from the section of the community which is still most committed to the moral codes of the church. But they will also be members of the higher educated section of society in which the pattern of sexual practices is somewhat different from that of the middle educated section from which the majority of police are drawn. They are the people who are called on to enforce the laws within the great bulk of society which is the least educated section and which has a still different pattern of sexual practices and attitudes.

In discussing the problems of 'managing' human sexuality of troops in war, Kinsey raised several issues which were relevant to the controversy over Japan's Comfort Women program, the level of venereal disease infections among allied forces, the conduct of servicemen in action, and the decisions of military governments. They were relevant to the conduct of military courts and the actions and policies of armed services chaplains as well. The Japanese War Crimes Trials were still in full swing while he was compiling his report. The last words of the defence case had been uttered a mere fortnight earlier, on April 16, 1948, and it would be another six and a half months before the judgements would be handed down on November 4. The military leaders, he said, did not understand the differing patterns of sexual conduct within the enormous populations of troops they were commanding, (but neither did anyone else), and they either worked on the basis of class mythology or on the assumption that everyone could be made to conform to their particular pattern of conduct. That meant greater reliance on masturbation and less inclination to seek intercourse. They were, he said, "startled to discover the realities of human behaviour," and the data which came from his research indicated that "very few of the men in the armed forces (were) as active sexually as they would have been at home in time of peace." Considerable pressure had been applied to military officials to establish and enforce rules, and upon Congress to enact laws "which were designed to force all of the heterogeneous group which constitutes a draft army into an upper level pattern of sexual behaviour." That pressure hinged around the dangers of venereal disease "but it is certain that many of the persons who discuss disease are more concerned over the morals of the men for whom the government has suddenly become responsible. Such an issue could be grasped more intelligently if more people understood the origins of the sexual patterns of the men in uniform." He also noted that "American armies have found themselves in cultures which are different from our own in their attitudes on matters of sex. The upper level officer who establishes the law for the country he is temporarily ruling may try to impose 'moral standards' which reflect the mores of only a limited portion of our American population, upon the whole of a foreign people who have none of the sexual patterns of any of our social levels."⁶¹

Kinsey also discussed the widely publicized claims that there had been a deterioration in moral standards and major changes in the pattern of sexual conduct during the previous generation or two. Data for the pattern and frequency of sexual activity of men who were in their youth between 1910 and 1925 was compared directly with data for those who were in their youth between 1930 and 1947. This showed that there had been no major changes. The patterns for the two groups were almost identical and the small changes which had occurred involved only the lower education/occupation group. Youths in that group were reaching adolescence about a year earlier and this was reflected in the commencement of each type of activity about a year earlier. The frequency of their activity had also increased materially. These changes, Kinsey said, were probably the product of the better sanitation, better medical care, and better standards of nutrition which had brought improvements in the general health of that group during the previous thirty years. The higher education/occupation groups did not show those changes because they had not been affected by the deficiencies which had retarded adolescence and health in the lower group. The only change in pattern which the data indicated was somewhat greater acceptance of the practices of masturbation and petting in the lower group also. These practices were already common to the upper level groups but had been rejected until recent years by the lower level groups. This 'infiltration' was apparently due to greater exposure in the media (cinema and press) of the social ideas, attitudes and practices of the upper level groups.⁶² There was also some transfer of pre-marital intercourse from prostitutes to girls who were not prostitutes.⁶³

The church, by and large, tried to hide behind a wall of silence, leaving the defence of its policies and teachings to its dedicated laity, make-believing that the Kinsey Report was a scandalous bit of titillating investigation which would soon pass by and had little to do with ordinary clergy and members of religious orders. Perhaps the church hierarchies were misguided, but it is more likely that they were bracing for the storm, especially the Roman Catholic Church with its total commitment to a celibate clergy. The calm would not last long. The outrageous conduct by some clergy and people in religious orders – no doubt a very small minority – which would swamp the church in a flood of paedophilia and other sexual abuse litigation thirty years later, and question its dual standards, was already taking place in orphanages, schools and other institutions around the world. When people overcame their reluctance to discuss matters of sexual abuse and were no longer shamed into concealing situations in which they had personally been involved, some of the major exposures related to the abuse of war-orphaned youths who were in the care of the church in overseas resettlement programs right at the time that the Kinsey Report was published.

In fact, while Kinsey's research showed remarkable stability in the pattern of sexual conduct among white males in the United States over the *previous* forty years, in spite of two world wars and a major economic depression, the changes which he reported were the leading edge of changes which were about to accelerate. Research carried out in Britain in 1990–1991 and published in 1994 showed that major changes in the pattern of sexual activity did occur during the forty years immediately following the publication of the Kinsey Report. These were

accompanied by similar changes in public understanding of, and attitudes towards, human sexual conduct. Notably, the median age at first intercourse fell, in Britain, by four years in women, from 21 to 17, and by three years in men, from 19 to 16. At the same time contraception and abortion became widely practiced; homosexual conduct was widely recognized, accepted and exploited; a major disease associated with homosexual activity was identified and became rampant world wide; and controversy over all of these and related issues rocked the church. Publication of the Kinsey Report had coincided with developments in contraception technology, education and communication technology; an apparent upsurge in the sexual abuse of minors in their care by members of the clergy and others in religious, educational, penal and care institutions; and this became the leading edge of a tidal wave of disenchantment with the church, its teaching, its theology and its authority. But these issues did not each sit in grand isolation. They were interlinked and will be discussed progressively.

So, the Kinsey Report was a social beacon of enormous importance. It stimulated the debate on each of the related issues and gave people the information needed to press for change, especially education. For example, against the opposition of church spokesmen and some delegates who maintained that “parents are the only proper sex instructors”, a conference of the Women’s Central Organizing Committee of the Australian Labor Party in Sydney, May 1st, 1949, urged the New South Wales state government to introduce sex education in schools as an integral part of general education.⁶⁴ The report exposed the consequences of many centuries of repressive church teaching on sexual matters; the suppression of personality development through attempts to impose abstinence; the development of complex sex and morality laws; the encouragement of clandestine activity and the generation of psychological conflicts, guilt complexes and deceit; and the debilitating effects which these things had on family and community life, and on relations with people of other cultures. It was therefore a challenge to the church to review its teaching and social policies. But the church could not review these things without also reviewing the basis on which they had been developed and its claims to authority in such matters as an integral part of the process. Such a review had to take account of its self-understanding, the basis of that self-understanding and its relationship to other institutions of religious faith. Its implications for the church and its teaching, especially in the Vatican wing, and for community relations, and both civil and criminal law were very far reaching. It was a major challenge indeed.

The Kinsey Report had not been in circulation long enough for the sections or committees of the first Assembly of the WCC to take it into account when they met in Amsterdam in August, but its significance as a challenge to the church was akin to that of Darwin’s *Origin of Species*. The next event, South Africa’s formalization of Apartheid, was even more directly related to that Darwinian challenge.

RACIAL DIVISION BECOMES RESPECTABLE – AGAIN

The division of communities or countries on racial and religious grounds was gathering momentum – again. The Vatican and various European monarchies had made an art form of it with the establishment of ghettos for Jews in major cities. (Chapter 10) The Russian czars had shown that it could be done on a massive scale with the Pale of Settlement. (Chapter 12) The Americans showed how it could be adapted for the management of indigenous peoples through their system of reservations, and other countries, including Australia, followed suit. Britain's divide and rule policies, especially in India, had shown that it could be a useful tool in imperial or colonial management. Turkey put it into exaggerated effect in Armenia and temporarily incurred the wrath of the Western powers. (Chapter 16) But their memories were short, and Britain and France had then been happy to encourage Hitler to use it in the carve-up of Czechoslovakia. (Chapter 20) However, the policy then backfired when he refined it even further and made a mockery of the puny efforts of the amorphous Christian gel in his treatment of Europe's Jews – in league with the Vatican-backed Ustashe – and it suddenly fell into disrepute. (Chapter 24) It even became fashionable to use it as a propaganda tool against Hitler.

But Hitler was now out of the way. The European powers and their colonial offspring wanted to play by their own rules again. The question of Palestine was under consideration in the United Nations right at the time that Britain lost control of affairs in India completely and left the sub-continent in chaos as it divided on religious lines. That situation greatly influenced the environment in which the UN decision was to be taken, and the advice of the three countries which had experienced similar situations themselves was ignored. The situation in India made it much easier for the Western powers to decide in favor of the partition of Palestine, and now that decision and Calvinist theology was about to be used to help justify and to mute any criticism of a major division on racial lines. The crisis resulting from the enforced separation and 'separate development' of communities on racial grounds was taking on a new dimension with the rise to power of Dr Daniel Malan in South Africa, coincidental with the establishment of the State of Israel. Malan, an intensely nationalistic Boer who had trained and served as a preacher in the Dutch Reformed Church, became Prime Minister of South Africa on June 3, 1948, when the invasion of Israel was at its most critical point. His swearing in followed an election in the last week of May for which the National Party had campaigned vigorously on a platform of Apartheid. That campaign had received less international attention than it may have if the establishment of the State of Israel and the crisis in the Middle East had not dominated the media at the time, but in any case it was most unlikely to provoke much of an adverse reaction from the media in the United States. In a sense it was a re-run of the publication of *Mein Kampf*. The people on whose laws and social policies the "new Apartheid policy" was largely modelled could not be expected to acknowledge the evil in it even if they had come to recognize it.

In the land of Truman, Abraham Lincoln and his propositions that 'all men are created equal' and there shall be 'government of the people, by the people, for the people' ... 'with malice towards none, with charity for all' which was enshrined in the 1863 Proclamation of

Emancipation, the isolation and ghettoization of freed Negro slaves in the Southern States started within a year of Lincoln's assassination. Two basic issues were involved: exclusion from the electoral system and segregation. In 1866 South Carolina introduced the first of the 'Black Codes' which effectively established two classes based on race by imposing segregation and severely restricting the civil liberties of Negroes. They included the requirement for Negroes to carry identification passes, and prohibition from holding public office, assembling in a public place, serving on juries in cases involving whites, serving in military forces, and going on strike. The following year Congress passed the Reconstruction Act to prevent the operation of such codes, divided the south into five occupied military districts, and required states to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment in order to be readmitted to the Union. But the states found ways to circumvent the Act. Some immediately excluded former slaves from the vote – and the notorious Ku Klux Klan was established. Over the next eight years various challenges to discriminatory laws were mounted in state supreme courts but they were inevitably rejected. Pennsylvania's Supreme Court ruled railway segregation was constitutional; Ohio's upheld school segregation so long as 'equal' facilities were also provided for Negroes, and Indiana's did likewise.

Eventually, in 1875 Congress passed the Civil Rights Act requiring that people of all races be admitted equally to hotels, waiting rooms, trains, ships, theatres and other public facilities, but progressive leaders in both the north and the south were gradually losing the will to enforce social reconstruction across the Union and dominant whites in the south regrouped. They were determined to find ways to exclude **all** Negroes from the electoral and legislative systems, not only former slaves, and to isolate them from the life of mainstream white America without contravening the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the constitution of the United States. Thus they brought legal actions which resulted in the Supreme Court declaring invalid a statute which forbade segregation on steamboats (1878) and then the Civil Rights Act was declared unconstitutional in 1883 on the grounds that the Fourteenth Amendment applied only to the States and that segregation by private individuals or companies was legal under the constitution.⁶⁵ Within a few years more state legislation was in place to take full advantage of that decision and in 1896 the Supreme Court upheld one such act, segregation on railways in Louisiana. But opposition among Negroes and white activists to enforced segregation was growing. The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples (NAACP) was founded in 1910 following initiatives taken by Professor W.E.B. Du Bois of Atlanta five years earlier, and the National Urban League was founded a year later. In those early years their existence proved little more than an irritation to the white supremacists and in 1913 in Georgia Negroes were dismissed from the post office and banned from government employment, and in 1915, in a bid to prevent them from profiting from the growth of employment as United States industry expanded to service the war in Europe, South Carolina banned the employment of blacks with whites except in roles such as janitors.

During the same period of forty years various moves had been taken to disenfranchise Negroes and many theories had been developed and published to show that they were inherently

inferior and why they were not fit to vote alongside whites. Intimidation was sufficient to stop the majority from voting in the first few years after the Civil War but Mississippi made the first formal move, adopting discriminatory regulations in 1890 which required a poll tax and the ability to read or to understand an oral presentation of the constitution. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge promptly championed the Force Bill to outlaw such regulations and to ensure voting rights for Negroes and it was passed by the House of representatives but rejected by the Senate. However the clauses of the Mississippi regulations could be used to stop poor or uneducated whites from voting as well as Negroes and this led to some concern among conservatives. Their concern was *not* that the poor and uneducated should be guaranteed the vote. It was that the loopholes might lead to the regulations being annulled. Therefore, fearing further moves to outlaw such regulations the state of Louisiana sought to eliminate the loopholes with its 'grandfather laws'. (Chapter 18) These provided that if a man could not meet the literacy or property-owning qualifications he could still vote if he was the son or grandson of a person who had voted on January 1, 1867 – at the time that slaves were not entitled to vote. The effect was a near-complete disenfranchisement of Negroes.⁶⁶

Few people would have noticed that these new laws coincided with other extreme abuses of human rights in colonies around the world; the degradation of the Jewish community in Europe; the Dreyfus controversy and the convening of the First Zionist Congress in 1897; and the coercive transport of migrant or indentured labour into countries such as Malaya, Fiji and Australia, with different social, economic and even political status between the new and old populations. In Malaya's case Indians were brought in to work the foreign-controlled rubber plantations, and Chinese to work the tin mines. By 1931 the Chinese population had risen to 39 per cent of the population compared with 45 per cent Malays, with Indians accounting for most of the remainder. In Fiji's case Indians were brought in to work the foreign-controlled sugar plantations. In both cases the countries were being left with the basis for semi-regional communal development and conflict on a racial and religious basis which was not of their making, but which they would later have to cope with. Other countries could be cited, too, of course. But Australia, where Pacific Islanders were 'introduced' as indentured labour to work the Queensland sugar plantations, solved its potential problem (or so it thought) by legislating for their repatriation after federation under the White Australia Policy. And few people who were involved in such exercises would have been conscious of the significance of the coincidence and these events and the fact that circumstances were being set in train which would eventually invert a number of long-standing international relationships. Those in power were confident that they would retain it and remain 'top dogs' and resolve any conflicts which might arise.

Communal lawlessness in the southern states, characterized as 'Lynch-Law', had gathered momentum and became an instrument for the suppression of Negro rights and the elimination of not only Negroes who questioned the superior status of whites but also whites who tried to support them. A peak was reached in 1892 when 69 whites and 162 Negroes were lynched. For the next twelve years the lynchings averaged 29 whites and more than one hundred Negroes, a

ratio of about four to one. But then the ratio changed. Between 1906 and 1915 lynchings totalled 620 Negroes and 61 whites: a ratio of ten to one. Apparently the lynching bigots did not consider death sufficient penalty for those opposing racial segregation and many victims were subjected to horrendous treatment so that as Gossett expresses it: "To read the details of lynching is to be reminded of the torture of the Middle Ages. Indeed the lynchers could sometimes have taught the torturers of that era some lessons."⁶⁷ But even those figures do not tell the full story. They do not include the thousands of Negroes who were simply slaughtered during the period of Social Reconstruction to avoid a flood of Negroes into the post-slavery employment pool.

Various legal challenges were mounted against the discriminatory regulations but the politically appointed Supreme Court "invariably disposed of cases designed to test the constitutionality of such laws on technical grounds"⁶⁸ and it was not until 1915 that the court declared the 'grandfather clauses' unconstitutional. However its decision was meaningless in terms of ensuring racial equality because other devices based on voter qualification were left untouched. Poor and uneducated whites were simply caught in the net of discrimination as well as Negroes. In any case, six years later, in 1921, the court found that white's-only 'primary elections' for the selection of candidates were not constrained by laws covering the election of members of Congress. In the meantime the experience of Negroes from the Northern States who served in Europe during the Great War fuelled the agitation against discrimination and from 1919 Civil Rights riots occurred in Chicago which white racists sought to link to Communism, thus making it a political rather than a socio-economic issue. Texas promptly took the lead with further repressive measures, banning Negroes from Democratic primaries in 1923 and by 1932 all former Confederacy States had either whites-only primaries or restrictions on Negro voting rights. In that context it was a mere side show that indicated the direction that America was taking when Atlanta legislated against hairdressers serving both white and black customers in 1930, but people in other countries took note of every new initiative taken in the great United States.

NOW, THE APARTHEID GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Among the people who took careful note of the development of race laws in the United States during the 1920s and 1930s was a South African preacher, Dr. Daniel Malan. Hitler's senior by fifteen years, Malan saw himself as committed by Divine Will to the separation of peoples based on their colour and the absolute supremacy of white Afrikaners. Whereas Hitler had been mainly influenced by Catholicism and its anti-Semitism, Malan had been "hardened by Calvinist convictions of being among the Elect of God." From 1924 to 1933, while the former Confederate States were winding the stocks of segregation, economic dis-empowerment and disenfranchisement of Negroes ever tighter; while the British and Zionist authorities and the Muslim Supreme Council were increasingly in conflict in Palestine; and while Hitler was formulating his political philosophy and writing *Mein Kampf*, Malan was a minister in the

Hertzog coalition government. During those years Hertzog directed the government to pursue policies aimed at the economic defence of White South Africa. In a circular to all departments in October 1924 he instructed that “uncivilized labour” was to be replaced by “civilized labour.” Uncivilized labour was defined as “the labour rendered by persons whose aim is restricted to the bare requirements of the necessities of life as understood among barbarous and undeveloped peoples”. Civilized labour was defined as that “rendered by persons whose standard of living conforms to the standard generally recognized as tolerable from a European standpoint.”

A year later, November 1925, he proposed a solution to what he called “the Native-Coloured Question.” He advocated segregation for the blacks and integration for the coloureds. The dividing line between black and white, he said, should be based on three factors: territory, with separate residential areas; economic, with job reservation; and political, with separate voter lists. He listed action on the political front as most important because he regarded the Cape Native franchise as the thin edge of the wedge. He said: “It is clear to me that granting the franchise to the natives of the Union on the same basis as the Cape franchise, or rather on the basis of a member of parliament being elected by whites and blacks together, must lead to the downfall of the white population group, and of European civilization in the Union.” Concerning the coloured, he said: “... the question is whether some form of segregation should also be applied in his case, or whether he should be treated on a different footing ... We must not lose sight of the fact that the Cape Coloured is a person who in many respects resembles the European, and, in almost every respect except colour, differs fundamentally from the native. He originated from us, and exists in our midst; he knows no civilization other than the European one, even though he often falls short of its standards; his outlook on life is essentially that of a European, not of a native; and he speaks the European’s language as his mother tongue. There can be no thought of segregation in his case ... the Cape Coloured ... deserves assimilation with the European.”⁶⁹

Four bills which provided the basis of his solution were passed in July 1926. Cape Blacks were removed from the common electoral roll and placed with all other blacks on a separate roll for the election of seven *white* representatives who would not have the right to vote on a motion of no confidence in the government. A separate Union Native Council with 50 black members was set up with advisory and limited legislative capacity, subject to government approval. Some additional areas were set aside in which blacks could *compete* with whites for land. Limited franchise, to take effect over a period of years, was extended to coloureds in selected other provinces on a basis similar to the Cape Coloured Franchise. Swift action followed. White employment in South Africa’s railway and harbour systems increased by 9,815 from 5,301 to 15,116 between June 1926 and February 1928, while Indian, black native and convict employment dropped by exactly the same number. Simple substitution. Restrictive legislation and practices in both the government and commercial sectors followed for several years.⁷⁰

Malan was eager to oblige his prime minister. He introduced measures making Afrikaans an official language and seeking to repatriate South Africa’s Indian minority. In this regard he was not aping the United States, but repaying, in kind, a compliment by Australia. The parliament of

the Commonwealth of Australia had given him a lead by including in its first package of bills immediately after federation, in 1901, an act to repatriate all of the Pacific Islands Kanakas who had been seized, often at gun point, and transported to the cane fields of Queensland. It had an assortment of reasons which included fear of labour market dependence on cheap semi-slave or disguised slave labour and shame at the conduct of the murderous kidnappers, or ‘black-birders,’ as well as straightforward racism. It followed almost immediately with a series of bills which were designed to make sure they did not return as free immigrants and that, under its notorious White Australia Policy, no more like them, or Chinese or Japanese, would come in either. It drew on laws already operating in Natal which required an intending immigrant to pass a language test – in any European language an official might prescribe!⁷¹ Subsequently, as Opposition Leader during the Second World War, Malan was hostile to South Africa’s participation in the Western Alliance against Hitler.⁷²

It should therefore have been no surprise that immediately his party was elected on a platform of separate racial development and he took office on as Prime Minister on June 3rd, 1948, he moved to guarantee the supremacy which white Afrikaners already enjoyed in Transvaal to the entire white population. South Africa was divided into zones for whites, coloureds and blacks, and the non-whites became refugees in their own land as they were forced to move from one zone to another and the whites gained control of the vast bulk of the nation’s productive and attractive land. Then over the next few years he and his successors adopted – with refined precision – each of the strategies and measures which the American Confederate States had demonstrated so well.

But 1948 was early days in the road to full blown Apartheid and the whole world took note when the government used biblical quotations and Christian precedents to justify every facet of that program and it was vigorously supported by statements and resolutions of the Dutch Reformed Church of which Malan was a member. The world’s non-Christian communities were aghast but White South Africans expected churches and politicians around the world to either support the government on the basis of its interpretation of Christian theology, or to say nothing. In some cases, especially among the conservative churches, they succeeded and opposition was generally muted or suppressed. But gradually, as more people became aware of the way in which Christian teaching was being distorted and misused, division and polarization set in. The church was indeed confronted by another challenge to its self-understanding. In due course the World Council of Churches did take up the challenge and, as we shall see, the Dutch Reformed Church and the Council parted company in acrimonious circumstances, but at the time of the first assembly meeting it was still early days. Cooperation and unity among the churches was a prime consideration.

FINALLY, THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

At the time that the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered and the Apartheid government was elected, the staff and committees of the World Council of Churches in process of formation

were fully committed in organizing the first assembly (which had to ratify the establishment of the Council) and in charting a course for the future. They had to work with a very broad canvas and avoid being sidetracked by particular issues. After half a century of consultation, campaigning, opposition and trauma its supporters had reached the point at which they could convert a fragmented interim organization into a cohesive force which they hoped and prayed could confront the challenges which nearly two thousand years of church history, communal evolution, diverse discoveries, imperial oppression and exploitation, and broken human relationships had generated. They were determined, confident, and as well organized and prepared as the circumstances of two world wars would permit – but they were also hesitant, reluctant to claim more than they could justify, and uncertain about the identity and role of the new institution. They had to cope with such a range of major issues and tensions that most mere mortals would have baulked at the task.

Those tensions arose from a very wide range of self-understandings and theology from one unit of the church to another; reluctance to surrender deeply entrenched denominational mores and privileges in the interests of Christian unity; reluctance on the part of the major Orthodox churches to embrace the ecumenical movement for both theological and historical political reasons; trenchant opposition to the ecumenical movement from its ‘big brother’, the Vatican. And, yes, they were vaguely conscious that the establishment of the State of Israel represented a challenge of some kind. But they were deeply concerned with the impact of the Second World War on the world’s understanding of the church and the undermining of its teaching, and almost totally engrossed in the need to consolidate the ecumenical movement and to determine the Council’s identity. Thus they were not prepared to look at the possibility that there was a challenge from ‘outside’ – resulting from the changed status of its parent faith – when there was no consensus that such a challenge either existed or was possible. To give that possibility any real credibility would have been highly divisive indeed. The prevailing view was that the establishment of the State of Israel was a humanitarian and political issue rather than a religious issue, and that the major matter of concern or ‘outside challenge’ – if such a thing existed – was the confrontation between the Christian West and the Communist East. The Vatican and the United States had cooperated – perhaps ‘contrived’ is more accurate – to set that agenda, but the fact that it had been accepted by the Reformed churches is shown by the fact that ‘the Christian approach to the Jews’ was made one matter of concern for an assembly working committee which also had to deal with the life and work of women in the church, the significance of the laity in the church, and Christian reconstruction and inter-church aid.

However there is little doubt that as the 351 delegates from 147 churches in 44 countries assembled for the opening act of worship in Amsterdam’s Nieuwe Kerk on August 22, 1948, (together with alternate, youth and fraternal delegates, consultants, observers and accredited visitors who raised the total number of participants to 1,100 persons) most of them were aware that they were taking part in the most important event in the life of the Christian Church since the Reformation. It therefore follows that as committed Christians they were equally well aware of their responsibility to seek to recognize and to respond to the will of God, and that they

believed they were doing so. There is no reason to believe otherwise, unless, as individuals, they were being totally hypocritical and (or) represented a Constantinian mind set which held that the purpose of religion was to ensure political stability through conformity, and that the rights of conventional Trinitarian Christians took precedence over the rights of all others.

TWO DEFINING MOMENTS – BUT LITTLE RECOGNITION

The question must therefore be asked: why were they not conscious that the establishment of the World Council of Churches was actually one of the defining moments in the history of the church and that it bore a critical relationship to the establishment of the State of Israel – the central fact of the Christian Era – with which it coincided? Similarly, why did almost none of the world's religious or political leaders recognize, or want to recognize, the coincidence of the prophecy of the Qur'anic Night Journey and Maimonides' understanding of the re-establishment of the state of Israel?

First: the churches. In spite of the Reformation and all of the challenges which had unfolded progressively, none of the mainstream Christian churches recognized Judaism and the Jewish community as having any role as a continuing instrument of God's Will except in the sense that their continued existence was to confirm the finality of Christ and the role of the Christian Church. In the case of the Roman Catholic Church the term 'role' has to be extended to encompass 'authority' and, as we have already noted, fear of a revival in Judaism and Jewish influence was a major concern of the Vatican in its bid to prevent both the British mandate in Palestine and the subsequent partition of Palestine to enable the establishment of the State of Israel. Similarly none of the churches recognized Muhammad as a divinely inspired prophet or Islam as an instrument of God's Will. Therefore those who did give serious thought or credibility to the prophecy of the Night Journey, and to any relationship between that and the 'myth' of Maimonides' thinking, were reluctant to give any public indication of it. The only people apart from the Jews and Muslims themselves who chose to recognize writings originating within Judaism after the rise of Christianity or within Islam were the Baha'is, the Theosophists and one or two other fringe groups, and in the mainstream Christian view they didn't count anyway. In any case, what was all this talk about the coming of the Messianic Age? It was already here and now: by courtesy of the Messiah, Son of God and an equal person of the Triune God who had delegated the running of it to his church.

There were other concerns, too. During the years since the end of the Second World War the church had again come under scrutiny, although not to the same extent as after the First World War. That was because of the depravity of the Nazi regime which was well recognized, and there were contradictory tendencies apparent throughout the predominantly Christian countries. On one hand some people in the countries of the Western Alliance turned towards the church out of a sense of relief and thanksgiving, from a need for support, or in the belief that their alliance had won because of its superior Christian religion and ethics. God had pulled it through and scuttled "the others". In contrast with that, some people in the Axis Alliance turned to the

church out of repentance for their involvement with the tyranny – or the failure – of the powers of which they were part; out of a sense of gratitude for survival; or in humility for guidance for the future. On the other hand some people deserted the church because its social teachings no longer seemed in step with peoples' aspirations. People were looking for guidance rather than strait-jackets in a world which was hell-bent on enjoying relief from the chaos of war; release from propaganda and indoctrination; personal freedoms; and the benefits of technological developments which had taken place during the war and which had been largely stimulated by it. They expected recognition for their sacrifices during the war, full employment and the benefits which came from it, and they expected to enjoy life to the full. The concept of the permissive society was still some years away and the subversive influence of advertising and the mass media had not yet become apparent, but the student generation was influenced by the freedoms gained by returned servicemen and women who were only a few years their senior. They began to strain at the leash.

While those contradictory influences either encouraged or discouraged religious observance there were other factors which also put the churches under pressure. Many people, especially returned service personnel, saw grave faults in the societies on both sides of the battle lines and questioned the idea of an omnipotent God who used divine influence to control the flow of history. If such divine power is a fact, why, they asked, does God allow humanity to tear itself apart? Why is humanity able to, or permitted to, abuse the created world and develop weapons so powerful that the world could be laid waste by human decision? How could the church relate the inhuman carnage of recent years to the concepts of a loving God, supreme judgement and salvation, or to the conduct and authority of the church which claimed to be the appointed representative of God on earth? And what of the idea of predestination? The lack of acceptable answers to such questions encouraged a drift away from the church. It simply was not able to demonstrate a compelling reason why people should maintain the tradition or the convention of regular attendance at church services. The one exception to that pattern was the United States where, as we have seen, church membership and attendance was continuing to rise on the wave of self-congratulation that the people of God's-own country had been rewarded with victory and the right to exercise world-wide authority because of their faithfulness and diligence.

But elsewhere, in addition to those factors, servicemen and women who had served in other countries had become aware of religious movements other than Christianity and they were eager to explore them. The church's attitude towards the non-Christian world was being seriously questioned for the first time. So the churches all had more than enough to cope with in restoring the life of their congregations and their influence in the community, recruiting and training clergy, in church reconstruction programs and in providing inter-church aid for those in more parlous circumstances. The last thing they needed was the distraction of theological debate over Christianity's relationship with its partners in the triangle – or with faiths not in the triangle.

Next, Islam. Muslim leaders varied greatly in their understanding of, and interpretation of, the Qur'anic Night Journey and its relevance to the Second World War. But they were

unanimous in their belief that the Jews were transgressing against their neighbours in Palestine. The Grand Mufti had been telling the world that for a long time, but few people outside the Muslim world were interested in hearing it, and the great Christian powers did all they could to avoid Muslims in non-Arab countries becoming concerned and too closely aligned with the Arab cause. Muslims accepted both Jews and Christians as 'People of the Book' with a role to play in God's divine plan. But while Muslim leaders were quite well aware of Maimonides because most of his work and writing had been done in intimate association with Islam in the Middle East, there were few among them who could see anything which resembled his understanding of the Messianic Age flowing from the Jewish transgression and oppression in Palestine. Many Muslim countries had been devastated and traumatised by Europe's war sweeping across them in the same manner as their colonial master countries in Europe and they were in the middle of struggles to throw off their colonial yokes. However one Muslim leader who did understand Maimonides' vision was King Abdullah. As already noted, he told Mrs Meyerson of the benefits which he anticipated for all of the Semite East as a consequence of Divine Providence restoring the Jews to the Holy Land.

In any case, Muslims do not look for a Messianic Age in the terms of either Jews or Christians. The title Messiah is applied to Jesus in the sense of the one through whom the Gospels were delivered, who was the exemplification of God's Will, and who had been lifted in glory to be in the presence of God. Therefore if a Messianic Age is ever to be recognized it will be that age in which humanity understands its relationship with God, acknowledges God's absolute authority, and responds by living according to divine precepts and the example set by Jesus and confirmed and reinforced by the Prophet Muhammad. Perhaps that is close to what Maimonides anticipated anyway. But the Muslims believed passionately that the Will of God would prevail, that as servants of God they and the Jews both were required to obey and respond to the Will of God, and that everything will be determined on the Day of Judgement. There is nothing in that belief which contradicts a belief that *if* it is God's Will that the Messianic Age will follow the return of the Jews to the Holy Land they, the Muslims, will have a role to play in that process as neighbours together with the Jews.

In other words the outcome of the Messianic Age, or the age of obedience to God's Will, would not be something to be determined or enjoyed exclusively by the Jews at the expense of their neighbours. They may be predestined, in Qur'anic understanding, for a particular role in history, but that predestination does not preclude their God-given capacity to decide to act contrary to God's Will as they have at times in the past. In that sense they are no different to everyone else who, regardless of faith or the absence of it, have minds of their own and free will to make and to exercise their own decisions. The *consequences* of such a decision on their part to act contrary to God's Will would only confirm their predestined or covenant role. In other words they may be disobedient and face the Day of Judgement on that basis. Similarly, that belief does not over-ride the equally strong belief that obedience to God's Will may require war to be waged against infidels in retribution for their disobedience or rejection of God's Will. Such acts of disobedience may include coveting one's neighbour's land and transgression

against a neighbouring community. So, generally speaking, in the circumstances of the time Muslims did not perceive the relationship between the Qur'anic Night Journey and Maimonides' expectation that the Messianic Age would follow the Jewish return to the Holy Land. They were simply too involved in the action as victims of transgression.

SILENCE FROM THE GREAT POWERS ...

Among the great powers it was Britain which could be expected to understand the situation more easily than others. It had waved its flag as Defender of the Faith more conspicuously than any other colonial power in the Reformed group – at least until the US occupation of Japan – and it had taken up its shared obligation to carry the Christian message to the non-European world with great enthusiasm. Therefore, because its empire included countries and people of all faiths it had a core of clergy and senior government officials who had the opportunity, if they wished, to be well briefed on the theology, self-understanding, culture and expectations of those faiths. Although it had sustained a long drawn out struggle to keep Jews in their trading houses and prevent them from holding public office, except when it pleased it, such as in its bid to stifle the establishment of a Bolshevik regime in Russia, it had eventually acquiesced in reasonably good humour and since the mid to late nineteenth century many Jews had graced its parliament, its cabinet table and even its prime minister's residence. But no Muslims. Its special claim to recognition for interfaith 'understanding' was that it had been prepared to undertake to secure a homeland for Jews in Palestine. At that time, in 1917, it had caused both its own national church and the Vatican a great deal of heart ache when it invited both the Jews and the Muslims to take positions of privilege in Jerusalem, the jewel in the religious crown, where church and state had cooperated in an effort to achieve a position of dominance over a long period. Subsequently it became host to the world headquarters of the Zionist Movement as that body sought to convert the offer of a national homeland for Jews into the promise of a Jewish State. It also bore the brunt of the anger of both Zionists and Muslims as they traded insults and terrorist attacks in a bid to sway Britain's decisions in their favour. On that basis it should have been the first to recognize and proclaim the relationship between the Qur'anic Night Journey and Maimonides' expectations about the return of the Jews to the Holy Land. It should also have been in the forefront of efforts to enable the world to experience the Messianic Age. But it could not.

If it admitted the relevance of the Night Journey it admitted as a corollary that Muhammad was a divinely inspired prophet and in doing so it directly contradicted the clearly defined self-understanding and teaching of its national church. It would also have been an admission that it had aided and abetted the Zionist Organization in its transgression against the Palestinians; that it had exploited people of Islam for its own ends; and that it was therefore morally responsible to redress the wrongs committed. It could not do that because it had just admitted abject failure and renounced, rejected and reneged upon the responsibility which it had fought so hard against the Vatican to claim, and had then foisted it upon the ill-prepared fledgling United Nations

Organization. Similarly, if it admitted the relevance of Maimonides' writings it would have also contradicted the teachings of its church on the role of Judaism and the Jews, the nature of the Messianic Age, and the role and self-understanding of the church.

Britain had succeeded fairly well in concealing the motives behind its dealings with the Zionist Organization up to that time, but as an alternative to contradicting its church, or in addition to doing so, it would have had to admit, at last, to gross exploitation of the Jewish community as well as the Muslims of Palestine. And it would have had to accept exposure of its role as a leader of the alliance of Gog (or was it Magog?) in the Second World War. There was no knowing where the debate which that would have generated would lead: the nature of the world's powers of evil; the consequences of their colonial policies; the horrific extension of the war as a consequence of its determination to hang on to its colonies; and Britain's possible contribution to the fate of Europe's Jews all would have come under the spotlight. It certainly would have led to increased demands for Britain to play a bigger role in solving the crisis in the Middle East and in resettling displaced persons of all persuasions, and it had just demonstrated by its own actions and decisions, including especially its acceptance of the Marshall Plan and withdrawal from India in such pathetic circumstances that its own political, economic and social fabric was so weakened that it was in no position to honour such demands.

Germany was still in a state of shock, politically divided and under military occupation, but it was making a dramatic economic recovery – stimulated by international competition and financial assistance – and the majority of its people found little difficulty in admitting that it had fallen under the government of a power of evil. In the western portion of the nation they were about to confirm this by accepting their government's decision to provide massive financial aid to the State of Israel at the same time that they accepted massive aid from the United States under the Marshall Plan. The Nazi experiment had generated great anguish among German theologians and their writings were having considerable impact across the Christian world. But to recognize that they and their country had been involved on the losing end of some sort of divinely inspired plan with overtones of national predestination would have been even more demoralizing than the First World War collapse of their understanding that Germany had a special living role in Reformation Revelation. (Chapter 16, *Germany: a living revelation*.) In view of the national campaign of anti-Semitism which had followed Bismarck's anti-Catholic Kulturkampf (chapter 15) any discussion about national responsibility for reshaping the triangle of faiths – placing Judaism squarely in the centre of the world stage – was another matter altogether. To admit that their leader, a man who had gained messianic notoriety and had claimed that he was fulfilling an aim in which the church had failed, had actually fulfilled the prophecy of the Qur'anic Night Journey by acting out the role of the scourge would have been unthinkable. It would have been an admission on the part of Germany, as in the case of Britain, that its churches had been wrong about the major questions of whether Judaism and Islam were on-going instruments of God's Will and about the church's relationship with both of those faiths. And if they were wrong on those questions what else were they wrong on? Precisely the same questions arose if they were to recognize that they were an integral component of Magog

(or was it Gog?) in Maimonides' understanding of the return of the Jews to the Holy Land. What would be their role in ushering in the Messianic Age if it was not already here and now? What was to be the nature of the Messianic Age? What of the Messiah himself? And what of the role and status of the church?

In any case those theologians were only talking for one half of the German people. The other half were under the control of the Soviet Union and it was resolving those questions according to its own understanding. After suppressing religion for twenty five years Stalin and his Communist colleagues had found it to their advantage to restore, in part, the role of religious organizations in Russia at a critical stage of the war. (Chapter 24) The reinstated Russian Orthodox Church was highly centralized and very conservative. It was under rigid state control and it was required to support Stalin's foreign policy, but it provided viable centres for Christian worship. It was in a phase of recovery so that by 1953 there would be 73 dioceses, (the same number as before the war), each with a bishop. There were 67 monasteries, 10 schools of theology and about 20,000 parish clergy compared with only a few hundred at the beginning of the war.⁷³ Islam had suffered suppression in much the same manner as Christianity, except that it had never accumulated massive institutions and land holdings in the manner of the church so that it did not suffer to the same extent from property expropriation, and its adherents were less dependent upon the clergy, the mystique and the trappings of religion to underpin their faith. Its four pre-revolution Spiritual Directorates were reinstated, several hundred mosques were reopened (there were never very many compared with the number of churches, either pre-revolution or after reinstatement), two religious schools were re-established, selected groups were permitted to make the pilgrimage of the hajj, students were permitted to enrol at international Islamic universities and the conduct of international Islamic conferences in the Soviet Union was permitted.⁷⁴

But that did not alter the fact that the government of the Soviet Union was basically atheistic, anti-religious and struggling to manage religious diversity in a highly complex nation. Its state church was not comfortable with either the Vatican or the Reformed wing of the western church. In spite of Stalin's mid-1930's purges, his campaign to reduce the influence of Jews in the Soviet Union, and the scale of shocking atrocities carried out against the Jewish community when it was sandwiched between the Nazi onslaught and the Soviet defence, it was still home to nearly a quarter of the entire world Jewish population. It had planned and supported, in very contentious circumstances, an autonomous Jewish region of Birobidzhan, but its opposition to Zionism meant that its Jewish community was fractious and largely antagonistic after rejecting the government's vigorous efforts to establish that autonomous Jewish region. In addition its very large Muslim population, with approximately the same total numbers as the Christian church, was strategically placed with its strength in the southern and central republics.⁷⁵

When the British mandate failed the Soviet Union had supported the partition of Palestine to provide for the establishment of the State of Israel, officially on the essentially humanitarian grounds that it "met the legitimate demands of the Jewish people," but in fact to undermine the position of the United States in the Middle East. And that support was in spite of the opposition

of the Zionist Movement to the BiraBidzhan settlement scheme which had, at the time of partition, more Jewish residents than ever before (still a mere 30,000) ⁷⁶ and the allegations of US interference in Soviet affairs through the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee. It was certainly not favouring one religious group in its population in preference to the others. In any case, on the basis that it recognized only philosophy and ethics, that it did not recognize the validity of the holy books of any of those religions, and that its decisions were made on the basis of pragmatic assessment of current circumstances, the Soviet Union could not be expected to show any interest in either the Night Journey or Maimonides' writings. Nor could it be expected to get excited about the idea of a Messianic Age following the return of the Jews to the Holy Land.

... ESPECIALLY THE UNITED STATES ...

On the other hand the United States was in a completely different situation. The basis of its heritage was settlement by communities avoiding the oppressive religious environment of Europe. Its republican constitution had been launched to loud applause for its guarantees of religious freedom; it had provided a pattern for civil rights in Europe as its people struggled to move into a new era; it spawned the modern-day Protestant Work Ethic; and its leaders had embraced the concept that it was 'The New Israel' – the epitome of the God-fearing society and the guide for all humanity. It was not strong in Islam but it was strong in both Christianity and Judaism. Its Protestant churches had provided many of the leaders of the Ecumenical Movement; the government had developed strong and mutually advantageous links with the Vatican, and its Catholic Church had developed considerable social and political influence; and its Jewish community which, by 1948, was one half of the total world Jewish community, had led the way in Reform in Judaism. In addition its universities and centres of higher learning, including its halls of theology, were regarded as among the best in the world. The United States was therefore in an excellent position to recognize the relationship between the Qur'anic Night Journey and Maimonides' writings. But there was not a whisper. Not a hint of leadership in bringing the theological implications of the crisis in the Middle East to world attention.

The United States government had just assumed the role of chief protector and provider of a 'security umbrella' for the Jewish State and if it had acknowledged the validity of the Qur'anic Night Journey it would also have acknowledged, by default, that through its support of Israel it was ensuring the continuation of the transgression which was the focal point of the Night Journey and which was taking place against the Palestinian people. The US was, in fact, riding roughshod over the human rights of one people and justifying that policy on the basis that it was offsetting abuses against the human rights of another people. It was doing this to protect the president's political position; the commercial interests of its major petroleum companies, industry generally and investment houses in particular; and, in doing so, it was establishing new parameters for its strategic interests. These were to lead it very quickly to the abuse of the human rights of many other peoples. With its unaccustomed role of policeman to the world underpinned by its exclusive control of nuclear weapons it soon lost the ability, if it ever had it,

to distinguish between using its control of nuclear weapons to preserve world peace and protect the human rights of smaller nations, on one hand, and to pursue its own interests on the other hand. And while the new-born World Council of Churches was trying to come to grips with its role and self-understanding, the United States was in the middle of a presidential election campaign in which not only the result was greatly influenced by Truman's favourable response to Zionist demands, but also the evolution of US domestic and foreign policy.

After sixteen years of Democrat presidents pushing a New Deal for those with a social 'cause' the Republican Party was greatly frustrated at having to face another four years out of power. It could not expose and oppose Truman's dependence on the Zionist lobby. It knew that the Jewish vote had gone heavily in favour of Truman – an estimated 75 percent – while 15 percent supported the breakaway Democrat George Wallace and only ten percent voted for the Republican candidate, Thomas Dewey.⁷⁷ The strength of that vote had been assured when, in spite of his government being the first to grant *de jure* recognition of the State of Israel, Stalin began an anti-Zionist campaign in October 1948, almost immediately after the arrival of Mrs Golda Meir as Israel's first ambassador. It began with a purge of Soviet officials friendly to Israel and the closure of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee which Stalin claimed was a centre of subversion. Some writers have portrayed Stalin's change of heart as a reversion to long standing anti-Semitism. He resented the influence of some Jewish advisers and friends of people in high places around him, his family and ministers, and the extent to which pro-Zionist sentiment was displayed in the "tremendous spontaneous welcome from Moscow's 500,000 Jews"⁷⁸ for Mrs Meir in a demonstration outside a Moscow synagogue. He was apparently convinced that anyone with Zionist sympathies must be a traitor to the Soviet Union.⁷⁹

However after the religious authorities of all faiths had served their purpose during the war against Hitler, Stalin had reverted to his overall antireligious position and not only to anti-Semitism. A purge against dissident Christian clergy had started in April 1946, and in 1947 the bishop in charge of the Orenburg Diocese of the Sakharovites in the southern Urals, Bishop Manuil, was gaoled for eight years. In 1949 the program of forced closure of churches accelerated with 53 of the 55 churches in the diocese of Crimea being closed.⁸⁰ It has also been suggested that having achieved his aim of weakening Britain's position in the Middle East Stalin sought to strengthen his own by a closer relationship with the Arab governments in the wake of the refugee crisis generated by the new State of Israel. His support for the Arabs certainly increased following the Dier Yassin massacre and the subsequent forced evacuation of large areas of Palestine at the same time that Zionist organizations in Russia were still working against the BiraBidzhan scheme and pressing for approval for Jews to emigrate to Israel. In fact the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee had been supported and encouraged while it was a rallying point for left wing Jews and encouraged Jews both within and beyond the Soviet Union to look favourably on the new socialist order and away from Fascist policies. But when it published a statement that the State of Israel was not the concern of Zionists alone but of the entire Jewish people, claiming a role for Soviet Jewry in shaping the future character of Israel, Stalin decided it had outlived its usefulness.⁸¹ In addition it has also been suggested that Ben Gurion had

blackmailed Stalin into supporting the partition of Palestine by agreeing not to disclose Russia's role in manipulating the US-German trafficking and spy network 'Max' after its head, Richard Kauder, had defected to the Zionist Organization or the Jewish Agency, and that as there was no further need to maintain secrecy on that issue he took his wrath out on the Zionist movement in Russia.⁸² The similarity between that situation and Zionist efforts to blackmail Nelson Rockefeller are remarkable. The situation was thus very complex.

In any case the strength of the vote in Truman's favour had not been reduced by Dewey's last minute statement that the Republicans supported the awarding of the Negev to Israel and his bid to portray Truman as 'vacillating' on the issue of Palestine. It had cost the Republicans victory in what commentators had said early in the campaign was one that they could not lose,⁸³ but if they complained it would have alienated the Jewish community even more firmly. The nation was therefore firmly tied to a policy of supporting Israel. Neither could the Republican Party successfully confront the social policies of the New Deal which have been characterised as 'the great socialist revolution' because it was committed to policies of social and economic reconstruction in Europe through the \$5.3 billion Marshall Aid Plan, and to social, economic and defence cooperation with Latin America through the Organization of American States. Both matters had been signed into law at a pre-election session of Congress only shortly before Truman's announcement of the recognition of Israel and only two months before the Soviet Union imposed the blockade of all land traffic between West Berlin and West Germany, in June, which led to the massive Berlin airlift program by the US and its allies. In addition, the Soviet Union had also rejected the Marshall Plan and when the Organization for European Cooperation was established in April 1948 it stood aloof.

... WITH AN ELECTION, HISS, MCCARTHY AND MIXED RELIGION

The Republican Party therefore had to find a cause of its own to pursue. It took up the only one which it thought offered a way to fight back. Anti-Communism and a crusade against the employment of Communists in the American administration which Dewey had been reluctant to campaign on.⁸⁴ Ways were sought to link the Truman administration with the policies of the Yalta Conference which had provided the basis of Soviet Russia's strength in Eastern Europe and the influence of Communism elsewhere. A middle-ranking public servant named Hiss was hounded through a series of enquiries to establish his links with the Communist Party and he became a symbol of the 'betrayal' at Yalta and the perceived lack of resolve within the Roosevelt-Truman administration to protect American interests.⁸⁵ The Republican cause then received a big boost with the announcement of the first Russian nuclear test in September 1949, and within a few months the McCarthy Era of anti-Communist witch hunting had begun. The Republican Party was well on its way to winning control of the White House, but at the cost of fractured international relations, a deepening of the Cold War and a deepening of the trouble in the triangle.

Unlike Britain, the United States did not have its own ‘established’ or national church to be overly concerned about destabilizing it. From that point of view the domestic impact of acknowledging a relationship between the Qur’anic Night Journey and Maimonides’ writings; of accepting Muhammad, Islam and Judaism as on-going instruments of God’s Will; of accepting changed relationships between the world’s religious faiths; and of acknowledging that there was a divine plan or influence involved in the establishment of the State of Israel ought to have been of less importance. The country’s constitutional guarantee of the freedom of religion was already a defacto acknowledgment of their validity. However a reasonably sudden or profound move in that direction would certainly have had major implications for the self-understanding of the nation and for its foreign relations. It was imbued with the idea that it was ‘The New Israel’ or the nation which was “living theology” in a way that no other nation did; that it was specially empowered to demonstrate to the rest of the world an understanding of Divine Will; and that it was living in accordance with that empowerment. Thus whatever talk there was about fulfilment of some Divine Plan in the return of the Jews to the Holy Land and the establishment of the State of Israel was accommodated with a rarely-expressed understanding that for the United States to help in the process of return was consistent with both its role in living theology and the fact that the US was already home to half of the world Jewish community. Quite apart from the politics of the situation this subtle understanding helped to strengthen Christian-Zionist groups, and the description of the US as ‘The New Israel’ gradually fell into disuse and was superseded by the use of the term a “Judeo-Christian society” to describe the nation. That expression also helped to avoid any crisis of self-understanding which the loss of the status of “The New Israel” might have tended to generate, and to strengthen the relationship between the United States and its young protégé state.

At the level of its foreign relations, any sudden or profound shift in the official attitude of the United States to Islam and Judaism could have had significant consequences. It would have immediately undermined the credibility and influence of the Vatican to some extent and called into question its authority and its claim to an exclusive divine mission – the very thing which the Vatican feared. If the church was wrong on such issues it was probably also wrong in its trenchant opposition to Marx and Communism and in that case the United States was wrong, too, in the direction in which its Capitalists and its political opposition were about to drag it. Such an admission would have prompted domestic political pressures in the US which neither the Truman administration nor the Republican Party would have welcomed, especially in view of the fact that officials of the Vatican and US Counter Intelligence Corps had begun collaborating in the rescue of Nazis who were under war crimes investigation. The motive of the US was to tap into established intelligence networks and to gather technical experts, plus all their patented and unpatented developments, for the benefit of its commercial and research institutions in exactly the same manner as after World War One. The motive of the Vatican was consolidation of its position, euphemistically called ‘propagation of the faith’, by rescuing Catholic Nazis and undermining Communism which was the most visible challenge to both the Vatican and Capitalism.⁸⁶ The risk of political destabilization from the exposure of this liaison

of convenience would have been unacceptable to advisers of both presidential candidates and could have more than offset the electoral advantage gained through the support and recognition of Israel.

At the same time heightened self-esteem among Muslims as a result of such recognition of their Prophet and their religion (especially where they lived as a minority in Christian-dominated communities or countries) and a new confidence within Islamic countries would have strengthened their resolve to get out from under the heel of Western Christian imperialism and oppression. This would have led initially to increased tension between Christian and Muslim groups in mixed societies, demands for a bigger say in domestic and national affairs, a much more vigorous approach to trade and other negotiations, and a trend towards greater cooperation with the Soviet block. It certainly would have led progressively to more unified international pressure in two directions. Firstly, on the young State of Israel to negotiate a settlement of the Palestine and Jerusalem questions. Secondly, on the Western Christian powers to agree to more equitable policies in international trade and financial arrangements. None of the Western Christian powers were interested in going in either of those directions – except for some of the poverty-stricken countries of the brand new Organization of (Latin) American States which had no political or economic clout with which to threaten the US and Europe. The only countries which would have been interested were the non-Christian countries of Asia, and the West had just fought and won a war to suppress their aspirations and it was still fighting a rearguard action to reimpose as much colonial or neo-colonial control over them as it could.

If the Christian West had been prepared to openly recognize the situation and if it had been prepared to agree to realistic changes at that time, a number of subsequent international trade and military alliances would have been pre-empted. Those two factors together might have been the beginning of Maimonides' vision. Unfortunately those who led the United States and the West, including the churches, could only think in terms of consolidating their positions and disseminating their particular brands of socio-religious philosophies, and the opportunity to convert the vision-splendid to reality was missed. It would be twenty five years – a full generation – before circumstances would combine to precipitate another major challenge and another opportunity for a rethink. In the meantime the vision would become more and more distant and the amorphous Western Christian gel would become more firmly set.

ISRAEL, THE DIASPORA AND CONFUSION

But what of Israel, the Diaspora and Jewish religious leaders? There was, as we have noted, much confusion and tension between the various streams of Judaism over the status of Maimonides' writings and the interpretation of his expectations about a war of Gog and Magog in association with the re-establishment of a state of Israel. That confusion began to develop with moves for the establishment of a Jewish homeland or state in Palestine during the nineteenth century, it increased from the time of the establishment of the Zionist Movement at the turn of the century and continued until the Holocaust and, to some extent, even until the UN

vote in support of the partition of Palestine. It then dissipated because of the urgent need for support of the survivors of the Holocaust and protection of the state once its establishment had been approved by the world body and it became apparent that there would be war between the adjacent Arab nations and the Jewish State. That is understandable but, in view of the fact that Maimonides declared that there was a role for the people of all three Abrahamic faiths in the divine plan for humanity, why could there not be widespread or official recognition of the relationship between his expectations and the Qur'anic Night Journey?

In the prophecy of the Night Journey divine retribution against the Jewish people is conditional upon their future transgressions against their neighbours. To admit that they had suffered divine retribution would therefore be to admit that they had transgressed against their neighbours; that the Palestinians had every right to live in the land which was their home; that a claim to an exclusive Jewish State in that land was not valid; and that they had an immanent responsibility to help guide humanity into the Messianic Era rather than cause further unrest by pursuing their own interests. To agree to such admissions in the circumstances would have been unthinkable for the secular leadership in view of the fact that they and their people had sacrificed so much to gain their Jewish state which they saw as their right in the light of Christian Western misconduct and abuse over a long period.

Similarly, for the Jewish authorities to recognize Maimonides' expectations of a war of Gog and Magog *in association with* their return to their Holy Land would have required unwelcome reassessment of their own conduct. Maimonides had said that the order of events or the exact circumstances of the return to the Holy Land could not be known until the time of the events and this can logically be understood to mean that the war of Gog and Magog could occur prior to, at the time of, or following the return to Palestine. This means that there were three possible scenarios for the Jewish community, its theologians and its secular authorities to consider.

Option one: if the war of Gog and Magog was *the world war* which had already occurred prior to their return to Palestine, they would have to recognize that they had engineered an alliance with the powers of Gog (or was it Magog?) which they had exploited and upon which they had become dependent to achieve their own ends. If they recognized that, they would also have to recognize that in doing so they had transgressed against their neighbours and that (because they had adopted the view that the dawning of the Messianic Age would be achieved through corporate messianism or the actions of the whole community) they had a responsibility to bring about that Messianic Age. That would require the dismantling of their relationship with, and dependence upon, the United States and other Western powers, and a deliberate and concerted effort to support countries and people outside of the amorphous Christian gel in their bid for a fair deal and a set of relationships based on goodwill and equality rather than exploitation.

Option two: if the conflict which *coincided* with their return to Palestine was the war of Gog and Magog, who was Gog and who was Magog? The answer is of no consequence because the conflict only directly involved two camps: in the first were the Israelis and their allies; and in

the second were their Arab neighbours and their allies. Thus one camp was Gog and the other was Magog. The conclusion of a meaningful, permanent peace based on justice and reconciliation was therefore a prerequisite for the dawning of the Messianic Age. Clearly then, the Messianic Age *could not dawn* until the conclusion of that war at which time the nature or circumstances of the Messianic Age would have become apparent. Equally clearly, to end that war and to conclude peace would have required recognition that they had transgressed against their neighbours, and measures to offset or to compensate for that transgression. The longer they remained dependent upon outside help for their defence or to maintain their imposed position of privilege at the expense of those against whom they had transgressed, the greater would become the combined force required to defeat them or to secure a negotiated settlement. Thus the longer a settlement was delayed the more likely a catastrophic war became, the greater the delay before the Messianic Age could dawn and the greater the trauma involved in that process.

Option three: they could recognize that a war of Gog and Magog was to be anticipated *following* their return to the Holy Land and as a precursor to the Messianic Age. In the circumstances, and considering both human nature and Biblical prophesy, that war would be a consequence of their conflict with their neighbours. It follows that if that war was not to involve catastrophic consequences prior to the dawning of the Messianic Age they would have to *either* accommodate their Palestinian neighbours *or* secure powerful and permanent allies for their defence.

The secular leaders of the new State of Israel clearly rejected the validity of the thinking behind all three options but, in doing so, they developed policies and acted as if they were recognizing the third option, second alternative. That was to build a powerful alliance to offset the possibility of a catastrophic war while the Jewish community built a Messianic Age exclusively for itself from the rubble of the former Palestinian homeland. While Israel's Zionist leadership pursued those policies and actions some fundamentalist Jews, Christians and Jehovah's Witnesses, drawn together by their particular interpretations of Scripture, anticipated a war of apocalyptic proportions in the Middle East which would involve the United States and the Soviet Union in a pre-Messianic Age explosion of the cold war. The Jews were influenced by their particular interpretation of Maimonides, while the Christians and Jehovah's Witnesses were influenced and drawn together by their interpretations of the Book of Revelation rather than an understanding of the Qur'an and Maimonides. When the cold war became dormant and that anticipation tended to fade into the background they concealed their embarrassment as best they could, and the most lasting consequence of all the speculation was a further weakening of regard for religion in the Western World.

THE WCC'S CONUNDRUMS

In the meantime the World Council of Churches had struggled to determine its self-understanding and to chart a course for the future. Given the dynamic, fluid circumstances of

the immediate post war period and the tremendous struggles which its founders and supporters had faced during the period from 1908 to 1948, it is hardly surprising that they were not eager to prolong the debate over what and who should constitute the World Council of Churches and what its role should be. In spite of the *Balfour Declaration*, the British Mandate in Palestine and the manipulation of faiths and interfaith relations by each of the major powers, they could not see the establishment of the World Council of Churches as fundamentally important to the reassessment of relations between the three Abrahamic faiths and that one of its fundamental roles must be to reassess the church's theology as an ongoing aspect of the failed Reformation: the one that got away! And in spite of those circumstances impelling them towards – *and into* – such a reassessment their primary aim was to establish an organization which could patch up the divisions between those wings of the church which were not then in communion with Rome. In this sense their mind set, or self-understanding, was no different to that of the Roman Catholic Church. The Christian Church was the only route to Salvation, and they could not be persuaded otherwise. They hoped that having reached the point of resolving differences among the Reformed churches they could progress into such discussions that communion with Rome might follow, with the prospect that ultimately the people of the world wide church, might become one people in Christ. They knew that the divisions within the church were an impediment to its task, and therefore the basic aim of the Ecumenical Movement was to achieve Christian unity to enable the church to fulfil its perceived role as the Body of Christ on Earth and to be able to evangelize the whole world. The concept of evangelization had not changed through the centuries. It left no room for cooperation with other faiths. At best it allowed for acceptance of their continuing domination of 'other countries' or toleration of their presence within Christian countries, but even that was stretching the understanding at times. Pressure groups in some countries – and some churches – were pressing for the introduction of a religion test in migration admission procedures and the exclusion of non-Christians from organized migration programs. The salvation of the people of other faiths as the sole objective of evangelization was to take place where they were – not in the home territories of the great white Christian colonizing powers.

WHAT DEFINES A CHRISTIAN?

A significant requirement raised by that whole pattern of reasoning was a definition of what constituted a Christian and who, or what organizations, could be members of the World Council of Churches. Such a definition had to be acceptable to the mainstream churches of the Reformation (both Calvinist and 'Evangelical' of the Lutheran mould) and the Orthodox Churches (both Ecumenical and Autocephalous, or those which did not recognize the authority of the Patriarchate) but, if Christian Unity was eventually to have real meaning, then the definition also had to be acceptable to the Roman Catholic Church as well. Clearly such a definition was not going to be acceptable to many of the 'minor' or fringe churches which had formed because of disagreement with one or other of the mainstream churches, and this meant that they were automatically excluded from both the process of determining the definition and

from membership of the new council. This group included some of the most vigorously evangelical communities in the entire church and they thus became even more isolated, estranged from the mainstream churches and denigrated. They were not denigrated by the Council which was intent on reconciliation, but by writers and groups associated with some of its member churches. A rash of books and tracts appeared on topics such as ‘the errors of such-and-such a faith’ or ‘how to deal with such-and-such a sect.’ So in due course the council and its members went about the task of drafting a definition.

It was bound to be a Eurocentric definition, paying little heed to the expectations of churches in the Asian and African regions who actually had to live with and work out their theology, their self-understanding and their response to human need in intimate contact with, and in competition with, people of other faiths. White-dominated churches of Europe, North America, Australia & New Zealand, and South Africa outnumbered the non-white-European churches of Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, the Pacific and Latin America which attended the council’s first assembly by three to one, 102 to 33.^{87 88} The prevailing view was encapsulated by the comment of a prominent European theologian to the writer in Geneva twenty seven years later: “Europe is Christianity: Christianity is Europe”. Even by that time, 1975, the ratio of white-dominated to non-white churches in the WCC had slipped below one to one, being 129 to 139, but that patronizing attitude persisted in the cloistered halls of theology in Western Europe and North America which basically determined – on both sides of the Reformation divide – what Christians were supposed to think and believe.

The basis on which invitations to the opening assembly of the WCC had been sent to churches was that “The World Council of Churches is a fellowship of churches which accept our Lord Jesus Christ as *God and Saviour*.” That rigidly Trinitarian basis was debated and adopted by the assembly but not without a lot of prior soul-searching and questioning of the basis, the definition behind it, and the role of the council. According to Dr. Visser ‘T Hooft the council stated clearly that it was not based on any one concept of the church. “... it exists in order that the churches may face their differences and the various conceptions of unity may enter into dynamic relations with each other. ... it was affirmed that the main convictions underlying the World Council are that Christ is the Divine Head of the Body, that the Church of Christ is one, and that each Church should do its utmost for the manifestation of the Church in its oneness. The role of the Council itself is merely instrumental.” The fact that there had to be a council *of* churches and the plurality which that indicated drew attention to our weakness and our shame before God and the need to move forward towards the manifestation of One Holy Church, he said.⁸⁹ There was great concern that while the Vatican had boycotted the Ecumenical Movement and banned participation by Catholics, some churches had not attended the assembly because of pressure from governments in the Soviet bloc, and others had stayed away of their own free will. This included most of the Eastern Orthodox Churches.

IS POLITICS A MATTER OF FAITH?

The influential Russian Orthodox Church had adopted a resolution that the Ecumenical Movement was “a body which is not really concerned with the unity of the Church but rather with the gaining of political and social influence” and that Orthodox Churches were not able to participate in it “in its present form.”⁹⁰ The Cold War was impacting on the ecumenical movement and the whole church, and not only on the Roman Catholic wing which was helping to manipulate the cold war. It would impact more directly, on the third day of that first assembly when delegates debated the general disorder of modern society. In an address prepared to set the tone for discussion, Mrs Kathleen Bliss of the *Christian News-Letter* raised questions about the threatened collapse of social structures, the impact of science and technology, the growth of power and the need to control its abuse. She called on the people of the divided churches to become united “people of God in the world ...ready to die for the sins of our present society, and quietly but courageously work in market-place and council-chamber for its deep transformation.”⁹¹ Similarly, referring to the “rupture of personal relations, tending to complete depersonalization, and preoccupation with technics divorced from values and purposes,” Professor Jacques Ellul, France, urged the church not to stand off like a judge or a physician of such disorder but to acknowledge that it had responsibility for it. It should approach disorder as one who has need to be forgiven and healed of the same disorder. This could not be done by conservatism, “established disorder”, but by building a bridge between the old and new orders.

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But John Foster Dulles, the senior US adviser on the establishment of the United Nations, saw the World Council of Churches as a bulwark of the defence of Western civilization and sought to align it with anti-Communism. Dulles was a man of considerable influence and high international public profile, and his brother, Alan, whose involvement in the Marshall Plan and the evolution of the Cold War has already been discussed (chapter 27) was of barely less influence. Only a few weeks earlier he had been appointed chairman of ‘The Dulles Commission’ – a presidential appointment – to investigate the affairs of the US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in the politically murky wake of allegations of Communist influence in the State Department and collusion between Jews and Communists.^{93 94} The allegations, made before the Congressional Un-American Activities Committee, had been a major political embarrassment for the president.

In view of their positions, the brothers Dulles were supposed to be at the pinnacle of understanding of what was best for the “free world” and the name ‘Dulles’ was rarely out of the news. It actually gathered even more influence during the Eisenhower administration, peaking four years after the WCC assembly when the newly installed President appointed John Foster Dulles as Secretary of State and Alan as Director of the CIA. But even in 1948, John Foster Dulles was listened to very attentively when he told the delegates at the First Assembly of the WCC that the Western Democracies had revered the principles of the supremacy of moral law over man-made law, and the sanctity of every human individual. He told delegates that in

contrast: “Marxian Communism denies them both in theory and practice, and necessarily concludes that violence is inevitable.” When Communist Parties “rule nearly one quarter of the earth’s population” it is, he said, exceedingly hard to organize the world for peace. Christians have a special responsibility for restoring the faith of the West, and bringing political realities into harmony with it; but they need better world organization, “remembering that God gave His son because He loved the World, not merely the West.”⁹⁵ It was as if Dulles was trying to confirm the fears of the Orthodox Churches which were living under the authority of the Soviet block. He totally ignored the historical fact that Marxist Communism had evolved as a reaction against the excesses of the Christian West and that, as an evolutionary development, it was a major challenge to the self-understanding and the theology of the churches and their leaders such as himself.

In following Dulles, Professor Hromadka, Prague, acknowledged the futility of a new war which would leave the West (if victorious) “unable to cope with the area now under the Soviet Government” and the need to turn the richness of the Christian heritage of the West into a revolutionary dynamic by which a new order can be established and sustained. However he believed the West had squandered its opportunity, that it cannot now regain the supremacy in world affairs which it had for centuries, and that it must share world responsibility with the East and get over its “almost metaphysical horror” of the new world trends and their Eastern leader, Soviet Russia. He referred to some of the dangers in dialectic materialism and the presence of Czarist imperialism in the Soviet regime but insisted that Communism represents “much of the social impetus of the living Church, from the Apostolic age down through the days of the monastic orders to the Reformation and liberal humanism ...” He said: “... many Barbarians are, through the Communist movement, coming of age and aspiring to a place in the sun” and the church “must not only hope to rejuvenate the demoralized West, it must lend its sympathy to these new Barbarians. It must not allow itself to become identified with any Western *bloc*.”⁹⁶ Professor Hromadka’s address was given additional poignancy by recognition that his country, Czechoslovakia, had fallen under Soviet influence though a coup in February 1948, six months prior to the assembly, and that his church, the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren, was then under the supervision of the new regime.

In its final report the assembly noted that:

Christians should ask why Communism in its modern totalitarian form makes so strong an appeal to great masses of people in many parts of the world. They should recognize the hand of God in the revolt of multitudes against injustice which gives Communism much of its strength. They should seek to recapture for the church the original Christian solidarity with the world’s distressed people, not to curb their aspirations towards justice, but, on the contrary to go beyond them and to direct them towards the only road that does not lead to a blank wall, obedience to God’s will and His justice. Christians should realise that for many, especially for many young men and women, Communism seems to stand for a vision of human equality and universal brotherhood for which they were prepared by Christian influence. ... All should understand that the proclamation of racial equality by Communists and their support of the cause of colonial peoples makes a strong appeal to the populations of Asia and

Africa and to racial minorities elsewhere. ... [Then: reference to Communism engendering new forms of injustice and oppression.] ... Christians should recognize with contrition that many churches are involved in the forms of economic injustice and racial discrimination which have created the conditions favourable to the growth of Communism, and that the atheism and anti-religious teaching of Communism are in part a reaction to the chequered record of a professedly Christian society. ... [Then: points of conflict between Christianity and atheistic Marxian Communism.] ... The Christian churches should reject the ideologies of both Communism and laissez-faire capitalism, and should seek to draw men away from the false assumption that these extremes are the only alternatives."

Try as it might to encourage its member churches to adopt responsible, dynamic programs of evangelism coupled with responsible social policies and support for refugee resettlement and church rehabilitation in all war torn countries, free of proselytizing and political rhetoric, it was inevitable that the new World Council of Churches would face enormous barriers from both East and West in its efforts to develop an awareness within the churches of the basis of international tensions and close working relations with the Orthodox Churches in the East. Many times the WCC was warned by critics in the West that it should remain silent (that meant non-critical of the West) on "the burning issues of international relations (or) it would surely endanger its own life," ⁹⁷ and statements by the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs on matters such as the war in Korea, the Hungarian crisis, the Suez war and the Cuban crisis caused considerable controversy in the West.

The passage of time had not changed the attitudes of those who hold power. Religious conformity, or *compliance*, was still to be a tool towards political stability, or *control*. Professor Prenter, Denmark, had actually drawn the attention of the first assembly to the historical struggle for political stability through religious conformity when he told delegates that it was part of the shame of the church that differences, instead of enriching the whole Body of Christ through mutual service are feared and artificially suppressed. "Unbelief always thinks that the exclusion of difference, namely uniformity, is the veritable strength of the community," he said. ⁹⁸ And the assembly later agreed that there was *no agreed interpretation* of the doctrine of the church. Eventually, in 1958, as a consequence of the attitude in the West towards the Soviet bloc the Christian Peace Conference was established in Prague as a Soviet bloc counterpart to the World Council of Churches to bring together the churches of the Soviet bloc and to work with, and to influence, as many of the young churches in the non-Western regions of Africa, Asia and Latin America as possible. However that did not prevent churches of Russia, Rumania and Bulgaria from joining the World Council by the time of its third assembly in 1961. More of that later.

GRAND ISOLATION: NO PARTNERS, NO TRIANGLE

As its first assembly progressed the Council had many matters to deal with in addition to that dominant aspect of international affairs. It reviewed the nature and the role of the church and its witness to God's design with great care and admirable frankness, noting in its final report that

the world sees a church that is divided; that has lost touch with the dominant realities of modern life; failed to speak effectively on the subject of war, and appeared impotent to deal with the realities of the human situation. And in a stinging self-rebuke it noted that the church was seen by many as having sided with the vested interests of society and state, as having used its missionary enterprise to further the foreign policies of states and the imperialistic designs of the powers of the West, and as having been “blind to the movement of God in history.” Unfortunately it then confirmed that blindness by noting that “God is pleased to use human obedience in the fulfilment of His purpose” without adding a note reflecting the understanding of the Hebrew prophet Habakkuk that God also uses powers of evil to punish believers who fail – a concept which is totally consistent with the circumstances and the *coincidence* of the Qur’anic Night Journey and Maimonides’ vision which spawned the birth of the State of Israel. It then confirmed it further by repeating the understanding of the church which was common to each of the Vatican, Martin Luther and John Calvin, that: “... the Church is still the Church of God, in which, *and in which alone* He is pleased to reveal Himself and His redemptive purpose in Jesus Christ, in Whom and in Whom alone the renewal of man’s life is possible.” ⁹⁹ [Emphasis added.]

In view of that dogmatic exclusion of both Judaism and Islam from any role in God’s purpose and the assembly’s failure to acknowledge Habakkuk, it is apparent that there could not have been any real understanding of either the Qur’anic Night Journey or Maimonides’ vision and, therefore, little or no understanding within the assembly of the significance of the establishment of the State of Israel or the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Unless we acknowledge the possibility that there was significant unease at the theological implications of the major political crisis which was then firmly centred on the State of Israel and that there could have been some unspoken accord that the subject should be avoided, this dogmatic stand and lack of understanding must account for the assembly’s minimal discussion of the crisis in the Middle East.

DON’T DISCUSS ISRAEL ...

There were five ‘areas’ of the assembly’s agenda under which discussion on the crisis in Palestine, the establishment of the State of Israel, and Christian-Jewish or wider interfaith relations could have been debated. They were each of the main ‘Sections’ which were to deal with philosophy and policy: Section I, The Universal Church in God’s Design; Section II, The Church’s Witness to God’s Design; Section III, The Church and the Disorder of Society; Section IV, The Church and the International Disorder; plus one of four ‘committees’ which were to deal with practical matters; Committee IV, dealing with Concerns of the Churches. The references already made to the final report of the council are to the work of sections II and III. The nearest that Section I came to reporting on those matters was its statement that: “God’s redeeming activity in the world has been carried out through His calling *a People* to be *His own chosen People*. *The Old Covenant was fulfilled in the New when Jesus Christ, the Son of God*

incarnate, died and was raised from the dead, ascended into heaven and *gave the Holy Ghost to dwell in His Body, the Church.*" [Emphasis added.] In that rigid restatement or perpetuation of the Doctrine of the Trinity the Jewish people and their faith, either Yahwism or Judaism, were not even mentioned by name. So much for recognition of a crisis or a challenge for theological reassessment.

But then, in Section IV the matter was deliberately avoided. When the section's report was presented to the assembly in plenary session its spokesperson noted that some people would ask why there was no mention of Palestine. The section had, he said, "come to the conclusion that if such mention had been made, it would have been necessary also to mention Korea, the Baltic States, or the racial situation in the United States or in South Africa. The section had, therefore, decided to take its stand on the general ground of those principles to which they desired to direct the Assembly's attention. The question of the conflict between the USA and the USSR had been dealt with, at the specific desire of the Section, in broad general terms."

That was a quite remarkable – almost unbelievable – stand for the committee to take considering the enormity of the crisis in Palestine right at that time and that the second truce was barely holding while the UN Negotiator, Count Bernadotte, agonized over the Jewish decision to reject the internationalization of Jerusalem and struggled to find an alternative peace plan. It is quite apparent that some influential delegates from the United States wanted the conflict between the USA and the Soviet Union given 'appropriate' coverage but they did not want any discussion about the crisis in the Middle East. John Foster Dulles was one of the accredited consultants to this committee. The pressure which the committee was clearly under is consistent with the veiled criticism which Bernadotte made of the US in his report to the UN General Secretary only two weeks later, that it was avoiding having the matter placed on the agenda for the UN General Assembly meeting which was then only a further one week away. He had said: "I have decided to present the report at this time *precisely* because the General Assembly will be convening in its third session on September 21st." [Emphasis added]¹⁰⁰ At the same time the delegates from the US, and delegates from South Africa, did not want their countries' policies on race exposed to public debate. This provided a simple rationale for avoiding any substantial discussion on the Middle East. Such discussion could have only been a serious political embarrassment to each of the United States, Britain and the Vatican which had pressed the internationalization issue so hard, and it would have been such a deeply divisive issue for either Section IV or the full Council to attempt to unravel that, in the circumstances, it would have aggravated relations between the Council, the USA and the Vatican even more. It simply did not know where to begin. Try as it might to keep its mind on theology and on the practical application of Gospel theology in a manner which would not involve it in destructive politics, the young council was learning very quickly that the web of politics enmeshes all!

This is illustrated by Leonard Mosley in his biography of the Dulles family network. Describing disagreements between John Foster and Allen over relations with Germany just prior to the Second World War he wrote:

HERE COMES THE MESSIANIC AGE !

... in these heated discussions, it was Allen who displayed deep emotion and concern over what was happening in Germany and his heartfelt belief that no man could stand aside in the face of Adolf Hitler's persecution of his minorities and threats against his neighbours. And it was Foster, the proud Christian churchman, who preached caution, impartiality, and a careful policy of wait-and-see. Everything would settle down so long as people stayed calm and reasonable.

Infuriated by such complacency, Allen angrily shouted at his brother: "How can you call yourself a Christian and ignore what is happening in Germany? Why don't you go over and see what is happening there? It is terrible."

In fact, Foster Dulles had long been intrigued by Hitler ... He had begun giving lectures and speeches on subjects other than law, edging further and further into the realms of international politics, the fight to keep the peace. He had found a platform in the World Council of Churches and had spoken at several conferences sponsored by this organization ... He saw in Hitler the example of a person who could capture the enthusiasm of the people as a demagogue ...

... Foster sailed for Europe in 1937 ... to preside over a seminar in Paris on "Peaceful Change" at which a number of politicians, economists, and intellectuals had come together to discuss how grievances in Europe, specially those of Germany and Italy, might be resolved without resort to conflict. The proceedings bogged down into a series of denunciations of National Socialism and fascism which, Foster believed, were irrelevant to the discussion ...

He went across the Channel to a meeting of the World Council of Churches at Oxford, where, he found, passions were more muted and a readiness to seek solutions rather than pronounce denunciations was the keynote of the proceedings. He was much impressed both by the sincerity of his fellow Christians and by the effectiveness of the World Council as a platform for international pronouncements which secured considerable attention at home. From that time onward his interest in and participation in the Council's work never flagged.

[Foster's son, Avery, later said of his father ...] He took things from the Sermon on the Mount like 'seek first the Kingdom of God,' and he interpreted the texts in a pragmatic way, saying that if you are devoted to the moral law you will succeed, your efforts will be crowned with temporal success ..."

It was maddening for Allen to be told by Foster that he was selfish in being so concerned about Nazism and the fate of the Jews, which was only a passing phase. [Emphasis added.]

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John Foster Dulles appears to have exercised his considerable influence when the agenda was being determined for the World Council of Churches – his carefully chosen "platform for international pronouncements" – at this critical stage in its life and work. It is only in the work of Committee IV, in which one of its four subcommittees was given the task of considering 'The Christian Approach to the Jews' that there is any direct reference to either the Jewish community or to Palestine. That subcommittee was comprised of 22 voting members of the assembly, all except one (an Indian) being of European extraction, and 17 non-voting

consultants, four of whom were from the US and every one of whom was of European extraction.¹⁰² It represented a meagre six percent of the 351 members plus 12 percent of the 145 consultants, making eight percent of the total official participants. Its report recognized that: “A concern for the Christian approach to the Jewish people confronts us inescapably, as we meet together to look with open and penitent eyes on man’s disorder and to *rediscover* together *God’s eternal purpose for His Church*.” It took a great stride forward from the long held view that Jews only continue to exist to confirm the truth of Christianity with the statement that: “*To the Jews our God has bound us in a special solidarity linking our destinies together in His design.*” [Emphasis added.] Even allowing for that, there is little to suggest that there was substantial realization of the significance of the unfolding situation and the committee *did not raise the need to rediscover God’s eternal purpose for His Jewish people*. That purpose was simply stated in one telling clause.

“The special meaning of the Jewish people for Christian faith.

In the design of God, Israel has a unique position. It was Israel with whom God made His covenant by the call of Abraham. It was Israel to whom God revealed His name and gave His law. It was to Israel that He sent His Prophets with their message of judgement and of grace. It was to Israel to whom He promised the coming of His Messiah. By the history of Israel God prepared the manger in which in the fullness of time He put the Redeemer of all mankind, Jesus Christ. The Church has received this spiritual heritage from Israel and is therefore in honour bound to render it back in the light of the Cross. We have, therefore, in humble conviction to proclaim to the Jews, “The Messiah for Whom you wait has come.” The promise has been fulfilled by the coming of Jesus Christ.

For many the continued existence of a Jewish people which does not acknowledge Christ is a divine mystery which finds its only sufficient explanation in the purpose of God’s unchanging faithfulness and mercy (Romans xi, 25–29).¹⁰³

... BUT STUDY CHRISTIAN-JEWISH RELATIONS ...

However the report did recognize that the churches had failed to fight anti-Semitism as strongly as they should have and that in the past they had helped to foster an image of the Jews as the sole enemies of Christ that had contributed to anti-Semitism in the secular world. It noted that: “The establishment of the state ‘Israel’ adds a political dimension to the Christian approach to the Jews and threatens to complicate anti-Semitism with political fears and enmities.” It refrained from expressing a judgement on the complex conflict of “rights” involved in the establishment of the state and ‘appealed to the nations’ to “deal with the problem not as one of expediency – political, strategic or economic – but as a moral and spiritual question that touches a nerve centre of the world’s religious life.” It recommended that the churches consider the responsibility for missions to the Jews as a normal part of parish work, especially in those countries where Jews are members of the general community, and it asked them to “scrupulously avoid all unworthy pressures or inducements” and to “give thought to the preparation of ministers well fitted to interpret the Gospel to Jewish people.” It then

recommended that the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council share responsibility for the Christian approach to the Jews and that the WCC recognize the need for more detailed study of problems in Christian-Jewish relations, especially factors contributing to anti-Semitism, the most effective means of combating the evil, the need to develop cooperation between Christians and Jews in civic and social affairs, and the problems caused by the establishment of the State of Israel in Palestine.¹⁰⁴

... AND PLAN FOR THE FUTURE

The World Council of Churches was finally properly established and it was about to begin work in earnest. Without people actually analyzing their situation and their reaction in such terms, the parody of *Mein Kampf* was beginning to stimulate a rethink. The council had taken a surprisingly frank look at 'the church' and had made admissions and reached conclusions and decisions with which many traditional Christians were not at all comfortable. They were not accustomed to such openness and self criticism. They were being led along social and economic paths which they had not expected; they were reluctant to endorse them all and to surrender any of their denominational pride and independence; and they wondered what on earth might happen next. The council had encouraged not only a greater role for lay people in all aspects of the church's life¹⁰⁵ and work, it had noted that some churches already admitted women to "all offices of the church" and encouraged all churches to take a fresh look at the role of women and whether the ordained ministry should be open to them. It even noted that "those who desire the admission of women to the full ministry believe that until this is achieved the church will not come to full health and power." But, faced with strong opposition from some churches which "for theological reasons are not prepared to consider the question of such ordination," it refrained from making a firm recommendation on the matter.¹⁰⁶

However the Council defied history with a declaration of religious liberty in which it declared that every person has the right to determine his own faith and creed; to express his religious beliefs in worship, teaching and practice; to proclaim the implications of his beliefs for relationships in a social or political community; to associate with others and to form organizations with the right to determine policies and practices for the accomplishment of their purposes.¹⁰⁷ It gave high priority and strong support to work for the material and spiritual welfare of refugees through both the International Refugee Organization and its own Refugee Commission,¹⁰⁸ and it also asked its member churches to press for the adoption of an International Bill of Human Rights to ensure the recognition and enforcement of all of the essential freedoms of man, whether personal, political or social.¹⁰⁹

The demands for Church reconstruction, training and rehabilitation, and mission extension were enormous and naturally these had to consume much of the new council's effort. But it was determined to help the world resolve the turmoil all around it and the possibility existed that it would grasp the nettle, pursue its task with energy and determination and, in doing so, recognize the opportunity and the *imperative* that a fundamental reassessment of interfaith

relations and Messianic theology should flow from that turmoil. That possibility was kept alive by the fact that the first assembly had taken such a progressive approach to freedom of religious expression and to Christian-Jewish relations, and it was reinforced by decisions taken regarding the basis on which the council was established. The assembly had decided that the basis as adopted was “adequate for the present purposes” but it recognized that “several delegates had expressed, either for themselves or their churches, the desire for clarification or amplification of the affirmation of the Christian faith set forth in the Basis.” It therefore invited “any churches that may desire change in the basis” to make written submissions which would be considered at the next assembly. However it dampened that invitation by instructing the Central Committee to “keep its study of possible changes within the Christological principle set forth in the present basis.”¹¹⁰

THE MESSIANIC AGE: HERE ALREADY, COMING OR DEFERRED?

So the delegates left Amsterdam for their home countries, to infuse and enthuse their churches with the sense of excitement and dedication to a new era in the life of the church-at-large, and to pursue the high ideals, the principles of human rights and the practical programs to which the council was committed. They covered renewal, evangelism and social action, and a commitment to continue God’s work in the Messianic Era which was already upon us – here and now – and to reflect on how they might clarify and amplify their affirmation of that Christian belief. An important aspect of that commitment was to re-establish relations with people of different faiths which had been battered by the events of past generations. A lot depended upon it. For their part, the Jewish communities did not accept that the Messianic Age was already here and now, but they believed it would be ushered in once their new home base in the State of Israel was firmly established and secure.

As the WCC delegates began to make their way home from September 5, Bernadotte continued work on his report on Palestine, then flew to Rhodes and completed it after his arrival there on September 9.¹¹¹ It was transmitted to the UN Security Council a week later, on the day he returned to Israel.

He began the report with a thinly veiled criticism of the United States, as the power which had the greatest influence on what was placed on the agenda of the UN General Assembly and what was not, saying: “I would be less than frank if I did not express my personal view that it will be a mistake of tragic consequences if, at this critical period in the history of Palestine and in the intensive effort to achieve a personal solution, the question were not to be considered and the necessary decisions taken by the General Assembly. ... a crucial stage has been reached in the mediation effort. ... I do not conclude however that the problem of Palestine is insoluble by peaceful means, or that a basis for agreement cannot ultimately be found. But the conclusion is inescapable that at some juncture vital decisions will have to be taken by the General Assembly if a peaceful settlement is to be achieved. I am firmly convinced, after the most careful appraisal, that this juncture has now been reached.”

He listed “the fundamental issues in Palestine today” as “partition, the Jewish State, Jewish immigration and Arab refugees” and wrote that it was “unquestionable” that since the adoption of the partition resolution “there have been changes in the Palestine scene which are so decisively significant as to make some of the prevalent attitudes quite unrealistic.” In a very careful review of the period since the UN’s partition resolution he noted that “The Jewish State, established under the cloak of United Nations authority, can be eliminated only by force,” which the UN had decreed should not be used, and the Arab States “must resign themselves to the presence of the Jewish State or pursue the reckless course of defying the United Nations...” He also noted that it could not be questioned that “the Arab States made a tragic mistake in employing force in Palestine ... but the very fact that they resorted to this extreme action and were willing to run the risk of thus offending the international community is in itself a measure of the intensity of their feeling on the question.”¹¹² He quoted at length from correspondence between himself, as UN Negotiator, and Israeli and Arab authorities, including the following paragraph from his letter to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Provisional Government of Israel, dated July 6.

*“Jerusalem stands in the heart of what must be Arab territory in any partition of Palestine. To attempt to isolate this area politically and otherwise from surrounding territory presents enormous difficulties. The special condition of Jerusalem – its large Jewish population and its religious associations – needs special consideration, and the way for discussion of these questions was left open. Arab domination of legitimate Jewish and other non-Arab interests in Jerusalem was never intended or implied in the suggestions. Moreover, while I fully appreciate that the question of Jerusalem is of very great concern, for historical and other reasons, to the Jewish community of Palestine, Jerusalem was never intended to be part of the Jewish State. In this sense, the position of the Jewish State is unaffected and the question of Jerusalem has no relationship to its status. The status of Jerusalem, therefore, is separate from the question of the constitution and boundaries of the Jewish State. My suggestions fully safeguard the historical and world-wide religious interests in Jerusalem.”*¹¹³

Next day, September 17, while discussions were actively in progress, Bernadotte was assassinated by members of the Stern Group. They claimed that all UN observers were members of foreign occupation forces who had no right on their territory.¹¹⁴ Their real concern was that Jerusalem might be included within the Arab state if Bernadotte’s proposal was adopted under mediation. Any memory of the Covenant of Sinai and obligations to neighbours was very dim indeed, but the Stern Group, which had been responsible for the worst of Zionist terrorism for many years, was then officially outlawed by the interim Israeli Government. The reason was not that it had murdered a UN official: it had done far worse than that over the years. Nor was the reason that the government, or even the population at large, disagreed with its policies or its philosophy. One of its former leaders, Yitzhak Shamir, was subsequently elected a member of the Knesset, then Speaker, Foreign Minister, Deputy Prime Minister and, ultimately, Prime Minister. Nor were its members in disgrace. When it was disbanded a number of the units of the Stern Gang were integrated into the Israeli Defence Forces alongside

members of the Irgun Zvai Leumi, the body which had bombed the King David Hotel in 1946 and slaughtered all 254 inhabitants of Dier Yasin in 1947. The Irgun had been disbanded and absorbed into the defence forces on September 1, while Bernadotte was working on his proposals. The reasons that the Stern Gang was outlawed were two: that the interim government wanted full control over the activities of all para-military or guerilla groups which had been fighting to dislodge Britain so that they could be more effectively employed against the new common enemy, the Arabs; and that the government feared that the Stern Gang's latest action had damaged Israel's international relations and, as a result, the prospects for a peace settlement favourable to Israel had suffered a major set back.

It was quite correct. Negotiations were set back with a jolt, but, "despite several months of additional discussion, Bernadotte's plan was deposited in the crowded archives of failed diplomatic efforts to find a solution to the problem of Palestine."¹¹⁵ It was exactly what Bernadotte had feared. He knew the methods of the dominant UN players very well. The Messianic Age was not on their agenda: only the establishment of the State of Israel in such a manner that would serve their immediate interests. Judah Magnes' insight that "one of the greatest duties of the Jewish people is the attempt to enter the promised land, *not by means of the conquest of Joshua, but through peaceful and cultural means*" had been lost on almost everyone.

CHAPTER 29

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE MESSIANIC AGE?

In the wake of Count Bernadotte's assassination and the abrupt interruption of negotiations there was widespread fear that the truce in Palestine/Israel would collapse and that all hell would be let loose in renewed warfare. One outcome of the assassination was renewed strain on the relationship between the Soviet Union and Israel. The unexpected change of heart by Stalin, whatever his reasons had been, which had given the Zionists the opportunity to fight for and achieve a vote in favor of partition in shameful and highly regressive circumstances (chapter 27, *A different kind of gentle persuasion*), was quickly reversed. The person held responsible by Stalin for US interference in Soviet affairs through the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee (JAC), Mikhoels, had already been liquidated in typical Stalinist fashion on January 12, 1948, midway between the partition vote and the proclamation of the State of Israel,¹ but the JAC was still functioning even though it was under continuing investigation, and in other respects the new policy and the new relationship with the Zionists had held. The Soviet Union, in line with its prompt recognition of the new state, had approved an exchange of diplomatic representatives and Mrs. Golda Meir (Meyerson) arrived in Moscow as Israel's first ambassador, together with other members of the mission, on September 3. It was widely known that she had led the Jewish Agency's fund raising and arms sourcing campaign in the United States, but that had not been regarded as an impediment to her appointment.

However, on September 21, only four days after Bernadotte's assassination, Pravda published an article which clearly indicated concern at the turn of events in the Middle East and the role which Israel would play. It noted that: "The Soviet government was the first to recognize the new state [and] it *energetically protested against the aggressors*, and when Israel's army was defending its lands from the Arab legions commanded by British officers, *the sympathy of the Soviet people was on the side of the victims*, not the side of the offenders." [Emphasis added.] It continued: "The resolution of the 'Jewish question' depends on the victory of Socialism over Capitalism. All free Jews consider the Soviet land their homeland and they are proud that they are citizens of the country where there is no more exploitation of man by man. Citizens of a socialist society regard people in any bourgeois country, including the people of the State of Israel, as travelers who have not yet found their way out of the deep forest.

Citizens of a socialist society could never be attracted to the fate of people carrying the yoke of capitalist exploitation.” It purported to be the response of a government spokesperson to a letter of enquiry from a Jew in Germany but it was patently the work of Stalin.²

On October 16, 1948, more than three weeks after the publication of that statement in Pravda and just three weeks before the US presidential election, Mrs. Meir and other members of her legation attended a Jewish New Year service at Moscow’s central synagogue where they were received with “unprecedented enthusiasm by tens of thousands of fervent worshippers; crowds accompanied them on the return walk to the hotel, shouting ‘Am Yisroel Hai’ (‘the Jewish People Lives’).³ That visit was subsequently exaggerated greatly for the foreign press, with one report claiming that central Moscow had been blocked off and that traffic was stopped for several hours by a gigantic parade down Gorky Street.⁴ Such reports gave credibility to suggestions that Stalin reversed his attitude because of the welcome which Mrs. Meir received and raised the tension level accordingly. Everything was downhill in Soviet-Israeli relations from that point as the Soviet government ‘*energetically protested against the aggressors*’ and showed its ‘*sympathy*’ for the Arabs who were the new ‘*victims*.’ The JAC was dissolved two months later.

There was real potential for Israel to become the trigger for a major confrontation between the Cold War protagonists. If the situation was allowed to get out of hand, the outbreak of a third world war was even possible. Possible: but not likely. However the United States was in presidential election mode and the Republicans were eager to exploit any opportunity to strengthen the wave of support which was expected to carry their man into the White House. Tension between the United States and its Communist rival was a wonderful opportunity. No one seemed bothered by the fact that exaggerated reports of international tension have the effect of increasing the real level of tension. Why let that get in the way of a good election victory? The US was in full control of the situation. Wasn’t it?

A HOUSE DIVIDED ...

Also in the wake of Bernadotte’s assassination, and in view of the territorial ambitions of the Zionists, the Arab League supported a move by the Mufti’s Palestine Higher Command to form a government based in Egyptian occupied Gaza and claiming sovereignty over the whole country. But this brought tensions between Transjordan and Egypt to the surface because Abdullah interpreted it as a move by Egypt to impose a puppet government over territory which he saw as his security zone and which would deprive him of all authority in the area. It also provoked a prompt reaction from Israel. On October 14, eight days of fighting erupted in the south, and Israel further strengthened its position. By the time the parties responded to another UN truce bid on October 22, it had captured Beersheba, recovered its grip on the bulk of the Negev and cut supply routes from the south to the Arab Legion and to Egyptian forces in the Jerusalem area. Next day, the 23rd, the Arab leaders met in Amman, reviewed their strategy, and found they were not able to effectively reinforce their overall position. This left the Arab Legion

to hold its position in Hebron and to try to relieve the pressure on the Egyptians in the south at the same time.

... AND ANOTHER ENCYCLICAL

It also gave the Vatican another opening. On October 24 Pope Pius XII issued another encyclical, *In Multiplicibus Curis*, in which he said: "It would be expedient, as a better guarantee for the safety of the sanctuaries under the present circumstances, to give an *international character* to Jerusalem and its vicinity, where so many and so precious reminders of the life and death of our Saviour are to be found. ... It is also necessary to assure, with *international guarantees*, both the right of free access to the holy places scattered throughout Palestine, and the freedom of religion and the respect for customs and religious traditions."⁵ Until Hitler's vision for Germany took hold, the concept of freedom of religion had not been one which the pope had been at all eager to lend his support to, but now, in view of the Vatican's direct interest in Jerusalem, it assumed even more importance. Then both the Arab League and the Pope had to watch while the Arab Liberation Army was defeated decisively a few days later near the Lebanese border, and Israel occupied a few villages in southern Lebanon. The truce counted for little. Israel expelled UN observers from its forces and sporadic lunges were attempted by both sides.

A DEFINING AMERICAN ELECTION UPSET ...

There was a lot of international news during the last week of October and the first few days of November as the electors of America sought to make sense of the hype of another presidential election campaign which was confused by domestic issues and the presence an 'outsider' candidate, but which the pollsters said Dewey could not lose. He ran a vigorously anti-Communist Republican campaign which received a boost with news that the remaining regions of Manchuria had come under Chinese Communist control, but in other respects he ran a low-key campaign which was designed not to lose any of the support which he was already enjoying rather than gaining at Truman's expense.⁶ The outcome of the Japanese War Crimes trials could have made his task more difficult by showing what the American public wanted to hear: that the Truman-MacArthur hard line approach to subduing the dastardly Japanese and blocking Communists was being effective. But the judgements of sentences of death for seven of Japan's key wartime leaders, life imprisonment for sixteen, and lighter sentences for two others were only announced on the day of the election when it was too late to have any impact. But Governor Dewey was expected to pick up a few more 'Brownie points' for his last minute support for the proposal to allocate the Negev to Israel and not to the Arabs in the resolution of the Palestine crisis which would strengthen his position further. However any support he received from that proved quite inadequate to offset the 'thank you' vote from the Jewish community for Truman's decisive action in May. It is estimated that 75 per cent of Jewish voters, supported Truman, while 15 per cent voted for Henry Wallace and only 10 per cent for

Dewey.⁷ Dewey lost the ‘unlosable election’ and Truman continued in office, being greeted on his arrival back in the capital by a banner across the front of the Washington *Post* newspaper building which read: *MR. PRESIDENT, WE ARE READY TO EAT CROW WHENEVER YOU ARE READY TO SERVE IT.*⁸

That election result was an integral factor in the unfolding trouble in the triangle. It established a pattern of mutual dependence which ensured that the relationship between the United States and Israel – the US-Israeli Alliance – would dominate international affairs for the remainder of the twentieth century and at least the early years of the twenty first century CE. Truman had unwittingly locked the United States, and the world community, into a situation which neither he nor his key associates in the administration understood. It was certainly not all his doing. Many people were involved in decisions and actions which took advantage of previous decisions and actions so that they appeared to lead logically from one to another and the world has been expected to accept them in that light. Fundamentally they arose from the political philosophy adopted and the decisions taken during the period between Munich and the entry of the United States into the Second World War. The United States entered that war on the basis that it would secure its own position by supporting Britain in its war of imperial survival and then fill the Asian economic power vacuum as the influence of the European powers waned. A host of consequential decisions and events have been discussed, including the key ones which led up to Truman’s re-election. They were: the declaration that Saudi Arabia was vital to US security as it politicked to gain dominance of the country’s oil resources; the eagerness with which it picked up the role of umbrella for Zionism out of economic and political self-interest when Britain cast it off; the very unhealthy pressure which it responded to and then exerted in order to secure the vote for the partition of Palestine; the indecent haste with which Truman recognized the proclamation of the State of Israel for essentially his own domestic political purposes; and the burying of Bernadotte’s proposals in September in order to curry further electoral favour with America’s influential Jewish community – or to avoid an electoral backlash.

For reasons already discussed (chapter 28, *Two defining moments – but little recognition*) the coincidence of the Qur’anic Night Journey and Maimonides’ expectations of the re-establishment of the State of Israel had occurred unrecognized – or at least unheralded – by world political and religious leaders, so no body of people was seeking the reasons why, or what it meant, and therefore they were not looking for ways to disentangle the web of attitudes, policies and practices which had brought it about. If they had been, world leaders might have changed those attitudes and policies immediately. As they were not, those leaders carried on regardless. Truman included.

... BEACONS IN THE GLOOM ...

Truman’s re-election in those circumstances tied not only him but successive presidents into a relationship of electoral dependence from which it was going to be increasingly difficult to

break loose. During the early years of the relationship it could have been broken, but successive presidents and their administrations took decisions which made the break increasingly difficult. One critical decision which concerned oil supplies and was made on the basis of sheer exploitation, was taken in 1970. It was disputed by some advisers at the time and the consequences of that decision, which they had predicted, became apparent in 1973. The neighbours of Israel imposed an oil embargo against the United States in retaliation for its support of Israel during the Yom Kippur War. That action, one generation after the establishment of the State of Israel, became a beacon warning that the trouble in the triangle was entering a new phase, but it was ignored.

Since that time the strings which bind the US-Israeli Alliance have been drawn progressively tighter and tighter so that now the United States cannot readily loosen them. To do so it must unravel the trouble in the triangle and it cannot do that on its own. Israel can loosen the strings if it chooses. The United States cannot. By taking advantage of the Zionist enterprise in exactly the same manner that Britain did in 1917 (with its Balfour Declaration) in order to exploit the people and resources of other countries, the United States has tied itself to whatever will be the outcome of the trouble in the triangle and whatever are the consequences of the Jewish transgression against its neighbours in terms of the Night Journey.

But by its actions the United States has become as much a party to that transgression as were the Zionist leaders who eventually succeeded in their objective. Its conduct – or misconduct – as the key contemporary player in the amorphous Christian gel has locked it firmly into the trouble in the triangle and ensures that the focus stays on the establishment of the State of Israel as the central fact of the Christian Era. It bears repeating: it was the conduct of that amorphous Christian gel which precipitated the establishment of the World Zionist Organization (chapter 15); which precipitated the rise of National Socialism in Germany (chapter 17); which provided the ingredients for Hitler's remarkable parody, *Mein Kampf* (chapter 18); which ensured the trauma of the Second World War and the Cold War; and it was the conduct of the amorphous Christian gel which, in doing so, ensured the establishment of the State of Israel as the *central fact* of the Christian Era. (Chapters 21 to 25) As a consequence of those factors the United States has worked itself into the situation in which its 'fate' – in the sense of the 'works by which it will be judged' bound around its corporate neck as indicated by the Qur'anic Night Journey (chapter 6) – is irrevocably enmeshed in the trouble in the triangle and the measures required to resolve it.

... AND A SAFETY VALVE

The two generations since that *central fact* have been an era pockmarked with a series of crises involving the exploitation of people and their resources in a neo-colonial manner no less traumatic than was perpetrated under imperial colonialism. That exploitation has been associated with the abuse or manipulation of interfaith relations in a manner broadly continuing the pattern of the colonial era prior to the experience of Hitler's parody, *Mein Kampf*. That

continuity has aggravated relations between the amorphous Christian gel and other peoples and the consequences are now apparent in interfaith conflict in many regions. The series of crises have been beacons which should have alerted the key players to the consequences of their actions. They have been ignored because of the same self-understanding and arrogance which has marked the course of the trouble in the triangle until this stage. If the leaders of the great powers of the amorphous Christian gel would pause for long enough they would see that the damaged relationships can only continue to worsen until the trouble in the triangle is dismantled through collaboration between Christians, Muslims and Jews. The process must start – and must be seen to start – with the fundamental reassessment of Christian self-understanding which has been based upon, and is anchored to, the church’s Messianic theology. The repudiation of the Doctrine of the Trinity, the development of a new Christian self-understanding, and the development and acceptance of a new understanding of the relationships between the three faiths, and their common role as streams of one faith, which must flow from that fundamental reassessment is the next step towards Maimonides’ expectation of the Messianic Age.

That raises the question: “What happens if that dismantling process does not take place?” Will we just bounce from one war to another with the United States sitting astride the pinnacle of human endeavour? Or will we be flung to the depths of Armageddon as some people expected during the height of the Cold War? To reflect on these questions we have to turn again to Israel, the Qur’anic Night Journey and the Covenant of Sinai. As already noted, the misconduct of the amorphous Christian gel pushed the Jewish community into the situation in which it transgressed against its neighbours, the Qur’anic prophesy of the Night Journey was invoked, Hitler fulfilled the role of the Scourge and the outcome confirmed Maimonides’ understanding of the circumstances of the return of a Jewish community to Palestine and the establishment of the State of Israel. Both of those matters confirm the continuing validity of the Covenant of Sinai. But there was another matter which we have not yet noted: that the acting out of the parody of *Mein Kampf*, also illustrated the role of the Covenant people as a catalyst or a safety valve in the dismantling of imperial colonialism. That role was not immediately apparent during the conflict leading to the establishment of the State of Israel. The world was too distracted by that conflict to realize that if it looked closely it could catch the first glimmer of Maimonides’ Messianic Age just around the corner of the colonial fence. It soon became more apparent as the process of decolonization took hold. It was traumatic. But that was because of the reluctance of the amorphous Christian gel to recognize what was happening and its determination to hang on to the privileges of colonialism even if it let got the trappings.

The situation was really quite straight forward. The conduct of the war which the British government went into in order to preserve its colonial privileges made it absolutely impossible for it, or any of the other European colonial powers, to maintain them. The harder it tried; and the more determined Churchill was to extend the war – to involve other countries in it – in order to do so, the more inevitable and the more traumatic the dismantling became. It was a vital strand of the parody that Hitler did not wish to deprive Britain of its empire. He simply wanted one for Germany as well: his Lebensraum or his land-contiguous colonial realm. He spelled it

out very clearly when he told his close colleagues at the time of Barbarossa of his plans for Eastern Europe and the near Soviet republics. Some regions were to be annexed to Germany. Some were to be administered as colonies. Some were to be simply suzerain or tribute paying states. (Chapter 24) It was the classic colonial imperial pattern. All of the European colonial powers knew it very well. Let there be no mistake: the colonial system would not have been dismantled except for the Second World War. The people of the Covenant were at the centre of it. They were the catalyst or the trigger for the dismantling.

However the dismantling was only partial. The Western World in general and the United States in particular set out to preserve their grip and to continue the exploitation of the resources of the former colonies by what ever means were available. These included, at a formal level, the instruments of Bretton Woods; the revision of national constitutions and fiscal, monetary and land tenure systems where possible (or by 'advising' where revision was not possible); and by the exclusion of smaller powers from major decision making bodies. At a market level it included the simple matter of investment power and the promise of the fruits of foreign investment, and in the case of the United States, the exercise of its capacity to negotiate linked trade and defence treaties and agreements by virtue of its near-legendary nuclear military power, and by exploiting the fear of Communist infiltration or incursion during the Cold War. But the most insidious mechanism has been market price manipulation and competition to force countries into bidding wars for major resource projects, and the threat of either the substitution of alternative supplies or the withdrawal of established enterprises. Globalization and the exploitation of consumer market technology has aggravated the situation. This all means that colonialism is back in vogue, alive and well, just under another name – or a camouflage.

That brings us back to Israel and the Covenant. Like it or not, recognize it or not, the people Israel, or World Jewry, are unwittingly and reluctantly the catalyst or the safety valve in the next stage of 'decolonization' or relief from exploitation. But they are not on their own. Standing atop Mount Moriah, in the shadow of the Dome of the Rock, they are linked this time with the people of Islam. The people of the amorphous Christian gel can cooperate if they wish, but the process can go on without them. There was very clear warning of this situation in 1973, at the time of the Yom Kippur War when a selective oil embargo was imposed against certain allies of Israel. The Western Powers were able to manoeuvre around it and in the generation since have actually tightened their grip still further. The need for a safety valve has never been greater.

So it is only a matter of time before we, or our descendants, will be able to experience the Messianic Age as Maimonides understood it, but we have lost too much time already. The situation is running in parallel with that before the Second World War. The major difference is that the United States is the key player instead of Britain. The greater its determination to resist change and to maintain its position of privilege, and the longer the delay before it responds to the circumstances, the greater the level of trauma for those involved must be. An analysis of all of the pockmarks along the way – the beacons – since the State of Israel was established is not feasible, and to provide a basis on which to consider the way ahead it is necessary to leapfrog from one event, or development, to another, merely clipping the peaks in a brief review of the

fifty wasted years since the establishment of both the State of Israel and the World Council of Churches. Those peaks include the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; the development of the Palestinian refugee crisis; the Cold War and the Arms Race, and the use of the Central Intelligence Agency in undeclared wars against friendly countries; the Suez Crisis and the Eisenhower Doctrine, the series of wars in Asia including the Chinese Communist victory over the Nationalists, and Korea; South Africa's Apartheid and the related matters of Civil liberties for Black Americans. In the next chapter we sight the Six Days War of June 1967, the Yom Kippur War of 1973 with which was associated the OAPEC oil embargo and the push for a New International Economic Order; the Balkans and the Kosovo crisis; the Second Vatican Council and further doctrinal developments in Roman Catholicism; regional cooperation; globalization, resource exploitation and capital flow. Some quick-reference diary notes on other events and developments provide a means to jump from one peak to another.

As factors in the overall trouble in the triangle, each of these peaks or beacons have either been influenced by it, or have exacerbated it. And from each peak we catch a glimpse of the Middle East. Jerusalem, with the Dome of the Rock on Mount Moriah as its centre piece, stands as the clearest beacon of them all. That is our starting point. On December 1, 1948, just a year after the United Nations adopted the UNSCOP partition plan, the situation there was complicated enormously when key Palestinian leaders met in Jericho and, breaking with the Mufti, passed a resolution advocating the incorporation of what remained of their territory into Jordan. King Abdullah naturally approved the union which he had long been working towards, but Egypt, Syria and Saudi Arabia opposed it and the Arab League refused to recognize it. The Mufti's Government for all Palestine moved from Gaza to Cairo and rejected Abdullah's authority. The Arab house was divided, and with a would-be-government in exile disputing control of territory with a more-or-less friendly foreign government which was in partial occupation of that territory, and able to claim substantial local support, the hand of the Israeli Provisional Council of State was strengthened considerably.

GOOD NEWS! HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ALL!

Then, as Arabs in Israel and Palestine prepared to face a period without many rights at all, most of the Christian world prepared for Christmas comfortable in the knowledge that the United Nations had adopted the Declaration of Human Rights on December 10. It was a remarkable document. Drafted with great care to recognize the aspirations of people world wide. It was a direct rebuttal of many of the policies of the colonial era and it was therefore a challenge to every country which had just been granted trusteeship over one or more countries of the Third World, but it also repudiated many of the restrictive employment and civil codes of the industrialized countries. It declared that a number of rights, set out in 30 articles, belonged to all people irrespective of distinctions such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. The rights covered matters of slave labour and other restrictive or exploitative labour practices; torture and rights at law;

nationality, privacy, movement and asylum; marriage; property; thought, religion, culture and assembly; dignity and recreation, payment for labour, access to health and education services; and, above all, recognition that all humans are born free and equal in dignity and rights.

The Declaration was known to be a challenge to those countries which did not practice universal suffrage; those, such as India with its cultural tradition of male dominance in a rigid caste system with arranged marriages; and those which operated intrusive security and police systems such as the Soviet Union. To a large extent it reflected the values of the Gospel and the Mosaic Law and some of its backers promoted it as another means of Christianizing the unevangelized world, but these values were generally consistent with the teachings of other faiths as well, and the established principles – even if not practices – of the Western Christian countries. Others saw it in more sinister terms: either imposing the standards of the amorphous Christian gel on the rest of the world, or, using the employment code provisions, as a means of reducing market competition from cheap-labour-base countries. It was on such a basis that it was therefore publicized in the West as something of a challenge for the Communist and other non-Christian countries which were supposed to lag behind the West. The Jewish community in the Diaspora welcomed it. In fact the World Union of Progressive Judaism was influential in having the clause relating to freedom of religion included in Article 18.⁹ They knew more about the abuse of human rights from first hand experience than most people. But no one, except UNSCOP, bothered much about the Palestinians, and even though the partition plan approved by the United Nations contained comprehensive assurances for the protection of the rights of both Jews and Arabs in the others' territory, the Provisional government in Israel was not interested in any rights for Palestinians at all. It only wanted them gone.

It was no real surprise when, in a vote with 48 'Yes', nil 'Against' and eight 'Abstain', all except one Western member, South Africa, supported the declaration, while the Soviet bloc of six abstained. But there was mild surprise, or cynicism, in the West when all of the non-Christian member countries except one of the nine Muslim members also voted in favor. Only Saudi Arabia joined South Africa and the Communist bloc in abstaining. South Africa's position had become quite apparent with the election of the Apartheid government earlier in the year. It was intent on removing the rights of blacks and restricting the rights of other non-whites, not in enshrining them and guaranteeing their development. Saudi Arabia had good reason to believe that there was a deliberate effort to discredit some of the religious values of Islam and, in particular, the integration of civil and religious law. The non-Western countries which voted in favor were not claiming to be above reproach, but they were saying, in effect, "we recognize those rights and we will work to meet the challenge which they present." The countries which were less open included those which were administering trust territories and colonies and which were not eager to enshrine such a list of rights because to do so meant taking the first steps in decolonization. But there were a number of European-settler dominated countries in which there was plenty of lip service but a distinct effort to sweep the challenge under the carpet because of its implications for their policies towards indigenous peoples. They included several

Latin American countries and two English-speaking countries in particular, in addition to South Africa: the United States and Australia.

The United States administration knew that it had a problem in domestic race relations and the infringement of the rights of African Americans, especially in southern states, and its non-reaction to the election of South Africa's Apartheid government has already been noted. Its problem was about to reach crisis proportions, but when it endorsed the Declaration of Human Rights it had no organized plans in place to do anything about it.

BRINGING THEM HOME

Australia, likewise, only reluctantly admitted that it had an indigenous Aboriginal population, but it was going full steam ahead to do something about it. The wrong way, and with very mixed motives. The nation's early colonial record was among the worst in the world but its people, generally, were very reluctant to talk about it or to recognize it. Aborigines, descendants of people who are thought to have come to Australia from Asia 40,000 years ago. It is now known that by 30,000 years ago scattered populations had occupied the whole of the arid regions of the continent as well as the fertile coastal strip and Tasmania. Their number at the date of European settlement, 1788, is difficult to estimate, but some authorities accept a figure of more than one million. Genocide, disease and starvation resulting from forced displacement had cut the population to about 180,000 in 1861, then to 95,000 at the date of federation (1901), and to a low of 74,000 in 1933.¹⁰ They were not recognized for census purposes and most people wished 'the problem' would simply go away. Extracts from a 1997 report to the Commonwealth government by its Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, *Bringing them home*, indicate the gravity of the overall situation.

Within months of the 'First Fleet' arrival at Sydney Cove in 1788 there was 'open animosity' as indigenous people protested against 'the Europeans cutting down trees, taking their food and game, and driving them back into others' territories.' Bitter conflict followed as Aboriginal people engaged in 'guerrilla warfare – plundering crops, burning huts, and driving away stock' to be met by 'punitive expeditions of great ferocity in which bands of Aborigines encountered were indiscriminately killed' ...¹¹

In the 1870s the destitution and vulnerability of the Aboriginal people moved the missionaries to renewed efforts. They successfully lobbied the government to reserve lands for their use and appealed for public support resulting in the establishment of missions at Maloga and Warangesda. In 1881 a Protector of Aborigines was appointed. He recommended that reserves be set aside throughout the State to which Aboriginal people should be encouraged to move ... In 1883 the Aborigines Protection Board was established to manage the reserves and control the lives of the estimated 9,000 Aboriginal people in NSW [the state of New South Wales] at that time ...¹²

After the Australian Capital Territory was established in 1911 the Board compelled all Aboriginal people in the Territory (including those who had been granted land for farming) to move to the Egerton Mission Station at Yass. When that mission closed two years later the residents became fringe-dwellers on the outskirts of Yass until another forced move to Hollywood Mission in 1934 ... By 1939 there were over 180 reserves in NSW. 'In most cases they were small with housing consisting of humpies made from iron roofing.' They were of two kinds. 'Managed reserves' ... usually staffed by a teacher-manager and education of a sort, rations and housing were provided. Unmanaged reserves provided rations but no housing or education and were under the control of the police.¹³

From 1905 the Board [had come] under pressure to relinquish reserved land in eastern NSW for non-indigenous settlement. This pressure became 'irresistible' in 1917 with the Returned Servicemen's Settlement Scheme whereby returned soldiers could select a block of agricultural land. At the same time changes in the pastoral industry were forcing Indigenous communities off pastoral stations as the stations were broken up into smaller family-based operations.¹⁴

In 1937 Aboriginal affairs were discussed for the first time at the national level when a Commonwealth-State Native Welfare Conference was convened. The Brisbane Telegraph reported that:

Mr. Neville [The Chief Protector of WA] holds the view that within one hundred years the pure black will be extinct. But the half-caste problem was increasing every year. Therefore their idea was to keep the pure blacks segregated and absorb the half-castes into the white population. Sixty years ago, he said, there were over 60,000 full-blooded natives in Western Australia. Today there are only 20,000. In time there would be none. Perhaps it would take one hundred years, perhaps longer, but the race was dying. The pure blooded Aboriginal was not a quick breeder. On the other hand the half-caste was. In Western Australia there were half-caste families of twenty and upwards. That showed the magnitude of the problem.¹⁵

In some states half-castes with more than a specified proportion of white 'blood' were already being prevented, by law from living with their families on reserves in order to force them to 'assimilate' and there had previously been some debate about whether it was better to remove babies at birth or at the age of two years. In the circumstances, and in the belief that there was nothing of value in the indigenous culture, that "the policy for them must be one of welfare" to overcome social and cultural deprivation, and that under a policy of forced removal "the break-up of such groups will be rapid,"¹⁶ it was resolved that:

... this conference believes that the destiny of the natives of Aboriginal origin, but not of the full blood, lies in their ultimate absorption by the people of the Commonwealth, and it therefore recommends that all efforts be directed to that end ... [and] ... efforts of all state authorities should be directed towards the education of children of mixed Aboriginal blood at white standards, and their subsequent employment under the same conditions as whites with a view to their taking their place in the white community on an equal footing with the whites.¹⁷

It was three years, 1940, before the first state, NSW, reshaped its indigenous child welfare system and adopted a welfare-oriented policy and it was not until the late 1940s that other states followed suit, so that in 1948 while the United Nations deliberated on the proposal for a Universal Declaration of Human Rights the Commonwealth and the state governments, the ones which still had the constitutional responsibility for Aboriginal affairs, were deliberately and doggedly pursuing a policy of forced child removal and “assimilation.” For the churches which were cooperating with the government authorities and the police in the placement of forcibly removed children either in orphanages or for adoption into white urban homes, there was only one motive: the welfare of the children. On the other hand, for some influential political lobby groups the real purpose behind the program was to breed Aborigines out of existence as a culturally identifiable community so that they would not attract foreign attention and “become a problem” through land rights claims and competition for resources, or by stimulating interest in mass coloured migration, and their lack of interest in welfare equity was palpable. The distinction between Australia’s policies towards its indigenous and non-indigenous populations was also palpable in 1951 when a World Health Organization report stressed that child welfare services should be focussed on assisting families to keep their children with them.¹⁸ The newly appointed Minister for Territories, Paul Hasluck, was moved to note that Australia’s treatment of its indigenous people made a mockery of its promotion of human rights at the international level, but he did not move to change the basic policy of assimilation, just to make it equitable. The third national Native Welfare Conference therefore agreed that:

- Assimilation means, in practical terms, that, in the course of time, it is expected that *all persons of aboriginal blood or mixed blood in Australia will live like other white Australians do.* [Emphasis added.]¹⁹

However, Australia’s isolationism was gradually being broken. Five years later Aborigines were included in the population census for the first time, and in 1967 responsibility for Aboriginal Affairs was transferred by referendum to the Commonwealth. In 1972 the Australian Labour Party, led by Gough Whitlam, campaigned for office with self-determination for Aborigines as a major plank in its platform. The policy of forced removals was phased out very quickly, and the next year the National Aboriginal Consultative Committee was established. A number of welfare agencies controlled by indigenous communities on a state or regional basis were also established; a series of enquiries were held; a system to determine Aboriginal land rights was introduced; a Commonwealth-funded Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission was established in the late 1980’s; and in 1995 the Commonwealth government instructed the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission to conduct the National Inquiry into the separation of the children of Indigenous Peoples from their families, from which extracts have been quoted above. It had been a long time coming, but progress was being made. Many of the Commission’s recommendations remain to be implemented, including three key ones: that a national apology be made, formally, by the Commonwealth Parliament to the children of the post-war “*Stolen Generation*,” that reparation be made to them; and that the Commonwealth legislate to implement the UN *Genocide Convention* with full domestic effect.

In fact there was another supra-national power which was trying not to recognize the challenge of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as the nations referred to. The Roman Catholic Church. The church's Code of Canon Law was not, and is still not, consistent with the declaration in certain respects. Its regulations concerning marriage are contrary to Article 16 (1): Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution. Then Article 18: Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance. In addition the impact of some of the canon laws concerning marriage is also contrary to the intention of Article 26 (3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

A CHALLENGE OF ASTRONOMICAL PROPORTIONS ...

So: an uneasy truce was in place in Israel and Palestine as the amorphous Christian gel set about celebrating Christmas in 1948, the year of the central fact of the Christian Era – the establishment of that State of Israel. And it was inundated with a series of challenges to its self-understanding and its Messianic theology which it was reluctant to recognize and at a loss to know how to respond as the world lurched from one crisis to another. In addition to the establishment of the State of Israel they were atheistic Communism, now more manifest than previously because of the deepening Cold War; the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls; Apartheid in South Africa; the Kinsey Report, the coming of age of the Ecumenical Movement through the establishment of the World Council of Churches, and the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But another challenge from the world of science was just breaking around it which was much more basic than any of those. Creation was back on the agenda. This time, unlike the challenge of Darwinian evolutionary theory which was largely a matter of the church's authority, teaching and self-understanding, the new challenge went to the basis of creation and the existence of God.

Earlier in the year three eminent astronomers and mathematicians, Hermann Bondi, Fred Hoyle and Thomas Gold, had cooperated in the publication of a paper in which they advanced the theory that the universe was in a "steady state." They believed that although the universe was expanding in terms of the volume of the cosmos, the density of the universe was being maintained by the constant creation of new matter. Their theory tended to be supported by the work of an astrophysicist, Viktor Ambartsumian, who had shown, only the year before, that new stellar systems were forming within the Milky Way, apparently from changing systems of group of stars. That concept extended the Darwinian challenge and persuaded most people that Darwin was right. If creation was an ongoing process then it was highly unlikely that one little segment of it had been created complete and unalterable, and the church therefore did not know

what it was talking about. The basis of its claim to teaching authority – and any other kind of authority – was further undermined. But those scientists did not offer a view on the *origin* of the universe, how the material in the *existing* part of the steady state came into being, or how old it was. It was just there, originating by some phenomenon or other. That concept was mind boggling for most people, but it did not directly challenge the church's teaching that the universe was created by God.

There had been so many major discoveries in astro-physics and astronomy in the three or four generations since Darwin that people had become accustomed to the fact that the earth was not the centre of the universe, that not even the sun was the centre, and that time and distances beyond the comprehension of most human minds were involved. Scientists such as Aleksandr Friedmann, Edwin Hubble and Georges LeMaitre had advanced the theory that the cosmos was actually expanding and this had raised questions about whether the amount of matter in it was constant or increasing, and distances to other units of the universe had been measured in terms of millions of light years. But the scientific community was not unanimous in accepting such theories and while there was room for doubt hard core, very vocal sections of the church insisted on Biblical inerrancy and on the creation of the universe complete and unalterable only a few thousand years ago. They were insistent that creation science should be taught in schools alongside, or in competition with evolutionary science, and even though they were increasingly regarded by the mainstream church as an embarrassment, the population at large did not know who to believe.

... A 'BIG BANG'

However, later in the year, George Gamow and Ralph Alpher published another paper, *The Origin of Chemical Elements*, in which they built on all the evidence gathered by those before them that the universe was expanding, contradicted the steady state theory, and presented an alternative theory that the universe had come into being through a primeval thermonuclear explosion of fantastic proportions which they termed the "big bang." If they were right, then it raised totally new questions about the cause of the big bang; how life was generated from totally lifeless material produced by a thermonuclear reaction; whether it occurred spontaneously together with the re-composition of all cosmic matter; whether, in that case, science could now reproduce such an occurrence in the laboratory; and, if so, what did this suggest about creation and the involvement of an external supreme being, or a god? If the universe was so big and so old, why should the earth be regarded as the only inhabited planet, and how many other 'colonized' planets were there 'out there?' If a god had caused the big bang and created such a universe why should he be the only one causing such an event in the cosmos and why should he send a 'son' who had to leave a succession of deputies to run his affairs for him? Furthermore, if the universe had a starting point in time and was still being flung outwards into a void without boundaries it would have to eventually dissipate, go out of existence, have an end, or at least have some predictable fate.

That offered quite a challenge to the thinkers of astronomy and other sciences. They began to explore beyond the question of the origin of the universe to the question of its fate. Within a few years, alternative theories had been published and were being debated about what will happen to the universe when it has cooled to a critical point. Will cosmic expansion continue, unbound, so that galaxies and stars simply go cold, ‘die’ and continue as projectiles in an ever increasing cosmic semi-void?. Or will it reach the extent of expansion, and, bound by natural forces, begin to contract to a common point, to be reformed into one or more fiery masses in a ‘big squeeze’ – the reverse of a ‘big bang’ – perhaps even triggering another big bang and starting the process all over again? On that, there is no agreed scientific position, but new calculations, based on some of Hubble’s earlier work on the speed and direction of separation of the units of the universe, soon indicated that the occurrence of a big bang was plausible and that if it did occur it was in the time range between one thousand million years ago and one thousand five hundred million years ago. That has become the most widely accepted theory for the origin of the universe as we know it, and also for its age. It is slightly longer than the vice-chancellor of Cambridge University determined as the date and time of creation calculated (in the wake of the Reformation) based on Biblical sources: nine o’clock in the morning on October 23rd 4004 BCE, with all species created complete, of course! (Chapter 14)²⁰

The church – or the churches – did not know how to respond. It was only the Christian church which had sought to pontificate on the question of creation. It did not have to do so. There was never any real need for it to do so. It had only done so as an aspect of its confused bid to maintain its special status in tertiary education and as the exclusive source of any information relating to the divine. Such intervention in humanity’s search for answers to the ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions of life and natural science – and its intimately related search for means of utilizing the resources of creation and an understanding of humanity’s relationship to other units of creation – was totally inappropriate. It was a product of the same self-understanding and mindset which led to the papal decree of 1907, *Lamentabili*, the encyclical *Pascendi*, and the subsequent *Oath Against the Errors of Modernism* which was imposed in 1910 when scientists and teachers ignored the decree. (Chapter 16)

The church could have simply said, concerning creation, “We have no idea. All we know is that ‘the heavens declare the glory of God and the firmament proclaims His handiwork.’” (Psalm 19:1 RSV) Neither of its partners in the triangle got hung up over the issue. They were content to take the Biblical creation stories as only indicative of a Supreme Being, knowable only through divine revelation, whose creative power humanity may explore, seek to understand, and utilize but never fully understand or emulate. It matters not one jot or tittle how vast or how small the products of creation are proven to be – if humanity ever finds out. It is of no consequence at all. We can not possibly utilize the totality of creation. Nor do we need to. The only purpose in knowing more about creation is to be better able to understand the Creator and our relationship to both the Creator and all other aspects of creation. God’s creativity is God’s creativity whether we understand the totality of it or not; and regardless of the extent to which we can learn to measure it, and to understand the laws by which it functions and by

means of which we may utilize the resources divinely made available to us. The more we learn about creation, the better we understand how limited is our knowledge about creation, and the greater should be our wonder at the glory which the heavens declare.

In some of the non-Abrahamic traditions which arose either in the Mediterranean or the East there were skeptics who debated at length, and in circles, about the relationship of an external or internal creator – or the absence of one – to creation. In some other traditions there was an unquestioning acceptance of a cosmic presence with responsibility for all that was, that is and that will be.

The existence of a belief in a supreme being among primitive peoples (a notion discovered by Andrew Lang) has been proven and attested to over and over again by investigators of numerous cultures. This belief has been found among the cultures of Africa, the Ainu of the northern Japanese islands, Amerindians, south central Australians, the Fuegians of South America, and in almost all parts of the globe. Though the precise nature and characteristics of the supreme creator deity may differ from culture to culture, a specific and persuasive structure of this type of deity can be discerned. The following characteristics tend to be common: (1) he is all wise and all powerful. The world comes into being because of his wisdom, and he is able to actualize the world because of his power. (2) The deity exists alone prior to the creation of the world. There is no being or thing prior to his existence. No explanation can therefore be given of his existence, before which one confronts the ultimate mystery. (3) The mode of creation is conscious, deliberate and orderly. This again is an aspect of the creator's wisdom and power. The creation comes about because the deity seems to have a definite plan in mind and does not create on a trial-and-error basis.²¹

The church had always denigrated the beliefs of such 'primitive peoples' and, in the early phase of the church's expansion through northern Europe and during the early phase of the colonial era, it found it sufficient reason to use the might of the powers associated with it to ruthlessly oppress them because they could not name, nor accept, Christ as one part of that cosmic presence. (Chapters 7, 11.) And Siddhartha Gautama, the Buddha, (chapter 5) had never attempted to confront the issue. He declared questions of whether the world and the universe were finite and definable or infinite, eternal or subject to a beginning and an ending as unanswerable. He did not suggest they were irrelevant. He just got on with the issues which mattered: ethics and the philosophy of living together.

The mainstream churches, having bought into the argument when they had no basis on which to do so, had to, in effect, sit on their hands and hope the questions would go away. The Garnow-Alpher theory was not immediately widely accepted, and for a few years the steady state theory held sway. It was not until 13 years later, 1961, after Robert Dicke proposed that if microwave radiation emanating from outer space were to be detected it would establish the validity of the big bang theory, that support for that theory began to build. Then from 1965, when two scientists working on the development of commercial microwave technology in the United States, Arno Penzias and Robert Wilson, confirmed the presence of such radiation the big bang theory became generally accepted and the steady state theory was discredited. The

questions had not gone away. They were getting thicker, and the credibility and influence of the churches, already beginning to slide, continued to slide progressively. Their thoughts turned to how to maintain their position and to present their case, their current theology and their self-understanding in a convincing manner, not to whether they should reassess their theology in the light of the trouble in the triangle and the developments occurring all around them. A passage by systematic theologian Ted Peters reflects the situation very well:

One of the unpredicted and astounding intellectual trends of our time is the re-asking of the God question within the orbit of scientific discussion about the natural world. ... Since the Enlightenment we have pretty much assumed that these two [what we know about the natural world through science and what religious thinkers say about the transcendent world] represent separate domains of human knowing. We have erected a high wall of separation between church and laboratory. Yet this is increasingly recognized as most unfortunate, because we are all aware that there is but one reality, so sooner or later we will become dissatisfied with consigning our differences to separate ghettos of knowledge. The quiet revolutionaries since the 1960s have been looking for parallels, points of contact, consonance, crossovers, and conflations. The emerging new discipline ... is studying developments in natural science – especially physics and the life sciences – and is engaging in serious reflection on various loci of Christian doctrine. [Emphasis added.]²²

Two years after Penzias and Wilson confirmed that there was microwave radiation emanating from outer space, in 1967, the papal *Oath Against the Errors of Modernism* was quietly dropped from the Vatican's armoury. However that was all in the future at Christmas, 1948, when the world was more concerned with the action in the Middle East.

CEASE FIRE ... ANGLO-ISRAELI STAND-OFF ... ARMISTICE ...

A few days after New Year, 1949, January 5, Israel announced that it had penetrated Egyptian territory. Two days later, being satisfied that it was in a very strong negotiating position, it was happy for another cease fire to take effect. But on the same day it demonstrated quite decisively that it was not to be trifled with. It was prepared to confront the major powers. It shot down five British aircraft, based in the Suez Canal Zone, while they were on reconnaissance patrols in the absence of the expelled UN observers, to assess the nature and depth of the claimed Israeli penetration into Egypt. Britain protested but Israel refused to recognize the protest on the grounds that Britain had not yet recognized Israel. Israel lodged a counter protest at Britain's decision to send a naval force, at Transjordan's request, to the head of the Gulf of Aqaba where the territories of Saudi Arabia, Transjordan, Egypt and the Negev, to which Israel laid claim, all abutted and relations between Israel and Britain soured further. Quite apart from its opposition to the UNSCOP partition plan, Britain's position was that it had declined to jump on the American bandwagon and recognize Israel until, in accordance with traditional international practice, it had a functioning administration, known frontiers and the ability to carry out international obligations.²³ It also accused Israel of being responsible for the threat to peace and

stability in the Middle East through its policy of aggression and failing to comply with the UN Security Council call for a cease fire and a return to previous truce positions.

With tension running very high Weizmann, then President of the Provisional Council of State of Israel by virtue of his election by that body two days after the declaration of the establishment of the state, sought to defend his country's actions on January 12 by declaring at a press conference that Israel "had no designs on the territory of others, but needed the land awarded to it by the United Nations in order to settle the tragic survivors of Nazi persecution." It was in no sense a puppet of either Communist Russia or the West, he said, strict neutrality was its life blood and, in time, Jew and Arab could learn to live together in peace.²⁴ It is significant that he perpetuated the argument that there was no where else for the remnant of Europe's Jews to settle, which, in post Second World War conditions was no longer sustainable but which Zionists had pressed relentlessly in their bid for the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine.

Six weeks later, on February 24, after negotiations nurtured by Count Bernadotte's successor, Dr. Bunche, Israel signed its first armistice, with Egypt, and this was followed by similar agreements with Lebanon (March 23), Transjordan (April 3), Iraq (also April), and finally Syria (July 20) after it had resolved domestic crises including an army revolution. But each agreement was provisional in nature, named no final political or territorial boundaries, and was signed without prejudice to "the rights, claims and positions" of the parties concerned in connection with "the ultimate peaceful settlement of the Palestine question."²⁵ Israel had insisted on negotiating with each country separately – a procedure it has insisted on at all times – so that it could grind every territorial advantage possible from each round of negotiations without having to put all of its cards on the table at one time. In effect it changed the rules each time. For example, in the case of Transjordan, it broke the cease fire on the eve of armistice negotiations to expel a small force of the Arab Legion which was occupying a triangle of territory at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba and sought to justify its action on the grounds that it was an area allocated to a Jewish State under the UNSCOP plan. In contrast, when it suited it, Israel argued that territory which it was occupying but which had been allocated to an Arab state under the same plan was lawfully its by virtue of conquest.²⁶ It would not have been able to use such tactics if the armistice negotiations were concurrent, and – of far greater importance – the nature of "the Palestinian question" would certainly have been much different and possibly less complex because the future of the territory allocated for an Arab state would have been dealt with as a whole, as the UN intended.

By adopting the approach which it did, Israel showed very clearly that it was not interested in coexisting with a state of Palestine. In the circumstances King Abdullah, having accepted an armistice agreement, proceeded to administer the territory of the West Bank for which Transjordan accepted responsibility as if it was a part of his kingdom, changed its name to Jordan, granted automatic citizenship to refugees settled in that area and, in doing so, increased the population of his country by one third. However some of the wider implications of that decision which were not immediately apparent have had serious consequences for Jordan and

the world as the years have passed. Jordan became a principal host for Palestinian refugee camps and, by virtue of its position adjacent to Israel, the headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Palestinian community virtually became a state within a state and great friction developed while the more educated Palestinians also provided a substantial proportion of the staff of the Jordanian public service. This led to Jordan's bloody war against the PLO, its expulsion from the territory which it sought to make its national homeland, and its successive moves from Jordan to Lebanon, Libya, Egypt and back to the West Bank as the United States applied enormous pressure in a bid to bring about its demise, and as alliances changed.

... AND UN MEMBERSHIP

During the course of the war and those armistice negotiations Israel's Provisional Council of State had been busy indeed. It had determined the date for elections for a Constituent Assembly, January 25, 1949, and it proceeded with that election. The Assembly (Knesset) met for the first time on February 14, Weizmann named Ben-Gurion to try to form a government, and after weeks of political negotiation he was able to announce the formation of a coalition government which was confirmed by a vote of the Knesset and took office on March 10. In spite of its stormy relations with the United Nations as a body and with individual members, and in spite of "the reluctance (it) had shown on various occasions to observe the rules that body had laid down"²⁷ the Provisional Council had already submitted an application for membership of the world body. Its application was approved by the Security Council on March 11, immediately after the government formally took office. The statutes of the United Nations stipulate that an application for membership submitted by a peace-loving country which is able and willing to carry out the obligations of the charter shall, if recommended by the Security Council, be referred to the General Assembly and shall become effective when it is accepted by a two thirds majority. At the time that the Security Council recommendation was made Israel had signed an armistice agreement with only one country, Egypt.

JEWISH ACTION ... VATICAN REACTION

In the meantime the Israeli Provisional State Council had also "transformed" the departments of the mandatory authority into departments of the government of Israel together with organs of the Jewish Agency and the Va'ad Le'umi, (the executive of the National Assembly which was set up in October 1920 by Palestinian Jewry to administer the National Home in the light of the Balfour Declaration and decisions taken by the San Remo Peace Conference in April that year).²⁸ But the transformation was carried out without taking account of how the mandated territories which were not to be part of Israel would be administered after the split, or consultations with the UN or potential Arab authorities.

The Vatican was very uneasy indeed, and on April 15, while the Security Council's recommendation of Israel's UN membership application was before the General Assembly but

had not yet been considered, and in the middle of the series of armistice negotiations, the pope issued yet another encyclical, *In Redemptoris Nostri*. It bears the hallmarks of a measure designed to incite popular political pressure against Israel. It read, in part: “We cannot help repeating here the same declaration, encouraged by the thought that it may also serve as an inspiration to Our children. ... Let them wherever they are living, use every legitimate means to persuade the rulers of nations, and those whose duty it is to settle this important question, to accord to Jerusalem and its surroundings a juridical status. ... Nor can we omit to point out that all rights to the holy places which Catholics, during many centuries have acquired and time and again defended valiantly, and which our predecessors have solemnly and effectively vindicated, should be preserved inviolate.”²⁹

The thrust of the encyclical was taken even further in an article in ³⁰

Pius XII’s two encyclicals on the crisis in Palestine, *Multiplicibus Curis* in October 1948 and now *Redemptoris Nostri*, and his formal call for the full territorial internationalization of Jerusalem, followed his earlier contributions to the theological debate and were entirely consistent with the thrust of them. Those earlier contributions included the banning of works by Jewish authors Fleg and Bergson – in the last edition of the Papal *Index librorum prohibitorum* – and his prayer to Blessed Virgin Mary for Peace, *Auspicia Quaedam*, in May 1948. The prevailing Vatican view (and the view of many non-Catholics as well) had not changed. It was still that the Jews were a people guilty of the crime of deicide and an accursed people whose exile is clear proof of God’s punishment. They must therefore suffer but they must not be exterminated lest they be unable to fulfill their role as witnesses to the truth.³¹

That view had been reflected in a very measured statement by Ernesto Buonaiuti, a priest, professor of philosophy at the Pontifical University and personal confidante of Vatican Secretary of State Cardinal Gasparri, in an interview with a Jewish journalist in Rome in December 1921 when the mandate negotiations were at a critical stage. In response to a question about the value of Zionism he said: “I consider the idea of creating in Palestine a place of refuge for the Jews persecuted by blind, inhuman anti-Semitism as beyond reproach; on the other hand, however, I believe that the Jews have to carry out a higher mission in forming throughout their dispersion a nucleus of constant rejuvenation and social progress, which role they have always played by their dissatisfaction and restlessness.” Then, on Catholic-Zionist relations he said three motives governed Catholic attitudes: “(First) ... *Catholicism shares the fears and apprehensions with which existing society views the programme of the reconstitution of the Jewish race*, in view of the invincible revolutionary spirit with which the latter appears to be imbued. (Second) Catholicism maintains in its tradition ... Christ’s curse against Jerusalem: ‘No stone shall remain on your stones.’ Any attempt to restore Jerusalem to a position of real political value, ... is regarded as an insult. (Third) Catholic circles are alarmed by the fact that the Zionist movement has placed itself under the protection of England, which is promoting with all means Protestant propaganda in the Near East, and which appears today as the most anti-Catholic people among all European nations.” ³² (Emphasis added.)

In line with those views the Vatican had vigorously opposed Jews being granted “a privileged and preponderant position in Palestine” and actually canvassed the prospect of support from the European powers for papal territorial rights over the key area of central Palestine which would include Jerusalem, Acre, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Jericho and Bethsaida.³³ At times it drew heavily on the messianic prophecies of Isaiah – when it suited its purposes – but it made no mention of passages dealing with the glorious resurrection of Jerusalem such as:

Foreigners will rebuild your walls_and their kings will be your servants._For though I struck you in anger,_in mercy I have pitied you. ...

The sons of your oppressors will come to you bowing,_at your feet shall fall all who despised you._They will call you ‘City of Yahweh’,_‘Zion of the Holy One of Israel.’ ...

Violence will no longer be heard in your country,_nor devastation and ruin within your frontiers._You will call your walls ‘Salvation’_and your gates ‘Praise.’ ...

Your sun will set no more_nor your moon wane,_but Yahweh will be your everlasting light_and your days of mourning will be ended....

‘For as the earth makes fresh things grow,_as a garden makes seeds spring up,_so will the Lord Yahweh make both integrity and praise_spring up in the sight of nations.’ ...

This Yahweh proclaims_to the ends of the earth:_Say to the daughter of Zion, ‘Look,_your saviour comes,

the prize of his victory with him,_his trophies before him.’_They shall be called ‘The Holy People’,_‘Yahweh’s Redeemed.’_And you shall be called ‘The sought-after’,_‘City-not-forsaken.’_Isaiah 60:10,14,18,20; 61:11; 62:11-12. [The Jerusalem Bible]

Such passages were not consistent with the fate of the Jewish people and the City of Jerusalem, nor of the image of the church, which the Vatican sought to perpetuate. They were, in its view, intended only for the people of the Babylonian Exile, not for the people of the twentieth century of the Christian Era.

The fear of the Jewish State gaining world recognition and influence had actually been the major factor behind the Vatican’s politicking in a bid to prevent the British mandate from being confirmed, but that politicking had been focussed on the unfairness of a Protestant-Orthodox alliance undermining the position of Catholics in Palestine and the question of who should participate in control of the Holy Places. (Chapter 17)³⁴. Cardinal Gasparri made this clear when he said on one occasion “the danger we fear most is the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine,”³⁵ and on another occasion in 1922, to Weizmann, “It is your university I fear.”³⁶ He was, in effect, acknowledging that while the Protestant churches posed an on-going theological and material challenge, the establishment of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem posed, and would progressively strengthen, a new ideological and theological challenge. Similarly, Baron Carlo Monti wrote to the Italian Foreign Minister that: “... the Holy See regards [the establishment of a Jewish State] as a most serious danger not only to the Church but also to all of Christianity.”³⁷ With little consideration for the impact of the Vatican’s concurrent and bitter

opposition to the ecumenical movement, he was lobbying for an alliance of the Vatican and the Protestant churches in opposition to a Jewish state. Britain had proposed a Commission for the Holy Places consisting of representatives of all three Abrahamic religions, but the Vatican, in a bid to avoid Jewish representation, sought to substitute a commission of consuls who represented members of the League of Nations in Palestine. Catholic countries were to be in the majority and religious representatives were to be present only in a consultative capacity.³⁸

The same fear and the same views, had permeated the Vatican's actions during the Second World War and were a factor in Pius XII's decision to issue *Redemptoris Nostri*, calling for the internationalization of Jerusalem, at the time that the General Assembly was deliberating over Israel's application for UN membership and competing proposals for the future administration of the Holy City. The Vatican's fear of being superseded was well founded, but it was sparring with shadows. The real threat came from the accumulated consequences of nearly two thousand years of misconduct which had resulted from the church's self-misunderstanding. The Pope need not have worried about the Jewish State promoting a competing claim. The Israeli Government was still essentially secular in its approach even though it had to concede so much to the Religious Front which was intent on engineering a Jewish national home which was governed by orthodox Jewish law, and it, with the support of the majority of its citizens, was firmly against a theocratic form of government. It was not about to share its authority with the religious leadership through a Great Sanhedrin even if it was in sympathy with the idea expressed by Mizrahi world leader Rabbi Meir Bar-Ilan in 1926 that: "The State of Israel is something celestial, it is the divine world, our eternal destiny."³⁹ The Provisional Government had received a proposal that the Sanhedrin be revived for the purposes of introducing new legislation but it was doomed by disagreement over what its role would be in a modern legislative setting.⁴⁰ If the government had proceeded with that proposal there would have been major disputes between the Orthodox, the Conservative and the Reformed wings of Judaism over the way in which that authority would be exercised. And in any case, the concept of an earthly representative of God, other than in the Messianic sense, is totally abhorrent to Jews. It is not a description, a title or a role they would aspire to.

On May 9 – only two days before the final vote on Israel's application for membership of the United Nations – FIDES again followed the lead of the papal encyclical and gave space to the view that Zionism might have been *spiritually inspired by a 2,000-year-old want for revenge against Christianity* and several Catholic-dominated countries joined the debate in Vatican-inspired opposition to the admission of the Zionist state.⁴¹ The use of the words '*revenge against Christianity*' was tantamount to a belated and pathetic admission that the Jewish community had reason to seek revenge, and although the use of the term does *not* reflect the motives of the majority of Jews it was an equally pathetic admission that the motive which inspired Zionism was a justified response to the excesses of Christianity. In any case, what Christian had a right to gainsay them if some of their number did seek revenge? What right did an instrument of the Catholic Church have to talk about tolerance in such terms? And who, *in human terms*, could deny a community the right to build secure barricades around its borders

when the body which claimed to be the guardian of the world's morals and the guide to its political conduct talked of *binding the lunatic in his rage*?

Israel's membership of the United Nations formally took effect on May 11, 1949 when it was ratified by the General Assembly. That final UN decision in Israel's favor, and the muted response to the papal encyclicals, appears to have brought an understanding within the Vatican that its claims to Jerusalem and a slab of Palestine would never be accepted internationally. This is reflected in a further hardening of its attitude to Communism in a bid to reduce the threat to its temporal authority in the mini-city-state of the Vatican through a review of 'the Roman question.' On the authority of Pius XII a decree was issued by the Congregation of the Holy Office on June 13 forbidding Catholics to join the Communist Party or to read or work for its newspapers, and excommunicating those who "knowingly and willingly profess the doctrines of Communism, or defend its principles, or spread its errors." However those who joined the Communist Party in Iron Curtain countries for the sake of work needed to support their families were *not* to be excommunicated.⁴² They were expected to white-ant it from within. Even so, the Vatican tried to keep the issue of the internationalization of Jerusalem alive by having Belgium raise it again at the UN in 1950.

A RENASCENT JUDAISM

The Vatican's long-held fear of the consequences of a serious challenge to its claims to both temporal and religious authority as the sole representative of the divine Messiah-God on earth, and its manoeuvring around the issue of the Papal States and Catholic lay involvement in politics had been an important factor in the conduct of both the First and Second World Wars. Pope Benedict XV is said to have "dreamed of a papal presidency of a universal state" – an updated version of the Holy Roman Empire – and in 1920 in his encyclical *Pacem Dei* in the wake of the Balfour Declaration he totally disregarded the existence of the League of Nations when he called for the establishment of 'a league of nations based on Christian law.'⁴³ The Vatican had equally feared the challenge to its self-understanding and authority which the establishment of a Jewish State could generate. Such a state would automatically be recognized as having temporal authority and it could also gain strong religious authority in the name of resurgent Judaism with the strength and influence of a revitalized Jewish community.

In the circumstances of its near-miraculous recovery from oppression and near-oblivion it could be widely acknowledged as the Chosen People of God and it could even supersede the church, in a world view, as chief spokesperson for God – especially if it had a rebuilt temple as its focal point.⁴⁴ That was absolutely unthinkable and the Vatican did all it could to perpetuate the myth that Judaism only continued to exist as witness to the truth of Christianity which had superseded it. Now its worst fears of a Jewish religious resurgence were being confirmed by the statutes of the State of Israel. Worse still, it was now not only a recognized state but a full member of the world body, while the Vatican had only observer status. And its resurgence was further confirmed by a glorious flood of religious literature coming from Jewish writers in both

Israel and the Diaspora. The Jewish contribution to literature, science and the arts had always been substantial and well above the level suggested by the Jewish population as a proportion of the total population (chapter 15, discussion on Nobel Prizes; chapter 18, contribution to German life) *but this flood was quite different. It reflected the stimulus to Jewish theological thinking and self-understanding which the establishment of the State of Israel provided.*

The visible flood began in late 1947 and coincided with the establishment of the Brandeis University in the US, the Weizmann Institute of Science in Israel, Carmel College in Britain and Mount Scopus in Australia, the merging of two seminaries in the US and a big surge in the opening of new synagogues, especially in America. The first sign of it was Wolfson's *Philo: Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, followed in quick succession by Jules Isaac's *Jesus and Israel*, Jacob Epstein's "most authoritative" *Introduction to the Original Text of the Mishnah*,⁴⁵ Martin Buber's *The Prophetic Faith*, Arthur Koestler's *Promise and Fulfilment: Palestine 1917-1949*, and the publication of the first volume of a Jewish and Israeli encyclopaedia *Ha-Entsiqlopedya*. It continued with a rash of novels, plays, works of theology on an enormous scale, works on the Holocaust, anti-Semitism, prejudice and psychology, the establishment of new newspapers and journals, and a new dynamism in the presentation of Jewish culture and theatre. The Vatican's contribution to the theological debate was the banning of works by Jewish authors Fleg and Bergson in the last edition of the Papal *Index librorum prohibitorum*, and Pope Pius XII's Prayer to Blessed Virgin Mary for Peace, *Auspicia Quaedam*, in May 1948.

But the visible flood was the result of the stimulus provided by the trauma of the war years and a recovery in Jewish worship, both Orthodox and Reformed, was well under way before the general public became aware of it. The efforts of the World Union for Progressive Judaism (WUPJ, chapter 18) to revitalize Jewish religious life in Europe during the 1930s had been stymied as the world lurched towards war, but, under the leadership of Rabbi Louis-Germain who emerged from hiding in Lyons and returned to Paris immediately hostilities ended in 1945, it then tackled its most ambitious European project: the rebuilding of the severely damaged synagogue on rue Copernic. By 1948 it had recovered to about 300 members. It attracted a number of intellectuals and established a Hillel Centre for Jewish students in the Latin Quarter. It abandoned Sunday services and allowed a reversion to a more traditional liturgy with the use of more Hebrew.

The destruction of German Jewry made an early recovery there almost impossible, but the WUPJ arranged the appointment of a German-born American rabbi in Berlin, and was able to re-established a Liberal congregation in Amsterdam and locate a rabbi of Dutch origin to lead it. In addition it gained consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council, UNESCO, and UNICEF, where, as noted, it used its influence to ensure that reference to freedom of religion was included in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.⁴⁶ The Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC) moved its headquarters from Cincinnati to an impressive new building in New York with the poignant call to 'LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF' emblazoned across its full width. This greatly facilitated its growth from 300 to 656

congregations, and from 60,000 members to 200,000, in 21 years from 1943 to 1964. That dynamism was reflected in strong growth in Australia and South Africa as well.⁴⁷

And although the trauma of Jewish settlement and statehood imposed in Palestine showed clearly that Zionist leaders had disregarded their community's Covenant obligations and had not recognized the coincidence of the Qur'anic Night Journey and Maimonides' expectations of the return to Israel, some Jewish theologians began to take a renewed interest in covenant theology. Some, but not all.

Jews, having experienced their own special tragedy, emerged from World War II "filled with a mood of defeat rather than victory." Not only had the atomic destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki raised immense anxieties about the human future, but the death of their own 6 million and the plight of Jewish refugees barred from entry into Palestine cast a pall of deep despair. By the early fifties some Reform rabbis were seriously examining the somber theologies of religious existentialism. A layman not associated with Reform, Will Herberg, elaborated Nieburhr's dark view of human potential in the absence of transcendent faith. [Reinhold Nieburhr, teaching at the Christian Union Theological Seminary in New York, said that history had demonstrated the pervasiveness of human sinfulness and the inability of human beings to achieve moral progress on their own.] Man's existential predicament, he maintained, required a "leap of faith." Few Jewish thinkers, however, were ready to adopt the Pauline deprecation of human reason that had become popular among some Christian theologians. Much discussed and widely criticized as un-Jewish, Herberg's work represented an extreme reaction.⁴⁸

Michael Meyer notes that:

By the mid-fifties a circle of at least a dozen Reform rabbis had coalesced around the common goal of creating a new theology for Reform Judaism. ... They were united in their rejection of earlier Reform theology, which they found superficial, removed from the classical sources, and deaf to the voice of a personal God. Under the influence of Christian existentialism, they rediscovered more somber assessments of human nature within Jewish tradition and were willing to dwell on concepts like sin and the fear of God that liberal Jewish theology had relegated mostly to the Day of Atonement.

One traditional concept, they soon realized, better represented their position than any other. Berit, covenant, is one of the most crucial ideas of the Bible. It is particular to Israel; and it both sets the Jewish people apart and binds it together as a "covenant community." For Reform Jews berit was a far more conducive concept than matan torah, the giving of the law or teaching on Mount Sinai. The latter implied receipt rather than partnership, unquestioning obligation, and a fixed tradition. But covenant could be understood as an ongoing relationship. It was not limited to a single generation that might or might not have literally stood at Sinai. Every Jew in every age was obligated to renew and to uphold the covenant. As liberals, Jews were also free – on the basis of their own serious confrontation with the texts – to re-negotiate its terms. The covenant, in short, was the basis for the historical but also open-ended dialogue between God and Israel. [Emphasis added.]⁴⁹

That was only a start. There was a long way to go. There still is. Especially to re-work that expression “to re-negotiate” the terms of the Covenant of Sinai. That was set to lead Jewish theologians into a maze of contradictory positions during the next generation.

There had been some limited attention to the religious significance of the Holocaust in the immediate postwar years. As early as 1946 Rabbi David Polish of Evanston, Illinois had urged that Reform Judaism revive observance of the fast day of Tish'ah Be-Av, on which both ancient temples were destroyed, adapting it to commemorate “our twentieth-century disaster.” It was also Polish who told his colleagues in 1953:

If our sensitivity to revelation were not blunted (and perhaps it will be restored in the souls of our descendants), then a revelation, the full impact of which must yet be made manifest to us, occurred at the Iriya [municipal council chamber] of Tel-Aviv on the fifth of Iyar 1948 [when the independence of the State of Israel was declared] and, yes, in Treblinka, even as Pitom and Raamses were imitations of Sinai.⁵⁰

Polish was absolutely right. The fact of the establishment of the State of Israel was revelation in itself. He had come very close indeed to picking up the threads, and the coincidence, of the Qur’anic Night Journey and Maimonides’ expectations of the return to Israel. The centres which he referred to, Pitom and Raamses, were centres of trauma for the early Israelis during a period of slavery prior to the Exodus from Egypt to Sinai. Some three or four hundred years earlier, Joseph, one of the sons of the patriarch, Jacob, had been sold into slavery (transgressed against) by his brothers out of jealousy. He was recognized for his ability by pharaoh, appointed governor and, in that position of authority, was able and prepared to protect his father and his extended family from famine, in spite of his brothers’ efforts to dispose of him. He arranged the opportunity for them to settle in that foreign land. Subsequently, as foreign migrants, they became an embarrassment through population growth and success, and the reigning pharaoh took steps to suppress them. They were forced into virtual slave labour camps at Pitom and Raamses to build two store cities. It was at Raamses that the Passover, as related in *Exodus*, occurred and from there that Moses led that community of Israel in the Exodus to Sinai where the Covenant was revealed. (Chapter 6) Treblinka, the third of the Nazi extermination centres to be built, was officially described as a ‘transit camp’ for people en route to labour camps further east, but many of its victims simply served time as slave labour there before being ‘processed’ on site. Between 700,000 and one million Jews were gassed there between July 1942 and August 1943.⁵¹

Polish was therefore saying that in the same manner that Pitom and Raamses were transit labour camps on the long haul to Sinai, the revelations to Moses and the Covenant, Treblinka was a transit labour camp on the long haul to (or as a precursor of) the State of Israel and further revelation, presumably involving a new covenant, which was not, at that time, manifest. No Jewish scholar would dispute the *immutability* of the Torah, so here was an inconsistency or even a contradiction: neither Polish nor his colleagues seemed able, or prepared, to recognize that the Covenant of Sinai was still in effect: permanent, irrevocable and *not subject to re-*

negotiation. All that was necessary was renewed commitment, a concerted effort to focus on it again, and the will to interpret and act on their obligations under it in contemporary circumstances. But Meyer tells us that Jewish Reform theologians drew no causal connection between the Holocaust and the establishment of the Jewish State.⁵² They became involved in the struggle for Black civil rights and related race issues, and they sought to prevent the intrusion of religion into public affairs and state education in the manner which was being pursued by Evangelical Christian groups, but neither Polish's liturgical suggestion nor his striking theological statement brought any response in the 1950s, and it was not until the following decades that the failure, up until then, to deal explicitly with the Holocaust came to be regarded by them as a critical theological omission.⁵³ Polish and his colleagues were certainly not receiving any encouragement from their Christian counterparts to think in those terms.

One half of the church, led by Pius XII, was telling them to quit Jerusalem and make way for the Roman Catholic Church so that it could care for the holy sites (and perhaps move into it as an alternative to the Vatican) and, in the terms used by *Documentation Catholique*, (quoted above) *awaken from their delirium, permit the establishment of tolerant mutual relations* and respond to firm and determined opposition so that *Christian charity might bind them in their lunatic rage*. The other half, led by the World Council of Churches, had at least recognized that it was Israel with whom God made His covenant by the call of Abraham, to whom God revealed His name and gave His law, sent His Prophets with their message of judgement and of grace, and promised the coming of His Messiah. The council had asked churches to consider missions to the Jews as a normal part of parish work and to "scrupulously avoid all unworthy pressures or inducements" and to "give thought to the preparation of ministers well fitted to interpret the Gospel to Jewish people." It had also recognized the need for more detailed study of problems in Christian-Jewish relations, especially factors contributing to anti-Semitism, the most effective means of combating the evil, the need to develop cooperation between Christians and Jews in civic and social affairs, and problems caused by the establishment of the State of Israel. (Chapter 28)

A SPRINGBOARD TO CHRISTIAN REFLECTION ...

It was not long before Councils of Christians and Jews were established in a number of major centres, linked mainly to Protestant theological institutions in which serious study began of the issues raised by the World Council of Churches. It was not an easy task. Vatican intransigence towards the Ecumenical Movement and to every attempt to modify long standing Catholic theology meant that attitudes on both sides of the Reformation divide had tended to be set in concrete. Karl Barth had certainly loosened the stonework a bit (chapter 17) and cracks began to appear in the walls during the war years, but the Holocaust and the establishment of the State of Israel required substantial reflection on how to proceed. Karl Barth's thinking became both a part of the process and a part of the problem. He had forced the church to think of the Jews in a new light during the late 1920s and 1930s, but his Church Dogmatics, in which he placed such

overriding importance on the Doctrine of the Trinity as the starting point for Christian theology means that his work has become the centre of quite vigorous debate and criticism.

According to Peter Ochs, Barth's theology "provides the most productive basis for fruitful and ingenuous theological exchange between Judaism and Christianity" because he opens up sources and insights which support both Christian love of the people Israel and the idea that Christianity has superseded Judaism. For some theologians the Holocaust "culminates a 1900-year history of Christian anti-Semitism, calling Christians not only to refashion their relation to Jews and Judaism, but also to make radical reforms in the basic tenets of their faith. To them "the anti-Jewish side of Barth's theology represents the ineradicable core of the Gospel witness itself,"⁵⁴ and this may mean that "anti-Judaism is inseparable from central doctrines of the New Testament read in its plain sense, that the horrible events of this century are among the fruits of that anti-Judaism, and that Christians can therefore no longer afford to perpetuate those doctrines without serious revision."⁵⁵

On the other hand, while some other theologians are also shocked by the Holocaust they are not prompted to try to rewrite the scriptural basis of their faith but simply reinterpret it, on the basis that "neither God, nor Christ, nor Jesus, nor Paul is the problem [which] rests instead in the way in which the Gospel witness is received and transmitted."⁵⁶ However it prompted one theologian, Hans Frei, to touch on two critical and related issues. One is the nature and consequences of the amorphous Christian gel. The other is the philosophy that religious conformity is a prerequisite to political stability. That was the root cause of early doctrinal development and heresy hunting. (Chapters 2 & 3) Frei wrote:

*[T]he most fateful issue for Christian self-description is that of regaining its autonomous vocation as a religion, after its defeat in its secondary vocation of providing ideological cohesion, foundation, and stability to Western culture. Beyond that, however, the example of Judaism in the modern Western world might be a beacon to a reconstituted Christian community.*⁵⁷

And another, George Lindbeck, has raised the issue of isolation or irrelevance if the church continues on its current theological course.

*[I]t may not be too far-fetched to suggest that, in order to survive mainstream Christianity will become more concerned about developing distinctive and encompassing forms of minority communal life than it has been since Constantine.*⁵⁸

...AND A SHORT TERM URGE TO PRESS REFORM

However one consequence of the near-coincidental establishment of the State of Israel and the World Council of Churches was renewed reforming zeal in Holland and the close collaboration between the Reformed churches and the Roman Catholic Church during the German occupation was exposed for what it was: a circumstantial response to the excesses of Nazism. Karl Barth had been accused of writing "crisis theology" during the 1920s and 1930s but the churches had,

in fact, been forced into “crisis cooperation” during World War II. In the light of Hitler’s inspired parody of the church the enforced collaboration between all three great divisions of Christendom should have lead smoothly into in-depth reassessment of Christian doctrinal theology and to the ultimate aim of the ecumenical movement: that the entire church, world wide, would be united in “one body of Christ.” United in *understanding*, rather than in organization or institution. In March 1950, two years after the formal establishment of the World Council of Churches, the reforming zeal of the Netherlands Reformed Church resulted in its general synod adopting a concise ninety-page statement of the beliefs and practices which separated it from the Roman Catholic Church. The decision to prepare that statement was, in effect, a clarion call for the completion of the theological reassessment which had started and stalled more than four hundred years earlier.

The synod’s statement had taken more than a year of study by its theological commission. Preparation began in October 1948, immediately following the First Assembly of the WCC in Amsterdam, and was completed in December 1949. Following adoption by the General Synod it was published as a small book which included a carefully phrased memorandum which explained the Netherlands’ Reformed Church’s position on the need for reconciliation. It was distributed throughout the church in Holland, to churches involved in the ecumenical movement, to other churches with which it had some association in many countries, and to the Roman Catholic Church.⁵⁹ It covered Mariology, revelation, the Scriptures, justification, grace, the sacraments, the position and function of the clergy, the place of Peter and the authority of the Pope as his alleged successor, apostolic succession, works, relation to social questions, and the Roman Catholic Church’s attitude to the Reformation. It recognized and showed appreciation for some aspects of reform and renewal in Catholicism including its greater emphasis on the Gospel, the Liturgical Movement and the deep devotion of many Catholics, but it was an uncompromising document. It noted that some of the Popes had condemned the Protestant Bible Societies and it saw no possibility of Christian unity on contemporary Roman Catholic premises.⁶⁰

Unfortunately the Vatican’s position was even more uncompromising. It was devastating. Pope Pius XII seems to have regarded it as a gauntlet thrown at his feet. Five months later, on August 12, 1950, he issued the encyclical *Humani Generis* as his response to “false opinions threatening to undermine the foundations of Catholic Doctrine.” He said: “The truths that have to do with God and the relations between God and men, completely surpass the sensible order and demand self-surrender and self-abnegation in order to put into practice and to influence practical life.” He noted that “human intelligence sometimes experiences difficulties in forming a judgement about the credibility of the Catholic faith” and in the context of ‘fictitious tenets’ and ‘confusion’ he said “those who disagree with the true Church complain openly of their disagreement in matters of dogma and thus unwillingly bear witness to the necessity of a living Teaching Authority.” He noted that Catholic teachers generally avoid the errors of philosophers and theologians who sought to profit from “careful examination of these doctrines”, but turned on those who “as in apostolic times, desirous of novelty, and fearing to be considered ignorant

of recent scientific findings try to withdraw themselves from the sacred Teaching Authority and are accordingly in danger of gradually departing from revealed truth and of drawing others along with them into error.” He criticized those who: “in theology ... want to reduce to a minimum the meaning of dogmas; and to free dogma itself from terminology long established in the Church and from philosophical concepts held by Catholic teachers, to bring about a return in the explanation of Catholic doctrine to the way of speaking used in Holy Scripture and by the Fathers of the Church.” Those people “hope that when dogma is stripped of the elements which they hold to be extrinsic to divine revelation, it will compare advantageously with the dogmatic opinions of those who are separated from the unity of the Church and that in this way they will gradually arrive at a mutual assimilation of Catholic dogma with the tenets of the dissidents.”⁶¹

Some commentators have viewed *Humani Generis* as essentially an attack on Gabriel Marcel, some of whose ideas were directly referred to in the encyclical, and other writers such as Michael Schmaus. Marcel, the son of an agnostic, who adopted Catholicism at the age of 39 as the Depression was breaking, sought to make Christianity relevant to people of that time through Christian existentialism. Schmaus, a highly regarded theologian, did not gain prominence until the end of the war, but his effort was also directed at interpreting church doctrine, decisions of Vatican authorities and the teachings of the early Church Fathers in a manner which people could understand and which they could relate to their own reading of the Bible.⁶² Their writings, and those of some of their European contemporaries, encouraged readers to pick up many of the issues raised in the Netherlands Reformed Church statement and therefore they became a threat in their own right. Pius XII’s attack on them was therefore a way of confronting the Netherlands statement without having to refer to it. He could hit two targets at once, but put simply, he was telling the Reformers “Get lost. I’m not going to budge!”

Pius XII followed *Humani Generis*, only three months later, with the promulgation of the dogma of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin which built yet another barrier between Roman Catholics and other Christians. After the initial shock the reaction in the ecumenical movement was that cooperation in things practical had to be pursued so that the church would gradually come to be seen as ‘one body of Christ.’ The idea that theological differences could be overlooked and that Biblical revelation, developed doctrine (and dogma) and ‘tradition’ were all valid components of Christian faith was widely promoted. The use of the term ‘tradition’ in that manner meant that two thousand years of syncretism and enculturation were being recognized and validated. The walls between Christians and people of the other faiths in the triangle were being reinforced relentlessly but this did not seem to matter because Christianity, or at least the amorphous Christian gel, was dominant in civil affairs and that was the way it had to be. It was the challenges of renascent Judaism which had taken on new significance through the establishment of the State of Israel, and the challenge of atheism which was reinforced by the Cold War, which had to be put down. No one gave any thought to the fact that the more you reinforce a wall the harder it is to break it down. Theological reassessment could be further deferred until the level of cooperation between Rome and the Reformed and Orthodox wings of the church reached the point at which it could be done in quiet collaboration – or until even

bigger battering rams became available to knock down the wall. It did occur to some leaders of the Reformed churches that a consequence of the 'unity or cooperation and acceptance first' approach, would be a tendency to reversion to pre-Reformation practices, but their views were, overall, disregarded. They were told that the church had to move forward and overcome the bigotry which had blighted the world in the wake of the Reformation. People did not have to *believe* the extravagant claims of the Vatican, but they were not to challenge them and aggravate the tension or have open disputes which would rock the unity boat. In contrast, as a matter of course, the recognition of tradition was *not* to be applied to those 'other faiths.' They were to be judged on the basis of the 'provability' of their popular beliefs. Just another set of double standards.

A step towards developing uniformity in worship was the proposal that those Reformed churches which had never used a lectionary (a systematic and standardized table of scriptural readings to facilitate a uniform approach to preaching throughout the church) should adopt the practice. This led progressively to the cooperative standardization of lectionaries and in due course, in 1969, the Vatican adopted the practice of publishing its lectionary separate from the Missal and some of the readings which related to the more contentious Catholic doctrinal and dogmatic statements were omitted.

REFUGEES: PALESTINE REFLECTS THE PRECEDENT OF THE 'FINAL SOLUTION'

Prior to the Second World War, if a refugee crisis occurred there was generally a lack of interest from the world community. Governments were expected to take steps to resolve any which occurred in their territories, even if they were a party to the cause of the problem, and this resulted in crises such as the Armenian Genocide. (Chapter 16) But Hitler's treatment of the Jewish Question, having raised the enforcement of refugee status to something of a scientific procedure or an art form, meant that the procedures established to provide assistance for Europe's surviving Jewish refugees, beginning with the establishment of a War Refugee Board (chapter 25) became a precedent. Refugees were no longer to be left to the mercy of governments in the country in which they were dispossessed or to which they were forced to flee.

As a consequence, one of the matters which had been discussed with the United Nations during 1948 was the fate of the Palestinians who had become refugees in the process of the establishment of the State of Israel. Most of them were living in deplorable conditions in tent settlements in what remained of the proposed Arab state and in neighbouring Arab countries and relying for survival on aid from the International Red Cross, the American Society of Friends, and the League of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies working in cooperation with the UN Children's Fund, the World Health Organization and their host countries.

Late in 1948 the UN General Assembly voted funds for the UN Relief of Palestine Refugees Organization for food and emergency supplies which were channelled through the aid agencies. Then in April 1949 the UN Conciliation Commission, which had been established while the

Israeli-Egyptian armistice negotiations were in progress, held a meeting in Lausanne with representatives of Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. The future of the refugees was high in the agenda, together with the internationalization of Jerusalem and the determination of definite frontiers. The UN aid budget had been prepared on the basis that those refugees who wished to return to their homes in Israel would be repatriated and those who did not would receive individual compensation. The Arab states were satisfied with that arrangement, believing that the refugee problem had to be dealt with before any general political settlement was possible. However the talks broke down when Israel insisted that the possibility of the return of Arab refugees to Israel had to be part of a general peace settlement.

UNITED STATES' SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL 'LOCKED IN'

On May 28 Truman sent an angry, strongly worded note to Israel, demanding that it withdraw from territories occupied during the war and that it take back a certain number of Palestinian refugees.⁶³ The note ended with the warning that if Israel continued with its attitude at the Lausanne Conference "the US Government will regretfully be forced to the conclusion that a revision of its attitude towards Israel has become unavoidable."⁶⁴ When Israel totally rejected the US demands in a note dated June 8th, Deputy Undersecretary of State Dean Rusk analyzed its response and advised Truman that there was no reason for the US to abandon the firm position which it had taken.⁶⁵ The State Department then recommended that the US administration immediately adopt a negative attitude towards Israeli officials and organizations supporting Israel, withdraw support for Israel in international organizations, hold up loan funds earmarked for Israel, and remove tax exempt status of Jewish organizations in America.⁶⁶ However a bitter Israeli response to Truman's note, relayed through the US Ambassador to Israel, brought a US retreat, the abandonment of reproach and demands for Israeli concessions, and the development of a situation in which "more and more it was Tel Aviv that seemed to be laying down the law to Washington."⁶⁷ The Israeli government and the Zionist lobby in the US were well aware of Truman's position and took every advantage they could of a weakness in the United States electoral system. They were taking full advantage of a statement which Truman had made to a group of diplomats called home in 1946 to report to the State Department on the deteriorating position of the United States in the Middle East: "I am sorry, gentlemen, but I have to answer to hundreds of thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism. I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs among my constituents."⁶⁸

Just one year after the event, this incident confirmed very clearly what the president's conduct at the time of the declaration of the establishment of the State of Israel had demonstrated: because the Zionist Movement could influence the outcome of any presidential election in which its interests were at stake it could ultimately influence the policy of the United States government in all matters relating to the State of Israel and events in the Middle East. But there were very sensitive domestic and foreign policy issues being deliberately manipulated and suppressed by the US government at that time: civil liberties or what have become known as

‘human rights.’ If the US government stood on its dignity and pressed Israel to recognize the civil liberties of the Palestinians who had been converted into refugees because of its actions, to be consistent and to avoid trenchant international criticism it also had to intervene in the deepening crisis of Apartheid in South Africa. But if it did so it had to anticipate both a strong political backlash from the right wing of American investment politics and be prepared to implement far reaching civil rights legislation at home. If it did not do so it faced the worsening of its own crisis of black or Afro-American oppression but, possibly, the eruption in race-related violence which it faced a few years later would have come earlier and been less violent.

When he succeeded the late President Roosevelt in 1945, Truman proposed legislation for a new ‘fair deal.’ However, in spite of the fact that the US Supreme Court made rulings such as one in 1948 which declared that race-based covenants could not be enforced, a hostile Congress prevented the passage of most of his program. He then campaigned for election in 1948 on a strong platform of civil rights for all minorities, corresponding with the negotiations for a Declaration of Human Rights, but on most fronts his program was again brushed aside. At that time he had the support of such people as the lawyer, opera singer and civil rights activist Paul Robeson who was doing all he could to put some muscle into the civil rights movement. But it was well known that Robeson supported the overall objectives of international socialism and was sympathetic to Soviet Russia and Communist China, so the white supremacists had no difficulty pinning the ‘red ragger’ tag to him, and trade union and civil rights leaders shunned him from fear of being labelled in the same way by association. This inhibited the civil rights movement very effectively and undermined whatever support it was generating within mainstream white America. Thus, having gained the overwhelming support of the Jewish minority, (which most commentators agree was a major factor in his unexpected election), because of both his Palestine policy *and* his human rights policy, and knowing that the McCarthyist-style Hiss perjury trial and the anti-Robeson campaign was damaging his administration, Truman then chose the politically easier course of responding to pressure from Israel, and ignoring the simmering issues of international civil rights and refugees, except to encourage the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights a few weeks after the election. It was a face-saver.

FROM ONE REFUGEE CRISIS TO ANOTHER

Thus, when the infant State of Israel was locked in debate with the United States, Britain and the United Nations over the fate of refugees from the former mandated territory of Palestine, the United States had neither the will nor the moral authority to bring about a change in Israel’s policy because of its own domestic situation. In view of the traumatic experience of Jews wherever they had settled as a minority in a Christian environment up to the Second World War, it would have been reasonable to anticipate that the new Jewish State would be sympathetic to the plight of refugees regardless of their ethnic or religious background. However, the efforts which were being made to expel the balance of the Palestinians show that the young State of

Israel was no different to any other country, at that stage, in its attitude to the issue of refugees and their treatment when they were in its own or neighbouring territory. The tension between theology and politics was such that contemporary considerations flowing from the Covenant of Sinai were being disregarded: the focus was very heavily on the historical aspect of Jewish *rights*, rather than responsibilities. The policies of the Provisional Israeli State Council and the actions of the authorities coincided with the extract from Meyer, (*A renascent Judaism*, above):

As liberals, Jews were also free – on the basis of their own serious confrontation with the texts – to re-negotiate its terms. The covenant, in short, was the basis for the historical but also open-ended dialogue between God and Israel. [And] ... Jewish Reform theologians drew no causal connection between the Holocaust and the establishment of the Jewish State.⁶⁹

An Israeli representative at the Lausanne negotiations expressed the view that the best solution would be to resettle the refugees in the neighbouring Arab countries “in view of the fact that the Arab population of Israel was only about 70,000.” That such a figure could be suggested was hardly surprising in view of UN estimates for refugee numbers which were available at that time. They show that the number of Palestinian refugees in care had risen dramatically from the vague figure of probably between 300,000 and 400,000 at the time of the declaration of the state on May 14th, 1948, to 750,000 by January 1st, 1949; 770,000 by mid February; and 875,000 by April 1st. The exodus actually continued – as the Israelis intended – and by June the number of persons in care had risen to 940,000.⁷⁰ That figure is of enormous significance considering that the Zionist Movement and the President of Israel personally,⁷¹ justified their territorial policy by the need to resettle the surviving remnant of Europe’s Jewish population. The size of that remnant must therefore be explored.

The number of Jewish refugees accommodated in Displaced Persons (DP) Camps at the end of the war, after those who could be repatriated had been repatriated was, according to the figure already noted, 226,000 or barely one quarter of the number of Palestinian Arabs who had by then been forced into refugee status. On the basis of figures used by Barnavi it appears that the countries of *occupied* Europe were home to 8,929,000 Jews prior to the outbreak of the Second World War.⁷² Of those, 5,949,000 were slaughtered and 2,980,000 survived. But in a second passage of the same work reference is made to “the scant remnants of European Jewry – over 1,200,000 emaciated, homeless, uprooted persons – (who) began a mass movement of migration across Europe.” It is not clear whether this figure includes or excludes those in DP camps “whose problem could not be simply solved by repatriation.” (The figure used is “approximately 250,000”) ⁷³ These figures appear to confirm that all except about 250,000 were initially resettled, but they also appear to show that the difference between the number of survivors and the number of those uprooted, (either 1,780,000 or 1,530,000), either migrated prior to German occupation of their countries or had not been uprooted. In addition 135,500 survivors are reported to have emigrated in the years 1945-1947. Of those, 83,000 went to Palestine, 40,000 to the US and 12,500 to other countries including Latin America, Canada, South Africa and Australia.⁷⁴ But, because many of those who went to Palestine travelled via

the informal (or illegal) escape routes set up to circumvent the rigid British migration quotas, it is similarly unclear whether these people are included in the DP figure of about 250,000 or the total survivors figure of 1,200,000. If a proportion of them are included in the DP figure, then the number remaining to be settled following the end of the British mandate was that much lower. However, as both Zionist and non-Zionist writers have said, one thing is clear: the need for European refugee resettlement was *not* the primary motive behind Israel's territorial policy and its efforts to 'encourage' the Palestinians to flee. It was the wider interests of Zionism and the desire in influential Zionist quarters to achieve an exclusively Jewish community in Israel and for all Jews to settle there.

Some authorities have sought to justify Israel's refusal to accept the repatriation of Palestinian refugees on the grounds that Arab governments were responsible for the initiatives which caused the problem, that the onus to solve it therefore rested with them and that they had the capacity to solve it.⁷⁵ The details of the Deir Yassin massacre are disputed and claims are made that Arab authorities provoked the refugee exodus for their own propaganda purposes, expecting the evacuees to be able to return to their homes in a short time. The 'fact' that mass refugee movements are seldom reversed and that host countries are usually able to absorb large numbers of refugees, whether of the same ethnic background or not, is used to justify Israel's refusal to take the Palestinians back, and some emphasis is given to the fact that in this instance the refugees and the host countries spoke a common language and had common ethnic roots. In addition the claim is made that the growing oil wealth of the Arab countries and the international aid available made it easier for them to absorb refugees than for Israel which also had to absorb large numbers of disadvantaged Jews who were being 'forced' to leave those same countries dispossessed of their assets.⁷⁶ Israel's decision is thus portrayed as one taken in the light of new circumstances resulting from the politics of the Arab world and not as another aspect of an ongoing crisis centred on Zionism.

However, as we have seen, Zionism evolved as a consequence of Christian self-understanding and anti-Semitism over a very long period, and for those Jews who embraced Zionism there seemed little reason to consider any aspect of the Covenant of Sinai and the Mosaic Law which was an integral part of it other than the promise of protection. The church gave them no encouragement to think along such lines. It was intent on convincing them that their covenant was null and void and that the only way to salvation was to adopt Christianity. Hitler's Final Solution programs, the ultimate phase of the parody of Main Kampf, had evolved as a consequence of the same factors and only served to induce deeper amnesia. By 1948, because the flow of causes and effects had not been recognized, it was the Palestinian Arabs – both Muslim and Christian – who were being forced to pay the price for the establishment of the State of Israel, not the Christian West. The Palestinian refugee crisis and the future of Jerusalem had thus been linked as key factors in a deepening crisis which the Christian West still thought it could sidestep, perhaps by throwing a bit of money at it or by coercing other people, like the wider Arab community, into accepting the burden.

In fact the Zionist desire to concentrate the Jewish population in Israel and the vigorous effort which was made to encourage European Jews to settle in Palestine had two effects which were not fully appreciated at the time. The first was that a partial Jewish vacuum was left in Europe and “a thousand years of European dominance in Jewish life had come to an end.”⁷⁷ That vacuum had enormous sociological consequences. It reduced the potential for Jewish input into community affairs, reduced contact and interaction between Christians and Jews in the region which was still the bastion of Christianity and therefore made interfaith reconciliation more difficult; it thus inhibited formal dialogue, and delayed the vital and inevitable process of theological reassessment. The second was that the Jewish population became even more concentrated into just two countries: the United States and Israel. This has had continuing grave political and economic consequences for the whole world as the interdependence between the two countries became greater and greater, and, as we shall see, the US-Israeli Alliance became a dominant factor in world affairs – so much so that it must now concentrate our attention on the trouble in the triangle.

The change in the pattern of Jewish domicile was both dynamic and dramatic. In 1939 Europe was home to just under 60 per cent of the world Jewish community. By 1948 the figure had fallen to 32 per cent, of whom two thirds (23 per cent) were in the Soviet Union. During that period the rise in the percentage living in Palestine had only risen from 2.8 per cent to 5.7 per cent under the rigid British restrictions, but in the United States and Canada the Jewish community had risen from 29 per cent to 46 per cent of the world total. Further details are set out in the chart in note ⁷⁸ which will be referred to again shortly in connection with Israel’s immigration policy.

At the time of the Lausanne conference the estimated breakdown of the Palestinian refugee population was: 425,000 in Arab Palestine (most of which had been absorbed by Jordan); 225,000 in the Gaza strip; 130,000 in Lebanon; 85,000 in Jordan east of the river; 85,000 in Syria; 11,000 in Egypt; and 4,000 in Iraq. When the UN moved to step up its refugee relief program the United States contributed \$16,000,000 and other governments contributed in proportion to their resources. ⁷⁹ Each of the Arab countries adjoining Palestine cooperated with the UN authorities in trying to cope with the crisis which very quickly became a bonding mechanism and strengthened their resolve to resist accepting Israel as a state imposed in their midst. But there were some special situations to be understood and dealt with.

First: Jordan, recognizing its special relationship with the refugees because of the original mandate arrangements and being eager to build on that relationship, made a special effort to integrate them in spite of the strains placed on its limited resources by having to cope with a near-instant population increase of fifty percent. Second: Lebanon had difficulty relocating the disproportionate number of Muslims who sought refuge there because of the institutionalized relationship between its Muslim and Christian communities. It soon became apparent that there would be tensions between the large communities of refugees and the Lebanese authorities and that, being difficult to contain, the tensions would spill over and affect relations between the two major faith-based political groupings. Third: the people of the Gaza Strip, strongly

influenced by the Mufti's regime but under Egyptian military control and totally isolated from the Jordanian West Bank by twenty miles of Israeli controlled territory, had to cope with a tripling of their population. The provision of normal services and integration of the traumatized communities was simply not possible. And superimposed over those factors was a fourth: educational status.

During the British mandate greater emphasis had been placed on education in Palestine than in the surrounding countries and among the refugees a much larger proportion of people had the benefit of higher or tertiary education than among the population they were joining. This was especially so with Christian refugees who had naturally taken greater advantage of the mission school systems than the Muslims who had tended to avoid them. There was thus a natural tendency for recruitment to favour the Palestinian refugees and for Palestinians to be disproportionately represented in the public service and senior commercial positions. This displacement of locals from positions of influence and the downward pressure on their employment prospects – even though it was circumstantial rather than deliberate – tended to generate social tensions and unrest and meant that the need for a solution to the refugee crisis was always high on the political agenda. It also made it inevitable that Jewish residents in many countries would become the scapegoats for both the humiliation of the Arab countries at the hands of Israel and the Palestinian refugee crisis.

FROM ONE OPPRESSION TO ANOTHER

Because of the way in which it was implemented, the Zionist dream had substituted the oppression of one minority at the hands of the ruling power (Palestinian Arabs at the hands of the Jewish State of Israel) for the oppression of another (Jews at the hands of the Christian states of Europe). But at the same time it shifted the focus of anti-Semitism away from Christian Europe where a massive communal guilt complex had prompted a flood of sympathy, and onto the Muslim countries of the Middle East and North Africa where shock and bitterness at the treatment of the Palestinians had fostered exactly the same phenomenon.

It had always been the intention of the majority of Zionist leaders, but certainly not all, that the Jewish National Homeland would be more than the focal point of faith for the world wide Jewish community and a safe haven to which oppressed Jews in the Diaspora could retreat. For them it was to be a re-established independent state to which all Jews throughout the Diaspora would choose to return to help build and to experience the Messianic Age. This was indicated quite strongly in the Declaration of the Establishment of May 14th, 1948 with a number of clauses: "Jewish people ... never ceasing to pray and hope for their return and the restoration of their national freedom ... strove throughout the centuries to go back to the land of their fathers and regain their statehood ... (and) the State of Israel will be open to the immigration of Jews from all countries of their Dispersion ..."⁸⁰ Now, in the second half of 1949, with the State of Israel firmly established and recognized by the majority of countries with influence, the government undertook to implement programs which would ensure maximum immigration of

Jews from around the world and enable it to wring every skerrick of economic and political advantage out of the rising tide of anti-Semitism around it which Christian sympathy might make possible.

Actually that rising tide of anti-Semitism around it was only one factor in its decision. Anti-Semitism in Europe had not evaporated completely following the progressive disclosure of what had happened in Europe during the war. Given the basis and the depth of anti-Semitism it was really to be expected that there would be sporadic outbursts. Among the worst were the pogroms in Poland in 1946 which resulted in about two thirds of the Jews who had returned there from exile in Russia either fleeing to Palestine through the illegal escape routes or to the 'half way houses' of the DP camps.⁸¹ That dramatic exodus of Jews from Poland provided an enormous pool of recruits ready to defend the Jewish 'homeland-in-the-making' while they also contributed to its economic and political growth. Therein lies the major reason for the push to bolster the Jewish population of Palestine as quickly as possible. Both the Jewish Agency, during the final years of the mandate, and the government of the fledgling State of Israel recognized the need for an 'instant population.' They had to strengthen the country's reservoir of men and women for military and emergency service; to fortify its frontiers with its neighbours; to garrison or provide security for the kibbutzim or agricultural colonies which were being established; to pre-empt Arab occupation of extensive areas of open land; and to develop a modern western-style economy with high standards of living, education and professional services, industries with export potential, and a strong capital base which, together, would ensure that it could take its place among the developed countries of the world.

Without the population to achieve these things – and the security of a military umbrella provided by one or more powerful allies – Israel would be viewed as a Third World refuge for oppressed, dispossessed, embittered and disgruntled survivors of a superseded religion. It would be in no position to usher in or to influence the Messianic Age, regardless of whether that was viewed as a singularly Jewish phenomenon or a matter of universal significance. Sachar describes the situation very well: "Although never stressed in public, it was essentially this military and economic factor that persuaded Israel's leaders to run the risks of virtually uncontrolled mass immigration."⁸² Their reasoning was very similar to the fear which fuelled opposition within the Zionist Movement to Russia's BiraBidzhan project and plans to resettle Jewish refugees in Poland and elsewhere: fear of dividing the Jewish population, of fragmenting its allegiance to a reconstituted 'national homeland' and of undermining the potential military, economic and political strength of the future Jewish State which they were working to establish.

While the mandate with its rigorously imposed immigration controls was still in place the Zionist Movement found the masses of DPs "an effective political weapon, particularly against the policy of the recently elected Labour Government in Britain which had renewed the restrictions on immigration to Palestine on the basis of the 1939 White Paper."⁸³ The Jewish Agency concentrated on channeling the maximum number of refugees direct from Eastern Europe to Palestine through the illegal 'escape' channels to circumvent the British restrictions. These efforts led to several major international incidents, notable involving the voyages of the

Eliyahu Golomb, Dov Hos and the *Exodus 1947*, which provided the opportunity for more pressure on Britain through the United States to modify its immigration restrictions, influenced the UNSCOP decision to recommend partition and, ultimately, influenced Britain's decision to relinquish the mandate altogether. However once the mandate was at an end "the first priority of the Israeli Government and the Jewish Agency was to empty the displaced persons' camps in Germany, Austria and Italy."⁸⁴

Between September 1948 and August 1949 fifty-two refugee centres in Europe were closed as their residents were transported to Israel. During about the same time 25,000 persons who had been intercepted as illegal migrants and interned on Cyprus by the British were released and finally reached Israel, together with large numbers of 'free' Jewish immigrants from Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Poland and Rumania. It was then that the government came face to face with "the risks of virtually uncontrolled mass immigration." The majority of its new citizens had survived great trauma and were looking for peace and security rather than more trauma through conflict with another enemy, the rigour of frontier agricultural outposts, or bureaucratic obstacles in transit camps. They had been admitted to Israel – or coerced into making the decision to go there – with little screening so that the demands on health services for the aged and the infirm were enormous, their understanding of Zionism and their attitudes toward the various concepts it involved covered the full spectrum, and large numbers faced disillusionment and psychological adjustment problems.⁸⁵

At that point, during the second phase of the Lausanne Conference, in July, Israel, under pressure from the United States, agreed to repatriate 100,000 Palestinians provided that they were not expected to return to their previous homes, (many of which had been bulldozed or occupied by Jews), that they could be placed where and in what circumstances suited Israel's economic plans, and that the program was part of an overall peace settlement in which all Arab states formally recognized Israel.⁸⁶ However the program was never carried out, and in view of all the circumstantial evidence, the bitter opposition in government to any repatriation, and the continuing stream of disputes which were used to justify the inaction it is reasonable to conclude that the government never had any intention of implementing the agreement.

CONFUSION + EVACUATION = MORE CONFUSION

At that time the flood of about 340,000 European refugees and immigrants was subsiding but another flood had begun. By October 1949 the pattern of migrant arrivals had changed dramatically and about seventy percent of those arriving were coming from Asia and Africa. The Zionist campaign to expel Palestinians to make way for refugees from the Holocaust had brought a backlash which the Jewish Agency and the Israeli Government had certainly anticipated in view of the long-running inter-communal bitterness and conflict. The Jews of North Africa and West Asia who had lost their special relationship with the former European colonizing powers – Britain, France and Italy – had developed a closer affinity with Israel. There was therefore a tendency for them to become scapegoats for the humiliation of the Arab

forces and the Palestinians at the hands of “the Zionist entity.” Some intimidation began and therefore some sought immigrant admission to Israel. In turn Israel was eager to encourage them and the numbers making the journey steadily increased. But their circumstances and their attitudes were quite different to those of the European Jews. The majority had enjoyed a long period of religious toleration and normal community relations under Islamic rule instead of the oppression which Europe’s Jews had been subjected to under Christian rule. The two strong and often competing streams which had flowed through European and North American Judaism concurrently for about a hundred years – Zionism and Reform – had passed them by. As a result they were regarded as old fashioned but pious, and they believed in an eventual Messianic Return to the Holy Land. They did not expect to be coerced or forced to ‘return’ to a modern Jewish state engineered by man and they were bewildered when they were placed in communities or transit camps with people of quite different racial origins to themselves, with secular European leadership and with quite different material demands.⁸⁷ But they were not the only ones who were bewildered. Many of those with whom they mixed, worked, worshipped and lived were equally bewildered and became ‘infected’ by the apparent lack of commitment to a progressive, dynamic form of Zionism among their Eastern or Oriental co-religionists.⁸⁸

Thus began the systematic evacuation to Israel of about one million persons out of the total Jewish population of about 1,700,000 – about eleven percent of the total world Jewish population – who had been living in Islamic countries at the start of the Second World War. Subsequent emigration reduced the number of Jews living under Islamic rule to a few tens of thousands by 1991, but not all of those went to Israel.^{89 90}

To complicate matters as the evacuation began, the Oriental migrants were from diverse circumstances and some, notably those from the Yemen who traced the origins of their 50,000-strong community to the Roman Dispersion, had not enjoyed the generally high level of Muslim tolerance. [The Roman Dispersion was certainly not the only base for its growth. See above, chapters 5, 6, 8] They had been restricted to ghetto-like areas, provided artisan services for the Arab peasantry, suffered much personal deprivation, and were eager to make their way to Zion at the behest of the Messiah whom they expected to lead God’s People back to the land of Israel. The flow had actually started in the 1880s, some years before the formal establishment of the Zionist Organization, prompted by reports of early European Jewish agricultural settlements in the Holy Land. (See above, chapter 15) By 1914 about 7,400 settlers had reached Palestine and by the time the mandate was due to end they and their descendants numbered about 40,000. Then the outbreak of the Jewish-Arab war brought an urgency to the repatriation of the Yemen Jews which had not been anticipated and the Jewish Agency, together with the Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), reached agreements with the Yemen, the sheikdoms directly involved, and Britain on the terms for mass repatriation by land to Aden and by ship through the Red Sea and Suez to Palestine. But two factors made that program untenable: first, the trauma of a trek over rugged arid mountains, and second, the Egyptian blockade of the Suez Canal and Gulf of Aqaba routes to ships bound for Israel. The JDC thereupon negotiated a massive airlift

using chartered American DC-4s in '*Operation Magic Carpet*' and by September 1950 about 47,000 Jews from Yemen and 3,000 from Aden had been ferried to Israel.^{90 91}

While the Yemen and some other countries were prepared to cooperate in the evacuation plan almost from the start, in return for economic benefit such as the forfeiture of property by the migrants, some, such as Iraq and Jordan, were not, especially after Israel pre-empted UN proposals for the internationalization of Jerusalem by declaring it the capital of Israel. There was widespread condemnation of that move and Jordan responded by formally annexing the West Bank and East Jerusalem. The Arab countries were trying to achieve the repatriation of refugee Muslim and Christian Palestinians who had been forced from their land to make way for a Jewish State. They believed it would have been a contradiction of practical migration policy, population dynamics and land rights if they were to accede to, and to assist, the immigration and settlement of Jews in the state which they had gone to war to prevent being set up on the land of the refugees they were trying to help. Even without such an overwhelming reason to oppose emigration, the relations between Iraq and the Jewish Agency had been strained to breaking point by the manipulation of the Palestinian and Iraqi mandates and the events of the Second World War so that it required a flight of fancy to think that cooperation on the issue would be spontaneous. It defied the reality of the political and religious circumstances.

The Jewish community of about 130,000 in Iraq in 1948 was the largest of those in the East and it was the oldest and most distinguished, tracing its roots to settlements in Babylon even before the exile. It had been a key centre of Jewish religious life and culture, and it had known periods of influence and wealth under Islam. But after the Mongol invasions it fell on hard times until the later days of the Ottoman Empire when it experienced a partial recovery which was undermined by the impact of the First World War. Then, after Britain relinquished the League of Nations mandate over Iraq in 1930 and sponsored its independence under King Feisal, the Jewish community received a level of recognition it had not known since the later days of the Ottoman Empire. Jewish participation in large scale business, the government service and all aspects of community life was encouraged. But with the approach of the Second World War, Britain's Middle East balancing acts, and Hitler's support for Arab independence and opposition to the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine, relations between the Iraqi Government and the Jewish community began to sour. Then, in 1941 when the pro-British government was overthrown in a pro-German coup which the British were soon able to reverse, anti-Jewish rioting resulted in much property damage and hundreds of casualties, and it became apparent that the community's future was linked to the outcome of the Jewish-Arab struggle for control of Palestine. This was confirmed after the outbreak of the Israeli-Arab War by the introduction of martial law regulations in Iraq which were reminiscent of those in Hitler's Germany. On the basis that Jews who were citizens of Iraq were working to support the interests of a foreign power against the interests of their own country, restrictions were placed on Jewish business and professional activity. Jewish banks were closed, many Jews were dismissed from government service, there was widespread harassment of the community and hundreds of Jews were arrested on charges of treason. Immigration to Israel was declared a

capital offence but that did little to stem the flow of people leaving the country by one means or another, and social stability was undermined.

However in March 1950 Iraq unexpectedly reversed its policy and relaxed its emigration restrictions on Jews. This was said to be on the basis that after the Israeli-Arab War and its internal revolt had both subsided, after the Israel-Iraq Armistice Agreement had been signed and when the establishment of the State of Israel was fait accompli it was eager to achieve social stability. The Iraqi parliament sanctioned the emigration of Jews, provided they applied for exit permits within one year and relinquished Iraqi nationality in doing so. This was *not* a case of a government expelling its Jewish minority and, as already noted, Israel had much to gain from this arrangement while Iraq's major potential benefits were social stability, an easing of military tension and some opportunities for employment substitution for its non-Jewish population. The cost to Iraq was both economic and political: the loss of the business, professional and administrative capacity of a significant segment of its population and the potential for strained relations with the Palestinians and other Arab governments because the immigration of the Jews further undermined whatever hope the Palestinians had of repatriation. The Iraqi government had given an assurance when the program was agreed that properties, businesses and bank accounts which emigrants left behind would be disposed of legally and that the proceeds would be available to them. Arrangements had also been agreed between Israeli agents and Iraqi officials for sea transport from Basra to Eilat at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba but, as in the case of Yemen, these could not be implemented because of Egypt's closure of the gulf to vessels bound for Israel. The Iraqi government therefore agreed to an airlift of the type carried out in Yemen – '*Operation Ali Baba*' – on condition that the aircraft flew via a neutral port (Cyprus) and not direct to Israel and this began in May 1950. By the time it ended in December 1951, 113,000 persons had been flown to Israel out of a total of 121,000 Iraqi Jews who emigrated. But in the meantime three important decisions had been reached: one at the United Nations, one in Israel, and one in Iraq.

THE NEED FOR UNRWA

The United Nations decision had actually been taken in December 1949, several months after the abortive Lausanne Conference and at the same time that the UN had resolved that Jerusalem should be administered as an international city. It was the decision to establish the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA). But the new agency was only ready to begin operations with its headquarters in Beirut, Lebanon, in May 1950 about the same time that Israel began *Operation Ali Baba* and its agreement in July to repatriate 100,000 Palestinians was exposed to charges of hypocrisy. UNRWA replaced the UN Relief for Palestine Refugees Committee (UNPRC) which had been set up a year earlier, and it absorbed the relief operations which had been operated by the series of international voluntary agencies. It was intended to be a temporary body, providing welfare relief without prejudice to the rights of the refugees to repatriation or compensation which the UN had also decreed a year earlier.

However, the fact that it had to be set up was a reflection of two things. First, the Israeli government's determination to reject refugee rehabilitation and to pursue its own program of ingathering 'exiles.' Second, the Western World's guilt-based reluctance – or inability – to apply pressure to Israel to conform to the wishes of the world body to which it had so recently been admitted. Similarly, the fact that *Operation Ali Baba* began concurrently with the operations of UNRWA reflects the arrogance with which Israel approached the United Nations and the confidence with which it took for granted the overpowering support of the United States.

That confidence was well founded. South Africa, two years after announcing its intention to annex South West Africa (Namibia), had refused to recognize the UN's authority over the territory; the United States was preoccupied with relations with the Soviet Union following the blockade of Berlin (imposed in June 1948 and lifted in May 1949); it had guaranteed the security of Nationalist China following the proclamation of the People's Republic of China in September 1949 in order to isolate the Communist Government and as a result the flow of refugees from mainland China to both Hong Kong and Formosa had become a torrent of several millions; McCarthyism had reached its new phase in February 1950 with allegations of Reds in the State Department just at the time that it was desperately trying to prevent Communist sympathizers from accelerating the Human Rights Movement; the outbreak of the Korean War in June had resulted in the displacement of several million refugees; and the Turkish population was being expelled from both Bulgaria and Greece. In the circumstances Israel could argue that the Palestinian refugee crisis was relatively minor and that unless the US put its own human rights house in order and unless it insisted on similar action on all refugee fronts it could not tell Israel to resettle its Palestinian refugees.

THE LAW OF RETURN

The next decision, that of the Israeli Knesset to enact the *Law of Return* on July 5 1950, only a few weeks after *Operation Ali Baba* began, simply confirmed Israel's hard-line attitude towards the United Nations and the refugee question. The *Law of Return* provides that every Jew, from any country, has the automatic right to go to Israel to settle as an immigrant and to be granted the rights of citizenship provided that he or she has not acted against the Jewish nation (or people) and is not a threat to public health or security. The law is quite definite and does not even allow for ministerial discretion beyond the circumstances specified: "Immigrant visas shall be issued to any Jew expressing a desire to settle in Israel, except ..." ⁹³ This has had some serious consequences. A criminal record in another country was not to be an impediment to that 'right of return' and this provided the means for criminals of Jewish heritage, if they wished, to avoid apprehension in their own country. At times, coupled with the Law of Extradition, it enabled persons accused of crimes to avoid extradition to their own country.⁹⁴ A Jew who contemplates settling in Israel is not even required to obtain a visa prior to arrival. The law states: "A Jew who comes to Israel and after his arrival expresses a desire to settle there may, while in Israel, obtain an immigrant certificate." ⁹⁵ It also states: "Every Jew who migrated to

the country before this law goes into effect, and every Jew who was born in the country either before or after the law is effective enjoys the same status as any person who migrated on the basis of this law.”⁹⁶

However the *Law of Return* had other more far-reaching consequences. Although other laws provide for non-Jews to be granted Israeli citizenship⁹⁷ the enactment of the *Law of Return* reinforced the view that non-Jews would be regarded as second class citizens. Those Palestinians who had stayed and weathered the storm of the establishment of the State of Israel but declined to adopt Israeli citizenship (on the basis that by UN resolution they had the right to a Palestinian State and Palestinian citizenship) were unable to travel outside the country because they feared being refused re-entry and joining the ranks of stateless refugees. Thus the State of Israel, now well and truly established, confirmed, as did the Council of Thirteen two years earlier, that it had no more concern for the blatant transgression against its neighbours which had been foreshadowed in the Qur’anic Night Journey than the Zionist Organization when it made its decision to proceed with organized settlement without the agreement of recognized authorities in 1905.

The Palestinians, the Arab states, the UN and the world were served notice, yet again, that they would have to solve the Palestinian refugee crisis. In committing the nation to a massive program to ‘ingather’ all Jews who could be persuaded to come in order to strengthen its political, military and economic position, whether they were religious believers or not, the government had also effectively committed the nation to a policy of withdrawal from – or isolation from – many of the countries with which its people had enjoyed a secure and somewhat special relationship as ‘people of the Book’ prior to European Christian intervention and the rise of Zionism. But by its continued transgression against the Palestinian Arabs it had converted many of those countries from friends to enemies at the same time and, by arranging mass evacuations when confronted with an oppressive backlash, it spelled out an unmistakable message: “this situation is permanent and cannot be settled by negotiation.” Thus the isolation which Israel had engineered required it to build even stronger defences and made it even more dependent upon the country in which half the world’s Jews then lived: the United States.

AN ECONOMIC OFF-SET

From the point of view of the neighbouring Arab countries the immediate importance of the *Law of Return* was that it confirmed that Israel’s dominant interest was in strengthening its position by means of the ingathering. Clearly it had no real prospect of absorbing very large numbers of both Jewish migrants and Palestinian refugees and therefore further negotiation over the repatriation of Palestinians was virtually a waste of effort. That raised a question about how much concern the Arab countries should show for their departing Jewish citizens and brings us to the third decision, announced by the Iraqi Government on March 10, 1951, the day after the deadline for exit registrations. Henceforth the property and bank accounts of emigrating Jews were forfeited to the government. That decision is represented in some quarters as a simple case

of one partner to a bilateral agreement double-crossing the other and it was treated by Israel as a justification to renege on its agreement to repatriate 100,000 Palestinians.

However in a situation as complex as the trouble in the triangle there is no such thing as an agreement which can be treated in isolation from all the other cause-and-effect events and each antagonistic response simply becomes a justification for another. Iraq had been subjected to intense pressure by the US to 'encourage' it to permit Jewish emigration and there is circumstantial evidence to indicate that the Israeli agents resorted to bribery to gain the agreement of Iraqi officials for the proceeds of property and business sales to be released to the settlers in Israel.⁹⁸ In the circumstances that cannot be discounted because the agreement placed Iraq at a severe economic disadvantage. In addition, the Jewish Agency had already paid sheikhs in the Yemen to permit emigrants passage through their domains⁹⁹ and those emigrants left with nothing. All their property reverted to the Yemen. Thus the change of heart by Iraq still left Israel better off in the case of *Operation Ali Baba* than in the case of *Operation Magic Carpet*.

In addition, to put the matter in perspective, the change of heart by Iraq must be considered against the enormous economic and social benefits which Israel gained from the flight of the Palestinian refugees. Virtually the entire cities of Jaffa, Acre, Lydda, Ramle, Beisan and Majdal, plus 388 towns and villages and large parts of 94 others, containing 100,000 dwellings, 10,000 shops, businesses and stores – amounting to nearly one quarter of all the buildings in Israel – were left vacant. These were claimed under the *Abandoned Areas Ordinances*, the first of which was promulgated by the Provisional Israeli State Council on June 30, 1948, only six weeks after the proclamation of the state (chapter 28) in which it defined any place conquered by the Israeli armed forces or deserted by all or part of its inhabitants as an 'abandoned area' appropriated to the state. To all of that must be added an area of cultivable land about four times the area which Jews legally possessed at the time of the declaration of the state.

IGNORE THE COVENANT: PLAN TRANSGRESSION

In fact Jewish settlers moved in and occupied much of those areas even before the Israeli authorities were able to formally list them and decide what to do with them, and in September 1951, at which time the 'abandoned areas' were valued at 120 million Israeli pounds (at 1947 values), the Knesset passed a further bill to legalize such pre-emptive occupation of Arab holdings. Of the 370 Jewish settlements established during the first five years of statehood all except 20 were on absentee property, and by 1954 more than one third of Israel's Jewish population lived on absentee property. Similarly, nearly one third of the million-plus new Jewish immigrants were settled in towns and villages abandoned by the Palestinians.

This situation demonstrates that the strategy conceived by the founder of the Zionist Organization and spelled out later by the head of the Jewish National Land Fund was being pursued relentlessly. The former, Theodor Herzl, wrote in his diary in 1895:

We shall have to spirit the penniless population across the border by procuring employment for it in the transit countries, while denying it any employment in our own country. Both the expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discreetly and circumspectly.

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The latter, Joseph Weitz, writing in the context of how to Judaize and de-Arabize Palestine, noted in December 1940, while Gog and Magog were paused to regroup:

... after the war the question of the land of Israel and the question of the Jews would be raised beyond the framework of 'development'; amongst ourselves. It must be clear that there is no room for both peoples in this country. No 'development' will bring us closer to our aim, to be an independent people in this small country. If the Arabs leave the country, it will be broad and wide-open for us. And if the Arabs stay, the country will remain narrow and miserable. When the War is over and the English have won, and when the judges sit on the throne of law, our people must bring their petitions and their claim before them; and the only solution is Eretz Israel, or at least Western Eretz Israel, without Arabs. There is no room for compromise on this point. The Zionist enterprise so far, in terms of preparing the ground and paving the way for the creation of the Hebrew State in the land of Israel, has been fine and good in its own time, and could do with 'land-buying' – but this will not bring about the State of Israel; that must come all at once, in the manner of a Salvation (this is the secret of the Messianic idea); and there is no way besides transferring the Arabs from here to the neighbouring countries, to transfer them all; except maybe for Bethlehem, Nazareth and Old Jerusalem, we must not leave a single village, not a single tribe. And the transfer must be directed to Iraq, to Syria, and even to Transjordan. For that purpose we'll find money, and a lot of money. And only with such a transfer will the country be able to absorb millions of our brothers, and the Jewish question will be solved, once and for all. There is no other way out."¹⁰¹ (Emphasis added.)

That policy of confronting a people who are already in occupation of a land, then determining to remove or otherwise eliminate them and then claim the land on the basis that it is or was unoccupied bears an uncanny resemblance to the policy of the British colonial authorities in Australia after they had arrived and confronted the Aboriginal indigenous people. When persecution, genocide and enforced debasing encampment onto inhospitable tracts of land and reserves failed to satisfy the wants of the settlers the area was declared *Terra Nullus* (land not previously occupied) in order to sanctify its resumption and to avoid the tedious business of negotiating purchase or compensation with people who did not have the weaponry of the British settlers or their police and armies to defend themselves.

The effect of the mechanism set up by Israel under the *Abandoned Areas Ordinance* and related legislation was that there would be nothing for Palestinians to return to even if Israel opened its gate to them. In view of this the Israeli Government gave the Palestine Conciliation Commission an assurance that the funds received from the sale of abandoned or 'absentee' owned land would be credited to the refugees for future disposal, but several conditions were imposed. The main ones were that such funds would be used exclusively to resettle refugees elsewhere than in Israel and not for repatriation; that no funds would be disbursed until the

opening of final peace talks with the Arab governments; that the value of counter-claims by Israel for land sequestered by Arab governments on the departure of Jewish refugees avoiding “Muslim xenophobia” would be deducted; and that the economic impact of the continuing Arab boycott would be taken into account.”¹⁰² No funds were distributed under the scheme during the early years and with those conditions providing the basis for a never-ending stream of disputes it must be considered unlikely that any ever will be.

But the *Law of Return* also generated tensions within Israel and throughout the Diaspora, and led to other problems for Israel. It focussed attention on the over-riding question of Jewish identity, “who or what is a Jew?” and in doing so it also drew attention to several related issues: the expectations of the immigrants; the role of the state in religious terms; the role of the religious authorities in law making or, put another way, the relationship between the State of Israel and the Jewish religious leadership; and the self-understanding of the world wide Jewish community. Herzl and many of the Zionist Organization leaders were determined that the Jewish National Home would be secular and that the clergy would be confined in their temples. But there were many who disagreed with them and believed that the laws of the state should be based on Biblical law even if it was not a theocratic state. It was in fact inevitable that the state and its laws would be influenced by religious principles and the self-understanding of those who governed it because the state was established on a semi-exclusive religious basis, because religious leaders were involved in the preparation of its constitution, and because the electoral system agreed upon echoed the system which had been used by the World Zionist Organization for its elections.

RELIGION, POLITICS AND NO THEOCRATIC STATE ...

That electoral system stipulated that the entire state of Israel was one electorate. There were to be no single electorates and not even a cluster of multi-seat electorates in which electors could support and relate to a particular Member of their persuasion. There were to be 120 seats and these were to be allocated to the candidates of parties contesting the election strictly in accordance with the percentage of the popular vote which the parties received – and strictly according to the order in which the parties listed their candidates. This was a highly democratic procedure in that it ensured that every shade of religious and political thinking and every ethnic group which chose to contest the election was virtually assured of representation in the Knesset. However it also ensured permanent political instability and gave the religious parties, and any other minor parties which were invited to join a coalition of parties to form government, the opportunity to insist on the implementation of their favoured policies as the price for their support of the coalition government. These factors became apparent in the election which was called for January 25, 1949, to establish a Constituent Assembly which would draft a constitution, and a government which would replace the Provisional Council of State which had drawn up and taken office upon the Declaration of the establishment of the State. Twenty one parties contested the election. A group of Labor parties gained 47.5 per cent of the popular vote

and were allocated 57 seats, of which Ben-Gurion's Mapai Party held 46. A group of Centre Right parties gained 26 per cent and held 31 seats. A group of Religious parties gained 13 per cent for 16 seats, and all other splinter parties, together, gained the same.¹⁰³

After three weeks of difficult negotiations Ben-Gurion took office with a coalition of his own party and three religious parties, the United Religious Front (already a combination of the Mizrachi and the HaPoel HaMizrachi), the Progressives and the Sephardim which was confirmed by a vote in the Knesset of 73 to 45. There were immediate problems within the government because Ben-Gurion's Orthodox partners insisted that the Bible and the Talmud should be the basis of Israel's fundamental law. As Sachar states: "Plainly, the last thing Ben-Gurion and Israel then needed was a Kulturkampf between religionists and secularists."¹⁰⁴ The collapse of the government was avoided when it was agreed, as a compromise, that there would be two classes of laws: Fundamental Laws and ordinary or statutory laws. But the crisis soon erupted again when the Religious Front demanded that it should have automatic jurisdiction over the education of children who had arrived from the Yemen under *Operation Magic Carpet*. Mapai rejected the demand, the Religious Front withdrew its support and the government fell in February 1951.¹⁰⁵

Thus the electoral system which had been agreed upon encouraged the growth of religious parties, ensured that they would gain representation in parliament, and ensured that if Israel were not to be a theocratic state the representatives of the religious parties would often hold the balance of power, determine who formed government, what policies they would be able to implement and, therefore, the extent to which religious influence would show through its laws. The Mizrachi could be said to have earned its place in the first Israeli government by virtue of being the first religious group to support the political Zionist movement. Its origins lay in the Spiritual Centre society (Merkaz Ruchani) established by Rabbi Samuel Mohilever in 1893 in response to the excesses of the Tsarist regime during the 1880s. (See chapter 15) In 1897 Mohilever told the First World Zionist Congress that the revival of the land of Israel was one of the most important commandments of the Torah and that strict adherence to the Torah was an obligation if the Holy Land was to be, again, the arena for Jewry's spiritual mission.¹⁰⁶ "The Torah, which is the source of our life, must be the foundation of our regeneration in the land of our fathers," he said.¹⁰⁷ Five years later, under the leadership of Rabbi Isaac Jacob Reines, the Mizrachi was reorganized as a formal political party and became the first such group working within the World Zionist Organization. It followed a rigorous philosophy that the dual redemption of the Land of Israel and the Jewish spirit could only be accomplished within the strict precepts of religious Orthodoxy.

Although the tide of Western Christian anti-Semitism had ebbed dramatically by the 1950s there was no lessening of the importance of the questions raised by the *Law of Return*. It was widely accepted that anti-Semitism may rise again and if it did, was it to be Israel's role to provide a haven for those who faced persecution or oppression either as a crisis develops, or after the event as in the case of refugee resettlement in the wake of the Holocaust, or in the interventionist manner of *Operation Magic Carpet* and *Operation Ali Baba*? Or was it to be

Israel's role to ameliorate the crisis by exerting its influence on the decisions of the governments of other countries in matters of refugee resettlement and ethnic affairs by enlisting the political support of its people in the Diaspora?

Then there was another very fundamental question. Was the State to assume a Vatican City-type authority for, and over, the Jewish communities of the Diaspora? Was it to assume a Vatican City-type role in endeavouring to influence world affairs or community values and social issues? Or was it, perhaps, to grant those roles to its religious leadership either by formally establishing a Great Sanhedrin, by legislation, or by informal delegation of its authority? If it did so, would that authority go to the Orthodox wing of the religious community or would it be exercised by a joint body of each of the wings working together? But these questions were of concern to people well beyond the bounds of Israel. They were basic to relations between Israel and the Christian Church or, more specifically, the dominant Catholic Church. And they were also basic to relations between Israel and the people of the continuing Diaspora, but especially the dominant Jewish community of the United States.

It soon became apparent that politicization of religion was "one of the critical weaknesses of the emerging Israeli State."¹⁰⁸ If, as the *Law of Return* implied, Israel's mission was to bring the Jews of the world together in a commonwealth, what was to be the relationship between the State and the 'remnant' who were still, in both the traditional and the Zionist view, 'exiles'? The fact that there were, and there would remain for many years, more Jews outside the National Homeland than within it did not negate the question. It made it more important. And the fact that the proportions, interests and influence of Orthodox, Conservative and Reformed Jews within Israel differed from those in the Diaspora aggravated the situation. Within a few years the operation of the Rabbinical Courts became an issue of contention and has remained so for fifty years.

The legal system of Israel was developing on the basis of a rare combination of consensus, experience and precedents from several sources. These included the Ottoman system, notably in matters of land ownership, the laws of the British mandatory administration, Biblical and Talmudic Jewish law, British Common Law and Equity, and some completely new Israeli initiatives, but it did not provide for trial by jury. An important departure from established Western practice was the adaptation of the Ottoman millet structure which had been continued by the mandatory administration. This allowed each religious community in Palestine extensive juridical autonomy in matters such as marriage, divorce, burial, and inheritance which related to the personal status of its members. Muslim, Christian and Jewish tribunals were each authorized to decide these matters on the basis of their separate religious laws.

As already noted, the Labor parties, led by Ben-Gurion, had set out to avoid institutionalizing the power of the Jewish religious authorities but it was a matter on which they had to concede ground to maintain their coalitions because there were military and economic matters to which they gave a higher priority than a confrontation with the Orthodox religious community. The result was that the Rabbinical courts and the religious courts of the Muslims and Christians

were given significantly increased jurisdiction. In 1953 the Rabbinical courts were empowered to deal not only with matters of personal status but also the status of any “Jewish national or resident of Israel.” By this act foreign citizenship no longer exempted a Jew living in Israel from the jurisdiction of the Rabbinical courts. Two years later the judges of the Rabbinical, Christian and Muslim courts were given the status of state officials, thus increasing their apparent authority considerably. Both measures were “rammed through” the Knesset against strong opposition so that Ben-Gurion could secure Orthodox support for other measures which he considered of decisive importance.¹⁰⁹

AN UNEASY TRUCE WITH AN ‘ILLEGITIMATE STATE’...

So the uneasy state of ‘peace’ between Israel and its neighbours held, but with no one satisfied with the situation. Both sides became intransigent. The Arab position was that Israel was illegal and illegitimate and that there would be no peace until the Palestinian problem was resolved. Opposition to Zionism became consolidated on the grounds of religion. The UN, under pressure from the Vatican, continued to press for internationalization of the city and although most of the Arab states changed their positions on the issue and backed internationalization, Jordan supported Israel in opposition to the move. Israel made clear that it would not renounce its claims and that Jerusalem was its capital, in which government would be centralized whether the world liked it or not. (There were strong protests in 1953 when Israel formally proclaimed Jerusalem to be its capital, but about a year later most countries accepted it as fait accompli and permitted their diplomatic missions to conduct inter-government business there.) The Arab League moved to strengthen its trade boycott of Israel, closed all of its land borders except a niche into Lebanon for diplomatic purposes and established a Boycott Coordinating Office in Damascus. Israel responded by establishing an Anti-boycott Office in Jerusalem and began developing Eilat as a port for trade with East Asia, and in September 1951 it gained the support of the UN Security Council for a resolution that Egypt should cease restrictions on shipping through the Suez Canal. Deep-seated animosity, propaganda distortion of historical and current events, coupled with the misrepresentation and belittling of religious and cultural beliefs and practices became the norm of diplomatic, educational and media conduct on both sides. It all confused the world greatly and polarized world opinion and world support around particular issues on the basis of religious belief and perceived truths and falsehoods.

On what other basis could people understand a situation, make personal value judgements, and respond? And besides: it was normal conduct. Western governments had been manipulating and falsifying their release of information systematically for years. The great powers were fairly clumsy at it during the First World War and their people were very disenchanted when they gradually realized what had been done. (Chapter 17) The techniques were refined and became the subject of scientific study, tertiary courses and commercial practice during the 1920s and 1930s. (Chapter 18) Chamberlain’s conspiracy of silence, set up in a bid to protect Britain’s interests, helped to conceal the real issues from the world and to drag it relentlessly towards the

Second World War. (Chapter 20) And the Roosevelt administration's sheer deceit and concealment of information from its own armed forces and from the general public during its manoeuvring towards the war, followed by the gross misrepresentation of the situation prior to the use of the atomic bombs against Japan, plumbed new depths in unspecified crime against humanity. (Chapters 24 & 26) As the Middle East war dragged into the 1950s the Israelis and the Arabs were, relatively, rank amateurs at the game.

In 1953, having assumed the throne following the assassination of his grandfather and then the abdication of his father, King Hussein of Jordan moved promptly to restore and improve the Al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, to institute annual pilgrimages to celebrate the Prophet's Nocturnal Journey and Ascension from Jerusalem (the Night Journey), and to host a World Islamic Congress. Then, due to accusations that in other respects the Jordanian Government was neglecting economic development and services in the West Bank and East Jerusalem, tension developed between Palestinians on the West Bank and Jordanians on the East Bank. The situation improved somewhat when the Hashemite Kingdom agreed in discussions with the Arab League that although it claimed absolute sovereignty in the region it was only holding the West Bank and East Jerusalem until formal settlement of the Palestinian question. However, in spite of secret negotiations between Jordan and Israel, that prospect did not seem very close because of a virtual religious impasse. On one hand the numerically minor but very vocal and extremely nationalist Israeli religious Cherut (Herut) Party was demanding that Israel incorporate all of Jordan with possible further expansion in future to the full 'historical limits' of Eretz Israel, that it encourage mass immigration, a vigorous capitalist approach and a definite Western foreign policy, and that Israel's security be bolstered by a pre-emptive or preventative war with the Arabs if necessary.^{110 111} On the other hand Jordan had sought to use access to the Old City as a lever in bargaining for border modifications and had contravened that aspect of the truce agreement which provided for free access to and from the Hebrew University, the Hadassah Hospital and the Holy Places by restricting the movement of Jewish staff to and from the university and the hospital to fortnightly convoys, and by barring Jews from visiting the Wailing Wall.¹¹² In addition it permitted – or failed to prevent – desecration and demolition of synagogues in East Jerusalem and tombs in the ancient cemetery on the Mount of Olives. Eventually only one of 35 synagogues remained and thousands of tombstones, mainly taken from the route of a road constructed through the cemetery to the new Intercontinental Hotel, had been used as building material and for paving footpaths.¹¹³

... SUPPORTED BY A VIGOROUS DIASPORA ...

But during its early years Israel could not focus all its attention on its relations with its immediate Arab neighbours. The government's ambition was, in effect, to produce an 'instant self-sufficient nation' – something which no country had done in the history of colonization. To do so it had to develop a rationale for its economic development and secure the funds for mass settlement of refugees and migrants, provision of essential education, health and

communications services, and industrial and agricultural development. In doing so it had to balance the broadly socialist philosophy of the majority of its population and the vigorously capitalist philosophy of a sizeable minority. But it also had to plan and raise funds for national defence and chart a course through a minefield of international relations. In the unique circumstances of its establishment these two tasks became unavoidably enmeshed in the intrigue of world politics. Its government professed a foreign policy of non-identification with the great power blocks but in reality Israel was firmly tied to the United States – whether it wished to be or not – because of several factors. These included Zionist opposition to settlement in other countries; the immigration and ingathering policies which the government pursued; the concentration of half of the total Jewish population in North America and the political influence which that community exerted in order to secure the establishment, recognition and security of the state, plus the financial support which it provided .

Very promptly after the UN partition resolution was adopted on November 29, 1947 the Jewish Agency sought a loan of \$500 million through the US treasury for the settlement of migrants, but on December 22 the request was equally promptly rejected.¹¹⁴ On the basis of actual costs of about \$2,000 per person¹¹⁵ the loan would have been sufficient to settle the entire population of about 250,000 Jews in European DP camps . Subsequently, within a few days of the proclamation of the state, Truman authorised “an emergency loan of \$100 million to help the Zionist leaders put their house in order and finance their industrial development projects.”¹¹⁶ At that time, quite apart from the demands of defence, settlement and development, the new-born state faced the immediate loss of fifteen percent of its export income due to the Arab boycott, substantial war damage to the Dead Sea potash works and the citrus industry, and the temporary closure of the Haifa oil refineries. However, given that the Israel-Arab war was in progress when the loan was approved it is hardly credible that, even though an embargo against the sale of arms to the Middle East was in place at that time, at least part of it did not go towards arms purchases. In any case that loan would have released alternative funds for such purposes. Official data for US economic and military aid to Israel does not list any loans or grants for the year 1948 at all, apparently on the basis that although it required presidential approval it was a ‘private loan’ and not government to government aid. ¹¹⁷ In the meantime Golda Meyerson (Meir) had raised \$50 million from private donations during her visit to the US in January-February 1948, and this was channelled through a Swiss bank direct to an arms-buying operation set up by the Jewish Agency in Geneva. It was three times the entire oil revenues of Saudi Arabia for 1947 and many times the allocation of three million pounds Sterling made by the Arab League to Jordan to assist its war effort. ¹¹⁸

... AND ‘BLOOD MONEY’

From the data which is readily available it is very difficult to get a true picture of how much money flowed into Israel from the date of the UN partition decision either as grants or loans to the government, as donations through affiliates of the Jewish Agency, or as private investment

funds. However two things are apparent. First: that the economic crisis which Israel faced during its early years was a consequence of the 'instant Zionist nation' concept which the government was pursuing and which could not be financed from locally generated revenue. Second: that the development of the nation could not have proceeded in the way it did, its economy would have been unsustainable and it would have been indefensible without the funds which were provided for economic development and military purposes by the world wide Jewish community. During the decade of the 1950s the Israeli Government consistently incurred a substantial balance of payments deficit. Domestic production or 'earned income' covered only eight percent of Israel's foreign currency expenditure and the big deficit (92 percent of its foreign payments) was covered from three sources: world Jewry 59 percent, Germany's reparation contributions 29 percent, and United States military and economic aid 12 percent.¹¹⁹ Subsequently, when German reparations payments were being phased out the flow of private donations also fell for a few years – until the next survival-threatening crisis erupted. The United States' formal aid program was then increased dramatically in line with the undertakings by successive presidents that the security of Israel would be guaranteed.

The decision by Prime Minister Ben-Gurion to seek reparations from Germany in a bid to overcome the country's desperate financial situation after only two years of existence precipitated an extraordinarily bitter domestic crisis. Negotiations were opened late in 1950 and by December 1951 provisional agreement had been reached with Bonn (West Germany), requiring the Knesset to be summoned to sit on January 7th, 1952, to approve wider scale negotiations. Ben-Gurion was at great pains to show that the infusion of money was to help Israel absorb hundreds of thousands of survivors of the Nazi terror and that it was not compensation for the millions of Jews liquidated during the war. However the venom of attacks on the government for seeking 'blood money' indicated that many people did not believe him, rocked the government and severely strained its public support. Menachem Begin, a former commander of the extremist Etzel group and at that time leader of the Cherut Party which traced its origins to the notorious Irgun Z'vai Le'umi, described Ben-Gurion as "a Fascist and a hooligan" and said the negotiations were "the ultimate abomination." When an unruly crowd broke the reinforced police lines, injured more than one hundred police, smashed the windows of the Knesset and were at the point of forcing their way into the Knesset Chamber the Speaker ordered a recess and called in the army to quell the riot. The threat of violence against members of the Knesset and the prospect of civil war hung heavily over the nation but two days later, on January 9th, Ben-Gurion received a vote of confidence, 61 in favour and 50 against.¹²⁰ The negotiations continued and the Reparations Treaty (Shilumim Agreement) was signed in September 1952. It provided for total payments of \$US822 million over twelve years, made up of \$US715 million in goods to the State of Israel and \$US107 million to be paid through Israel for the rehabilitation of victims of Nazi atrocities living outside Israel.¹²¹

The German grants, largely in heavy industrial and construction equipment, amounted to 25 percent of Israel's development budget in 1953-54, 47 percent in 1954-55, and an average of 20 percent over the full period.¹²² In addition West Germany agreed to provide 'restitution' for

individual victims of Nazi persecution. The nation whose people had been persuaded to go to war again to counterbalance the unfair demands for reparations made by their victorious adversaries after a previous war was ready to make meaningful recompense for the real atrocities which it had committed rather than the trumped-up ones on which the earlier reparations demands had been based. In doing so it greatly assisted the establishment of the Zionist State which it had sought to prevent with such bitterness in the belief that its people had been largely responsible for the previous reparations debacle. But in doing so it also unintentionally helped to consolidate the challenge to the church and its self-understanding – the central issue in the continuing crisis – by strengthening the position of the Zionist State which had become the focal point of that challenge to the church's self-understanding.

When the economic, social and political turmoil in which Israel was deeply embroiled (and which is always associated with close-quarters war) also led to political turmoil and instability throughout the region both Israel and the United States exploited this in order to minimize the prospects of Arab unity and military cohesion in a multi-country approach to Israel. In quick succession came the revolt in Iraq against the British Treaty (1948); a military coup in Syria (March 1949); the Iranian oil crisis (1951) which began to reshape international oil politics and then ran on with the palace takeover of 1953 until international settlement in 1954; the assassination of King Abdullah of Jordan (July 1951); and the Egyptian military coup (July 1952). Such turmoil and disunity ensured that the world was discouraged from thinking too closely about how the crisis in the Middle East had come about, what its fundamental causes were, and what was required to resolve it.

The truce might have been rather uneasy, but the United States – the world's superhuman policeman, endowed with such masses of goodwill, wealth, and scientific expertise – would convert it into a lasting peace. With its position of world leadership said to be divinely inspired; with its insights into world affairs illuminated by its finely tuned Judeo-Christian heritage; and with its unchallengeable authority underpinned by its exclusive control of nuclear weapons which was said to be similarly divinely inspired, the United States had emerged from the midst of world calamity unscathed. It was the most powerful economic empire the world had ever known or that people cared to contemplate, and it was non-colonial. It dwarfed the British Empire which it had succeeded. Its authority was so awe-inspiring that no one (in the Western world or subordinate to any countries of the amorphous Christian gel anyway) could doubt its integrity or query its decisions. What was good for America must be good for the world. If a country ran its affairs on the basis of proper Judeo-Christian values it had absolutely nothing to fear from the United States. Did it? It was only the atheistic Communist bloc which was causing all the friction that had anything to be concerned about. Wasn't it?

FROM INTELLIGENCE TO INTERFERENCE

At the time that Britain and France went to their war with Germany, the foreign intelligence services available to the United States administration were very elementary. The armed services

and the State Department had code-breaking units which “provided excellent information about military and diplomatic activity, but [which were] not much good at revealing politics, strategy and intentions.” The advice which they received from their diplomatic missions was very variable. In June 1940 an influential New York lawyer, William Donovan, who had a distinguished record from the First World War was asked by the White House to visit Britain to assess morale and military capabilities and to study British intelligence and counter-intelligence methods. He was briefed by Colonel Stewart Menzies, head of Britain’s Secret Intelligence Service (SIS), and Churchill who were eager to offset the anti-British influence of Ambassador Kennedy. In particular he was briefed on British propaganda and psychological warfare methods as well as being shown the latest top secret military inventions, including radar. His optimistic reports to Truman encouraged the president to increase aid to Britain, but when the Lend Lease Act was passed in March, 1941 (chapter 24) the situation had not changed and the US administration was still largely dependent on British intelligence for the information on which it was basing major decisions concerning its own defence and foreign aid. A coordinating committee had been set up in 1939, but each service had been given a regional responsibility: the FBI had the western hemisphere; the Army’s G-2 had Europe, Africa and the Panama Canal Zone; and the Office of Naval Intelligence – from which Roosevelt had received the notorious McCollum Memorandum in October 1940 – Asia and the Pacific rim. On March 18 Roosevelt therefore responded to urging from Donovan that a centralized system of intelligence was more vital than ever by instructing him to prepare a plan. He submitted it five weeks later, on April 26, and ten weeks later, on July 11, 1941, Roosevelt appointed Donovan as Coordinator of Information (COI) to put the plan into effect and to act as chief intelligence officer and coordinator of collection and analysis of information.¹²³

So far so good. But the inter-service rivalry was such that while he was struggling to recruit people for the new service and to get it up and running Donovan had effectively been shut out of the politicking around the McCollum Memorandum and Roosevelt’s plan to find a justification to take the United States into the war. Thus five months later he was *not* aware of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour until several hours after the event, when he was summoned to join the president and his confidants at the White House during the evening of December 7, *after dinner*, when Roosevelt’s main interest appeared to him to be whether the attack was bad enough to unite Americans behind a declaration of war against the Axis powers.^{124 125} (Chapter 24) In the public outcry about the lack of warning which followed, the Office of the COI became a very convenient scapegoat and this gave Roosevelt the opportunity to reorganize the intelligence services further. On June 13, 1942, he signed a presidential order establishing the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) in place of the COI. The OSS became part of the military establishment, under the jurisdiction of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Donovan was retained as Director with the rank of Major General. Circumstantial evidence suggests that, by that appointment, Donovan was compensated for having been shut out of the pre-Pearl Harbour politicking or, at least, Roosevelt was confirming that he had not been responsible for the debacle.

The role of the OSS as defined by the Joint Chiefs of Staff was primarily sabotage, espionage, counterespionage, covert action and subversion, and by the end of the war it had a staff of 25,000. Among the first persons recruited to it by Donovan was Allen Dulles. (Chapter 27) He was posted to Switzerland as head of covert operations in Europe – with a letter of credit for \$1 million.¹²⁶ As the war progressed it did not bother the OSS whether it was targeting the enemy or an ally if the perceived interests of the United States were involved. It bothered Roosevelt, but not Donovan.

The alliance between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union had been a matter of convenience, pursued relentlessly by Britain when it was in a position of desperation, (chapter 24) and the history and memories of deep antagonism by the West towards Russia was always a factor in the thinking of Stalin and his colleagues. It could hardly have been otherwise. The pattern of the relationship had originated *not* with modern-age governments on the basis of politics, but with the Roman Catholic Church and its bid to take control of the religious life of the young Russian principalities in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the subsequent development of the Polish-buffer phenomenon. (Chapter 8) It had been consolidated over many centuries but it had assumed a totally different character with Britain's efforts to keep Russia in the First World War, followed by British, French and American military action in collaboration with the Czarist White Russians in their effort to reverse the Bolshevik Revolution. (Chapter 17) And it had been reinforced by the Vatican's trenchant attacks on atheistic Communism during the 1930s (chapters 18 & 20); and its efforts to induce Britain and the United States to change their war target from Hitler's Germany to Stalin's Russia *during the war* (chapter 24). In the eyes of the US and Britain, the Soviet leaders were supposed to put all of that behind them and make believe it had never happened. Naturally that was rather difficult. Fear that it would all happen again was at the front of their minds, and with good reason. They wanted their buffer back. Not just Poland, but a strip of states all the way from the Baltic to the Balkans.

In 1944 Donovan suggested to Roosevelt that the OSS should target the activities of the Red Army in occupied territory. Roosevelt refused, but Donovan set his own agenda and "continued to keep an eye on the Russians." He and the OSS were taking some of the first tentative steps in the Cold War. According to John Ranelagh, an OSS agent, Robert Bishop, established contact with a top-secret unit of Romanian intelligence in September 1944 which had penetrated the Romanian communist party. For the next six months he was kept informed about Soviet plans for Romania and the rest of Eastern Europe. He reported to Donovan that Soviet plans were to create slave states which would be a buffer between Russia and Western Europe after the war. Corroboration of the Soviet plans was received a few weeks later when Finnish intelligence handed a captured book of Soviet codes to the OSS. Being unaware that their codes had been captured, Soviet forces continued to use them. When Roosevelt heard that the OSS had the codes he ordered Donovan to return them, uncopied, to the Russians. Donovan did return them – after he copied them secretly.¹²⁷

A TICKET TO FREEDOM ...

Ranelagh also says that within weeks of the end of the war US Army intelligence captured the head of the German Army's Soviet intelligence unit, General Reinhard Gehlen. It can be assumed that a prerequisite for appointment to such a post would be a history of dedication to, or at least demonstrated support for, the Nazi philosophy and cause, and that the head of such a unit would have no more compunction about the abuse of human rights than his colleagues in the Einsatzgruppen. On that basis General Gehlen should have at least been a candidate for examination as a possible war criminal, but such was not to be his fate. He was soon to be favoured with "a long and profitable relationship with the CIA and was subsequently head of the West German Federal Intelligence Service."

Gehlen provided a cache of 'Kremlin secrets' which he had carefully buried in case of such an eventuality. They included the Soviet order of battle at the time of the German surrender, and he was able to report that "Stalin was determined to keep Poland effectively occupied, with Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria all becoming Soviet satellite states. And unless the Western Allies made clear to Stalin that they were prepared to defend their zones of occupation in Germany, the Soviets intended to occupy the whole of Germany too." In effect, in planning its buffer zone, the Soviet Union was doing no more than expanding its empire in the traditional manner of the other European colonial powers, and a lot less than Hitler had planned and attempted to implement with his Lebensraum. But he was not to be allowed to. Stalin was a Communist, hell bent on central planning and state control of resources which was just not acceptable to the great powers of the amorphous Christian gel. If he got away with it in Eastern Europe the 'disease' would probably spread throughout the Third World and that would never do. The West wanted unfettered access to their resources.

And besides: Russia had to be led back onto the proper sacramental track towards salvation. The great powers of the amorphous Christian gel had been forced to recognize the legitimacy of a Jewish state and, therefore, to recognize that Judaism was also a *legitimate* continuing religion. In addition it had reluctantly granted Islam the status of 'crusade exempt' – at least for the time being – because the defence of Saudi Arabia, seat of the faith and protector of the holiest site of Islam, had been declared vital to the security of the United States. 'Crusade exempt' and 'legitimate' were not quite the same thing because none of the churches recognized it and it was still a proper target for evangelism or even elimination, like Shinto in Japan. The war and the new circumstances had made the West look at all world religions in a new light, even if their conceptualization of God was not that of the church. But to allow a country like Russia to *reject* religion was simply not acceptable. What that really meant was that the alliance between the Vatican and the West was too mutually beneficial to scrap. It had to be held in place for quite a while yet. The West was dependent upon it to hold the Central and Latin American countries in check because some of them were already beginning to run off the rails: to challenge the idea of democratic capitalism. They wanted to do their own thing. Trade with whom so ever they wished. Only the church could be relied on to keep them in order. It would

soon do so, through collaboration with a series of ruthless dictators with whom, like the European Fascists, it was more at ease than with the democrats.

The situation made the Western powers stop in their tracks and rethink their policy for the occupation of Germany. If they were going to win the hearts and minds of the battered people of Europe and prevent them from adopting the same policies they would have to develop policies quite different to those they had imposed after the First World War, which some political leaders in the West wanted to pursue again, and quite different to the policies the United States was already implementing in Japan. (Chapter 27)

Gehlen was in a situation directly comparable to the commander of Japan's special purpose 731st Regiment, Lt. General Shiro Ishii, who directed human guinea pig biological warfare research and avoided trial for such crimes by providing the United States with the results of the unit's research. (Chapter 27, *No question of principle*) When Donovan and Allen Dulles, then head of OSS, Germany, were told about Gehlen and his information they recommended that he be "taken on" by the US Army. But among Gehlen's files were the names of OSS men whom he claimed were members of the Communist Party and he was, no doubt, happy to talk about that file. It was therefore little surprise when an attempt was made to assassinate him and it was decided "to spirit him away to Washington." He arrived there on September 20, 1945, on the day that Truman signed an executive order requiring Donovan to disband the OSS in ten days,¹²⁸ and 18 days *after* MacArthur had set up his military government in Tokyo and set in train the motions for Japan's war crimes trials.

Truman's decision to disband the OSS resulted partly from with his Baptist upbringing and his dislike of secrecy and its unconstitutional conduct, and partly from the need to make economies. But the major factor was the politicking for control of the organization which had gathered pace again, and bitter public attacks on it in the US which were sure to cause some political fall out. The attacks were not because it had committed crimes. Anything which could be justified on the grounds of national security or as an anti-Communist measure was generally acceptable and was not widely regarded as a crime. The attacks were on the basis that it was supposed to have come under undesirable British influence¹²⁹ and that could mean whatever the writer or the reader wished to impute: that the US was propping up an intelligence system in Britain's interest, a bit like ongoing Lend-Lease; that it was inefficient and wasteful; that it was too soft on Communism; or that it was simply un-American. Truman ordered a complete review of American national security requirements, and the armed services battled with the State Department for control of the system.

... WITH A RETURN TICKET PAID

But the Cold War phenomenon was already being milked relentlessly by everyone who thought they could gain from it: politicians, the business sector and the armed services. Thus, four months later, in January 1946, when Truman issued a directive that a Central Intelligence Group (CIG) be set up and jointly staffed and funded by the Departments of State, War and Navy while

the national security review continued, it was very much a product of the Cold War mentality with a very heavy emphasis on Russian and East European intelligence. On the recommendation of a core group which naturally included Allen Dulles, Gehlen was sent straight back to Germany with a budget of \$3.5 million to “set up in business as the supplier of Russian and East European intelligence to the United States ... but (Dulles) was mortified when Gehlen’s services were annexed not by the CIG but by the Army.”¹³⁰

The product of the continuing review, the National Security Bill, was sent to Congress in January 1947. It provided for a National Military Establishment with unified control of each of the armed services, including a separate air force for the first time, and a Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) responsible directly to the president through a National Security Council (NSC). Its functions included making recommendations about intelligence coordination, and correlating and evaluating intelligence. Then there was a blanket clause: to perform such services of common concern to the government’s intelligence organizations as the NSC might determine. Nothing was beyond its reach and, although the CIA was to be subject to the oversight of the NSC, its head was to be in a remarkable position. He was also to be the president’s principal intelligence adviser, the protector of sources and methods of intelligence, and overall head of all intelligence organizations, including those of the armed services, the State Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), so that the heads of those bodies would, in future, have two bosses each. It was a certain prescription for continuing intrigue. Rear Admiral Roscoe Hillenkoetter was sworn in as Director of Central Intelligence in May, and the new structure took effect in July.

As expected, the feuding and rivalry continued so that twelve months later, in July 1948, when politicking over the Marshall Plan had given way to secret negotiations towards the establishment of NATO in the light of the Berlin Blockade and the Airlift; and while an uneasy truce was settling over Palestine and Israel, the New York Times could describe intelligence as “one of the weakest links in our national security.”¹³¹ Then a few weeks later, in August, the House Un-American Activities Committee heard allegations of Communist infiltration of the government, and the State Department in particular; John Foster Dulles went off to Amsterdam to address the World Council of Churches on the evils of Communism (but not the crisis in the Middle East); Allen Dulles set to work with his colleagues to review the operations and regulations of the CIA under the new arrangements, to draft changes to them, and to strengthen its position at the centre of US policy making; while the British sought to persuade the French to change their “short-sighted attitude in the interests of Western European security as a whole,” and to build on the Anglo-American talks which had got off to a flying start on August 10 in their bid to secure the fullest possible US commitment to involvement in Europe.¹³² And everyone waited for the ‘inevitable’ outcome of the presidential election: a victory for Republican Dewey.

It was commonly understood within the Republican Party hierarchy that John Foster Dulles had been promised the post of Foreign Secretary and Allen Dulles would be appointed director of the revamped CIA following the election. Allen was so eager to clear the decks in preparation

for a prompt appointment that he actually completed and submitted his report and recommendations to the White House in the first days of November, immediately prior to the election. When John Foster learned what he had done he phoned, told Allen he was foolish, that Truman could act on the report at the last moment and appoint some one else as director, and that he should ask for it to be set aside for consideration after the election – by the new president. Allen did so.¹³³ However, as we have noted (*A defining American election upset*) Truman retained office. It was therefore in the atmosphere of anti-Communist paranoia which gripped Washington that the report was considered by the NSC in January, 1949, and referred to Truman just as the NATO talks were getting bogged down.

With Truman's re-election Marshall retired and Dean Acheson became Secretary of State. When he looked at the NATO proposals in February he decided there had not been sufficient consultation with Congressional leaders and no more could be done until Truman had their agreement. The new chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Tom Connally, therefore became involved and, in debate on February 14, criticized what he saw as an automatic commitment for the US to go to war in Europe again on the basis of Article 5 of the draft agreement – the mutual guarantee clause. The British Foreign Office regarded the debate as "deplorable" and three days later Foreign Secretary Bevin took Acheson to task in an unusually strong telegram. He said that grave doubts emerging over the American attitude could well cause "every European country to shrink from the risks which they would be exposed to by signing the pact" and he implied that Britain, which was leading the charge, might have to reconsider its position. Britain wanted to know "whether or not the US government accepted the conception of the Atlantic Community as one fundamental unit which has got to be defended together for the sake of all the parts." The British government, he said, had based its policy on "the confident expectation that the US was willing to join in the creation of a solid Atlantic Community capable of resisting aggression from any quarter [and that he thought] the principle had been accepted and there was no difference of status between the various parties in such unity (*except indeed that we, the European members, were in the front line and would probably take the first knock in any emergency*)."¹³⁴

Acheson persuaded Connally to accept a compromise wording for the mutual guarantee clause and the North Atlantic Treaty was signed in Washington on April 4, but the incident had certainly done nothing to placate Republicans who maintained that the Administration and the State Department were soft on Communism. Under the treaty, twelve countries agreed to establish NATO with its headquarters in Washington for the purpose of providing mutual aid in case of an attack on any member.¹³⁵ With the treaty in place, the Western powers agreed to the immediate unification of the three western zones of Germany. The West German Parliamentary Council which was set up for the purpose adopted a constitution on May 8. Stalin could see no purpose in continuing the Berlin blockade. It was lifted on May 12, and traffic was flowing freely into Berlin from the West when the Federal Republic of Germany was constituted on May 23. The bill for a Central Intelligence Agency Act was before Congress about that time.¹³⁶

EXCOMMUNICATE! ANOTHER PAPAL INTERVENTION ...

On June 13, after the North Atlantic Treaty had been signed but while the CIA bill was under consideration, Pius XII authorized a decree of the Holy Office on Communism. Catholics were forbidden to join the Communist Party, and *any who “knowingly and willingly profess the doctrines of Communism, or defend its principles, or spread its errors” were subject to automatic excommunication. Damned! Catholics who joined the Communist Party under the force of hard circumstances, as in Iron Curtain countries, for the sake of work needed to support their families but who did not subscribe to its ideologies, were not to be subject to that automatic excommunication.*¹³⁷ [Emphasis added.] Coming on top of his obsequious support for the American brand of Democratic Capitalism in connection with the Italian elections only a year early, that decree helped to earn him the reputation as “the ideological leader of the Western forces,”¹³⁸ At least he was being consistent, building on the long-established pattern which began as soon as Karl Marx’ work began to have an impact in 1848, (chapter 14). The pattern was set in 1854, by Pius IX, “It must of course be held as a matter of faith that outside the apostolic Roman Church no one can be saved, that the Church is the only ark of salvation, and that whoever does not enter it will perish in the flood.”¹³⁹ This was followed, in 1863, by: “...it is necessary once more to ... censure the serious error into which some Catholics have unfortunately fallen ... the opinion that men who live in errors, estranged from the true faith and Catholic unity, can attain eternal life. This is in direct opposition to Catholic teaching.”¹⁴⁰ Then came Leo XIII’s encyclical on Socialism in 1878. Socialism was:

the deadly plague that is creeping into the very fibers of human society and leading it on to the verge of destruction ... [and the] ...most deadly war which has grown in intensity up to today, had for its object to subvert all revelation, and overthrow the supernatural order, that thus the way might be opened for the discoveries, or rather the hallucinations, of reason alone. ... [A] licentious sort of liberty was attributed to man by a set of men who gloried in the name of philosophers, and a new right, as they call it, against the natural and divine law began to be framed and sanctioned. ...[T]he socialists, stealing from the very Gospel itself... maintain that nature has made all men equal, and that, therefore, neither honour nor respect is due to majesty, nor obedience to laws, unless, perhaps, to those sanctioned by their own good pleasure. But on the contrary ... [t]he inequality of rights and of power proceeds from the very Author of nature ... [and] ... the minds of princes and their subjects are, according to Catholic doctrine and precepts, bound up one with the other in such a manner, by mutual duties and rights, that the thirst for power is restrained and the rational ground of obedience made easy, firm and noble. ... ‘There is no power but from God; and those that are, are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God. And they that resist purchase to themselves damnation.’”¹⁴¹

The pattern continued. 1931: “ ‘Religious socialism,’ ‘Christian socialism’ are contradictions; no-one can be at once a true Catholic and a socialist, in the proper meaning of the term ...”¹⁴² Then, in 1937 Pius XI issued the encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* on Atheistic Communism, already discussed at length, (Chapters 18 & 20), and Pius XII drew the whole lot together in his Christmas Allocution in 1944 when he reluctantly endorsed American Democratic Capitalism

and illustrated more clearly than ever before, the manner in which the church was the *fabric* of the amorphous Christian gel. (Chapter 27, *Temporal Authority, the Lateran Treaty and civil government*)

The effect of Pius XII's decree of excommunication against Communists which, with its other provisions, was a very direct call to undermine Communist governments at every turn, was to irrevocably confirm that linkage and to place Catholics in an invidious and, for many, intolerable position. It was not merely a matter of them having to bury their social consciences to comply. Neither was it merely a matter of putting even greater divisive political power in the hands of right wing Catholic parties in countries such as Australia. (chapter 27, *A shift of gear: the Liturgical Movement*.) The decree placed every Catholic worker in a country under Communist rule, or with widespread political unrest, under direct suspicion as a subversive. The conflict of conscience was similar to that for Catholics in Indochina who were expected to rise up and support Pigneau's bid to his nominee on the throne with a touch of help from Louis XVI, and with a treaty between Cochinchina and France as the prize. (Chapter 15) Either he could not be trusted in the workplace or in the party because he was actually working for the church to undermine the party, or he was being two-faced to secure his job, and still could not be trusted. The backlash was swift.

... MEANS TRAUMA FOR THE CHURCH IN RUSSIA ...

Stalin had sheathed his anti-religious sword at the time of Barbarossa in the interests of national unity and the war effort against Hitler. Orthodox Church leaders had thrown their weight behind the government; and Stalin had subsequently approved a strengthening of the structures of both the Orthodox Christian church and other faiths. (Chapter 24.) Four years later, at the end of the war, he was still happy to tolerate a "controlled" or compliant church, but he would not tolerate "active priests" or a subversive, white-anting church. Immediately following the Vatican's decree of excommunication he unsheathed his sword and unleashed a renewed campaign of harassment and closure of Roman Catholic churches in the satellite states and against the Vatican-related Uniate Church in the Ukraine. This was coupled with a systematic smear-and-hate campaign against the Vatican. Reasonable tolerance was still shown towards the Orthodox and Protestant churches – in fact the Orthodox Church benefited greatly – but the pope was vilified and caricatured as the warmongering "American policeman *honoris causa*."

The Uniate Church (the Roman Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite) in the Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Romania was liquidated. Its properties were not seized as state property in the ordinary sense, but they were allocated to the Orthodox Church, and its clergy and members were virtually forced to join that church. They were given the theoretical option of joining the Roman Catholics of the Western Rite, but it was not a practical option because there were virtually none to join. Those who refused to join the Orthodox Church were incarcerated.¹⁴³

Now, fifty years later, with the Orthodox Church relieved of the pressures of state administration ten years after the collapse of Soviet Communist rule, the pope's decree and Stalin's reaction have come back to haunt the current generation. The Vatican's endeavours to arrange a visit to Moscow by Pope John Paul II in pursuit of its policy of rapprochement with the Orthodox Churches, are being undermined by friction over demands for the return of those properties. On August 3, 2000, Russian Orthodox Patriarch Aleksei II said that a meeting with Pope John Paul II was out of the question while disputes between Catholics and Orthodox in the Ukraine continue. Addressing seminarians, Aleksei II said: "As long as Greek Catholics continue seizing Orthodox cathedrals in Ukraine, as long as Roman Catholics are engaged in a large-scale expansion in the western regions of Ukraine and Byelorussia, such a meeting is out of the question." He was referring to ongoing disputes between Eastern-rite Catholics and Russian Orthodox over the church seizures because of the pope's decree, coupled with efforts by Catholics to convert non-churchgoing Ukrainians.

The patriarch noted that a meeting with the Pope, if it takes place "should yield concrete results and meet expectations of Russia's people," and said that three Orthodox eparchies had been ruined in western Ukraine. "Orthodox believers were expelled from cathedrals, priests were beaten up and worship objects were destroyed. Such actions against a sister-church at the end of the 20th century are hard to take," he said. He added that Catholics had no right to convert non-churchgoing Ukrainians, since 70 percent of Ukrainians were either baptized Orthodox or their descendants.¹⁴⁴

At least the Vatican's new step-by-step approach to bringing Russia into the Roman orbit – starting with rapprochement as the first step towards integration or unity within the Christian church under the papacy – is quite a change from its attempt to ride into the Soviet Union with Cardinal Tisserant's Eastern Missionaries in the vanguard of Operation Barbarossa, armed with its concordat with Hitler and aided by Our Lady of Fatima. (Chapters 24 & 25)

... AND THE CIA'S ROLE IS LEFT IN NO DOUBT

By the time the new Central Intelligence Agency Act was passed the anti-Communist paranoia in the United States had reached a new level and there was a tacit understanding in Congress that the principal purpose of CIA operations was surveillance of the Soviet Union, and that its activities would not be scrutinized too closely.¹⁴⁵ Every drop of propaganda value was squeezed from the anti-church program under way in Russia and this was said to justify the excommunication decree. The facts were the other way around. When the Soviet Union detonated its first nuclear device in August, the anti-Communist lobby had a field day. All the talk was about theft of secrets and spies (as if the US had none) and about how the Soviet Union was setting out to bomb the West into submission. No mention of all the deceit by Roosevelt, Truman and Churchill and their deliberate use of the disclosure of the bombs to be dropped on Japan in psychological warfare against the Soviets. No mention of the idea that they might want to improve their security and bolster their territorial buffer in view of the highly orchestrated

anti-Communist campaign being waged by Western governments and industry in intimate association with the Vatican. That would be just too honest!

DEBACLE IN CHINA ... AND A FLOW ON

Then came the debacle in China. Since the occupation of Japan, United States aid to the Chinese Nationalists had amounted to almost \$2 billion in cash plus \$1 billion in military hardware, and 39 Nationalist army divisions had been trained and equipped. In spite of that, the regime of Chiang Kai-shek was collapsing. The onslaught of Mao Tse-tung's Communist forces was coupled with the people's hostility towards Chiang's tyranny, his wanton cruelty, and the extraordinary corruption and decadence of his entire bureaucratic and social system. It was in sharp contrast to the situation in the areas under Communist administration which were "models of honesty, progress and fairness." As a consequence entire divisions of the Generalissimo's forces defected to the Communists. American political and military leaders had no illusions about the nature and quality of Chiang's rule. According to General David Barr, head of the US Military Mission in China, the Nationalist forces were under "the world's worst leadership."¹⁴⁶

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The first major successes by the Communist forces were in January 1949 when they took control of Tientsin and Peking while Acheson was pondering the NATO proposals. By June their armies had grown by defections from the Nationalists to 1.5 million men under arms while the Nationalists had fallen to 2.1 million. The State Department had to admit that the US had lost control of the situation a few weeks later, and on August 5 it announced the cessation of all aid to the Nationalists in a White Paper which concluded that "the ominous result of the civil war in China is beyond the control of the government of the United States." Cut off from their gravy train, the Nationalists began to flee, or to evacuate, to the island of Taiwan (Formosa) which they had been preparing for occupation for two years by terrorizing the Taiwanese into submission. It is estimated that in one massacre in 1947 up to 28,000 persons were slaughtered.¹⁴⁸ The continuing "two Chinas" problem was about to be born. Prior to the Nationalist Army's evacuation to Taiwan, the US Administration had accepted that the island was part of China, but with an international diplomatic crisis developing it began to have doubts. When it was suggested that perhaps it ought to be considered a separate country, Chiang Kai-shek objected, and the US agreed to his contention that "the proper way to view the situation was not that Taiwan belonged to China, but that Taiwan was China." That suited the US because it wanted Chiang to hold the China seat at the United Nations, not a Chinese Communist, and when the Chinese Communist Party officially proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China at Peking on October 1, 1949, that was the way it remained.

Americans, according to Felix Greene, "simply could not bring themselves to believe that the Chinese, however rotten their leadership, could have preferred a communist government." It must have been the handiwork of a conspiracy, an international conspiracy, at the control panel of which sat, not unexpectedly, the Soviet Union.¹⁴⁹ They had been totally brain-washed with

the idea of Chiang Kai-shek's Christian superiority. (Chapter 17) Why had the US been supporting it so vigorously at the outbreak of war and since, while MacArthur was doing such a fine job in Japan, if that were not the case? They could not accept the fact that up until that point the Soviet Union had been supporting the Nationalists, trying to force Mao Tse-tung to work with Chiang so that the nation would not be split, and that it was only on the proclamation of the People's Republic that Stalin recognized Mao and agreed to relinquish control of Port Arthur and return the Manchurian railway to Chinese control. The United States was not accustomed to being unable to get its own way, therefore, in the popular view, regardless of what the State Department said, the administration must have failed somewhere and it was expected to put the matter right. The US *had* to stay there and support Chiang Kai-shek to recover and return to China. It did not matter that the vast majority did not want him back. Senator Joseph McCarthy, who had not at that time developed notoriety for his anti-Communist witch hunts, led the charge, saying that the Truman administration was composed of "egg-sucking phony liberals" who protected the "Communists and queers" who had "sold China into atheistic slavery."¹⁵⁰

The tide had already begun to turn against both Chiang's Nationalists and the churches at the end of 1947 when the Communists were able to mount a sustained counter attack and cut Chiang's lines of communication, leaving his forces isolated in the cities, but Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, decided they did not like Pius XII's decree of excommunication for Communists anymore than Stalin, and a campaign of harassment and the expulsion of missionaries began immediately the People's Republic was declared. In essence they simply annulled all of Chiang Kai-shek's political favouritism and support-buying exercises of the previous three years. (Chapter 27) Precise numbers of missionaries expelled are hard to determine because sources vary in the figures they use. While Stephen Neil reported that Protestant missionary numbers had recovered substantially to 4,062 at the date of proclamation,¹⁵¹ according to the Catholic Almanac 1997 "over 5,000 foreign missionaries, 510 of whom were American priests, brothers and nuns" were expelled. The difference would suggest that there were some hundreds more Protestant missionaries than the mission societies knew they had in the country. The Almanac also reports "the arrest, imprisonment and harassment of all members of the native religious, clergy and hierarchy; the forced closing of 3,032 schools, 216 hospitals, 781 dispensaries, 254 orphanages, 29 printing presses and 55 periodicals; denial of free exercise of religion to all of the faithful; the detention of hundreds of priests, religious and lay persons in jail and their employment in slave labour; the proscription of the Legion of Mary and other Catholic Action groups for '*counter-revolutionary activities*' and '*crimes against the new China*', complete outlawing of missionary work and pastoral activity."¹⁵² [Emphasis added.] What did the Vatican expect? That was exactly what the decree had required of them. But regardless of the circumstances, it gave the Vatican and Senator McCarthy even more ammunition.

Short of an all-out invasion of China with massive forces, there was little the US could do except support Chiang in attempted incursions and harass the struggling new People's Republic. It did so with relentless assaults against the Communist government, despite a request from

Chou En-lai for aid and friendship, for which he saw no practical or ideological bar.¹⁵³ The American actions naturally had flow-on effects in other areas.

Not all of the Nationalist Chinese forces found their way to Taiwan. Many thousands took refuge in northern Burma, much to the displeasure of the Burmese government. After the British, American and Japanese intervention and manipulation of Burma during the war it reckoned enough was enough. It just wanted non-interference to enable it to get on with its affairs. However the CIA – the instrument of the new style of imperialism by courtesy of the United States – had other ideas. It began to regroup the stateless army into a part of the Chinese Nationalist fighting force, and during the early 1950s a number of both large and small scale incursions into China were carried out. In one incident in April 1951, a few thousand troops, accompanied by CIA advisers and supplied by air drops from American C46s and C47s, crossed into Yunnan province, only to be driven back by the Communists in less than a week with high casualties and the deaths of several CIA advisers. In another raid that summer the invaders succeeded in occupying a 100-mile strip of territory for some time and penetrated to a depth of 65 miles into China. The capabilities of the insurgent forces were built up by the CIA providing American engineers to help construct and expand airstrips in Burma; fresh troops were flown in from Taiwan; additional troops were recruited from Burmese hill tribes; CIA air squadrons provided logistical support and ferried enormous quantities of American heavy arms into Burma via Thailand. By then the army had been built up to 10,000 men, and Taiwan claimed that in 1952, from January to mid October, it killed, wounded or captured 44,000 Communist troops.¹⁵⁴

But it should have been apparent to any reasonable observer that, regardless of the immediate impact of such incursions, the Chinese People's Republic could not be defeated nor could the Nationalist Chinese return to claim government on the basis of such a campaign. The United States strategists had other considerations and they expected to be able to 'contain' any backlash in Burma. The People's Republic had become involved in two 'relief operations' on other sectors of its border and the US hoped that conflict on a third sector would provide a distraction and draw Chinese resources away from those sectors to the advantage of the United States. It depended on the perspective of the viewer what the incidents on those other sectors were. To the Asians involved, they were part of the continuing decolonization process. To the United States power brokers, they were the next phase in its campaign to succeed the European Colonial powers and both China and Japan as the key player in Asian affairs. This meant that for US domestic consumption, for all the Western Allies who were expected to support the US, and from the point of view of the European powers who were being eased out, those conflicts all had to be packaged as a part of the East West Cold War confrontation – or the sharp end of the Communist bid to take over the 'free world.' The 'Domino Theory' was dreamed up, and for a few years it worked. Those two other sectors on China's immense border were Korea and Vietnam.

The United States had embarked on exactly the same strategy as Britain during its run up to its Second World War defence-of-empire manoeuvres. It was trying to convince the world that each incident was separate and isolated, and that its interests were totally honourable and had

nothing to do with self interest or with the trouble in the triangle. It was self-deception at its best. The United States appeared to be, and believed itself to be, in an unassailable position and still growing. So did Britain at the same stage of the cycle. The circumstances of Britain and the United States at the beginning of the cycle were remarkable for their relationship. At the time of its Balfour Declaration Britain saw its support for Jewish ambitions for a national home in Palestine as its grand step to even greater power. It believed that its power and authority and its role as Defender of the Faith at the pinnacle of Christendom was God-given by virtue of its exemplary Christian conduct and that it was destined for even greater things. Then, very promptly, and as a result of its own decisions, Britain found itself over stretched and under resourced. It had slipped past the peak of its power and influence without being conscious of it, and it was trying desperately to maintain its position as the pre-eminent world power by misrepresentation and by manipulating other countries and other people. We have traced it all: noting especially the major exercises in misrepresentation and manipulation, and the consequences for the world.

So: the United States was exactly the same. It was immensely powerful – frighteningly powerful – at the time that it picked up Britain’s cast off role as Zionism’s umbrella and pushed the steps necessary for the establishment of the State of Israel through the United Nations. Its power and authority was still rising, its grip on the resources of the Middle East was tightening, and it thought it had a long way to go before it would reach its peak, even though it was already sitting astride the pinnacle of world affairs. It was preparing for a long session on the throne. But it was, slightly reluctantly, having to relinquish its use of the epithet ‘The New Israel’ because it had just been instrumental in establishing the *real* new Israel. It had to adapt to the title of ‘leader of the Judeo-Christian world’ because it had become home to half of world Jewry, while it was at the same time the dominant component of the amorphous Christian gel.

At this point, within a year or two of the establishment of the State of Israel and the dramatic challenges to the self-understanding of both the church and the amorphous Christian gel which it so clearly demonstrated (but which had not been recognized), the United States was following the course which Allen Dulles had so clearly enunciated in the book which he wrote to justify the Marshall Plan to Republican-minded America. (Chapter 27, *An obstacle to decolonization, new world shape*) It was manipulating the economic, social, religious and political frameworks within which the world functioned in order to gain maximum advantage at the expense of the rest of the world in the manner of an imperial power, but without the need to ‘colonize’ and to rely on armies of occupation. It was, especially, manipulating the resource-rich countries which did not have the capacity or the need to exploit their resources for their own domestic industries, in the manner which Dulles had prescribed for the recovery of Europe.

It will need to pool its resources, reduce its cost of production, develop a large measure of free trade within the European area, reduce its population by emigration, and redouble its efforts to develop in those areas of the world where it still has overseas and colonial possessions, particularly Africa, new sources of raw materials, commodities, and wherever

*possible, foodstuffs. The spirit of enterprise which built up the British Empire needs to be rekindled. There are still economic worlds open to peaceful conquest.*¹⁵⁵ [Emphasis added.]

It was also manipulating other countries to suit its perceived regional defence requirements (regardless of whether they were former allies or enemies) in a manner directly similar to Churchill's manipulation of the Soviet Union in the manner reviewed below. (*Churchill's attitude: no basis for cooperation*). Gradually, as more people understood what was happening, the term 'regional defence requirements' gave way to 'protecting US national interests' but the world was expected to accept that whatever was in the US national interest was also in their interests. In a disturbing and very negative sense that became the 'default' position, because a country soon found that it was to its *disadvantage* not to accept a proposal which was put "in the US national interest." Under Executive Order 12333 of December 4, 1981, the president may order any action which may be necessary to obtain the cooperation of another country.

*... the CIA shall: ... Conduct special activities approved by the President. No agency except the CIA (or the Armed Forces of the United States in time of war declared by Congress or during any period covered by a report from the President to Congress under the War Powers Resolution (89 Stat. 855) may conduct any special activity unless the President determines that another agency is more likely to achieve a particular objective;*¹⁵⁶

The interpretative note provided by the CIA's Public Affairs Office says:

*Only the president can direct the CIA to undertake a covert action. Such actions usually are recommended by the National Security Council (NSC). Covert actions are considered when the NSC judges that the US foreign policy objectives may not be fully realized by normal diplomatic means and when military action is deemed to be too extreme an option. Therefore, the Agency may be directed to conduct a special activity abroad in support of foreign policy where the role of the US Government is neither apparent nor publicly acknowledged. Once tasked, the Director of Central Intelligence must notify the intelligence oversight committees of Congress.*¹⁵⁷

In such circumstances the United States leadership could not conceive of a situation in which their own actions and policies, and the country's conflicts of interest would put them, like Britain, in a no-win situation. Thus, during the second half of the twentieth century the United States would pick up and drop friends at will; exploit their resources and become dependent on them; impose demeaning policies on them, and expect no one to notice, or at least to swallow their pride and their anger and make believe it had not happened as the NSC took full advantage of that presidential authority. And in 1949 and the years following, Burma was among the countries which had no option but to accept the dictates of the United States and the infant People's Republic of China was placed under enormous strain and a test of whether it had the will to stick to the path it had mapped out for its own economic and social development. The United States was attempting to do in China what it had attempted, together with Britain, France and some other powers, in Russia at the end of the First World War: overthrow a legitimate government born out of revolution against one of decadence and corruption. Its *motive* was the same: to prevent a growing challenge to its preferred economic, political and

social model. And its stated *justification* was the same: to replace an atheistic system which had been condemned by the church with *one* system which had the blessing of the church and therefore must have been divinely sanctified. There was another system which the church had preferred but which was temporarily out of favor – at least in some circumstances: Fascism. The United States was already trying to impose another regime of that ilk just across one of the other sectors of China's border, in Korea, against the wishes of its people. But first, a brief look back at Burma.

William Blum describes the situation very succinctly.

In between raids on China, the "Chinats" (as distinguished from the "Chicomcs") found time to clash frequently with Burmese troops, indulge in banditry, and become the opium barons of The Golden Triangle, that slice of land encompassing parts of Burma, Laos and Thailand which was the world's largest source of opium and heroin. CIA pilots flew the stuff all over, to secure the cooperation of those in Thailand who were important to the military operation, as a favour to their Nationalist clients, perhaps even for the money, and, ironically, to serve as cover for their more illicit activities.

The Chinats in Burma kept up their harassment of the Chicoms until 1961 and the CIA continued to supply them militarily, but at some point the agency began to phase itself out of a more direct involvement. When the CIA, in response to repeated protests by the Burmese Government to the United States and the United Nations, put pressure on the Chinats to leave Burma, Chiang responded by threatening to expose the Agency's covert support of his troops there. At an early stage, the CIA had entertained the hope that the Chinese would be provoked into attacking Burma, thereby forcing the strictly neutral Burmese to seek salvation in the Western camp.¹⁵⁸ In January 1961, the Chinese did just that, but as part of a combined force with the Burmese to overwhelm the Nationalists' main base and mark finis to their Burmese adventure. Burma subsequently renounced American aid and moved closer to Peking.¹⁵⁹ For many of the Chinats, unemployment was short-lived. They soon signed up with the CIA again; this time to fight with the Agency's grand army in Laos.¹⁶⁰

They did not have long to wait, because US interest in Indochina had become more substantial immediately the People's Republic of China was proclaimed on October 1, 1949. Up to that point the American administration had still wanted France to vacate its Asian colonies and permit indigenous independence. How else could there be a great-power vacuum for the US to fill? The French General Jean Leclerc had gained no kudos when he said in September 1945: "I didn't come back to Indochina to give Indochina back to the Indochinese."¹⁶¹ But at that time the US did not know who it wanted to support because the logical leader, Ho Chi Minh, who had worked closely with the OSS during the Second World War while the French Vichy authorities had collaborated with Japan, was tainted with Communism. The US would not acknowledge that he was a "genuine nationalist," treated him as a tool of international Communism. They refused to even acknowledge his letters of request for economic assistance so that he had no option but to turn to the Soviet Union for aid, and the US was stuck with the French until someone more compliant came along. When the Communists gained control in

China that prospect receded somewhat and became enmeshed in America's other interests as well. The French had signed the NATO treaty but they *did not* want US troops stationed on their soil and they *did not* want Germany admitted to the alliance, but they *did want* a rapprochement with Ho Chi Minh. There was the link.

Mao Tse-tung was eager to consolidate the position of the PRC government, to begin a crash program of regional reconstruction, rehabilitation, the restoration of law and order, and the reduction of inflation which was rampant in the wake of both the war with Japan and the post Second World War civil war. In view of America's support for Chiang Kai-shek and its refusal to extend assistance to his regime, Mao sought aid from the Soviet Union. In mid-December he travelled to Moscow for an extended visit to negotiate a Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance.

On January 12, 1950, while Mao was in Moscow, Acheson outlined his Asian policy in relation to US defence needs in an address to the Press Club in Washington. He included Japan, Okinawa and the Philippines within the American line of defence, but, although it was known that the State Department considered South Korea to be vital to the security of *its interests in Japan*, he excluded both Taiwan and Korea from that defence line. [The distinction between *US interests in Japan* and *Japanese interests* is important because, without the situation which the US had brought about, Japan was quite capable of looking after itself.] There was some lively debate about the reason for those exclusions at the time, but it is reasonable to conclude that Acheson was sending the message to both Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee that the United States did not intend to garrison either Taiwan or South Korea and that Chiang should not attempt to invade China, while Rhee should not make an attempt to invade North Korea. If that was his aim, it had little effect on either Chiang or Rhee and it was being offset by other pressures from Washington.

There were plenty of hawks who were eager to see both Rhee and Chiang have a go, and on February 5 Senator Joseph McCarthy raised the stakes enormously by claiming that there were 205 Communists or neo-Communists in the State Department. To what extent McCarthy was playing domestic politics after the shock defeat of the Republican presidential candidate, Dewey, and to what extent he was responding to the Vatican decree of excommunication which had triggered such a dramatic international backlash, especially in China, is not at all clear – the two factors were intimately intertwined anyway – but the consequences for the whole world of the four-year era of McCarthyism which he triggered are impossible to quantify. Politicians who were so inclined anywhere in the western world, and investors and employers who wanted to exploit anything, any country or anyone at all, took full advantage of the opportunity to label and denigrate as 'commos' all opposition, and those who sought to restrain exploitation. The witch hunt knew few bounds and the Cold War soon spilled over into any country with which the Soviet Union wanted to trade or in which it wanted to establish a defence base.

On February 14, only nine days after McCarthy's address and four and a half months after the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship,

Alliance and Mutual Assistance was signed. It provided for \$300 million in credit for reconstruction and military aid. Soviet educational and propaganda material immediately began to flow in to replace the American materials which had previously been supplied to the Nationalist government, and the reorganization of the Chinese army along Soviet lines and with Soviet-built equipment began. If that program was allowed to continue unhindered, the loss of US influence, prestige, access to resources and trade opportunities would flow on throughout Asia. It had to be stopped! It immediately became an article of faith within the State Department that a wedge had to be driven between China and the Soviet Union. It did not matter how. It just had to be done, and the end would justify the means.

France suddenly became the power of choice in Indochina! About two months later, in April, Secretary of State Acheson told French officials that the US was set against France negotiating with the Vietminh in North Vietnam. But at the same time the US wanted France to support its plan to include Germany in the West European defence organization. Over the next few months large scale shipments of tanks, transport planes and other military equipment were made to the French in Vietnam. The scene was set for future confrontations which the US did not anticipate. Two years later when the French scheduled a meeting with Vietminh negotiators in Burma, the US forced them to recall their delegation.¹⁶² Thereafter, if the French were to be confronted by the Vietminh, the US had no option but to support them. By that time the Korean War had become a major disaster for the United States, for the people of Korea, and for everyone everywhere who fondly believed that the accelerated technical developments which had resulted from the Second World War were to be used for humanitarian purposes. In due course it would be Vietnam's turn and it would be an even greater disaster.

KOREAN INTERLUDE

The prevailing Western understanding of the Korean War as a simple case of the Communist North invading the democratic South with the aid of China and Russia has been exposed as the myth that it is by the progressive release of documents in recent years. It is no different to the myths which still surround Pearl Harbour in the American self-understanding but which, together with the British and American manipulation to bring Japan into the war, have also been discredited by the progressive release or disclosure of documents over the years. But myths die hard and many people in the Western world – especially the United States and Australia – continue to demand an apology from Japan for its role in the Second World War when Japan is more realistically entitled to an apology from the West, and many of the same people continue to deny an apology to the indigenous people of their own countries for the conduct of their predecessors. A brief review of the circumstances leading up to the Korean War, and its conduct, is therefore helpful.

The Peninsula of Korea which appears, on a map, to hang like an appendage below Manchuria to separate the Seas of Japan and East China at the point where the Chinese and Russian Federation frontiers meet, had been ruled by the Yi dynasty continuously for 518 years,

although as a vassal state of China for the second half of that period, until Japan conquered it in 1904 and it became a vassal of Japan. Six years later, in the manner of the European powers further south, or the United States in the Philippines, Japan simply annexed the peninsula and converted it from a vassal state to a colony, exploiting it for its resources and food supplies in the usual colonial manner. The struggle by Koreans for independence from Japan bears many similarities to the struggle for independence from the United States by the Filipinos during the same period. In the wake of the First World War 33 prominent Koreans prepared a proclamation of independence and read it at a mass rally of an estimated two million people in Seoul on March 1, 1919. Massive demonstrations, some involving waves of students, were also held in a number of other centres.

The Japanese quickly suppressed the 'March 11st Movement' with much the same 'gentleness' that the British colonial authorities suppressed the Eureka Stockade uprising in Australia 65 years earlier,¹⁶³ or the Burmese, during the period between. (Chapter 27, *The British South East Asian saga*) They arrested some 47,000 Koreans, of whom about 10,500 were indicted, while some 7,500 were killed and 16,000 wounded. Some of the leaders of the movement fled to China and set up a Korean Provisional Government (KPG) in Shanghai. They subsequently moved to Manchuria and established a base for all of the Korean resistance groups, bringing together all Korean exiles and establishing an efficient liaison with leaders inside Korea. It published a newspaper and sent delegations to Europe and the United States to plead their cause. They received little support outside of China because Japan had been an ally in the war just concluded, but Japan realized that its iron rule required more sophisticated methods. The gendarmerie gave way to an ordinary constabulary force, and partial freedom of the press was granted.

Taking advantage of the First World War business boom, Japan took leaps forward as a capitalist country and Korea became not only a market for Japanese goods but also a fertile region for capital investment. However its industrial development was achieved at the cost of agricultural production, and this led to a chronic shortage of rice, and its colonial policy followed much the same lines as the European powers in South East Asia. (Chapter 27, *Colonial policy: philosophy or perfidy?*) Rice production projects were established throughout Korea and many peasants were ordered to turn their dry fields into paddies. The program was temporarily suspended during the Depression years, but it was soon resumed in order to meet the increased needs of the Japanese military machine in its war against China, which began in 1931. Then, like all good colonial subjects, the Koreans were expected to supply the bread basket and they were therefore often forced to rely on low-quality cereals grown in Manchuria instead of their home grown rice which went to the army.

ENTER RIGHT ... SYNGMAN RHEE

One of the Provisional Government leaders was 44-year old Syngman Rhee. Born 25 years before the Japanese victory, Rhee had been raised in classical Confucian tradition, then

educated at a Methodist school where he adopted Christianity, been imprisoned by the Chinese for establishing an Independence Club, became the first Korean to gain a doctorate at an American university (Princeton, in 1910), then worked in a Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) before becoming a high school principal. With such credentials he was elected president of the Provisional Government in Exile and he was the logical person to lobby the United States for help, but he stayed there. This meant that when Shanghai fell to the Japanese and the KPG had to move to the safety of Chungking in south-central China, Rhee was not there to provide leadership. As a result, in 1939, then aged 64, although he was retained as nominal president he was replaced as leader by one of the younger Koreans, Premier Yi Tong-hwi, who had stayed with other members of the Provisional Government in China. Rhee continued as their lobbyist in the US. Those in China were in intimate contact with each of the Chinese Nationalists, the Chinese Communists and the Soviet Union.

When Japan, a signatory to the Tripartite Pact, entered the world war in 1941 the KPG declared war against it, organized the Korean Restoration Army, recruited expatriate Korean independence fighters, and fought with the Allied forces in China until the Japanese surrender in August 1945. The KPG's key contacts were between Yi Tong-hwi and the Soviets from whom he sought military aid for revolutionary operations in Manchuria, and between Kim Ku and Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese Nationalists. Japan required its colonial subjects to be fully involved in that war, just like those of the European powers, and hundreds of thousands of men were drafted into Korean units of the Japanese Army and to work on military bases, munitions factories and mines. Thousands of Korean women were also drafted to accompany the Japanese armies in the notorious role of 'Comfort Women.' (Chapters 25 & 27) In the circumstances the KPG was as well placed as it could be to move straight into Korea and establish an indigenous civil government as soon as the war ended but, like the Polish Government in Exile in Britain, it was to find that the best laid plans can come unstuck.

In the Cairo Declaration, Dec. 1, 1943, the United States, Britain and China, pledged independence for Korea "in due course" and the vagueness of that declaration concerned them. They requested an interpretation from the US but received no answer. Later, at Yalta in February 1945, Roosevelt proposed to Stalin that Korea should be governed under a four-power joint trusteeship involving the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China. Stalin agreed in principle, but no formal agreement was reached. Then at Potsdam in July, when US military leaders *insisted* on encouraging Soviet entry into the war against Japan, the Soviet military leaders asked their US counterparts about the circumstances for an invasion of Korea, with which the Soviet Union shares a 30 mile common border. The Americans replied that such an expedition would not be practicable for them until after a successful landing had taken place on the Japanese mainland, and the Potsdam Declaration was then drafted to include the statement that "the terms of the Cairo Declaration ... shall be carried out." The assumption from that is that the Soviet Union was free to occupy Korea with no reservations.

ENTER CENTRE STAGE ... THE SOVIET UNION

On August 8 the Soviet Union formally agreed to enter the war against Japan, issued a declaration of war, and pledged its support for the independence of Korea. Its forces went into action on several fronts the following day, with some units landing directly in Korea at its northern tip adjacent to their own border. At the same time that they struck westward into Manchuria along their long north-south border, moved south along the Manchurian Railway near the Mongolian border, and at the same time used part of their Pacific coast forces to occupy Japan's Kurile Islands and to recover the island of Sakhalin. Stalin's aim was a speedy occupation of Manchuria by utilizing the Manchuria railway to the Yellow Sea at Port Arthur via Mukden, at which there is a major junction which would enable the Soviet forces to drive towards Pyongyang and Seoul by the most direct route, at the same time that they moved south along Korea's coastal wedge.

On August 11, the US military command, being the power which was to be primarily responsible for the Japanese surrender, issued General Order No. 1, for the terms of surrender for the Japanese forces operating in Korea. It provided for Japanese forces north of latitude 38 N (the 38th parallel) to surrender to the Soviets and for those south of that line to surrender to the Americans. That aspect of the occupation had not previously been discussed, the order made no sense at all in terms of a *military* strategy, and Stalin was quite entitled to ask: "Why do you want to do it that way? We are already well established in the north. We can occupy the whole country very easily. If all you want is the surrender and disarming of the Japanese forces and the liberation of the Koreans we can accomplish it very quickly." However Stalin did not ask the question. He raised no objection to the American's sharing the kudos of the relief and decolonization of Korea, and the Soviet forces did not attempt to move further south even they had ample opportunity to do so. No American forces landed in Korea until September 8. In view of the fact that the US military leadership had insisted that the Soviet Union enter the war against Japan and had openly said that they could not attempt an invasion of Korea, this order indicates very clearly their political masters were more concerned with getting a foothold in Korea than with the prompt relief and decolonization of the country.

In their drive south through Manchuria the Soviet forces had made very rapid progress and had reached Mukden, only 120 miles from the southern end of the Manchuria-Korea border, by August 14 when the Soviet Union signed a treaty of Friendship with Nationalist China – the country which laid claim to the entirety of Manchuria. The Japanese surrender was announced the following day and Soviet forces, having driven south from their own international border some days earlier, were in a position to accept their surrender immediately. Naturally the members of the Korean Provisional Government in Exile in China were ready and eager to return to Korea. However they had to wait until the country had been effectively occupied and they could go in with, or were invited to go in by, the Soviet and US authorities, but some of the local independence movement leaders were eager to get going straight away. On August 16, a broadly based Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence (CPKI), with links to the

Provisional Government in Exile, was organized with Woon-hyung Lyuh as leader. Their base was in the south, but they naturally claimed to speak for the whole country.

In the North, although the Soviet authorities did not recognize that committee, they did not attempt to impose a military government, and they moved to establish an indigenous civilian administration, predominantly Communist, immediately. On August 25, the People's Executive Committee of South Hamgyong Province was set up by the South Hamgyong province Communist Council with some other nationals plus trained expatriate Korean Communists who had accompanied the Soviet forces, many of whom were placed in key administrative roles. That council was formally recognized by the Soviet military authorities and provided the pattern for councils in all five northern provinces. There were still no Americans in sight and the Japanese were left unmolested in the south.

In the south the CPKI undertook food distribution, elementary law and order or policing services, and other local administration, and proclaimed the Korean People's Republic on September 6. But when American troops finally landed in southern Korea on September 8 and received the Japanese surrender in Seoul next day, General Hodge not only refused to recognize it: he dismissed its offer of services for the arriving Americans out of hand and suppressed it, setting up a US military government, the USAMGIK, in its place. Rhee was then flown to Korea from the United States in one of MacArthur's planes to work alongside the army before other members of the Provisional Government in Exile, waiting in China, were allowed in. Rhee was to be America's client – and compliant – puppet leader to ensure that the reconstruction of Korea followed the same lines that MacArthur was pursuing in Japan. When the other KPG members arrived they were told there was no role for them. If they wished they could go off and establish a political party to work towards participation in government through 'normal channels.' The Provisional Government thereupon broke up and its members set about organizing other political movements. Rhee would soon prove to be neither a puppet nor compliant, except in the sense that he supported and was steeped in the economic concepts of the US, was an excellent conduit for US business and investment contacts, and had excellent Protestant Christian credentials as well.

ENTER LEFT ... KIM IL-SUNG

In the North, the Communist authorities then formally introduced an expatriate Korean, Major Kim Il-sung, on his return to the country on October 14 as something of a national hero, and his election as First Secretary of the North Korean Central Bureau of the Communist Party soon followed. This was followed by the establishment of a Bureau of the five provinces to coordinate their administration. Kim had been among those who went to Manchuria and joined the Korean resistance groups in the 1930s. Noticed by the Russians for his leadership potential, he was invited to the Soviet Union for training, rose to the rank of major, and commanded a Korean contingent of the Soviet Army during the Second World War.

By this time, although it had not been the Allies intention, there were two clearly defined zones with neither side wishing to surrender its position in favour of the other. However the Soviet Union cannot be held solely responsible for that state of affairs. Asia was being treated to the same competitive divisions as Europe whether the people wanted it or not. When the Council of Foreign Ministers of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union met in December they recognized this and resolved to set up a four-power trusteeship which would govern for five years. The fourth power was to be China. When that plan was announced there were widespread objections. Koreans wanted independence: not to be governed under a trusteeship for five years. They had had their Provisional Government waiting in Exile for years and they generally wanted that as the basis for their independence. As a compromise the United Nations set up a joint US/USSR Commission to run the country. This posed more difficulties because of their seemingly irreconcilable approaches to economic and political organization and the stalemate was confirmed. Instead of a form of national unity under trusteeship the people of Korea found themselves divided for the long term.

In February 1946, in a bid to smooth the discontent, General Hodge set up a Representative Democratic Council under Syngman Rhee, but its role was purely advisory. It could only make recommendations to the military government. On the other side of the demarcation line, the Communists promptly consolidated indigenous civilian rule by replacing their bureau and five provincial councils with a Provisional People's Committee for North Korea which had more statutory and executive authority than its predecessor. A few weeks later, when the Joint USA/USSR Commission convened, the Soviet Union said it was still prepared to have a four power trusteeship, provided that persons who had previously refused to accept the concept were excluded from it. Syngman Rhee was one of them, so the US rejected the proposal. Two months later, in May, the Joint Commission convened again but could make no progress, then in September the US proposed to the United Nations that unification be achieved by free elections instead of a trusteeship. This time it was the Soviet Union's turn to say no. A few weeks later, in October 1946, Hodge set up an Interim Legislative Assembly with half of its members elected and half appointed by the military government – in collaboration with Rhee. It had, for the first time, some statutory authority. It could enact ordinances on domestic affairs but they were subject to veto by the military government. In February, 1947, that assembly condemned the Council of Ministers' five year trusteeship proposal.

The competitive step-by-step approach of the Americans and the Russians was becoming another spiral as they each sought to consolidate their particular administration and as a result, on their respective sides of the demarcation line, Syngman Rhee and Kim Il-sung were both consolidating their power as well. In the North, at that time, the Soviet authorities took their next step and replaced the Provisional People's Committee with a legislative body, the Supreme People's Assembly, and in November the assembly set up a committee to draft a national constitution. By this time the manoeuvring in Europe over the Marshall plan, the establishment of NATO and the division of Europe into blocs was spilling over into Korea, and in the North the Supreme People's Assembly adopted a national constitution in April 1948. In the South

elections were held a month later for the assembly, Rhee was elected as speaker, and in June the assembly also adopted a constitution.

A CHANGE IN BACKDROP ...

Then the troubles in Europe came to a head with the merging of the Western Zones of Germany and the imposition of the Soviet blockade of Berlin in retaliation on June 24. Any hope of the prompt unification of Korea was dead. Stone dead. In the South, Rhee was elected president under the newly adopted constitution on July 20, the Republic of Korea was inaugurated on August 15, and Rhee immediately assumed dictatorial powers and set about suppressing all domestic opposition. Rhee purged the National Assembly and outlawed the opposition Progressive Party which included some of his former colleagues in the Provisional Government in Exile which was to have been the springboard to an independent Korea, and executed its leader for treason. He controlled all significant appointments, including mayors, village headmen, and chiefs of police. In the North a one-party national election was held ten days later, on August 25, and the constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea was ratified on September 3.

The demarcation line for the purposes of "Allies" receiving the surrender of a common enemy, Japan, in a single country was now formally an international border. To the north there was a Communist regime, to the south, a Fascist dictatorship, and neither of the national leaders wanted to recognize it. They were both intent on re-unifying the divided country under their preferred system. The first serious border clash occurred in October 1949, shortly after the Chinese Nationalist leadership fled to Taiwan and the People's Republic of China was proclaimed on October 1, and thereafter they continued sporadically, sometimes involving thousands of troops and deep territorial penetration. North Korea claimed that by the end of 1949 there had been 2,617 armed incursions into the North to carry out murder, kidnapping, pillage and arson in order to cause social disorder and unrest, and to increase the combat capabilities of the invaders. Stalin was trying to restrain Kim Il-sung and Acheson was trying to restrain Rhee. At the same time Acheson was trying to camouflage the loss of US influence in Chinese affairs which followed the evacuation of Chiang Kai-shek, and reduce the level of anti-Communist paranoia in the US, but the State Department was responding to it. It entered into a secret agreement with the UN Secretary General, Trygve Lie, to dismiss from UN employment any persons whom the Washington administration regarded as having questionable political leanings.¹⁶⁴ So much for the independence of the United Nations.

Coinciding with those moves, Mao Tse-tung made his approach to Stalin for aid to consolidate the position of the PRC government, to begin a crash program of reconstruction, rehabilitation, restoration of law and order, and reduction of inflation which was rampant in the wake of both the war with Japan and the civil war which followed. Mao travelled to Moscow for an extended visit in mid-December to negotiate a Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance.

Then, on January 12, 1950, Acheson made his address to the Press Club in Washington, outlining his Asian policy in relation to US defence needs. It was known that the State Department considered South Korea to be vital to the security of *its interests in Japan* and, as noted above, he included Japan, Okinawa and the Philippines within the American line of defence, but he excluded Korea. Less than a month later, just as the expulsion of Christian missionaries from Communist China was providing media headlines, it was Senator Joseph McCarthy's turn to cause controversy when he raised the political temperature enormously, claiming that there were 205 Communists or neo-Communists in the State Department. And only nine days after McCarthy's announcement, on February 14, the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance was signed. (See above)

Over the next four months there was no let up in the frequency and violence of border incidents in Korea, regardless of the efforts by the two occupying powers to stop them. On April 13, in a radio address, US Ambassador-at-large Philip C. Jessop said: "There is constant fighting between the South Korean Army and bands that infiltrate the country from the North. There are very real battles, involving perhaps one or two thousand men. When you go to this boundary, as I did ... you see troop movements, fortifications, and prisoners of war."¹⁶⁵⁸ The extent of disquiet in South Korea over the management – or mismanagement – of relations with North Korea and over domestic matters as well became apparent six weeks later when elections were held for the national assembly. Rhee's party suffered a severe set back and lost control of the assembly. While the result did not directly affect his position, and he continued in the same ruthless manner as before, it reflected a dramatic loss of confidence in his performance and meant that he was eager to grasp any opportunity to recover his lost standing. He was soon to have one dropped in his lap.

... A VISIT BY A FRIEND

A fortnight after the South Korean national assembly elections John Foster Dulles visited Syngman Rhee for four days. It was one of his first assignments after returning to the State Department. Prior to his election to the Senate, Dulles had also had the status of Ambassador-at-large and since his failure to gain re-election to the Senate in 1949, which was almost as big a shock as Dewy's loss in the 'unlosable' election of November 1948, he had pined to return to a position of influence in international affairs. However he had played such a major role in the Republican campaign against Truman, giving him "a pretty nasty roughing up" with tactics which "made it plain how much he despised his President, loathed his Secretary of State, and held all their policies in contempt" that it took a rather humbling lot of lobbying to prise an appointment out of the White House. He began the process shortly after his failed election bid by getting a Washington correspondent for the Philadelphia *Bulletin*, Carl McCardle, to phone an officer of the State Department to intercede on his behalf, but it was about five months before he had persuaded his many opponents that he should be appointed. Even then, in April 1950, Truman's primary consideration was domestic politics.

The international situation was very volatile and it was difficult to get domestic support for major decisions while McCarthy was on the rampage with his anti-commo crusade and the State Department was under siege. He had a better chance of gaining consensus on major issues if he had someone with a proven track record from the Republican persuasion in the State Department team. Dulles certainly had such a record. In 1946, when it became apparent that a peace treaty with Japan which was acceptable to the United States could not be concluded with the participation of the Soviet Union, Truman and Acheson decided not to call a peace conference to negotiate the treaty. Instead, they gave Dulles the difficult task of personally negotiating and concluding the treaty. He had travelled to the capitals of many of the nations involved, and it appeared that a treaty could soon be signed. Truman and Acheson did not necessarily want Dulles to take over the completion of that task, but his presence could have a very productive influence on the opposition.¹⁶⁶ Even so, Truman put two conditions on the appointment: that he make peace with the New York Senator whom he had opposed, (he agreed not to stand at the next New York Senate election), and that his post be that of ‘consultant’ rather than ambassador-at-large.¹⁶⁷

This immediate assignment was to be “an exploratory tour of the Far East” and Dulles left Washington on June 14 with his wife and one staff assistant, John Allison. The Dulles family biographer describes the situation in these terms.

He made the journey to Japan by way of South Korea, for he wished to see and talk with President Syngman Rhee. Rhee, a fellow member of the World Council of Churches,¹⁶⁸ was an old friend, and Foster Dulles had always seen qualities in this sly, ruthless Oriental dictator which had escaped other Occidental observers. Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek were, for him, Christian gentlemen of a very high order. Ambassador George V. Allen, at dinner with Foster Dulles, once ventured to criticize both of them for preventing free elections among their peoples, describing them as “not exactly paragons of the democratic process.”

Foster leaned forward in his chair, his eyes blinking, and said:

“Well, I’ll tell you this. No matter what you say about the president of Korea and the president of Nationalist China, those two gentlemen are the equivalent of the founders of the Church. They are Christian gentlemen who have suffered for their faith. They have been steadfast and have upheld the faith in a manner that puts them in the category of the leaders of the early church.”

Allen added that Dulles spoke as if he had “his own line to God,” and that “he was getting his instructions from a very high source.”

Foster Dulles spent four days with Rhee in South Korea and made several speeches and one full-scale address in the South Korean Parliament. President Rhee had expressed fears that war was coming between his country and his North Korean neighbors, and that when it came, America would not be willing to help. He complained that Dean Acheson had already threatened to cut off aid unless he allowed free elections – which he was not about to do.

Foster Dulles took it upon himself to reassure him. In his speech to the Korean Parliament on June 19 [a speech that had not been cleared by Washington and which the State Department may not have even known he planned to make until after it was delivered], he declared:

*“The American people welcome you as an equal partner in the great company of those who make up the free world, a world which commands vast moral and material power, and whose resolution is unswerving ... I say to you: You are not alone. You will never be alone so long as you continue to play worthily your part in the great design of human freedom.”*¹⁶⁹

That was quite a remarkable performance which illustrates the concept of the amorphous Christian gel to perfection. The US has made much propaganda use of Russia’s rejection of the proposal for “free elections” to determine the future of Korea, yet they knew at that time that the Fascist strongman whom they had placed in power at the expense of a widely supported Provisional Government had absolutely no intention of allowing free elections in the South. Dulles had unscrupulously exploited his personal connections with the World Council of Churches to suit his own political ends (chapter 28) and he portrayed a perception that any action was justifiable as long as it was cloaked in a mantel of “Christianity.” On another occasion when he was consulted on proposals to “ease Japan from her status as a defeated enemy into a potential member of the family of free nations, ‘neutral on our side’ ... (because) the United States badly needed Japan as a military base” he said that Japan could be forgiven for the Bataan Death March on the basis that “Jesus teaches us that nothing is unforgivable.” Perhaps that is why he did not criticize the massacre of up to 28,000 Taiwanese by the Nationalists under his equally Christian friend Chiang Kai-shek. Perhaps he knew that the US Military Court in the Philippines had hung Yamashita in very questionable circumstances for a series of small scale massacres by troops, many of who he was not even commanding at the time of their offences. (Chapter 27) And, as if he was trying his hardest to illustrate the parody of *Mein Kampf*, he firmly opposed a decision to admit Communist China (with one fifth of the human population) to UN membership in a simple move which might have brought peace and avoided war and death and destruction on many fronts, and on a massive scale, on the grounds that: “It would *confuse the American people*, it would dismay the Chinese Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek, and it would *weaken the President’s program to strengthen American military defences.*” [Emphasis added.]

... AND THE ACTION BEGINS

Six days after Dulles’ speech to the South Korean Assembly the two Koreas were at war. Conventional Western history says that North Korea launched an unprovoked large scale attack on South Korea on the morning of June 25, but there were no United Nations Observers on site at the time. They had completed their tour of duty of June 23, and their subsequent report was prepared from South Korean Government and US military sources, and hearsay. There were conflicting reports circulating until the ‘official’ line was pressed hard by Washington officials, and the facts are certainly not clear cut. The *New York Herald Tribune* reported on June 26 that:

“South Korean troops drove across the 38th Parallel, which forms the frontier, to capture the manufacturing town of Haeju, just north of the line. The Republican troops captured quantities of equipment.” London papers carried similar reports, except that some referred to the Southern forces having made a successful “relieving counter-attack.”¹⁷⁰

On the morning of the 25th, American writer John Gunther who was in Japan working on a biography of MacArthur, was playing tourist in the town of Nikko with “two important members” of the American Occupation. One of them was called unexpectedly to the telephone and when he returned he whispered: “A big story has just broken. The South Koreans have attacked North Korea!” That evening, on arrival back in Tokyo, they were met by several officers who advised them of a ‘corrected’ report. “... there was no doubt whatever that North Korea was the aggressor.” The North Korean version of events is that their invasion was provoked by two days of bombardment by the South Koreans, on the 23rd and 24th, followed by a surprise South Korean attack across the border on the 25th against the western town of Haeju and other places. In any case it was a continuation of lower level two-way border incursions which had been more or less continuous for eight months, and Rhee was very pleased indeed to know that he was assured of United States support by his close friend Dulles. On the morning after the war began, the *New York Times* noted that: “on a number of occasions, Dr Rhee has indicated that his army would have taken the offensive if Washington had given the consent,” and that before the war began “The warlike talk strangely [had] almost all come from the South Korean leaders.”¹⁷¹

On the morning of the invasion Dulles was also playing tourist in Japan, in Kyoto. On being advised of the situation he rushed back to Tokyo and, with Allison’s help, wrote an urgent cable to Acheson recommending that if the South Koreans could not hold the attack, “we believe that United States force should be used,” because not to do so “would start a disastrous chain of events leading most probably to world war.” Acheson and Truman were convinced. The president decided to show the Communists that armed invasion and the conquering of independent nations would be resisted by the democracies. Having got MacArthur’s “wholehearted support” – he would have expected nothing else – Truman ordered in the troops. Congress had not declared war, nor been consulted. He then decided to make it a United Nations operation to sanctify it. He summoned an emergency meeting of the Security Council and on June 26, Washington time, took advantage of the absence of the Soviet Union to stage-manage a vote condemning North Korea’s “unprovoked aggression.” The reason for the Soviet Union’s absence was its declared boycott because of the UN’s continued refusal, under US pressure, to seat the People’s Republic of China in place of the evacuated Nationalists. The Egyptian delegate sought to have the war regarded as civil war between peoples in a country which the United Nations was still trying to unify, and to have the word ‘unprovoked’ withdrawn from the resolution. However each of the other Security Council members, being heavily dependent upon US assistance themselves, were not prepared to confront the United States, and acquiesced in the words proposed.

IT'S LEGITIMATE, OF COURSE!

Next day the Security Council, with great reluctance and with minimal and carefully selected information to work on, was persuaded to go further. It recommended that member nations give South Korea additional assistance – the US Navy and Air Force had already been ordered into combat – “as may be necessary to repel the armed attack.” Ten days later, when it was apparent that if other countries were going to enter the war as well there would have to be a unified command, it was *not* declared to be a United Nations command. A resolution sponsored by Britain and France recommended “that all members providing military forces and other assistance ... make such forces and other assistance available to *a unified command under the United States* (and that) the United States ... designate the commander of such forces.” Truman designated MacArthur who then had two separate commands, continuing as Supreme Commander of the Japanese occupation as well. The forces were responsible to MacArthur, but Mac Arthur was not responsible to, or subject to direction by, either the United Nations or to the member countries which provided forces.¹⁷² The conflicts of interest were immediate and substantial.

It was important that if the action was to be seen as legitimate, and for the United States to sustain its self-understanding as the bulwark of freedom, other nations had to be involved. Those who believed that they were dependent on the United States for their own security or stability, and the Soviet Union and its satellites, and key United States leaders were well aware of that, even if it could be concealed from the world at large. General Eisenhower, later president, touched on the issue years later when he was writing his memoirs. He referred to the need to gather a ‘coalition’ of countries when he was considering US intervention in Vietnam in 1954, because the burden of the operation would fall on the United States and “the token forces supplied by these other nations, *as in Korea*, would lend real *moral standing to a venture that otherwise could be made to appear as a brutal example of imperialism*.”¹⁷³ [Emphasis added.] That is exactly what it was.

Immediately following John Foster Dulles’ unauthorized intervention in Korea, George Kennan, director of the State Department Policy Planning Staff, recommended that the US should support Communist China’s admission to the United Nations because the proposal for its admission was strongly supported by the Asian nations and, somewhat reluctantly, by the European nations, and Acheson saw no reason why the US should go against such majority feeling. However at a meeting of the NSC consultative group on July 25, 1950, Dulles firmly pushed the view quoted, and Acheson eventually decided that there would be no change in the American attitude and any attempt to let the Chinese Communists into the United Nations would be vetoed. Mosley says: “Kennan noted the glint of triumph in Foster’s eyes.” In similar vein Kennan had drawn attention to the need to make it clear that the action had to stop as soon as the South Korean territory had been recovered to the 38th parallel, pointing out the dangers of Chinese intervention if American forces pursued the North Koreans up the peninsula towards

Chinese territory. Dulles ridiculed the idea, saying that the North Koreans should be shown that invasion doesn't pay.¹⁷⁴

So the war was to go on. In September Truman acted on Dulles' advice, not Kennan's, and gave MacArthur approval to land north of the battle line. He did so on September 15 at Inch'on, on the western coast adjacent to Seoul, and in what has been described as a "brilliant amphibious landing" he cut the North Korean forces and their supply lines, and captured 125,000 prisoners. On the 27th the US Joint Chiefs of Staff instructed MacArthur to destroy the North Korean forces and two days later Truman authorized an advance into North Korea. The United States, without pausing to consider what it was doing, was riding Churchill's Second World War treadmill. Escalation had to follow escalation. Then there was a consequential change in the pattern of flow-on effects. The Far East impinged directly on Europe instead of the other way around. Acheson agreed that US troops would have to be made available to NATO *in case the Soviet Union was treating Korea as a diversion* and planned to launch an invasion of Western Europe, and Congress approved of an additional four divisions (about 64,000 total personnel) being committed there. *But whose war was it? Dulles had pushed for US intervention to prop up his Christian gentleman friend Rhee. Dulles and MacArthur had pushed for the escalation of the war into the Northern Korean peninsula and Truman had approved it.* The death and destruction was getting greater by the day. Sixteen UN member states were now providing forces. Why should not the West be called to account? If the Soviet Union had moved west in Europe it would have been to *take advantage* of the diversion. It had not caused a 'diversion.' It would have been a matter of retaliation, or a statement that enough is enough!

A WARNING FROM CHINA

Another two days, and on October 1, China warned that it may intervene if UN forces crossed the 38th parallel. So what? MacArthur intended to go all the way to the Chinese border and the US were determined, so on October 7 it persuaded the United Nations General Assembly to adopt a resolution to establish a Commission to *unify* a democratic Korea, and to authorize UN troops to enter North Korea. It was another case of making a mockery of the United Nations by using it to legitimize decisions and actions already taken. It was already ten days since the US Joint Chiefs had instructed MacArthur to *destroy* the North Korean forces (a little different to 'unifying' their country) and eight days since Truman had authorized him to cross the border. It was patently obvious that the Western Alliance was going well beyond a policy of containment or recovery of territory, to occupation, destruction and domination

On October 20, MacArthur occupied the North Korean capital, P'yongyang, and he was even more determined to go all the way to the Chinese border. The first of his forces reached the southern end of the border six days later. Then the US administration began to recognize that things were getting out of hand. The operation was no longer a localized action to protect a small ally, and because of its scale it could trigger an even wider conflict and develop into another world war. The president's NSC adopted a proposal for a vigorous program of atomic

and conventional rearmament to meet America's growing global 'commitments.' So did Britain. No longer prepared to be subject to a dependent client relationship with the United States and to rely on its goodwill (which was clearly questionable) in matters of nuclear arms, it detonated its first sole-control nuclear device less than two years later, in Australia's Monte Bello coral islands off the Western Australian coast.

But not everyone was happy with the policy of escalation. At the beginning of November the British prime minister, Clement Attlee, Churchill's successor, opposed the continued widening of the war and any proposal to use atomic weapons. And using a variation of Allen Dulles' rationale for United States deliberate *involvement* in Europe – economic self preservation – coupled with a variation of Ambassador Joseph Kennedy's pre-war rationale for *non-involvement* in Europe, former President Hoover called for the United States to “*write off Europe*” and to make the Western Hemisphere “the Gibraltar of Western civilization.”¹⁷⁵ He sounded a bit like Churchill on Britain's role in facing up to Hitler. However Hoover was motivated not by the preservation of empire or economic aggrandisement of America, but by his deeply held Quaker pacifism and abhorrence of war which, for many people active in the Society of Friends, involves an explicit renunciation of participation in war. He still had a vision of America as the moral embodiment of the 'New Israel.' The parody had not finished. It had gathered a new lease of life.

ACTION AND REACTION

MacArthur began his major push north towards the Yalu River border with China's Manchuria on November 11, and he was so confident of a quick occupation of the remainder that on the 24th he began his “Home by Christmas” offensive. He was well aware of the massive build up of forces on the Chinese side of the border. His use of “Home by Christmas” as the name for the next stage of the operation therefore suggests that he, or the State Department, was trying to give China the message that he would stop at the border, that the US was only interested in occupying North Korea and that China had nothing to be concerned about. If that was the case, China certainly did not believe the story, and Truman should have listened to Kennan, not Dulles. Kennan had been right and, in line with its warning to the United Nations of intervention if MacArthur went too far, China struck from the other side of the border next morning with an initial surge of 180,000 troops. Their numbers were progressively increased so that eventually, by 1952, 1.2 million Chinese troops, or about two thirds of China's available combat divisions, had been engaged. It took only three weeks for the combined Chinese and North Korean forces to roll the South Koreans, Americans and their UN coalition allies all the way back to the 38th parallel. Truman decided wisdom might be the better part of valour and that seeing they were back where they started, it was time to negotiate an armistice, but MacArthur disagreed. It was victory or nothing. Then, after a bit of a lull for a couple of weeks, on New Year's Eve, the Chinese showed that two can play the game of 'unification by force' when they provided the real force in North Korea's second cross border offensive. They could

not make much progress at first because of the intensity of the US bombing, but they gradually got the upper hand, the US was forced to evacuate Seoul on January 4, 1951, and to stage a fighting withdrawal a further 30 miles south before they were able to secure a defensive line.

MacArthur was not at all happy. He did not like the idea of being beaten – especially by a wave of mere human beings: ill-equipped at that. He demanded the authority to bomb Manchuria and to blockade China's ports. Truman refused his demands and a conventional counter-offensive was launched late in January, but he declined to take 'No' for an answer and in February he wrote to Congress over the president's head, saying that "there is no substitute for victory."¹⁷⁶ Territory was recovered steadily and on March 31 the UN forces were again at the 38th parallel and under Truman's orders to halt there, but MacArthur ignored the order, crossed the border again and publicly called for the war to be extended to China in retaliation for its intervention on the side of the North. On April 11 Truman dismissed MacArthur and appointed General Matthew Ridgway with instructions to fight a holding action along the 38th parallel.

Truce talks began on July 10, 1951, when in a bid to resolve the impasse, the People's Republic of China dropped its demands for recognition, for the right to China's seat in the UN which was still held by the Nationalists in Taiwan because of the US veto, and for the withdrawal of all foreign troops. However little progress was made. Rhee was not in a cooperative mood. The talks were broken off in August, and fighting continued while another round of talks was held in October, mainly concerned with the repatriation of prisoners and border demarcation. In June 1952 Eisenhower retired from his post in Europe to seek the Republican nomination for the early-November US presidential election, which he won. In private he was critical of McCarthy and the highly divisive 'crusade' he was then running as chairman of the Government Committee on the Operations of the Senate, but in public he supported the call for a ban on the Communist Party.

THE THREAT OF A-BOMBS

In large measure Eisenhower had picked up where Dewey had fallen. The two Dulles brothers were to get the jobs they wanted: John Foster as Secretary of State and Allen as Director of the CIA,¹⁷⁷ both with effect from his own inauguration on January 20, 1953. Immediately after his election, Eisenhower took the very unusual step for a president-elect of making an overseas visit *before* his inauguration. He visited Korea. He would have been very well briefed by his Secretary-of-State-designate. During the visit he secretly informed the Chinese and North Koreans that "he was prepared to use nuclear weapons and would also carry the war to China if a peace agreement was not reached."¹⁷⁸ In the circumstances it is highly unlikely that he would have withheld from Syngman Rhee advice of either that threat, or the pending appointment of Rhee's old friend John Foster Dulles as Secretary of State. Rhee would have been most encouraged!

Then Eisenhower's State of the Union address to Congress on February 2 included the extraordinary statement, drafted by Dulles, that since the "Red Chinese" had intervened in the Korean War, he felt no longer any need to "protect" them from an invasion by the Nationalist Chinese forces of Chiang Kai-shek. The 'hawks' were in full flight! Headlines in newspapers next day read "IKE READY TO UNLEASH CHIANG ON REDS." It did not matter what the impact would be on international relations – many hard-line Republicans were actively stirring the international Cold War plot in order to force the pace of US military spending – it was a clear effort to capitalize on some of the anti-Communist momentum which McCarthy's irrational scare-mongering had generated.¹⁷⁹ But it was in complete accord with the policy which Dulles had been pursuing ever since the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, of driving a wedge between China and the Soviet Union.

The process had started with MacArthur's preparations to drive across the 38th parallel, through North Korea towards the border with China's Manchuria. Peking had felt threatened. The early stages of the Chinese reconstruction program had been a "remarkable success." The Communist government had brought discipline to the labour force, restored law and order, implemented drastic financial policies to cut inflation, and won the confidence of the capitalists to such an extent that as MacArthur approached the border many urban Chinese were regarding the CCP leadership as the much needed reformers and numerous capitalists believed them to be "good for business."¹⁸⁰ That was *not* what the United States wanted to hear, but the CCP wanted to preserve and build on the gains they had made, and that was why the People's Republic issued a warning that it may intervene if the United States went any further. Peking asked Moscow for further assistance to repel the Americans but, not wanting to escalate the war, it refused. However when MacArthur reached its border China made a unilateral decision to push them back. Then, when China suffered horrendous losses from American aerial bombardment which it may not have suffered if the Soviet Union had given its support, strains in the Sino-Soviet relationship began to show straight away. That was what the US hawks wanted to hear. But the strains abated somewhat when Truman insisted in mid-1951 that the battle front should be stabilized at the 38th parallel and, with the beginning of truce negotiations, the end of the war appeared to be close.

However the truce did not eventuate, and in November 1952 Eisenhower made his *secret* threat to use nuclear weapons and extend the war to China. There was no immediate response from either North Korea or China to that threat, but China again asked for additional assistance and when the Soviet Union refused, the strains surfaced again. Then when Eisenhower made his *open* threat in his State of the Union message in February, 1953 to support the Nationalists in an invasion of mainland China from Taiwan the Sino-Soviet relationship was soon placed under further strain by Moscow's reluctance to provide everything that Peking asked for. That was exactly the response the State Department was looking for. There was a renewed burst of hostilities in June, with deliberate and provocative steps by Rhee to hinder peace talks in the hope that under the leadership – or prompting – of his old friend now running the State Department, the United States might support him in another bid to unify the peninsula by force.

Instead of returning all North Korean prisoners of war to North Korea in a coordinated exchange of prisoners, he ordered the release of those known to be anti-Communist to either stay or stir up trouble. Stunned, the Communist powers broke off the negotiations and renewed their attack, concentrating their fire on Rhee's South Koreans and largely ignoring the UN units. Rhee was disappointed. All he got was a calm-down message and the promise of United Nations funds to begin reconstruction and rehabilitation, but not the substantial military support he wanted. Having made their point, the Communist powers resumed negotiations and an armistice was finally signed on July 27.¹⁸¹

So the war was over. Some observers gave Eisenhower credit for having used the threat of nuclear war to bring it to an end, but that is only a small part of the story. It is most likely that if Dulles had not made his unauthorized intervention with Rhee and the South Korean Parliament when he was on his exploratory visit to the Far East, and if he, MacArthur and others had not then escalated the war in the manner outlined, the course of world events would have been a lot more stable. The Korean War would not have developed into such a major international crisis and the Eisenhower threat of nuclear attack which had the effects of exacerbating the Cold War still further – accelerating the militarization of Europe and the nuclear arms race – may not have even been necessary.

WINNERS, LOSERS ...

There were plenty of winners from the exercise. The United States arms manufacturers received a major boost. Defence expenditure in the US in Eisenhower's first year in office was \$53 billion, four times pre-Korean War levels, and commodity producers in countries such as Australia, where wool growers benefited from record greasy wool prices, enjoyed boom years. In fact some observers said that the economic benefits of the war had been more important than the trauma, and following the armistice the reduced industrial and resource demands led to a significant slowing of the economies of the developed countries involved. That required more economic manipulation and resulted in more social stress. And naturally, all the mythology about how it started and where the blame lay had to be maintained, just like after the Second World War. Neither the front line personnel nor the civilian populations at home really knew what it was all about for some years, until records and correspondence was progressively made available. By then it did not matter. Or did it?

There were plenty of losers, too. The trauma had been massive, with an estimated four million casualties, most of whom were Koreans or Chinese.¹⁸² In addition several million Koreans were left as refugees and much of South Korea's industrial plant was damaged, while North Korea was utterly devastated by the massive American bombing campaigns. Overall, about two fifths of Korea's industrial capacity was destroyed and one third of its homes. The United Nations resolved, on the say so of the United States, to establish a Korean Restoration Agency (UNKRA) to aid South Korea in recovering from the disruption caused by the 1945 partition, for refugee resettlement, and to resolve the problems for those made homeless by the

ensuing Korean War. A total of 34 member states and five non-member states contributed a total of \$148.5 million before the termination of the program in mid 1958. Nothing for North Korea, of course. They had the Communist powers to call on.

What was the United Nations? Where were its principles? Well hidden behind the voting power and dominance of the Western Christian member states which were not at all interested in supporting a country which did not fit their preferred mould. (Chapter 28) Actually it did not have to fit its preferred mould completely. It only had to allow capitalist investment and exploitation. It did not have to allow unrestricted suffrage, nor freedom of political organization or democratic election of public officials. So South Korea qualified for support because it fitted the primary criteria: it allowed good ideologically unrestricted Western investment and exploitation and it was being run by a man of the highest Christian standing. It did not matter that he was running a brutal, corrupt Fascist dictatorship. He was a friend of the United States. And it was going to be a wonderful help in demonstrating the difference between the effectiveness of Capitalism and Communism, especially if the latter could be kept strictly isolated – politically and economically – and US policy was to be directed quite specifically to ensure that isolation.

North Korea's devastation had been far greater than that of the South, so had its casualties. It would take North Korea many years longer to recover than South Korea, even if there was a 'level playing field' on which they were working. This would ensure that there was not such a level playing field. The North would have to rely entirely on the Soviet Union and China for any foreign aid for infrastructure redevelopment, their resources were already stretched, the level of economic development in the North was lower than that in the South even before the war, and by ensuring that there was no flow of aid funds or private investment capital to North Korea from the Western World, it would be easy indeed to show that the gap between the two Koreas was widening. That should discourage any other Asian nations from wanting to try the Socialist experiment! But in addition the favourable land tenure, resources, investment and highly disciplined labour market environments which Rhee was setting up were so attractive that Western investment would pour into the country, commercial and urban development would be greatly stimulated, and employment would rise accordingly. The gap would be unbridgeable. And there would be unrestricted access for Christian evangelists. This would strengthen the position of the churches, ensure acceptance of everything which went with the Western ethic, and accentuate the social divide between the two systems as well.

Rhee could be relied upon to pursue a pragmatic and flexible policy in economic development through foreign investment. He did – with dire consequences for the greatly exploited people. But so did his successors after he was overthrown for abuse of power in 1960. During the next three decades, the South Korean economy grew at an average annual rate of nearly 9 percent, the gross national product more than doubled in size, and per capita income increased more than a hundred fold. South Korea was transformed into an industrial powerhouse with a highly skilled labour force. The population roughly doubled between 1953 and 1993. The capital, Seoul, mushroomed from under a million in 1945 to more than 10

million 40 years later and a new commerce-based middle class emerged. Land-reform during the Rhee years, coupled with a heavy emphasis on education and new technology as a base for economic expansion, led to an end to the power of the *yangban* or landlord class, and its replacement by a new technocratic elite. But it was quite a while before women were granted legal equality with men and property ownership rights, and as in many other countries, the extended-family system collapsed, rural-to-urban migration weakened traditional family ties and led to mass urban apartment dwelling of nuclear families with fewer children. However, by the 1980s South Korea could boast of the “miracle on the Han River” and it was touted by the Capitalist West as justification for efforts to bring down the monolith of Eastern Bloc Communism and as an example of how a Capitalist approach could solve the world’s development problems – especially after the trauma of war such as Korea’s.

China’s euphoric early days under Chinese Communist Party’s rule could not last. If the CCP was going to achieve the economic reorganization which it wanted, it was going to have to take steps similar to those of the Bolsheviks after the Russian Revolution. It did, but the backlash from the people directly affected was muted somewhat by the reservoir of popular support which resulted from the very respectable showing by the Chinese Army in Korea against the fantastic might of the US military, naval and air force machine. During the three years of war, a “Resist America, Aid Korea” campaign translated the atmosphere of external threat into a spirit of sacrifice and enforced patriotic emergency at home. However there was soon plenty of abuse of the privileged classes for Western governments and media to take full advantage of.¹⁸³

... AND A VARIETY OF AIMS

From the moment Eisenhower took office, just in time to claim credit for bringing that war to a close, he left John Foster Dulles very much to run United States foreign policy, and that was exactly how Dulles wanted it. His impact was immediate. His primary aim was to consolidate America’s position of pre-eminence and dominance, and to ensure that it had access to whatever resources it wanted. Not far behind were the linked aims of restraining the Soviet Union and eliminating Communism as a competing socio-political philosophy. He was not alone in that. It was a reflection of the driving national self-understanding. The extent to which people gave voice to it, and the extent to which it was apparent in their decisions and conduct was only a matter of degree. The correctness of that position was so self-evident to Americans that few people bothered to even debate it. They had God on their side. They had earned His support. Nothing else mattered. They were going to take full advantage of it. The only difference between John Foster Dulles and the majority of American citizens was that he had the personal ability, the drive and the determination to do something about it, coupled with a position which he had achieved to be able to do so. Conciliation and coexistence were not concepts that Dulles was interested in, and he and Eisenhower both saw, very early, that their management of the Korean situation had the potential to split the Sino-Soviet relationship and that maximum pressure on Peking, not conciliation, was the way to bring it about.¹⁸⁴

Eisenhower could not see – or perhaps did not care – that in using the threat of a nuclear attack on China to bring about an armistice with the Communist and anti-Communist forces separated by a demilitarized zone and otherwise restoring the pre-war status quo he was provoking people in other countries to resort to nuclear weapons to resolve their territorial disputes and that this ensured a spiraling arms race with the United States requiring an ever bigger and more destructive arsenal, linked with fantastic site diversity, instant communications, surveillance and interception systems to keep just one step ahead of the next power. The fact that the atomic bomb was used against Japan when it was not necessary, nor justified, was bad enough. But the shock of that action, coupled with the debilitating cost of developing and maintaining such weapons, was sufficient that if the United States had taken the advice of many of the scientists who had been involved in the development of the bomb and stopped right there, world history and relationships could have taken a different and more settled course.¹⁸⁵ However several factors ensured that the Soviet Union would *either* have to develop equivalent capacity *or* quietly dismantle its socio-economic philosophy and return to the Capitalist fold. The key ones were America's decision to continue nuclear weapon development and deployment, and its deliberate actions to enhance the Cold War, to totally isolate its former vital ally, the Soviet Union, together with its buffer satellite counties, through both economic and political policies, and to use the threat of nuclear war as a device to consolidate its power over smaller countries. *Coupled with* those were the continuing efforts by (almost) the entire amorphous Christian gel to eliminate the competing political and economic philosophy or ideology of Marxist Communism.

The self-understanding of Soviet leaders, Stalin in particular, would not permit them to take the alternative course. It would have been an absolute dereliction of duty to discard the opportunity to pursue the reforms which had been made necessary by the abuse of the Capitalist system – sustained by the amorphous Christian gel – and which had been the driving motivation behind the work of Karl Marx and his colleagues. In due course it would be the realization and acceptance of the pointlessness of degrading the whole of humanity through the ultimate pursuit of a system of nuclear 'defence' and the grossly debilitating costs of the system (not only in financial terms) which would lead people both within and outside of the amorphous Christian gel to take the first steps towards limiting and, perhaps, dismantling the system. Those who were determined to remain sitting astride the human pile failed – miserably – to understand that economic systems exist or are required to sustain humanity. Humanity does not exist to sustain an economic system. Humanity's communal systems are still evolving. That process will continue for a long time yet. No one system suits every situation, nor will it ever, and to endeavour to impose one system on the whole world is neither responsible nor realistic.

For a brief period during the immediate post war years, when all discussion of the use of nuclear weapons could be kept at the level of confrontation between *ideologies*, and when it appeared to be a matter for management by the two superpowers, many people, although they were very fearful of the consequences of a nuclear war, could be persuaded by the propaganda poured out by the nuclear lobby that it was a natural and inevitable consequence of the progress

of humanity and that there was nothing they could do about it, nor was there a need to do anything about it. However, Eisenhower's threat to use nuclear weapons in what started as a localized argument (and was built into a regional conflict) simply because the mighty United States faced humiliation and the undermining of its dominance when it could not win without resorting to them, brought two new factors into play.

First: the need for second rank powers to protect their ideological independence by developing the capacity to retaliate. China's leaders, having had the threat used against them, believed that they had no option but to go down that track, even though they knew that to do so would place more strain on their resources and be more debilitating for their people in the medium term. Britain's case was a little different and much more complex but it fits in the same category. Britain was still trying to maintain the influence and self-understanding of a first rank power even though that rank had slipped out of its grasp as a result of its own decisions and actions from the moment it chose to go down the path of the *Balfour Declaration* and in doing so brought into play the Covenant of Sinai and the Qur'anic *Night Journey*. Its decision to proceed with development of its own nuclear bombs reflects two important considerations. One was its realization that, because of the division of Europe and the arming of NATO with American nuclear weapons (even though the establishment of NATO was a British initiative), it may be subject to a nuclear attack by the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union, at Stalin's initiative, had made the development of ICBMs (Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles) the basis of its defence program. It had to do so because while its principal ideological opponents, (the United States and Britain plus the Vatican), could reach key targets in the Soviet Union with bombs carried from air bases within striking distance of their targets, it could not retaliate in like manner. It was separated from targets in those countries by the full distance across Europe (and the Atlantic) in one direction or across the Bering Sea and Canada in the other direction. Hitler had shown that the technology was available for the development of long range missiles, and the Soviet Union now had to utilize it for its own defence. Britain's second consideration was that although it had been in the forefront of atomic research in the early stages of the Second World War (and had been the first to reach the conclusion that the development of an atomic bomb was feasible) it had transferred all of its technology to the United States and depended on it to finance and manage the actual development and delivery of the bomb. This meant that it had become dependent on a continuing intimate and *totally reliable* alliance with the United States in which there could be no room for territorial disagreement or other conflicts of interest. Given the nature of human relationships that was an impossible scenario. Britain had allowed itself to become subservient to the United States and that was not compatible with its somewhat battered self-understanding and national aspirations.

Second: Eisenhower had changed the thrust in the whole nuclear debate by shifting the use of nuclear weapons in localized conflicts, or in wars between immediate neighbours, out of the realm of science fiction and into the practical reality of small-power economics and politics. The genie was out of the bottle and it would not go back.

Thus, although the Korean War was important as a regional war because of the scale of death, destruction and trauma which was wrought with it, its historical significance lies in the fact that the way in which it was used as a weapon of imperialism by the United States, and the way in which the threat of the use of nuclear arms was used, changed the entire nature of the nuclear arms race, increased the prospect of inter-continental warfare, gave the United States the justification to negotiate military and communications bases around the world, and thereby enabled the United States to impose political and economic suzerainty over a number of countries in a manner which might not otherwise have been the case. It had militarized the Cold War and it had widened the playing field. It gave the United States the opportunity to assume visible responsibility for protecting the Nationalist Chinese, loosely ensconced on Taiwan, against invasion from Communist mainland China, and to justify intervention in Indochina in support of the French on the grounds that China was planning to move south. One move justified another, and another, and another. Thus it was from Korea that the pattern was established for many more conflicts, and the polarization of world affairs around the confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union was firmly in place. It would remain in place for forty years.

But Eisenhower was a team player and he had his Secretary of State to run the world for him. He had complete confidence in him to the extent that he ignored all criticism of his actions and his policies and said: "He is one of the truly great men of our time."¹⁸⁶ Therefore a brief review of John Foster Dulles' influence in that position is appropriate before a thumbnail sketch, or diary notes, of the arms race and Cold War timetable, and the changing emphasis in nuclear strategy and international relations, to illustrate the evolving world situation.

JOHN FOSTER DULLES – IN FULL FLIGHT!

Dulles viewed his appointment as secretary of state as a mandate to originate foreign policy, telling colleagues that: "The State Department can only keep control of foreign policy as long as we have ideas." He was aware that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) would be effective only in maintaining US interests in western Europe and that other organizations or alliances would be necessary for that purpose in the Middle East, the Far East, and the Pacific islands. He set out to fill those gaps. His principal mode of operation was to play on the existing level of fear of the Soviet Union and China – the same tactic which had been used to gain and to shore up alliances against Japan by Britain and the United States – and to constantly exaggerate it. The natural consequence was a steadily rising level of multi-directional antagonism which then, by action and reaction, progressively raised the actual level of danger and undermined capacity and the opportunity for people to distinguish between the reality of danger and the perception of danger. But Dulles was achieving his primary aim at every move: compounding the dominance and expanding the influence and wealth of the United States, at least in the short to medium term. He initiated the Manila conference in 1954, which resulted in the establishment of the South East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) which brought together eight nations either located in Southeast Asia or with interests there in a mutual defense

arrangement. That was followed, in 1955, by the Baghdad Pact, later renamed the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), involving the line of countries in the Middle East – Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan – which provided close-proximity bases directly threatening the Soviet Union from the south in exactly the manner of NATO in the west, and which also provided a barrier to restrict legitimate trade and contact between the Soviet Union and the rest of Asia and North Africa.

Less well known was his involvement in negotiating two treaties which made “corrections” to the map of Europe. One was the 1954 Trieste Agreement which provided for partition of the formerly free territory between Italy and Yugoslavia. The other was the Austrian State Treaty in 1955, which restored Austria’s pre-Anschluss frontiers (chapter 21) and involved undertakings that there would never be another union between the German speaking countries of Germany and Austria.

Several factors seem to have determined Dulles’ foreign policy and how he pursued it. The first was the determination that the United States should achieve and maintain a position of dominance with the world as its chess board to which, in his view, it was entitled by virtue of a special place in God’s plan. The second was his profound detestation of Communism which was repeated *ad nauseam* and which was linked to his personal approach to religion. The nature, or the basis of his faith and his attitude to religion are difficult to understand or to define. The origins of it are clear enough – his upbringing in the family of a Presbyterian clergyman – and he wore his commitment to the pre-eminence of Christianity like regalia of office. But his deliberate exploitation of his involvement in institutional religion, and the World Council of Churches in particular, as a political grandstand raises the question of which drove which: his commitment to Christ or his commitment to America and its unbridled Capitalism. The third was his powerful personality and his insistence on moulding rather than responding to public opinion. The fourth was his strong belief, as an international lawyer, in the value of treaties – a belief he shared with Pius XII and many senior members of the Vatican hierarchy. Of the four, passionate hostility to Communism was the *dominant feature* of his policy. A brief extract from the official report of the first assembly of the WCC, (from which a note was also used in chapter 28), illustrate his use of the council as a political grandstand.

Photographers’ bulbs flashed as Dr. Mott called on John Foster Dulles to open the debate on the East-West issue. He began by reminding us that the world is hopefully looking on this Assembly, whose unity-in-diversity is a combination that “is needed to save mankind from disaster.” We may respond to these hopes, first, by exposing the futility of war. War may be the lesser of two evils, but “there is no holy war,” and there is “no reason to think that a new war would accomplish any good.” The way to avoid war, according to the Oxford Conference, is to regulate social change by two great religious principles: the supremacy of moral law over man-made law, and the sanctity of every human individual. The Western democracies have revered these principles and so preserved peace within their boundaries, however far their practice has fallen short of their profession. Marxian Communism denies them both in theory and practice, and necessarily concludes that violence is inevitable. When Communist Parties “rule nearly one-quarter of the world’s population” it is exceedingly hard to organize the

*world for peace. It will not do to compromise the principles on which peace depends, nor "to use violence in order to convince people that violence ought not to be used." The only possible solution is for those who believe in moral law and human dignity to prove their faith by more effective works. The West has been living too long on its spiritual capital (Toynbee); even our good practices no longer express a great faith. Christians have a special responsibility for restoring the faith of the West, and bringing political realities into harmony with it; but they need better world organization, "remembering that God gave His Son because He loved the World, not merely the West."*¹⁸⁷

John Foster Dulles carried with him Joseph Stalin's *Problems of Leninism* wherever he went, and he impressed upon his aides the need to study it as a blueprint for conquest similar to Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. He seemed to derive personal satisfaction from pushing the Soviet Union to the brink. In fact, in 1956 he wrote in a magazine article that "if you are scared to go to the brink, you are lost." Once, during the Austrian State Treaty negotiations, he refused to compromise on some minor points, even though the Austrians themselves pleaded with him to do so for fear the Soviets would walk out. Dulles stood his ground, and the Soviets yielded.

But Dulles could be equally intransigent with the allies of the United States. His insistence upon the establishment of the European Defence Community (EDC) threatened to polarize the free world, when in 1953 he announced that failure to ratify the EDC by France would result in an "agonizing reappraisal" of the United States' relations with France. That expression – an example of bully-boy in the playground tactics at their worst – and his announcement in a Paris speech that the United States would react with "massive nuclear retaliation" to any Soviet aggression, found a permanent place in the vocabulary of US foreign policy. Similarly, in a complete reversal of his former pro-Egyptian policy, Dulles claimed that Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser was "nothing but a tin-horn Hitler." Although Dulles later conceded that his cancellation of an agreement to finance the construction of the Aswan High Dam could have been more subtle, he never shifted ground from his stated belief that Nasser, who had already purchased arms from the Soviet bloc, was bound to turn decisively against the US once he felt that he had the Soviet Union on his side.¹⁸⁸

In fact that brusque rejection, in July 1956, of President Nasser's request for aid in building the Aswan Dam led directly to the nationalization of the Suez Canal and the Suez Crisis and was a major factor aggravating the trouble in the triangle. Some observers saw it as the beginning of the end of American influence in the Middle East. In reality it made the US-Israeli alliance all the more important as, like Britain forty years before, it blundered from one event and one decision to another without realizing that it had become the key player in the drama unfolding after the Qur'anic *Night Journey* and Maimonides' understanding of the establishment of the State of Israel had come together to confirm the irrevocability of the Covenant of Sinai. He demonstrated that he had no better understanding of interfaith relations, of the *Night Journey* or of the parody of *Mein Kampf* than the church or any of the other key players involved. In the manner of a Churchill, Dulles also demonstrated his arrogant belief that, like Britain in the period between the wars and during the Second World War, the United

States could make and break international friendships at its whim from a position of power which would prevent any adverse consequences. The world was his plaything.

Real international democracy was being brought to its knees. No *people*, no *country*, was permitted to vote into being a constitution, a system of government or an economic strategy and system of resource management which was not in favour with the United States. It did not matter if they bypassed the electoral process altogether, as long as their economic system had the approbation of United States and was accessible to its advantage. And the whole process was sanctified. It was being done in the name of Christianity. Two of its brands, anyway. The Vatican brand and the Reformed brand. The mainstay of the Orthodox brand was having difficulty relating to the Reformed brand of the Dulles style. It was tending to support the Soviet approach to social development and communal responsibility and to defend the choice of styles of government. On that issue it had little choice. To do otherwise would have encouraged another round of Soviet anti-religious activity and either total or partial suppression of religious freedom of the nature that had occurred under Hitler, under Stalin, and under a series of popes as well. It was about to back the Christian Peace Conference (CPC) which was established in Czechoslovakia 1958, a year before Dulles died, as “part of the world-wide ecumenical movement ... committed to close cooperation for peace and justice with all bodies and agencies of the World Council of Churches, with confessional world associations and other ecumenical organizations.”¹⁸⁹ The prime mover behind its formation, Professor Josef Hromadka, followed Dulles to the rostrum at the WCC’s first assembly. He agreed with Dulles on the futility of a new war, but said that the West, if it was victorious, would be “unable to cope with the area now under the Soviet government,” and “the West cannot now regain the supremacy in world affairs which it had for centuries.”¹⁹⁰ (See below: *The CCP ... peeking through the curtain*)

Dulles and his boss were in complete accord that the Cold War was simply a convenient playing field on which to achieve their aims. There was no need to resolve it. It was to be manipulated to best advantage and if a mechanism could be found within it to enable a wedge to be driven between the Soviet Union and China, so much the better. But the Cold War was one of two interlocked factors which were both new to the trouble in the triangle. The other was the nuclear arms race. Therefore before we consider the progress of those two factors it is advantageous to review exactly how they arose and whether they were avoidable. That review provides a base from which to trace the threads linking those two factors through the Suez Crisis and the Six Day War – lesser beacons before the critical beacon of the Yom Kippur War and the Arab oil embargo. They will lead directly, and quite quickly, through the closing generation of the twentieth century to the crises of the present time.

FROM COLD WAR TO ARMS RACE

There were so many themes running through world affairs at that time that people could not be expected to know whether the Cold War was a factor in other developments or whether those developments were contributing to the Cold War. They were, in fact, intimately linked.

Interwoven may be a better description. The decision had been taken by the United States and Britain to develop the atomic bomb in secret and to use it as a psychological warfare weapon *against the principal ally of convenience* whose reluctant agreement to remain in the war was the key factor in Britain's ability to retain its independence. (Chapter 24) Once that decision had been taken, it was going to require goodwill, judgement and cooperation on the part of the Western Allies which they simply did not have if they were to avoid a return to – or a continuation of – the tensions between East and West which had resulted from the misconduct of the amorphous Christian gel which we have already traced. Their self-understanding and the assumptions which they made about their particular socio-economic systems being the only way to go – because they carried the blessing of the church – was a simple case of erroneous circular responses in exactly the same mould as the responses at the time of Niceae and the formulation of the earliest Trinitarian doctrines. The church and the structures of state attached themselves to each other at a time of imperial conflict (chapter 2) in a symbiotic relationship. Each was dependent upon and feeding from the other for mutual convenience and growth. What the church *said*, made what the state *did* acceptable. The state therefore returned the compliment. It provided the church with the status which the church thought it required and this institutionalized the authority with which it spoke. The church could therefore call on the state to protect its interests, and when it did so, the price was further support for the state. The spiral became tighter and tighter. The abuse of authority and the need to rely on further manipulation of doctrine to support both parties became greater and greater, and the situation continued to deteriorate until there was some relief when Luther was called upon to swing his hammer.

The actions taken by the United States and the Vatican in Italy, and by the United States and the Reformed Churches in Japan (chapter 27) indicate that the situation was no different at the end of the Second World War. There was, unfortunately, a tendency among Western politicians and commentators to view world affairs as if everything started afresh with the end of the Second World War. It was no coincidence. Conservative politicians went out of their way to persuade people that the world had entered a new era, that the slate was clean, everything that happened prior to the war had been swept away and people should forget about it all and move forward. They succeeded in quite large measure in the West with the help of massive public relations misrepresentation; a compliant press which was not really in a position to do much else; a Roman Catholic Church which was riding to recovery on their bandwagon; and a cowered Reformed church which was desperately trying to work out its way forward. This was especially transparent to the rest of the world in the case of the Russian buffer zone and the nuclear arms race. The first example, the buffer zone, was not new. The second, the nuclear arms race, certainly was. But there was a continuum in world affairs such that the events of the 1940s were related very closely to the events of the 1840s. The fundamental issues which prompted the development of Marxist economic, political and social theory were the exploitation of people by those who controlled the means of production and distribution, the Capitalists, and the way in which that exploitation was integrated with, and sanctified by the church as the dominant religious power of the day. The fundamental issues which now

prompted the Cold War and the associated nuclear arms race were the same. The *emphasis* had changed and the *focus* had changed. The *parties* to the *process* of exploitation had changed, and the *site* of exploitation had changed. But the *fundamentals* had not. Exploitation of one segment of humanity by another. And the nuclear arms race had more to do with exploitation than defence. To trace the links and the pattern of conduct, and to grasp how it relates to the trouble in the triangle it is necessary to briefly revisit some of those earlier issues and then move forward again.

In the earlier events (the round of revolutions of the mid 19th century and the formulation of Marxist theory) the exploitation was of the labour force employed within the *domestic* structures of the capitalist economies. In this sense ‘employers’ includes governments, notably the Russian monarchy, and semi-feudal landowners as well as commercial enterprises, and the ‘labour force’ includes men enlisted in the armed forces as well as rural and industrial workers. In the later events (the spread of applied Marxism beyond the country in which it was first applied, and the push for decolonization) the exploitation was no longer of the domestic workforce, it was of the people and resources of *foreign* or *non-Western* countries. People in the West – in the amorphous Christian gel – were therefore less aware of the scale or the impact of that exploitation. Overall they did not regard it as exploitation at all because, in their view, it was still the right of the white Christian West to command and to exploit all that, and all those, who lay beyond the white Western Christian world. And, in any case, they were persuaded by their leaders, many of whom were eager to demonstrate just how ‘Christian’ the West was, that *all* of the world’s resources were to be available to everyone, but not necessarily to be shared equally.

During the intervening period the situation had changed substantially, partly due to more enlightened thinking by those who dominated the economy, and partly due to more enlightened policies introduced by governments. But in both cases the more enlightened conduct was due to a combination of the influence of economists and philosophers whose work has already been discussed, and the fear of either industrial warfare or political revolution in the wake of further industrialization, the degradation of the First World War, and the Great Depression. But at the same time, in the one country which had tried the Marxist approach to economic and social management, the Soviet Union, the trial had brought very mixed results.

On one hand there was progress in many aspects of the country’s life and, overall, its economy was at a much higher stage, relative to the European West, than it had been under the Tsarist regime. In 1913 Russia ranked fifth in industrial output. By 1937 its industrial output was second only to the United States. In the West, people did not talk much about that. It was an embarrassment because it supported the case for central planning and central direction of the use of resources and space. It supported Marxist theory. A redistribution of wealth had been achieved concurrent with greatly increased productivity and a higher overall standard of living and, broadly, the elimination of poverty. According to the Capitalist West that was not supposed to happen! Most of that development had occurred during the first ten years of Stalin’s dictatorship, from 1928.¹⁹¹ And that national development had been achieved in spite of the

vigorous and direct intervention by the Capitalist West to stir up and to assist a major civil war in an attempt to forestall the experiment before it even began. The civil war was followed by both war-induced famine and continuing policies of harassment aimed at isolating the Soviet Union economically and politically so that, whether it wished to or not, it was forced into a largely self-sufficient mode for its development.

On the other hand its repressive leader who had achieved a position of dictatorship just as absolute as Hitler, had orchestrated a sustained program of purges, repression and butchery against his own people. Best estimates indicate that the legalized savagery accounted for between 18 and 19 million deaths between 1930 and 1938. (See chapter 24, *Russia's crisis of leadership*, for details.) There had been nothing in previous human history to compare with it. There has been nothing since. And it involved the elimination or suppression of an entire sector of civil society, the wealthy elite, who had provided most of the leaderships of the Russian Orthodox Church. It was therefore very easy for politicians, investors and writers in the West to claim that the economic advances had only been made possible by – and had been dependent upon – exploitation and repression of the people and their rights. Their task in attacking Marxist theory was made even easier by the heavy emphasis which the government had placed on industrial development in a deliberate bid to catch up with the West, for very sound defence reasons, and to provide a base for future production of consumer and domestic goods. It was a case of realistic and effective planning to provide for the long term needs of the population and to offset the earlier period of neglect and exploitation. But in the meantime the people had to do without some of the consumer items which were becoming the daily fare of the general population in the West.

However Russia's purge was very much Stalin's personal initiative and responsibility, carried out by officials and party operatives around him who owed their positions and their lives (and deaths in many cases) to him. It was therefore directly comparable to Germany's Holocaust: Hitler's personal initiative and responsibility, carried out by officials and party operatives around him who owed their positions and their lives (and deaths in many cases) to him. But personal responsibility goes only so far. The organizations and systems which sustain any leader or leaders which commit gross crimes against humanity, and which enable or permit them to stay in office and to implement such programs must share the responsibility. Therefore the people and the systems of National Socialism in Germany, and Communism _as implemented in the Soviet Union, must share the responsibility. The Western powers, having flirted with National Socialism until the war, were quick to drop it and to denigrate it once the war started. The major segments of the church, (the Vatican-based Catholic _Church and the Reich Protestant Church) were not. The Western powers, having only _forged an alliance with Communist Russia to serve their own interests, were then equally quick in dropping it, denigrating it and isolating it when the war ended and it had served _its purpose. In this case the church was a little more consistent. It had trenchantly opposed the adoption of Communism in Russia from the start, because of the challenge which it posed to the church's self-understanding and theology, and it was very eager to forge an alliance with the Western powers to bring it

down *after* the war, having failed to persuade them to make it their primary target instead of Nazi Germany *during* the war. (Chapters 20, 24 & 27) Like it or not, the church-at-large, and the Vatican in particular, have to live with being labelled as the *fabric* of the amorphous Christian gel and a major factor in the development of the Cold War.

MISCONDUCT, ITS CONSEQUENCES AND THE BEACON OF BARBAROSSA

However, as we have seen, the misconduct of the amorphous Christian gel, coupled with the self-understanding, doctrine and policies of the church which were the fabric which determined the nature of the gel, provided the initiative for the development of both Marxist Communism (chapter 14) and National Socialism (chapter 18). Therefore, because, in each case, they were, first, a consequence of the misconduct of the gel and, second, a very direct challenge to both the church and the gel, the church and its gel must also share responsibility for the *fact* that those enormous tragedies occurred. Put another way: if the misconduct of the amorphous Christian gel had not occurred, then neither Marxist Communism nor National Socialism would have evolved. The remarkable relationship between Britain and the Soviet Union, manipulated by Churchill with absolutely no regard for the lessons of history or the integrity which Christian Britain – led by the Defender of the Faith – was supposed to exemplify thus provides an excellent illustration of the parody of *Mein Kampf*.

This introduces another issue to ponder: the alternative scenarios in the event that Russia had not been able to withstand Operation Barbarossa and eventually roll the Nazi forces back towards Germany. There are basically two. The first is that Russia may have sued for peace prior to the German occupation of Moscow (instead of only talking about it). The second is that the German armies may have occupied Moscow after defeating the defending Soviet armies or forcing their evacuation.

In the first case, if Stalin had sued for peace, Hitler would have driven a hard bargain, based on the aims on which he had briefed senior colleagues, and which had somehow been leaked to Moscow. This included the annexation or suzerain control over an enormous slab of territory to provide all of the *Lebensraum* which he had aimed for – his version of a contiguous suzerain empire. He would have left the Soviet Russia to get on with the job of governing the vast bulk of its enormous territory. Hitler would have then been free to concentrate on his higher priorities. As much as he hated Communism, it was only his third priority to eliminate it as a political force. His higher priorities were to gain Germany's *Lebensraum*, and to expel all Jews from Europe, thus eliminating Judaism as a religious force on the continent. Having gained one, *Lebensraum*, he could concentrate on the other, and at the same time he would be able to turn the vast might of the Reich Armies against Britain which had stood in the way of his top priorities.

In the second case, Hitler would not have done what he had previously threatened – raze Moscow and wipe it off the map. The massive industrial capacity which it offered would have been far more important to his plans. It would have greatly increased his capacity to wage war

against Britain and whoever else he wished. He was not only well aware of that: he was planning on it, so that on October 2, 1941, in announcing the launching of *Operation Typhoon* he broadcast to the world that: "Today begins the last great decisive battle of the war" and Germany was shortly to have "the three greatest industrial districts of the Bolsheviks" completely in her hands. This meant, he said, that: "At last we have created the prerequisites for the final, tremendous blow which, before the onset of winter, will lead to the destruction of the enemy."¹⁹² Five days later Stalin ordered the second approach to the Bulgarian ambassador to initiate armistice negotiations with Hitler. But in this second scenario, if Hitler had occupied Moscow without the total defeat of the Soviet Union, because the government had already withdrawn from Moscow to an alternative location before he got there, Hitler would *not* have been able to withdraw the bulk of the Reich Army for an assault against Britain. It would have been tied down, required to defend his occupation against counter-attack, not only to recover Moscow, but along the entire 1,300 mile front from Leningrad on the Gulf of Finland to Stalingrad and the Caspian Sea. The re-grouped Soviet forces were already being directed from the temporary Soviet capital which would have been secure and protected by an alternative defensive line behind which the Soviet reserves would have prepared for an assault on the Germans occupying Moscow or wherever they wished.

In either case Communism would *not* have been eliminated as a political force. To achieve that, Hitler would have had to occupy not only White Russia as far as Moscow, (which was as far as he got, about five per cent of the area of the Soviet Union), but virtually the entire land mass. That was greater than the total area of North America and second only to the land mass of the continent of Africa. That was simply not realistic. He knew it, and his announced aim was to occupy only Russia-in-Europe, as far as the Ural Mountains. Therefore neither Hitler nor the Vatican would have seen that aspect of their priorities achieved.

However it was the first scenario which Britain feared most: an armistice which would cut the Soviet Union out of the war games and leave Hitler free to turn his wrath against Britain by greatly strengthening his push south, through the Balkans or the Caucasus, cutting all of its normal lines of communication for defence and trade with the Far East, and from the oil resources of the Middle East, via the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal. The Soviet Union's capacity to resist Operation Barbarossa and its will to stay in the war were therefore of vital importance to Britain as it perceived its interests at that time. We have already noted that the continuation and escalation of the war as a consequence of decisions taken by Britain at several critical points left it, and the world-at-large, in a much more parlous state at the end of the war than if the alternative decisions (to end the war by armistice negotiations) had been taken. Its decision to pressure the Soviet Union and to support it to keep it in the war and to see off Operation Barbarossa instead of negotiating a territorial settlement with Hitler was in the same category. It influenced the way in which the Cold War and the arms race developed and it complicated the trouble in the triangle greatly.

It is a virtual certainty that *if* the crash program of national development which Stalin pushed through during the 1930s (in spite of such strenuous Western opposition) *at the same time* that

Hitler was preparing *his* challenge had not been so strikingly effective, Russia would have succumbed to *Operation Barbarossa* and sued for peace on the basis of the loss of a big slab of territory. Put another way, if Soviet Russia had achieved only a lower level of industrialization it would not have had the capacity to resist the onslaught of Barbarossa. In that case Hitler would have been free to unleash his full force against Britain, either by cutting off its access to its empire or by a frontal assault. The British government and the United States governments both knew that in such circumstances Britain would be forced to capitulate. This knowledge of imminent defeat for Britain is why Churchill and his government were so desperate to keep Russia in the war by sacrificing some of their own production and some of the promised American Lend Lease production. (Chapter 24)

In that sense, the relationship between Britain and the Soviet Union in the Second World War was a re-run of the First World War. Some of the earlier participants were deceased and others had changed their roles. On the Russian side, the Tsar, Lenin and Trotsky had all gone. On the British side Lloyd George, and Balfour had gone, and Churchill had moved up from cabinet member to prime minister. And in Germany the Kaiser had gone and Hitler was in his place.

CHURCHILL'S ATTITUDE: NO BASIS FOR COOPERATION

In his various roles as a cabinet minister during the First World War, Churchill had first tried to prop up the capitalistic, exploitative Tsarist Orthodox Christian monarchy to keep it in the war against the equally Christian German monarchy which had simply wanted to split the spoils of the Muslim Middle East with Britain. Then he had tried to prevent the new-born revolutionary Bolshevik government from making its own peace with Germany. When that failed he tried to run it out of office. In the Second World War Russia, transformed into the Soviet Union, was again very close to capitulating and, even with the enormous scale of its industrial production, it was only able to keep going because of British cajoling and US Lend Lease aid. It follows that Britain's ability to remain independent at that stage was due in very large measure to the strength of Stalin's crash program of industrialization which had been carried out *as a reaction* to the British-sponsored intervention during the First War and continuing deep Western antagonism. This is one of the ironies of the parody of *Mein Kampf*.

Extracts from Martin Gilbert's *Churchill: A Life*, illustrate, in sequence, Churchill's total preoccupation with the preservation of Britain's power; his determination to manipulate anyone to that end; his disregard for human life and suffering; and his double standards on what constituted a war crime and leadership responsibility. We have already seen the influence which his decisions had on the course and escalation of the Second World War and in reinforcing the trouble in the triangle, but these extracts indicate the way in which he helped prepare the groundwork for that phase. They also illustrate the background which Stalin would have had in his mind – imprinted indelibly – when he was planning for the Soviet Union's security after the war, and the 'buffer zone' which became the justification, or the excuse, for America's bid to

isolate the Soviet Union from the Marshall Plan, and the subsequent Cold War politics.(Chapter 27; *the Marshall Plan; the Dulles Policy; Division!*)

As 1917 came to an end, Churchill's energies [as Minister for Munitions] focused on [the coming] 1918 campaign. But now a new danger loomed: in Russia, a Bolshevik Government, coming to power at the beginning of November, declared that it would make peace with Germany. Once this happened, the Germans would be able to transfer vast numbers of troops from the Eastern to the Western Front, giving them a marked superiority in numbers. Greatly alarmed, on 19 January 1918 Churchill sent Lloyd George an appeal, begging him to ensure that the army was brought to 'full strength' at once. ... "A defeat here will be fatal." [Then, pressing for men to be shifted from the navy, munitions production, the home army and civil life to the army, he wrote:] "Stint food and commercial imports to increase shells, aeroplanes and tanks. ... The Germans are a terrible foe, & their generals are better than ours." ¹⁹³

On the Eastern Front, the Bolsheviks ... made their peace with Germany. Churchill cast about for some means of persuading them to re-enter the war, and re-active the Eastern Front. If the Bolsheviks could be 'induced' to make common cause with Romania, he wrote to the War Cabinet [on April 4, 1918], and jointly attack Germany, that would be the moment to send to Moscow 'representatives of the Allies, of sufficient weight to give the Bolshevik Government a new element of stability and a means of reaching a working arrangements with the other classes of Russian society.'

The decision was taken almost immediately to 'induce' the Bolsheviks to re-enter the war and re-active the Eastern Front in common cause with Romania. The inducement included bribes to anti-Bolshevik officers and the despatch of British forces to back them up. The number of British forces fighting with those White Russian anti-Bolshevik counter-revolutionaries was progressively built up to 14,000 troops. They were a small contingent in a total of 180,000 non-Russians drawn from the United States, Japan, France, Czechoslovakia, Serbia, Greece and Italy who were deployed with 300,000 anti-Bolshevik Russian troops, but British officers were prominent in the command structure. Seven British generals held military commands in North Russia, Siberia and Southern Russia.

Churchill was convinced that Britain and the Bolsheviks could make common cause. 'Let us never forget that Lenin and Trotsky are fighting with ropes around their necks. They will leave office for the grave. Show them any real chance of consolidating their power, of getting some kind of protection against the vengeance of a counter-revolution, and they would be non-human not to embrace it. They must, however, be forced by events and aided by foreigners. Without external aid and countenance they can do nothing. Hitherto they have had other hopes but these have utterly failed, and self-preservation will force them to tread a path which is also ours if they can be helped to gain it.' ¹⁹⁴ [Emphasis added.]

Britain's forces and its generals in the anti-Bolshevik command structure were some of the strongest strands in the 'ropes around their necks.'

Churchill sought every possible means of bringing pressure to bear on the German forces. A day before his suggestion of a deal with Lenin, [on April 3] he had written to Loucheur [the

French minister responsible for munitions] about the need to continue the manufacture of mustard-gas shells, telling him he was 'in favor of the greatest possible development of gas warfare, and of the fullest utilization of winds, which favour us so much more than the enemy.' Within a month, more than a third of the shells fired by the British Army were mustard-gas shells. [Emphasis added. Hitler, then a despatch-runner corporal, was gassed on October 14, 1918, only weeks before the end of the war. Chapter 18]¹⁹⁵

In July, when the gas warfare was approaching its peak, an industrial dispute broke out in several British tank factories because of the way in which men were being transferred from job to job and factory to factory against their will. When Churchill proposed to force the strikers back to work by withdrawing their exemption from military service, the Deputy PM, Bonar Law, opposed such use of the Military Service Act 'as an agent in an industrial dispute,' but Lloyd George acted on Churchill's advice. He issued a statement, from Downing Street, that all strikers would be liable to be sent to the front. That meant that they would have been in the trenches to 'catch' the gas shells coming the other way: from the German lines. The strike collapsed.¹⁹⁶ That use of brutal and coercive industrial laws on Churchill's recommendation was ten years before Stalin seized absolute power and was in a position to do the same to the Russian people.

IMPERIALISM AT ITS WORST

The presence of foreign armies under British command in the civil war rather upset the Bolsheviks, and on August 31, a number of Bolshevik soldiers forced their way into the British embassy in Petrograd in protest. They confronted the Naval Attaché, Captain Francis Cromie, who shot three of them dead and was then killed himself. Churchill happened to know Cromie personally and, describing him as "a very gifted man of exceptionally high professional attainments" he wrote to the War Cabinet to urge that the perpetrators of the crime be pursued with "tireless perseverance."

Reprisals upon various Bolshevik nonentities who happen to be in our hands are of no real use, though they should be by no means excluded. The only policy which is likely to be effective, either for the past or the future, is to mark down the personalities of the Bolshevik Government as the objects upon whom justice will be executed, however long it takes, and to make them feel that their punishment will become an important object of British policy to be held steadily in view through all the phases of the war and the settlement. ... The exertions which a nation is prepared to make to protect its individual representatives or citizens from outrage is one of the truest measures of its greatness as an organized state. The fact that men are dying in thousands in fair war must not deaden us to the entirely different character of an act of this kind.

At its meeting on September 4 the War Cabinet decided to send a telegram to the Soviet Government 'threatening reprisals' against Trotsky, Lenin, and 'the leaders of the Government' if the lives of British subjects were not henceforth safeguarded.¹⁹⁷

At that time Stalin was spreading his efforts over two roles: Commissar (Minister) for Nationalities, and politco-military leader on various fronts of the civil war.

That Churchillian memorandum must stand as one of the most abject illustrations of Western imperial self-understanding. What was the Russian government's crime? Wanting to safeguard its people from further death and destruction in a war which resulted from the greed of other nations for the resources of people in yet another region? Hardly a crime. Wanting to organize their country in a manner and on a philosophical basis different to, and less exploitative than, the systems of the dominant countries? Hardly a crime. Britain and its collaborators were the invaders: not Soviet Russia. For once the situation was simple. The invading countries were drawn together in an alliance of convenience to prevent the spread or consolidation of a challenge to their preferred system. It appears that the 'crime' for which the Bolshevik government ministers were to be punished was their refusal to bow to Britain's interests. Which leaders had committed a crime against humanity: the ones who did not have direct control over the actions of a troop of soldiers who confronted a foreign official who promptly shot three of them; or the ones who proposed and authorized the mass use of biological warfare gas against tens of thousands of soldiers who represented a threat to their position of privilege? The philosophy behind that memorandum was exactly the same as that which gave Napoleon III the opportunity to invade Indochina on the trumped-up excuse of an attack on French churchmen (chapter 15); or which gave the United States the right to have Perry parade his gunboat diplomacy in Japan (chapter 15); or MacArthur and the Allies, later, to set up a number of 'exemplary' leadership war crimes trials in Japan to focus world attention on the depravity of the vanquished and the superior Christian ethics of the victors – avoiding at all times the suggestion that their own massive crimes against humanity should be judged on the same basis.

On November 26, 1918, eight months after trying to persuade the Bolsheviks to re-enter the war, immediately before Britain sent its troops in to subjugate them, and less than three months after the Petrograd incident, Churchill said in a speech to his constituents that: "Civilization is being completely extinguished over gigantic areas, while *Bolsheviks hop and caper like troops of ferocious baboons amid the cities and the corpses of their victims.*"¹⁹⁸ [Emphasis added.] Wonderful rabble rousing electioneering. Just a trifle wide of the mark. It was Britain and its Allies who were provoking the situation which Churchill sought to exaggerate with such extravagance, and it was their troops who were causing much of the carnage. Churchill's totally un-called for remark was in the same class, and just as provocative to those who were its target, as his infamous and intemperate remark about the Indian civil rights leader Mahatma Gandhi. Churchill said he was "nauseated to see Mr. Gandhi, an Inner Temple lawyer, now become a seditious fakir of a type well known in the East, striding half naked up the steps of the viceregal palace while he was still organizing and conducting a defiant campaign of civil disobedience, to parley on equal terms with the representatives of the King-Emperor."¹⁹⁹ (Chapter 20)

Then on December 31, 1918, having been elevated to Secretary of State for War and Air, and being directly responsible for the conduct of Britain's continuing military operations in Russia, Churchill told a War Cabinet meeting which had been called specially to formulate British

ongoing policy against the Bolsheviks that he was “all for negotiation” but he considered that there was no chance of securing a satisfactory settlement “unless it is known we had the power and the will to enforce our views.” He said that if the Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik Russians “were ready to come together we should help them” but otherwise Britain should use force “to restore the situation and set up a democratic government.”²⁰⁰ Six weeks later, being Britain’s representative at the Paris Peace Conference, Churchill proposed to the Council of Ten (countries aligned against Russia) that it should at least examine what the military problems of intervention might be. Having been supported by the Italian and Japanese Foreign Ministers, he then advised Lloyd George that he intended to ask the council to set up a commission “to prepare, out of the resources that are available, a war plan against the Bolsheviks.”

That is hardly a personal record which would have given Stalin confidence (*after* he had lifted the country by its economic bootstraps with one hand, and suppressed civil rights and wreaked the kind of vengeance which Churchill claimed was afflicting Russia in 1918 with the other) to accept any advice from the man about Hitler’s intentions to invade his country. Neither would he have been eager to negotiate an agreement to continue the war against Hitler, using British and American aid, when he knew very well that the primary purpose of that aid was the self-preservation of the donors, *not* the considered and genuine support for his country, its people and its form of government. At the time of *Operation Barbarossa* Stalin also knew that the very strong overall position of the United States was that it *would not* go to Britain’s aid if an invasion was threatened and it was forced to seek an armistice or was defeated on the field of battle, but that it *would* take offensive action in its own interests, in Europe if necessary, *after* Hitler had defeated Britain and was directly threatening the interests of the United States. That was public knowledge and public sentiment. (Chapter 24.)

There was absolutely no chance of the US intervening on the side of the Soviet Union. Material aid in the circumstances was one thing. The US arms and related industries were eager to grow wealthy through it. Direct military intervention was another matter altogether. It was barely twenty years since American troops had vacated Russian soil after its abortive military adventure in anti-Bolshevism – together with Britain and a host of other countries – and it was most unlikely that they would be welcome to set foot again in case their objective changed in mid-action, prompted by more ‘divine’ encouragement from the Vatican. Roosevelt had exchanged personal representatives with the Pius XII at Christmas 1939. The president and Myron Taylor subsequently had to talk fast to persuade the pope and the Catholic hierarchy in the US that Lend Lease Aid was acceptable and to avoid the church taking a public stand against it. If it would not change sides altogether, Pius XII wanted the United States to take advantage of Hitler’s “*high minded gallantry in defence of the foundations of Christian culture*” and follow Franco’s example in permitting the organization of an anti-Bolshevik ‘Blue Division’ in which the volunteers wore prints and medallions with the image of Our Lady of Fatima, to fight *with Nazi forces* on the Russian frontier. (Chapter 24) *Operation Barbarossa* is therefore one of the key beacons.

BARBAROSSA: ...

If Hitler had succeeded in Operation Barbarossa, either by defeating the Soviet Union's armies on the field of battle or by forcing an armistice, the entire scenario would have changed. Not just the scenario of the Second World War, but that of the entire trouble in the triangle. Britain would have been faced with two alternatives: fight on with overwhelming odds stacked against it and be forced into a humiliating submissive armistice, or negotiate a less humiliating armistice immediately. Given the political circumstances in Britain at the time (chapter 24) it is highly unlikely that Churchill would have remained prime minister and equally likely that a new government would have entered negotiations immediately. Hitler would have secured all of the *Lebensraum* which he wanted in Eastern Europe and he would have promptly removed all of the Jews from that area. However these events were all some time before Hitler's decision for a Final Solution. He had been brutalizing the Jews in the occupied areas; the labour camps were filling fast; and the death rates were alarmingly high, but the Final Solution had not even been planned. It was not until July 31 that Göring issued a special directive known as '*the Fuhrer Order on the Final Solution.*' That was five weeks after Barbarossa, and, because of Pearl Harbour, it was not until January 1942 that a conference could be held to begin to put it into effect. (Chapters 24 & 25)

As master of Europe, Hitler could have simply *demand*ed the emigration of the entire Jewish population to those countries which had refused to cooperate at the Evian Conference, and to Russia's BiraBidzhan autonomous Jewish region which was well out of his way. If the Evian nations *outside* of Europe agreed, and if the Jewish community departed: no Holocaust. A lot of trauma, certainly. And the Vatican would have been even more arrogant in its insistence that the Jewish community existed only to prove that the Christian Church (Vatican version) is the sole authorized representative on earth of the Triune God. As a consequence of that attitude it is unlikely that the refugees would have been given a cordial welcome. The *Dunera* experience and the Australian government's response to a request for organized resettlement clearly suggests otherwise. (Chapter 24) It must be assumed that the level of anti-Semitism would have risen in an antagonistic reaction to people having the hated Jews imposed on them (at a time of food, clothing and other restrictions in many of those countries) and the trouble in the triangle *would not* have gone away. It would have simply taken a quite different course.

The circumstances and the immediate role of the Jewish community in a radically different Diaspora would have taken a different course, too, and the challenge to the church would have developed in a different way. It would most certainly *not* have gone away. The Covenant of Sinai was still firmly in place. The Qur'anic Night Journey had already been triggered; the war of Gog and Magog was in progress; the worst of Hell had not been experienced; and Maimonides' expectation of the return to Israel was still on hold. Could it have arrived quietly? It is possible, but highly unlikely because there was no understanding of the relationship between the three faiths or the cause of the trouble in the triangle and therefore the pressure points would simply have moved elsewhere and the pressure would still have been on the

Jewish Community. The Zionist Movement would have, naturally, maintained its pressure for unrestricted migration to Palestine and for the establishment of a Jewish state.

On the other hand, if the Evian countries refused to accept the Jewish refugees, the situation would have almost certainly unfolded as it did, in the actual event, with the Holocaust tinged with probably even more venom as Hitler reacted to yet another rejection. What would have the Western powers done? That would have been up to the United States. It was the only power – sitting in grand isolation and simply supplying the ammunition for the European powers to fire at each other. Its direct intervention can certainly not be assumed. France, one of the two partners which declared war against Germany, was already totally subjugated and Britain had even destroyed its fleet. Britain, the principal protagonist, was so close to defeat that it could do nothing except try to rally its few remaining supporters around it and at best, even with greatly increased assistance from the United States, it could have done no more than try to fight its way back onto the continent and go through another performance similar to that which it had already been through.

In such circumstances, if Britain had sought to negotiate an armistice, clearly under duress and with the whole world watching, the first piece of silver which Hitler probably would have demanded was the return of the former German colonies in Africa and the Pacific. It would have been quite impossible for Britain to revert to the Peel Plan or to sustain any proposal for accelerated Jewish settlement in Palestine. A review of a few diary entries indicates why. The longer the war continued, the more difficult it became for Britain to resolve the crisis and to retain its grip on its empire. But these entries also indicate how different the overall course of world events could have been *if* the British cabinet, already divided over Churchill's leadership (chapter 24), had bitten the bullet, overridden him or forced him from office, and sought an armistice. They also suggest that Soviet Russia's involvement in the trouble in the triangle could have changed very significantly.

Tsarist Russia had been as trenchantly anti-Semitic as any country in Europe (chapters 15, 16) but the situation changed dramatically in the early days of the Bolshevik Republic. Jews achieved a new level of recognition and prominence in civil life, as is shown by the way that they were subject to Britain's gross and unscrupulous manipulation in its Balfour Declaration manoeuvres (chapter 16), and the new government sought to redress the anti-Semitic excesses of the Tsarist regime. (Chapter 18) However the relationship soon deteriorated badly, not directly in terms of anti-Semitism but in terms of anti-Zionism, although in the circumstances it is impossible to separate the two factors quite as simply as that. Stalin's campaigns against the Jewish community-at-large were very brutal. They have been the subject of many books, and there is no question that the responsibility rests basically on him. However the responsibility must be shared by the churches and the governments of Western Europe and their communities because the rise of Zionism was a direct response to their anti-Semitism. (Chapters 15, 16) Thus Zionism, once initiated and established, would not simply dissipate, but, if Britain had been knocked out of the war, or had negotiated its way out through an armistice – in either case losing control of Palestine – the prospects for a Jewish state or a less formal Jewish homeland in

accordance with the Balfour Declaration would have died with Britain's control of Palestine. This means that although Jewish *aspirations* for a homeland there would have remained, the political effort to achieve it *at that time* would have subsided. It would have been 'on hold' or in abeyance until such time that circumstances led to its reappearance.

In the circumstances such a subsidence in the vigour of Zionism would have contributed to a rapid change in the political and social environment in the Soviet Union. Stalin had beaten most of the organized Zionist activity out of existence before the war started but it was renewed by the influx of Jewish refugees from the Eastern Europe with the outbreak of war. The Jewish population of the Soviet Union was about three million before the outbreak of war but by the time of Barbarossa it was about five million. About 1.2 million were absorbed in the joint German-Soviet annexation of Poland; an additional 300,000 trekked in as refugees from German occupied areas; an estimated 280,000 were absorbed when the Romanian provinces of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina were incorporated in June 1940; and another 265,000 when the Baltic States of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania were annexed.

When Barbarossa was launched most of those who were not trapped and slaughtered or transported to German labour camps trekked east, further into Soviet territory. With Britain still in the war a high percentage of the refugees naturally clung to the hope that they might find Zion at the end of the rainbow yet, and those who showed any Zionist tendencies were among the first to join the enormous numbers of detainees already in Soviet labour camps. Reports indicate that "a sizeable percentage" of the 400,000 newly acquired Soviet subjects who were sent to labour or concentration camps were Jews.²⁰¹ It is reasonable to assume that if Britain was out of the war and there was no prospect of finding a home in Palestine, those people would have been more welcome, more eager to stay and settle, and that their contribution to the development of the Soviet Union to the east of the regions which were controlled by Germany would have been even more significant. Hitler would have pressed the Soviet Union to accept the total Jewish population of occupied Europe – and that was most of it – and with the natural tendency of immigrants and refugees from a common ethnic heritage to settle together, it is highly likely that the BiraBidzhan scheme would have become a success and not a failure. And in addition, with Belarus and the Western Ukraine lost to Germany; with many industries therefore forfeited altogether; with many more partly dismantled and being reconstructed on new secure sites further east; and with a substantial proportion of the Soviet Union's most productive agricultural land also lost to Hitler, the need for rapid redevelopment was urgent. The technical and professional skills which the Jewish refugees possessed would have been of enormous benefit to their new country – as they were wherever the survivors eventually settled. Thus, not only would the domestic relationships within the Soviet Union would have been substantially revised, the balance of Jewish populations across the Diaspora would have been quite different, and the post war relationships between the West and the Soviet Union could have been very different indeed. But none of that happened. Stalin was talked out of his bid for an armistice, so we turn to those key dates hinging around Barbarossa and his aborted armistice discussions.

... A DATE WITH DESTINY ...

~ **1939**

~ October.

~ 11: Sachs proposed to Roosevelt that the US should develop an atomic bomb to dispose of Hitler.

~ 21: First meeting of the President's Advisory Committee on Uranium.

~ 28: Pius XII issued *Summi Pontificatus* (Darkness over the Earth) with absolutely no encouragement for Jewish rights. (Chapter 23)

~ November

~ 1: Pius XII issued *Sertum Laetitiae*, the special American encyclical, calling for special joint efforts for peace by the US and the Vatican so that "attempts with which the enemies secretly banded together seek to pull down the Scepter of Christ (may) be a spur to us to work in union for the establishment and advancement of His reign."

~ December

~ Roosevelt exchanged personal representatives with Pius XII, who stepped up pressure against the Soviet Union while the Vatican press stepped up pressure against the Jews.

~ **1940**

~ July

~ A note from the Mufti for Hitler was handed to von Pappen who gave *no* encouragement for the Arabs to expect strong German support or intervention in Arab-Jewish affairs. Relations with the Arab states was a matter for Italy. While the Arabs did not want Italian intervention, given the Vatican's relations with Mussolini, they had no reason to fear that there would be Italian pressure for accelerated Jewish settlement.

~ August

~ Another Arab approach was made to obtain a German declaration consistent with Arab aspirations and their right to solve the Jewish problem in Palestine in a manner which conformed to the national interests of the Arabs, and proposing the resumption of diplomatic ties between Iraq and Germany; a favourable position for Germany in the Iraqi oil industry; and the resumption of the anti-British revolt in Palestine and Transjordan, for which logistical and financial support was requested. No conclusive arrangements were agreed because of the state of relations between Germany, Italy and Vichy France. (Chapter 24)

~ **1941**

~ January

~ The Arabs were still pressing for talks with Hitler.

~ March

~ 1: Bulgaria 'adhered' to the Tripartite Pact (unknown to the Soviet Union).

~ April

~ Iraq broke with Britain and sought urgent support from Germany to ensure its independence.

- ~ May
- ~ Hitler supplied aircraft to support Iraq against the British, but to no avail.
- ~ **June**
- ~ ²²: **Operation Barbarossa.**
- ~ July
- ~ 7: With Roosevelt's authority, and by arrangement with Britain, United States troops occupied Iceland.
- ~ 9: Roosevelt announced that no American soldiers would fight in a *European* war.
- ~ **12: Anglo-Soviet Mutual Assistance Agreement.** Each government agreed not to enter into a separate peace with Germany, and Roosevelt then 'did a Churchill,' approving a declaration by the US State Department that to give aid to the Communist power would benefit American security.
- ~ 14: Britain's assessment committee advised the government that an atomic bomb was feasible and recommended that it proceed to the development stage forthwith.
- ~ 16: Hitler 'reminded' senior ministers and officials of his aims in the newly conquered lands. Germany would dominate the Russian territory *up to the Urals*; the entire Baltic was to be incorporated into Germany; the Crimea was to be evacuated by all foreigners and settled by Germans only, as Reich territory; the Kola Peninsula and its large nickel mines would be taken by Germany; Finland would be annexed, with caution, as a federated territory; Leningrad would be razed and the area then handed over to the Finns; German colonies on the Volga would be annexed outright; the Baku oil fields would become a German concession; and the army was to be assisted by the specialist Einsatzgruppen in the task of eliminating Commissars and rounding up the Jews for transport to the labour camps or for any appropriate treatment.
- ~ 20: Anglo-Soviet naval cooperation took effect when a British mine layer began operations to disrupt German supply routes to the German-Soviet front. Three days later a task force of two aircraft carriers, two cruisers and six destroyers was despatched to join that action.
- ~ 21: First long-range air raid on Moscow.
- ~ 24: Japanese troops landed in Indochina by arrangement with Vichy French authorities.
- ~ **25:** Britain and Russia jointly occupied the oil regions of Iran in anticipation of another German leapfrog in the Middle East.

First Armistice discussions: German-Russian front was close to (but did not include) Leningrad, Smolensk, Bryansk, Kiev and Odessa.²⁰² Stalin, Beria and Molotov discussed the possibility of an approach to Hitler for an armistice. Hitler, whose aim to get to the Ural Mountains was known to them, was to be 'bought off' with a large part of the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Moldavia plus control of the Baltic States in return for an armistice. The Bulgarian ambassador in Moscow, Ivan Stamenov, was asked to act as an intermediary to get the message to Hitler, but he refused, saying that even if they had to retreat to the Urals they would still win in the end.²⁰³

- ~ 26: Roosevelt ordered seizure of all Japanese assets in the US.
- ~ 27: German forces encircled Smolensk, preventing re-supply by rail from Moscow.
- ~ 29: New Soviet defence line established 150 miles west of Moscow.
- Hopkins advised Stalin that 200 US fighters were being shipped to Archangel – 18 days *before* Congress approved the aid budget.
- ~ 30: Britain announced the Polish-Russian Accord which it had brokered. Hitler was incensed.
- ~ **31: Göring issued ‘the Fuhrer Order on the Final Solution.’**
- ~ August
- ~ **13: Atlantic Charter.** “... *after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny* (the leaders) hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries.” It was the next nearest thing to a US declaration of war against Germany which Roosevelt could make.
- ~ 15: Congress approved five billion dollars for Lend Lease aid to the Soviet Union.
- ~ October
- ~ 2: Operation Typhoon: German forces surged forward, broke through the Russian defences, and Hitler announced that the Bolsheviks’ three greatest industrial complexes would soon be in German hands.
- ~ 7: **Second Armistice discussions:** German forces had occupied Orel, Dnepropetrovsk, and Berdyansk on the Sea of Azov, but the front had not yet reached Kalinin, Bryansk, Vyazna, Kaluga or Mariupol (Yalta).²⁰⁴ Stalin again ordered Beria to approach the Bulgarian ambassador to act as an intermediary to seek terms from Hitler. He was reported as saying that he was ready to accept a “new Brest peace’ as Lenin had in 1918. Apparently the ambassador again refused to act.²⁰⁵
- ~ 9: Britain advised the US, and Stalin is believed to have learned at the same time from a sympathetic British scientist through Russia’s intelligence network, that British research showed that an atomic bomb could be built with a 25 pound core which might explode with the force of 1,800 tonnes of TNT. The information was withheld from Stalin by his British and American Allies.²⁰⁶
- ~ November
- ~ 30: At their meeting in Berlin Hitler assured the Mufti that after German forces broke through the Caucasus their objective would be not the occupation of Arab lands but the destruction of the Jewish homeland. They discussed the best means of recruiting Arab troops to the Nazi banner and the Mufti promptly commenced a broadcasting campaign to recruit Arabs for a new Arab Legion to rise up and overthrow the Allies in the Middle East. He also called for Muslims from Europe to join Hitler’s armies. The plan for a Middle Eastern Arab Legion failed, but some 6,000 Muslims were recruited to fight on the Russian front.²⁰⁷

~ December

- ~ 1: The leading German Panzer division reached within 12 miles of the Kremlin in the suburbs of Moscow. In Tokyo, Togo reported in detail to the Japanese Imperial Conference on the failed US-Japan negotiations while Japan's fleets waited for final instructions on whether to sail to battle stations.
- ~ 2: German General Halder and *foreign observers believed a Soviet request for an armistice was imminent*. Churchill knew that if that occurred there would be concurrent drives *west* by the Germans and *south* by the Japanese. He desperately needed an incident which would draw or impel the United States into the war, and strategies which would keep the Soviet Union in as well. He had to show them more support.
- ~ 5: Soviet Armies, reinforced by reserves brought from the Pacific border, launched a counter offensive against the German front. Britain, plus each of its settler-dominated dominions, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada, declared war against Finland, Hungary and Romania (which had each been coerced into the war by Hitler) in the show of support which Churchill had wanted.
- ~ 6: The US atomic bomb research project was shifted from the theoretical studies committee to the Office of Scientific Research and Development.
- ~ **7: Pearl Harbour:** the United States in is the war – properly.
- ~ 12: Churchill instructed Eden to draw Russia into the war against Japan, provided it would not impair their western front, and saying “it is for consideration whether the exercise of any pressure required should be by the Americans rather than ourselves.”²⁰⁸ Propaganda about Britain and the United States helping their Soviet brothers in distress was stepped up but there was no mention of the desperation efforts being made to keep them in the war.
- ~ 16–17. In accordance with Churchill's instruction to draw Russia into the war against Japan, Eden talked with Stalin on two successive days about a post-war carve-up of Eastern Europe, dangling the carrot of territorial gain in front of him. Stalin grasped for the carrots, making acceptance of the British plan subject to certain conditions. The Baltic States were to be included within the USSR, the 1941 Finnish-Soviet frontier was to be recognized, the Soviet Union should gain some special facilities for bases from Romania, and the ‘Curzon Line’ should form the basis of the future Polish-Soviet frontier. Stalin said that Austria should be restored as an independent state; the Rhineland and Bavaria could also be independent; East Prussia should be transferred to Poland; the Sudetenland should be returned to Czechoslovakia; Albania should regain its independence; Yugoslavia should be restored and receive additional territory from Italy; and Greece should be restored to its former boundaries except that there should be island boundary adjustments between Greece and Turkey, with Turkey also receiving certain territories from Bulgaria and northern Syria.²⁰⁹ [These appear to be mainly corrections to some of the territorial ‘adjustments’ made after the First World War.]

~ **1942**

~ January

~ 21: The Wannsee Conference. Planning and construction of gas chambers for the Final Solution began in earnest. The Holocaust was soon in full swing, and the world struggled on through another three and a half years of slaughter and destruction.

... AND A LESSON IN USING ONE'S FRIENDS

Churchill played at being an intimate friend with Stalin until late in the war. Then, again totally disregarding, or being unable to appreciate, his own role in Anglo-Soviet history and not wishing to admit either Britain's manipulation of Russia or its dependence on it, he had several things to say in quick succession about Britain's position in relation to Russia and the Far East.

~ 1945

~ May

~ 12: In a letter to Truman Churchill said he was "profoundly concerned about the European situation" he noted that the American Air Force had already begun to move from Europe to the Pacific theatre; its armies were also moving out; the Canadians would certainly leave; Britain's armies were likely to undergo marked reduction; and "the French are weak and difficult to deal with." Then:

Anyone can see that in a very short space of time our armed power on the Continent will have vanished, except for moderate forces to hold down Germany.

Meanwhile what is to happen about Russia? [He listed a range of anxieties about Soviet ambitions, and continued.]

An iron curtain²¹⁰ is drawn down upon their front. We do not know what is going on behind. ...

Surely it is vital now to come to an understanding with Russia, or see where we are with her, before we weaken our armies mortally or retire to the zones of occupation.²¹¹

~ 14: Only two days later Churchill wrote to Lord Halifax, then in Washington:

We desire the entry of the Soviets into the war against Japan at the earliest moment.

Having regard to their own great interests in the Far East, they will not need to be begged, nor should their entry be purchased at the cost of concessions prejudicing a reign of freedom and justice in Central Europe or the Balkans.²¹² [Emphasis added.]

~ 26: Two weeks later Churchill returned to the same theme in a note for Truman via

Ambassador Davies, adding a touch of the amorphous Christian gels' self-righteousness:

It must be remembered that Britain and the United States are united at this time upon the same ideologies, namely, freedom, and the principles set out in the American Constitution and humbly reproduced in the Atlantic Charter. The Soviet Government have a different philosophy, namely, Communism, and use to the full the methods of police government, which they are applying *in every state which has fallen a victim to their liberating arms*. The Prime Minister cannot readily bring himself to accept the idea that the position of the United States is that Britain and Soviet Russia are just two foreign powers, six of one and half a dozen of the other, with whom the troubles of the late war have to be adjusted.

Except in so far as force is concerned, there is no equality between right and wrong. *The great causes and principles for which Britain and the United States have suffered and triumphed are not mere matters of the balance of power. They in fact involve the salvation of the world.*²¹³ [Emphasis added.]

In Churchill's view there was to be no place in the sun for Russia, only a return to isolation. Britain had been saved from an enforced and ignominious armistice, firstly, by the ally which he was appealing to yet again, the US, through the Lend Lease program, and, secondly, by Russian perseverance. However Churchill was now saying, in effect, "we cannot contribute to a final fling against Japan; we need Russia to do it for us; but they will subjugate another country (Korea) in the process, while we are the world's salvation, but we then need protection from our own 'saviour.'" He could not recognize that he had been quick to use police state methods himself when it suited him, as in his proposal to send strikers to the trenches in the First World War in the middle of widely publicized gas attacks; in the round-up of 'aliens' for deportation at the beginning of the war, or in the repressive measures he had insisted on in India to make it toe the imperial line in 1942. (Chapter 24.)

Nor could Churchill admit that the "great cause" which Britain had gone to war for was to hold on to its colonies and its territorial rights, and in particular those in China which were slipping through its fingers very quickly. In fact Truman's predecessor, Roosevelt, had very deliberately and firmly cut Churchill out of discussions with Stalin about Russia's involvement in the final manoeuvres in the war against Japan and what territorial 'benefits' there might be for each of them. He had humiliated Churchill by simply requiring him to sign Britain's assent to an agreement – after it had been made in secret – that Russia would retain joint control, with China, of the Manchuria railway, enjoy the reinstatement of its rights to a naval base at Port Arthur and port facilities at the adjacent harbour of Dairen, the recovery of the southern portion of Sakhalin Island which Japan had seized in 1904, and the "acquisition" from Japan of its Kurile Islands.²¹⁴ There was absolutely no suggestion of Britain recovering any territorial rights in China except Hong Kong which was a convenient geographic entity on the coast. Similarly, the agreement that Japanese forces north of the 38th parallel in Korea would surrender to Russia while those to the south would surrender to the United States was made between those two countries without British involvement,²¹⁵ and even though Churchill agreed with the "fair and bright" decision to "cast" two atomic bombs on Japan, and Truman discussed it with him before he told Stalin, the US president simply obliged Churchill to acknowledge the decision. He was not part of it.²¹⁶ And although the American-Soviet decision had to stand, Churchill changed his mind on Russia's involvement in the war against Japan in the light of that decision. He wrote in his memoirs that:

- Moreover we should not *need* the Russians. The end of the Japanese war no longer depended upon the pouring in of their armies for the final and perhaps protracted slaughter. *We had no need to ask favours of them.* A few days later I minuted to Mr. Eden: “It is quite clear that the United States do not at the present time desire Russian participation in the war against Japan.” The array of European problems could therefore be faced on their merits and according to the broad principles of the United Nations.²¹⁷ [Emphasis added.]

That is hardly consistent with either his sentiments or his actions, and the carrots he instructed Eden to dangle in front of Stalin to keep Russia in the war, when Hitler’s Operation Typhoon – the kick-restart after Operation Barbarossa had run out of steam – was rolling towards Moscow, when Stalin was contemplating an armistice, and when Churchill could see the Third Reich Armies about to dismantle Britain’s empire. But it was consistent with the attitudes which were coming to the surface in the administrations in both London and Washington, and it was soon apparent that the Second World War had been little more than an interlude in the East-West or West East game of ‘beggar my neighbour.’ A mass of consultations had been proceeding between the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain over the situation in the Far East and about demilitarization and reconstruction in Europe – especially Eastern Europe where the devastation had been greatest. Then in July, before he left to meet Churchill and Stalin at Potsdam, while Britain and the United States were still at war with Japan, while they were still trying to persuade the Soviet Union to enter that war with them, and before Truman had finally shared his ‘secret’ of the new weapon with Stalin, he had put to Congress a request that Export-Import Bank’s post-war loan authority be increased from \$700 million to \$3.5 billion, of which \$1 billion was to be earmarked for the Soviet Union. As expected, Congress approved, and on August 28, the Soviet Union formally applied for the loan. The timing of that application and its immediate approval in principle is noteworthy. It was 20 days after the Soviet Union had entered the war against Japan; 17 days after the United States had partitioned Korea; 14 days after Japan’s surrender had been accepted; but before the United States command and troops landed there or the United States had handed its Allies the terms of the occupation which they had to agree to. But nothing more happened about the loan, and the year dragged to a close.

~ **1946**

~ January

- ~ 28: When the economic advisers to US missions in Europe met in conference in Paris for four days they decided that the United States should withhold aid from the Soviet Union unless it accepted the principle of multilateralism and opened the door to Eastern Europe for American enterprise.

The leaders in the West expected Stalin to take the sort of treatment being metered out to him like an obedient lamb, to forget about their attitudes and policies before the war, and to let them go about running the world as they wished. But even if he had been unusually naïve and had misjudged the situation badly in the weeks leading up to Barbarossa, he

recognized his allies for what they were, and his speech to the party faithful in preparation for the rubber-stamp-election of the new Supreme Soviet only a few days after that Paris conference set alarm bells ringing in Washington. It was six months after the US-determined partition of Korea and the occupation of Japan, and five months since the \$1 billion reconstruction loan had been agreed in principle. It was:

~ February

~ 9: Stalin spoke first of the causes of the war, returning to expressions that were Marxist-Leninist commonplaces, especially in the 30's, but had not been heard for 5 years.

He said that the Second World War had not been the result of mistakes by a particular statesman, although mistakes had undoubtedly been made. The war "was the inevitable result of the development of world economic and political forces on the basis of modern monopoly capitalism ... [and] ... the capitalist system of world economy harbours elements of general crisis and armed conflicts and ... the development of world capitalism in our time proceeds not in the form of smooth and even progress but through crisis and military catastrophes." These might perhaps be avoided "if it were possible for raw materials and markets to be periodically redistributed among various countries in accordance with their economic importance, by agreement and peaceable settlement." Then came the crunch. "But it is impossible to do so under present capitalist conditions of the development of world economy. Thus the First World War was the result of the first crisis of the capitalist system of world economy, and the Second World War the result of a second crisis." As he continued, Western observers took him to mean that in the current circumstances a third world war was inevitable and that if it was "an anti-fascist war, a war of liberation," one aim of which was the restoration of democratic liberties rather than just a fight for control of resources and economic power, the Soviet Union could enter on the side of the Allies and enhance the war's anti-fascist and liberation character. But if it was not? Victory had vindicated the policies of heavy industrialization and agricultural collectivization. The aims of the Soviet Union's next five year plan would be to rehabilitate ravaged areas of the country, restore and surpass prewar levels in industry and agriculture, extend the production of consumer goods, and construct all manner of scientific research institutions. "I have no doubt," Stalin said, "that if we give our scientists proper assistance they will be able in the near future not only to overtake but surpass the achievements of science beyond the boundaries of our country."²¹⁸

British officials took Stalin's speech in their stride, but it "profoundly affected" Americans. Justice William Douglas of the US Supreme Court regarded it as "the declaration of World War Three;" the director of the State Department's Office of European Affairs said it was "the most important and authoritative guide to post-war Soviet society;" and the head of mission at the embassy in Moscow saw it as the chance he had been waiting for! He cabled the State Department that the West must: "muster up the political manliness to deny to Russia either moral or material support for the consolidation of Russian power throughout Eastern and Central Europe." Failing that, he argued, there was no alternative but to divide Germany, divide

Europe into spheres of influence, and draw the line “beyond which we cannot afford to permit the Russians to exercise unchallenged power.”²¹⁹

- ~ 21: The State Department decided to act. Kennan’s 8,000 word cable became a blueprint for United States’ policy of “containment” towards the Soviet Union; hundreds of copies were distributed through the Cabinet Office and the Navy; and it was published as a supplement to the State Department’s *Office of European Affairs Weekly Review*.²²⁰

The State Department then advised the Soviet ambassador that the \$1 billion credit was “one among a number of outstanding economic questions” and proposed that “negotiations” cover not only the loan but outstanding Lend Lease obligations, claims by US nationals against the Soviet Union, copyright protection, free navigation of rivers, civil aviation, a treaty of friendship and commerce, and the use of “democratic means” for the Eastern European countries to solve their pressing economic problems. It also suggested that the Soviet Union send observers to the first meeting of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund on March 8, and the New York Times very conveniently ran a story that the Soviet loan request had been lost. The pace of events then quickened.²²¹

- ~ March

- ~ 15: After its observer had attended that meeting the Soviet Union advised that it would discuss only long term credit, the Lend Lease obligations and a treaty.

In the circumstances Henry Wallace urged Truman to make a new approach along economic and trade lines, saying: “We know that much of the recent Soviet behaviour which has caused us concern has been the result of their dire economic needs and their disturbed sense of security. The events of the past few months have thrown the Soviets back to their pre-1939 fears of ‘capitalist encirclement’ and to their erroneous belief that the Western World, including the USA, is invariably and unanimously hostile.” Truman ignored that advice, preferring that of Churchill next day.²²²

- ~ 16: In a speech at Fulton, Missouri, USA, Churchill resorted to his Second World War-type rhetoric with a statement – a repetition of that in his May 1945 letter to Truman, that an “Iron Curtain” had descended between the countries of the East and the West.

In doing so, Churchill aggravated the tension and perpetuated the ideological divide between Capitalism and Communism in the public mind and gave the US administration the justification for continuing along the path they had set. SO:

WHAT IF THERE HAD BEEN AN ARMISTICE?

The sequence of events and all available evidence indicates that if Stalin and his colleagues had used an alternative channel of communication to Hitler to propose and to negotiate an armistice when they first sought the help of Bulgarian Ambassador Stamenov late in July, 1941, the war on Germany’s eastern front would have ground to a halt very quickly. Britain would then have come under enormous pressure to seek an armistice also. It would have found it very difficult indeed to justify a decision *not* to do so, and it would have had to consider the likely loss of

support of key allies, not only the United States, if it chose to continue the war. It is surprising that Stalin, Beria and Molotov, having twice sought the help of Stamenov, three months apart, did not try an alternative channel when he refused to cooperate. We shall return to this issue shortly. However they did not, and the opportunity for an armistice was lost.

To grasp the consequences of Stalin's decision to let drop the opportunity for an armistice, it is necessary to look at the situation from two points of view: first, the consequences of the war continuing in the wake of Barbarossa *without* an armistice, and second, the probable course of events if an armistice had been agreed.

THE EFFECTS OF A MISSED OPPORTUNITY

1. Europe

The most obvious consequence of continuing the war was the colossal death and destruction which occurred *in Europe* from that point forward. In Eastern Europe, at the end of July, 1941, when Stalin first discussed an armistice with Stamenov the German-Soviet battle front extended from the head of the Gulf of Finland, adjacent to Leningrad, along a line south, close to Smolensk, Bryansk and Kiev to Odessa on the Black Sea, but excluding each of those cities. The *Soviet* territory which had fallen to Germany, not including its share of Poland and the Baltic States which Stalin and Hitler had carved up between them, was limited to Belarus and the western half of the Ukraine. Thus far only that area, plus Poland and the Baltic States, had suffered massive devastation and carnage. By October 7, when Stalin ordered the second armistice approach, the devastated area had increased by about 25 per cent. By December 4, when the extent of Soviet territory occupied reached its pre-winter peak, the increase was about 50 per cent. But by November 12, 1942, when the area occupied by Germany reached its peak in the unsuccessful battle for Stalingrad, it had doubled. Then, over the next two and a half years that total area was fought over with unprecedented ferocity for the second time as the Soviet forces pushed the Germans back.

In contrast, in the western half of Europe the German occupation had been so swift that destruction and death had been relatively light. During the occupation phase of the war the people of those countries suffered trauma enough, certainly, but until the Allied invasions began, the main trauma for civilians was the roundup, deportation and slaughter of the Jewish and Gypsy populations, the terminally and mentally ill, the criminal, and the political opposition, plus Allied air attacks on military or industrial targets which were important to the German war effort and which were within the limited range of Allied bombers in Britain.

The greater extent of the death and destruction in Western Europe occurred during the return bout when the Germans fought with great determination as the Allies battered their way towards Berlin. It was not until two years after Stalin's initial attempt to set up armistice negotiations that Allied invasions began in the central Mediterranean, (Sicily in July 1943 and Italy in September), and it was another year before landings occurred in Southern France (August 1944) and northern France (September 1944). The appeals which Stalin made for the opening of a

western front in order to draw some of the German forces away from the eastern front – *which was where the Allies wanted them to stay* – suggest that if he had known how the situation would unfold he would have pursued an armistice with more enthusiasm. He interpreted non-intervention in Europe by the Western Allies as confirmation that they were more interested in retaining control of the colonies of the Far East and the resources of the Middle East than they were in relieving the occupied areas of Europe. The strains which resulted were a significant factor in hardening Stalin's determination to secure a buffer zone, so that every decision or response which either half of the alliance of convenience made – east or west – contributed to the slide into the Cold War mentality. In the meantime the blanket of death and destruction had been spread over much of North Africa, the Middle East, Asia and the Pacific as well.

2. THE STRUCTURAL DEBATE

By May 1945, Soviet forces had reoccupied all Soviet territory and had either destroyed or pushed the German forces out of most of Eastern Europe. The tenacity of the German defence as its armies were gradually pushed backwards into a shrinking area was fueled by two factors: Hitler's fanatical determination, and civilian fear of the consequences of the unconditional surrender which the Allies repeatedly demanded. The result was that Europe was left in such a state that Western political and business leaders feared being swamped by Communism. Not by revolution, that was not seriously expected, but by the established democratic processes of the ballot box. This, coupled with Soviet determination to maintain a buffer zone of friendly suzerain states, and the knife-edge state of the US economy, led to non-cooperation, the adoption of the Marshall Plan, scare-mongering, misinformation, and propaganda which drew heavily on the techniques developed prior to the war and refined as the war progressed, and to the economic and political division of Europe. The Cold War.

The victorious Western Allies, with the United States calling the tune, perpetuated the myth that their form of democracy was the only acceptable form of participatory government. They could not simply say that what we want is the system which provides for most rapid and unfettered commercial development. They conveniently forget that before the war, even *excluding the Soviet Union, more than half of Europe's people were living under Fascist rule or with variously restricted suffrage* and that this was the system which the Vatican, the dominant wing of the Christian Church, had preferred, actively promoted, and sought to strengthen by means of its system of concordats. That was the system which gave the Roman Catholic Church the greatest influence in determining social policy. It simply was not correct to distinguish between the East and the West on the basis that one was "free" and the other was not. The United States was just as determined that its version of the freedom of man should apply everywhere as it had been after the First World War. It had insisted on the dismantling of the German monarchy at that stage (chapter 16), but Hitler had subsequently succeeded in reshaping the constitution to suit him. The pope was reluctantly accommodating the system which the US wanted to impose on Italy because he needed US support to ward off

Communism, and the US administration already had its mind set on reconstructing Japan in a mould of its design as soon as it possibly could. (chapter 27) It was determined that there would be no return to Fascism in any of the countries of Europe, especially Germany, and it was eager to see a few less monarchies. So after the war in Europe had ground to a halt the United States sought to ensure that the new systems of government which would be set up in Europe would be compatible with its commercial and political interests. As the country which had “saved” the free world, that was its entitlement, surely. Who could argue?

Every country which had been occupied by Germany needed a new constitution, not just Germany, and unencumbered self determination was a luxury which they could not be allowed to enjoy in case they made the wrong choice. No one said from the steps of the Capitol: “this is the system which we want to impose on you.” Dulles, his diplomats, MacArthur and delegates at the United Nations and Bretton Woods did it for them – whether it was face to face or behind closed doors did not matter – and a few papal encyclicals did the rest. Ordinary people were simply left to assume that whenever the United States intervened in the planning and administration processes it was doing to protect *existing freedoms* as if all of Europe had been accustomed to its system, and that the Soviet Union was trying to impose a system which no one would possibly want.

3. ASIA, AFRICA, LATIN AMERICA

Asia was left with one of its two major powers, Japan, bombed into abject submission, under occupation and undergoing its Christian Reconstruction by courtesy of MacArthur. The other, China, the world’s most populous nation, was in a state of civil war and was about to come under Communist rule. It would join a community of nations which, at its short term peak before the United States intervened to overthrow the elected Allende government in Chile, encompassed one third of the world population.²²³ In addition, much of the Asian region was in turmoil as the colonial powers struggled to reassert their authority and the people tried to prevent them in a series of rolling wars of decolonization.

Africa was also in turmoil. The northern region had been a battle ground of the European powers as they contested control of the resources and strategic facilities of both that region and the Middle East, and the trade and communications routes between Europe and Asia. In southern Africa the National Party government in South Africa was taking full advantage of strained relationships in the wake of the war to pursue its Apartheid policy. And in the balance of the continent national liberation movements were flexing their muscles for a decolonization push while the corporations of the United States and Europe stepped up their efforts to gain access to, and control of, natural resources before the political climate could change.

In Latin America, within a few years – and totally inconsistent with both the Monroe Doctrine and its anti-Fascist stand – the United States would be ruthlessly removing a legitimately elected Communist government in Chile; actively propping up a series of right wing dictatorships; and unashamedly using the CIA to protect its commercial interests. Its

leaders would justify all of that on the grounds that Latin America was “different.” Latin America was not like Europe. It had never been accustomed to democracy. It had had its Christian reconstruction instead, by courtesy of *Rominus Pontifex*, Pope Alexander VI’s *Papal Bull of Demarcation* and the *Treaty of Tordesillas*. (Chapter 9)

In general, the world was left in a state of shock and disbelief at the extent of death and destruction which modern warfare produced; the scale and consequences of Hitler’s attempted Final Solution; and the horrendous potential of nuclear warfare. It struggled to come to grips with what it all meant and to suppress the anti-Semitism which was at the root of it. At the same time that it sought to cope with massive economic and social dislocation and reconstruction; and the churches struggled to salve their consciences and to try to convince the world that it was not really a religious issue, but a socio-political one with theological overtones and lessons. Surprisingly quickly the world had to go through a phase of decolonization and the amorphous Christian gel had to welcome into membership of its ‘victors’ club’ a lot of people whose interests and aspirations were different to their own.

4. THE BRIGHT SIDE

However, there was a bright side. People would soon be distracted from all of the turmoil by the pace of postwar developments in the production of goods and the provision of services. The “benefits” of a few years of war through accelerated scientific and technical research and development were enormous. The most obvious of the “benefits” was the frenetic development of nuclear technology. To justify the enormous expenditure which had been required to develop the atomic bomb and the cost in death and destruction through the use of a couple of demonstration models, the United States and Britain promoted the development of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy as quickly as possible. Unlimited electricity generation was to be just the start. The world’s ships would soon be powered by clean, cheap, safe nuclear power plants which would greatly reduce the consumption of fossil fuels, reduce atmospheric contamination and release petroleum resources for use in the petrochemicals industries. In addition the prospects for the use of nuclear technology in medicine were intriguing, and scientists had hardly scratched the surface. The war – or the development of powerful rockets by Hitler’s scientists – had demonstrated that space travel was feasible. Developments in aircraft design and jet propulsion, coupled with the other developments, would soon make long distance travel so cheap and easy that international boundaries would soon mean little and people could travel freely wherever they wished.

So it went on. The synthetic and organic chemicals industries, primarily based on the use of petroleum derivatives, would revolutionize agriculture through the development of pesticides, fertilizers, vaccines and drugs for the prevention and treatment of all kinds of ailments. Plagues associated with poor hygiene, lack of sanitation, poverty, famine and pestilence would soon all be things of the past. The use of plastics and synthetic fibres would revolutionize packaging, fabrication, clothing and textiles and construction, simplifying transport and merchandising and

having both direct and indirect impact on the transport industries. Advanced metallurgy would have a similar impact. In the fields of electrical goods, electronics and optics the developments and the benefits had to be seen to be believed. Land line telephones and radios were joined by television, fax machines, computers and satellite transmission; refrigerators and washing machines came within reach of the ordinary household – at least in the Western world; and typesetting and printing were revolutionized.

Hand in hand with these developments was a surge in the provision of education services at every level. That surge was both a requirement of the developments taking place and a consequence of them, and it very soon developed a momentum of its own, spiral fashion, with the spiral becoming more like a vortex, picking up everything in its path and tossing it out, not as trash but as the source material or fuel for ever more rapid accumulation of knowledge about our existence, life and resources, and ensuring developments and opportunities at an ever expanding rate.

But that process and its outcomes became yet another challenge to the church's authority. One aspect of that challenge has already been noted: the development of the 'big bang' theory (see above, *A challenge of astronomical proportions*). Another was forming from a combination of the scientific discoveries, education, and commercial exploitation of social freedom, and yet another separate challenge, the Kinsey Report (chapter 28) which had directly challenged the Vatican's social encyclicals: human sexuality and sexual freedom. We shall come to these later.

THE SPILLED MILK: WHAT MIGHT NOT HAVE BEEN

However, by considering the decisions and actions which were taken *subsequent* to Stalin's first aborted armistice discussion we can assess, with reasonable confidence, what the situation would have been if he had taken another step and proceeded to negotiate an armistice. Some of the key decisions and actions taken after that date are listed, in sequence, below. The list is not exhaustive by any means. In fact to list the decisions and actions taken by one or other of the colonial powers of the amorphous Christian gel with the aim of perpetuating their position of privilege (or keeping others under subjection) which had either short term or long term adverse flow-on effects for humanity would be a worthwhile exercise for Christian theologians who want to explore further the nature of Divine Judgement and its relationship to personal salvation.

- Roosevelt ordered the seizure of all Japanese assets in the United States and strengthened Japan's resolve to protect its position.
- Britain announced the Polish-Russian Accord in an effort to galvanize Polish and Soviet resistance. Hitler was incensed and Göring issued the Fuhrer Order on the Final Solution next day.

- Churchill and Roosevelt issued the Atlantic Charter with its 'final destruction' clause, then Roosevelt announced Lend Lease aid for the Soviet Union, so Hitler ordered the acceleration of plans for Operation Typhoon.
- Britain and the US withheld their first secrets on the feasibility of atomic bombs from the Soviet Union and unwittingly set up an atmosphere of mistrust.
- The Allied stand resulted directly in Hitler's change of heart on the Middle East and his decision for a strategic understanding with the Mufti of Jerusalem and the Arabs.
- Britain declared war on Finland in a further bid to keep the Soviet Union in the war.
- Roosevelt lifted the US atomic research project from the theoretical to the development phase.
- Pearl Harbour: Roosevelt dragged the US into war with him.
- Churchill dangled the carrot of territorial advantage in front of Stalin in yet another bid to keep him in the war.
- Hitler took his next step towards the Final Solution with the convening of the Wannsee Conference and preparation of plans for the construction of gas chambers.
- Churchill ignored Roosevelt's advice and pressed on with his India program and declined to negotiate with Japan.
- The Bretton Woods institutions were planned and the socio-economic confrontation between the Capitalist West and the Communist East was invoked.
- The US and Britain insisted on the Soviet Union entering the war against Japan.
- Truman insisted on bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki
- The US partitioned Korea.
- Japan's surrender was accepted.
- MacArthur sought to enforce the Christianization of Japan.

The approximate human toll for the war was: battle deaths, 15 million; battle wounded, 25 million; civilian deaths, 39 million; prisoners of war, 3 million; total persons directly affected: 82 million.²²⁴ A reasonable estimate of the deaths, casualties and prisoners after Stalin's first aborted armistice discussions in July 1941 is 85 per cent of the total, or 70 million. Add your own guess for the number of persons indirectly affected. The atmosphere in which all subsequent peace, political settlement, reconstruction and development discussions took place, and the attitude of the governments involved would have been quite different if either of Stalin's two approaches were not aborted.

Of fundamental importance: there would have been *no nuclear war* at that time. Neither Britain nor the United States had gone beyond a theoretical feasibility study. No funds had been

committed to development and it is a reasonable conclusion that if an armistice had been achieved – and if Hitler’s Jewish ‘problem’ had therefore been resolved by forced emigration and resettlement elsewhere in the Diaspora – the massive funds required *would not have been committed*. What country in its right mind would have proceeded with such a commitment? With an armistice in Europe, Churchill’s reasons for wanting to draw Japan into the war would have evaporated. Britain would have been left to resolve the argument over its territorial arrangements in China by some other means, unencumbered by a war in Europe, and there would have been no basis for Britain and the United States drawing Japan into a separate war. Although Roosevelt had ordered the seizure of all Japanese assets in the United States at about the same time as Stalin’s first aborted armistice discussions, that action, on its own, would *not* have been sufficient to precipitate a war and, in any case, it would have been easily reversible. All this means that Pearl Harbour would not have happened. There simply would have been no Pacific War. There would have been *no basis* for a confrontation between the East and the West in the way in which it occurred, and the Bretton Woods institutions, if such institutions were set up in due course, would have been set up in quite different circumstances and with somewhat different motivation. There would have been no need and *no basis* for the Marshall Plan and the division of Europe would have been on a completely different basis. Hitler’s empire would have been big – most of Europe west of a line from the Gulf of Finland to the Black Sea -but the probability is that it would not have remained intact for long. The most likely scenario would have been an extended pause while Soviet leaders licked their wounds and Hitler settled down to exploit his expanded empire until a later date when the Soviet Union would have probably made a bid to recover its lost territory.

The most important consideration would have been that there was a completely *different basis* on which the world would have been enabled – or required – to reflect on the trouble in the triangle. As already noted the trouble in the triangle would not have gone away: it would have simply been manifest in different circumstances. In view of the consequences of Stalin’s failure to pursue an alternative channel for an armistice the question must be considered: why did he not pursue a different channel when he was rebuffed twice?

THE BULGARIAN CHANNEL

No political leader likes to accept defeat, regardless of the ethnic cohesion or diversity of the country he or she leads, and regardless of the changes which may be made to the social, economic and political systems of the country. The fact that Stalin did not seek an alternative channel to Hitler after Barbarossa suggests that to some extent he and his colleagues were uncertain about the wisdom of the course they had embarked upon. They would have been committed to surrendering some of their core territory and core populations in order to secure the balance of the Union, and that was a ghastly thought. But politically they were caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. They were at war with a Fascist power which was a part of the amorphous Christian gel, whose system they detested, which equally detested theirs,

but with which they had been in an alliance of convenience for a short time. Now, to avoid defeat at the hands of that power, they had to rely on the help of other powers within the amorphous Christian gel which they detested almost equally. They had developed a system which was a very direct and major philosophical challenge to the amorphous Christian gel of Western Capitalism whose leaders, both religious and political, had been hell-bent on destabilizing their system for 33 years. The idea of giving ground to either of them, or of being beholden to either of them, was most unpalatable. In any case it was natural that they would want to avoid ceding territory. No government ever wants to, and no people like being traded like chattels. Systems of government are supposed to be set up to serve the interests of people, not the other way around. So perhaps, in the circumstances of the time, they simply accepted at face value the advice of the Bulgarian ambassador that, with or without the British and American aid available, they could yet reverse the situation, push Hitler's forces back, and maintain their system without conceding to either the Nazis or the Capitalists.

In talking with Stamenov, Stalin, Molotov and Beria believed they were talking with the ambassador of a friendly country which they regarded as an important piece in the jigsaw puzzle of their own Balkans security shield. They did not know that Bulgaria had 'adhered' to the Tripartite Pact (Germany, Italy and Japan) on March 1, and they assumed that it had been overrun by the German forces which moved through Bulgaria to the border with Greece that day. If they had known, the ambassador would have been handed his passport and his marching orders immediately. This means that Ambassador Stamenov was little more than a listening post for Hitler who would have been absolutely delighted, and encouraged in his plans, to know that the Soviet leaders were seeking to negotiate an armistice. It can be assumed that Stamenov reported the Soviet approach to his government, but no references have been found to verify this, nor whether Hitler was advised of the approach. If he was advised, it did not affect the situation, except perhaps to encourage him to drive even harder. He could reasonably expect to get a greater area for his Lebensraum without too much trouble if he kept the pressure up. Both Britain and the Soviet Union knew that Bulgaria had been under strong pressure from Hitler as he manoeuvred to find a route through the Balkans to Britain's soft under-belly, the Middle East, but they did not know that its government had acquiesced and joined the Nazi camp. In a letter to Mussolini on December 31, 1940, Hitler compared Bulgaria with Spain and complained that:

- Bulgaria equally is reluctant to associate herself with the Tripartite Pact and to adopt a clear attitude in her international relations. The growing pressure exercised by Soviet Russia is the cause of this.²²⁵

In turn, Eden complained to Churchill in a memo dated one week later (January 6, 1941) that:

*Politically the attitude of the Bulgarian government causes me grave disquiet. They give the impression of men who have little control of events. Their Press is increasingly under German control, and is now little else but the mouthpiece of Axis propaganda.*²²⁶

He seems to have overlooked the carefully orchestrated control which Chamberlain had exercised over the British press. Then it was Russia's turn to complain. On January 17 the Soviet ambassador advised the German Foreign Office that:

The Soviet Government has stated repeatedly to the German Government that it considers the territory of Bulgaria and the Straits as the security zone of the USSR, and that it cannot be indifferent to events which threaten the security interests of the USSR. In view of all this the Soviet Government regards it as its duty to give warning that it will consider the appearance of any armed forces on the territory of Bulgaria and of the Straits as a violation of the security interests of the USSR.

And on January 28, Churchill wrote to Roosevelt:

*... the advance parties of the German Air Force have already to the extent of several thousand infiltrated themselves into Bulgarian aerodromes, with the full connivance of the Bulgarian Government.*²²⁷ [Emphasis added.]

This all means that Stalin was being advised and 'assisted' by two 'allies,' both of whom had ulterior motives. He already knew that Britain was not driven by altruism. Churchill was *absolutely desperate* for the Soviet Union to stay in the war as a decoy and a buffer. Within months of Barbarossa Britain would even try to incite the Soviet Union to escalate the war still further by establishing a second front against Japan, with exactly the same motive. (Chapter 24) Bulgaria was committed to aiding Hitler in his invasion and land grab, and the ambassador therefore saw it in both Germany's and Bulgaria's interests to discourage any talk of an armistice. Churchill should have read *Mein Kampf* and the Qur'anic Night Journey a little more closely. He *may* have recognized himself as a key player in both the parody and the prophesy. But probably not. He was far too intimately involved. There were two powers which he regarded as powers of evil. He was at war with one of them, he had long tried to suppress the other but he was now desperate to forge an alliance with it. They constituted two of the massive challenges to the theology, self-understanding and conduct of the church – they were the principal political challenges – and they both regarded *him* as the chief representative of a great power of evil. So did the ordinary people in a lot of European colonies scattered around the world.

It is an important aspect of the parody of *Mein Kampf* that every decision which Churchill took in his efforts to use and exploit other people to prop up Britain's colonial interests was complicating the plot, tightening the rope on which his 'works' were hanging around his neck and making it progressively more urgent that the trouble in the triangle be disentangled by a thorough reassessment of the theology and self-understanding on which it was based. The hypocrisy and double standards which were a constant feature of colonial policy are illustrated by Churchill's reaction to Stalin's strategic demands when Eden sought to induce him to declare war on Japan at their meeting on December 16. It was still the right of the great powers – and in this case Churchill meant Britain the United States and the Soviet Union – to barter and to carve

up other people and their territory to their heart's content, provided you didn't get caught making multiple promises. On December 20, he noted for cabinet:

- Stalin's demands about Finland, Baltic States, and Romania are directly contrary to the first, second and third articles of the Atlantic Charter, to which Stalin has subscribed. There can be no question whatever of our making such an agreement, *secret or public, direct or implied, without prior agreement with the US*. The time has not yet come to settle frontier questions, which can only be resolved at the Peace Conference when we have won the war. *The mere desire to have an agreement which can be published [for political advantage*] should never lead us into making wrongful promises.* ... The Russians have got to go on fighting for their lives anyway, and are *dependent upon us* for very large supplies, which we have most painfully gathered, and which we shall faithfully deliver.²²⁸ [Author's note. Emphasis added.]

That was a lot of sanctimonious humbug. Britain's ability to avoid a humiliating empire-ending armistice was dependent upon Churchill's ability to persuade Stalin to remain in the war. That was, in turn, dependent upon Britain's capacity to provide the aid to enable him to do so, and that was dependent upon Churchill's ability to persuade the United States to support him. It was substantially US aid diverted to the Soviet Union: not British aid. Churchill must have hoped that people would not remember the Balfour Declaration; the McMahon Letter; the motives which prompted the preparation of the Atlantic Charter which he now sought to hide behind; the way in which he proposed to carve up French and Italian colonies in a bid to draw neutral countries into the conflict; or the proposals to use other European powers' African colonies, complete with their people, to buy Hitler off before Britain and France sealed the fate of a carved-up Czechoslovakia – which Stalin now proposed to put back together again. In addition there was the host of contradictory proposals, which were very recent indeed, which were variously planned to isolate Japan and keep it *out* of the war or to drag it *in*, first as an *ally* and later as an *enemy* as the balance of threats in Europe twisted one way and another and Britain's dependence on United States entry into the war became critical. (Chapter 23) Later, in his memoirs, Churchill wrote:

- NEMESIS personifies “the Goddess of Retribution, who brings down all immoderate good fortune, checks the presumption that attends it, ... and is the punisher of extraordinary crimes.” We must now lay bare the *error and vanity of cold-blooded calculation* of the Soviet Government and enormous Communist machine, and their *amazing ignorance about where they stood themselves*. They had shown a *total indifference to the fate of the Western Powers*, although this meant the destruction of that “Second Front” for which they were soon to clamour. ... Thus they had allowed the whole of the Balkans to be overrun by Germany. *They hated and despised the democracies of the West*; but the four countries Turkey Romania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, which were of vital interest to them and their own safety, could all have been combined by the Soviet Government in January with active British aid to form a Balkan front against Hitler.²²⁹

Given the history of *error and vanity of cold-blooded calculation* set out in previous chapters, the treatment meted out to the Soviet Union by the West from 1917 to 1939, Churchill’s personal role in that history, and his widely publicized attitude towards the Russians as set out above, did he expect them to hug and kiss every Capitalist democrat from the amorphous Christian gel, and weep tears of blood at the fate which was befalling them? He should have been contemplating the Qur’anic Night Journey and the Hebrew Prophets rather than citing Nemesis. In fact Stalin had a worse record than Churchill. Much worse. It was not only his purges of the 1930s which should have been weighing heavily on his conscience, but the secret annex to the plan for the partition of Poland under the German-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of August 22, 1939 which became his most conspicuous contribution to the trouble in the triangle, surpassing the more general challenge to the church of his involvement in Marxist Communism.

Now, having reviewed the circumstances in which the development of the A-bomb took place, and the circumstances in which, following Barbarossa, Stalin lost interest in an armistice and decided to push on with the war, we can briefly trace the way in which the nuclear arms race and the Cold War, together, became ever more intimately entwined in the trouble in the triangle.

TROUBLE IN THE TRIANGLE: THE ESSENTIAL ‘NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AND COLD WAR DIARY’

~ **1939**

~ August

~ 2: Einstein wrote a letter to Roosevelt indicating support for the development of an atomic bomb

~ September

~ 3: Britain declared war against Germany

~ October

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE MESSIANIC AGE?

- ~ 11: Sachs delivered Einstein's letter to Roosevelt. The president ordered a study of the feasibility of developing an A-bomb.
- ~ **1941**
- ~ June
- ~ 22: Barbarossa
- ~ July
- ~ 15: A British committee decides an A-bomb is feasible and recommends to the government that development should proceed.
- ~ 25: Stalin's first bid for an armistice.
- ~ 31: The Fuhrer Order for the Final Solution.
- ~ August
- ~ 13: The Atlantic Charter
- ~ December
- ~ 6: Responsibility for US A-bomb study was shifted to the Office of Scientific Research and Development
- ~ 7: Pearl Harbour
- ~ **1942**
- ~ September
- ~ 23: Roosevelt ordered that the development of an A-bomb proceed under the name *Manhattan Project* with unrestricted funds.
- ~ **1945**
- ~ July
- ~ 16: First atomic bomb test-exploded at Alamogordo, New Mexico, USA. Truman used the news to intimidate Stalin during deliberations at the Potsdam Conference. (Chapter 26)
- ~ August
- ~ 6: HIROSHIMA: THE AGE OF NUCLEAR WAR. [Six years after the study began; two years and ten months after the decision to build an A-bomb; three months after Hitler committed suicide.]
- ~ 9: Nagasaki: the second bomb. An Anglo-American propaganda blitz began to justify the use of the atomic bombs.
- ~ 28: The Soviet Union applied for the reconstruction loan of \$1 billion which had been earmarked for it.
- ~ October
- ~ 16: J. Robert Oppenheimer resigned as director of the Los Alamos research laboratories which designed the bombs for the Manhattan Project.
- ~ The Federation of Atomic Scientists (now the Federation of American Scientists) was founded by *members of the Manhattan Project staff* by merging a number of individual associations of atomic scientists at various weapons sites. Its purpose was "to address the implications and dangers of the nuclear age."

FAS was the first organization ever “dedicated to ending the worldwide arms race, achieving complete nuclear disarmament, and avoiding the use of nuclear weapons,” and since that time much of its work has been in nuclear arms control and disarmament.²³⁰ Oppenheimer was not involved in its establishment, and while he may have been carried on the rolls as a member, the initiative came from younger and less senior members of the project.²³¹ Peace was, to them, more important than world domination.

~ 1946

~ February

~ 9: The State Department latched onto Stalin’s speech to the Communist Party.

~ 21: Kennan’s report and proposals became the basis of US “containment” policy.

~ March

~ 16: By resorting to Second World War-type rhetoric with a statement that an “Iron Curtain” had descended between the countries of the East and the West, Churchill aggravated and perpetuated the ideological divide between Capitalism and Communism, in the public mind, in a speech at Fulton, Missouri, USA.

~ **1947**

~ Stalin initiated a defence strategy based on the development of ICBMs.

~ May

~ 29: An economic merger between the British and US occupied zones of Germany was announced.

~ August

~ The United States negotiated the Pact of Rio for peace and regional security among Latin American nations as an extension of the 1945 Treaty of Chapultepec.

~ **1948**

~ March

~ The Brussels Treaty was signed by the Western Allies which proceeded to plan a West German currency and democratic government.

~ May

~ 14: Proclamation of the establishment of THE STATE OF ISRAEL: the trigger for the first Israeli-Arab war (chapter 28). Egypt closed the Suez Canal to all Israeli shipping and refused to allow passage through the Strait of Tiran for any shipping carrying freight to or from Eilat. This obliged all shipping travelling between Israel and Southern Africa, Asia or the Pacific to travel the extended route via the Cape of Good Hope and the Mediterranean.

~ 24: The Berlin Blockade was imposed by the Soviet authorities.

~ June

~ 3: Daniel Malan became prime minister of South Africa with the election of the National Party on a platform of APARTHEID, but the international spotlight was fixed on Hungary.

~ The estates of the churches in Hungary were expropriated and the educational system was nationalized. The Calvinist and Lutheran churches accepted the compensation and

financial arrangements imposed by the state but the primate of the Catholic church, Cardinal József Mindszenty, refused to concede nationalization of the school system and began a concerted campaign against the decision. The church had never been prepared to forfeit control of its education system in any country. It was not about to set a precedent in Hungary.

Hungary was a country with a history of religious conflict at least as checkered as that of Poland. Competing dynasties from other European powers and feudal lords had been enmeshed in the Vatican's struggle to prevent the westward progress of Islam at the time of the Lutheran Reformation. From that time forward the country was blighted by religious, sectarian and ethnic intrigue as it was repeatedly carved up, reformed, and merged with – or annexed – its neighbours, and struggled for independence in the wake of the defeat of the Central Powers in 1918. During the Second World War the clerical-dominated governments under the regime of Admiral Miklos Horthy and Prime Minister Gyula Gombos then acquiesced in the extermination of the country's Jews and Gypsies in 1944 shortly before the country was relieved and occupied by Soviet forces in December 1944. Stalin authorized the establishment of a coalition government with representatives of all anti-Fascist parties represented and then free elections in November 1945, at which the Communist Party received 17 per cent of the vote, and the government was dominated by the Smallholders with 57 per cent. The Communist Party then set out to undermine the coalition and to boost its own standing, with the result that it gained an outright majority at the elections in 1947. Then, coinciding with the CIA-backed campaign in collaboration with the Vatican to prevent the election of a Communist government in Italy (chapter 27, *A touch of foreign aid*) the Social Democratic Party, which had been one of the parties in the coalition, was forcibly merged with the Communist Party to form the Hungarian Workers' Party. The prime minister in the coalition and leader of the non-Communist Smallholders Party, was intimidated into emigrating, and his party, together with all other non-Communist parties was dissolved. Hungary became a one-party state and the churches thus became the only base for either ideological or political opposition to the Communist regime.

~ August

~ 23: Declaration of the formation of the WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

~ The US Joint Chiefs of Staff proposed an air offensive strategy designed to exploit the destructive and psychological power of atomic weapons.

~ December

~ Hungary's Catholic primate, Cardinal Mindszenty, was arrested and subsequently sentenced to life imprisonment. Catholic monastic orders were then dissolved and the Roman Catholic church accepted financial terms similar to those offered to the other churches. Eventually its bishops, with visible repugnance, took an oath of loyalty to the state but continued their crudely camouflaged campaign to reverse the situation.

~ 1949

~ February

- ~ 24: Egypt signed its armistice with Israel (see above: *Cease fire ... Anglo-Israeli stand-off ... armistice ...*) but soon placed guns at Sharm al-Sheikh, on the bluff at the southern end of the Sinai Peninsula, commanding the Strait of Tiran at the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba which provides access to Israel's port of Eilat from the Red Sea.
- ~ March
- ~ 18: The text of the NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) agreement was published – seventeen days before it was signed by the United States, Britain, France, Belgium, The Netherlands, Luxembourg, Italy, Portugal, Denmark, Iceland, Norway and Canada.
- ~ May
- ~ 8: The German Parliamentary Council adopted a constitution.
- ~ 12: The Soviet blockade of Berlin was lifted
- ~ 23: The Federal Republic of Germany was constituted.
- ~ June
- ~ 13: The Vatican issued a decree of excommunication against Communists.
- ~ August
- ~ The Soviet Union exploded its first nuclear device.
That was *four years* after Truman's intimidating chat with Stalin which preceded Hiroshima. The US administration put on a show of horror that the Soviet Union had caught up so quickly, claiming that it was only possible with stolen secrets and that the fast-track development indicated a Communist bid to take over the world. In fact, the development took four years after Truman's use of the development in a bid to harass Stalin. It was one year and two months longer than the period from Roosevelt's order to build a bomb and its first test, so it is hardly consistent with a fast-track dash to dominate the world! But from that moment, the United States had to consider the possibility of retaliation against it if it again used atomic bombs. The deliberate decision was made to stay in front and policy discussion centred on the development of the Hydrogen bomb. Oppenheimer immediately began campaigning against such a development.
- ~ October
- ~ 1: The People's Republic of China was proclaimed following the evacuation of Nationalist Chinese forces to Taiwan.
- ~ 7: The German Democratic Republic and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) were constituted by the Soviet authorities.
- ~ **1950**
- ~ January
- ~ Truman gave approval for the development of an 'H'-bomb. The arms race had begun to spiral. Robert Oppenheimer opposed the decision on moral grounds. Truman's response was that the Soviet Union would not be inhibited by moral scruple.
- ~ French physicist Frederic Joliot-Curie, pointedly referred to by his detractors as a Communist, initiated the Stockholm Appeal and launched a petition against the

development of nuclear weapons. It is reported to have been signed by some 270 million people, mainly in Communist countries. The Peace Movement and the Anti-Nuclear Movement took on more substantive form with the establishment of a network of organizations throughout the world.

~ February

~ 5: Senator Joseph McCarthy launched his anti-Communist crusade with an announcement that he could name 205 Communists or Communist sympathizers in the US State Department.

Four years of increasingly sensational and irresponsible accusations and investigations followed. Oppenheimer, one of McCarthy's prime targets, was hounded as a traitor, denied access to sensitive research facilities, accused of being a Communist and subjected to humiliating security hearings. An extract from the case to which he had to respond illustrates the situation at the time.

It was further reported that in the autumn of 1949, and subsequently, you strongly opposed the development of the hydrogen bomb; (1) on moral grounds, (2) by claiming that it was not feasible, (3) by claiming that there were insufficient facilities and scientific personnel to carry on the development, and (4) that it was not politically desirable. ... even after it was determined, as a matter of national policy, to proceed with the development of a hydrogen bomb, you continued to oppose the project and declined to cooperate fully [Then followed 'reports' that he circulated material critical of the proposal, and that some staff even resigned under his influence.] It was further reported that you were instrumental in persuading other outstanding scientists not to work on the hydrogen bomb project, and that the opposition to the hydrogen bomb, of which you are the most experienced, most powerful, and most effective member, has definitely slowed down its development.²³²

It may be in part an indication of the pressure of the witch hunt that FAS, the organization set up by staff of the Manhattan Project and dedicated to ending the worldwide arms race (see October 1945), had sunk to a very low ebb by 1948 and its chief executive officer resigned for lack of funds. As a result, when the Oppenheimer hearings occurred, it had no full time staff and the FBI concluded that it was irrelevant. It was therefore not drawn into the McCarthy Era hearings for a number of reasons, especially because it was doing so little at that time that it would have seemed ridiculous to cite it. Also, it was not radical enough. FBI agents joined Chapters and sat in on Chapter meetings until 1949 when it concluded that the Federation was just a bunch of "liberals." However it listed five senior, and quite distinguished, scientists as "fellow travelers" in its internal reports.²³³

In due course McCarthy even attacked President Dwight Eisenhower and conducted a 36-day nationally televised hearing of charges against army officers and civilians. That was his undoing. He was censured by the Senate.

~ June

~ 25: The Korean War began (see above, *Korean interlude*) and the CIA's standing changed significantly. The perception, generated by the opposition in Congress, was that:

The agency failed to give any clear warning about the invasion [of South Korea by North Korea] and there were emotive references to Pearl Harbour, not just in an accusing press, but in the highest Washington circles. The assumption was that the CIA's job was to monitor the whole world, whether or not what was happening affected US interests. Bedell Smith [General Walter Bedell Smith, appointed DCI in October 1950] determined upon the complete overhaul of the agency, in particular its estimating procedures.²³⁴

The United States was feeling much more comfortable and fear of its own economic collapse had abated in view of the financial and trade arrangements which were being put in place with Western Europe, and it was also very comfortable in its unofficial role as policeman to the world. It was totally in keeping with its post-war self-understanding. But very soon the CIA was working, unfettered, on the basis that virtually any action, including direct intervention in the affairs of a sovereign country, was justified if an action, policy or treaty relationship which that country was contemplating was in conflict with United States' interests. Not necessarily security interests: political or commercial interests were to be 'protected' too. It would be kept especially busy in the Middle East and Central and Latin America where the Vatican would need quite a bit of help to suppress the liberation theologians who were waiting in the wings. The beacons, or pockmarks en route to Maimonides' expectation of the Messianic Age include a number of these episodes.

~ August

~ 8: Pope Pius XII issued the encyclical *Humani Generis* with a warning against attempts to distort Catholic truths.

~ In Poland, the primate and personal representative of Pius XII, Bishop (later Cardinal) Stefan Wyszyński, had been negotiating a *modus vivendi* in an effort to maintain the Catholic Church's school system – the nearest thing to a concordat which the church could achieve in a hostile political environment.

Wyszyński, then a priest of 11 years standing and a doctor in sociology and ecclesiastical law, had founded the Christian Workers University at Włocławek in Poland in 1935. He directed it until the outbreak of war in 1939, was ordered to leave Poland, escaped the fate of 1,811 Polish priests who died in German concentration camps, and returned to Włocławek as rector of the seminary in 1945. He was appointed bishop of Lublin in 1946, then primate of Gniezno and, *ad personam*, of Warsaw in 1948. It was because of Poland's traumatic recent history and the consequences of its unwitting position as the prize 'buffer' between East and West (chapters 12, 17, 18) that he was able to sign a 'coexistence agreement' with the Communist government at a time when the church was being either disestablished or stripped of its properties under other Communist regimes.

Postwar Poland was, in area, about 20 percent smaller than prewar Poland. After the Holocaust with the death of about three million Polish Jews and the expulsion of several million Germans westward – the so-called 'population transfers' with the Soviet Union – Poland was virtually ethnically homogenous and the Roman Catholic Church was, for practical purposes, the only religious entity operating in the country. The buffer between Catholic Europe and

Orthodox Russia which the Vatican had been trying to eliminate for hundreds of years was finally gone! Hitler and Stalin between them had got rid of the Jews and the expulsion of the mixed religion population of Germans had been approved by the Allied leaders at the Potsdam Conference. Some historians say that Churchill did not appreciate fully Stalin's hegemonic designs and that he believed that timely territorial concessions to the Soviet Union would preserve the internal independence of postwar Poland.²³⁵ In reality he was simply paying out on the deal which he had instructed Eden to make to keep Stalin in the war on December 16, 1941, when Stalin told Eden that one of the Soviet Union's conditions for meeting's Britain's war plan was that "the 'Curzon Line' should form the basis of the future Polish-Soviet frontier." (See above: *Operation Barbarossa*) Thus, at the Teheran Conference late in 1943, Churchill proposed exactly that: that the Soviet-Polish border coincide with the Curzon Line (more or less corresponding to the secret Ribbentrop-Molotov line) and that Poland be compensated with corresponding territory at Germany's cost. Roosevelt, having been briefed on the Eden-Stalin discussions at the time, naturally agreed. The Mikołajczyk government-in-exile in England, which was opposed to such a territorial deal, was not informed. For both Roosevelt and Churchill the Polish issue was secondary: the importance of retaining the Soviet Union as an ally was crucial. Poland was not to get in the way. This was confirmed when they showed no concern at the German announcement, on April 13, 1943, that the mass graves of 4,000 Polish officers who had been captured by the Red Army had been discovered in the Katyn Forest.²³⁶

In such circumstances the Communist authorities felt unable to implement the anti-religion policies which had been pursued prewar, and the Catholic Church continued to operate, but under severe constraints. When Wyszyński was elevated to the office of cardinal in November 1952 to show disdain for the increasing pressure to acquiesce in Communist policy which was being applied to the church – he was unable to go to Rome to receive formal investiture and in 1953 he was placed under house arrest without trial, on the grounds that that he had violated a pledge that the church would punish priests who engaged in anti-government activity.

~ October

- ~ 1: The effects of the Korean War were beginning to spin off in other directions. China felt threatened and warned the UN and the US that if it pushed beyond the 38th parallel China may intervene.
- ~ In Egypt, the barely-representative government of the Waft – "a rich party and a party of rich men, many of whom had grown rich at the expense of the state"²³⁷ – was under increasing domestic pressure after years of virtually incontestable rule because of the deteriorating national economy. It chose to capitalize on the growing anti-British unrest in the Canal Zone to deflect some of the criticism, and the prime minister, Nahas Pasha, denounced the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty as basic to the country's troubles. The domestic situation continued to worsen.

~ November

- ~ 1: Pope Pius XII issued the apostolic constitution *Munificentissimus Deus*, proclaiming the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin as dogma. He was the first pope since the Vatican

Council in 1869-70 to exercise papal authority to define doctrine.

~ 25: MacArthur approached China's border and China intervened.

~ **1951**

~ March

~ In Iran, Mohammad Mosaddeq, an outspoken advocate of nationalism who had opposed the grant to the Soviet Union of an oil concession for northern Iran similar to an existing British concession in southern Iran, called for the nationalization of that concession and the installations in Iran of the British-owned Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The Majles passed the oil nationalization act, and the shah, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, was obliged by vote of the Majles to appoint Mosaddeq premier.

When the nationalization took effect on May 1, the Mosaddeq government offered compensation based on the allocation of 25 per cent of net profits, guaranteed the jobs of all British employees, and indicated that it was willing to continue selling its oil through the industry's cuddly cartel arrangements. However Britain wanted the industry, not just compensation, so it withdrew completely from the Iranian oil market, put on a show of naval power, applied a total blockade and trade boycott, and froze all Iranian assets under its influence. It brought Iran's exports and foreign trade to a virtual standstill, excepting only that which could be conducted overland, mainly through the Soviet Union. Iran was an impoverished nation already. It was pushed to near destitution and it could make no compensation by way of foreign exchange payments even if Britain had been prepared to accept it. But Britain was at pains to show other nations which might entertain the dastardly idea of nationalizing British interests just how effective an oil and trade embargo could be in bringing a nation to its economic knees. They took very good notice. They also took note of the fact that the embargo had required the cooperation of the United States and its oil companies to be effective. They could have intervened or circumvented it at the drop of a hat. By his erratic personal behaviour, the ailing 71-year old premier gave the West very good opportunity to ridicule both him and Iran, deepening the gulf which already existed between him and the shah.

~ September

~ In response to Israel's complaints that Egypt's closure of the Suez Canal and the Strait of Tiran to its shipping was a breach of both the UN Charter and the 1949 armistice agreement, the Security Council adopted a resolution submitted jointly by Britain, France and the United States to the effect that the closure was illegal, and called on Egypt to cease such interference.

Egypt had argued that the armistice did not put an end to a state of war, that its action was necessary pending the signing of a final peace treaty, and that it was exercising its right under the 1888 Convention to take any action necessary to protect its own security. It refused to abide by the Security Council resolution which, in any case, contained no enforcement provisions, but although it continued to deny access to Israeli shipping, it greatly reduced the level of surveillance and interference with ships carrying the flags of other nations in trade with Israel.

- ~ Back on the other side of Asia, the Korean War increased the urgency for a Japanese peace treaty.

Details were negotiated hurriedly, with the Soviet Union being deliberately bypassed (see above), and 49 countries signed at the San Francisco peace conference. The Soviet Union attended the conference but refused to sign. Japan recognized the independence of Korea and renounced all rights to Taiwan which was well and truly under the control of Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Chinese forces, the Pescadores, the Kuriles which had been occupied by the Soviet Union together with southern Sakhalin, and gave up the rights to the Pacific islands which had been allocated to it under League of Nations mandate. *Japan's "right to individual and collective self-defense" was recognized but it was to be exercised through the United States-Japan Security Treaty (1951) under which US forces remained in Japan.* Japan agreed not to grant similar rights to a third power without US approval – there were to be no more “access rights” granted to European powers such as those which the United States muscled in on seventy years earlier – and US forces were withdrawn from the mainland islands to Okinawa, half way to Taiwan. The question of reparations was left for Japan to negotiate with the countries which it had occupied. Japan's future relations with China were of great importance to it and Prime Minister Yoshida wished to delay a decision on recognition of either of the two Chinas, but Dulles insisted that the treaty would be opposed in the US Senate unless Japan agreed to recognize the Republic of China.

- ~ The United States negotiated defence treaties jointly with Australia and New Zealand (ANZUS).
- ~ The South African government embarked on a program to move blacks onto reserves. These were designated ‘homelands,’ and eventually 3.5 million people were ejected from normal towns into ten homelands.

~ **1952**

~ January

26: The trauma of Egypt's servile position, the want to be relieved of decades of colonial domination and the consequences of being pawns, ravaged by other people's wars – and the want for self-determination – had been apparent in mounting criticism of the monarchy and the ruling Waft, and in demonstrations, strikes and protests for some time, but now, on ‘*Black Saturday*’ it erupted.

Widespread rioting in Cairo resulted in dozens of deaths and hundreds of injuries as mobs opposed to both elite privilege and Western influence of the type that Pius XII had complained about when he was moving the Vatican into democratic-capitalism-mode (chapter 27, *Temporal Authority, the Lateran Treaty and civil government*), rampaged through the city, looting and burning many neighborhoods and businesses.²³⁸ The Waft government fell. In a bid to achieve stability Farouk installed two new prime ministers in quick succession.

~ March

- ~ For a year or two the United States government had been pressing Britain to recognize Farouk as king of both the Sudan and Egypt, expecting to gain some greater influence in

both countries by being seen to reduce the vestiges of colonial power and to reduce British influence in the region at the same time, but now, with dramatic upheaval in Egypt it urged the Churchill Government to speed up its discussions with Egypt and to begin the withdrawal of its forces immediately.²³⁹

- ~ 20: Of course Egypt was not the only country facing instability. When the South African Supreme Court ruled that Apartheid was unconstitutional, the government simply over-rode the decision by constituting *parliament* as a High Court.

The government had justified Apartheid on the grounds of Christian belief and Biblical teaching and, when it could no longer sustain that argument in its own constitutional court, it sought to maintain its position by also over-riding the democratic processes which the Vatican had just decided were equally as Christian as the Grand Fascism which it had been promoting until that time. It was being just as consistent as other powers of the amorphous Christian gel.

- ~ July

- ~ 23: In Egypt, only six months after the 'Black Saturday' riots, the British-backed monarch, Farouk, who was expected to acquiesce in whatever Britain wanted, was deposed.

A Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) controlled by Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser seized power but exercised it, initially, through a nominal regent, with Farouk's infant son, named to succeed him. That was a mere front to allow time for the change to be accepted without too much trauma (see below, *The Sudanese Saga*), and the RCC began to implement major social and economic reforms almost immediately. A land reform and redistribution scheme was given top priority. A limit (200 feddans) was placed on the area of agricultural land that an individual could own, and the resumed surplus was reallocated to small holders.

Nasser's progressive emergence from the shadows to recognition as president was of enormous significance. It represented a complete break with the past and a genuine revolution in national status and self-understanding. Farouk was a descendant of Muhammad Ali and belonged to a dynastic line which Egyptians rightly regarded as non-Egyptian and non-Arab. He not only represented continuing subordination to the powers of Europe but he was a constant reminder that for two thousand years, because of the peculiarities of its geographic position at the junction of Africa, Asia and Europe – the vital communication link between all three – it had been swept by, and was subordinate to, a series of major external powers. Nasser, born in Alexandria and the grandson of an illiterate farmer from rural Upper Egypt, was the first man of native Egyptian stock to exercise sustained and uncontested leadership in the country for that entire period.²⁴⁰ His rise to power therefore marked a political renaissance, a new place in the sun for Egypt, and generated a renewed national pride and a determination that the nation would not return to a position of servile submission. It was the basis of Nasser's burning ambition to make Egypt the new leader of the Arab world and of Dār al-Islām.

The spearhead of the renaissance was to be the ending of corruption and indulgence which characterized the political elite and the Free Officer Corps under Egypt's submissive or servile monarchy. In a scathing attack on the officer corps overall he said:

- They were overfed, lazy, and selfish and they spent their time eating, drinking, gambling, carousing, smoking hashish, and engaging in many different forms of tyranny and corruption. They had the most unmilitary stomachs I ever saw on army officers anywhere. They were fawning and subservient to the British Military Mission, and a disgrace to the uniform they wore. They spent money that belonged to the Egyptian Army on food and drink for themselves.²⁴¹

“War has no place in the reconstructive policy which we have designed to improve the lot of our people,” Nasser wrote in *Foreign Affairs*, January 1955; he was “adamant that priority in expenditure should be given to development projects,” and he was “prepared for peace with Israel on the basis of the 1949 armistice agreements.”²⁴² Some of Israel’s leaders, including Moshe Sharett, held reciprocal views,²⁴³ but not all, and that distinction, coupled with the circumstances and aims of the great-powers’ politics in the Middle East, soon led to a shift in emphasis.

- ~ In Iraq the government decided it was time for a resource producing country to receive reasonable value for the resources extracted by foreign enterprises. It raised the production tax to 50 per cent of production value, including royalties before the deduction of foreign tax.
- ~ In Jordan, King Talal abdicated in favor of his 17-year old son, Hussein, who immediately took steps to further deepen the Islamic character of East Jerusalem and to enhance the mosques of the Haram al-Sharif, including repairs and embellishments to the al-Aqsa Mosque.
- ~ October
- ~ Britain conducted its first independent nuclear tests – in Australia.
- ~ November
- ~ 1: The United States exploded its first hydrogen bomb – in the Pacific. It left an unanswered question. Was the timing of the detonation, three days before the US presidential elections, determined by weather conditions or by the need to claw back a few on the anti-Communist votes for the ailing Democrat Party cause?
- ~ 4: Eisenhower was elected president, but Truman remained in office for the normal transition period while his successor made a visit to Korea, threatened to use nuclear weapons, and to extend the war to China (see above), and Dulles fine-tuned his foreign policies and staff appointments.
- ~ With Iran suffering ever increasingly from Britain’s blockade, the Mosaddeq government retaliated by expelling the British altogether and Britain now decided it was time to get tough.

Under instructions from the second Churchill government, British officials approached the *de facto* head of the CIA’s Middle East division, Kermit (Kim) Roosevelt (a grandson of one US president and cousin of another) for US assistance to topple Mosaddeq. Roosevelt’s advice was that there was “no chance to win approval from the outgoing administration of Truman and

Acheson [but] the new Republicans, however, might be quite different.”²⁴⁴ Britain therefore had to wait until February to pursue the matter.

~ December

~ 15: Pope Pius XII issued the encyclical *Orientales Ecclesias* on Communist persecution of the church, with a call for prayers for the persecuted.

~ **1953**

~ January

~ Cooperation in Iran was only one of the problems Churchill had on his mind when he visited Washington for talks with president-elect Eisenhower. A proposal which Foreign Minister Eden had drawn up for Britain's phased withdrawal from Egypt as part of a general settlement of the 'Egyptian question' was high on his agenda.

It included, as well as the phased withdrawal of British troops; the maintenance of a military base in the canal zone in peace under conditions which would enable Britain and its allies to have immediate use of it in war; an Anglo-Egyptian organization for the air defence of Egypt; Egypt's participation in a Middle East defence organization; and a program of military and economic assistance to Egypt by both the United Kingdom and the United States. Churchill told Eisenhower that Britain was not asking for military help in Egypt "at present" but the fact that he even raised the matter and asked for US cooperation in joint economic assistance showed painfully clearly the parlous situation Britain was in, and gave Eisenhower every confidence that, with Dulles alongside him, the US was about to be handed an even stronger position in the Middle East. He asked Britain to consider the question of the US having a military representative in Cairo as well as Britain, which, Eden says, arose from Churchill's suggestion of "double-banked" diplomatic and military representation, but in view Churchill's rather vague request it was inevitable.²⁴⁵ Dulles had his foot in the door, and he was eager to get right inside! It would not take long. And according to Eden:

*Anglo-American differences about Egyptian policy persisted. ... our ambassador in Cairo commented that American policy in general seemed to be conditioned by a belief that Egypt was still the victim of British 'colonialism', and as such deserving of American sympathy. ... fear of losing their influence with the new regime, particularly on the part of the United States Embassy in Cairo and also an apparent disinclination by the United States Government to take second place even in an area where primary responsibility was not theirs, resulted in the Americans, at least locally, withholding the wholehearted support which their partner in NATO had the right to expect and which would have been of great, if not decisive, influence on our negotiations. Inevitably the Egyptians exploited the equivocal American attitude.*²⁴⁶ [Emphasis added.]

That statement says a lot about both the United States and Britain, and also the self-understanding of the amorphous Christian gel over all. It was Eden's way of saying that the United States was determined to sit astride the pinnacle of world power and that it was not interested in a cooperative territorial carve-up of the European style of 1885 (Africa); 1878 (Eastern Europe and the Balkans); 1919 (Versailles), or even 1947 (the Paris Peace

Conference). It was also his *de facto* admission that Britain had not shifted from the concept of empire and colonial rights. But through the use of the expression ‘*an area where primary responsibility was not theirs*’ it was also a reflection of the idea that one power or set of powers had the *responsibility* – or the right, or the authority by virtue of some special characteristic or divine delegation – to determine the orientation or pattern of government in other areas whether the people of that area wished it or not. Eden was *not* referring to an obligation or a right exercised under the authority of the United Nations, such as a mandate or a trust. He was referring to *influencing or interfering in the affairs of fully autonomous, independent nations* which were members of the United Nations: founding members at that! He was referring to a ‘responsibility’ dreamed up by the dominant powers of the amorphous Christian gel, broadly within the framework of NATO, in order to prevent certain nations from “falling under the influence” of an alternative philosophical and economic system of which they disapproved, whether those countries freely accepted such patronage or whether they were even aware of it. He was not writing about influence in the colonial context, nor in the context of invasion and subjugation. He was writing in the context of the trouble in the triangle and the self-understanding of the amorphous Christian gel. As we have seen, those of the alternative philosophical persuasion were doing the same thing, but they were doing it as a *reaction to* or a *response to* the self-understanding of the amorphous Christian gel. The only way to unwind the spiral was to unwind the self-understanding of the amorphous Christian gel.

- ~ In Jerusalem, a meeting of the World Islamic Congress was held and special celebrations were organized to commemorate the Prophet’s nocturnal journey and ascension to heaven, the *Night Journey*. These became the precedent for an annual pilgrimage to the city.

Some Christian leaders complained that too much emphasis was being placed on the Islamic element in Jerusalem’s personality, that there was discrimination in favor of Muslims, and that there was excessive government interference in the administration of Christian holy places, notably inspection requirements and restrictions on the acquisition of real estate.

- ~ February

- ~ 2: In his State of the Union address President Eisenhower threatened to support Nationalist China in an invasion of mainland China. It can be assumed that he briefed Churchill on his intentions during his visit a couple of weeks earlier.

His administration adopted John Foster Dulles’ foreign policy of permanent confrontation with the Soviet Union and military alliances to ‘roll-back’ Communism. This shaped all trade and foreign policies, including overt and covert activities of the CIA, to ensure the isolation of the Communist bloc, to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and China, and to sabotage economic development programs in all Communist-governed countries. [*Co-ordination of policies and activities between the State Department and the CIA was simple. They were being run by the Dulles brothers who, between them, dominated the National Security Council and its advice to Eisenhower.*] Subsequently, he proposed rapid development of a policy of “nuclear deterrence” to reduce the cost of maintaining large scale conventional armies and weapons. In particular the apocalyptic anti-Communist Dulles saw in Mosaddeq “the epitome of all that he

detested in the Third World: unequivocal neutralism in the Cold War, tolerance of Communists, and disrespect for free enterprise, as demonstrated by the oil nationalization ... [and as he considered that] ... Iran was a nation exceedingly rich in the liquid gold, and that it shared a border with the Soviet union more than 1,000 miles long, he was not unduly plagued by indecision as to whether the Iranian prime minister should retire from public life.”²⁴⁷

~ March

~ 5: Stalin’s death was followed by a power struggle before Khrushchev assumed Soviet leadership.

~ July

~ 27: The Korean armistice was signed.

~ About this time increased Egyptian assistance to the Palestinian refugee communities living in large temporary camps in the Gaza Strip included arms and equipment for Palestinian commando groups known as *fedayeen*, and the number of niggling cross-border incidents steadily increased.

Israel claimed to be following a policy of retaliation on the basis of ‘an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth,’ but in the circumstances of the establishment of Israel it is impossible to say who was responding to whose action. Both parties kept up a steady stream of hit and run actions. Israel was just as eager to increase its arms supplies from abroad as were the Palestinians, and, with Egypt supporting and inciting anti-French guerrillas in the French North African colonies, France was eager to find a partner who could distract or discourage Egypt. Who more logical than Israel? A deal was done, but arms under the agreement did not start to arrive until the beginning of 1955.

~ August

~ In Iran, encouraged by both Britain and the United States, the Shah attempted to dismiss Mosaddeq but revolution forced the Shah to leave the country instead.

However within a few days, with the support of both countries, but mainly the CIA, Mosaddeq was overthrown, the Shah was restored to power and Mosaddeq was imprisoned for treason. This was among the CIA’s first covert operations. Kermit Roosevelt later claimed in a book about how he and the CIA carried out the operation that it was staged only to prevent a takeover of power by the Iranian Communist Party (The Tudeh) which was closely backed by the Soviet Union. He was thus arguing that Mosaddeq had to be removed to prevent a Communist takeover, whereas the Truman administration had believed that Mosaddeq had to be kept in power to prevent one.²⁴⁸ Although he was the titular head of Shī’a Islam the Shah was now seen to be supporting the US-Israeli alliance. This meant that while the US regarded him as providing “an island of stability,” to many Muslims he was the US surrogate and a traitor. The Shah retained Iranian oil-production facilities under Iranian government control but he was under enormous pressure to agree to the return of foreign oil companies. He did so, on new terms, and the consortium was operating through two companies within a matter of months. The politics of oil were becoming more tightly enmeshed in matters of religion.

- ~ About this time, the Jordanian cabinet declared Jerusalem to be the country's second capital; held a formal session there, and resolved to continue the practice on a periodic basis.
 - ~ The Brazilian government established Petrobras as a government monopoly oil entity and, from its point of view, the 'disease' which the United States feared was spreading!
- The Sultan of Morocco, who had been supporting the nationalist push for independence, was exiled by the French to Madagascar but that action aggravated the discontent and evidence of an imminent revolt was soon apparent.

~ September

- ~ 8: On the religious front, Pope Pius XII issued the encyclical *Fulgens Corona*, a call for Catholics to observe the Marian Year and concentrating attention on the dogma of Immaculate Conception.
- ~ But in Israel the authorities were more eager to secure the future of their state than to bother too much about theology. They began construction of a Jordan River water diversion scheme and, in doing so, aggravated tension with Syria which degenerated progressively to become the trigger for the Six Day War 14 years later.

About this time, the shipment of oil supplies from Iran were resumed and Israel again complained to the Security Council about Egyptian interference with its shipping. Egypt's response was that no ship or cargo going to Israel had been confiscated since September 1951, and that of 32.047 vessels transiting the canal during that period only 55 had actually been inspected even though domestic cargo was being carried from Haifa to Eilat via the canal under third party flags.²⁴⁹

~ October

- ~ With tension over all of these inter-linked issues increasing, and with the French eager for increased 'distraction' to keep Egypt occupied, Israel struck into Jordan in what was said to be an 'eye for an eye' raid in retaliation for a raid from the West Bank in which a woman and two children were murdered. But it was a bit more than an eye for an eye. The Israeli forces attacked the village of Qibya and killed 66 people. The Security Council condemned the raid but that was like pouring water on a duck's back. Israel knew that the Western powers might bark – even the United States did – but they would not bite. It only had the Arabs to worry about.

~ November

- ~ 9: In Cambodia Prince Norodom Sihanouk took command of the army and declared his country's independence, upon which France reoccupied Dienbienphu. It was not going to vacate Indochina that readily.

~ 1954

~ January

- ~ It did not seem to bother him at all that most of the world's people were aghast, wondering what fate was in store for them, when John Foster Dulles unveiled his policy of "massive

retaliation” against any targets of the US’s choosing in response to “aggression” anywhere in the world.

This amounted to the threat of nuclear attack on either Russia or China at the slightest provocation which would require a big increase in US air force capacity, and access to air and communications bases around the world. The temperature of the Cold War was raised enormously, together with the concerns of people in countries which were required to host such bases and therefore could become nuclear targets by default. However, on the other side of Churchill’s ‘iron curtain’ the Soviet Union’s intelligence, national security, espionage and counter espionage organizations which had gone through a series of reorganizations during the Second World War, in parallel with those of the US, were now, in the wake of Stalin’s death, (in suspicious circumstances on March 5, 1953), being restructured again to take account of the demands of the Cold War. A new organization, the KGB, incorporating all aspects of Soviet security and intelligence except military operational intelligence, was established.²⁵⁰ It expanded to greater total size than the CIA, was considered to be of comparable professional competence, and was greatly feared at home and abroad. Two authorities on international terrorism have noted that the CIA and the KGB were (or are) “the two great terror organizations in the history of the world.”²⁵¹

~ March

~ 25: But Pius XII was trying to keep the world’s attention on higher things. He issued the encyclical *Sacra Virginitas*, concerning the pre-eminence of Evangelical Chastity.

~ June

~ And Eisenhower also had his eyes turned skywards. In spite of the fact that tactical nuclear weapons with a range of up to 500 km were already deployed in Europe at that time, he approved the US ICBM project as a top priority. Then, in contrast with his tough line in Europe, he took “an attitude of comparative neutrality” in the Middle East and encouraged Britain to “accommodate itself to Egypt’s demands”²⁵² while Dulles set out to woo Nasser into a positive pro-Western stance.

~ July

~ That raised concerns among the hard-liners in the Israeli Defence Department who were not cooperating in Prime Minister Sharett’s efforts to maintain dialogue with Nasser and who feared that cordial relations between Egypt and the United States would reduce American support for their own country.

Defence Minister Lavon and Chief of Staff Dayan colluded in schemes to sabotage both the growing cordiality between Israel and Egypt, which Sharett wanted, and between Egypt and the United States, which Dulles wanted. The plan which had the greatest ‘success’ in generating distrust between Cairo and Jerusalem involved a number of Israeli agents working with about a dozen locally recruited Egyptian Jews to plant bombs and set fires at various public buildings in Cairo and Alexandria, including libraries of the US Information Service. It was intended to cause anti-Egyptian sentiment within the United States at a time when the Nasser government was seeking arms and assistance from Washington and was also hoping to enlist American

support in negotiations with Britain over the future of its military bases in the Suez Canal Zone. They hoped to persuade the British that their presence was still needed in Egypt. Even though the plot was uncovered and most of the participants were apprehended and tried – two Israeli agents were hung, six were gaoled and two Egyptian Jews were acquitted – both Nasser and Sharett were aghast at the other's reactions. Bitterness replaced the cordiality, and there were long term adverse repercussions.²⁵³ The situation was poised very close to war. But the plot brought some 'success' because the US government put direct pressure on Nasser to agree to at least a short term British presence in the canal zone, advising that unless he accepted "reasonable terms" they would stop all economic aid,²⁵⁴ and an agreement for a British withdrawal was initialled on July 27.

~ 28: Eden's announcement to the Commons next day was greeted with consternation and vigorous debate and there was a distinct expectation that the agreement may not be ratified.

The agreement provided that Britain's withdrawal would be phased over twenty months – to be completed by June 1956. Once vacated, the base was to be maintained jointly by Britain and Egypt in efficient working order and capable of immediate use in the event of an attack on any member of the Arab League or, *against Nasser's wishes*, the Baghdad Pact member, Turkey, but Britain would not be there. It was tantamount to giving away a vital piece of Empire which Britain had fought many wars to hold. It would be completely under Egyptian control! Britain would no longer have control of the vital defence, trade and communications link with the empire east of Suez. Only intervention in the debate by Britain's elder statesman, Churchill, ensured that the agreement would be ratified, and the fragility of the situation is indicated by his remarks. But they are important for another reason, not simply that he swung the vote in favour of vacating a vital piece of imperial territory. Churchill did not exhibit the belligerency of his war time leadership years when he had repeatedly sought to draw other countries into the conflict and to spread the war in his bid to maintain the empire at all costs. He was quite conciliatory. Was it that he had mellowed quite remarkably? Or had he realized that, as during the 1930s, the survival of Britain's empire depended on the maintenance of stability in the Suez region? It was the latter. But this time the players were different and the method of maintaining stability had to be radically different.

It was only 16 years since Chamberlain's cabinet had before it, on February 17, 1938, a Chiefs of Staff report from which it had to formally determine Britain's revised military strategy. The Committee of Imperial Defence had learned from Admiral Chatfield that it was largely "a question of balancing risks" between the three global theatres and the Chiefs of Staff had concluded after their Mediterranean Appreciation review that the unstable situation in the Middle East demanded military measures. Chatfield had said that *building the land and air defences in Egypt up to self-sufficiency for a sixty-day period would involve "some denuding of home defences" but the services were now willing to take that risk.*²⁵⁵ *The Middle East was now recognized to be the critical factor in Britain's ability to hold its empire together.* So critical that

home and continental defences had to be cut to the point at which Britain was quite unable to deter Hitler from any adventures he cared to undertake. (Chapter 21)

It is no wonder that the Commons was aghast at the proposal to walk away from the Suez Canal just because people in one of its former colonies wanted a riot or two. That was *not* the way a colonial riot would have been dealt with previously! But now the situation was different and Churchill said, in part:

I have not in the slightest degree concealed in public speech how much I regretted the course of events in Egypt. But I had not held my mind closed to the tremendous changes that have taken place in the whole strategic position in the world which makes the thoughts which were well formed and well knit together a year ago utterly obsolete and which have changed the opinions of every competent soldier that I have been able to meet.

... I should be prepared to ... show how utterly out of proportion to the Suez Canal and the position which we held in Egypt are the appalling developments and the appalling spectacle which imagination raises before us. Merely to try to imagine in outline the first few weeks of a war under conditions about which we did not know when this session commenced, and about which we had not been told – merely to portray that picture and submit it to the House would, I am sure, convince honourable Gentlemen of the obsolescence of the Base and of the sense of proportion which is vitally needed at the present time, not only in military dispositions, but in all our attempts to establish human relationships between nation and nation.²⁵⁶ [Emphasis added.]

Later, Selwyn Lloyd, Minister for Defence during the Sudan phase and Foreign Secretary during the Suez phase of the crisis, was more forthcoming. He wrote, first, concerning the decision to go quietly, and, second, on its strategic importance:

Independence for the Indian Empire had deprived us of the firm base from which in the past our military efforts in the Middle East had been supported at no great cost to ourselves. The Suez base was no substitute. It depended on local labour which faded away when relations between us and Egypt were strained. It was obsolescent and beyond our financial means, so it had to go – although, as I have indicated earlier, I should have preferred a slower departure.²⁵⁷

[Critics said] it needed Suez ... to convince us that we were no longer a Great Power. This is very wide of the mark. We knew the facts only too well. ... The Second World War had turned us from the world's greatest creditor to the world's greatest debtor. We could not undertake any more external commitments. Our gold and dollar reserves only covered three months' imports. All this made the safeguarding of our supplies of oil from the Middle East the more important. What we did not foresee were the actions that would be taken against us by the United States Government.²⁵⁸

~ September

~ While Egypt celebrated its success in forcing Britain to begin the phased British evacuation of the Canal Zone, opposition to continuing French rule in North Africa, which

had been limited to guerrilla warfare until then, came to a head with revolution in Algeria – with Nasser’s help. He extended his anti-colonial campaign to include the French by providing not only political support for the Algerian rebels, but arms as well, and urban Muslim communities became directly involved for the first time. In addition, in West Africa, Britain was under increasing pressure and it agreed to a loose federal system of government and a timetable for independence for the diverse complex of regions which it had progressively subjugated between 1861 and 1914 to form the single colony of Nigeria.

- ~ And to complicate matters further, when Israel complained to the Security Council, yet again, that Egypt was still restricting its trade through the Suez Canal, a resolution expressing “grave concern” that Egypt had not ceased interference after the Council’s 1951 resolution failed through a veto by the Soviet Union. Israel sought to test its ally’s mettle by sending one of its own merchant vessels, the *Bat Galim*, through the canal. It was seized, its crew was only released after three months in detention, and Egypt made it clear to the world that vessels from the Jewish State simply would not be permitted through.²⁵⁹ The question of rights of passage had moved from the political-hypothetical to the political-practical.
- ~ But it was not only in Africa that the desperation bids by both Britain and France to cling to their colonial privileges, which had been at the heart of their pre-Second World War manoeuvring, were entering their final stages, and a four-year guerrilla war of China-backed rebels confronting Britain for control of Malaya began, while in Vietnam Catholic peasants migrating south under pressure from the China-backed Vietminh were being integrated through the expansion of rice growing projects.
- ~ Thus, prompted by the rash of Communist-backed rebel activity in South East Asia, the South East Asia Treaty (SEATO) was signed by the US, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Thailand, Pakistan and the Philippines. [It formally took effect in February 1955.]
- ~ October
- ~ 7: Showing his continuing concern for China, Pius XII issued the encyclical *Ad Sinarum Gentem*, on the church in China, followed four days later by *Ad Caeli Reginam* in which he defined the Feast of the Queenship of Mary. There was to be no end to the amplification of provocative Mariology.
- ~ 9: When the French forces finally left Hanoi, Eisenhower’s special envoy, General J. Lawton Collins, arrived to affirm US support for Diem, and, with the help of the US Navy, hundreds of thousands of refugees began to flee from the North to the South.

CENSURE! ANY CHANCE FOR A CHANGE OF DIRECTION?

- ~ December
- ~ 2: The atmosphere in the United States showed an immediate improvement when Senator McCarthy was censured by the US Senate for “conduct contrary to Senate traditions.” The

open-air era of rabid McCarthyism and Communist witch hunting began to subside, together with the level of paranoia.

The world at large no longer believed it was justified. People were fearful of it and tiring of constantly provoked polarization. In fact, while the open-air face of McCarthyism was subdued, the under-cover version was still pursued relentlessly, but the US government gradually became aware of the resentment which activities such as the CIA's engineering of the overthrow of an allegedly Communist-backed government in Guatemala was generating. Subsequently, violent protests against Vice President Richard M. Nixon during his trip to Caracas and Lima alerted Washington to the dangers inherent in neglecting the genuine needs of the region. The United States agreed to fund an Inter-American Development Bank, while the State Department sought to avoid too close an association with unpopular, authoritarian regimes. Whatever the overall merits of such a policy were, it was to have disastrous effects in Cuba. But Latin America was not the only region where concern was being expressed with growing strength. The whole of Africa and Asia was affected, and within a few months of McCarthy's fall from grace this was made very clear at the Bandung Conference.

~ 1955

~ January

~ The United States celebrated the New Year by channeling the first aid under a \$100 million package directly to the Saigon government, and agreed to train the South Korean Army.

~ February

~ 17: Ben-Gurion became Minister for Defence and ordered a series of actions which soon brought increased tension between Israel and Egypt.

In particular he ordered harsh retaliatory strikes in response to guerrilla raids launched by Palestinians in the Gaza Strip. He gave as his justification for that program that severe reprisals were necessary to deter a larger military confrontation. In the biggest such strike, on the 28th, Israeli paratroopers were dropped to destroy military targets and in the process ambushed and destroyed an Egyptian convoy of reinforcements, killing 38 and wounding 62. That raid ended, *irrevocably*, whatever possibility had remained for rapprochement between Nasser's government and the Jewish State.²⁶⁰

However there was another factor as well. As noted above (July 1953) France had agreed to supply Israel with arms on the clear understanding that they would eventually be used against Egypt in retaliation for its support of the Algerian rebels.²⁶¹ The first shipments under that agreement had just arrived and Ben-Gurion may have wanted to show his gratitude – or just try out the new equipment. *The 'tits' for 'tats' were getting bigger and bigger in the struggle to determine the fate of colonialism and the young Jewish State which was born as a consequence of Britain's bid to consolidate its colonial power with the Balfour Declaration in 1917 was now helping the colonial powers in their desperate bids to retain their failing grip at the same time that it was helping the United States to supplant them.* The parody of *Mein Kampf* was giving way to the parody of *Der Judenstaat*. Increasingly, whatever Israel did, from the expulsion and

oppression of the Palestinians (chapter 28) to its support for the colonial powers, was in contradiction of the high ideals and policies set out in Herzl's original plan for a Jewish State. And Ben-Gurion, being fearful that with a change of leadership the Israeli government might take a more conciliatory approach in negotiations with the Arabs, to Israel's disadvantage, appointed several of his political and ideological allies to key positions in the Defence Ministry in a bid to ensure the continuity of his hard-line approach to national security.²⁶²

~ April

~ 18: But at least some people were eager to talk peace and reconciliation. The Indonesian government played host to a week-long conference of 29 Asian and African states, organized by Indonesia, Burma (Myanmar), Ceylon (Sri Lanka), India and Pakistan at Bandung.

Together, those countries represented more than half of the world population. The first such conference ever held, it reflected widespread dissatisfaction, especially within the sponsor countries, with the reluctance of the Western powers to consult with them on decisions affecting Asia; their concern over tension between the People's Republic of China and the United States; their desire to lay firmer foundations for China's peaceful relations with themselves and the West; their opposition to continuing colonialism, especially French influence in North Africa; and Indonesia's desire to promote its case in the dispute with The Netherlands over western New Guinea (Irian Jaya). Major debate centred upon the question of whether Soviet policies in eastern Europe and central Asia should be censured along with Western colonialism. A consensus was reached in which "colonialism in all of its manifestations" was condemned, implicitly censuring the Soviet Union, as well as the West. China's prime minister, Zhou Enlai, impressed other leaders by his moderate and conciliatory attitude, reducing the fears which some of the anticommunist delegates held about China's intentions. The conference unanimously adopted a 10-point "declaration on the promotion of world peace and cooperation," incorporating the principles of the United Nations charter and the five principles proposed by prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India.²⁶³

~ May

~ 7: The position of the Afro-Asian countries was strengthened considerably only a fortnight after the Bandung Conference closed when there was a turning point in the fate of Vietnam and the French empire. The French forces in Indochina were decisively defeated by the Vietminh at Dienbienphu.

A nine-power conference on the future of Vietnam, which had been planned four months earlier by a meeting of the Big Four foreign ministers, (six weeks before the battle began), opened in Geneva the next day, and dragged on and on. It was becoming clear that the Western powers would fall into line to help secure France's interests – they did not have any option except to prepare to surrender their own colonial authority – but it was also becoming clear that the system of colonial territories was in its final phase. The countdown had started.

The Afro-Asian group position was then strengthened further when Khrushchev made his first trip outside the Soviet Union, to Yugoslavia, showed a new flexibility in Soviet policy, and

apologized to Tito for Stalin's denunciation of Yugoslav Communism in 1948. In the Belgrade declaration which was adopted at that time Khrushchev committed Soviet leaders to equality in relations with the communist-ruled countries. Later, in trips to Geneva, Afghanistan, and India, he showed the extroverted personal diplomacy for which he became quite highly regarded but his attacks on world capitalism were no less virulent and simplistic.

- ~ But at a different conference, NATO members ignored Khrushchev's new approach and agreed on a formula for the re-arming of Western Germany, and the occupation of the Western Zones of the country officially ended.
- ~ And that was followed immediately by the founding conference of the WARSAW PACT countries, in Warsaw.

European NATO members then feared the prospect that Warsaw Pact countries may in future be armed with nuclear weapons which would nullify the advantage of their US-armed bases and result in horrific short-range nuclear war in Europe, and those fears forced reconsideration of the type of weapons which should be based in Europe. Negotiations centred around the concept of a 'limited nuclear war' (LNU) utilizing only field weapons and short range missiles, but when the NATO forces undertook large scale field exercises or 'war games' it was apparent that once nuclear weapons were introduced into a conflict there would only be escalation. Stock piles became bigger and bigger. The concept of an LNU was a nonsense – a contradiction in terms.

- ~ At that time another Dulles initiative, the BAGHDAD PACT was also being negotiated and signed progressively, by Turkey and Iraq (February 24), Britain (April 5), Pakistan (September 23), and Iran (October 23), thus extending the anti-Soviet barrier from NATO in Europe, around the southern border of the Soviet Union, to link with SEATO.

However the negotiation of that treaty soon had other consequences that Dulles did not welcome and would not be able to cope with. In working pragmatically from one step to another within the framework of his 'isolate-the-Soviet-Union-at-all-costs' policy it appears that he often did not anticipate the consequences of what he was doing. He reckoned to deal with any complications from a position of strength as they arose. The Baghdad Pact proved to be another step on the way to both the Suez Crisis and the Six Day War. When a pact involving both Iraq and Turkey was proposed, Nasser immediately objected to it, apparently for two reasons. First, for what it was: a bid to further isolate the Soviet Union. Second, because it conflicted with his ambition to lead a regenerated Arab world and then a rejuvenated wider Muslim world. He already saw Iraq as a leadership contender, and its claims would be strengthened by the presence of its immediate non-Arab Muslim neighbours in another regional alliance which would include two other Muslim non-Arab countries, Iran and Pakistan. Then, in July, when Britain began to put pressure on Jordan to join as well, he was even more angry. It would not only add another Arab nation to the Soviet isolation ring, it would also tie another Arab nation more closely to the United States and its Israel support system. Nasser mounted a vigorous and successful campaign to prevent Jordan from joining.

Now: Britain was a member of the Pact even though it was not a country of the region, as it was in SEATO, because it had its seemingly vital interests in its Gulf State Protectorates. It needed the Baghdad Pact. It knew that its bases could not have remained in Iraq on the old footing and its military presence had to be under the umbrella of a pact. According to Lloyd: "With Turkey, Iran and Pakistan as members, together with US support, it could not plausibly be described as an instrument of British imperialism, but it ensured a presence for us." It was "an arrangement between equals which would be palatable in Iraq [but] its success ... depended very much on continuing American support."²⁶⁴ However, even though the pact was a Dulles initiative, the United States was not a member. Dulles claimed that he could not get the two-thirds majority vote in the Senate which was necessary for accession to a treaty. He did not think that Jewish opinion in America would be favourable. He told the British that once what he described as "a Palestine settlement" had been achieved, it would be different and he would recommend full American membership. He agreed, however, to send military and political observers to the meetings.²⁶⁵ If anyone doubted that the Jewish members of Congress, supported by their Congressional lobby, had the capacity to determine the outcome of votes, that was proof enough. Why then, if Dulles knew he could not get congressional support for his own country to join, and if it was causing significant tensions between countries in the region, was he pushing it so hard? Basically he was locked in by his total pre-occupation with isolating the Soviet Union in the context of his passionate hostility to Communism and his near-obsessive determination to eliminate it as an economic and philosophical competitor against Capitalism. (See above, *John Foster Dulles – in full flight!*) Selwyn Lloyd, then Britain's Minister of State and later Foreign Secretary, later wrote that he believed the real reason was that Dulles "wanted to have it both ways – to have a defensive alliance created on the Soviet southern frontier, but *not by joining to incur the hostility of Nasser* and those in other Arab states who thought as Nasser did."²⁶⁶ [Emphasis added.] *However Dulles was very successfully incurring the hostility of Nasser.* The Egyptian government had requested arms from the United States and the US chose this moment, in May, to reject the request. That left Nasser no option except to turn to the Soviet bloc.²⁶⁷

~ A neighboring Arab country which was *not* invited to join the Baghdad Pact was Syria. It did not share a border with the Soviet Union, so it was not a 'front line state' in that sense. But neither was Iraq. Iran and Turkey did, but not Iraq. It was only a little closer to the Soviet Union than Syria. However, for all that, the United States was interested in Syria. Very interested.

SYRIA: THE ODD STATE OUT

Congress had before it the US Mutual Security Act 1955 which dealt with America's relations with the beneficiaries of its economic or military assistance. The act was a matter of reaction. The Soviet Union had stolen a march on the United States with Khrushchev's policy of aid for developing countries in the context of 'Peaceful Coexistence.' He had initiated a program of carefully targeted diplomacy through state visits, linked with political consultations, bilateral

agreements, and the provision of technical and manpower aid, all in the framework of coordinated or total economic planning, all within the philosophical framework that the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America could not be truly independent until they were free from both economic dependence on their former masters and political subservience to them. This appealed to the leaders of many of those countries which did not have technical and commercial economies which had already evolved to a reasonably high level of sophistication.

The Soviet policy was much preferred to Truman's aid program which had been based on grants and loans to new nations lest they "drift toward poverty, despair, fear, and the other miseries of mankind which breed unending wars." To those on the receiving end, America's policy looked very much like the dribbling of aid for appearances where it was necessary to camouflage the impact of the 'Ugly Americans' and their policies of unplanned, uncoordinated commercial investment where there was a quick buck to be made in the name of 'development.' The US administration was therefore well aware that it had to put more order into its relations with the 'Third World'²⁶⁸ which was hell-bent on achieving decolonization, or watch it gravitate towards the anti-imperialist anti-Capitalist Soviet camp – and lose the opportunity to dominate it and to ensure that Capitalism was properly seeded, or bedded down. That was, after all, the purpose behind the establishment of the Bretton Woods institutions.

But there was a complicating factor. The United States had *gone into* the Second World War determined to dismantle the European colonial empires; it *came out* in the same frame of mind, and, as already noted, it was caught. Together with the Vatican, Britain and France were its main allies in the Cold War, so if it was to retain their help it had to (temporarily) sustain their rule by offering support (grudgingly) for their anti-nationalist and anti-Communist activities and those of the indigenous political parties and commercial interests in their colonies which were of like mind. In that context, every Third World country was now *expected* to either want or be grateful for *American* aid, so arrangements had to be put on a formal basis. When Eisenhower became president his administration cut back on foreign aid and triggered a great debate about the efficacy of aid and its purpose. The Marshall Plan, according to critics, was not a valid program for Third World aid because it was based on the need for industrial populations to rebuild their societies, while Third World countries needed – or so the argument ran – a means to kick-start industrial or agricultural development in 'primitive' barter or elementary cash-based economies. How could they become markets for the consumer goods of America without it? But foreign aid did not always serve US interests. Many Third World rulers chose neutralism or Socialism in preference to unbridled Capitalism because they did not have the administrative capacity to put a bridle on it. Neither did it promote sustainable economic growth because that required social and physical infrastructure which they did not have. They had to get that first, and that required planning. Those that supported aid programs claimed that *American* capital and technology were needed precisely to build infrastructure, to assist "nation building," and to prevent Communist "incursion" into such countries which might subvert the development of an advanced Western style 'consumer' society before it got off the ground.

The US Mutual Security Act 1955 therefore specified that a recipient country agree to make a contribution to “the defensive strength of the free world,” and declared it US policy “to encourage the efforts of other free nations ... to foster private initiative and competition [i.e., Capitalism].”^{269 270} The American concern was that Syria did not seem to appreciate the significance of this. It was not behaving as Washington thought a Third World government should. It was the only state in the region which had refused all offers of US economic and military assistance. It did not like the strings attached, such as the presence of American military advisers. America’s Syria-watching diplomats were therefore concerned that it was looking over its left shoulder, towards the Soviet Union. In May 1955 they prepared the first of a series of reports which spread over eight months and read, in part:

If the popular leftward trend in Syria continues over any considerable period, there is a real danger that Syria will fall completely under left-wing control either by coup or usurpation of authority ... the fundamental anti-US and anti-West orientation of the Syrians is stimulated by inevitable political histrionics about the Palestine problem ... Four successive short lived governments in Syria have permitted continuous and increasing Communist activities ... the Communists support the leftist cliques [in] the army ... apathy towards the Communism on the part of politicians and army officers [is a threat to security] ... the Arab Socialist Resurrectionist Party (ASRP) and the Communist Party of Syria are capable of bringing about further deterioration of Syrian internal security ... [danger of ASRP] coup d’etat [and] increased Communist penetration of government and army ... Of all the Arab states Syria is at present time the most wholeheartedly devoted to a neutralist policy with strong anti-Western overtones ... If the present trend continues there is a strong possibility that a Communist dominated Syria will result, threatening the peace and stability of the area and endangering the achievement of our objectives in the Near East ... [we] should give priority consideration to developing courses of action in the Near East designed to affect the situation in Syria and to recommending specific steps to combat Communist subversion.²⁷¹

The self-appointed ‘policeman’ for the world was going about his duties very efficiently. He was quietly searching for ‘crime.’ It appears that none was reported, except on the basis of the attitudes of the McCarthyist era. Another extract read:

In fact, the Communist Party does not appear to have as its immediate objective seizure of power. Rather it seeks to destroy national unity, to strengthen support for Soviet policies and opposition to Western policies and to exacerbate tensions in the Arab world. It has made significant progress towards these objectives.²⁷² [Emphasis added.]

If he couldn’t find any actual ‘crime’ committed to prosecute, then he had to *anticipate* it and *preempt* it. An ‘appropriate’ operation soon began to take shape.



~ July

~ While the Syria-watches were contemplating their “appropriate operation,” just across the border Nasser was still interfering in Jordan to prevent the king from joining the Baghdad

Pact. He was less concerned about keeping Jordan out of the anti-Soviet camp than he was about keeping in the anti-Israel camp. He could see that once it was beholden to the United States and Britain in the Baghdad Pact its foreign policy on the question of Israel would have to be aligned with those countries and not its fellow Arabs.

The drawn-out Geneva Conference on Vietnam called for hostilities to end in each of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos; and a provisional line of demarcation between North and South Vietnam was determined at the 17th parallel. The US declined to accept the final conference declaration. Bedell Smith said it would not disturb the agreements reached, but would view renewed aggression “with concern.”²⁷³ It promptly supported the right wing Ngo Dinh Diem who refused to recognize the call by the conference for popular elections on July 16, moved to set up a dictatorship, and set about suppressing the Buddhist sects and Communist agents, But that was nothing new. The United States was already supporting a Fascist dictator in South Korea. South Vietnam was entitled to one, too. Ho Chi Minh promptly visited both Beijing and Moscow who obliged with military assistance.

Also at that time Dulles agreed, somewhat reluctantly, to a Disarmament Summit in Geneva. The Soviet Union called for a unified, neutral Germany. The West responded by requiring Western style ‘free’ elections. The Soviets declined. Eisenhower’s proposed “open skies” observation system which, he said, would mean that each power knew where the other had military facilities. The Soviets would not agree. They were fearful that they would be at a disadvantage because their spying facilities were less sophisticated, and there was quite a degree of sympathy for their point of view in other countries. In any case, they did not want to rely on spy-in-the-sky planes as basis for their relations with the West and Marshall Bulganin, in a mood to shift the emphasis and to get relations with the West back on an even keel, invited Eden to visit the Soviet Union. Eden declined, citing his work load at home, but, catching Bulganin’s mood, he extended an invitation for the marshal to visit Britain. He accepted, saying that he and Khrushchev would be travelling and would like to visit London.²⁷⁴

The summit meeting showed the world that rapprochement was possible, strengthened the push for non-alignment among the smaller countries, and made it clear that decision making was, properly speaking, a shared process. The great Western powers were beginning to find it just a trifle more difficult to make their decisions in private and then foist them on an unsuspecting world as the decisions of the United Nations. The UN had admitted 16 new members in one year compared with only nine in the previous ten years. Membership then stood at 76 countries and the new members felt that they wanted to know what went on behind closed doors, and why. But even worse, many of them had gathered courage and confidence from their participation in the Bandung Conference and they wanted to have a say in the decision making process, especially in policies affecting peace and development.²⁷⁵ And the majority of them were not even Christian! Eleven were, but six were Muslim, six were Buddhist and one was Jewish..

TO DAM, OR TO DAMN?

One country with an all-consuming interest in development at that time was Egypt. Its plans and negotiations towards the construction of a new high dam on the Nile at Aswan were at an advanced stage. The three-mile long dam was planned for power generation and irrigation to dramatically increase Egypt's primary production and to enable diversification and regional development which would underpin Egypt's political and economic independence. But there were some problems. One was that the Nile flowed through Sudan before Egypt and both countries wanted a share of the water. This was one of the key reasons for political interest in a Nile Valley Union. But agreement had not yet been reached on how many dams should be built and what proportion of the waters should be available to each country. Another problem was that the Aswan High Dam was going to cost \$1.3 billion and Egypt did not have that kind of money. Assistance was required. Negotiations had reached such a point that Egypt's intention was to engage a consortium of British, French and German construction companies which would each be responsible for certain aspects of the project. Each government would help share the risk by backing their members of the consortium with financial aid, but it was decided to seek further help from both the United States and the World Bank. It was agreed that there would be an initial Anglo-American *grant* of \$70 million, of which Britain's contribution would be only \$14 million, and the World Bank would lend \$200 million. It appeared to be on track, but there were details to be finalized,²⁷⁶ and politics began to get in the way.

~ September

~ The signatures of the non-Arab members, Pakistan and Iran, were not even dry on the Baghdad Treaty when Nasser made it clear that Egypt was not going to be brow-beaten into submission by the Pact and that he would trade with who ever he wished: even in armaments. He announced that Egypt would receive from Czechoslovakia MIG fighters, Ilyushin jet bombers, Stalin Mark III tanks, Czech T34 tanks, other heavy equipment and large quantities of small arms.²⁷⁷

The balance of power in the Middle East shifted dramatically. The news was greeted enthusiastically in other Arab capitals but the Israelis felt that they now had their backs to the wall. The deal was of such significance that Eden believed the British government must take steps to maintain some leverage over Egypt in view of the fact that it had already signed an agreement to withdraw its troops from the Canal Zone by mid 1956. He was convinced that it was "vitally necessary" for the West to accept financial responsibility for the Aswan High Dam scheme to provide that leverage. There had been talk of the Soviet Union helping with the dam and Eden felt that if such help were added to the arms deal it would mean "an undesirable extension of Soviet influence in Africa." However the government was divided on the issue. Some ministers favoured letting Nasser go to the Russians. They believed the presence of large numbers of Russians in the country might not endear them to the Egyptians and, because the Saudi royal family was strongly anti-Communist, the presence of Russians in Egypt "might cool Saudi-Egyptian relations" to the advantage of the West. However Eden had his way and the decision was taken to proceed.²⁷⁸

But Nasser, having announced the Soviet arms agreement, also closed the Strait of Tiran to all shipping, thus isolating the Israeli port of Eilat completely. Ben-Gurion thereupon instructed the Defence Ministry to prepare for war and submitted to cabinet a proposal to occupy Sharm al-Sheikh, the bluff from which Egypt commanded the strait. Cabinet declined to act on it.²⁷⁹

The stakes were getting higher and the tensions greater. The Turkish government feared that Egypt, now being armed by the Soviet Union, might be tempted to accept a Soviet base. If it did, Turkey, would be sitting right across the Soviet communications and supply route as well as its merchant and naval fleet access to the Mediterranean. That fact, meaning that the Western powers could sever his trade route, had been a major concern for Nasser when Turkey agreed to join the Baghdad Pact and it had fueled his opposition to the concept of the pact. Now it was Turkey's turn to worry. Having agreed to a Baghdad Pact base, the possibility of a Soviet base south of the Mediterranean meant that Turkey was now host to a potential prime target in the event of conflict in the Middle East. Because of that, the government might well come under pressure from its Muslim electorate to withdraw from the pact or face an uprising. It was eager that the risks should be spread more widely by the inclusion of another country in the region. But who? It would have to be a Muslim Arab country. There were no others. Iraq was already a member, having permitted the British oil fields protection base to remain under another name when it might otherwise have asked the colonial power to leave. Syria and Saudi Arabia were both firmly opposed to the pact. That left Jordan. Hussein already had the protection of the British-staffed Arab League under its 1948 treaty with Britain. Turkey therefore urged Britain to approach Jordan. But that was a very sensitive matter, too, because it was the western half of the original Palestine Mandate; half of its population was ethnic Palestinian; it was predominantly Muslim; and it was a launching point for Palestinian raids into Israel. Britain had its own reasons for wanting to strengthen the base, there was a coincidence of interests, so the decision was made. Entice Jordan into the pact. But it had become even more essential that the ethnic and religious question – the Arab-Israeli conflict – should not become a part of the debate. There had to be another round of public opinion manipulation. The only options seemed to be the tag of Communism or 'rogue governments, determined to dominate or undermine others.'

~ October

- ~ As with Britain, so with France. It was facing conflict in each of its major colonial regions as well.
- ~ 23: In Vietnam, in a referendum of his own planning, Diem defeated Bao Dai, assumed the role of chief of state, proclaimed the country a Republic, and named himself president three days later.
- ~ 25: And its troubles in North Africa, coinciding with Nasser's growing belligerence towards Israel, drew France and Israel closer together. The newly elected French Premier, Edgar Faure, welcomed Israel's Prime Minister Sharett to Paris with the greeting: "I've always been a friend of Israel, but now it is not a question of friendship. It is for reasons of political realism that France is called upon to help you. ..." Nasser was backing the

Algerian rebels against French rule and Faure was eager for Israel to discourage him by applying pressure on his home territory. Supplies of arms and aircraft, and pilot training programs were arranged promptly. But this caused friction with the United States for both countries. Dulles objected to the diversion of some US aircraft from NATO service to Israel, and he did not want to see Israel armed in case it was inclined to take a provocative action which would lead to war and undermine America's relations with the Arabs. He placed restrictions on US equipment which could be supplied to Israel, and these remained in place until July, 1956, when France chose to ignore US and British policies on such issues.²⁸⁰

ISSUES CONFUSED

By this time, Britain and the United States were so paranoid about Communist influence in the Middle East that they could not distinguish between Arab nationalism, Arab anti-Israeli support for the Palestinians, or anti-colonial and anti-Capitalist empathy with the Soviet Union. Naturally, the Soviet Union was eager to get a foothold with alliances there, too. It was an essential defensive mechanism. It was also an essential aspect of the trouble in the triangle which was the origin and the basis of the entire saga. Therefore, because the only help which the allies of the Palestinians received in that context was from the Soviet bloc countries, everything which was either anti-Israel or anti-West was labelled as Communism or pro-Communist.

~ November

~ Thus: when King Saud of Saudi Arabia began supporting anti-Western pro-Palestinian groups in Jordan, Lebanon and Iraq he was not portrayed as supporting either the Palestinians or Arab nationalism, but Communism, and Eden wrote in his memoirs:

- The agents of King Saud, their pockets bulging with gold, were cooperating everywhere with the communists against Western interests. In accordance with their practice, the United States Government were treating the payments by the Arabian-American Oil Company to Saudi Arabia as a purely commercial transaction. Unlike ourselves, they did not feel any responsibility for ensuring that these oil revenues were wisely invested. King Saud, at liberty to spend his money as he wished, chose palaces for his family at home and subversion for his policy abroad, in Jordan, the Lebanon and Iraq. American. That is ARAMCO, money was being spent on a lavish scale *to abet communism in the Middle East*.²⁸¹ [Emphasis added.]

That simply was not fact. Saud was supporting the Palestinians in their struggle against Israel, and Eden knew it. He knew it very well indeed. He believed he had to conceal it, because if Britain were seen to be opposing the Palestinian cause it might as well pack up on the spot, leave all the oil in the ground, and go home before it was thrown out. Britain's only hope of being able to protect its interests in oil in the Middle East was to convince the Arabs that its actions against unrest were a bid to prevent Communist infiltration and not a bid to suppress the

Palestinian cause or Arab nationalism. His statement was ironical to say the least in view of the relationship between Saudi Arabia and the United States. In 1943 Roosevelt formally declared that “*the defence of Saudi Arabia is vital to the defence of the United States*” and directed that Lend Lease aid henceforth be made available directly to Saudi Arabia instead of through Britain.²⁸² (Chapter 25) Then, the US having declared the kingdom (or at least the oil hidden beneath its sands) to be of ‘vital interest’, Secretary for the Navy James Forrestall feared the consequences of angering Ibn Saud so much that he advised Truman to “ditch Israel” in order to guarantee the Saudi king’s loyalty and his oil,²⁸³ in contrast to other advisers who maintained that to promote Islam was a dangerous long term solution. By 1945 the relationship had become so close that when Roosevelt and Ibn Saud reached agreement for an American air base at Dhahran the king penned a note in the margin of the agreement: “I urge my descendants to maintain the friendship of our American brothers and to renew this agreement.”²⁸⁴ In the light of that, the American administration appeared to take little notice when the first Muslim Brotherhood group was established in Jerusalem in 1946 and, with the support of the Palestinian leadership, there were five additional groups operating by the end of that year. ²⁸⁵ (Chapter 27)

Consistent with other situations which have been noted, the Western powers could see nothing wrong with buying or inducing support for either economic or political benefit if they did it themselves, but if someone else did it, it was a nasty Communist conspiracy and had to be stopped. So Saud was not allowed to give his money away to support an independence push, and Eden noted that: “... Nuri es-Said made a special plea at the Baghdad Conference [in November], directed particularly to the American Observer, to find a means of stopping, even for six months, the payments by ARAMCO to the Saudis. If this could happen, he thought that the whole situation would change in Syria, the Lebanon, Jordan and even Egypt.”²⁸⁶ But Britain was allowed to make “gifts” to keep a neighboring Arab country out of the anti-Israel and, therefore, out of the anti-Western camp. The two were synonymous. Eden continued: “... King Hussein was delighted. We acted quickly and, *despite our financial cares at home*, we made ready a *substantial gift of military equipment*. We also prepared the text of an agreement to replace the Anglo-Jordanian Treaty. This was to be negotiated as soon as Jordan had acceded to the Baghdad Pact.”²⁸⁷ [Emphasis added.] The gift was ten Vampire jet fighter aircraft. It was no mere gift to a friend in another country. It was a very urgent step in the process of buying protection for British interests. No more. No less. But at the same time the game of ‘divide and rule’ was being played for ever higher stakes and Britain also wanted to keep Lebanon out of the Syrian-Egyptian Pact. Eden instructed his foreign minister, Harold Macmillan, to ask Dulles to provide economic aid to that country while Britain provided military aid. It was agreed. Britain had set up, or had some influence in the setting up of, each of the Arab kingdoms which were now being subjected to this treatment – all for its own imperial convenience – in an earlier phase of the game, and all within the past one to two generations. They were all portions of the former Ottoman empire and they were all part of Dār al-islām.²⁸⁸

- ~ Also at this time, the politicking for power in Israel over the question of its security led to Ben-Gurion's return as prime minister.
- ~ December
- ~ 6: ~ Sir Gerald Templer, Chief of the Imperial General Staff arrived in Amman for a nine-day visit to negotiate Jordan's accession to the Baghdad Pact. He offered a large scale re-equipment and maintenance program for the Arab League, including provision for a new medium artillery regiment and conversion of an armoured car regiment to a tank regiment, which would raise the Legion to one infantry division and one armoured division, and he offered immediate negotiations to replace the Anglo-Iranian Treaty with a special agreement.²⁸⁹
- ~ 15: After much procrastination a joint offer was made to Egypt that the United States, Britain and the World Bank would lend \$400 million towards the total cost of the Aswan High Dam.

That was the amount calculated to be the foreign exchange liabilities which Egypt would have to meet.²⁹⁰ The matter was settled – or so every one involved thought – and planning proceeded accordingly. But the United States put conditions on the proposal which the Egyptians did not like when they thought more about them; the loan agreement required Congressional approval; and there was a lot of politicking still to be done over Egypt's relations with the Soviet Union and Israel, and its influence on other countries in the region. They were the sticking points. Egypt had to undertake to give the dam priority over all other commitments (in order to safeguard the US investment), contracts were to be awarded on a competitive basis (effectively breaking up the consortium and giving the United States the opportunity to relieve Britain, France and Germany of some of the contracts); and Egypt was to refuse any aid from Communist sources. That condition was a direct attack on Nasser's policy of non-alignment and his existing trading and arms supply arrangements.

- ~ 19: Then, only a few days after the announcement of the High Dam agreement, in an act of self-determination which it had agreed to three years earlier, the Sudanese parliament voted unanimously for independence.

Britain had applied pressure for it to opt for complete independence rather than for a Nile Valley Union with Egypt. The use of the Nile waters and access to the Aswan High Dam storage assumed greater importance. So did the matter of de-colonization, political manipulation, and support for guerrilla independence movements. A short diversion will therefore help to put in perspective the relationship between those three countries, the circumstances of the wider push for decolonization, and the looming Suez Crisis. Egypt's situation was already complicated greatly by the unrest in other parts of North Africa. Every movement or agitation for independence had a flow on effect whether it was a British, French, Spanish, Portuguese or Belgian territory. To avoid total rebellion the French government had permitted the return of both the Sultan to Morocco and the leader of the rebel Constitutional Party to Tunisia, and negotiations towards independence had begun.

THE SUDANESE SAGA

The modern history of the relationship between Egypt and Sudan is a classic history of Christian European imperial manipulation. It involves the usual mix of oppression and exploitation, all intimately woven into the Christian reconstruction of Africa, the complexities of the slave trade and efforts to end it by methods which were often misguided and inappropriate, (chapters 11, 14) and all overlaid with the well established Christian misunderstanding of Islam. Those interactions can be traced from the time of the rise of the European-educated Christian, Isma'il Pasha, to the post of viceroy (later termed khedive) of Egypt in 1863 and his commissioning of an Englishman, Samuel Baker, to lead an expedition along the White Nile to establish Egyptian dominance, verging on suzerainty, over the equatorial regions to the south of Egypt, and to curtail the booming trade in human beings in the region of the upper Nile. When they succeeded in gaining control of the region but did not succeed in stamping out the trade, Isma'il Pasha actually appointed the most powerful of the slave traders as governor of an enormous region of the southern Sudan reaching to the headwaters of the westward-flowing Congo River system. He governed under the flag of Egypt. At the same time he appointed another English Christian, C.G. Gordon, to govern Equatorial Africa and to bring the kingdoms of the Central East African lakes regions, in which Islam was already established, under Egyptian control as well. He made no progress in the lakes kingdoms, but working through a cadre of like-minded European and American Christian officials he succeeded in suppressing the slave trade in the Sudan using methods which left whole regions in poverty. His opponents were quick to label Christianity as the religion of oppression and economic depression. Egyptian rule in the region, imposed through European Christians, was short lived and collapsed in a sea of discontent. Into that scene in 1881 strode Muhammad Ahmad, declaring himself to be the Sudan's 'divinely guided one,' the Mahdi.

The Mahdi had hardly settled into his self-proclaimed role when several of the European powers saw the opportunity to subjugate the greatly weakened khedive. Britain moved first in 1882, to keep the others out, to "protect" the khedive's government, and to put down a nationalist revolution which was hostile to foreign interests. Then, realizing that the waters of the Nile were vital to the life, security and future development of Egypt and that whoever controlled the upper Nile controlled Egypt, Britain sought to do deals to keep the other European powers out. In the spirit of the 1885 Berlin carve up of Africa, Germany and Italy negotiated agreements. But the spirit of competition between Britain and France was alive and well. France declined such an agreement and began scheming to get control of the upper Nile to force Britain out of Egypt. The planning took three years from 1893 to 1896 when a military expedition was ready to march right across Africa from the west coast to Kodok on the upper Nile to build a massive dam. Unable to stop them, the British government decided the conquest of the Sudan was necessary to secure its interests in Egypt. General Kitchener was ordered to carry out the task. With 25,000 troops he defeated the Mahdi's first army at Ataba in April 1898, then reached Omdurman (Khartoum) in September where he defeated the major army of the Khalifa, 60,000 troops, in a bloody but short battle which was writ large in school history books

for a very long time as one of the glories of the Empire. The Khalifa fled and Kitchener marched on upstream to confront the French at Kodok two weeks later. There was a standoff! London and Paris prepared for an Anglo-French war, but the French government buckled first. Its army and navy were not ready for a full scale war. A treaty was agreed under which France would stay west of the headwaters of the Nile and, somehow, Britain had to govern the Sudan to avoid another such situation.

However, while the Khedive was under British “protection” he still had his independence, officially, and his Egyptian army, financed by him and not Britain, had provided the bulk of Kitchener’s force. He therefore still wanted a role in the government of the Sudan. In 1899 Britain agreed to a Condominium to rule Sudan. The governor-general was *appointed* by the Khedive but *nominated* by the British government, the flags of the two countries flew side by side in Khartoum, and Britain set out to pacify and Christianize the Sudan. Religious uprisings in the north which was predominantly Muslim were reasonably easily suppressed, but in the south which was dominated by animists with pockets of Christians, the uprisings continued and the British authorities could exercise little authority. The result was that the north was able to progress, but the south suffered neglect and depression. Wingate, as governor-general, adopted more enlightened policies and this led to a recovery of confidence in British Christian rule within the Muslim communities, but religious and ethnic divisions soon became entrenched and there was antagonism towards Egypt which was seen as being the lackey of the British.

After Wingate, the situation returned to ‘normal.’ To facilitate control, British officials segregated the animist cum Christian south from the Muslim and Arab dominated north. Another case of ‘divide and rule.’ Why should Sudan be treated any differently to Burma, Indochina, India or any other country? It was not. The situation was exacerbated when schools and colleges were established in the south and the educated youth, with higher aspirations, began making demands for social and economic development. The British then preferred to work with the semi-literate older generation so, with their expectations unfulfilled, the younger generation became more rebellious, turned to the Egyptian nationalists for support, and Sudanese nationalism began to be manifest through a number of associations. The White Flag League was established in 1924 with the specific aim of driving the British from the Sudan. When the governor-general was assassinated later that year the British blamed Egyptian influence and forced Egypt to withdraw from the joint administration and to withdraw all of its army except one battalion in Khartoum which was “a token of the Condominium.”²⁹¹ The Sudanese response was as bitter as that of the Egyptians. A Sudanese battalion mutinied in support of the Egyptians, and was promptly annihilated for its trouble. The rebellion was over.

Twelve years later, in 1936, with Britain’s imperial crisis deepening and a desperate need to limit antagonism in the *linchpin of communications and security* for all of the southern and eastern units of the empire – the Middle East – the British government was forced to relent. (Chapters 20, 21) A treaty was signed – without consultation with the Sudanese – which permitted a partial Egyptian return to the Sudan. Britain was seen to be saying to the Sudanese: “If we go, you remain subject to Egypt and you don’t get your independence.” Then during the

war years, when it appeared very likely that Britain would be leaving whether it wished to or not, that treaty split the broad-based nationalist movement and polarized political opinion in the Sudan between those who wished to cooperate with Britain in a move towards independence, and those who wanted an alliance, or even a merger, with Egypt. While the war continued it was possible to mute those movements to some extent, but immediately the war ended all the tensions came to the surface and Britain's policy of divide and rule was in tatters. It had established an advisory council for the north to give some semblance of participation in government, but nothing for the south. It was soon forced to concede some legislative authority to the Sudanese and to do that it had to convert the advisory council for the north into a legislative council and, if it was not going to split the country into two, it had to introduce some southern participation in the legislative council. It did so in 1947, without consultation with Egypt with which it had the 1936 treaty of return.

It was time for Egypt to be upset again. Britain was now saying, in effect: "We want to hang onto the Sudan. This is the way we will do it, but, if we can't, there is a mechanism for independence in place." The British government played down the facts that Egypt's need to have security of water supply from the Nile was no less – in fact a lot greater – than when Britain and France had their standoff over control of Egypt, the Nile and the Sudan 50 years earlier; that the Sudan had provided a substantial proportion of recruits for the Egyptian Army; and that it clung to the prospect of an integrated rural settlement agreement with Sudan. Four years later, in 1951, after prolonged tension, Egypt unilaterally abrogated the 1936 treaty, proclaimed Egyptian rule over the Sudan, and told Britain it was time to go – at last. But that was a message Britain certainly did not want to hear because the Suez Canal was still a vital interest as it had been in the lead up to the Second World War. It was desperately trying to prevent the Far Eastern, South East Asian and Indian sub-continental colonies from slipping out of its grasp, and without the Suez Canal it was in deep trouble. (Chapter 27, *Colonial policy: philosophy or perfidy? The Indian Saga. The British South East Asian Saga.*)

However Britain had dug itself into another hole. It could not say: "All right, we will leave the Sudan and you can have it as long as we can keep the canal." The flow-on effects of that would have been rebellion in Sudan at being handed to Egypt instead of gaining independence, and with that would go a spontaneous increase in pressure from every other colony or territory for the same. Probably a round of rebellions. The government believed it had no option but to tough it out. It still had 80,000 troops in the canal zone and under the 1936 treaty they were entitled to stay for another six years, so there was some breathing space. It used the king's speech at the opening of parliament, on November 6, 1951, to put on a bold front. The king said: "My Government regard abrogation by the Egyptian Government of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance of 1936 and the Sudan Condominium Agreements of 1899, as illegal and without validity." Coming after Britain's 'token' repudiation of the Condominium Agreement in 1924, and in view of the circumstances of the 1936 and 1947 adjustments, it was a pathetic statement which did little except camouflage from the British public the real state of affairs, and the government was immediately under increased pressure from Sudan and the colonies. That

was confirmed only a few days later when Eden stated that the Sudan was rapidly moving in the direction of self-government as a prelude to self-determination.²⁹² Whatever it did, it could not win.

Six months later, in May 1952, there were major developments. The Sudanese administration submitted a draft self-government statute for both Britain and Egypt to consider. Already approved by the Sudanese Legislative Assembly, it provided for elections to a Sudanese parliament; for a Sudanese Council of Ministers to take office after the elections; and for that council to be responsible only to that parliament. There was no immediate response to the draft from Egypt, but it came two months later, in July. It was then that the British backed monarch, Farouk, who was expected to acquiesce in whatever Britain wanted, was deposed and a Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) controlled by Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser seized power which was exercised, initially, through a nominal regent, with Farouk's infant son, named to succeed him. (See July 1952) But that arrangement was only a front to allow time for the change to be accepted without too much trauma. The RCC had no intention of the statute proceeding, but in October the British government announced its acceptance of the draft statute and said it "looked forward to the Sudanese exercising the right of self-determination in the near future." Negotiations over the details of the Sudan charter and for a new agreement for the British army to remain in the Canal Zone then ground on laboriously, intertwined, with the two major Sudanese political parties each intervening, from opposing points of view, to achieve the best outcome from their point of view. In due course, on February 12, 1953, Eden announced the signing of an agreement under which Sudan would be governed for a transitional period of three years by an elected government within the framework of the Condominium. But it was a clumsy agreement which introduced as many new tensions, especially at the religious interface, as the problems which it sought to circumvent. The governor-general's powers were restricted, with some of his decisions requiring the approval of a commission *chaired by a Pakistani*; special provision was made for accelerated development of the *neglected southern provinces* during that period; an electoral commission was *chaired by an Indian*; and a special *Sudanization Committee* was set up to administer defence.²⁹³

Elections for the new Parliament of the Sudan were set for November-December. The National Unionist Party (NUP) campaigned on the slogan "Unity of the Nile Valley" with the open support of Egypt and with some Egyptian leaders saying they would throw the British out of the Nile. The Ummah Party opposed union with Egypt and favoured independence and a loose arrangement with Britain. It was actively but less conspicuously supported by British officials. The NUP won overwhelmingly and three months later, on March 1, 1954, the new parliament was opened and the NUP leader was appointed the prime minister – to the sound of gun shots in street fighting between rival political groups and the police.

As far as the British public was concerned, in relation to Africa, the government's attention was then concentrated on the issue of the Suez Canal. But that issue could not be divorced in the government's thinking and negotiations from the issues of either Berlin and Cold War, or the Far East and South East Asia. The Foreign Ministers met in Berlin from January 25 to February

18, and the Geneva Conference on Indochina ran from April 26 to July 21, and control of the Suez Canal was important to both issues. It was so important, being at the centre of Israel-Egypt tensions at that time, that the US government put direct pressure on Nasser to agree to at least a short term British presence, advising that unless he accepted “reasonable terms” they would stop all economic aid,²⁹⁴ and an agreement for a British withdrawal phased over twenty months – to June 1956 – was initialled on July 27, 1954. As already noted, Eden’s announcement to the Commons next day was greeted with consternation and vigorous debate. It was only intervention in the debate by Britain’s elder statesman, Churchill, which ensured that the agreement would be ratified. The base, once vacated, was to be maintained in efficient working order and capable of immediate use in the event of an attack on any member of the Arab League or, *against Nasser’s wishes*, the Baghdad Pact member, Turkey. The result meant that no one was happy and propaganda, intrigue and disturbances in the southern Sudan followed until, on November 13, 1955, the last British and Egyptian forces withdrew from the Sudan, leaving the Sudanese in full charge.

So: on December 19, in the act of self-determination which had been agreed to three years earlier, the Sudanese parliament voted unanimously for independence. The NUP repudiated the policy which it had been elected on, and voted with the opposition for immediate independence with no formal links with Egypt. The government, *on the advice of Britain*,²⁹⁵ had decided that it wanted a close working relationship with Egypt, but it was “not going to tolerate Egyptian rule *in exchange for British*.”²⁹⁶ [Emphasis added.] So much for Egypt’s role in the defunct Condominium. It had been, in effect, “British rule,” and that was that.



With 1955 drawing to a close, the first six of Hussein’s Vampires were delivered from Britain; Ben-Gurion was able to manoeuvre his way back into office as prime minister in place of Sharett who was regarded as too passive in defence matters; and the Dulles brothers were both very busy shaping and disrupting relationships around the world. But they, and the United States administration overall, were not paying enough attention to relationships at home. The race question, with discrimination against black Americans, was getting more critical in the southern states and, after a couple of widely publicized incidents, the Montgomery Improvement Association was formed to lobby for changes to racial segregation laws in those states. The Rev. Martin Luther King Jnr. was asked to lead it.

FRUSTRATION 'REACTION' NEW LIAISONS

~ 1956

~ January

~1: Sudan’s two Condominium rulers, Britain and Egypt, both recognized its independence. Selwyn Lloyd later wrote:

- *We had frustrated Nasser's ambitions*, something for which he never forgave us. It remained a constant irritant. He continued to accuse us of turning the Sudan against him, over the Nile waters, over the division of sterling balances and of disrupting Arab unity.²⁹⁷ [Emphasis added.]

Whether the foreign secretary penned those words 22 years later as a simple matter of fact, or whether there was just a touch of glee in them, reflecting victory over a competitor, their historical significance lies in the fact that they indicate either, or both, of two things. First: a continuing lack of understanding on the part of the power which had exercised suzerainty over the region for so long of the *origins* of those ambitions. They included the way in which suzerainty had been exercised as if Egypt was a mere item of input (or a small cog at the centre of a mass of bigger ones which could not turn without it) in the expansion and consolidation of empire; the country's proud heritage as the seat of a former great empire; and the fact that "a Zionist entity" had been imposed on the total Arab world, right in the middle of Dār al-islām. Second: that while the situation *involved* contemporary politics, the politics was *a product of the trouble in the triangle* and a symptom of broken relationships – it was neither the origin of it, nor the basis of it. The continuing effort to camouflage the issue of religion and to put a synthetic emphasis on international politics, portraying it as an issue of the Western World versus Communism (as Eden and Eisenhower agreed to do when the Suez crisis came to a head) had several flow-on effects. It emphasized Britain's dependence on its alliance with the enormously more powerful United States; played into the hands of the United States which was playing its own games, made it easier for the United States to call the shots and to edge Britain out of the Middle East; made it ever more difficult for the world-at-large to understand the origins of the crises into which it had floundered; and ensured that the trouble in the triangle would get steadily more vicious – and global – until it became focused on a point at which it could no longer be camouflaged. The golden Dome of the Rock on Mount Moriah, in Jerusalem.

- ~ Coinciding with its recognition of Sudan's independence, Egypt celebrated the Christian New Year with Nasser's announcement of a new constitution under which the nation became a one-party Socialist State with Islam as its official religion, and, being more than irritated by the arrival of the Vampires in Amman, he greatly stepped up anti-Israel and anti-British propaganda through the Cairo-based 'Voice of the Arabs' radio system. Political and diplomatic pressure on Hussein to persuade him to fall into line with the overall anti-Israel pro-Palestine campaign increased.
- ~ 9: The British ambassador, realizing that the broadcasts were having their intended effect on the Jordanian population and that Hussein would be overthrown if he did not comply with the mounting public pressure, or if Britain did not intervene, and that Britain's authority would be flushed into the Jordan, appealed for at least two brigades of troops to be sent to Amman immediately.
- ~ 10: The British government's response *was* immediate. Two parachute brigades and an infantry battalion were flown to Cyprus, and the armoured regiment of the Arab Legion,

commanded by General Glubb, was moved closer to Amman from its base adjacent to Eilat. Across the border in Saudi Arabia a force of close to 2,000, with light armoured support, was being gathered for a push into Jordan from the south. Whitehall promptly warned the Saudi government that if its force crossed the border the British government would 'fulfil its obligations' under the Anglo-Jordanian Treaty of 1948. The Saudi force withdrew to the south, but both Nasser and the Saud maintained pressure on Hussein to break his ties with Britain and to join the front against Israel. Nasser was determined that his ambitions would not be frustrated for long, and planning continued.

~ February

~ 15: An operation order was issued to commanders in the Egyptian Third Division. It read, in part:

*Para. III: Every commander should be prepared and prepare his troops for unavoidable wars with Israel in order to achieve our supreme objective, namely, annihilation of Israel and its complete destruction in as little time as possible, and by fighting against her as brutally and cruelly as possible.*²⁹⁸

That such an order was issued suggests that Nasser had no expectation that the Anglo-American assistance towards the Aswan High Dam would be forthcoming, because he would have taken for granted that it would be cancelled immediately he started a war with Israel. In fact he could have been aware already of the steps being taken in the United States to make sure that the loan was not forthcoming and that the British cabinet was still divided over the issue also. The possibility that the British government might renege on the agreement was actually canvassed in February in discussions involving the head of the World Bank as well as the two governments. Dulles expressed the view that Egypt had to re-align itself with the West, and the bank head advised that in Egypt's current political and economic circumstances the loan might not be viable. That was all several months before the final troop withdrawal in June.

~ 24: Within a few weeks of the recognition of Sudan's independence a "secret" speech by Khrushchev to the Soviet Communist Party Congress suggested that Eden's statements to the Commons on relations with Egypt must have given the Soviet Union some solace.

Khrushchev broke a long established taboo by condemning the excesses of Stalin's one-man rule and attacking his "intolerance, his brutality, his abuse of power." The spectacle of the First Secretary of the Communist Party exposing the wrongful executions of the Great Purge of the 1930s and the excesses of Soviet police repression, after years of fearful silence, had far-reaching effects that Khrushchev himself could barely have foreseen. The resulting "thaw" in the Soviet Union saw the release of millions of political prisoners and the "rehabilitation" of many thousands more who had perished.²⁹⁹ The intensity of the competition between the West and the Soviet Union for naval bases, other offence/defence facilities, and trade in politically uncommitted countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America which was reflected in Eden's remark about the need to finance the dam was muted somewhat, especially in the light of the Bandung Conference, by Khrushchev's denouncement of the previous excesses of the Stalinist era. He rejected the notion that war between the East and the West was fatalistically inevitable, and

declared that the Leninist principle of coexistence of states with different social systems was the basis of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. However not every country which had been at Bandung welcomed it. The Chinese Communist Party leadership was dismayed by the criticism of Stalin's leadership and by Soviet attempts at rapprochement with the Capitalist West, and it began to compete against the Soviet Union with as much vigour as against the West.

~ March

~1: Hussein, having decided to acquiesce in his fellow Arab's demands that he join them in the push against Israel, issued an order for the prime minister to dismiss General Glubb and other senior British officers of the Arab Legion.

He had not, apparently, discussed this with his prime minister whose response was to summon the cabinet and put to them that they had four choices: comply with the king's orders; ignore them; remonstrate with the king and be prepared to resign; or remonstrate and be prepared to be dismissed. It did not take them long to decide. The prime minister sent for the British ambassador, advised him of the decision, then met Glubb and told him he must leave next morning. When the dismissal was announced, crowds flowed into the streets of Amman cheering for both Hussein and Nasser.³⁰⁰ It has been suggested that a group of Jordanian Army officers had threatened Hussein and the government with a coup if they did not dismiss Glubb, and that is quite likely in view of the circumstances, but while Eden referred to 'reports' of a coup threat he did not offer any confirmation.

Britain was in a bind. The government could send in the army units on standby in Cyprus and reimpose British rule, but if it did so the entire Arab world would have risen in rage; Britain would have received no support from the United Nations; the Baghdad Pact would have been in tatters; and there would have been an instant invasion of Israel. It could have annulled the 1948 treaty, withdrawn all military advisers and ended all aid, but that was exactly what the Arabs wanted. About eight days after the dismissal, Nasser announced that Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Syria jointly offered to support Jordan with an annual subvention of Stg. 20 million to offset the assistance which it was receiving from Britain. Shortly after, the Soviet ambassador in Cairo advised the Jordanian *chargé d'affaires* that his government was prepared to provide any financial or military aid which Jordan may need with a view to establishing good relations.³⁰¹ That was the straw the British government was clutching for. It had been at pains to keep the Arab-Israeli conflict dimension out of all reporting and had to portray the "incident" as a tiff between friends caused by failures of supervision by Glubb and his senior officers. It was also desperately trying to encourage a more cordial relationship between Jordan and Iraq. Now the Soviet ambassador's intervention gave the government the opportunity it needed. It had been a Soviet plot all the time! The anti-Communist bandwagon began rolling again. But it could not be rolled at quite the old speed. The discussion between Eden and Bulganin about an exchange of visits had been converted into a firm invitation for Bulganin and Khrushchev to visit London; the date had been fixed for April 18, only weeks away, and the itinerary was fairly well in place. According to Eden:

Our general policy in the Middle East was founded on the need to protect British interests in Iraq and the Persian Gulf. The main threat to these interests was the growing influence of Nasser with his anti-Western ideology and *collusion with Soviet Russia, especially in arms supply*. I was in detailed consultation with the government of Iraq, which fully understood the dangers, but *I did not think it right as yet to give an account to Parliament*. Nor could I make an announcement in the debate on the future of our relations with Jordan. ... [Emphasis added.]

*My main purpose was to draw Iraq and Jordan closer together. The best way to start the process was by a meeting between the two Hashemite kings, and this I set about to encourage.*³⁰²

Eden knew very well that Nasser had gone to the Soviet Union for arms *after* the United States declined to supply him because of his conflict with Israel, now he was about to host the Soviet leaders in London, so he had softened the political rhetoric to a reference to Egyptian-Soviet “collusion.” He made no reference to infiltration or domination. And Nasser’s policy of non-alignment and his insistence on trading with whoever he wished was well established and respected in the non-Western world, but the United States and Britain were determined to crush it. The harder they tried, the further they forced him into collaboration with the Soviet Bloc. It is remarkable that he “*did not think it right as yet to give an account to Parliament*.” He knew that he could not do so without discussing the hub of the crisis – Arab-Israeli relations – because to do so was to open it to the whole world, and he was determined to suppress it. It is also remarkable that in his memoirs he made no reference to discussions with the United States or to the reaction of the Eisenhower administration at this point, and yet they were in constant contact. Dulles and Eisenhower both wanted Britain out of the Middle East, but they did not want the Soviet Union in, and they did not want an Arab-Israeli war, because American assets, oil wells and refineries were scattered through the region. It could only apply diplomatic pressure on Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Syria, and it had greatly undermined its ability to put pressure on Egypt. It certainly could not go to Britain’s aid or it would further antagonize the Arab countries and, in any case, it wanted Britain out!

- ~ 2: France took the next reluctant step in its decolonization program next day. It was making a concerted effort to hold on to resource rich Algeria, in which about one million European settlers wanted French rule to continue, by counter-revolutionary repression, but it granted independence to Morocco and, less than three weeks later, Tunisia.
- ~ 21: When Selwyn Lloyd briefed cabinet in detail on the situation in the Middle East he said that Nasser was “not prepared to work for a settlement of the Arab-Israeli dispute” and that he was willing to accept assistance from the Russians to achieve leadership of the Arab world.

He said that Britain had to realign its policy in the Middle East and instead of working to conciliate Nasser “we should do our utmost to counter him and uphold our true friends.” This meant seeking increased support for the Baghdad Pact and its members; detaching King Saud from Nasser; support Libya in order to prevent the extension of Egyptian or Communist

influence there; counter Egypt's subversion in the Sudan and the Persian Gulf; and "seek to establish in Syria a Government more friendly to the West." Put simply, the foreign secretary was telling cabinet that the cohesion of the Arab world had to be destroyed to suppress the need to deal with the Arab-Israeli conflict. He went on to discuss possible actions aimed more directly at Nasser and his government, such as withholding military supplies, withdrawing finance for the Aswan High Dam, blocking sterling balances and getting the United States to reduce economic aid. If he had set out to design a program to force Nasser further into the Soviet camp and to entice the Soviet Union into the Middle East he could have found nothing more effective than those proposals – short of an invasion! He would add that later. But he said that this all needed US support, and the first task was to "seek Anglo-American agreement on a general realignment of policy towards Nasser." Cabinet agreed, but this would be "difficult to achieve," Lloyd told them, because, quite apart from other considerations, *the State Department "thought that any open association with colonialist, imperialist Britain would be fatal to American influence in the Middle East,"* and Dulles "was determined to avoid any appearance of 'ganging up' with us." [Emphasis added.] After that meeting Lloyd formally advised Washington that the 'offer' of a loan to finance the Aswan High Dam might have to be withdrawn.³⁰³ He later noted that Nasser had already learned from an Iraqi Baghdad Pact delegate in March that "the Western powers were unlikely to support the dam."³⁰⁴

~ April

~ In the wake of France's decision to grant independence to Morocco, the Spanish government relinquished control of its Moroccan protectorate which merged with the Moroccan Sultanate a month later.

WELCOME VISITORS

~ 18: The 12-day visit to London by Marshal Bulganin and Khrushchev which had been anticipated with some apprehension, began on a warm and friendly note and discussions at Downing Street covered every point of tension or significant developments around the world. According to Eden: "It was about colonial affairs that argument was the toughest and, at times, the roughest." The Soviet leaders attacked the record and the principle, while Eden and Lloyd defended the present and progress towards self-government.³⁰⁵

But the tension reached its peak when discussion turned to oil and the Middle East. Eden knew of a Soviet-German exchange during negotiations in 1940 towards a four-power pact – well before Barbarossa – when Ribbentrop and Molotov discussed the post-war carve up of the British Empire and Molotov agreed to the basic German proposals "subject to the condition that the territory south of Batum and Baku in the general direction of the Persian Gulf [Iraq] was recognized as a focal point of Soviet aims." Eden was concerned that "the purposes of Soviet policy have not greatly changed since that date."³⁰⁶ He seemed to be implying that there was something unhealthy or unseemly about big-power grabs for resources and territory, and victors' carve-ups, and that they had to be stopped. He was quite right. But he had a blind spot. He seemed to think that the order of correctness had changed now that Britain was no longer an

expanding power – in fact it was quite the reverse. He had already noted that the resource-acquisitive economic imperialism of the United States was somehow indecent, but he seemed to have forgotten about his own efforts at territorial carve-ups and giveaways, and especially the deal which he did with Stalin on Churchill's instructions in 1941. That was somehow different. He tossed it straight at the Soviet leaders.

... I told the Russians that the uninterrupted supply of oil was literally vital to our economy. They showed an understanding of our interest and appeared to be willing to meet it. I said I thought I must be absolutely blunt about the oil, because we would fight for it. Mr. Khrushchev replied that I would hardly find sympathy with the Soviet Government if I said I was prepared to start a war. They, for their part, would only resort to war if an attack were made on them or on the Warsaw Pact countries.

Later in the talks Mr. Khrushchev reverted to this topic and to my statement, as he put it, that I was prepared to fight a war in that part of the world. He said that it was close to the Soviet frontiers. If my statement was intended as a threat they must reject it. I repeated that what I had said was that we could not live without oil and that we had no intention of being strangled to death.

... We both understood that the Middle East was the area where our differences of policy were most likely to become acute. These discussions did something to put that danger at a further remove.³⁰⁷

When the Russians left for home Eden wrote to his senior cabinet colleagues:

Our main weapons of resistance to Soviet encroachment have hitherto been military. But do they meet the needs of the present time? I do not believe that the Russians have any plans at present for military aggression in the West. On the other hand, are we prepared with other weapons to meet the new challenge? This seems to me to be the major issue of foreign policy.³⁰⁸

Surely the implication behind that note was that there was no need for an acceleration of the arms race and, if anything, the opportunity for a phased reduction. He was indicating that the philosophical challenge for the hearts and minds of people, or the challenge of two competing socio-economic, should be met at that level with innovation and adaptation to satisfy the needs of the time. He was still trying desperately to cling to Britain's remaining colonial possessions – a matter which would be resolved to Britain's disadvantage within the next few months – but he was aware that there were better ways to go than the constant acceleration of the arms race and ruthless economic exploitation. However his allies across the Atlantic were not in agreement. The arms race would continue at an horrendous pace and exploitation would go from bad to worse.



~ May

- ~ 5: Israel, Britain and the United States all became more fearful of an Arab-Israeli clash when Egypt and Jordan reached agreement for the coordination of their armed forces.
- ~ 16: Their concern at Nasser's increasing liaison with the Communist world also increased when Egypt announced its recognition of Communist China.³⁰⁹
- ~ June
- ~ Since Stalin's death in 1953, and under the more open approach taken by Khrushchev, Tito, in Yugoslavia, felt less need for closer links with the West to ensure his security, and he came to see that he could balance his internal and foreign policies somewhere between the two power blocs.

He soon found an affinity with like-minded leaders in developing countries. Negotiations with Nasser and Nehru of India now led to a closer cooperation among states that were "non-engaged" in the East-West confrontation. From non-engagement evolved the concept of "active nonalignment" or the development and promotion of alternative policies to those pursued by the two big power blocs. They saw their position as quite distinct from "mere neutrality." The concept initially caused little concern for Khrushchev and the Soviet leadership which was eager to trade and to work with all Third World countries, but it was ridiculed by the United States which sought to distance itself from such a philosophy, and it added to pressure for reform in other Soviet bloc countries, especially Poland and Hungary. Yugoslavia, Egypt and India continued to develop closer ties for several years before Tito was able to convene the first meeting of nonaligned states in Belgrade, in 1961. There was much debate over how the concept of nonalignment related to the aspirations of the Afro-Asian Bandung Conference group, some of whose members wanted to be – or came under pressure to be – associated only with the Western Capitalist community. As a result there were no more meetings of the Bandung Conference group.

- ~ In Egypt there were celebrations as the last of the British troops withdrew "under an agreement honourably and freely negotiated" between the two countries which, according to Lloyd, brought to an end "an association of over 70 years which, despite differences and some hard words, has brought lasting benefits to both our countries."³¹⁰

When Lloyd issued a press statement to mark that withdrawal he referred to all sorts of Anglo-Egyptian cooperation in such a way that Nasser was left with only one conclusion to draw. Lloyd said very pointedly: "We have always hoped that Egypt would play her full part in the Middle East. We supported the foundation of the Arab League, and we have every interest in promoting unity and cooperation between Arab States." That was in direct contradiction of his actions concerning the Baghdad Pact. And: "I am sure that if we respect one another's legitimate interests and treat one another with fairness and mutual respect, the British and Egyptian people can build up a new friendship for the future." He made no mention of the High Dam. And on the US side Nasser's announcement of a one-party Islamic Socialist State was probably enough to sink the loan on its own, but the feeling was being expressed quite openly that in view of Egypt's continuing propaganda against the Baghdad Pact the loan 'offer' should be withdrawn. There were plenty of "friendly" countries in the Middle East which were

“bombarding” Washington with requests for aid. In addition several Congressional lobbies were hard at work to undermine it. The China lobby had been infuriated by Nasser’s recognition of Communist China in May; the cotton lobby was against the loan because of Nasser’s deal with the Soviet Union over Egyptian cotton; and the Israeli lobby was against it on the grounds that it would strengthen one of their principal enemies.³¹¹

The curtain was about to rise on an affair which became a symbol of the end of the British Empire: an absolute debacle at the very facility which had been the focal point of Britain’s desperate efforts to hold the empire together for 20 years.

- ~ 18: Ben-Gurion, being very well aware of the significance of the British departure; being committed to a campaign of harassment against Egypt on behalf of France; and having indicated privately that he intended to sooner or later break the Egyptian blockade of Eilat, wanted someone more aggressive as foreign minister and asked Sharett to resign to make way for Mrs. Golda Meir.³¹² He was clearing the decks for action and he did not have to wait long for the opportunity.
- ~ In Poland, in the wake of Khrushchev’s denunciation of Stalinism in February, the sudden death of the country’s hard line leader, Bierut, in March, encouraged anti-Stalinists to organize a workers’ strike in Poznan to press for reforms. When it was violently suppressed, shock waves reverberated around the country and the Soviet Union threatened intervention.
- ~ July
- ~ 1: Three men met in Damascus in an atmosphere of intrigue “in the time-honoured tradition of the Middle East” – the business at which “the British were old hands” – but they were not British.

They were Archibald Roosevelt, another of the grandson-cousins and also a highly placed official of the CIA; Wilbur Crane Eveland, a staff member of the US National Security Council; and Michail Bey Ilyan, leader of the Conservative Populist Party in Syria and a former foreign minister. The first two were there on behalf of “Dulles and the Americans, still exulting in their king-making in Iran, [who] were looking to further remake the oil region in their own image.” Because of his expertise in the Middle East the CIA had asked that Eveland be seconded to it (from the body which was supposed to monitor its activities) for a series of assignments. The US ambassador to Syria, James Moose Jr., reasoned that a leftist-oriented or Communist-dominated Syrian government would clearly threaten American interests in neighbouring Turkey, which, in turn, could outflank all the state of the NATO alliance, and so forth and so on. It was clear that since the Syrian government could not be relied upon to do anything about this major impending disaster, something would have to be done about the Syrian government. Blum draws on Eveland’s memoirs to summarize the meeting as follows.³¹³

Roosevelt asked Ilyan “what would be needed to give the Syrian conservatives enough control to purge the Communists and their leftist sympathizers. Ilyan responded by ticking off names and places: the radio stations in Damascus and Aleppo; a few key senior officers; and enough money to buy newspapers now in Egyptian and Saudi hands.”

Roosevelt probed further. "Could these things, he asked Ilyan, be done with US money and assets alone, with no other Western or Near Eastern country involved?"

"Without question," Ilyan replied, nodding gravely.³¹⁴

Dulles and Lloyd were certainly on the same wave length in this exercise. Lloyd had told the British cabinet in March that steps would have to be taken to ensure a more friendly government in Syria.

THE SUEZ CRISIS

It had to happen. A confrontation between Egypt and Israel was becoming inevitable. The policies which Britain and France were pursuing to prop up their ailing colonial positions (deliberately drawing Israel into their schemes) and which the United States was pursuing to isolate the Soviet Union (the political embodiment of the Marxist challenge to the church and the amorphous Christian gel) were making it so. Iraq was plotting with the British to topple the governments of both Syria and Nasser's Egypt; the British were pressuring the Americans to join the conspiracy;³¹⁵ and the CIA [was] compromising – leave Nasser alone, at least for the time being, and we'll do something about Syria.³¹⁶ It was only a question of what or who would trigger it. Both the United States and Britain had decided to renege on their undertaking to help finance the Aswan High Dam. They had discussed the issue but had not decided how, or in what circumstances, to advise Nasser. They wanted it to be in circumstances of their own choosing and to their own advantage. The sequence of events, at this point, was brief but dramatic and had lasting consequences. Dulles made a precipitate decision with a minimum of consultation. As far as he was concerned it was simply another piece in the jigsaw puzzle with which he was seeking to further isolate the Soviet Union from its former allies and its trading partners, and to assume, for the United States, the dominant position in the Middle East. On March 8 he had told Lloyd that the United States was going to "enter into things in the Middle East more in the future" but when Lloyd asked him "How?" he simply replied that he had not thought it out.³¹⁷ Dulles probably expected that by wielding a big stick he could prize Egypt out of its arms supply arrangements with the Soviet Union and that it would return to the Western fold. If he anticipated a backlash he did not show it, and the crisis in the Middle East entered a critical new phase.

- ~ 17: The British cabinet again discussed Lloyd's proposal that the Aswan High Dam loan offer be withdrawn, but without any sense of urgency, and the foreign secretary "promised to circulate a memorandum on how the withdrawal of our offer should be put to the Egyptians."³¹⁸
- ~ 18: In the Soviet satellite, Hungary, after some weeks of politicking and political upheaval, the previously disgraced Communist Party general secretary, Laszlo Rajk, was 'rehabilitated' on the orders of Khrushchev, and there was a change of government leadership, with some liberalization, at the same time.

- ~ 19: Egypt's ambassador in Washington, Ahman Hussein, briefed by Nasser that he should accept all the American conditions for the loan "so long as he did not give the impression of being humiliated," prepared to keep an appointment with Dulles for further talks, hoping to achieve an American commitment to "hundreds of millions of dollars over a period of ten years or more."

During the morning, prior to the appointment, Dulles discussed the matter with Eisenhower then, one hour before the appointment, advised the British ambassador, Makins, that the offer was to be withdrawn. When Dulles told Hussein that Congressional authorization was going to be required for the loan, clearly implying that approval may not be granted, Hussein is said to have responded that if the United States would not pay he was sure the Soviet Union would. Dulles promptly told him that the United States would not be blackmailed and the offer of help over the dam was withdrawn. According to Lloyd: "Dulles must have made up his mind at very short notice to play it this way. Murphy [Undersecretary of State] says that Dulles had not discussed with State Department officials the consequences of an abrupt withdrawal. They had not been weighed carefully in advance. ... I had had no idea that there was going to be this abrupt withdrawal."³¹⁹

- ~ 26: One week after Dulles dropped his bombshell, and only six weeks after he had agreed to terms for Britain's continued control of the Suez Canal until its lease expired in 1968, it was Nasser's turn to drop his. At a gathering of diplomats and business representatives for the opening of a new oil pipeline near Cairo he announced the nationalization of the canal.

In a speech full of vitriol he gave a potted version of its involvement in Egypt from an Arab perspective and showed what a raw nerve Dulles had touched. He said that Egypt had faced a long struggle with 'malevolent imperialism;' Jordan had delivered the worst defeat to date for imperialism when it had refused to join the Baghdad Treaty a few months earlier [he did not say that its decision was under great pressure from Egypt and with rioting in the streets]; Britain, through its Balfour Declaration, had been responsible for the birth of Israel; it had allowed the Zionists to equip, supplied them with arms, and, wishing to exterminate the Palestinians, had turned their country over to the Jewish Haganah; it had tried to infuse hatred of Egypt into its Sudanese brethren; and now, in league with the United States, it was aiming at the obliteration of Arab nationalism.³²⁰ At the end of his speech, at a given signal, the offices of the Suez Canal Company were seized by force and its staff were required to continue operating the canal. Jordan's King Hussein promptly sent a message of goodwill, saying to Nasser: "We look forward to the future when the Arab flag will fly over our great stolen country."³²¹

NATIONALIZATION OR INTERNATIONALIZATION?

- ~ 27: Immediately the nationalization – *with compensation* – had been announced, Eden wrote to Eisenhower about the strategy he proposed to follow. Eisenhower agreed. They would set their own ground rules for the international row which would erupt, and they

knew that with control of the international media in their hands, Egypt would hardly get a serious hearing at all.

Eden set out a number of points: the canal is an international asset; it is vital to the free world; Nasser cannot be allowed to exploit the revenues for Egypt's exclusive use; the West should start with political pressure, but it should be prepared "to use force to bring Nasser to his senses." There was absolutely no suggestion that the matter should be resolved by arbitration or by reference to the International Court of Justice. Two weeks later, during debate in the Commons, Opposition MPs claimed that the government feared that if the matter went to the International Court the probability was that Britain would lose or that the court would rule that the matter was not within its jurisdiction, which would amount to a win for Egypt through the back door.³²² Selwyn Lloyd claimed that this argument was unfounded, but Eden did, by implication, admit in his letter to Eisenhower that Egypt had a strong case. He wrote: "*We should not allow ourselves to become involved in legal quibbles about the rights of the Egyptian Government to nationalize what is technically an Egyptian company, or in financial arguments about their capacity to pay the compensation which they have offered. I feel sure that we should take issue with Nasser on the broader international grounds.*"³²³ What that meant was the international political grandstand.

Eden's immediate concern was the impact which a politically motivated closure of the canal would have, and while he knew very well indeed that the trigger for such a closure was almost certain to be the Arab-Israel conflict he insisted that the two issues be separated. Every government involved knew that a closure of the canal was therefore a very powerful political tool in the Arab armoury in time of conflict – Britain, the United States, France, Israel and the Arabs especially, and Eden was very concerned that if the two issues were linked in public statements it might be sufficient to incite Egypt and the other Arab nations to try it out. Two extracts illustrate the dilemma for the Western powers.

*The immediate threat is to the oil supplies to Western Europe, a great part of which flows through the canal ... If the canal were closed we should have to ask you to help us by reducing the amount which you draw from the pipeline terminals in the eastern Mediterranean and possibly by sending us supplementary supplies for a time from your side of the world.*³²⁴

*At an early stage in their discussions, the three Foreign Secretaries [British, French and United States] agreed that the Arab-Israeli dispute should be treated as a separate matter from the future of the canal. ... [Then, following a brief statement of the nature of the conflict ...] Though this was all too true, to associate Israel's problems with those arising from the nationalization of the canal would, at this time, have tangled them to Nasser's advantage. If we were to get action, we had to keep the issues crisp.*³²⁵

Intense diplomatic and political negotiations began immediately and continued for three months while Britain sought to find a deal which would enable it to retain control of the canal.

Conferences involved, at times, both Dulles and Eisenhower and the representatives of 22 countries.

Between them, Britain and the United States managed a compliant Western-controlled media system very well. There was virtually no media reporting of the compensation package or Egypt's rights in regard to nationalization. Most of the discussion centred on how the nasty Egyptians wanted to exploit and control shipping plying between Europe and Asia as if, somehow, the whole of Asia would be placed at a disadvantage when their *shipping fees* were going to Egypt and its development program rather than into the pockets of foreign investors. Any reference to most of Britain's and Western Europe's oil coming from West Asia – Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States, Iraq and Iran – was played very low-key. And there was, as the governments had agreed, a very definite pattern of separation of reporting about the canal, and about the Arab-Israeli conflict and Egypt's refusal of passage for *Israeli shipping* and the closure of the Strait of Tiran and access to Eilat. People were definitely *not* supposed to link the two issues. If they did it might not only incite the Arabs to close the canal, it would raise all those embarrassing questions about the role of the amorphous Christian gel in the establishment of the State of Israel, about its relations with its neighbours, and the theology of it all. The trouble in the triangle was alive and well!

~ August

- ~ In the Soviet Bloc the lessening of state controls which Khrushchev had initiated a few months earlier continued with the release of former Communist Party general secretary Gomulka from prison in Poland and his readmission to the Communist Party.
- ~ 5: Unable to get the international support that they were looking for, the British and French governments established a joint staff team in London to prepare plans for a landing in Egypt. It was quite ambitious. About that time, the French Interior Minister, Bourguès-Maunoury, called the visiting Israeli director general of the ministry of defence, Shimon Peres, and asked: "If we make war on Egypt, would Israel be prepared to fight alongside us?" Instantly, Peres said "yes."³²⁶ The British and French staff could scheme to their hearts content.
- ~ 8: Three days later Eden made a statement to the Commons. In effect what he said was 'the government has decided to go to war.' But he used the strategy which he had canvassed with Eisenhower.

The alternatives are now clear to me to see. If we all join together to create an international system for the canal and spend its revenues as they should be spent, to develop it rapidly, that can bring growing prosperity to the East and West alike, the countries which produce the oil and the countries which buy it. There will then be a wealth for all to share, including Egypt. There is no question of denying her a fair deal, or a just return. But if anyone is going to snatch a grab and try to pocket what really belongs to the world, the result will be impoverishment for all, and a refusal by some countries at least to lead their life at such a hazard. Meanwhile, we have too much at risk not to take precautions. We have done so. That is the meaning of the movements by land, sea and air of which you have heard in the last few days.

*We do not seek a solution by force, but by the broadest possible international agreement. That is why we have called the conference. We shall do all we can to help its work, but this I must make plain. We cannot agree that an act of plunder which threatens the livelihood of many nations shall be allowed to succeed. And we must make sure that the life of the great trading nations of the world cannot, in the future, be strangled at any moment by some interruption to the free passage of the canal.*³²⁷

- ~ 13: While delegates prepared for the international conference which Britain hoped would pull the world into line behind it (due to begin on the 15th) Menzies broadcast to the world:

*International law is not a precise body of jurisprudence: it's always in the making. But if there is one thing clear it is that national contracts with the governments or citizens of other nations must be carried out unless there is legal excuse for non-performance. If at any time and for any reason of real or supposed self-interest, a nation could claim that its sovereign rights entitled it to set treaties aside or violate international contacts, all talk of or reliance on international law would become a sham. We cannot accept the legality or the morality of what Nasser had done.*³²⁸

Next day Selwyn Lloyd went one better.

*The rule of law must prevail. We are not bellicose – neither the British Government nor people. With Britain, force is always the last resort. We shall work with all our power for a peaceful solution, but that solution must include some form of international control for this essential waterway. We are not seeking British control, we are seeking international control.*³²⁹

Neither statement was anything but hollow bombast.

In any case, the Menzies and Lloyd statements must be viewed against some of the treaties and ‘contracts of convenience’ of the previous few years: the Balfour Declaration; the deals done by the oil industry during the 1930s or during the war; the British Government’s financial dealings with Czechoslovakia at that time; Churchill’s deal with Stalin over the future of Poland (although that was a ‘stab in the back’ rather than a direct contradiction of the agreement which Britain had brokered between the Soviet Union and the Polish government in exile on July 30, four and a half months earlier) (chapter 24, *A complete solution to the Jewish Question*)³³⁰; Nuri’s ‘contract conversation’ with Lloyd himself on March 10, (see note ²⁹⁰; ‘make sure that Turkey [does] not invade Syria ... [and] ... the Israelis should not attempt to improve their position ... while Iraq organizes a movement against [Syria] by elements in Syria more friendly to Iraq and the West.’); or the Roosevelt-Eveland-Ilyan discussions just outlined.

- ~ 23: The outcome of the 22-nation international conference was an agreement by 18 of them for the appointment of a five-nation delegation³³¹ with Menzies as chairman, with the task of persuading Nasser to agree to a formula based on six principles which Dulles had proposed.

The six principles agreed included: recognition of Egypt's sovereignty; a guarantee of fair return for the use of the canal; the negotiation of a new convention to govern the use of the canal; *the operation of the canal would be entrusted to a board which would include Egypt*; other countries would be appointed on the basis of a pattern of maritime interests; and operating procedures would be determined *without political motivation to favor or to disadvantage any user*. Negotiations dragged on.

The key issues were the board and the operating procedures. *The operation of the canal would be entrusted to a board which would determine operating procedures without political motivation to favor or to disadvantage any user*. Transit rights would be determined by the board, not by Egypt. Nasser might still have been able to close the Strait of Tiran and cut off access to the minor port of Eilat, but it would not have been able to close the canal to Israel's shipping and force it all the way around Africa and through the Mediterranean. The political stakes were high. The Soviet Union was represented at the international conference, and although it supported Egypt's position it played a low-key role and did not seek a seat on the negotiating committee. The five nation committee prepared to meet Nasser at the beginning of September, with Britain and France wanting to keep open the military option, to be able to use it to apply more pressure on Egypt. But outside of that formal diplomatic circle the State Department and the CIA were conducting their own negotiations – through the group of three conspirators who had met in Damascus on July 1, Roosevelt, Eveland and Ilyan.

About the time of the international conference, Ilyan expressed concern to his CIA contact, Eveland. Nasser was now the hero of the Arab World, and collaboration with any Western power to overthrow an Arab government was politically indefensible. However he was easily enough placated and planning continued, with the coup in Syria scheduled for October 25. The logistics, as outlined by Ilyan, called for senior colonels in the Syrian army to:

take control of Damascus, Aleppo, Homs, and Hamah. The frontier posts with Jordan, Iraq, and Lebanon would also be captured in order to seal Syria's borders until the radio stations announced that a new government had taken over under control of Colonel Kabbani, who would place armored units at key positions throughout Damascus. Once control had been established, Ilyan would inform the civilians he'd selected that they were to form a new government, but in order to avoid leaks none of them would be told until just a week before the coup.

For this operation, money would have to change hands. Ilyan asked for and received half a million Syrian pounds (approximately \$167,000). The Syrian further stipulated that to guarantee their participation the Syrian plotters would require assurance from the highest level of the American government that the US would both back the coup and immediately grant recognition to the new government. This, Ilyan explained, could be communicated as follows: in April, President Eisenhower had said that the United States would oppose aggression in the Middle East, but not without congressional approval. Could the president repeat this statement, in light of the Suez crisis, he asked, on a specified date when Ilyan's colleagues would be told to expect it? Eisenhower's words would provide the guarantees they were seeking.

An affirmative reply to Ilyan's plan arrived in Damascus from Washington the next day. A proper occasion for the requested statement would have to be found and Secretary Dulles would be the one to use it. The scheme was for Dulles to make public reference to Eisenhower's statement between 16 and 18 October, thus giving Ilyan the week he needed to assemble his civilian team.³³²

DON'T INTERVENE NOW ...

~ September

~ 2: Eisenhower did not learn of the Anglo-French landing plan until the day the Menzies committee arrived in Cairo, but he immediately wrote quite sharply:

There should be no thought of military action before the influences of the UN are fully explored ... American public opinion flatly rejects the thought of using force particularly when it does not seem that every possible peaceful means of protecting our vital interests has been exhausted without result ... The use of military force against Egypt under present circumstances might have consequences even more serious than causing the Arabs to support Nasser.³³³

But he also wrote:

"I assure you we are not blind to the fact that eventually there may be no escape from the use of force."

Eden's response was equally blunt and he showed the importance which he placed on keeping control of the little cog in the middle of Britain's big machine. He compared Nasser to Hitler, and with an echo of Churchill's defiant stand after his Lend Lease negotiations with Roosevelt, "We mean to hold our own. I have not become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire,"³³⁴ he said: "it would be an ignoble end to our long history if we accepted to perish by degrees."³³⁵

~ 4: Following preliminary discussions on the 3rd, Menzies presented the committee's proposals, then, being aware that Nasser had told his military commanders that Franco-British mobilization moves were a bluff, he asked for a private talk with Nasser at which he told him that "it would be a great mistake on his part if he excluded the possible use of force from his reckoning."³³⁶

- ~ 5: Eden, Menzies and the negotiating team were staggered to learn of flaring newspaper headlines with reports that Eisenhower, questioned at a press conference about the possible use of force, had rejected it “completely and unconditionally.” He had said that if Nasser rejected the present proposals others would have to be worked out. “We are committed to a peaceful settlement of this dispute, nothing else,” he said.³³⁷ Nasser kept talking, but he had no need to. The proposals were dead in the water.
- ~ 6: Eden’s reply to Eisenhower reflected frustration and amazement. He reminded the president that they had agreed that everything possible would be done to get a peaceful settlement; that the use of force was a last resort and that it would, in any case, take quite some time to put into effect; and that negotiations would continue. He also discussed the situation in other countries of the Middle East; gave his assessment that Nasser was out to “expel all Western influence and interests from Arab countries;” and said that when he had achieved revolutionary control of the entire region “these new governments will in effect be Egyptian satellites if not Russian ones,” and wrote:
- In short we are convinced that if Nasser is allowed to defy the eighteen nations it will be a matter of months before revolution breaks out in the oil-bearing countries and the West is wholly deprived of Middle Eastern oil. In this belief we are fortified by the advice of friendly leaders in the Middle East.
 - The Iraqis are the most insistent in their warnings; both Nuri and the Crown Prince have spoken to us several times of the consequences of Nasser succeeding in his grab. *They would be swept away.*³³⁸ [Emphasis added.]

The Americans had been very eager to dismantle monarchies and to replace them with US-style republics at every opportunity, and, as has been noted, they had been very successful. However, there had been some circumstances in which they found it to their advantage not to do so and now, in the Middle East, they suddenly found untapped reserves of love for monarchies. They were not to be touched! However Eden had, without realizing quite what he was doing, put his reply to Eisenhower in the context of the parody of Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*. He wrote:

- In the nineteen-thirties Hitler established his position by a series of carefully planned movements. These began with the occupation of the Rhineland and were followed by successive acts of aggression against Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the West. His actions were tolerated and excused by the majority of the population of Western Europe. It was argued either that Hitler had committed no act of aggression against anyone, or that he was entitled to do what he liked in his own territory, or that it was impossible to prove that he had any ulterior designs, or that the Covenant of the League of Nations did not entitle us to use force and that it would be wiser to wait until he did commit an act of aggression.
- In more recent years Russia has attempted the same tactics. The blockade of Berlin was to have been the opening in a campaign designed at least to deprive the Western powers of their whole position in Germany.³³⁹

He would have served his purpose better if he had based his case simply on the circumstances of the time and the adverse consequences for Britain and the United States as he saw them. It would have been a case based on pure self interest, but it would have been an acknowledgment of fact. By naming the series of situations which he did, he drew attention to some of the factors in colonial policy to which Nasser objected, to which the embryonic United States had been subjected in its own colonial days, and which were the basis of its initial determination to bring down the imperial colonial system. It had also lost sight of the track and was now hell bent along the alternative track which it had designed to achieve domination which was no less exploitative and no less destructive of human relations than that which it had set out to destroy. But for a person of Eisenhower's experience and knowledge of the circumstances which Eden referred to – and in which they had both been involved – Eden's letter must have read like a hollow sham. Each situation reflected poorly on either Britain's motives at the time, or the conduct and self-understanding of the amorphous Christian gel, or both.

Reference to the *Rhineland* drew attention to the way in which the First world War had been triggered and conducted; and the disgraceful and destructive media methods which had been used to justify and to camouflage those matters; the hypocritical demands and manoeuvring of the victorious powers in imposing the Treaty of Versailles which sealed the fate of the Rhineland so that it became a *cause célèbre* for Hitler (chapters 16 & 17); and finally, the way in which the Catholic hierarchy in Germany and the Vatican cooperated and aggravated ethnic relationships in the Rhineland in their bid to secure the Reich Concordat which Hitler then exploited with gay abandon as the Second World War approached and proceeded, (Chapter 18). Reference to *Czechoslovakia* drew attention to Eden's personal involvement in three situations. First, the proposal to 'buy Hitler off' with an offer of various African colonies in lieu of Lebensraum, or contiguous colonial expansion in eastern Europe; second, the piece-meal Munich carve-up of Czechoslovakia in an effort to defer the piece-meal carve-up of Britain's empire; and third, the decision to renege on the White Paper and the Balfour Declaration at the time of Munich in order to avoid aggravating Arab antagonism which would have strengthened Hitler's hand (chapter 21, *Twin decisions: Palestine and Czechoslovakia*). Reference to *Poland* drew attention to the fact that Eden had acted for Churchill in the sleazy deal with Stalin to keep the Soviet Union in the war by means of territorial concessions which included that portion of Poland east of the Curzon line, (see above, ... *a date with destiny* ...). And a reference to the Berlin Blockade by Russia was very surprising indeed in view of the fact that it was only four years since *Britain had imposed a blockade against Iran*, with the cooperation of the United States, and only three years since *the CIA had removed the Iranian Parliament's choice for prime minister, Mosaddeq, at the request of Britain and in one of the first such operations which Eisenhower had authorized after taking office in February 1953*.

Eden's letter demonstrates very clearly that he had no more idea than Churchill what the trouble in the triangle was all about. The Qur'anic *Night Journey*, the parody of *Mein Kampf* and Maimonides' understanding of the establishment of the State of Israel were totally lost on

both of them. It was lost on Eisenhower and Dulles, too. But he had shown that he had a knowledge of modern history, so even if he did not squirm with embarrassment on reading Eden's message he must have thought something to the effect that "Britain has had it. Finished. I might as well help it out and take over its 'responsibilities' in the Middle East."

In much the same vein, Eisenhower does not seem to have been at all worried by the inconsistency between saying that Britain and France could not use force against Egypt to secure the canal, while the CIA was planning the overthrow of a legitimate Syrian government by Syrian military force – paid for by the United States and carried out *on his explicit authority*. As noted above (see *From Intelligence to Interference* and following sections), such action may only be taken on the explicit authority of the president. Neither does he seem to have been concerned about a host of other inconsistencies such as those which were highlighted by the Menzies-Lloyd statements. The world had forgotten about the earlier ones, and it did not know about the current ones, and even if it did, most of those who had any influence would think like the Vatican and Dulles: anything is justified by the need to put down a challenge to the church or in the interests of preserving the influence and authority of the amorphous Christian gel.

Then there was another inconsistency. Eisenhower's complete and unconditional rejection of the use of force was quite out of keeping with some of his other decisions: his threat to extend the Korean War to China and to use nuclear bombs; his extension of the war in Indochina by intervening directly in support of Dien Bien Phu; or his use of the CIA to overthrow the Mosaddeq government in Iran in cooperation with Britain, just referred to. The view was widely held in Britain, and Lloyd made no effort to conceal it, that the Americans were trying to muscle in on British interests in the Middle East and to reduce Britain's influence still further. That view is supported by actions and statements by Eisenhower and Dulles during the crisis, beginning with the request that a US military adviser be placed in Britain's "area of responsibility," Cairo, and it is also consistent with America's long-running efforts to dismantle imperial colonialism and to replace it with economic and defence-treaty colonialism. In particular it is supported by the way in which Eisenhower ruled out the use of force and the timing of his announcement, which undermined the five-nation delegation's negotiating position; the fact that he had written in a contradictory manner to Eden on September 2, the day the Menzies delegation arrived in Cairo to open negotiations; and the relationship between that message, his public statement, and a further intervention by Dulles a few days later.

... DO IT MY WAY!

There can be no doubt that Eisenhower was trying to erase the memory of the way in which Dulles had triggered the crisis with his abrupt withdrawal of the loan offer; that he was saying to Nasser 'I'm your friend, Buddy,' and that he intended the United States to act as the intermediary between Egypt and Israel in all matters – especially security and passage through both the canal and the Strait of Tiran – and that it was the first step towards reversing Egypt's reliance on the Soviet Union for arms. A more charitable view offered by some is that the

United States was more acutely aware of the possible flow-on effects of a war with Egypt, that other Arab countries and Israel may become embroiled in another regional war – and that this would place a significant proportion of the Western World’s oil supplies at risk either by embargo or by destruction of facilities and denial of access. But as we have seen from Eden’s message to Eisenhower on July 27, quoted above, he was well aware of those flow-on effects: that was the very reason he had written it, and why he wanted to keep the two main concerns – the Israeli-Arab conflict and control of the canal – separated. It is therefore quite clear that all of these factors were involved in Eisenhower’s decision, together with America’s want to keep the anti-Communist barrier in place and to prevent the Soviet Union from becoming firmly established in the Middle East. However, during the next few months the Soviet Union was preoccupied with its own problems in Eastern Europe which made it less likely that it would want to intervene directly in the Middle East. The Suez crisis and a crisis in Hungary were about to run hand in hand.

- ~ 7: With the Cairo talks broken down as a result of Eisenhower’s public intervention, Eden wrote again next day, to tell the president that the British Government “might, within twenty-four hours, wish to announce [its] decision to go to the Security Council” and its ambassadors were briefed to rally as much international support as possible.

Dulles responded immediately, telling the ambassador that the United States now queried the basis in law of Britain’s case; opposed any immediate pronouncement; would neither sponsor nor support the draft Franco-British resolution to the Security Council; and would find it very difficult to support the operation in its present form. He accused Britain of trying to enlist the aid of the Security Council to force a new treaty on Egypt which would bestow new rights on the users of the canal; he advised Britain and France to merely inform the Security Council of the situation by letter and ask for no action; and he declined to sign such a letter on the basis that the United States “did not wish to create an identity of interest, which might prove embarrassing” to France and Britain.³⁴⁰ And in addition he refused to allow US shippers to withhold all or part of the fees which were due to the canal company, and told Britain and France that they should resume paying theirs in full.

- ~ 8: Selwyn Lloyd complained to the United States that Britain and the United States seemed further apart in their thinking than at any time since the crisis began.
- ~ 9: Then, after two days spent “in reflection” and with his position strengthened enormously by Eisenhower’s public statement against military intervention and “the impression he had derived from the United States,” Nasser rejected the formula proposed by the international committee outright – with comments that bears a remarkable similarity to the position that Dulles had put to Eden two days earlier.

The idea of insulating the canal from politics was unreal, he said, and it could never be “sundered from Egypt’s political life.” Its sovereignty was a matter of real importance to Egypt and the establishment of an international authority would mean “the restoration of collective colonialism.” According to Eden the five members of the committee each responded promptly to “the taunt of colonialism,” with the Ethiopian, Iranian and Swedish representatives rejecting

it as “ridiculous,” and with Henderson, the US ambassador to Iran, standing up for “the anti-colonial record of the United States.” Menzies, with his legalistic outlook and deep personal commitment to Britain, would not concede that there was any historical element in the crisis. He told Nasser that “the critical atmosphere in the world began at the very moment that you nationalized.”³⁴¹ Britain considered seizing Egypt’s Sterling balances – an action akin to United States seizure of Japanese assets in 1941 – and military action, but stopped short. However, Anglo-French discussions continued, of course, and about this time Bourghès-Maunoury asked Peres straight out whether Israel would attack Egypt on October 20 in conjunction with the French and the British. Peres sought a response from Ben-Gurion but did not get an answer.

~ 10: Dulles followed Nasser’s statement with an alternative to the Anglo-French plan to go to the Security Council. He proposed a Suez Canal Users’ Club (SCUC). The conclusion is almost inescapable that Nasser had spent some time on the telephone during his two days of reflection! Eisenhower was less than two months away from a US presidential election.

~ 11: The British cabinet had to consider the plan against a backdrop of a particularly severe Israeli “reprisal” raid on a Jordanian border post in which 16 Arab Legionnaires were killed. In desperate need of a solution to ease the tension on all fronts, cabinet resolved to adopt the American plan. Eden was influenced in part by the fact that close cooperation with the United States had been a guiding principle throughout his political life, but also by the knowledge that: “If we had told the United States Government that we did not consider the Users’ Club a workable proposition and that we preferred to go direct to the Security Council ... we would I suppose have forfeited, for the time being at least, something of their goodwill.” If there had been any lingering doubts about who held the power, the decision making authority and the leadership of the amorphous Christian gel at the beginning of the crisis, they should all have been dispelled by now. The United States reigned supreme.

During September the British government prepared to set up the SCUC but, under considerable pressure from the Opposition, it also prepared to take the issue to the Security Council. It had been reluctant to initially because it was not in the ‘fortunate’ position that the United States was at the outbreak of the Korean War, when the Soviet Union was not participating and was therefore not present to exercise its veto. (See above, ... *and the action begins*) Eden knew that the Soviet veto would be used in the Security Council and that the General Assembly would not support the use of force either. He wrote:

From the first the Soviet Government made it plain that it would give diplomatic support to the Egyptians. This meant that Moscow would run no risks, but would take every political pot-shot from behind cover. The use of the veto in the Security Council was the easiest of these, for it never gave the Kremlin the slightest embarrassment. ... Nor would any initiative in the General Assembly meet with success in the face of Afro-Asian extremists supported by the Soviets. [Then, referring to opposition within Britain to the use of force ...] Therefore the

condition of United Nations approval for the use of force by Britain and France was equivalent to denying its use.³⁴² [Emphasis added.]

Eden could now expect a US veto as well, and the admission to the United Nations of 12 African and Asian members, six in the previous year alone, was beginning to restrain the Western powers also. (Israel, although geographically in Asia, is not included in those figures.) But in mid September he received a letter from Marshal Bulganin indicating that while the Soviet Union “stood by Egypt’s side” it was not inciting Egypt and was eager to contribute to a peaceful settlement. Events continued to move dynamically. A series of international conferences were held; agreement was reached on resolutions to put to the Security Council for the establishment of SCUC; fifteen countries agreed to join and in spite of Dulles making a speech belittling the scheme which he had proposed; and a meeting to constitute it was planned.

The French were not satisfied with that situation and in mid-September Bourgès-Maunoury pressed the Israelis for a definite response to the joint attack plan. The military attaché in Paris was warned that the price of French support was nothing less than Israel’s collaboration in the impending operation at a time close to the US presidential elections when Eisenhower, it was hoped, would be unable to react.

- ~ 23: Ben-Gurion cabled Peres who was again in Paris, saying: “Tell them that their dates suit us,” but when he relayed the message, Peres held his hand out for more supplies. Bourgès-Maunoury agreed. However Ben-Gurion wanted to know the British position, so the plan was transmitted to London.
- ~ 24: Eden was incredulous and disliked the plan, fearing that it would further weaken Britain’s relations with the Arab countries, and especially Jordan, against which Israel’s attacks were becoming more frequent and more severe. He withheld a decision. His concerns deepened next day.
- ~ 25: A full brigade attack was launched by Israel against a Jordanian post, with several dozen casualties.
- ~ 29: Four days later Golda Meir and General Dayan arrived in Paris to ask for a substantial list of heavy equipment, additional planes and arms. Shipment began immediately.

A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION

October

- ~ 1: The planned SCUC meeting was held in London with Selwyn Lloyd presiding. It was twelve days before the resolution was to be decided by the Security Council and five weeks before the US election. The founding member countries were waiting for the United States to confirm that it would participate by paying its canal dues through the association. But complications flowed in from all directions. When Bulganin advised Eden that the Soviet Union, for various reason, would oppose the plan, he telegraphed Eisenhower immediately. The wider danger of the Middle East was Russia, he said, then:

There is no doubt in our minds that Nasser, whether he likes it or not, is now effectively in Russian hands, just as Mussolini was in Hitler's. It would be as ineffective to show weakness to Nasser now in order to placate him as it was to show weakness to Mussolini. The only result was and would be to bring the two together. [He then referred to Egyptian plots to bring down Libya, Saudi Arabia and Iraq; said that the SCUC had to succeed to show those countries that Nasser was losing; and called for the United States to ensure that all countries which it could influence used the canal. He concluded ...] I feel sure that anything which you can say or do to show firmness to Nasser at this time will help the peace by giving the Russians pause. ...³⁴³

- ~ 2: Next day it was clear that Eisenhower and Dulles did not agree, and with a press statement by Dulles they widened the debate to include the question of colonialism and virtually said that if Nasser held firm, "the United States would fall apart from France and Britain over the seizure of the canal."

The United States [the Secretary of State said] cannot be expected to identify itself 100 per cent either with the colonial powers or the powers uniquely concerned with the problem of getting independence as rapidly and as fully as possible. There were, I admit, differences of approach by the three nations to the Suez dispute, which perhaps arise from fundamental concepts. For while we stand together, and I hope we shall always stand together in treaty relations covering the North Atlantic, any areas encroaching in some form or manner on the problem of so-called colonialism, find the United States playing a somewhat independent role. The shift from colonialism to independence will be going on for another fifty years, and I believe that the task of the United Nations is to try to see that this process moves forward in a constructive, evolutionary way, and does not come to a halt or go forward through violent, revolutionary processes which would be destructive of much good.³⁴⁴

Dulles had touched a raw nerve indeed. It was the same nerve which Bulganin and Khrushchev had touched during their visit to London in April. Whether he realized it or not, he had touched on one of the fundamental issues which had brought the trouble in the triangle to a head, and one of the fundamental issues (relations with one's 'neighbours') which was, one step back into history, basic to the Covenant of Sinai and the catalytic role of the people-Israel in that process. Certainly Eden does not give any indication that he realized it. His response was, basically, to say that the dispute had nothing to do with colonialism but was a matter of *international* rights. In fact nine of the eighteen nations which took part in the canal committee discussions were current colonial powers, and an additional five were former colonial powers which had forfeited their colonies either as a result of being on the losing side in one of the wars or in one of Europe's periodical territorial carve-ups. (See note ³³¹) Eden insisted that: "If the United States had to defend their treaty rights in the Panama Canal, they would not regard such action as colonialism, neither would I. Yet their rights in Panama are those of one nation, not of many nations, as at Suez." Later he was at pains to justify Britain's recent record as a colonial power. He did not try to justify the exploitative, oppressive and decaying system overall, or its consequences, and he did not refer to the fundamental self-understanding which had underpinned the system and he gave no hint of recognition that Britain's effort to prop up its

position of colonial privilege had dragged the world into the Second World War and the urgent need to recognize and to resolve the trouble in the triangle. His main concern was to repudiate Dulles' statement and to turn some of the blame for the sequence of events back on the United States and him, and his effort to project an image of progressive colonialism "*for a century or more,*" encompassing the period from 1848 to 1956, serves *either* to show his insensitivity to the actual record of the period or to highlight the enormous iniquity of colonialism from *Rominus Pontifex* (chapter 9) to the *round of revolutions* and *Marx's Manifesto* in the middle of the nineteenth century, (chapter 14). He wrote, in part:

It is worthwhile to probe deeper into the causes for the frequent divergences on colonialism, which have presented a continuing problem in Anglo-American relations and still do so, despite official denials.

With the passage of nearly two centuries since 1776, this issue should vex us less. George III has much to answer for. But it is too easy an explanation merely to take refuge in that monarch's mistaken judgements. (Chapter 13) Britain has had her share of responsibility for the instinctive American reaction to any question of colonialism. What is disturbing is its tendency to reappear at any critical moment in the relations of the United States with one of her Western allies. ... The United Kingdom has, for a century or more, and in an increasing degree, applied herself to the trustee conception of her responsibilities towards colonial territories. ...

The United States point of view on trusteeship tends to differ from our own. In their judgement, there is nothing wrong in expending large sums of capital in the development of a country and deriving much gain from the process, the American companies or individuals accepting no responsibility for the administration of the country. This point of view is strongly held and there can be no doubt that in many parts of the world the results are satisfactory, both to the countries concerned and to the United States. On the other hand, this practice can also have unexpected consequences which seem less laudable. It remains a fact that two of the more backward countries in the Middle East and in Africa, Saudi Arabia and Liberia, are also two where American interests play a conspicuously large part. [Emphasis added.]

Much of the sparring between the United States and Great Britain on colonial issues could certainly be removed if more was understood of the record of this country in the colonial sphere, especially since the beginning of the century. But the orderly development of self-government in an important territory, like Malaya or Nigeria, is not sensational news; a riot in Cyprus is. As a consequence, understanding grows slowly.³⁴⁵ [See above, September 1954.]

In responding to the Dulles barb with his reference to economic practices which *can also have unexpected consequences which seem less laudable*, Eden alluded to the policies and practices which, within a few years, would lead to two linked crises and reactions. First, heavy pressure to *permit and to accept* foreign investment and resource exploitation resulted in a spiral of *dependence* on foreign investment and foreign commercial domination, which led in turn to calls for a New International Economic Order to break that cycle, but which would be ruthlessly brushed aside in a bid to consolidate the system to which Third World countries were objecting. Second, economic and cultural globalization which resulted in the destruction of long

established community structures and the degradation of cultural heritage in the name of 'development' and led not only to renewed calls for a NIEO, but to a dramatic deepening of the trouble in the triangle through the linkage of religion and social degradation. The whole process has been controlled by, and to the benefit of, the amorphous Christian gel. In the early stage of the process it would have been possible to sever the links through judicious controls and strong international leadership. In October 1956 both were lacking and very few people were either conscious of the problem or interested in doing anything about it. The world was just reaching the crest of the very long wave of 'foreign-investment-and-resource-extraction-is-good-for-development' momentum. It is no longer possible to sever those links without concurrently – and as a precondition – resolving the trouble in the triangle. The process had a long time to run. It has now been running for two generations since Dulles so shamelessly sponsored it in his push for acceptance of the Marshall Plan in 1948. (Chapter 27)

- ~ 3: Israel's foreign ministry announced that it was withdrawing its representative from the joint Israeli-Jordanian Mixed Armistice Commission. It had to convey the impression that Jordan was its real target, not Egypt.
- ~ 11: Nine days after the Dulles barb, Eden had more than the philosophy of colonialism to worry about when the Israelis launched their biggest attack to date against Jordan, pounding a police fortress with tanks, artillery and planes. It was as if their intentions were real and not a bluff!
- ~ 12: As a result of that attack Hussein invoked the Anglo-Jordanian Treaty and the British charge d'affaires in Tel Aviv told Ben-Gurion that an Iraqi division was about to enter Jordan for its protection, and that if Israel took further military action Britain would be obliged to come to its aid also.³⁴⁶

THE MESS OF POTTAGE: MIXED PERCEPTIONS AND EXPERIENCE

Confusion reigned supreme. Britain had already warned Saudi Arabia against an attack on Jordan which was intended to induce it into *joining* the push against Israel in order to undo the wrongs done to the Palestinians. Now it was threatening Israel for taking action against Jordan which was intended to induce it *not to join* that push. Jordan was a treaty partner of the 'enemy' whom Israel and the French were about to attack. That attack was expected to be at least as much for Britain's benefit as their own, But Jordan was also a treaty partner of Britain which was relying on it as a security buffer for its interests. Israel's 'defensive action' was superficially based on ethnic conflict. But the root causes of its conflict lay in a series of factors, and brief consideration of each of them helps towards an understanding of what the crisis was really all about, and the way ahead. The first factor was Britain's colonial history and its manipulation of the triangle of faiths, and in particular its manipulation of world Jewry and now the State of Israel. The second, was the insistence of Israel's current mentor, the United States, and other countries of the amorphous Christian gel, that its establishment had to be imposed on the Arab communities. That imposition was a matter of placating the corporate conscience of

the amorphous Christian gel. The circumstances of each of the key players were important, so, a brief review of each: the non-Middle East players first.

Britain had a proud Christian heritage and it had played an important role, albeit politically motivated, in consolidating the Reformation and in planting the Reformed Churches around the world. It was the former master of the entire region who had gained control of it largely as a result of conflicting promises to the main protagonists. It was the power which, out of sheer greed and self-interest, had sponsored the idea of a Jewish homeland in the middle of the Muslim Arab world. It had been mentor to the Zionist Movement and protector of the embryonic state up to the point of its establishment which, because of the maze of conflicts it had got itself into, it finally refused to support. It had reneged on its role as 'umbrella' for the Zionist cause and had walked away at the critical time when it should have been able to see and understand its critical role in the trouble in the triangle, and left others to sort out the mess. It had dragged the region through two wars based around a combination of the protection of its colonial interests and other tensions and conflicts within the amorphous Christian gel, and it was now dependent on maintaining or restoring stable relations with all of them in order to secure its economic lifelines and access to the remaining units of its colonial empire. It had all sorts of treaty commitments which related to the crisis, but the key ones were with Egypt, the nation with which it was now in conflict over the facility of the Suez Canal; with Jordan; with another of the Arab countries, Iraq, on which it was dependent for a substantial proportion of its oil as well as for security support; and with Turkey, a non-Arab Muslim nation which need not have been involved but was drawn in as another member of the multi-purpose security shield. Britain's decisions and actions throughout were based on the self-understanding and assumptions of superior rights as a major player in the amorphous Christian gel, and it was now forced to camouflage its role in the mess which it had caused by placing the blame on the power which represented the greatest challenge to that self-understanding – the Soviet Union and atheistic Communism. And it was trying to restrain the young state of Israel from its engagement in a battle with its neighbours for its own security.

France was another major player in the Reformation and in determining the nature and conduct of the amorphous Christian gel, and its competition with Britain for power and control in the region had helped to build the framework for the crisis. It had a major interest in the facility which was the focal point of the crisis, the Suez Canal, but control of the canal was of less significance to France than it was to Britain. Its main motive for joining the stoush was to suppress Egypt and the challenge to its colonial authority in North Africa which Egypt was leading. To do so it needed, and was using, its new relationship with Israel whose imposed existence was the primary cause of the conflict.

The United States was established amid the turmoil of the Reformation and, recognizing that, its leaders had determined that it would have a constitution which prevented the perpetuation of religious strife in the New World. Having worked its way through a long period of anti-Catholicism, as circumstances changed it had entered into both an agreement and a political alliance with the Vatican of a nature which it did not have with other churches or the authorities

of other religions, and which many people had regarded as unconstitutional. It was now the major player in the amorphous Christian gel. Its rapid rise to that position had been circumstantial, and it had changed gear circumstantially so that its self-understanding was no longer *Christian*. It considered itself to be the principle *Judeo-Christian* nation and that it had the God-given right and authority to make every major decision for the world and to use its military might to impose it. It was determined to do so. It had assumed the role of umbrella for the Zionist Movement with precisely the same motives as Britain – self interest and a stepping stone to regional and resource control – when Britain had rejected that role, but it had extended it to encompass world Jewry.

The United States had suffered from the abuses of colonialism and had developed an intensely anti-colonialist position in world affairs as a consequence, but it had then proceeded to develop a new theory and practice of economic imperialism with consequences more far-reaching than those of territorial colonialism, and it was hell-bent on imposing that system to its own benefit by utilizing the most insidious mechanism – a network of international intelligence and subversion systems. It saw the challenge of atheistic Communism more in terms of an economic and political challenge than the theological and social policy challenge which the Vatican saw, but it had responded to the opportunity of an alliance with the Vatican against Communism and was taking full advantage of it in much the manner that Hitler did with his concordat. It had been the originator of a series of treaties, or pacts and alliances ringing the Soviet Union, and one of them, the Baghdad Pact was now enmeshed very firmly in the trouble in the triangle through the Suez crisis. That reaction of some of the Arab nations to that pact had actually enabled the Soviet Union to extend its influence into new areas. One reason was the punitive action taken against Egypt by the United States and Britain, and another was the way in which Britain was trying to manipulate the pact and its members as instruments for its own economic security which was being threatened by its broken relationships with the Arab countries. In addition, the decisions taken and the policies pursued by successive presidents, coupled with the nature of its constitution and electoral system, had ensured that interfaith relations had become, and would remain, a major consideration in United States domestic and international politics. Britain had tried, in 1948, to break the spiral of complications which rose from the trouble in the triangle, but it could not. The United States was now experiencing the further tightening of the spiral.

The Soviet Union, the ongoing embodiment of the Marxist challenge to the church's theology and self-understanding, was organized as a federation of republics on an irreligious or atheistic basis but, having gone through a phase of vigorous suppression of religion, it was again supporting, or tolerating, organized religion. Paradoxically, it had brought together a number of states through mechanisms which could well be described as a merging of pre-revolution tsarist Russian colonialism and post-revolution Bolshevik colonialism, but it had become the most determined opponent of colonialism. And also, while its basis was anti-religious, it had become home to the most complex mix of religious faiths of any nation by virtue of its enormous extent and the way in which its constituent republics were drawn

together. The only major religious communities not represented are the Hindu and Shinto. It was, to a large degree, politically and economically isolated, but this was not a situation of its own making: it had been imposed on it by the Western powers. It would have had no reason to be involved in the Suez crisis if it were not for the way in which Britain and the United States had abused their relationship with the Arab states – Egypt in particular – encouraging them to establish working relationships with the Soviet Union in contradiction of the Western policy of isolation, thus enabling it to become a major arms supplier into that strategic area.

Jordan was essentially Sunni Muslim by faith, with about five per cent Christians. It was one of the states which had been set up by Britain to serve its own purposes. It was now trapped in a mire of hatred all around. It had conflicting treaties with two of the opposing parties in the current dispute. One was with Egypt, because of their natural allegiance as Arab Muslim nations with a shared heritage. The other was with its former colonial master who was now partly dependent on it for the security of its interests in the Middle East, but on whom it, Jordan, was now dependent for protection from both Israel and one or two of its Arab neighbours who were upset at its reluctance to join them in a war against Israel because of its treaty with Britain. And to further complicate matters, it had a substantial population of indigenous Palestinians – being one half of the area of the mandate of Palestine – but it was also home to a substantial proportion of the Palestinian Arabs who had been expelled as refugees by Israel, for whom the other Arab nations were fighting. And it was because of their raids against Israel that Jordan was now under attack. But, in addition, East Jerusalem and part of the West Bank was now Jordanian territory, and Jordan was the custodian of the holy sites of the Old City, the most important of which were the Al Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock which was central to the Qur'anic Prophecy of the Night Journey.

Saudi Arabia was the birth place of the Prophet Muhammad and custodian of the Ka'ba, the holiest shrine, focal point and major point of pilgrimage of Islam. It was the seat of the vibrant resurgence of faith, the puritanical Wahhabi reform movement, and it was a 'closed' country with a virtually 100 per cent Muslim population. It was naturally a strong supporter of the Palestinian cause. The United States had also declared the defence of Saudi Arabia vital for its own security and it was one of the major oil producers for the Western world. The monarchy had been accused by Britain of abetting the Communist cause in the Middle East. It was doing nothing of the kind. It was abetting the Palestinian cause and protecting the integrity of Dār al-islām. If the Soviet Union gained any benefit from it, that was the indirect consequence of the British policy, not Saudi Arabia's.

REMARKABLE EGYPTIAN EXPERIENCE ...

Egypt had a somewhat special place in the unfolding trouble in the triangle. It was intimately involved in the development of Yahwism as the parent faith of the triangle of Abrahamic faiths, and it became a mixing bowl as two, then three faiths emerged and interacted. It was the base of one of the more advanced civilizations at the time that Abraham and his family migrated from

Mesopotamia, and it is generally accepted that they travelled as far as Goshen in the eastern portion of the Nile Delta before turning back to Hebron. At the time that Joseph, one of the sons of Jacob, was sold into slavery in Egypt in the 17th century BCE it was the leading state in the Near East, receiving a steady stream of migrants from Asia, and the north eastern delta area, around Goshen, had been settled by successive waves of Palestinians. The practice of slavery was not common at that time, but a couple of generations later it became more widespread, with large numbers of captive slaves being acquired by major state institutions or being conscripted into the Egyptian army. Forced labour, especially in dangerous mining ventures, became standard corrective treatment for foreign slaves or fugitives caught fleeing from any personal obligations. The influence of the kingdom reached a peak in the early years of the 15th century BCE when Thutmose I ruled from Carchemish on the Euphrates where it crosses the border between modern Turkey and Syria, to the fifth cataract on the Nile, only 200 miles from Khartoum. It appears that at the time that Moses led the people of Israel out of bondage in Egypt and they made their way to Mount Sinai, Ramses II was on the throne and using a lot of forced labour in a building program on a massive scale which included religious edifices of many kinds from Nubia in the Sudan to Syria. The religious environment in Egypt at that time has been described in these terms:

... Egyptian society consisted of a descending hierarchy of the gods, the king, the dead, and humanity (by which was understood chiefly the Egyptians). Of these groups, only the king was single, and hence he was individually more prominent than any of the others. ... the “is on earth for ever and ever, judging mankind and propitiating the gods, and setting order [ma’at, a central concept] in place of disorder. He gives offerings to the gods and mortuary offerings to the spirits [the blessed dead].” The king was a god, but not in any simple or unqualified sense. His divinity accrued to him from his office and was reaffirmed through rituals, but it was vastly inferior to that of major gods; he was god rather than man by virtue of his potential, which was immeasurably greater than that of any human being. To humanity, he manifested the gods on earth, a conception that was elaborated in a complex web of metaphor and doctrine; less directly, he represented humanity to the gods. ... The king’s position changed gradually from that of an absolute monarch at the centre of a small ruling group who were mostly his kin to that of the head of a bureaucratic state – in which his rule was still absolute – based on office-holding and, in theory, on free competition and merit. By the 5th dynasty, fixed institutions were added to the force of tradition and the regulation of personal contact as brakes on autocracy, but the charismatic and superhuman power of the king remained vital.³⁴⁷

Over the centuries which followed, Egypt came under the influence of first the Assyrians and then the Persians. It was under Persian control at the time that Nebuchadrezzar destroyed the temple in Jerusalem, in 586 BCE, and many Jews fled not to Babylon but to Egypt which had been reduced to a conquered province, and some were enlisted in the Persian army of occupation. They introduced a new religious dimension, but they did not proselytize to any great extent, preferring to practice their monotheistic Yahwism within their restricted communities. Alexander came along in 332 with his Macedonian and Greek armies to push the

Persians out, and Greek influence became dominant over a couple of centuries of instability until the Romans decided it was their turn in 168 BCE, and the religious scene became even more confused.

The native traditions persisted in village temples and local cults, many having particular associations with species of sacred animals or birds. At the same time, the Greeks created their own identifications of Egyptian deities, identifying Amon with Zeus, Horus with Apollo, Ptah with Hephaestus, and so on. They also gave some deities, such as Isis, a more universal significance that ultimately resulted in the spread of her mystery cult throughout the Mediterranean world. The impact of the Greeks is most obvious in two phenomena. One is the formalized royal cult of Alexander and the Ptolemies, which evidently served both a political and a religious purpose. The other is the creation of the cult of Sarapis, which at first was confined to Alexandria but soon became universal. The god was represented as a Hellenized deity and the form of cult is Greek; but its essence is the old Egyptian notion that the sacred Apis bull merged its divinity in some way with the god Osiris when it died.

It was in that environment that a well-educated Hellenized Jew wrote the Book of Wisdom about 50 BCE in an attempt at rapprochement between Greek culture and Judaism, but only added to the confusion, and Philo (c.25 BCE–50 CE) came along, about the time that Jesus was preaching in Palestine, with the best of intentions to extend the influence of Judaism but only succeeded in muddying the waters still further. (Chapter 1) The Jewish authorities rejected both the Book of Wisdom and Philo's writings. So did the leaders of the church in Jerusalem. But then the church arrived in Egypt. The first confirmed presence of Christians is dated about a hundred years after Philo's death, coinciding with the second anti-Roman uprisings in Jerusalem, although some writers date a Christian presence from the destruction of the temple 40 years earlier.³⁴⁸ A catechetical school was later established at Alexandria, probably in the second half of the second century, and this made it the acknowledged centre of Christianity in Egypt. It had some catching up to do. Its parent cum partner cum competitor had stolen a march on it. But that school soon became a centre for controversy as well as confusion. Two of its third century leaders, Clement and Origen, approved the use of Wisdom for public reading and used Philo's writings to 'expand' their Christian teaching.³⁴⁹ In 325, Athanasius, (at that time secretary to the bishop of Alexandria but, later, appointed bishop), succeeded in persuading the Council of Nicaea to adopt the basic Trinitarian statement of faith, the Nicene Creed. Subsequently a more complex statement of faith, which soon dominated the church's self-understanding and theology, was issued in his name: the Athanasian Creed. (Chapter 2) It was not a case of *merging a sacred bull with a god*; it was a case of *merging a man born by divine intervention with God, the source of authority for the intervention*. In pursuing the numbers game, the church was going one better than both the pagans and the Jews. Perhaps they were not winning the numbers game. In any case they were not able to simply do what Jesus did: teach from the Law and the Prophets and add his Gospel teaching to it. Syncretism provided the means for the church to lift its numbers prior to 391, when the practice of pagan religion was officially made illegal, but even so it engulfed its pagan precedents only slowly and untidily,

and because it was playing to pagan rules it had to cope with a pagan revival in the first half of the 5th century. By then there was a great heterogeneous mass of commitment and belief, and Gnostics and Manichaeans were all able to think of themselves as Christians. (Chapters 3 & 4)

But in addition to absorption by syncretism, church leaders tried to compete with the Jews and the pagans on the basis that ‘our God is higher than your god.’ They were soon teaching that Jesus was not of human nature at all, but purely of divine nature. The church fathers tried to resolve this in 451 at Chalcedon, a Greek city on the Turkish side of the Bosphorus, but they had little hope because that area had been the source of the Greek component of the Egyptian amalgam. The situation worsened because a bishop of like mind, Julian, was forced from his see at Halicarnassus (another Greek city in Turkey) and fled to Alexandria which became the centre of that belief: Monophysitism.. The bulk of the population still followed pagan magical practices which were simply converted into a Christian context, but in the middle of all that stood a few great churches and monasteries in which formal Monophysite Christianity, which had been adopted officially as the basis of Egypt’s church, was practiced. Over the next three or four generations a network of strongly Monophysite centres took root in Abyssinia and Yemen, across the Red Sea from each other; in Syria and in Armenia.³⁵⁰

There was a lot of trade between those centres, so Monophysite Christians and Jews under the influence of Philo’s version of Judaism plied their wares between Abyssinia-Yemen at the southern end of the Red Sea, and Alexandria and Syria on the Mediterranean coast with Armenia further north. And the main trade route was a straight line down the Mediterranean and Red Sea coasts through a town called Mecca where lived a young man named Muhammad. Those traders provided his first contact with the people of the Book. It was not long before he issued his call for a return to the straight and narrow path. “There is no god but God.” His ministry and Islam took off! (Chapters 6 & 7) In 632 Muhammad declared a holy war against Byzantium, and 10 years later Alexandria capitulated, several months after Byzantium had formally conceded and signed Egypt over to the Arabs. Islam was now Egypt’s official religion but, as in other countries, Christians and Jews were permitted to continue their rites as long as they adhered to the conditions laid down. After the division of Islam into two main streams, Sunni and Shi’ism, Egypt remained under Sunni leadership except for the period of the Fatimid Caliphate from 969 to 1171. During that period the country became an important centre for Shi’ite scholarship with the establishment of the al-Azhar College, but that was soon followed by a quite remarkable development. When Saladin claimed power during the period of the Crusades, he retained as a personal physician not a Muslim, but a Jew: the Spanish refugee, Maimonides. (chapter 8) Thus, at a critical time in its history, when Muslim Egypt was fighting to secure Jerusalem and the Holy Land against the licentious, ravaging Christian rabble whom the popes were sending in successive waves to prove that there was not a triangle, it was home to the Jew whose understanding of the evolving relationships between Judaism, Christianity and Islam and his insights into the eventual return of Jews from the Diaspora to establish a State of Israel, now enable us to understand more fully the significance of the Qur’anic Night Journey and how to find our way out of the trouble in the triangle.

... AND A UNIQUE ISRAELI EXPERIENCE

Israel was the *product* and the *focal point* of the trouble in the triangle. More than two thirds of its population was, by then, of the Jewish faith: the faith of the people who were still bound by a covenant which no one else wanted to recognize and who, because of their historical circumstances, had largely lost sight of that covenant, was embroiled in conflict and under threat because its self-understanding problem had become just as big as that of the amorphous Christian gel. The oppression and abuse which had forced their pioneers to take the decisions which they did had largely dissipated as a consequence of Hitler having fulfilled his role as the Scourge of the Qur'anic Night Journey when the church and the powers of the west failed to recognize the parody of *Mein Kampf* and change direction. Having failed to recognize the gravity of their transgression against the people of Palestine its leaders were happy to accept that they had been redeemed as a people, consistent with the Covenant, while ignoring the fact that the Covenant is a two-way contract and carries penal clauses as well as guarantees. They were now under enormous pressure to make good their transgression by resolving the problems caused by the imposed establishment of their state, but they could not see beyond the privileges of statehood and the need to secure it by military means in the manner of any other state.

But Israel is not like any other state. It is supposed to be the shining light upon the hill, guiding humanity towards Maimonides' understanding of the Messianic Age through example and precept. Its failure to resolve the issues raised by the circumstances of its establishment in the worst possible example of imperial colonialism – issues which its people had all experienced elsewhere – meant that it would face the same backlash as any other colonial power, except on a more intense exemplary scale. It was now trying to take advantage of another crisis within the triangle to secure its position by force, in collaboration with either one or two of the powers which had been key players in the whole mess. It was ignoring the basis of the Covenant and the teaching of the Law and the Prophets that security is a product of sound relationships and that it is undermined by relationships destroyed. It could not possibly ensure its long term security without resolving the crises of refugees; trauma compensation; land rights; water resources; and the question of Jerusalem. As long as they remained unresolved, Israel's security crisis remained unresolved. Jewish leaders knew that, historically, Jews had enjoyed a sound relationship with Muslims. They had been better treated in Muslim-controlled communities than in Christian-controlled communities. Anti-Semitism was a Christian phenomenon, not a Muslim phenomenon, and theologically Muslims are much closer to Jews than to Christians. The broken relationships and the bitter antagonism which had been generated through the Zionist determination to return to Palestine and the savage, destructive and soul-destroying guerrilla wars between them during the 1930s, the outright war of 1948, and the threat of another war were the outcome of the self-understanding, policies and actions of the church and the amorphous Christian gel. But the antagonism was now so deep that people forgot that it was circumstantial and the Western world – the amorphous Christian gel – was very eager to encourage the belief that it had always been that way and that it was the Christians who were the friends of the Jews.

Such was the mess of pottage into which Britain and France were treading when they sought to use Israel as a pawn, or a lever, to reverse the nationalization of the Suez Canal and to maintain their grip on the remainder of their fragmenting empires. The church had not learned anything from the debacle which followed its ill-conceived series of crusades. Neither had any of the powers associated with it. Britain had not learned anything from the debacle which followed its Balfour Declaration. Could it be expected to learn anything from its Suez adventure?



~ 13: After ten days of debate the Anglo-French resolutions to provide for the SCUC was submitted to a vote in the UN Security Council.

The first part, setting out the principles on which the operation of the canal should be based, was passed unanimously. The second part declared that the SCUC proposals corresponded with those principles and invited the Egyptian Government to put forward its proposals for putting the scheme into effect through continued interchange with Britain and France. But it also specified that until the arrangements were finalized the canal should be open to free passage by all shipping. That was the clause, or the problem, which each of the Western powers had wanted to camouflage and keep out of public reports and debates for fear of triggering an Arab-Israeli war. That clause was to be, in effect, a test case on the banning of Israeli shipping by Egypt. But in reality it was much more than that. Israel was the Jewish State. Egypt, under its dynamic new indigenous leader, represented the aspirations and evolving self-understanding of the long-suppressed Dār al-islām. And Britain and France, being the beneficial owners of the facility which had been nationalized, represented the amorphous Christian gel whose self-understanding and conduct was the basis of the trouble in the triangle, which had been responsible for the rise of Islam, the abuse and long term suppression of both world Jewry and Dār al-islām, and which had precipitated and facilitated the establishment of the State of Israel. The Suez Crisis therefore encapsulated the entire trouble in the triangle. Thus that 'test case,' if it proceeded, was going to provide the opportunity and the circumstances in which the world could pause, look around, realize how stupid and contradictory of the Divine Intention for humanity the world situation had become, and begin to work through the trouble in the triangle. There were nine votes in favour and two against: Yugoslavia and the veto of the Soviet Union. The SCUC scheme was, officially, dead. However the matter was now out in the open.

SCUC A DEAD ISSUE: BACK TO SQUARE ONE

For everyone, it was back to square one. The British and French governments had to decide whether they would quietly accept the nationalization of a commercial facility or whether they would fight to hang on to it, and how to avoid their commercial and imperial interests being more firmly enmeshed in religious, ethnic and political conflict by virtue of the circumstances which they had set up. The State of Israel had to decide whether it was prepared to make peace with its neighbours in a manner which would lead to the end of antagonistic actions against it

such as the closing of the canal and other trade sanctions imposed by its neighbours, and whether the basis of the existence of the State was political survival of a communal entity or the fulfilment of a Covenant obligation. The Arab states had to decide whether they would accept the presence of a detested Jewish State which the amorphous Christian gel had imposed on them, to their great distress and disadvantage, or whether they would fight to eliminate it; and they had to resolve the tension between their religious self-understanding as Muslims and the political aspirations of Dār al-islām.

In addition, Britain and France in particular, and the amorphous Christian gel at large, had to determine whether they were going to continue to pursue policies based on an assumption of superiority and fight to maintain an assumed right to a position of privilege, or whether they were happy to accept that the colonial era was over. Dead. Redundant. Not an appropriate way to conduct the affairs of the world's people, being all equal in the sight of God. The Soviet Union, the embodiment of the most direct and visible socio-political challenge to the amorphous Christian gel, also had two options. It had to decide whether to intervene in a constructive manner to help resolve the crisis, or whether it was going to concentrate on bolstering its own authoritarian power which was also under challenge because of its long-running record of the abuse of human rights. The people of church, synagogue and mosque all had to try to understand what it was all about. *The Book* of the Law and the Prophets, the Gospel and the Qur'an was all laid out before the world on the sands in the shadow of Mount Sinai. But everyone wanted to look the other way – at the waters of the Suez – and in view of the fact that it had not grasped the basis and the nature of the trouble in the triangle under the stimulus of the parody of *Mein Kampf*, there was no chance that the church, as the dominant partner, was now going to do so with a flash of inspiration in the circumstances of the time. This crisis would simply add to the mounting pile of circumstantial evidence which it had to grapple with – if its self-understanding had been shaken enough to permit it. The United States, the undisputed leader of the Judeo-Christian world, faced questions which were no less challenging. It could use the enormous power at its disposal as an adjust to moral authority to help each of the parties work through the issues involved in the trouble in the triangle. Or it could further capitalize on that power and authority to consolidate its position at the pinnacle of human affairs and to substitute its new form of economic colonialism for the failed imperial colonial system. And it was just three weeks before the United States presidential election!

It is unlikely that the leaders of any of the powers involved actually verbalized or even conceptualized their options in those terms. They were well aware that they were in a pickle, but they did not attribute any of the responsibility to themselves. It was all someone else's fault. They were being very pragmatic and thinking only in terms of the contemporary political situation and the consequences for their relationships with each other if they could not precisely control the actions of the countries in the Middle East. But in an historical context – and in the context of the trouble in the triangle – they are the choices which they had. It took only three days for Britain, France, Israel and the United States to 'make their determinations' or, more correctly, to confirm by their actions that they were *not* about to change course.

~ 16: Extracts from Eden's published record of the meeting in Paris between him, Selwyn Lloyd and their French counterparts, M. Mollet and M. Pineau, illustrate the crisis they were in.

They were prepared to gamble everything, and accept the possibility of a major war, rather than allow Nasser and his people to enjoy the benefits of a canal which had been dug through their country – against the wishes of its leaders because they had foreseen the possibility of such a situation – and work out why the crisis had developed and how to resolve the trouble in the triangle. Eden's outline of their review of the situation shows painfully clearly that they separated the question of control of the canal from the military consequences of intervention and failed to look at a total picture. He noted: the growing menace of hostility by Egypt against Israel; Russia's veto took the pressure off Egypt and enabled it to begin the fedayeen raids again; the group of eighteen's principles for use of the canal were "impeccable" and the group must stand by them; the ball was in Egypt's court because the Security Council had instructed it to produce proposals to conform to them; if the Americans had their way the Users' Club would be no more than a fee collecting agency for Egypt which would get a greatly increased net return; and the French in particular "had no confidence in American support for our negotiations."³⁵¹ Then:

Unless Israel was prepared to just sit and wait until it suited her enemies to strangle and finally destroy her, it was clear that before long she would have to take some counter action, at least to put an end to the fedayeen raids. If directed against Jordan, from which some of the fedayeen raids were said to be mounted under Egyptian leadership, then the position for us would be terrible indeed. We had a treaty obligation to defend Jordan. The Jordanians had no effective air force, our fighter squadrons provided their only effective protection. Already there had nearly been an incident when, in some counter-raid an Israeli aircraft had for the first time been engaged. Our help had been called for and our aircraft were on the point of going up, when a wise and rapid exchange of cautionary messages on the spot avoided catastrophe.

Nevertheless, the danger was there. If an attack were launched against Jordan, the Israelis would be using their French Mystères, the delivery of a number of these having previously been agreed by the United States, France and ourselves, the three partners of the Tripartite Declaration. The Royal Air Force would be in action for Jordan, the United States would be on the sidelines. This was a nightmare which could only too easily come true; Jordan calling for support from Nasser and ourselves, Nasser calling for support from Russia, France lined up with Israel on the other side.

As long ago as January, our Ambassador had warned Jordan that Egyptian interference was highly dangerous for her. Egypt was manoeuvring to embroil Jordan with Israel. If Israel were to act against one of her encircling enemies, the choice lay between Jordan and Egypt. Syria was insufficiently important. Jordan had provided the one effective military force, the Arab Legion, in the fighting of 1948-49. Despite the large supplies of Soviet equipment which the Egyptians had received, the Legion was probably still the most formidable military formation which Israel's neighbours could put into the field. It might be thought imprudent to

act against Egypt while leaving the Legion intact. As against this, Egypt was the political source and inspiration of the threat to Israel. ...

[We] were acutely aware of the consequences of action by Israel against Jordan, which we had to do all in our power to avert. Our relations with Israel were not close or intimate, there were constant arguments about the supply of arms. Therefore ... we asked the French Ministers to do everything they could to make clear to Israel that an attack on Jordan would have to be resisted by us. This they undertook to do. It was not only our own treaty engagements which concerned us, but the effect upon Iraq of events in Jordan. To fail to carry out our engagement would be the end of our position in the Middle East; to have to carry it out would be disastrous for Western unity. No dilemma could be more difficult. If Israel were to break out against Egypt and not against Jordan, this dilemma would not arise. For this reason, if there were to be a break-out it was better from our point of view that it should be against Egypt. On the other hand, if the break-out were against Egypt, then there would be other worries, for example the safety of the canal.³⁵²

THE UK & FRANCE AGREE: 'WE'LL DO IT OUR WAY'

The outcome of the meeting was that the British and French agreed in principle to a joint operation against Egypt with Israel; that Britain would withhold mobilization in defence of Jordan; and that France would try to persuade Israel not to take any further actions against Jordan. Eden wanted Israel to initiate an action so that Britain would have the 'justification' to go in to save the canal from damage. But Ben-Gurion did not want to get embroiled in the issue of the canal at that point. He only wanted to clear the Egyptians from Gaza and end the blockade of the Strait of Tiran. He sent the Israeli operation plan back, and sought another meeting.³⁵³

~ 16: While the French and British prime ministers met in Paris, in Washington, in strict accord with the understanding given to Ilyan by his CIA collaborators, Dulles held a press conference. A reporter asked whether, in the light of recent Israeli attacks on Jordan, the United States might come to Jordan's aid per "our declaration of April 9." Yes, replied the Secretary of State, and repeated the reference to Eisenhower's April statement. The wheels were immediately put in motion for a coup in Syria.³⁵⁴

Was that the conduct which Dulles had in mind when he told the delegates at the First Assembly of the WCC that the Western Democracies had *reverenced the principles* of the supremacy of moral law over man-made law, and the sanctity of every human individual? He told delegates that in contrast: "Marxian Communism denies them both in theory and practice, and necessarily concludes that violence is inevitable." When Communist Parties "rule nearly one quarter of the earth's population" it is, he said, exceedingly hard to organize the world for peace. *Christians have a special responsibility for restoring the faith of the West, and bringing political realities into harmony with it.* (Chapter 28; *Is politics a matter of faith?*) One presumes he would have put the conspirators in the same category as Syngman Rhee who he described as "a Christian gentleman of a very high order" and "the equivalent of the founders of the Church.

... gentlemen who have suffered for their faith ... who have been steadfast and have upheld the faith in a manner that puts them in the category of the leaders of the early church.” (See above: ... *a visit by a friend*) However, there was shortly a message from Ilyan to Eveland in Beirut, postponing the date of the coup for five days, to October 30, because Colonel Kabbani had advised Ilyan that his people were not quite ready.³⁵⁵

The amorphous Christian gel was alive and well, but it did not take much longer for the atheistic Soviet Union to confirm that it was going to stay basically on track, too, in a bid to retain control of its satellite system, even though there was, already, a definite and progressive relaxation of controls which had been in vogue since February, and for a few weeks the Suez Crisis ran hand in hand with a crisis in the Soviet Bloc as some people tried to accelerate the relaxation process. Eisenhower and Dulles sought to take full advantage of the confusion, although they feared that the Soviet Union might take some rash action in the Middle East in order to exert their authority.

- ~ 18: In Warsaw three days of confrontation between the Polish government and the Soviet Union began, and tension ran high as the Poles insisted on the right to run their own affairs.
- ~ In Cairo Nasser came under pressure from the US to give way on the issue of political control of traffic through the canal. He refused to budge.
- ~ In London, Lloyd shuttled between two meetings. The first was the SCUC council which determined to press ahead with its plans in spite of the Soviet veto and to confront Nasser, but to offer him modified procedures. The second was a cabinet meeting at which it was accepted that the British and the French should intervene to protect the canal, if Israel moved against Egypt.³⁵⁶
- ~ 21: There was a major breakthrough in Warsaw for those who wanted Polish independence from Moscow when the rehabilitated Gomulka was elected to the Polish Politburo and as First Secretary of the Central Committee. A Polish-Soviet accord on trade and military cooperation was agreed to, it was announced that most senior Soviet officers would leave the country, forced collectivization was discontinued, and the heavy handed approach of the political police was relaxed. Gomulka was later elected ruling member of the Council of State.
- ~ Nasser announced that he would regard the payment of canal dues to SCUC by any country as a hostile act.
- ~ And politics in the Arab world moved a little to the left with the election of an anti-Western majority in Jordan's general election.
- ~ 22: French, Israeli and British officials, including Selwyn Lloyd and Ben-Gurion, began three days of secret meetings at Sevres to determine whether to launch a joint action in Egypt and, if so, to plan it. Ben-Gurion told of the “mortal danger” facing his country and the importance of destroying the *fedayeen* bases and breaking Nasser's stranglehold on Israel's economy, and said that Israel had firmly decided to attack Egypt which had armies massed in Sinai and had refused passage to Israeli ships. However he wanted an

agreement that all three would attack Egypt, with French fighter and British bomber support for the Israeli ground forces. He also wanted the Egyptian air force 'eliminated' before Israel's ground forces began to move, to prevent Egyptian aerial bombardment of Tel Aviv and other centres.

- ~ 23: The Israeli and French delegations met again in the morning, prior to the British returning from London. They agreed that France would provide aerial protection for Israel's cities and naval protection for its coast, and that it would drop supplies to the advancing Israeli forces. Then, after the British arrived, the broad Anglo-French-Israeli plan was agreed to. Israel would launch an attack which would appear to be aimed at the canal, but would be designed to clear Sinai and break the blockade. The Egyptians could be expected to react. Britain and France would issue ultimatums to both parties to cease fire and pull back. Israel would make a conditional reply. Egypt was expected to refuse. Britain and France would jointly attack Egypt's airfields, destroying its aircraft before they could be airborne, and troops would be landed to secure the canal zone.

However confusion resulted when there was not a complete and frank disclosure between them of the details which the Israelis and French had already agreed to.³⁵⁷ The British were not told that the French would provide naval and air protection for Israel and that supplies would be dropped to Israel's troops. Those agreements 'blew' any pretence, any cover stories, that the attack was not a matter of collusion. The world would see very clearly that the whole exercise had been pre-planned. Britain's 'holier than thou' approach to armed diplomacy would be shown to be a sham. Cooperation between allies in war time is one thing. Absolute deceit and dishonesty to precipitate a war is another. But what had changed? Very little. The scale and impact of the operation was different. This was much smaller than dragging a whole world into conflict. This time Britain did not want to drag the whole world in as a means to maintaining its grip on its colonial empire. It was different to using American aid on a massive scale to keep the Soviet Union in the Europe's war and to drag Japan and the United States in – to convert it from a European war to a world war. Eden was dead scared of the consequences. He knew very well that: *"To fail to carry out our engagement would be the end of our position in the Middle East; to have to carry it out would be disastrous for Western unity."* The prospects for maintaining its grip on the remaining units of its empire were very slim indeed. And yet Eden would not pull back and find another way to make peace. He and his colleagues simply did not understand the situation.

And while the scale and consequences of the action were totally different to Roosevelt's decision to conceal the manoeuvring to drag Japan into the war, and to use the threat to his own people at Pearl Harbour as a means to drag his own people into the war, the total deceit and amorality of the exercises was the same. Similarly, it was the same as in the case of Truman's decision to keep the war against Japan going so that the United States could have a real life and death demonstration of the power of the atom bomb and establish the unique world position of the United States. In each of these cases the world was a play ground in which the aim of the game was to either maintain or gain a position of power and privilege over one's competitors,

companions or the world community. Ever since Britain issued the Balfour Declaration to take advantage of the people of the Covenant and to use Israel as a means to an end, Palestine and Jerusalem had been a microcosm of the world's trials and tribulations; a magnifying glass under which to examine the morality and the propriety of human conduct; the manipulation of human relationships; and the relationship between humanity and God. In fact from the time of the Covenant of Mount Sinai it has never been any different. The world simply could not see it. The human population had not grown to the point at which broken relationships were critical to human affairs. Nor had it achieved the level of understanding, or developed the capacity to utilize the resources which, together with humanity, comprise the totality of creation. It has taken 2,000 years to reach that point. Now that it *has* been reached, the consequences of the abuse of human relations and the consequences of the abuse of creation are critical. This is the situation which Eden could not grasp as he pondered which alternative to select at Suez. He was revisiting the Balfour Declaration, but he could not see it. Neither could the church. The amorphous Christian gel was only interested in a favourable outcome for itself. It would continue to stumble from one blunder to another, from one crisis to another, each one centred on Jerusalem and its relations with the people of the Covenant – and each one getting progressively more traumatic – until it comes to a realization of what the trouble in the triangle is all about.

- ~ So Britain, France and Israel went about their planning.
- ~ Egypt, Jordan and Syria did , too. They established a joint military command under Egyptian leadership.

A HUNGARIAN DISTRACTION

- ~ But in Hungary the people were more interested in what was happening in Poland. News of Poland's new deal with the Soviet government electrified the nation. Students in Budapest staged a procession, planning to present a petition to the hierarchy, but they were rebuffed and police fired into the crowds. The peaceful demonstration turned into a major revolutionary demonstration and demands were made for the reinstatement of the deposed prime minister, Imre Nagy, the withdrawal of Soviet forces, and similar concessions to those in Poland. Units of the army joined the revolutionaries, and army depots and munitions factories handed out arms. Clashes with the militia occurred and Soviet troops intervened to restore order.
- ~ 24: With a very high level of popular support, the deposed premier, Nagy, assumed office as prime minister in Hungary, but he promptly found it necessary to form a coalition government *in collaboration with the Catholic hierarchy, and being* driven from one concession to the next, within days he found himself at the head of a genuine coalition government composed of Smallholders, Social Democrats, and National Peasants, which, with a "Catholic Association," had reconstituted themselves.³⁵⁸ He therefore immediately authorized the restoration of multi-party democracy and announced the country's neutrality. Soviet troops had previously been withdrawn, and he now began negotiating for the complete evacuation of Hungary.

- ~ At the end of their three days of discussions, British, French and Israeli officials signed what some commentators refer to as “the secret Treaty of Sevres.” Lloyd described it as a record of discussion, produced quite unexpectedly, of “elements of the *contingency plan* which had been discussed, and the actions which could be expected to follow them in given circumstances.” He said that the decisive cabinet meeting took place next day, but he then added: “Our obligations under the Tripartite Declaration were discussed” and this leaves little room for doubt that the document, which had been signed by Patrick Dean as Deputy Undersecretary of State for Foreign Affairs after Lloyd had left the meeting, was intended to be acted on.³⁵⁹ ‘*Contingency plan*’ was simply another name for a ‘plot.’
- ~ 25: Next day, after Dean had briefed Eden and four of the six most senior members of his cabinet³⁶⁰, the British cabinet agreed, without dissent, that if Israel attacked Egypt, as it was expected to do on the 29th, that Britain “would act as Eden had proposed.” An ultimatum would be issued to both Israel and Egypt by both Britain and France. Lloyd wrote:

Eden therefore suggested that, if Israel did attack, Britain and the French should issue an ultimatum to both sides. If Nasser complied, his prestige would be fatally undermined. If he did not, there would be ample justification for Anglo-French action to safeguard the Canal. It was better that we should be seen to hold the balance between Egypt and Israel rather than to be accepting Israeli cooperation in an attack by us on Egypt. ”³⁶¹ [Emphasis added.]

DAYS OF DECEIT!

Deceit was in full flight! Cabinet had confirmed that for the second time in two generations Britain was using Zionism and the Jewish people as a mechanism to either *gain* or *secure* control of a region or a facility which it regarded as vital to either the *expansion* or the *underpinning* of its imperial interest. In the first situation it used the Balfour Declaration to gain control of the Mosul oil region in direct contradiction to a prior agreement it had made with the leaders of the Arab communities. They could not be expected to forget it. In the second situation it was using the State of Israel, which had finally been set up in spite of Britain having reneged on the Balfour Declaration, as a weapon with which to secure control of the Suez Canal. In doing so it was about to renege on agreements which it had with some of the Arab neighbours of Israel which had been made as a consequence of the conflict generated when the State of Israel was imposed on them. They were the same people to whom it had offered an independent Arab state, including Palestine, and the restoration of the Caliphate prior to announcing the Balfour Declaration. In both situations the people-Israel had acted, or would act, very deliberately and after much thought in self-interest in a manner contradictory of the Covenant of Sinai when there were alternative policies or actions available to them. However they had done so in response to pressures which had resulted from oppression which was a consequence of the misconduct of the amorphous Christian gel. It was another classic case of being “the meat in the sandwich.” They were caught between powerful forces in a conflict which was not of their own making, but they pursued the course which they took by virtue of their own decision making.

Like it or not, the Covenant of Sinai would not go away. They were predestined to act as a catalyst in the evolution of human relations and the understanding of humanity's relationship with God. They were *not* predestined to make particular decisions. And with the US presidential elections only 12 days away there were still more contradictions in store. None of the parties had yet disentangled themselves from the parody of *Mein Kampf*.

- ~ Dayan went home to Israel and issued revised orders for the operation. The initial thrust was to appear to be aimed at the canal, to ensure the reaction by Egypt which Britain and France required to justify their intervention, before the main thrust turned south to clear Sinai and Sharm es-Sheikh. The Israeli cabinet had not yet been briefed on what was about to happen.
- ~ 27: Ben-Gurion finally briefed his cabinet and sought their approval for the plan. They gave it. He admitted to them:

*I do not know what will be the fate of Sinai. What we are primarily interested in is the coast around Eilat and the Gulf. I imagine that there will be powers who will force us to withdraw. There is America, there is Russia, and there are the United Nations, Nehru, Asia, Africa; and I must say that I fear America most of all. America may compel us to withdraw from positions we will occupy – but the important point is freedom of shipping.*³⁶²

Partial mobilization was ordered. A French flotilla moved towards its allocated place off the Israeli coast while LSTs began discharging heavy equipment and a squadron of transport planes arrived in Israel from Cyprus with technicians and equipment.

- ~ 28: Speaking in Dallas, Texas, and not being in direct touch with developments in the Middle East, Dulles said that it would be “intolerable” for the Suez Canal to be solely in Egyptian hands.
- ~ In Rome, Pius XII was keeping in close touch with developments in the Soviet Bloc, and issued the encyclical *Luctuosissimi Eventus*, calling for prayers for Hungary.
- ~ 29: Under a shroud of secrecy a squadron of transport planes took off at 3.30 pm to begin Israel's agreed Suez Zone operation.
- ~ 30: The deception was so complete that it was not until the early hours of the morning that Egyptian authorities realized the action was a major assault and not another long-distance sabotage raid. Reinforcements were then rushed into Sinai and Nasser appealed for his Arab colleagues to make war on Israel. But he knew that instant mobilization was impossible. The only immediate action could be border shelling by Syria and Jordan.
- ~ And the deception was so complete that it upset United States' plans as well. Early in the morning a very distraught Michail Ilyan appeared at the door of his CIA contact, Eveland. “Last night,” he cried, “the Israelis invaded Egypt and are right now heading for the Suez Canal! How could you have asked us to overthrow our government at the exact moment when Israel started a war with an Arab State?” the Syrian Opposition leader demanded. But the Dulles brothers were not that easily put off. Scheming began again almost immediately.³⁶³

- ~ Ben-Gurion approved an announcement that: “Israeli defence forces entered and engaged fedayeen units in Ras en-Nakeb and Quntilla, and seized positions west of the Nakhl crossroads in the vicinity of the Suez Canal. This action follows the Egyptian assaults on Israeli transport on land and sea destined to cause destruction and the denial of peaceful life to Israel’s citizens.”³⁶⁴
- ~ Britain and France had the signal they required. They issued their pre-planned ultimatums. There were the “withdraw and cease hostilities” clauses, but the key one was clause c.):
- in order to guarantee freedom of transit through the canal by the ships of all nations and in order to separate the combatants, to accept the temporary occupation by Anglo-French forces of the key positions at Port Said, Ismailia, and Suez.

The United Kingdom and the French Governments request an answer to this communication within twelve hours. If at the expiration of that time one or both Governments have not undertaken to comply with the above requirements, United Kingdom and French forces will intervene in whatever strength may be necessary to secure compliance.

But Eden’s deception was going too far. He even tried to convince Eisenhower that the action was all spontaneous. His action went beyond the selective withholding of information which both governments were expert at – as they had both proven with deadly monotony ever since the beginning of the Second World War. It was plain dishonesty. It was only seven weeks since, being in desperate need of a solution to ease the tension on all fronts, he had insisted that cabinet accept the Dulles’ SCUC plan. He said he was influenced in part by the fact that *close cooperation with the United States had been a guiding principle throughout his political life*, but also by the knowledge that: “*If we had told the United States Government that we did not consider the Users’ Club a workable proposition and that we preferred to go direct to the Security Council ... we would I suppose have forfeited, for the time being at least, something of their goodwill.*” Now, in a critical situation, the Americans had not been briefed because of the Anglo-French fear that they would apply pressure to stop the plan. Eden knew that:

*The chief danger, especially for us, was that the conflict would spread. A localized war between Israel and Egypt, while troublesome, should not be highly dangerous internationally. The same could not be said of a war which had spread to include Syria and Jordan, with Iraq morally compelled to take a hand too. If this was to happen, the Jordan commitment would raise its head again, not in an acute form, but alarming enough. Two events could be counted on to encourage Jordan and Syria to inaction, swift Israeli military success and the knowledge that British and French forces were on the way and would be used to localize the dispute. If that restraint was to be effective it must be applied at once. Twenty-four hours might well be too late, forty-eight certainly would.*³⁶⁵

After a morning cabinet meeting, Eden sent a message to Eisenhower inviting his general support and advising him of a statement which he was to make to the Commons later in the day. That statement would say, in essence, that: the government had never made a secret of its belief that “justice entitled us to defend our vital interests against Nasser’s designs;” that Egypt had to

a large extent brought this attack on itself; that Britain could not afford to see the canal closed; and that the government was preparing to take the matter to the Security Council.³⁶⁶ Then in his covering note to the president he said:

My first instinct would have been to ask you to associate yourself and your country with the declaration. But I know the constitutional and other difficulties in which you are placed. I think there is a chance that both sides will accept. In any case it would help this result very much if you found it possible to support what we have done at least in general terms. We are well aware that no real settlement of the Middle East problems is possible except through the closest cooperation between our two countries. Our two governments have tried with the best will in the world all sorts of private and public negotiations through the last two or three years and they have all failed. This seems an opportunity for a fresh start. ... Nothing could have prevented this volcano from erupting somewhere, but when the dust settles there may well be a chance for our doing a really constructive piece of work together and thereby strengthening the weakest point in the line against communism.³⁶⁷ [Emphasis added.]

Eden's message crossed with one from Eisenhower in which he expressed his disquiet upon a number of points, but considered it of the greatest importance that the United Kingdom and the United States should quickly and clearly lay out their present views and intentions before each other, so that they might not in any real crisis be powerless to act in concert because of misunderstanding."³⁶⁸ Eden had that with him when he went to the Commons and faced a torrid time of questioning. By the time he had placated the members, and gained a motion of support for the action taken, it was the morning of the 30th in New York and the Security Council was meeting.

CAUGHT RED HANDED: GO TO THE UN!

The US delegation was determined to condemn the Anglo-French-Israeli action in forthright terms, pressing for a resolution which would demand an immediate cease fire and the withdrawal of Israeli forces behind an armistice line, making any British and French intervention unnecessary. Britain and France vetoed it. Lloyd later claimed that the United States' resolution was a matter of both international and United States' domestic politics. He was playing to the gallery of the newly independent members of the United Nations. Trying to steal a march on the Soviet Union. The bidding for allegiance – and resource and defence base opportunities – had moved into a new arena. Eden quoted from a campaign speech by Vice Presidential candidate Richard Nixon:

In the past the nations of Asia and Africa have always felt we would, when the pressure was on, side with the policies of the British and French Governments in relation to the once Colonial areas. For the first time in history we have shown independence of the Anglo-French policies towards Asia and Africa which seemed to us to reflect the Colonial tradition. That declaration of independence has had an electrifying effect throughout the world.³⁶⁹

The Soviet Union proposed an alternative which did not imply criticism of Britain and France and which Britain could accept, but France still vetoed it. Then Yugoslavia moved that the matter be referred to the General Assembly, taking it out of the hands of the Security Council and away from the power of veto. By the UN's rules that was treated as a procedural motion, not subject to veto, and it was carried: 7 – 4, with Britain and France voting against, and Australia and Belgium abstaining. The new Asian and African members of the United Nations were about to experience meaningful participation in its affairs, to the discomfort of some of the major powers, for the first time. The General Assembly was convened to meet in emergency session 48 hours later, at 5.00 pm on November 1. While it was in the act of making that decision, at midnight Tel Aviv time, Golda Meir advised Britain and France of Israel's pre-planned conditional acceptance of the Anglo-French ultimatum. It was 4.00 pm at the United Nations. But world leaders knew it was patently a joke. They did not even need to see the French support of the assault to know that. The withdrawal clause stipulated that Egypt should withdraw its forces to a distance of 10 miles from the canal, and it was all Egyptian territory. The Israeli forces pulled out all the stops to occupy the entire territory.

~ 31: Egypt rejected the Anglo-French ultimatum.

Eden addressed parliament and explained why his government had not been able to support a resolution condemning Israel's action. He spoke of Israel's need for guarantees of security; the impossibility of pronouncing blame for all that had gone before; and the cumulative effects of those previous actions. He *did not* say: "We cannot condemn them because they did it at our request and in full collaboration with France and us." *Neither did he* say: "It is all part of the trouble in the triangle and this is just a holding action while we work out how to deal with it." How could he? He did not comprehend it. And even if he did, it is most unlikely that he would have admitted it. To do so he would also have had to admit: "We are a major player in the amorphous Christian gel, we are a basic part of the problem, and we have to totally rethink the direction of our international policies." That would have been difficult!

British and French forces went into action at 7.00 pm. Tel Aviv time, (5.00 pm London time) The total destruction of Egypt's air force on the ground was hardly consistent with the Anglo-French protestations that they were only enforcing an armistice. The French were very happy. It would be some little time before Nasser would feel able to offer any further support for rebels in the North African French territories. But Khrushchev was not. He did not want a third world war. He told Nasser that in quite firm terms. He said Moscow would provide all the moral support which it could, but Nasser had to make peace with Britain and France as soon as possible. And both Syria and Jordan told him that they would not provide military support. The bluff appeared to be working. But Egyptian forces went into an additional action in spite of no substantial support. They scuttled a number of ships travelling through the canal. It was a very simple way to block it. All of the oil tankers bound for Europe from Saudi Arabia, the Gulf States, Iraq and Iran would now have to travel around the Cape of Good Hope.

~ November

- ~ 1: In Rome, Pius XII issued the encyclical *Laetamur Admodum*, on the crisis in the Middle East.
- ~ In Budapest, only nine days after assuming power with strong support from the Roman Catholic hierarchy, Nagy announced Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact, to which it had adhered since 1955. He asked the United Nations to recognize Hungary as a neutral state, under the joint protection of the Great Powers. Soviet officials were uncertain whether to let matters take their course, but Nagy's denunciation of the Warsaw Pact was too threatening. Soviet tanks, which had halted just across the frontier, began to return, reinforced by other units.
- ~ 2: In New York, with four days until the United States presidential election, the General Assembly meeting, deferred from the previous evening, got under way.

Dulles launched an attack on Israel, Britain and France, and moved that *all parties* now engaged in hostilities in the Middle East (Israel, Egypt, Britain and France) should agree to an immediate cease fire; that all parties refrain from introducing military equipment into the area; and that the General Assembly remain in emergency session until the resolution was complied with. Before the day was out the resolution had been adopted, 64 votes in favor, five against, and six abstentions. Those voting against were Australia, New Zealand, Israel, Britain and France. Those abstaining were Canada, South Africa, Belgium, Laos, the Netherlands and Portugal. Of the 11 countries which either voted against or abstained from voting, Laos was the only country which was neither a British Commonwealth member or a colonial power, and even Laos had ongoing links with France while it was in the middle of its bid to slough-off its colonial heritage, caught up in the Indochina wars. Israel could be excluded from consideration on the basis that it was one of the *belligerents*, but it was widely regarded as a *colonizing power* by the colonial subject-nations.

Britain was totally isolated. So was France. But Britain was the power which had originally triggered the entire fifty-year rolling scenario through its Balfour Declaration. The consequences of that declaration brought Hitler's grand parody *Mein Kampf* into play and triggered the fulfilment of the Qur'anic Night Journey, thus bringing the trouble in the triangle to a head. The sequence of key correspondence was as follows. The McMahon letter, with Britain's promise of a state for the Arabs, including Palestine, was dated October 24, 1915; the Sykes-Picot Anglo-French carve-up correspondence was dated May 1916; and *this day, two generations later*, the day on which the United Nations General Assembly – with a batch of new former-colony members voting on such a matter for the first time – told Britain to get its troops out, *and quick*, was actually the anniversary of the issuing of the Balfour Declaration: November 2, 1916. The chickens were coming home to roost!

- ~ 3: Next day, in London, Eden stood firm. He told the Commons that in spite of the United Nations resolution, the British and French Governments believed they had to continue their action unless the UN itself took responsibility for ensuring a peace settlement, Israel's security, and "satisfactory arrangements ... in regard to the Suez Canal." He was asking the world to take responsibility to resolve the crisis which Britain, leading the

charge for the amorphous Christian gel, had triggered. He was not conscious of the irony of it.

- ~ In New York, the Security Council turned its attention from the Middle East to the crisis in Hungary. It had been under some pressure from Britain to do so, to the extent that the US delegates suggested Britain was too eager to shift the spotlight from its trouble in the Middle East to the Soviet Union's troubles within the Soviet Bloc. When the matter came before the Council the Soviet Union put the shutters up and refused to cooperate, so Britain made sure that the same mechanism was used as for the Middle East: the matter was referred to the General Assembly.
- ~ 4: Next morning Soviet tanks re-entered Budapest; Nagy took refuge in the Yugoslav embassy and Cardinal Mindszenty, the Vatican's key local player in Hungary's politics, took refuge in the US legation; and by the time the General Assembly began to debate the matter the Soviet forces were in full control. A resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet forces was carried: 50 in favor, 8 against and 15 abstentions, compared with 64:5:6 in the case of the Middle East resolution.

The Soviet Union took even less notice of that resolution than Britain had two days earlier. The revolution was crushed, ruthlessly, a puppet government installed, and the reforms reversed. General Pál Maléter, head of the Hungarian national forces, who had been invited by the Soviet commanders to negotiate, was imprisoned and the situation was remarkably confused. Rioting and fighting broke out and although the major hostilities were over within a fortnight, industrial unrest continued for weeks before the rebellious workers were brought to heel. Nagy, Maléter, and a few close associates were apprehended, tried and eventually executed in 1958. Others were seized and transported to the Soviet Union and an estimated 200,000 refugees including a substantial proportion of Hungary's educated classes escaped to the West..

But after the 'distraction' of Hungary, which – much to Britain's annoyance – a significant number of delegates regarded as basically an in-house row and not a matter of colonial-style intervention, the UN was able to turn its attention back to the Middle East and the question of whether the General Secretary should be authorized to organize an international peace keeping force, UNEF, or a truce supervisory organization, UNTSO, or both. It was resolved with 57 votes in favour, none against and 19 abstentions to establish a UNEF. In the meantime, while the UN debate was continuing, the British cabinet determined to continue. A naval force was on its way to Egypt and a parachute drop at the three key canal centres was planned for first light next day. One matter which had made the government hesitate was not world or public opinion which were highly antagonistic, but the threat of oil sanctions. At the mention of oil Macmillan is reported to have thrown his arms in the air, exclaiming: "Oil sanction! That finishes it."³⁷⁰ The government was already in deep trouble, with one minister having resigned, and there was no doubt that the economic and political effects of an embargo would bring the government down. However the government pressed on. The Israeli forces had swept through Sinai, claimed

Sharm es-Sheikh, and, for practical purposes, its part of the operation was over and a complete success.

- ~ 5: Britain's air drop at the three key Suez centres then began as planned at 8.00 am., supported by a naval barrage and bombing runs over selected targets. The Soviet Union sought to have the Security Council condemn Israel, France and Britain for continuing their actions in the face of the General Assembly resolution, but, naturally, with a couple of vetoes, it could not succeed.

CEASE FIRE, OR ELSE ...

However he had other weapons at his disposal, just like Britain and the United States. Propaganda and nuclear weapons. He grabbed the initiative at the United Nations, where the Soviet Union had seen its stocks slump over the Hungarian affair, even though members had shown that they were less concerned about that than by the Anglo-French adventure in the Middle East. He issued a statement which had immediate and powerful impact around the world.

In what position would Britain have found herself if she herself had been attacked by more powerful states possessing every kind of modern destructive weapon? And there are countries now which need not have sent a navy or air force to the coasts of Britain, but could have used other means, such as a rocket technique. We are filled with determination to use force to crush the aggressors and to restore peace in the East. We hope you will show the necessary prudence and will draw from this the appropriate conclusions.³⁷¹

Rumours began to spread like wildfire that the Soviet Union was attacking London and that the Third World War had begun.

- ~ 6: Eisenhower immediately responded by applying equally strong pressure on the British and French Governments to cease fire immediately, phoning both Eden and Mollet personally, and according to some reports, insisting that there must be a cease fire within twelve hours.³⁷² American voters had to be told something. They did not like the idea of a Third World War fought with nuclear weapons over a strip of territory they did not care much for. Neither did they like the idea of the Soviet Union gaining kudos and a stronger position in the Middle East, Africa and Asia through being seen as the friendly power which had brought the two big colonial powers to heel. They were already beginning to file through their voting booths. They wanted a president who got things done!

Eden was also advised from Washington that Britain's urgent loan application for \$1 billion from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) would be conditional on an immediate cease fire. The operation had already cost Stg 120 million and the costs would rise. The Commons was due to sit at 11.00 am for the Queen's speech, and cabinet had to meet in emergency session before that. Eden had been told by the ambassador to the UN that he was doubtful that he could prevent a censure against Britain for more than a few days but, with Eisenhower in the mood that he now was, Eden must have realized a censure and sanctions, including the threatened oil

embargo, were a matter of hours, not days away. Macmillan was of the view that the economic and political pressure required an immediate cease fire. A country can always hope to offset, or diffuse, political pressure by diplomacy. Economic pressure can bring a country to its knees or provoke it into a war very quickly, and both Britain and the United States were past masters at it. Situations considered already include: George III's trading and finance policies as a trigger to the independence of the North American colonies (chapter 13); the role of the Rothschild banks in the Franco-Prussian War (chapter 15); Britain's bid to *involve Japan* in an embargo against the Soviet Union and Germany in June 1940; the several embargoes either mooted or impose in the lead up to the Second World War, notably the United States' oil embargo *against Japan* in 1941 (chapter 24); and the most recent one, Britain's trade embargo against Iran over the nationalization of oil production facilities (this chapter, above). Now that oil sanctions were threatened against Britain, it was another matter altogether!

Sterling was a reserve currency and a large proportion of the world's trade was conducted in pounds sterling, including almost the entire trade of countries of the British Commonwealth. Therefore any threat to the value of the pound, or to the acceptability of contracts written in sterling, had dire consequences not only for Britain but for every country which traded on the basis of sterling, and for the stability of the entire Commonwealth. It was bad enough that Eisenhower was using his influence to block the release of funds held by Britain in the IMF. However the \$1 billion loan which was being held up was only the first tranche of a drawing program which had been submitted. That drawing was required to protect sterling from a sudden rash of speculation. Macmillan had reason to believe that the speculation was being "stimulated" by the US Secretary of the Treasury, George Humphrey, as the mouthpiece for Eisenhower.³⁷³ It was perfectly clear to the whole cabinet that Macmillan was right. Britain's total gold and dollar reserves had fallen by three percent in September, five per cent in October, and already, in early November, by 15 per cent.³⁷⁴ If Britain did not order a cease fire in Egypt it was finished as an imperial power. Totally finished.

Between the Queen's speech at 11.00 am and the rising of the House for lunch, Eden phoned Mollet and told him that the British Government proposed to announce a cease fire at 4.00 pm. At least two French ministers favoured France continuing alone if Britain quit and the French cabinet was forced to debate the issue. Mollet proposed to concur with the British decision and the majority of his cabinet supported him. Only a little time was lost due to that delay and the joint cease fire order was issued at 5.00 pm.. Eisenhower phoned Eden to say how pleased he was.³⁷⁵ He had reason to be. The American voters had liked what they heard him saying, the main results were in and he had increased his majority. But the disengagement and Anglo-French withdrawal were going to be much more drawn out. For one thing, the American election was over, the pressure was off, and many Americans were agreeing with what Dulles had said 10 days earlier: they did not want the Egyptians to be in control of the canal!

~ 7: The UN General Assembly carried a resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal from Egyptian territory of all British, French and Israeli forces but then the haggling over which countries should provide the troops for a UNEF.

Such a force could not be established very quickly, so, by default, the invaders had to stay until the matter was resolved. Britain was deeply divided over whether it should even accept the UN demand, and many countries, notably the Afro-Asia bloc, were saying that no troops from any Commonwealth country should be included in the UNEF. There was also the question of who should clear the canal to reopen it for traffic, and with whose equipment. Britain was the only country which maintained an effective canal clearing system. Eden proposed a meeting with Eisenhower to discuss the Middle East and a range of other international issues, notably Western relations with the Soviet Bloc, and initially the president indicated he would be happy for a meeting and that Mollet should come too. But before Eden had even gone into the House to announce an immediate visit Eisenhower had phoned again to say bluntly that after consulting Congressional leaders he had decided there would be no American consultations with either Britain or France until the UN resolution had been complied with and all British and French troops were out of Egypt. He later went further and said that all consultation was deferred indefinitely.³⁷⁶

Eden claimed that: “We [Britain] had intervened *to divide* and, above all, *to contain the conflict*.”³⁷⁷ [Emphasis added.] But he had shown very clearly that he did not understand the basis of the conflict. Without such an understanding, his idea of containment could only be to maintain the *status quo* and therefore he ought have used the phrase which everyone understood: “divide and *rule*.” However Eisenhower, with Dulles at his right hand, was very eager for close consultations with both Israel and Egypt. He sent a personal appeal to Ben-Gurion saying that once Israel had withdrawn from Egyptian territory, new and energetic steps would be taken to solve the basic problems which had given rise to the present difficulties, and the State Department was actively wooing Egypt as well. Over the next two weeks Britain made frantic efforts to negotiate a system of UN forces to “relieve” part of the British force, or to complement it, without a British withdrawal from the Canal Zone, and to arrange for the prompt clearing of the canal, but it struck repeated snags. Britain would not withdraw its forces until the UN had a full force in place and until the canal was cleared and it received assurances about its own and Israeli transit rights. Egypt would not agree to the clearance of the canal until it was assured of complete control of it subsequently and until all foreign troops were gone.

- ~ 12: Egypt gave some ground on the 12th by agreeing to the stationing of UNEF troops, not on the canal, but in a border buffer zone between it and Israel in the Sinai. But there were plenty of people who were not happy, and the British-controlled IPC pipeline from Iraq through Jordan to the Mediterranean was blown up immediately.
- ~ 23: When the UN General Assembly met in full session on November 23 the debate became a bit of a slanging match over whose offences were worse: Britain, with France, in the Middle East, or the Soviet Union in Hungary and Poland.

With its colonial record Britain could not win, but its situation was made to look even weaker by the fact that only shortly before, within weeks of Gomulka’s return to power, Cardinal Wyszyński had been released from house arrest and an agreement was concluded which allowed religious instruction in state schools, provided that Communist approval was

sought over appointments to higher church offices. This 'compromise' defused a crisis which, with continuing church agitation, might have invoked a Soviet invasion and repression in Poland such as in Hungary. The Assembly was in no mood for Britain to stay in Egypt. It accepted proposals from the UN Secretary General for the clearing of the canal, but then immediately adopted an Afro-Asian bloc resolution expressing regret that Anglo-French forces were still in Port Said, and calling for their withdrawal forthwith. With the United States supporting the resolution it was carried by 63 votes in favour, only five against, and 10 abstentions. Relations between Britain and the United States fell to near rock bottom. After a lot more haggling Britain and France agreed to December 22 as the date for their final troop embarkation; clearing of the canal began on December 27; the Eisenhower Doctrine on relations with countries in the Middle East was announced on January 5; Eden, broken in health, conscious of the divisions within the country, and conscious of the basis and impact of the Eisenhower Doctrine, resigned from office on January 9, 1957. The canal was reopened to traffic on April 4 under an agreement which provided for the 1888 convention to remain in force, for cooperation between the Canal Authority and shippers and traders, and for UNEF units to occupy Sharm as-Sheikh, with uncontested freedom of movement for Israeli shipping through the Strait of Tiran to Eilat.

DEFEAT. FOR WHOM?

The Suez Crisis was over. Officially, anyway. Britain put as bold a face on the debacle as it could, saying that Egypt had been defeated and, in Eden's words: "It is unlikely that Nasser or any other Arab leader will readily undertake a war of extermination against Israel in the immediate future, without support from outside." He also said: "The intervention succeeded in its limited purpose, the immediate *rescue of the Lebanon and Jordan*, though probably the more effective deterrent was the conviction that Israel would fight if the United Arab Republic took over Jordan. Egypt now knew beyond argument what Israeli fighting meant."³⁷⁸ [Emphasis added.]

In other words he had shifted the emphasis dramatically away from the original motive for British intervention. The alliance of convenience had been brought together on the basis of three quite different motives. They were not brought together with a common goal or even a common understanding of the circumstances.

Basically Britain's aims were to secure the Suez Canal in order to protect the investment of its shareholders in the company; to prevent the loss of transit rights for its vital oil cargoes and for other trade with its empire east and south of Suez and the consequent trading disadvantages of longer shipping times and higher costs, especially in the event of war; to avoid the complex consequences of another war between Israel and its Arab neighbours. It could not claim that the independence and security of the Jewish State was a major motive, *per se*. It had not only thrown away the Zionist umbrella which it had held aloft from 1917 to 1948, it had refused to even support the establishment of that state when the chips were down. If it would not support it

then, when it really mattered, because the consequences of its earlier policy were hurting too much, it was rather hypocritical to try to persuade the world that it had gone in to protect the Israelis. The British government even admitted that its relations with Israel had not been close, or particularly cordial, and that France had developed a closer relationship with it. As we have seen, and as other countries soon worked out, the British government had wanted Israel's help to *camouflage* the fact that it wanted to invade Egypt in order to regain control of the canal. The lesson for the world from that was that a colony or mandated territory and its people still had their uses, even after they had achieved independence.

France's aim was quite straight forward. It wanted to teach Egypt a lesson for aiding and abetting, or even sponsoring, decolonization movements and guerrilla uprisings in its North African colonies. Its interest in the canal was, relatively, secondary.

Israel's aim was basically self-preservation and security for its people which would be enhanced considerably by securing transit rights through the Suez Canal and the Strait of Tiran. It could reasonably expect to achieve that aim in collaboration with a couple of powerful allies. It had little hope of success if it simply invaded a strong Arab neighbour because of the likelihood that it would have to fight multiple wars on four, if not five fronts. Its critics claimed that it was also pursuing an expansionist policy but, although some of its leaders and citizens harboured an ambition to incorporate all of the territory from the Nile to the Euphrates, it is drawing a long bow to suggest that expansionism was a main motive in the Sinai-Suez War. A spin-off benefit perhaps, but transit rights and security from attack were certainly its driving motives. Its people had learned the very hard way that to survive means to fight as the outcome of three and a half thousand years of a history which, while it was certainly not without blemish, had peaked with three generations or so which were just as traumatic as the middle period of destruction and dispersal. Its leaders knew that very well.

However, the 'rescue' which Eden referred to – or the prevention of either Jordan or the Lebanon cooperating more fully in the Palestinian cause – soon required Britain to base additional troops in Jordan and to provide other additional support, or for the protection of the oil pipelines and terminals which it still controlled. It also led directly to the United States basing troops in the Lebanon. The Arab world was being quite rapidly fragmented, sucked further and further into Great Power politics, with an *increase* in outside 'divide and rule' *interference*, not a reduction. Those who thought that the trouble in the triangle was going to be resolved by an increased dose of great power military and political intervention and a continuation of divide and rule tactics were to be sadly mistaken. Until the triangle was properly understood and steps were taken *systematically* to disentangle the self-misunderstanding, arrogance, intrigue and misconduct of the amorphous Christian gel which had evolved over 1,925 years – since the death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth – the crisis in the Middle East would simply continue, with the key players stumbling from one blunder to another.

There was a great deal of debate about the impact which the Suez Crisis would have on Britain's long term status and influence. Those at the centre of government policy making at the

time sought to play it down. Lloyd wrote that: “Those who contend that Suez was a watershed in our national history often maintain that Eden’s Government still regarded Britain as *capable of independent action on a global scale*.”³⁷⁹ [Emphasis added.] This implies that the Suez action was taken on the basis of a Soviet containment action or to resolve the Arab-Israeli question. In reality the debate only got to that level because, as already noted, Eden and the government were at pains to paint it in that light in order to camouflage their base self-interest motive, and Lloyd conceded that Britain’s financial situation was so parlous (having become “the world’s greatest debtor”) that it could only act in global affairs in collaboration with the United States.

THE COLONIAL WATERSHED ...

However Suez was a watershed in Britain’s affairs and it was more than that. It was a watershed in world affairs. It was another critical point in the trouble in the triangle. It was as if Britain was doing its damndest to confirm Israel’s covenantal role at the centre of the trouble in the triangle. One major segment of the trouble had opened in 1916 with Britain’s audacious bid to use the Jewish community’s aspirations for its own ends: to bolster its waning colonial authority and to extend its empire to its greatest and wealthiest extent by incorporating the resource-rich Middle East. Then, over a period of two generations, as a consequence of the destruction of human relationships and the exploitation of people which we have traced, it progressively lost the lot. At the time of Suez it did still have a clutch of colonies, trust territories and other suzerain entities, but the antagonism generated by that action and the further weakening of its international status, generated such increased pressure for decolonization that the independence of that clutch within a few years was assured – together with the independence of almost every other colony of a European power and the trust territories. Britain had raised the debate on decolonization to a new level which could be described as ‘fever pitch’ and it had succeeded, inadvertently, in bringing the two great opposing powers together on an issue of fundamental importance in human and world affairs. The Soviet Union, the dominant socio-economic challenge to the amorphous Christian gel, was vigorously supporting Egypt. It would have done so in any case, to drive a bigger wedge between Britain and its oppressed former suzerain or neo-colonial state, but by their joint actions, the United States and Britain had forced them into a stronger and much closer relationship. The Western powers tried to say it was all politics, but that is not the case. Colonialism simply was not compatible with Marx’s philosophy, so there was a natural affinity between the enormous Communist power and the small, struggling subject nations.

Once Britain had started the process through its attack on Egypt, the United States, with its own colonial heritage had no option but to support the de-colonizing push even though it was not eager to surrender its own territories, and the process gathered self-sustaining momentum until it was complete. Over the three years 1956 to 1958 an additional seven new members, all either Asian or African, were admitted to the United Nations. This provided a much more substantial voting bloc which the European and American nations had to take notice of, but

when a total of 17 were admitted in September-October 1960 – all African except one which was Asian – the balance lurched suddenly and the Afro-Asian bloc, with the support of a few Latin American members or the Soviet Union, could determine matters which came to the General Assembly rather than the Security Council. On December 14, 1960, as soon as they were in a position to do so, they submitted and were able to have adopted the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (Resolution 1514(XV)).

The Declaration states that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter, and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and cooperation, and that “Immediate steps shall be taken, in Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those Territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.”³⁸⁰ In 1961 a Special Committee was established to examine the application of the Declaration, and a year later the Assembly noted that, with few exceptions, the provisions of the Declaration had not been carried out. Repressive measures, including armed action, was still being taken in many countries against dependent peoples. The Special Committee was enlarged and given authority to monitor the implementation of the declaration, to advise the Security Council on any matters related to non-self-governing territories which might threaten international peace and security, and to make recommendations about how the provisions of the Declaration should be applied. The exposure of their policies and abuses or failures to act properly had a very salutary effect on the colonial powers and those which were administering Trust Territories, and the process of decolonization was accelerated.

... AND THE EISENHOWER DOCTRINE

Quite apart from that major development, Britain’s adventure substantially weakened its position in the Middle East in relation to other powers. Syria was driven more firmly into the anti-Zionist anti-colonialism camp. Iraq, one of the countries which Britain had humiliated during the Second World War then recruited as the pivotal member of the Baghdad Pact, and which had become the principal ‘security guard’ for Britain’s remaining petroleum interests in the Middle East, was soon more deeply divided over the question of its relations with Israel and the West. Two years later the monarchy was overthrown, the royal household and the prime minister were massacred, it withdrew from the Baghdad Pact which naturally had to be renamed, it developed closer ties with the Soviet Union, and it played a key role in the reorganization of the petroleum and other resource industries. These things provided a basis for the Western powers to increase their anti-Soviet rhetoric and to continue their policies of playing down the fundamental problem in the Middle East, the trouble in the triangle, and the Cold War was soon edging to new heights instead of being alleviated. They also gave the

United States the opportunity that Dulles had been angling for to become more directly involved in the region.

Only two weeks after the last British and French troops withdrew from Port Said, while Israel was firmly in place at Sharm es-Sheikh, and work to clear the canal was still in an early phase, Eisenhower announced his 'Doctrine' for the Middle East. He raised the Cold War tension by a promise of military or economic aid to any Middle Eastern country which might need it to resist Communist aggression. He knew from the Bulganin-Khrushchev visit to London that the Soviet Union had no intention of aggression in the area. But after having forced Egypt to turn to the Soviet Union for arms by refusing to supply it, he and Dulles were able to justify the doctrine on the basis of the threat which the Soviet Union had made to Britain (in a bid to halt its action against Egypt) and to conceal from the wider public the effects of their own action. They took full advantage of the fact that Britain was now seen as intent on supporting Israel and suppressing, rather than supporting, Arab aspirations. That understanding had naturally undermined its relations with the Arabs, and it was an easy matter for the United States to portray itself as the friendly, helpful neighbour in contrast to an arrogant, incompetent and unfriendly Britain. The Doctrine was thus aimed more at extending American influence and at gaining greater access to, and control over, the oil resources of the region than at checking the growth of Soviet influence in the Middle East, but the two issues were intimately related.

The United States administration reckoned it had achieved a coup but in fact it had 'done a Balfour.' It had already picked up the Zionist umbrella which Britain had dropped, in 1948. Now it had followed, in reverse order, with its equivalent of the McMahon correspondence. It had made conflicting undertakings to both the Jews and their Arab neighbours. In doing so it had choreographed a juggling act which it would have to maintain *in perpetuity* – unless it could do better than Britain, recognize the basis of the trouble in the triangle and move to dismantle it. It had *put itself* in an *equally perpetual state of dependence for its own security on peace and stability in the Middle East*. To be able to satisfy its own ambitions – its own greed – it had to ensure that it could do several things all at once. It had to supply Israel and *also* supply the Arabs with arms at a level which would satisfy them. It had to discourage them all from trading with the Soviet Union. It had to discourage them from throwing their American-supplied weapons at each other. And it had to support its companies in securing all of the oil leases and facilities they wanted. The new policy meant that it was not only the security of Saudi Arabia which was "vital" to the security of the United States. It was the entire region. It follows that such a juggling act will collapse in a heap if one of the four partners in the act – Israel, the Arab states, the US petroleum industry, or the United States administration – steps out of line. It must be assumed that if people in the US administration gave any thought to these relationships they aped Britain 50 years earlier and thought "We're big enough and powerful enough; we can handle any situation which looks like getting out of hand."

This meant that Eisenhower had to be able to *either* guarantee support and security to every country, *and to keep it happy*, or be able to suppress tension in any country in the region which did not want to play to his rules. That is rather a tall order at any time, but without integrated

bases in enough countries to be able to use one or more at a time, it is a near impossibility. Therefore, with the approval of Congress, Eisenhower proclaimed that he would use the armed forces of the United States to protect the independence of any Middle Eastern country seeking American help. That was short hand for saying “I want land bases everywhere but if I can’t get them I’ll have a big fleet nearby.” The Eisenhower Doctrine was promoted on the basis that it represented no radical change in US policy because under the Truman Doctrine similar support had been pledged to Greece and Turkey ten years earlier. It was said to be a continuation of the American policy of ‘containment’ or resistance to any extension of the Soviet sphere of influence. But it was different, in a couple of respects. Although Greece and Turkey were in a constant state of tension over control of Cyprus, they were both members of NATO, and that encouraged a greater degree of stability in their relationship. In addition, Dulles had already put in place SEATO and the Baghdad Pact which formed an almost unbroken chain with NATO and which were supposed to provide all the ‘containment’ which was necessary. The United States and Britain were both aware that the Suez Crisis had raised tensions which placed Iraq’s continued membership of the Baghdad Pact in doubt and Britain had already been trying to recruit Jordan to strengthen the chain,

However, the outcome in such a situation, as Britain’s troubles had demonstrated, is not dependent upon politics and might of arms. It is dependent on the maintenance of stable human relations. If relationships break down, then everything falls apart. And in the Middle East relationships are dependent on religious belief. Belief and self-understanding. In 1956 the religious issue seemed to have subsided somewhat. The politics of land occupation seemed to be in the forefront of the dispute. But now, in the year 2000, religion is in the forefront again. Circumstantially. And the United States administration is showing no more signs that it understands the trouble in the triangle than Britain did before it. Its conduct bears an uncanny similarity to that of Britain before the Second World War. It has tried every trick in the book to divide and rule; playing one country against another to prevent the formation of cohesive Arab or Muslim alliances, making individual allegiance to the United States the basis of stability. It is trying the Munich ‘bought peace’ technique again, second time round. But that is jumping ahead again.

We are still at the crisis which Britain had to face, and very slowly overcome. Through the Suez adventure it had generated a more uniform level of antagonism towards it that even Hitler faced when he invaded what was left of Czechoslovakia after the Munich carve-up. The Eden Government had succeeded in turning almost the whole world against it. All except the faithful white Christian Anglo-Saxon dominions of the Commonwealth. They were the only ones to stand by it in the final vote when the UN General Assembly said “Quit!” The last curtain was falling for a once great empire. And yet Britain’s unshaken self-understanding as a key player in the amorphous colonial Christian gel is illustrated by Eden’s poignant parting words as he and Lady Eden sailed from Tilbury for a long holiday in New Zealand following his resignation:

WHAT HAS HAPPENED TO THE MESSIANIC AGE?

The difference between the West and Egypt has not been colonialism – it is the difference between democracies and a dictatorship. The British people, with their instinctive good sense, have understood that. I am sure they will always understand.³⁸¹

Sir Anthony and Lady Eden were leaving a Britain which was in crisis, and the Middle East was also in crisis. Neither seemed to be in a situation which could be characterized as the Messianic Age. Yet according to the mainstream church the Messianic Age was here and now, and according to Maimonides it would be associated with the establishment of the State of Israel which had already happened, eight years before. Everyone had reason to ask “What has happened to the Messianic Age?”

CHAPTER 30

EMBARGO! NOT FOR WANT OF WARNINGS. NEW ORDER OR DISORDER?

Everything seemed strangely quiet in the Suez Canal Zone during the last days before Christmas, 1956. The last of the British forces had withdrawn from Port Said on the 22nd and block-ship clearing was not due to start until the 27th. The threat of the total expulsion of British and French subjects from Egypt, made in November, had eased. At the height of the crisis about 2,500 out of the 10,000 British subjects, mostly Cypriots and Maltese, and about 3,500 French citizens had been driven out either by direct or indirect means,¹ and significant British and French assets, notably oil facilities, had been sequestered. This pre-Christmas lull meant that most people of the amorphous Christian gel who lived in the Western world could reflect on newspaper photographs of great ships towering majestically over the dunes in a broad expanse of desert - going nowhere - while they settled down to the serious business of celebrating the birth of the second person of their Triune God. That man, Jesus of Nazareth, had been born not far from where the worst of the Sinai-Suez War fighting had been - about 180 miles as the crow flies - and, according to Christian tradition, he passed through the area twice as a child. The first time he was babe in arms. His mother, Mary, and her husband - the baby's step-father - Joseph were fleeing from their home for the protection of the baby because Joseph had been warned in a dream that the Roman-appointed king of the Jews, Herod, was searching for him to kill him. Herod's reason was that stories were circulating that the baby was a future king of the Jews. That sort of story could lead to a lot of unrest because the Jews were already pressing for their independence from Rome, and stories of a child born by divine intervention to be king in a community which had all sorts of messianic expectations could well spark open rebellion. The second time, he was a toddler, probably about three or four, because Joseph and Mary stayed in Egypt until after Herod died.

If that tradition is true, then it is most likely that the family crossed the region where the Suez canal now stands and where the British had battled the Arab Egyptians for control of the Canal Zone. The main area of earlier Palestinian migration and settlement was a little further west, in the area of Goshen, between the Sea of Reeds and the Nile, where Abraham and his tribe were thought to have travelled before settling at Hebron; where Joseph's family probably settled; and from where Moses may have led Israel out of bondage in the Exodus. But Christian's didn't talk

much about that rather vague piece of history at Christmas. They preferred to focus on Bethlehem. And people did not talk much about Jesus and Jews in the same breath if they could avoid it; nor about Israel and Egypt. It was all too sensitive. It could get highly emotional and political. The World Council of Churches had found that - for the second time at successive assemblies - when it met at Evanston on the shore of Lake Michigan, near Chicago, in the second half of August, 1954. That was only two weeks after Britain had succumbed to United States pressure and signed an agreement to quit its military bases in the Suez Canal Zone. (Chapter 29)

At its first assembly, in 1948, it had been persuaded not to put the question of Israel and Middle East conflict on its agenda. (Chapter 28) Now it had happened again. Not only was it left off the agenda as a separate item, but when the assembly's report on its main theme, 'Christ is the Hope of the World', the decision was taken, quite deliberately after some fairly forceful debate, to *delete* reference to Israel from the draft statement. After only six years of operation the assembly was more concerned about reviewing the work of the first six years and refining the structure of the WCC for best effect over the next six or seven years. It had planned to resolve the unfinished business from the first assembly: the contentious issue of its constitution and basis for membership or, in other words, its answer to the question: 'what is a Christian?'. The Central Committee had received a number of submissions during the years since Amsterdam, and an additional one was received from the Church of Norway too late to be added to the business papers for the assembly. The decision was therefore taken to leave the matter in the 'too-hard basket' until the next assembly, and at Evanston a simple statement on the purpose of a 'basis for membership' was adopted. The formal effect was to maintain the status quo: the WCC was definitely a traditional Trinitarian Christian body. But an informal effect was to relax the rigidity a trifle by regarding the basis of membership as "less than a confession [but] much more than a mere formula or agreement."²

The group of theologians who drafted the assembly statement on its main theme included in it references to Christ being the hope of Israel as well as the rest of the world, and the relationship between the church and its parent faith. It proved more than a little contentious. African delegates objected to the tendency to Euro-centricity in the statement and there was debate over whether Christ was a sign of something "coming" or already here. The Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem wanted the statement modified because in that city "every statement about Israel was apt to become bitterly controversial" and he emphasized that "many hopes other than that of Israel were fulfilled by Christ's coming." A Coptic delegate proposed the deletion of all reference to Israel "in view of the special political problems vexing the Near East." Other delegates also referred to the "possible political implications" and queried whether references to Israel referred to ancient Israel, Israel scattered, or to Israel as a single state. The World Council of Churches was in just as big a bind over Israel and Christian-Jewish relations as the Vatican. Dr. Berkhof, from Holland, one of the drafters, said it had to be noted that "Jesus Christ was born of Israel as fulfilment of the promises God gave to His people [and] the Epistle to the Romans meant that Christians looked to Israel in a special spiritual sense." There were therefore

no political implications in the statement as drafted, he said. When the report was voted on, it was amended by the deletion of the section referring to Israel: 195 votes to 150. As a consequence, being very concerned at the theological implications rather than the political, a group of 24 delegates including Pastors Marc Boegner and Martin Niemöller signed and submitted a statement on the hope of Israel.³ Their statement, which is included in full in the notes, read in part:⁴

The New Testament, however, speaks also of the “fullness” of Israel, when God will manifest His glory by brining back His “eldest son” into the one fold of His grace (Rom 11:12-36; Matt. 23:29) This belief is an indispensable element of our one united hope for Jew and Gentile in Jesus Christ. Our hope in Christ’s coming victory includes our hope for Israel in Christ, in His victory over the blindness of His own people. To expect Jesus Christ means to hope for the conversion of the Jewish people, and to love Him means to love the people of God’s promise.

In view of the grievous guilt of Christian people towards the Jews throughout the history of the Church, we are certain that: the Church cannot rest until the title of Christ to the Kingdom is recognized by His own people according to the flesh.⁵

We cannot be one in Christ nor can we truly believe and witness to the promise of God if we do not recognize that it is still valid for the people of the promise made to Abraham. Therefore we invite all men to join with us in praising and magnifying that God who “concluded them all in unbelief that He might have mercy upon all (Rom. 11:32).

So it was quite apparent that most Christians in the Western World were trying not to think too much about the theology of Christmas in 1956, while others of their number were settling down to the even more serious business of doing what they did best: exploiting the people and the resources of the non-Western world. However it was a temporary quietness.

On the other hand, as Christmas approached, some people were involved in matters of faith and exploitation in a different manner. In the South Africa of J.G. Strijdom, successor to Dr. Malan, where the National Party government insisted that its Apartheid laws were all based on the Gospel, 156 senior officials of the African National Congress and trade unions, plus academics and other key supporters of the Anti-Apartheid Movement had been arrested on December 9 and charged with treason for being involved in an international Communist-inspired conspiracy to overthrow the government by violence. They were acquitted of those particular offences when the court found the charges of violent intent and Communist infiltration of the ANC not proved, but the government had plenty of other nets ready to catch them. Among them was a man named Nelson Mandela.

And another man who had reason to celebrate after dicing with death was Fidel Castro, one of only 12 Cubans to survive out of 81 who had landed on their island state a week earlier in an unsuccessful bid to launch an armed uprising against the corrupt dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista. Castro and Ernesto (Che) Guevara, who would both soon become household names in

the United States, retreated into the Sierra Maestra with their surviving colleagues to wage guerrilla warfare against the Batista forces. With the help of growing numbers of revolutionary volunteers, Castro's small forces won a string of victories over Batista's demoralized and poorly led armed forces which had been propped up by the United States since Batista seized power in 1952. Castro's campaign was largely a propaganda war waged through American media, and with growing disenchantment in the United States a new ambassador to Havana was ordered to preside over Batista's demise. Two years after Castro's landing, in March 1958 the United States suspended arms sales to Cuba.

That was a signal from the White House that although the United States was trenchantly opposed to Communists, even if they came to power through free choice and free elections, there were some right wing dictators who also went too far. But three months later there was a different message promulgated by the Vatican. On June 29, Pius XII issued the encyclical *Ad Apostolorum Principis* (To the leaders of the Apostles) calling on Chinese Catholics to resist the control of the Beijing government - a government which had come to power with overwhelming popular support as a result of the abuses of another right wing dictator. The letter was not announced until after it had been smuggled into China.⁶ Naturally the Chinese Communist government reacted against such a message, and two weeks later, on July 14, Pius XII issued another encyclical: *Meminisse Juvat*, Prayers for Peace and for the Persecuted Church.⁷ It was to be his last. He died on October 9, after dominating the world's religious affairs for a lot longer than the nineteen and a half critical years of his pontificate, being Vatican secretary of state for nine years of Pius XI's reign. (Chapters 20 & 21.)

On January 25 the next year, 1959, and just as Castro was moving house to Havana, Pius XII's successor, Pope John XXIII, stunned the world by announcing that he would convoke a council of the world-wide Catholic Church. Could it be that the new pope, having quite a different background to Pius XII, had realized the implications of the Balfour Declaration, *Mein Kampf*, the establishment of the State of Israel, and the establishment of the World Council of Churches? His path to the papacy was not via the Vatican hierarchy. He had served in Communist Bulgaria, Orthodox Greece and Muslim Turkey - he was there for most of the Second World War - as well as in France as papal nuncio, and in his most recent role as patriarch of Venice he had shown more interest in empowering people than Vatican officials. That breadth of human experience showed when he summoned the church to meet in council at the Vatican. There had not been a council of the church since 1869 when Vatican I determined papal primacy and infallibility. In the view of many members of the hierarchy that made any further councils quite unnecessary because the Vatican had all the power it needed to run the church as it saw fit. In their view, to hold a council in an atmosphere of multiple challenges to the status and authority of the church could only draw more attention to those challenges, give them legitimacy, and weaken the authority of the church as God's earthly administrator. The convoking of a council was therefore quite divisive, and two distinct 'schools' developed. Put simply, one school said 'let's assess the challenges and respond as we see appropriate' and the

other said 'let's put the shutters up and repel the challenge!'⁸ But as author Edward Stourton points out, there is no single document which sets out the reasons behind John XXIII's decision.

It is said that the idea first came to him during a briefing from his Secretary of State: as Cardinal Tardini went through the day's reports from the Vatican diplomatic service, painting a grim picture of a world in turmoil, the Pope was inspired by the notion that a full Council of the Church - something that had taken place only twice in the previous five hundred years - would enable it to engage with the problems of the twentieth century. But the vague and lukewarm way in which his cardinals and the Curia, the Vatican bureaucracy, initially responded to it suggests that many of them saw it as the dream of a slightly dotty old man. John had been chosen, after all, to serve as a 'transitional pope' - the papa di passaggio. When he told eighteen of his curial cardinals of his plans on 25 January at the church of St Paul's Without the Walls, they were so astonished that they were reduced to silence - 'Too moved and too happy to utter a word,' one of them explained later, rather unconvincingly - and the official organ of the Vatican, Osservatore Romano, broke the news to the world in a statement so terse that it was almost lost between the announcement of a diocesan synod for the clergy of Rome and plans to update canon law. But the calling of the Council was a recognition of the fact that now, with the hindsight of three decades, seems blindingly obvious: the Church and the world around it were moving in steadily different directions, and however healthy the Church may have appeared on the surface, its intellectual mindset was simply not sustainable in the long-term.⁹

So it looked as if the church *might* be about to develop a new self-understanding and a new relationship with the world when Castro entered Havana as a hero, able to do so without as much as a token battle. It was a moment in history that the world would soon have good reason to remember. Castro was not interested in restrictive trade practices. He had a country to run. He had to pick it up by the bootstraps and overcome a long history of exploitation and the abuse of human rights, he was in a hurry and he had inherited a treasury which had been stripped bare! He wanted the best trade deals that he could get for Cuba and he knew that it was being ripped off by the petroleum pricing policies of the major oil companies. Russia was prepared to supply oil to Cuba on a barter basis in return for sugar. No cash needed to change hands. And the transfer value was substantially lower than the prices the companies were charging themselves, under their transfer pricing agreements, for oil from other sources. Castro told the oil companies to accept and to process Russian crude oil. They refused. They were going to make less profit, and besides that, it was contrary to the United States foreign policy of isolating the Soviet Union from world trade. But Castro was not to be trifled with. He got all dictatorial and told them to process Russian crude or take the consequences. They still refused, so he expropriated the facilities of Exxon, Texaco and Shell, and declared that henceforth he would work to a Marxist policy. The United States was perfectly comfortable working with dictators. It was setting them up elsewhere and proving that democracy was a luxury that a country could only have if it suited the United States. But dictatorship was one thing and having the audacity to expropriate large American property holdings - especially oil assets - was quite a different thing.

Castro's attitude towards the oil industry was not a new experience for them. During the 1950s the oil producing countries had each gained confidence and, following the lead of Venezuela in 1943, moved towards a more appropriate level of royalties and profit sharing schemes to provide revenue for development. They had to battle the companies and their governments every inch of the way. Each was on its own because there was not yet a producers' group to provide co-ordination, and they were being played off, each against the others. And in the wake of the nationalization of the Suez Canal by Egypt and the Sinai-Suez War, Egypt had sequestrated British and French oil production assets as well. The disease was spreading. Rapidly. Indonesia nationalized all oil concessions in the country, but not the companies' operations. The fields had been allowed to run down during the period of politicking, Japan stepped in, with its companies agreeing to rehabilitate the fields and to a new schedule of imports. At about the same time, China introduced interest free credits for Third World Countries in spite of its own economic problems. The West was certainly not winning the credibility stakes in the Third World and a young Senator, John F. Kennedy, knew it. He made the establishment of a corps of American Volunteers to work in Third World countries a plank in his platform as a candidate for the Presidency. Following his election in November the plan was put into effect with the establishment a Youth Peace Corps. It was not the first such volunteer program, but with the resources at Kennedy's disposal it was very soon the biggest.

Indonesia's oil field nationalization decision was basically a response to the US decision in March 1959 to impose restrictions on oil imports and to boost local production in a bid to further force down the royalties and taxes which foreign countries could demand. The collusion between the US government and its oil industry, and between US-controlled companies and the British and European companies, was palpable. Using the excuse that they had to sell their increasing foreign production in the more highly competitive European market – which they controlled and were selling into anyway – the companies had already reduced posted prices twice to cut payments to the various governments under the new profit sharing arrangements. BP led the first price cut in February, 1959. In fact from late 1957 and through 1958, in spite of small increases made following the reopening of the Suez Canal, Middle East crude was being delivered to the US East Coast ports at prices from 60 to 80 cents per barrel less than crude produced in the United States.¹⁰ Therefore the country which had been affected most drastically was Venezuela, because it was more heavily dependent upon the adjacent, and dominant, United States market than the Middle East countries which had established and more direct access to the alternative European markets. The Venezuelan government therefore established a Coordinating Commission for the Conservation and Commerce of Hydrocarbons within its Ministry of Mines and Hydrocarbons, and the oil minister, Perez Alfonzo, embarked on a round of urgent discussions with Arab oil producing countries at the time of the Arab Petroleum Congress in Cairo in April 1959. His most noteworthy contact was the Saudi Arabian Director General (later Minister) of Petroleum and Mineral Affairs, Abdullah Al-Tariki.¹¹

In May 1960, after a round of discussions with other governments, Alfonzo and Tariki issued a joint declaration in Caracas. It contained the basis of a proposal for an international petroleum

agreement which, they said, would be adhered to by Venezuela, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq and Kuwait. It envisaged that the growth of production would be geared to the growth of demand and prorated among the signatory countries primarily on the basis of proved reserves, but with special provision being made for the participants' current market position and for new oil discoveries in participating countries or new areas. The plan had already been unveiled at the annual meeting of the Texas Independent Producers and Royalty Owners' Association (TIPRO) where Alfonzo had said that the keynote of Venezuela's oil policy was conservation "as a means of stretching out our reserves over the longest period of time." The country's dependence on oil forced it to hope for an annual production increase, but the government did not want production to rise proportionately to what was regarded as the country's current share of world demand. World demand, Alfonzo said, was expected to rise at a rate of seven per cent, and if Venezuela planned for an annual increase of four per cent, there would be an important share of the international market available to other producers.¹² The oil companies were "aghast" at the prospect of losing their grip on their biggest price bargaining chip: control of production levels and sources. The propaganda onslaught began immediately to raise public opposition to these dastardly schemes to disadvantage other producing countries and to hold the consumers of the Western world to ransom. Strong pressure was applied to dissuade the other major producer, Iran, and other countries in the Middle East and Africa, such as Nigeria, from joining the plan. The contrast between the producer-governments' attitude of *'let's conserve it and use it responsibly'* and the oil industry's attitude of *'let's rip it out and get a fast buck for it'* was made all the more stark by the publication of Vance Packard's book *The Waste Makers*. Much of the waste and irresponsible use of resources to which Packard drew attention pivoted around the excessive use of products from the petro-chemicals industries.

This may appear to have little to do with Cuba, but on the basis that Indonesia's nationalization decision had been encouraged by Cuba's stand, even though it was not a direct consequence of it, and the fact that Cuba was bringing in Russian oil gave the United States another stick with which to beat Cuba in the propaganda war. Sympathy for Cuba in the United States quickly evaporated. Castro sought Soviet aid and was soon forced into reliance on it when, in retaliation, the United States curtailed Cuba's sugar import quota in July 1960. Having only recently disposed of a right-wing dictator Eisenhower then chose to be consistent. He instructed the CIA to explore means of removing Castro on the grounds that he was harbouring a Soviet presence uncomfortably close to the United States. Cuba had become embroiled in the Cold War and the arms race.

The Soviet Union had stolen a march on the United States in the application of satellite technology and it had received quite a boost to its international standing in October 1957 when it launched Sputnik 1, the first artificial earth satellite. Then five months later, in March 1958, it offered to suspend all nuclear tests if the West did likewise. That led to an international conference of experts who recommended, in August, that stations should be set up to monitor nuclear tests, and in October the three major nuclear powers of the day, the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain, agreed to suspend all nuclear testing. However Britain and the US

refused to cooperate fully until they had completed their catch-up round of planned tests, and there were plenty of unnerving developments in international affairs which enabled them to justify continuing competitive development. One, coinciding with China's Great Leap Forward program,¹³ in August, caused much concern in the West.

Portrayed in the West as the start of China's push for world supremacy rather than as a continuation of the conflict between the Chinese Communist government and the Chinese Nationalists on Taiwan, it began with an intense bombardment of two islands, Quemoy and Matsu, only 10 to 15 miles from the mainland coast, which were held by Nationalist China. It was essentially a bid by Communist China to coerce the Soviet Union into supporting its claim to the major island of Taiwan, and the war of words was nowhere near its peak. Chiang Kai-shek sought to use the incident to coerce the USA into supporting an invasion of the mainland. The Soviet Union pledged to defend mainland China, and the US 7th fleet re-supplied Chiang's forces on the islands. Three months later, in November, a bid to prevent the escalation of conflict with Taiwan, Khrushchev advised Mao Tse-tung at a summit meeting that the Soviet Union would not share its missile technology, and that it would maintain direct control of any warheads sent to China. Similarly, the US chose not to get further involved, and in line with the earlier negotiations, a one-year Nuclear Test-ban Treaty took effect. It was the first real glimmer of hope that the Cold War might be abating.¹⁴ But then there were more incidents in Berlin and Khrushchev issued an ultimatum that all Western troops should be withdrawn from the city immediately.

In spite of that there was some encouragement for the view that the Cold War was easing in the new year, 1959, when Khrushchev, confirming the policy he had already made clear to Mao, refused to deliver nuclear warheads to China. But that decision, aggravated by United States policy, brought a terse response. China announced that it would not remain dependent on others and would develop its own nuclear arsenal. Competition for leadership of the Communist world community between the Soviet Union and China, which as already noted, the United States was doing all it could to encourage, split the Communist world. The Soviet Union, already being deliberately demonized and isolated from world affairs by the United States, was in a very invidious position. It was sandwiched between the nuclear-armed NATO countries and China. China was being goaded by the United States into becoming increasingly independent and belligerent, yet one of the key factors in its attitude was the fact that the Soviet Union would not support it in its struggle with the United States and the other Western powers. The United States, on the basis of Dulles' policies, was using fear of a blowup between China and the Soviet Union to entice more Asian and African countries into its camp, and the hawks in American politics then utilized both that fear and the claim of responsibility for international defence to push for greater and greater armaments. And in all this, the Soviet Union was hemmed in by Dulles' Baghdad Pact and SEATO to the south.

Then the scene changed again. Dulles, terminally ill with cancer, resigned as Secretary of State. He died on May 24. Eisenhower immediately took a more active role in foreign affairs, changed emphasis significantly, using personal diplomacy in a bid to reverse the escalation of

the arms race and invited Khrushchev to visit the United States. But the effects of eight years of deliberate provocation, isolation of the Soviet Union, and divide and rule tactics through the establishment of a chain of buffer pacts had been dramatic and could not be that easily reversed. The concept of Asian-African solidarity which had been demonstrated at the Bandung Conference became less and less meaningful, even though cohesion was still evident in the deliberations of the United Nations, and major schisms among the sponsors of the original conference began to emerge. When China and Indonesia, which was in the process of adopting a system of 'guided democracy,' pressed for a second Asian-African conference, India, together with Yugoslavia and the United Arab Republic (Egypt), succeeded in organizing rival conferences of nonaligned states that refused to take the strong anti-Western positions urged by China. And President Sukarno, in Indonesia, decided to go his own way. In July, by presidential decree, he reinstated the 1945 constitution, dissolved the legislature and proceeded to appoint a military-dominated legislature and to govern through "guided democracy." The government declared five principles of belief - the Pancasila (belief in one God, nationalism, humanitarianism, democracy and social justice) - to be the national ideology and the basis of national life. A government-sponsored nonpartisan organization, Golkar, became Sukarno's electoral power base.

As time past it appeared less and less likely that another conference of the Bandung pattern would ever be held. An important factor in the deterioration of Afro-Asia relations was the intense politicking and rivalry over the role and membership of the Baghdad Pact. This was exacerbated by Britain's abortive Suez adventure and the immediate announcement of the Eisenhower Doctrine. In July, two and a half years after the Suez debacle, the monarchy and the corrupt pro-British and anti-Soviet government in Iraq were overthrown in the first of three coups, each five years apart. The new military government withdrew from the Baghdad Pact which could hardly remain named after the capital of country which had withdrawn. It was renamed CENTO.

A factor in that internal and very bloody¹⁵ Iraqi coup was the fact that the CIA had revisited Syria, in full accord with Britain's views,¹⁶ eight months after the earlier planned coup had to be aborted when Israel launched its attack against Egypt to start the Sinai-Suez War. (Chapter 29) The second alleged coup attempt, planned in June to August 1957, was also aborted - when it was exposed. Syrian army officers who claimed that they had been recruited and assigned major roles in a plot to reinstate a former right-wing dictator, Adib Shishakly, walked into the office of the head of Syrian intelligence services, handed over their bribe money, and named as their CIA contacts the US military attaché, vice consul, and second secretary for political affairs. The State Department claimed that the whole exercise was a fabrication and retaliated to the expulsion of its three diplomats by expelling the Syrian ambassador and one other officer.¹⁷ The evidence to support the Syrian claims of a planned coup is strong, but even if it was a fabrication, the two events in quick succession in Syria and Iraq illustrate the level to which their relationships with the United States had fallen and the impossibility of the Eisenhower Doctrine working.

So: there were plenty of agenda items for Khrushchev's visit, in September, 1959, and the Khrushchev-Eisenhower discussions at Camp David reduced the international tension significantly and were regarded as a personal success for both leaders. They agreed on another summit in eight months, in May 1960. However, in February, the Chinese observer at the Warsaw Pact meeting announced that any arms agreements reached at the planned US-USSR summit would not be binding on China, and Mao undermined Khrushchev's efforts to repair the Sino-Soviet relationship by condemning his efforts at détente as vile revisionism. In doing so he confirmed China's willingness to confront nuclear war from a position of strength. In the light of Mao's trenchant attack on his policy, Khrushchev's ability to negotiate at his second summit meeting with Eisenhower, in Paris, was further undermined on the eve of the meeting when a US U-2 spy plane was shot down over the USSR and Eisenhower admitted that such flights had been operating for four years. But, being more concerned than ever about the deteriorating relationships, the Soviet Union withdrew all of its military specialists from China in July, even knowing that its move was likely to trigger another backlash. France's decision to detonate its first nuclear bomb in September had only heightened international tension.

Four months after the second Khrushchev-Eisenhower summit the oil ministers of Venezuela, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Iraq and Kuwait met and, after five days of consultation, formally constituted the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). The diplomatic pressure of the United States which had been responsible for putting the Shah back on his Peacock Throne in 1953, and the commercial pressure of the oil companies had failed to keep him out of the organization. What was just as bad, OPEC had met for the first time in Baghdad, capital of the country which had withdrawn from the anti-Soviet southern buffer pact. There was another burst of propaganda about how nasty these governments were, getting together to fix prices and exploit the energy users of the world, as if that was their motivation. In fact the amoral and exploitative conduct of the oil companies over a very long period (chapter 19) had forced those countries to overcome some of their differences which were largely linked to the divide and rule policies of first Britain, and then the United States.

The amazing sequence of events between the two world wars, in which the Government of the USA and its oil companies had out manoeuvred the British and French to gain concessions in the region, and in which the former member companies of the Standard Oil group had achieved the impossible – domination of the Middle East - had been capped in 1937 by an event in Qatar. The Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (formerly the Anglo-Persian) had negotiated concessions in Qatar, but the Americans intervened under the Red Line Agreement and the concession was transferred to the IPC. Eight years later, with the Second World War over, new fields were brought into production in the Middle East and across North Africa in quick succession. The main interest of the British and French was to ensure adequate supplies and national security. However the Americans grasped the opportunity to rationalize their production around the world, to discontinue exporting from the *massive* reserves of the USA, and to exploit foreign oil resources to supply their affiliates around the world. By manipulating

production from country to country they succeeded in depressing foreign crude oil prices below those for indigenous crude in the USA and reaped quite massive profits at the well-head.

Industrial development was taking place around the world at a great pace – very largely due to petroleum – and those countries which had granted concessions between the two world wars realized that they were not appropriate to the new circumstances and sought to re-negotiate them. Their demands were quite moderate, such as small increases in royalties, guaranteed minimum returns to enable proper budgeting for development programs, improved labour conditions and things of that nature, but the oil barons said NO! Every country received a few kicks but the most brutally treated was Iran. Iran's failed efforts in 1948 to re-negotiate the 1933 agreement with Anglo-Iranian led to the public pressure for nationalization which forced the Shah to appoint Mosaddeq as prime minister and to agree to the nationalization. The confrontation with the British Government (chapter 28) resulted in the industry shutdown and Iran faced a lengthy constitutional crisis and economic collapse. America went through the motions of assisting in negotiations between Britain and Iran but the oil industry closed ranks, took vigorous action to increase production in neighbouring Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, and set about starving Iran into submission. Iran was to serve as an example to its neighbours that they should not attempt any further nationalizations. However the consequences of the parody of *Mein Kampf* were such that the British Government, the controlling shareholder in Anglo-Iranian, had become just another pawn in the game. When Iran's oil industry was reactivated after a catastrophic break of three and a half years it was an international consortium with 40 per cent American interest which was holding the reins.

In spite of that experience, the other major Middle East oil producers knew that the Shah's support for OPEC could not be taken for granted. In fact he had not intended to join it, and the other founding members knew that without his support the organization would have no teeth. He was politically dependent on the United States; he was relying on oil revenues to restore Iran's economic and social well being and to recover the position of Middle East leadership which he had lost in 1951. He was therefore opposed to the prorationing scheme sponsored by Venezuela and Saudi Arabia. He was the titular head of Shî'a Islam while most of his neighbours were Sunni-dominated, and his political relations with Iran's Arab neighbours were "decidedly shaky." He was literally pushed into joining by another critical example of the exploitative conduct of the oil companies and their Western governments only weeks before the founding meeting of OPEC. Responding to pressure from their Western governments to do something to check inflation, in which oil prices are a significant factor, and wanting to maximize their profits at every link in the fuel service chain from drill hole, through transport and refining to petrol pump, the companies cut their posted prices for crude oil for the second time in quick succession - without even consulting the producer governments whose main revenues they were reducing. The Shah's response put the situation clearly.

If the companies which produce our oil do not come and discuss the market situation with us, but cut our revenues without opening their books to us, what are we to think? The question is that we should not be left with the feeling that everything is being hidden from us. This is

*important for two reasons. First, the government has to know what revenues it can count on for its budgetary and economic development planning. Second, as owners of the oil, we must be treated as equal partners. The companies must realize that this is for their own good.*¹⁸

OPEC's first few years were not spectacular. The member governments concentrated on consolidating profit sharing through revised taxation arrangements, on developing confidence among its members, and on achieving an identification of interests and needs of all Third World countries. They were all in the same boat - just dealing with different resources or commodities, but all being played each against the others.

But the world was not sitting waiting for OPEC to make a move. It was pressing on with its Cold War. The United States attempted to overthrow Castro in Cuba, by an invasion at the Bay of Pigs on April 15, 1961. An invasion had been planned by since May 1960, within months of the expropriation of the American oil companies' assets, and the wisdom of going ahead with it had been debated within the newly inaugurated administration of President John F. Kennedy before it was finally approved. The action opened with three American planes, piloted by Cubans, bombing Cuban air bases, then two days later Cubans trained by the United States and using US equipment, landed at several sites, the most important of which was the Bay of Pigs. The invasion force was routed in a two-day fiasco and more than 1,100 prisoners were taken. The Kennedy administration backed attempts to ransom the prisoners, but the efforts of the Tractors for Freedom Committee, headed by Eleanor Roosevelt, failed to raise the \$28,000,000 needed for heavy-construction equipment demanded by Castro as reparations but Castro agreed after some months to release the prisoners in exchange for food and medical supplies valued at \$53 million.¹⁹ Against that backdrop Khrushchev and Kennedy met in Vienna on June 4.

Two weeks later, on June 19, 1961, Britain recognized the independence of one of its small protectorates in the Persian Gulf, Kuwait.²⁰ However only six days later, Iraq renewed its claim, first made in 1938, to the territory on the basis that it was the successor to the Ottoman Empire. Its claim was rebuffed by first British, then Arab League forces, but it left it on the record for later 'consideration.'²¹ That event caused little interest at the time, but the construction of the Berlin Wall by East German Communist authorities, which began on August 12, to prevent movement from East to West certainly did. It would remain a physical barrier and, for the West, a symbol of the ideological barrier between East and West which it would exploit for propaganda value with devastating effectiveness for 28 years.

That situation meant that when the World Council of Churches met for its Third Assembly, in New Delhi in November, international affairs were given a higher profile than at the previous two assemblies. The report of the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs (CCIA) was a major item in the assembly's business. It covered international peace and security; disarmament and nuclear tests; the responsibilities of non-aligned countries; the changing structure of the international community; the problems of new and developing countries; human rights and religious liberty; and a substantial coverage of regional flash points around the world - "areas of special concern in the present world" - among which were included Berlin, the

Congo, Angola, Algeria, Vietnam, Laos, Korea, Cuba and the Dominican Republic. The report noted that: "of these Berlin seems to be the most dangerous, though the potential danger in Vietnam is also regarded as very real."²² But there was no mention of Israel or the Middle East in general. The silence was deafening.

The executive staff were well aware of the situation and were, in fact, working on some aspects of it, notably a very well organized refugee service, focussed on Lebanon, which received strong financial support from churches and philanthropic organizations in North America. They had also made possible the establishment of an ecumenical centre for training for ministry in young countries, at Château de Bossey, near Geneva, Switzerland. The principal benefactor had been John D. Rockefeller Jnr who offered \$2 million towards the establishment of the centre in February 1946, subject to his grant being matched by a similar amount raised by mission boards. Within a few months nine North American Mission Boards had raised the matching amount between them, and the centre was opened in September that year, a couple of months after the WCC's main new development of the summer months, the setting up of the Commission of the Churches on international Affairs.²³ But over the life of three assemblies since the coincidental establishment of both the State of Israel and the World Council of Churches there had been no formal or informal reports submitted to the world assembly. The unspoken embargo was palpable. Influential figures were intent on making sure that the issue did not go to the assembly, even though there was, quite obviously, a third war brewing as a follow-up to those of 1948 and 1956, and the world had done nothing to help resolve the fundamental issues swirling in the bottom of the cauldron of broken interfaith and ethnic relations which was the Middle East. Every self-interested move which the great Western powers took further aggravated the tensions, but the only approach which either the United States or Britain understood, or cared to implement, was to jam the lid tighter and tighter on the kettle. Discussion of the crisis was a no-no. The decision by the previous assembly to even delete a theological reference to it, on political grounds, has been noted above.

At this assembly the WCC reached some significant decisions which had been in the pipeline for some time. It confirmed the integration of the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches; it adopted very progressive statements on religious liberty and racial and ethnic relations; it adopted a strong statement on anti-Semitism; and it finally adopted a revised statement on the basis of the Council's membership;. That statement was still strongly Trinitarian, but it was clear, precise, it had the overwhelming support of *existing* members which was shown by a vote of 383 in favour and only 36 against, with 7 abstentions. Two things were certain: everyone had confirmation that the entire mainstream Christian church was Trinitarian and undivided in that respect, and there was a basis for closer cooperation with the Vatican and the Orthodox churches. That cooperation was being assisted by Pope John XXIII who approved the attendance at the assembly of five Vatican observers. The new 'basis' of membership and operations read:

The World Council of Churches is a fellowship of churches which confess the Lord Jesus Christ as God and Saviour according to the Scriptures and therefore seek to fulfil together their common calling to the glory of the one God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit.²⁴

The statement on anti-Semitism was prepared in response to fresh incidents of anti-Semitism in Germany and elsewhere and it submitted through the Policy Reference Committee, not the CCIA. It read:

The Third Assembly recalls the following words which were addressed to the churches by the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1948:

We call upon all the churches we represent to denounce anti-semitism, no matter what its origin, as absolutely irreconcilable with the profession and practice of the Christian faith. Anti-Semitism is sin against God and man. Only as we give convincing evidence to our Jewish neighbours that we seek for them the common rights and dignities which God wills for his children, can we come to such a meeting with them as would make it possible to share with them the best which God has given us in Christ.

The Assembly renews this plea in view of the fact that situations continue to exist in which Jews are subject to discrimination and even persecution. The Assembly urges its member churches to do all in their power to resist every form of anti-Semitism. In Christian teaching the historic events which led to the Crucifixion should not be so presented as to fasten upon the Jewish people of today responsibilities which belong to our corporate humanity and not to one race or community. Jews were the first to accept Jesus and Jews are not the only ones who do not yet recognize him.²⁵



In spite of the promise of a break in the Cold War as a result of the summit meetings, fear and apprehension was deepened when full scale production of Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs) began early the new year, 1962. These were designed to be either sited in heavily protected underground silos or launched from submarines with the intention of “enhancing” strike power while reducing dependence on long-range bombers.

And people were hardly accustomed to that thought when they learned on February 6 that the American Military Assistance Command had been established in South Vietnam and the number of US advisers was to be rapidly increased from 700 to 12,000. That could only mean that war was in the offing and that was what people also feared later in the year when United States failed relations with Cuba led to the Cuban Missile Crisis. The United States learned in July that the Soviet Union had begun shipping missiles to the island and the presence of Soviet technicians was reported soon after by US U-2 spy planes. Then the presence of a ballistic missile on a launching site was reported on October 14. It was too close to home! The people of Europe had to live with them, waiting for someone to trip over a telephone wire or something, but Americans did not want them in their back yard! Such missiles could hit much of the eastern United States within a few minutes of being launched. Eight days later, on October 22, Kennedy

announced that the island was being “quarantined” and warned that US forces would seize “offensive weapons and associated matériel” that Soviet vessels might attempt to deliver to Cuba.

Khrushchev’s view had been that if the United States had its missiles as close as that to Moscow, then he was being negligent in defensive or retaliatory preparation if he did not place similar weapons the same distance from New York and Washington. He was not expecting any provocative action from the European powers. They knew that all hell would be let loose around them if they did. It was the United States which had mounted and maintained the barrier of three pacts around Russia and was doing its damndest to impose economic isolation to undermine the Soviet economy. It was the United States which had ultimate control of the buttons on the weapons in Europe, not the host countries. But it was so far away that it was at the least risk of attack. If the balance of terror theory which the United States had devised was going to be really valid, then the United States had to be subject to the same risk.²⁶

However at that point there was an intervention of a very unexpected kind. Concerned at the possible consequences of the crisis, an American Jewish newspaper editor, Norman Cousins of the Saturday review, and a Belgian Dominican, Felix Morlion, who were attending a conference together contacted the Vatican and asked that the pope issue an appeal for peace. John XXIII was rather pre-occupied with other matters at that moment, but he agreed, provided that both the Soviet and US leaders agreed in advance to such a plea being issued. Khrushchev gave his consent quickly. The White House agreed to a general appeal, provided that Kennedy’s prior consent to the appeal remained secret. The plea was issued on the 25th, and published by Pravda on October 26 under the heading “We beg all rulers not to be deaf to the cry of humanity.” Discussions occurred through intermediaries. Cousins was briefed by Cardinal Bea at the Vatican then travelled to Moscow for more than three hours of discussions with Khrushchev. What followed was more like religious negotiation than a Cuban Crisis intervention.

The memorandum of principal points of his discussions with Khrushchev which Cousins presented to the pope read: 1) Russia desires the pope’s mediation, and Khrushchev agrees that it should not be limited to mediation in moments of crisis, but should be a continuous action by the pope in the cause of peace; 2) Khrushchev affirms that he wants to open lines of communication with the Vatican through private contacts; 3) Khrushchev acknowledges that the Church respects the principle of the division of church and state in many countries; 4) Khrushchev acknowledges that the Church serves all human beings for the sacred values of life and is not only concerned with Catholics; 5) Khrushchev acknowledges that the pope has acted with great courage, considering the internal problems that he faces, just as Khrushchev has internal problems in the Soviet Union.²⁷

Whether or not Kennedy’s tactic would have worked without the Cousins-Morlion initiative may never be known - unless Kennedy left some as-yet unpublished notes of his intentions - but it was one of the more productive exercises in papal intervention, and it can only have improved

the prospects for future emigration for Jews in the Soviet Union and better relations between Jews and Christians. The fact that in his circumstances John XXIII was prepared to respond immediately to an overture from a Jew was a clear indication that he was ready to take the church in a new direction. On October 28 Khrushchev advised Kennedy that work on the missile sites would halt and that missiles already in Cuba would be returned to the Soviet Union. Kennedy, in turn, committed the United States *never to invade Cuba* (although he said nothing about halting subversion or attempted coups) and he secretly promised to withdraw the nuclear-armed missiles that the United States had stationed in Turkey in previous years - the things which had made Turkey so uneasy at the time of the Suez crisis. But Cuba to Washington, Turkey to Moscow, and West Germany to Moscow were all the same distance, so the United States still had the upper hand. And the Soviet Union's troubles were far from over. China formally split with the Soviet Union over its readiness to bow to the West.

VATICAN II: FIRST SESSION

The reason for John XXIII's preoccupation was that at that time another of the more productive exercises in papal intervention - a quite remarkable exercise with potential to dramatically change the direction of world affairs - was well under way in Rome. On September 11 Pope John XXIII had opened the first session of the Second Vatican Council which he had foreshadowed - to such deafening silence from his Curia, three and a half years earlier. Four sessions, each of about three months and beginning in September, were held in consecutive years. The final session closed on December 8, 1965. In view of the fact the purpose of the council was to review and renew the entire life and work of the church it was logical that the fundamental issues and doctrine which determine the church's self-understanding and the way that it relates to, and interacts with, the rest of the world should have been considered and determined first, and an effort was made to do this. However it was only partly successful. Four key areas were recognized: the 'constitution' of the church, or what makes it tick and gives it authority; the nature and meaning of divine revelation; the nature and purpose of liturgy; and the role or purpose of the church in the modern world. Everything else would fall into place if the Council got those right, and there were officially another 12 'areas' to consider. In fact 18 major documents were produced. None were completed in the 1962 session. Two were promulgated at the end of the 1963 session and only one of those dealt with a core issue, the *Constitution on Sacred Liturgy*, which logic world suggest, should come after an understanding of revelation and the nature of the church. Three more documents were finalized in 1964, only one of which, the *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church*, was a core issue. The vast majority, 13, including the other two core documents, the *Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation* and the *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*, were all promulgated in 1965.

While the overall cause of that state of affairs was the amazing amount of politicking engaged in to influence the outcome of each document, it was not helped by the fact that, after showing such insight and incisiveness in convoking the Council, at the beginning of his

pontificate, John XXIII did not indicate at the opening of the Council a firm direction in which he believed the church should move. He expected the policies he had introduced and initiatives which he had taken to be sufficient guidance. In June 1960, a year before the WCC's second assembly, he established the Vatican Secretariat for Christian Unity, he approved of five clergy attending the assembly, he sent a personal representative to meet the Orthodox Patriarch, Athenagoras I, he directed that indigenous hierarchies should be established in Korea, Vietnam and Indonesia, and he instructed all of the religious orders operating in North America to assign at least ten per cent of their members to work in Latin America within ten years. He also had a number of pejorative references to Jews removed from the Roman-Rite for Good Friday.

When it came to the work of the Council he wanted renewal and pastoral effectiveness, he determined that the liturgy would be the first matter dealt with by the Council, he wanted the promotion of unity among Christians dealt with quickly and sensitively, and he wanted the Mass to be conducted in the vernacular, but although he was implementing a program of renewal as quickly as he could he knew that a lot of the Vatican hierarchy were not in favour of his program and as a result he was hesitant and showed uncertainty about the manner in which that renewal was to be achieved through the Council. His opening address reads as if he was taking one step forward and one step backwards. In one statement he appeared to be invoking a new understanding of Judaism, in line with his modifications to the Good Friday liturgy, but in others he turned back to the Fathers of the Church from whose words the church's anti-Semitism had developed, and he still relied rather heavily Mariology. The conservatives took full advantage of that apparent indecision. The church's self-understanding was alive and well. Some extracts illustrate the dilemma for a person looking for guidance from the pope on which way to go, especially if he wanted to break with traditional thinking and saw the calling of the Council as a step in that direction. John XXIII freely admitted that he did not have a firm agenda when he decided to call the Council. It was a matter of sudden inspiration.

... it will suffice to repeat as historical documentation our personal account of the first sudden bringing up in our heart and lips of the simple words, "Ecumenical Council." We uttered those words in the presence of the Sacred College of Cardinals on that memorable January 25, 1959, the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, in the basilica dedicated to him. It was completely unexpected, like a flash of heavenly light, shedding sweetness in eyes and hearts.²⁸

... we sometimes have to listen, ...to ... persons who, though burning with zeal, are not endowed with too much sense of discretion or measure. ... they can see nothing but prevarication and ruin. They say that our era, in comparison with past eras, is getting worse, and they behave as though they had learned nothing from history ... They behave as though at the time of former Councils everything was a full triumph for the Christian idea and life and for proper religious liberty.

... we must disagree with those prophets of gloom, who are always forecasting disaster, as though the end of the world were at hand. In the present order of things, Divine Providence is

leading us to a new order of human relations which, by men's own efforts and even beyond their very expectations, are directed toward the fulfilment of God's superior and inscrutable designs. And everything, even human differences, leads to the greater good of the Church.

The pope was quite right. *Divine Providence is leading us to a new order of human relations which, by men's own efforts and even beyond their very expectations, are directed toward the fulfilment of God's superior and inscrutable designs. But he could not see beyond the church's authority to manage it all.*

... the world of today ... is so busy with politics and controversies in the economic order that it does not find time to attend to the care of spiritual reality, with which the Church's magisterium (teaching authority) is concerned. ... the pages of ecclesiastical history ... note clearly how the Ecumenical Councils themselves, while constituting a series of true glories for the Catholic Church, were often held to the accompaniment of most serious difficulties and sufferings because of the undue interference of civil authorities. The princes of this world, indeed, sometimes in all sincerity, intended thus to protect the Church. But more frequently this occurred not without spiritual damage and danger, since their interest therein was guided by the views of a selfish and perilous policy.

He wanted to brush down, shake out and renew the church's authority, but not depart from it, and he was anchored to the mass of evolved Mariology.

... however ... it is necessary first of all that the Church should never depart from the sacred patrimony of truth received from the Fathers. ... Mother Church rejoices that, by the singular gift of Divine Providence ... under the auspices of the virgin Mother of God ... the latest and humble successor to the Prince of the Apostles who is addressing you intended to assert once again the magisterium (teaching authority), which is unfailing and perdures until the end of time ...

... we should like to look to the past and to listen to [the] ... solemn and venerable voices ... [of Councils] throughout the East and the West, from the fourth century to the Middle Ages, and from there to modern times, which have handed down their witness ... [to] the Church of Christ, which from Jesus takes its name, its grace, and its meaning.

... however, there has also been for more than nineteen centuries a cloud of sorrows and of trials. Not without reason did the ancient Simeon announce to Mary the mother of Jesus, that prophecy which has been and still is true: "Behold this child is set for the fall and the resurrection of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be contradicted" (Lk. 2: 34) . And Jesus Himself, when He grew up, clearly outlined the manner in which the world would treat His person down through the succeeding centuries with the mysterious words: "He who hears you, hears me" (Ibid. 10:16), and with those others that the same Evangelist relates: "He who is not with me is against me and he who does not gather with me scatters" (Ibid. 11 :23).

The pope could recognize the origins of Christianity within Judaism, he wanted to rid the church of traditional anti-Semitism, and for a moment it was as if he was going to pick up the

threads of Pius XI's 'Hidden Encyclical' which Pius XII had severed, and move forward (chapter 22), but it was not to be.

The great problem confronting the world after almost two thousand years remains unchanged. Christ is ever resplendent as the center of history and of life. Men are either with Him and His Church, and then they enjoy light, goodness, order, and peace. Or else they are without Him, or against Him, and deliberately opposed to His Church, and then they give rise to confusion, to bitterness in human relations, and to the constant danger of fratricidal wars.

He was able to accept that science was here to stay and that the world had benefited from it very greatly, and he was adamant that the human capacity to unravel and to utilize the secrets of the created universe were God-given. However he appeared to be no closer than his predecessors to admitting that the church had *suppressed* all scientific effort throughout its history, because of its self-understanding, and that this had contributed directly to the crises which the world faced. It was as if the Renaissance and the Enlightenment (chapter 12), had nothing to do with the church's suppression of that God-given human capacity, and it was as if the papal *Oath Against the Errors of Modernism* (chapter 16) had never been imposed. That oath was not normally be applied any more and it would eventually fall in the wake of Vatican II, but at that stage it was still on the books.

... the Church has not watched inertly the marvelous progress of the discoveries of human genius, and has not been backward in evaluating them rightly. But, while following these developments, she does not neglect to admonish men so that, over and above sense - perceived things - they may raise their eyes to God, the Source of all wisdom and all beauty. And may they never forget the most serious command: "The Lord thy God shalt thou worship, and Him only shalt thou serve" (Mt. 4:10; Lk. 4:8), so that it may happen that the fleeting fascination of visible things should impede true progress.

...[this] Ecumenical Council, which will draw upon the effective and important wealth of juridical, liturgical, apostolic, and administrative experiences, wishes to transmit the doctrine, pure and integral, without any attenuation or distortion, which throughout twenty centuries, notwithstanding difficulties and contrasts, has become the common patrimony of men.

For this a Council was not necessary. But ... the whole world expects a step forward toward a doctrinal penetration and a formation of consciousness in faithful and perfect conformity to the authentic doctrine, which, however, should be studied and expounded through the methods of research and through the literary forms of modern thought.

There was an oblique reference to matters such as Maimonides and the Inquisition, the terror of the stake during the religious wars of the Counter Reformation (chapter 10), the pogroms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (chapters 15 & 16), and the very recent activities of the Ustashe (chapter 24), but there was no admission that those affairs degraded humanity and left stains on history which were each, in turn, factors in the trouble in the triangle. There was only the observation that "the Spouse of Christ prefers to make use of the medicine of mercy rather

than that of severity,” which implied - one hopes inadvertently - that the Vatican could return to such methods if its preference changed once he was out of the way.

... often errors vanish as quickly as they arise ... The Church has always opposed ... [and] condemned them with the greatest severity. Nowadays however, the Spouse of Christ prefers to make use of the medicine of mercy rather than that of severity. She ... meets the needs of the present day by demonstrating the validity of her teaching rather than by condemnations ... [and] experience has taught men that violence inflicted on others, the might of arms, and political domination, are of no help at all in finding a happy solution to the grave problems which afflict them.

And having opened with a touch of Mariology, John XXIII closed his address to the Council the same way - after a reference to the fact that the rest of the church still had to find its way back to Rome.

Unfortunately, the entire Christian family has not yet fully attained ... visible unity in truth.

Almighty God! In Thee we place all our confidence, not trusting in our own strength. ... O Mary, Help of Christians, Help of Bishops, of whose love we have recently had particular proof in thy temple of Loreto, where we venerated the mystery of the Incarnation dispose all things for a happy and propitious outcome and, with thy spouse, St. Joseph, the holy Apostles Peter and Paul St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist, intercede for us to God.

The debates were about to begin. They would be very vigorous, and over the four years that Vatican II continued, the reform-minded progressives made remarkable progress, in spite of strong opposition from the conservatives who held most of the critical posts in the hierarchy, and reference will be made to some of the significant advances at the times that they were announced. The strength of the resistance to change is illustrated by the manoeuvring around the Declaration on Religious Liberty. The adoption of the draft declaration, *Dignitatis Humanae*, inspired by some progressive thinkers, notably Americans, would mean that the Roman Catholic Church formally embraced the concept of human rights and it had the strong support of a 44-year old lecturer in ethics at the Catholic University of Lublin, Karol Wojtyla - Pope John Paul II. The reason was that “it enjoyed the support of the leaders of the Church in the Soviet empire because it gave them an intellectual framework for their opposition to Communist rule.”²⁹ Compulsion in matters of conscience was out! Human rights was firmly on the international agenda. No because every Western government was eager to embrace the concept in its own bailiwick, but because it would become another weapon in the trade and political negotiating armament which would be wielded ruthlessly as the late twentieth century flew past. However it “marked a seismic shift in the Church’s thinking.”³⁰ Until the Vatican lost its papal states as a result of the Risorgimento it had never accepted any restraints to its power over the individual. And through its system of concordats, which were its way of getting as close to a theocratic state as it could, it had exercised and maintained enormous power over social legislation, community ‘norms’ and penal codes. If the Council adopted *Dignitatis Humanae* the Vatican was virtually locked into the freedom of thought of the Reformation.

*The same Church that had brought the world the Crusades and the Inquisition [would now publicly accept] that 'Man's response to God in faith must be free; no one therefore is to be forced to embrace the Christian faith against his own will' ... and ... 'The Truth cannot impose itself except by virtue of its own truth ...'*³¹

If the church wanted to apply such restraints to civil authorities surely it had to surrender the right to discipline its own members in matters of faith, morals and even heresy! That would not do. A conservative faction in the Council “planned a coup.” The secretary-general of the Council, Archbishop Felici, proposed that the text of the Declaration on Religious Liberty should be referred to a special commission because of a ‘desire buy the Holy Father that the text be reconsidered and reworked.’ He then proceeded to appoint the members of the commission himself, “ensuring that it consisted largely of prelates who were known to be opposed to the very idea of religious liberty.” The progressives were aghast, but they were determined that they would play the art of procedural church politics just as effectively. Fourteen met at the home of Cardinal Frings and drafted an appeal to Pope Paul VI who had been elevated to the papacy in June 1963 following the death of John XXIII.

*With great sorrow we have learned that the Declaration on Religious Liberty, although in accord with the desire of the great majority of the Fathers, is to be entrusted to a certain mixed committee ... three of whom appear to be opposed to the orientation of the Council in this matter. This news is for us a source of extreme anxiety and very disquieting.*³²

The pope took charge of the matter himself, hand-picked a committee, then, being painfully aware of its implications, the probability that it would release a flood of dissent and the possibility that it could split the church, personally worked over the redraft until he was persuaded that it was appropriate. A year had been lost by the time he sent it back to the final session of the Council for adoption.³³

However that was still three years away when John XXIII closed the first session of the Council on December 8, 1962. Twelve days later there was a religious gathering of a different kind in New York. During the previous two years there had been a number of informal contacts between people in leadership positions in various faith communities, all very concerned at the state of world affairs, the threat of nuclear war, and the fact that religion was as often as not a cause of conflict instead of a means towards its resolution. They each saw a much more productive role for people of faith than the church at large and other world faiths currently seemed able to play and the need to co-ordinate initiatives on an interfaith basis.. One of them was Rabbi Dr. Maurice Eisendrath, a long term president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Another was Dr. Albert Schweitzer, the Nobel Laureate famed for his medical work in French Equatorial Africa. And a third key figure was Dr. Dana McLean Greeley who had been elected president of the American Unitarian Association four years earlier. Then, unaware that Eisendrath had already approached Schweitzer about sponsorship of a religious summit, Greeley convened the December 20 meeting at the building of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, adjacent to the UN headquarters. Others who became

involved at that point included Bishop John Wesly Lord, Rabbi Dr. Albert Vorspan, Bishop Daniel Corrigan, Rev, Dr. Homer A Jack and Monsignor Edward Murray. That meeting demonstrated that there were some senior Catholic clergy who were not waiting for Vatican II to decide the church's attitude towards working with people of other faiths. It considered a range of issues including whether the proposed interfaith organization should be confined the Christians and Jews or opened more widely, and whether it should be confined to senior executives of major faiths or involve a wider constituency, and the decision was taken to push ahead with a series of consultations, then wider conferences targeting particular international issues. The vigour with which the group approached its task was such that in due course the World Conference on Religion and Peace was established with Homer Jack as its first secretary general. Its principal office was established in Geneva, but in due course it was shifted to New York to enable it to work more closely with agencies of the United Nations.³⁴ And as if to highlight the importance of their work, Bishop John Robinson through out a challenge to the Christian church with his little book *Honest to God*, questioning the basis on which people who regard themselves as Christians should view themselves, their beliefs, their actions, and their relations with other people. "I suspect," he wrote, "that we stand on the brink of a period in which it is going to become increasingly difficult to know what the true defence of Christian values requires."³⁵



Iraq, which had become an ally of the Soviet Union following its withdrawal from the Baghdad Pact, was also affected by the spin-off from the Cuban missile crisis as well. In February 1963, being unable to bridge the gap between Nationalist groups which wanted a Pan-Arab union with Egypt and Syria, and the Communists who were opposed to such a union because it would prevent closer relations with the Soviet Union, the Iraqi military government was overthrown by an alliance of Nationalists and the Baath Party. On the bright side, a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was agreed by the US, the Soviet Union and other countries under which tests of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water were banned, thus limiting future testing to underground sites.

But soon afterwards the world was shocked by the assassination of President Kennedy on November 22. The subsequent murder of the assassin before he could even be questioned inhibited the criminal investigation and many theories were advanced for the motive behind the killing. However the people of the United States were so shocked that, fearing that it was connected with Kennedy's campaign for civil rights for black Americans, it had a salutary influence in domestic race relations. In June, following the murder of an official of the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples (NAACP) in Mississippi, Martin Luther King had led a peaceful civil rights demonstration in Washington. That was followed on August 28 by a march of 200,000 people, many of whom had walked all the way to Washington from the Southern States, in a campaign against race segregation and inequality before the law. Kennedy, always a supporter of changes to the US law to provide for proper and uniform

human rights, immediately ordered the preparation of a Civil Rights Bill, and that was being considered - reluctantly - by Congress at the time of his assassination. The opposition did not come only from the radical fringe of American politics. In June, about then time of the murder of the NAACP official, Governor George C. Wallace had personally stood in the doorway of the University of Alabama in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the registration of two Negro students. Previously a judge, he vigorously opposed the Civil Rights Commission, was elected governor of Alabama of a segregationist platform in 1962, and six years later he stood for president as the nominee of the anti-liberal American Independent Party. He received 13 per cent of the vote in the southern states.³⁶ However, within months of assuming office, President Lyndon Johnson succeeded in persuading Congress to pass the Civil Rights Act, forbidding discrimination on the grounds of race and using financial regulations to enforce desegregation of schools. It was stronger than the Kennedy bill which Congress had been reluctant to pass.

In view of the findings of a Civil Rights Commission investigation in 1961, no open minded person could have doubted the need for such legislation. The commission estimated that in approximately one hundred counties in the southern states Negro citizens were prevented - by outright discrimination, fear of physical violence or economic reprisal - from exercising their right to vote. The law in many of these places was nothing more than a device to exclude Negroes from voting. Communities with a high Negro population density were often grossly under-represented in both Congress and state legislatures, so that their full and meaningful participation in elections was effectively prevented.³⁷

The race question and communal ethnic violence had been raising its ugly head increasingly around the world as economic competition aggravated social and ethnic tensions. They went hand in hand, so that wherever the Cold War went, especially in the throes of decolonization, race tension was sure to follow. In October 1958, in the aftermath of the Suez debacle and against the wishes of French settlers, President Charles de Gaulle had offered cease fire terms to the Algerian liberation army, the FLN, which had established a provisional government in exile in Tunisia (the GPRA). The settlers said "No", so the war continued with great brutality and, during the following 12 months while 68,000 Algerian Muslims were killed the French lost 5,800 troops and settlers. Then in September 1959, when de Gaulle was forced to concede that the Algerians should determine their own future, the French settlers organized a terrorist group, the OAS, to sabotage all moves towards independence, and began organizing against de Gaulle at home. In April 1961, four French generals who supported the settlers attempted a coup against him but in March 1962 the French government reopened negotiations with the Algerian GPRA; a national referendum in France on April 8 approved independence after years of bitter struggle; the OAS resistance collapsed; most French settlers fled to France; the Armistice of Evian brought full independence which was recognized on July 3, and the FLN proclaimed a one-party state.

Britain's attempt to begin decolonization in the West Indies by federating a series of disparate islands in much the manner that it had sought to federate regions of West Africa, brought the people much the same fate, but it was the Belgian Congo which caught world

attention. Riots in the mismanaged and greatly exploited country which had been the personal fiefdom of King Leopold II of Belgium between the Berlin Conference carve up of 1885 and 1908 (run with great brutality, extortion and wealth accrual), led to a precipitate decision by the Belgium government to grant independence the following year. The result was a bun fight of mammoth proportions between the competing independence movements; instability, continuing exploitation, corruption and injustice which still wracks the country. In South Africa the circumstances for the black population continued to worsen. A violent showdown occurred at Sharpeville - a name which was to be imprinted indelibly in people's minds as the *cause célèbre* in the campaign against racism. On March 21, 1960, a massacre of blacks taking part in a peaceful, unarmed demonstration against Apartheid at Sharpeville focussed world attention on the treason trials of ANC officials which was then in its fourth year, as well as the issue of race violence. The South African government proclaimed a state of emergency; detained over 20,000 people; banned the ANC and the Pan-African Congress; invoked the Suppression of Communism Act, and compelled blacks to carry identity cards. Other Commonwealth countries were so outraged that strong pressure was applied by the Commonwealth to force it to repeal its Apartheid laws. The government rejected the pressure, conducted a whites-only referendum and on May 31, 1961, South Africa was proclaimed a republic and left the Commonwealth.

However, in quick succession the Cameroun, Congo-Brazzaville, Gabon, Chad, the Central African Republic all achieved independence and set up the Union of Central African Republics. They were followed very quickly by Togo, the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Upper Volta, Niger, which set up the Union of Sahel-Benin. There was also growing unrest in Angola and Mozambique, but the first of Portugal's colonies to decide that armed rebellion was the only way to independence was Guinea. However the rebels had only limited success and Portugal clung to its colonial "rights" with great harshness and strong military action. Even after ten years, when other events finally overtook Portugal, the rebels had still only expelled the Portuguese forces from three quarters of the country. However, by that time the trauma and cost of the war was such that some of the more enlightened officers were pressing the government to take an alternative path, saying that colonial rule could not be maintained by military occupation.

Those countries which had achieved independence took a major step forward on May 25, 1963, with the establishment of the Organization of African Unity, (OAU). As an inter-governmental organization its aim was to promote unity and solidarity between the African states which were emerging with rapid decolonization, to eliminate all remaining forms of colonialism from Africa, and to promote international cooperation. Membership has varied somewhat from year to year as the continent has been wracked by political disputes, border incursions, wars of independence and civil wars, but its basic activities including diplomacy in support of African liberation movements, mediation of boundary conflicts and interstate civil wars, research in economics and communications, and other affairs, has gradually expanded. One of its early efforts in this regard was mediation in the border dispute between Morocco and Algeria by Ethiopia's Haile Selassie, but one of the developments it *did not* support was South Africa's proclamation of the Bantu State of Transkei.

Very soon, in spite of its dastardly act of nationalizing US oil fields, Indonesia was back in America's good books. Against strong opposition from the West Irianese, or West Papuans, who wanted independence, Indonesia pressed the Netherlands to cede Irian Jaya to it. The Netherlands was not happy. It transferred the administration of the territory to the United Nations, but out of all the politicking the decision was taken to transfer it to Indonesia in 1963, subject to an act of self-determination in due course to determine its long term future. When time came for that act, in 1969, it was well stage-managed. Indonesia wanted the territory and the United States gave it full support. The territory contains the largest deposits of copper in the world and the United States wanted its companies to have access to them. There was no guarantee that they would have if independence was granted. The decision was never in any doubt.

VATICAN II: SECOND SESSION

So the world stumbled on. Against a backdrop of violent struggles against oppression and for decolonization which dotted the globe in profusion, and the threat that the Cold War might suddenly erupt which was never far from people's minds, Vatican II met for its second session. It promulgated the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, and the Decree on the Means of Social Communication.

The decision by Pius XII to issue the encyclical *Motu proprio Quotidianis precibus* on March 1945, to promote the Liturgical Movement and the recitation of the Breviary had been amazingly successful. Its purpose had been to focus peoples' attention on the form or practice of worship and to distract them from the greater controversy over the role and activities of their clergy and the church during the war which was obviously about to erupt with the impending defeat of the Nazi regime and the collapse of the current phase of Fascism.(Chapter 27) It was so successful that now, as the council was endeavouring to make the life of the church more meaningful or relevant, it had a real problem. There was a "significant democratic resistance" from both lay people and their parish priests in the European heartland of Catholicism to the introduction of a democratic church. In Stourton's words: "For most believers the liturgy defines the church: Mass on Sundays represents their principal point of contact with their religion - '*lex credendi, lex orandi*' as the old Catholic saying has it, 'the way you pray is the way you believe.' The promised shake-up of the liturgy therefore touched their Faith where they felt it most keenly.' The battles between conservatives and progressives began in St Peters, the venue for the Council plenary sessions, but was repeated when the clergy had the task of introducing it to their flocks. This led, in due course, to the emergence of the traditionalist movement under Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre.³⁸ The most shocking change for many people was the change to the vernacular. For some, it meant that being able to think about the words they were uttering introduced the opportunity to challenge what they had been mouthing for years. For others who did not care to challenge the words, the vernacular seemed to lack the grandeur and authority of the Latin, reducing the Mass to mere street talk.

Even though he did not set a clear direction for the Council, John XXIII had tried to bring the church into the twentieth century, and in March 1963, three months before he died, he established a commission to revise the Code of Canon Law. The revision took twenty years to complete! He did not even live long enough to see the completed Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy, but it did not challenge the fundamental self-understanding of the church. Clause 2. Reads, in part:

2. ... it is the liturgy through which, especially in the divine sacrifice of the Eucharist, "the work of our redemption is accomplished," and it is through the liturgy, especially, that the faithful are enabled to express in their lives and manifest to others the mystery of Christ and the real nature of the true Church. The Church is essentially both human and divine ... The liturgy daily builds up those who are in the Church, making of them a holy temple of the Lord, a dwelling-place for God in the Spirit, to the mature measure of the fullness of Christ. ... it marvelously increases their power to preach Christ and thus show forth the Church, a sign lifted up among the nations, to those who are outside, a sign under which the scattered children of God may be gathered together until there is one fold and one shepherd.³⁹



Fifteen years after the establishment of the State of Israel - the central fact of the Christian Era to date - most of the world had grown accustomed to the fact that it had a new, somewhat synthetic state in its midst. It was synthetic in the sense that it was not based on an existing ethnic community; people had been gathered from many nations, speaking many languages and of many racial backgrounds. The one common thread which bound them together and which had justified the establishment of the state was their religion. It was unique. It had not been established by negotiation and agreement with the people whose territory had been allocated to. It had been imposed on those people by outside bodies: by the same people whose misconduct and self-understanding had precipitated the push for it to be established - the amorphous Christian gel. Fifteen years of rising and falling trauma should have been long enough for the scholars of the amorphous Christian gel which had set it up to assess and to understand what it was all about. But it had not been. The dominant wing of the church still perceived itself - a mere institution organized by people - as "a sign lifted up among the nations, to those who are outside, a sign under which the scattered children of God may be gathered together until there is one fold and one shepherd" and it still insisted that the only way to salvation was through its sacred liturgy "through which, especially in the divine sacrifice of the Eucharist, *"the work of our redemption is accomplished."*

The Arabs whose territory had been expropriated to establish the new state seemed to be the only people who were aware of just how synthetic it was. They still wanted redress for wrongs, but no one was interested in listening. Now, whether it was aware of it or not, whatever the amorphous Christian gel did in pursuing its own interests at the cost of all others seemed to trigger a new trouble spot or aggravate world tensions and, in particular, the trouble in the triangle. However the nature of its self-understanding and the nature of media coverage of

world events left most people quite oblivious to the significance and the implications of what was happening. It was also quite consistent with the Western World's tradition of isolating every international "incident" and fighting spot fires as they broke out, rather than developing a fire prevention program. As we have seen, Britain had perfected the technique during the 1930s, almost to the point of an art form, to avoid the world at large linking one situation with another, realizing the parlous state that Britain was in, and moving to take advantage of it. The United States was now utilizing the same technique. It had taken full advantage of the parlous state that Britain was in to strengthen its position of power and privilege in the key region: the Middle East. It had a better idea of what was causing the spot fires but its technique of fire prevention was simply to smother the whole lot. It even had a scheme prepared for mutually assured self destruction in the event that someone else tried to strip it of some of its privileges. So: from this point, a few diary entries will help to pinpoint the overlapping or related issues as the Middle East again takes centre stage in the trouble in the triangle.

~ 1964

~ The Soviet Union began a substantial build up in conventional weapons and army strength, after a period of gradually reducing its military strength, partly in response to the Sino-Soviet split and partly from an expectation that if a war with NATO occurred there would be a heavy preliminary stage of ground warfare before either side resorted to nuclear warfare.

The United States was well aware of this, but chose to portray it as an *increased* Soviet threat in its effort to further isolate the Soviet Union and to tie Third World countries into defence and trade arrangements. Right wing parties in allied countries eagerly joined the bandwagon. Competition intensified. The United States Secretary of Defence, Robert McNamara, argued that the best deterrent against nuclear warfare was for the two superpowers to have sufficient capacity for *mutual assured destruction* (MAD). This meant that each could eliminate the other as a modern industrial state by imposing "unacceptable damage" which was defined as the destruction of 25 percent of the population and 50 percent of industrial capacity. This, he argued, would ensure a stable relationship between the two superpowers.

But the situation in the Middle East was steadily deteriorating with absolutely no sign of stability coming from the Eisenhower (or Dulles) Doctrine. When Iraq withdrew from the Baghdad Pact after the overthrow of the pro-Western monarchy and pact headquarters were shifted to Ankara the United States realized the policy of not being more directly involved in the pact was untenable. It became an Associate Member and assumed responsibility for the management of its affairs. The Cold War spilled over into the Arabian Peninsula - virtually on Riyadh's doorstep - when the Yemeni civil war brought neighbouring tensions to the surface. Egypt supported the Socialist Republican forces, while Saudi Arabia and the United States supported the Yemeni Monarchists. Syria had already withdrawn from the United Arab Republic after its military coup; Iraq had laid claim to Kuwait after Britain withdrew and Kuwait had thereupon joined the Arab League; and Israel, taking advantage of its new relationship with the European Common Market group, was pressing ahead with its Jordan

water diversion schemes to take full advantage of its market position. That automatically aggravated tensions with its neighbours.

~ January

~ Thirteen Arab heads of state met in Cairo to consider the worsening crisis over the use of water from the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee, with the primary aim of formulating a 'reply' to Israel's plan to remove water from the Sea of Galilee. In addition to preparing their own plan for a water diversion scheme they called for the establishment of Palestinian commando units to carry out sabotage operations against the Israeli water installations, and for the Arab League delegate, Ahmad Shuqayri, to prepare plans for the establishment of a "Palestinian Entity" which would enable its people to contribute more effectively to the struggle against the Jewish State.⁴⁰

~ May

~ Four months later it appeared that a new dimension had been added to the complex of crises in the Middle East when the Palestine Liberation Organization was constituted. At a gathering of 422 Palestinians in Jerusalem a charter was adopted and provision was made for the establishment of a Palestine National Council with Shuqayri as its first president.

~ While those plans were being put in place the OAU set up a Freedom Committee to assist those trust territories and colonies still struggling for independence and, in particular, to organize an international boycott of South Africa; and in Iran the Shah exiled the Muslim leader Ayatollah Khomeini in response to his demands that the cultural Westernization of the country be reversed, and that the government's support for Israel, in collaboration with the United States, end. When the United Nations resolved to intervene in the dispute between Greece and Turkey over the future of Cyprus, Turkey, then hosting the headquarters of CENTO, moved to restore good relations with the Soviet Union, and the (East) German Democratic Republic formalized a Treaty of Friendship with the Soviet Union as well.

~ June

~ 11: Nelson Mandela and seven other ANC defendants were convicted of sabotage under the Suppression of Communism Act, the Sabotage Act and other statutes, and sentenced to life imprisonment. He had been one of the key figures in the anti-Apartheid struggle, but now he became a figure head, and the cry "Free Mandela!" became a rallying call for the movement internationally.

~ 15: As a result of the governments of the large Western economies getting together within the framework of the United Nations, the countries which (by virtue of limited trading capacity) had not been invited to play 'economic planning and bargaining' with the developed Western Countries were further marginalized and left to trade as best they could at the beck and call of the major players. This led to the GROUP OF 77 being established in Geneva at the close of the first conference of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). Of the 77 present, 29 were *original* members of the United Nations, and the others were either countries which had not sought membership on the

terms required of founding members of the UN, or had achieved independence during the decolonization period of the 1950s and early 1960s. It was their first attempt to generate a bit of bargaining power and to break the cycle of Western corporations - aided by their governments - simply staking claims for resources and expecting the Third World countries to be grateful.

~ August

~ 7: A new phase in the series of de-colonizing struggles and Cold War spin-off wars in Asia opened when North Vietnamese *patrol boats* attacked a US destroyer and the US Congress passed the Tonkin Gulf Resolution, and authorized extraordinary presidential powers for military action in South East Asia. This marked the formal beginning of the VIETNAM WAR.

~ September

~ Another Arab summit meeting resolved to proceed with a scheme to divert Jordan River water upstream from the points at which Israel drew its water.

~ October

~ China exploded its first nuclear bomb and its rift with the Soviet Union widened.

~ 14: Khrushchev fell from grace in the Kremlin for not being able to handle either of the crises with China or the United States. He was succeeded by Leonid Brezhnev and Aleksei Kosygin.

~ 30: Vietcong forces attacked the air base at Bienhoa, but with *another* presidential election due four days later, Johnson rejected a military proposal for retaliatory raids into North Vietnam.

~ November

~ 3: Johnson was returned to office.

~ When Saigon was convulsed by rioters protesting at Khanh's oppressive rule and the worsening crisis with their northern neighbours due to US intervention to prop him up, the US ambassador urged him to leave the country.

VATICAN II: THIRD SESSION

~ 21: At the end of its third session the Vatican Council promulgated three more documents: the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, a Decree on Ecumenism, and a Decree on the Eastern Churches.

There were some bright spots. Contact with the Ecumenical Movement was no longer banned under pain of excommunication as it had been at the time of the establishment of the World Council of Churches. In fact after announcing his intention to convoke a Council, John XXIII had pushed ahead with a number of very progressive reforms, already noted above, including a mission of five delegates to the second general assembly of the World Council of Churches in New Delhi in 1961. But as was to be expected from the Dogmatic Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, there was no significant change in the Vatican's self-understanding. The significance of the establishment of the State of Israel had not registered. A detailed analysis if

the three documents cannot be attempted here, but extracts are sufficient to illustrate the Vatican's continuing self-understanding and attitudes. First, the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church.⁴¹

Clause 6. In the Old Testament the revelation of the kingdom is often made under the forms of symbols. In similar fashion the inner nature of the Church is now made known to us in various images.

Some of those images were taken from the Old Testament, some were taken from the writings of the early church Fathers, and others were lifted straight from the syncretistic exercises of the early days when the merging of images from pagan religions worked wonders in drawing people into the church.

The Church is ... a sheepfold, the sole and necessary gateway to which is Christ . It is also a flock, of which God foretold that he would himself be the shepherd , and whose sheep, although watched over by human shepherds, are nevertheless at all times led and brought to pasture by Christ himself ...

The Church, further, which is called “that Jerusalem which is above” and “our mother” , is described as *the spotless spouse of the spotless lamb . It is she whom Christ “loved and for whom he delivered himself up that he might sanctify her.” It is she whom he unites to himself by an unbreakable alliance*, and whom he constantly “nourishes and cherishes”.

Given the church's long history of violence, oppression and corruption, the use of the term “spotless Spouse” was, to say the least, inappropriate.

Clause 8. The one mediator, Christ, established and ever sustains here on earth his holy Church, the community of faith, hope and charity, as a visible organization[9] through which he communicates truth and grace to all men. But, the society structured with hierarchical organs and the mystical body of Christ, the visible society and the spiritual community, the earthly Church and the Church endowed with heavenly riches, are not to be thought of as two realities. On the contrary, they form one complete reality which comes together from a human and a divine element. For this reason the Church is compared, not without significance, to the mystery of the incarnate Word.

To claim that the church was divine, and to compare it in significance with the virgin birth, by divine intervention, of Jesus of Nazareth was going too far. It was bad enough for the church to devise a doctrine presenting Jesus of Nazareth as existing in time before the creation of the universe (chapter 2), but to put the church - an organization established by *people* in response to Jesus' simple command to his followers to go into all the world and preach and teach - in the same category was inviting excessive credulity.

Just as Christ carried out the work of redemption in poverty and oppression, so the Church is called to follow the same path if she is to communicate the fruits of salvation to men. Christ Jesus, “though he was by nature God . . . emptied himself, taking the nature of a slave”, and “being rich, became poor” for our sake.

This statement was quite consistent with the church's long established teaching and its self-understanding, even if it had fallen short of it. But including it in that manner is a dogmatic statement on the church confirmed very emphatically the basis of the trouble in the triangle.

Clause 4. This holy Council first of all turns its attention to the Catholic faithful. Basing itself on scripture and tradition, it teaches that the Church, a pilgrim now on earth, is necessary for salvation: the one Christ is mediator and the way of salvation; he is present to us in his body which is the Church. He himself explicitly asserted the necessity of faith and baptism, and thereby affirmed at the same time the necessity of the Church which men enter through baptism as through a door. Hence they could not be saved who, knowing that the Catholic Church was founded as necessary by God through Christ, would refuse either to enter it, or to remain in it. Fully incorporated into the Church are those who, possessing the Spirit of Christ, accept all the means of salvation given to the Church together with her entire organization, and who – by the bonds constituted by the profession of faith, the sacraments, ecclesiastical government, and communion – are joined in the visible structure of the Church of Christ, who rules her through the Supreme Pontiff and the bishops. ... Even though incorporated into the Church, one who does not however persevere in charity is not saved. He remains indeed in the bosom of the Church, but “in body” not “in heart.” All children of the Church should nevertheless remember that [their exalted condition results, not from their own merits, but from the grace of Christ.] If they fail to respond in thought, word and deed to that grace, not only shall they not be saved, but they shall be the more severely judged.

That was a remarkable statement given that the church's claims for the efficacy of penance through bought indulgences was the trigger for the Reformation. And clause 16, following, was just as remarkable because it was the first significant acknowledgment by the Vatican - or any wing of the church - that the triangle actually exists and that both the Jews (“that people to which the covenants and promises were made”) and Moslems (“these profess to hold the faith of Abraham, and together with us they adore the one, merciful God, mankind's judge on the last day”), are included in the plan of Salvation.

Clause 16. Finally, those who have not yet received the Gospel are related to the People of God in various ways. There is, first, that people to which the covenants and promises were made, and from which Christ was born according to the flesh: in view of the divine choice, they are a people most dear for the sake of the fathers, for the gifts of God are without repentance. But the plan of salvation also includes those who acknowledge the Creator, in the first place amongst whom are the Moslems: these profess to hold the faith of Abraham, and together with us they adore the one, merciful God, mankind's judge on the last day. ...

However that bright spot was too good to last. They were only in a half-way house and they still needed the church for salvation!

Whatever good or truth is found amongst them is considered by the Church to be a preparation for the Gospel and given by him who enlightens all men that they may at length have life. But very often, deceived by the Evil One, men have become vain in their reasonings, have exchanged the truth of God for a lie and served the world rather than the Creator. Or else, living and dying in this world without God, they are exposed to ultimate despair. Hence

to procure the glory of God and the salvation of all these, the Church, mindful of the Lord's command, "preach the Gospel to every creature" takes zealous care to foster the missions.

It was only to be expected that the claim of papal infallibility would be repeated, because, having been promulgated at the First Vatican Council and being a key means of holding the world-wide Catholic Church in submission to Rome, there would have been far reaching implications if it were not confirmed. What was surprising was that the concept of infallibility was extended to bishops "in certain circumstances."

Clause 18... In order that the episcopate itself, however, might be one and undivided he put Peter at the head of the other apostles, and in him he set up a lasting and visible source and foundation of the unity both of faith and of communion. This teaching concerning the institution, the permanence, the nature and import of the sacred primacy of the Roman Pontiff and his infallible teaching office, the sacred synod proposes anew to be firmly believed by all the faithful, and, proceeding undeviatingly with this same undertaking, it proposes to proclaim publicly and enunciate clearly the doctrine concerning bishops, successors of the apostles, who together with Peter's successor, the Vicar of Christ and the visible head of the whole Church, direct the house of the living God. Clause 19: ... The Lord Jesus, ... constituted in the form of a college or permanent assembly, at the head of which he placed Peter, chosen from amongst them. He sent them first of all to the children of Israel and then to all peoples, so that, sharing in his power, they might make all peoples his disciples and sanctify and govern them

Clause 20. That divine mission, which was committed by Christ to the apostles, is destined to last until the end of the world, since the Gospel, which they were charged to hand on, is, for the Church, the principle of all its life for all time. For that very reason the apostles were careful to appoint successors in this hierarchically constituted society. In that way, then, with priests and deacons as helpers, the bishops received the charge of the community, presiding in God's stead over the flock of which they are the shepherds in that they are teachers of doctrine, ministers of sacred worship and holders of office in government.

Clause 21. In the person of the bishops, then, to whom the priests render assistance, the Lord Jesus Christ, supreme high priest, is present in the midst of the faithful. Though seated at the right hand of God the Father, he is not absent from the assembly of his pontiffs; on the contrary indeed, it is above all through their signal service that he preaches the Word of God
...

Clause 22. The college or body of bishops has for all that *no authority unless united with the Roman Pontiff, Peter's successor, as its head, whose primatial authority, let it be added, over all, whether pastors or faithful, remains in its integrity.* For the Roman Pontiff, by reason of his office as Vicar of Christ, namely, and as pastor of the entire Church, has full, supreme and universal power over the whole Church, a power which he can always exercise unhindered. The order of bishops is the successor to the college of the apostles in their role as teachers and pastors, and in it the apostolic college is perpetuated. Together with their head, the Supreme Pontiff, and never apart from him, they have supreme and full authority over the universal

Church; but *this power cannot be exercised without the agreement of the Roman Pontiff*. The Lord made Peter alone the rock-foundation and the holder of the keys of the Church, and constituted him shepherd of his whole flock. *It is clear, however, that the office of binding and loosing which was given to Peter, was also assigned to the college of the apostles united to its head.*

It was also to be expected that there would be plentiful references to Mariology. However it is noteworthy that those references were more restrained than for quite a few years. Section III of the document, headed 'The Blessed Virgin and the Church', opened with the statement:

In the words of the Apostle there is but one mediator: "for there is but one God and one mediator of God and men, the man Jesus Christ, who gave himself a redemption for all."
[Emphasis added.]

An optimist might have seen in the way the matter was handled a spark of hope that the Vatican was about to repudiate the Doctrine of the Trinity. No such luck. But the references to Mary and intercession were simple, direct and unembellished. The first, in effect, acknowledged the promulgation of the Dogma of Mary's Bodily Assumption: "Taken up to heaven she did not lay aside this saving office but by her manifold intercession continues to bring us the gifts of eternal salvation." The second, coming after a section on the Cult of the Blessed Virgin in the Church, was similarly brief and direct, noting that "... she who aided the beginnings of the Church by her prayers, may now, exalted as she is above all the angels and saints, intercede before her son in the fellowship of all the saints ...". The emphasis was placed on her example to humanity, and there was a warning against teachings or actions which might lead others into error about the true doctrine of the church. This was the first time that the brakes had been applied to the runaway steam train of Mariology since Pius XII sought responses from the clergy about whether to proclaim, as dogma, belief in the Bodily Assumption of Mary and then proceeded to do so. Quite apart from proclaiming the Dogma, the Marian Year, and instituting the feast of Mary Queen of Heaven, Pius had invoked the name of Mary in the majority of his 41 encyclicals between 1939 and 1958, and did so with transparent political motives when dealing with Portugal and in connection with Hitler's invasion of Russia, Operation Barbarossa, (Chapter 25). This significant shift in emphasis suggests that the Council, and especially either the drafting committee or Paul VI, believed that the matter had got out of hand and was undermining relations with other churches or with the Jewish and Muslim authorities with whom Vatican officials had to relate in the Middle East. The sections of the dogmatic constitution which refer to Mary include the following.

Clause 66. Mary has by grace been exalted above all angels and men to a place second only to her Son, as the most holy mother of God who was involved in the mysteries of Christ: she is rightly honored by a special cult in the Church. From the earliest times the Blessed Virgin is honored under the title of Mother of God, whose protection the faithful take refuge together in prayer in all their perils and needs. Accordingly, following the Council of Ephesus, there was a remarkable growth in the cult of the People of God towards Mary ...

Clause 67. The sacred synod teaches this Catholic doctrine advisedly and at the same time admonishes all the sons of the Church that the cult, especially the liturgical cult, of the Blessed Virgin, be generously fostered, and that the practices and exercises of devotion towards her, recommended by the teaching authority of the Church in the course of centuries be highly esteemed, and that those decrees, which were given in the early days regarding the cult images of Christ, the Blessed Virgin and the saints, be religiously observed. But it strongly urges theologians and preachers of the word of God to be careful to refrain as much from all false exaggeration as from too summary an attitude in considering the special dignity of the Mother of God. ... Let the faithful remember moreover that true devotion consists neither in sterile or transitory affection, nor in a certain vain credulity, but proceeds from true faith, by which we are led to recognize the excellence of the Mother of God, and we are moved to a filial love towards our mother and to the imitation of her virtues.

Clause 68. In the meantime the Mother of Jesus in the glory which she possesses in body and soul in heaven is the image and beginning of the Church as it is to be perfected in the world to come. Likewise she shines forth on earth, until the day of the Lord shall come, a sign of certain hope and comfort to the pilgrim People of God.

Clause 69. It gives great joy and comfort to this sacred synod that among the separated brethren too there are those who give due honour to the Mother of Our Lord and Saviour, especially among the Easterns, who with devout mind and fervent impulse give honour to the Mother of God, ever virgin. The entire body of the faithful pours forth urgent supplications to the Mother of God and of men that she, who aided the beginnings of the Church by her prayers, may now, exalted as she is above all the angels and saints, intercede before her Son in the fellowship of all the saints, until all families of people, whether they are honoured with the title of Christian or whether they still do not know the Saviour, may be happily gathered together in peace and harmony into one People of God, for the glory of the Most Holy and Undivided Trinity. [Emphasis added.]

Now, the Decree on Ecumenism, Unitatis Redintegratio. It began with a firm statement of purpose which John XXIII had initiated.

The restoration of unity among all Christians is one of the principal concerns of the Second Vatican Council.

Then it proceeded to lay out the basis on which the Roman Catholic Church was to approach its work with other Christian churches to achieve what it perceived as Christ's purpose, thus:

Christ the Lord founded one Church and one Church only. However, many Christian communions present themselves to men as the true inheritors of Jesus Christ; all indeed profess to be followers of the Lord but differ in mind and go their different ways, as if Christ Himself were divided.[1] Such division openly contradicts the will of Christ, scandalizes the world, and damages the holy cause of preaching the Gospel to every creature.

... some and even very many of the significant elements and endowments which together go to build up and give life to the Church itself, can exist outside the visible boundaries of the Catholic Church: the written word of God; the life of grace; faith, hope and charity, with the other interior gifts of the Holy Spirit, and visible elements too. All of these, which come from Christ and lead back to Christ, belong by right to the one Church of Christ. ... It follows that the separated Churches[23] and Communities as such, though we believe them to be deficient in some respects, have been by no means deprived of significance and importance in the mystery of salvation. For the Spirit of Christ has not refrained from using them as means of salvation which derive their efficacy from the very fullness of grace and truth entrusted to the Church. ... Nevertheless, our separated brethren, whether considered as individuals or as Communities and Churches, are not blessed with that unity which Jesus Christ wished to bestow on all those who through Him were born again into one body ... (Clause 3.)

... The term “ecumenical movement” indicates the initiatives and activities planned and undertaken, according to the various needs of the Church and as opportunities offer, to promote Christian unity. These are: ... Finally, all are led to examine their own faithfulness to Christ’s will for the Church and accordingly to undertake with vigour the task of renewal and reform. ... For although the Catholic Church has been endowed with all divinely revealed truth and with all means of grace, yet its members fail to live by them with all the fervour that they should, so that the radiance of the Church’s image is less clear in the eyes of our separated brethren and of the world at large, and the growth of God’s kingdom is delayed. ... This Sacred Council is gratified to note that the participation by the Catholic faithful in ecumenical work is growing daily. It commends this work to the bishops everywhere in the world to be vigorously stimulated by them and guided with prudence. (Clause 4.)

The attainment of union is the concern of the whole Church, faithful and shepherds alike... (Clause 5.)

... In certain special circumstances, such as the prescribed prayers “for unity,” and during ecumenical gatherings, it is allowable, indeed desirable that Catholics should join in prayer with their separated brethren. ... Yet worship in common (communicatio in sacris) is not to be considered as a means to be used indiscriminately for the restoration of Christian unity. (Clause 8.)

... Most valuable for this purpose are meetings of the two sides – especially for discussion of theological problems where each can treat with the other on an equal footing – provided that those who take part in them are truly competent and have the approval of the bishops. From such dialogue will emerge still more clearly what the situation of the Catholic Church really is. (Clause 9.)

Sacred theology and other branches of knowledge, especially of an historical nature, must be taught with due regard for the ecumenical point of view, so that they may correspond more exactly with the facts. (Clause 10.)

... When comparing doctrines with one another, they should remember that in Catholic doctrine there exists a “hierarchy” of truths, since they vary in their relation to the fundamental Christian faith. (Clause 11.)

... All believers in Christ can, through this cooperation, be led to acquire a better knowledge and appreciation of one another, and so pave the way to Christian unity. (Clause 12.) ... Therefore some worship in common (communicatio in sacris), given suitable circumstances and the approval of Church authority, is not only possible but to be encouraged. (Clause 15.)

... Far from being an obstacle to the Church’s unity, a certain diversity of customs and observances only adds to her splendour, and is of great help in carrying out her mission, as has already been stated. (Clause 16.)

The Roman Catholic Church under the leadership of John XXIII and Paul VI had indeed moved a long way. The use of the expression a “hierarchy” of truths suggested that not everything was absolute truth, that tradition, syncretism and enculturation had introduced misunderstandings, and that, in the interests of Christian Unity and world understanding they may be expendable. When this is read together with the agonizing reappraisal of Christian-Jewish relations which was proceeding at a pace within the World Council of Churches there was real hope that at last the trouble in the triangle was being understood.



~ December

~ 24: When Vietcong rebels attacked the US military billets in Saigon, President Johnson again refused to sanction raids into North Vietnam.

As long as the United States declined to do so there was always a hope that a diplomatic solution would be found. However it would soon become apparent that the self-understanding of the amorphous Christian gel was still getting in the way, and the determination of those who controlled the direction of the great Western Powers were intent on ensuring that no socio-economic system other than their preferred version of Democratic Capitalism - in cooperation with a few Fascist dictatorships of course - would gain a foothold. The challenge to the amorphous Christian gel by Marxist Communism simply had to be suppressed.

~ 1965

~ January

~ Relations between Indonesia and Malaysia had broken down progressively in late in 1963 Sukarno adopted a policy of confrontation towards his neighbour. Now, on Malaysia being seated in the Security Council, Indonesia withdrew from the United Nations. Later in the year Singapore withdrew from the federation and constituted itself as an independent republic.

- ~ And in the West Bank, Palestinian dissatisfaction at the progress being made by the young PLO led to the formation of a Fatah militia group, 'The Storm,' to carry out commando raids into the Jewish State.
- ~ February
- ~ Further Vietcong attacks on US installations persuaded Johnson to authorize air strikes against North Vietnam.
- ~ United States Cold War strategists expected that the development and deployment of Surface to Air Missiles (SAMs) would counter the use of both long range bombers and Ground-launched Cruise Missiles GLCMs. This had serious implication for the security of Western Europe which was in the firing line, and France demanded changes to the structure of NATO, recalled its officers, and threatened to withdraw altogether if there was not a realignment of authority.
- ~ March
- ~ 8: The first United States ground troops went into action in Vietnam and the pace and intensity of the war rapidly accelerated.
- ~ July
- ~ The Geneva disarmament conference resumed under the shadow of France's threat to withdraw from NATO. The United States resisted pressure for a transfer of weapon sites, and the Soviet Union pressed for all foreign troops to be withdrawn from Europe. A few months later France increased its demands to either the withdrawal of all NATO forces from its territory or their subordination to French command.
- ~ September
- ~ In China, under the Communist Party's 16-point program, and with the formation of the Red Guards, the Cultural Revolution was stepped up, the removal of the elite from all public offices gathered momentum, and so did the suppression of the churches.
- ~ 30: The Sukarno regime in Indonesia fell in a double coup in which a group of army conspirators intended to eliminate the entire ruling military government. The kidnapped and murdered six generals but one, Nasution, escaped. However General Suharto, commander of the army's strategic reserve, seized the initiative, removed the president and assumed power himself. There were conflicting claims about whether the Communist Party (PKI) was involved at all and, if so, in which coup - to topple the president or the army or both. The new army leadership resolved to eliminate them anyway, and over the following months several hundred thousand people across Java and Bali were slaughtered. (Estimates range from 80,000 to over a million.) Stripped of much of his power, and facing student unrest, Sukarno was forced to delegate extensive powers to Suharto. Who was appointed acting president two years later. He assumed full powers in March 1968.
- ~ November
- ~ 11: The Ian Smith regime in Southern Rhodesia responded to the OAU's action and the growing nationalist movements with a unilateral declaration of Independence.
- ~ December

~ 8: VATICAN II: FOURTH SESSION

~ The final session of the Second Vatican Council saw the release of an historic deluge of eleven major documents.

They included the two remaining key documents, the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation and the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, plus decrees, declarations or statements on missionary work; the ministries of bishops, priests and the laity; the training of priests; the renewal of religious life; relations with communities of faiths other than Christianity; and the divisive Declaration on Religious Freedom which has already been discussed. There was indeed a breathe of wind - a touch of the Spirit - wafting through the sacred halls of Rome. It threatened to become a gale, sweeping all the cobwebs before it. In the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World the Council said, in part:

Though mankind is stricken with wonder at its own discoveries and its power, it often raises anxious questions about the current trend of the world, about the place and role of man in the universe, about the meaning of its individual and collective strivings, and about the ultimate destiny of reality and of humanity. ... Therefore ... proclaiming the noble destiny of man and championing the godlike seed which has been sown in him, [the Council] offers to mankind the honest assistance of the Church in fostering that brotherhood of all men which corresponds to this destiny of theirs. Inspired by no earthly ambition, the Church seeks but a solitary goal: to carry forward the work of Christ under the lead of the befriending Spirit. And Christ entered this world to give witness to the truth, to rescue and not to sit in judgment, to serve and not to be served. (Clause 3.)

Today, the human race is involved in a new stage of history. Profound and rapid changes are spreading by degrees around the whole world. Triggered by the intelligence and creative energies of man, these changes recoil upon him, upon his decisions and desires, both individual and collective, and upon his manner of thinking and acting with respect to things and to people. Hence we can already speak of a true cultural and social transformation, one which has repercussions on man's religious life as well. ... Never has the human race enjoyed such an abundance of wealth, resources and economic power, and yet a huge proportion of the world's citizens are still tormented by hunger and poverty, while countless numbers suffer from total illiteracy. Never before has man had so keen an understanding of freedom, yet at the same time, new forms of social and psychological slavery make their appearance. Although the world of today has a very vivid awareness of its unity and of how one man depends on another in needful solidarity, it is most grievously torn into opposing camps by conflicting forces. ... political, social, economic, racial and ideological disputes still continue bitterly, and with them the peril of a war which would reduce everything to ashes ... (while) ... man painstakingly searches for a better world, without a corresponding spiritual advancement. (Clause 4.)

Today's spiritual agitation and the changing conditions of life are part of a broader and deeper revolution. As a result of the latter, intellectual formation is ever increasingly based on the mathematical and natural sciences and on those dealing with man himself, while in the practical order the technology which stems from these sciences takes on mounting

importance. ... Advances in biology, psychology, and the social sciences not only bring men hope of improved self-knowledge; in conjunction with technical methods, they are helping men exert direct influence on the life of social groups. (Clause 5.)

A change in attitudes and in human structures frequently calls accepted values into question, especially among young people, who have grown impatient on more than one occasion, and indeed become rebels in their distress. Aware of their own influence in the life of society, they want a part in it sooner. This frequently causes parents and educators to experience greater difficulties day by day in discharging their tasks. The institutions, laws and modes of thinking and feeling as handed down from previous generations do not always seem to be well adapted to the contemporary state of affairs; hence arises an upheaval in the manner and even the norms of behaviour. (Clause 7.)

... it [therefore] devolves on humanity to establish a political, social and economic order which will growingly serve man and help individuals as well as groups to affirm and develop the dignity proper to them. (Clause 9.)

The Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions, *Nostra Aetate*, was even more exciting.⁴²

The Catholic Church rejects nothing that is true and holy in [Non-Christian] religions. She regards with sincere reverence those ways of conduct and of life, those precepts and teachings which, though differing in many aspects from the ones she holds and sets forth, nonetheless often reflect a ray of that Truth which enlightens all men. Indeed, she proclaims, and ever must proclaim Christ, "the way the truth, and the life" (John 14, 6), in whom men may find the fullness of religious life, in whom God has reconciled all things to Himself .

The Church therefore, exhorts her sons, that through dialogue and collaboration with the followers of other religions, carried out with prudence and love and in witness to the Christian faith and life, they recognize, preserve and promote the good things, spiritual and moral, as well as the socio-cultural values found among these men. (Clause 2.)

That was a shift of monumental proportions from the policies and conduct of the church over 1,700 years. It was also a matter of some irony, considering that during the preceding three hundred years it had been doing its damndest to syncretize many of the *precepts, teachings and practices* of such religions in order to absorb their populations. But in view of the church's absolute rejection of the ministry of the Prophet Muhammad which had triggered the establishment of the triangle, and then its disastrous efforts to squash the triangle flat with the ghastly Crusades and a series of political manoeuvres over a long period, what was to follow was even more dramatic.

The Church regards with esteem also the Moslems. They adore the one God, living and subsisting in Himself, merciful and all-powerful, the Creator of heaven and earth (5), who has spoken to men; they take pains to submit wholeheartedly to even His inscrutable decrees, just as Abraham, with whom the faith of Islam takes great pleasure in linking itself, submitted to God. Though they do not acknowledge Jesus as God, they revere Him as a prophet. They also

honour Mary, His virgin mother; at times they even call on her with devotion. In addition, they await the day of judgement when God will render their deserts to all those who have been raised up from the dead. Finally, they value the moral life and worship God especially through prayer, almsgiving and fasting. Since in the course of centuries not a few quarrels and hostilities have arisen between Christians and Moslems, this Sacred Synod urges all to forget the past and to work sincerely for mutual understanding and to preserve as well as to promote together for the benefit of all mankind social justice and moral welfare, as well as peace and freedom. (Clause 3.) And so were the passages dealing with the Jews and their faith.

... the Church ... remembers the bond that spiritually ties the people of the New Covenant to Abraham's stock. Thus [it] acknowledges that, according to God's saving design, the beginnings of her faith and her election are found already among the Patriarchs, Moses and the prophets. She professes that all who believe in Christ — Abraham's sons according to faith — are included in the same Patriarch's call, and likewise that the salvation of the Church is mysteriously foreshadowed by the chosen people's exodus from the land of bondage. The Church, therefore, cannot forget that she received the revelation of the Old Testament through the people with whom God in His inexpressible mercy concluded the Ancient Covenant. Nor can she forget that she draws sustenance from the root of that well-cultivated olive tree onto which have been grafted the wild shoots, the Gentiles. Indeed, the Church believes that by His cross Christ Our Peace reconciled Jews and Gentiles, making both one in Himself. ...

Since the spiritual patrimony common to Christians and Jews is thus so great, this Sacred Synod wants to foster and recommend that mutual understanding and respect which is the fruit, above all, of biblical and theological studies as well as fraternal dialogues.

True, the Jewish authorities and those who followed their lead pressed for the death of Christ; still, what happened in His passion cannot be charged against all the Jews, without distinction, then alive, nor against the Jews of today. Although the Church is the new People of God, the Jews should not be presented as rejected or accursed by God, as if this followed from the Holy Scriptures. All should see to it, then, that in catechetical work or in the preaching of the Word of God they do not teach anything that does not conform to the truth of the Gospel and the spirit of Christ.

No foundation therefore remains for any theory or practice that leads to discrimination between man and the man or people and people, so far as their human dignity and the rights flowing from it are concerned. The Church reproves, as foreign to the mind of Christ, any discrimination against men or harassment of them because of their race, colour, condition of life, or religion. On the contrary, following in the footsteps of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, this Sacred Synod ardently implores the Christian faithful to "maintain good fellowship among the nations" (1 Peter 2, 12), and, if possible to live for their part in peace with all men, so that they many truly be sons of the Father who is in heaven. (Clause 5.)

Nostra Aetate was indeed a remarkable document. Vatican II under John XXIII and then Paul VI had not only swept aside the efforts of Pius XII to maintain the momentum of the church's self-understanding and its efforts to keep the Jews in subjection, it had leapt far ahead of anything which Pius XI had hoped to achieve in the Hidden Encyclical. But the church could not bring itself to accept that the Covenant of Sinai was still, and always had been, firmly in place. Thus, being unable to recognize or to accept that fact, and being also unable to accept the validity of the Qur'anic prophecies - even though it had come to accept Muslims as persons and sincere believers - it still had no hope of comprehending the meaning and consequences of the trouble in the triangle. That being the case, the integrated consequences of the Covenant of Sinai and the Qur'anic prophesy of the Night Journey simply had to flow on. However there was a glimmer of hope that the process would not take too long, because in his closing address to the Council, Paul VI moved even further away from the contentious interpretations of Mariology than the council had done in the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church. He said:⁴³

... note what is taking place here this morning. While we close the ecumenical council, we are honouring Mary Most Holy, the mother of Christ, and consequently, as we declared on another occasion, the mother of God and our spiritual mother. We are honouring Mary Most Holy, the Immaculate One, therefore innocent, stupendous, perfect. She is the woman, the true woman who is both ideal and real, the creature in whom the image of God is reflected with absolute clarity, without any disturbance, as happens in every other human creature.

And in the closing liturgy which was read by other members of the hierarchy he had a word for "those who hold in their hands the destiny of men on this earth, to all those who hold temporal power" - especially the great powers - on their need to consider the Will of God And he did not link it to any claim of superior or prior authority for the church. That was a remarkable leap forward as well.

We proclaim publicly: We do honour to your authority and your sovereignty, we respect your office, we recognize your just laws, we esteem those who make them and those who apply them. But we have a sacrosanct word to speak to you and it is this: Only God is great. God alone is the beginning and the end. God alone is the source of your authority and the foundation of your laws.



~ 1965 drew to a close on a high note of expectation for some of the smaller newly-independent countries. OPEC's first few years had not been very spectacular, and very few people knew very much about it, except that it was a nasty 'cartel' which was trying to milk the Western World's energy consumes. Its main concerns had been the consolidation of profit sharing through revised taxation arrangements; the development of confidence among its members; and a growing identification with the interests and needs of all Third World countries. This community of interest was now demonstrated in a very meaningful manner by Kuwait. It established the first of a series of development aid funds to assist other countries through commodity-income grants and loans.

~ 1966

~ Then, as the new year progressed, OPEC and its members began to take the initiative more strongly and to break new ground. Indonesia pioneered the production-sharing principle for new leases and Iran negotiated the first government to government sale of royalty crude. This was seen by the oil companies as an attack on the free enterprise system and they opposed it vigorously. Because of this the early sales were all of a barter or development-aid type with Eastern European countries. No money changed hands. It was very similar to the earlier Russia-Cuba oil for sugar deal which had so upset the major oil companies and the US administration.

~ January

~ Nigeria suffered two bloody coups in quick succession. In January the prime minister was among the many national leaders killed in a military coup, then the military government was treated to the same fate in a counter coup in July.

~ March

~ The inter-religious peace organization (see 1962) held a national conference in Washington with some 500 participants. While it was still basically an organization of Christians and Jews, it was gradually moving towards establishing an international organization embracing all faiths.

~ April

~ The undeclared war between the Arab states and Israel was getting gradually more destructive and there appeared to be less and less will by the great powers to intervene to disentangle the web of animosity and hatred which the trouble in the triangle had spawned. In one act of 'retaliation' the Israeli Defence Force blew up 14 houses in two villages which they claimed had harboured infiltrators.

~ June

~ 24: Pope Paul VI issued the encyclical *Sacerdotalis Caelibatus*, confirming that celibacy was to remain the standard circumstance for Catholic priests.

~ August

~ Chairman Mao Tse-tung launched China's Cultural Revolution in an attempt to stamp out traditional cultural values and ensure compliance with his personal political philosophy. Schools were shut and cadres of former student Red Guards were organized to 'cleanse' their communities of all bourgeois values. Within two years the level of national industrial productivity had fallen by 12 per cent, China had become politically very unstable and it was virtually an international pariah for 11 years.

~ The nature of the action in Middle East changed to more deliberate military warfare when units from Israel and Syria fought a pitched battle in the region of the Sea of Galilee in the vicinity of the contentious water diversion schemes.

~ November

~ 13: In the biggest retaliatory action to that date the IDF launched an armoured assault on three West Bank towns south of Hebron.

~ December

- ~ 19: The UN General Assembly endorsed a treaty on the peaceful uses of outer space.

Formally titled a Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies, it came into effect on October 10, 1967 after being ratified by the US, USSR, UK and a number of other countries. On the same day the UN opened the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights for signature by member countries, but it was 10 years before sufficient countries had signed for it to enter into force. It incorporated most of the rights set out in the Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Reflecting a strong continuing dissatisfaction among radical groups with the pace of change in employment and discriminatory practices in the United States, race riots occurred in many cities.

~ 1967

- ~ Western European countries were as concerned as ever that a small border incident may trigger a nuclear attack from the Soviet Union, and they pressured the US to develop a policy which would avoid such a situation while maintaining capacity for conventional weapons wars on the continent. A policy of “flexible response” was developed. They should have been showing more interest in the border incidents in the Middle East.

~ April

- ~ 7: Conflict over the cultivation of land which was disputed by Israel and Syria in what was supposed to be a demilitarized border zone led to two actions which were, in effect, a curtain raiser for the main event which was only two months away.

~ May

- ~ Following the actions in April, the Arab states became convinced that Israel had decided to invade Syria, possibly with the aim of overthrowing the Baath Party regime.

The Syrian intelligence service advised Nasser on the 8th that they were expecting an attack; reports from Lebanon of Israeli troop movements near the border tended to confirm that; Israeli prime minister Eshkol fuelled the fears when he announced twice, on the 9th and the 12th that Israel would carry out reprisals against Syria if it continued to support Fatah attacks; and the New York Times converted speculation to near-fact when it reported that Israeli leaders had decided that the use of force against Syria “may be the only way to curtail increasing terrorism.”⁴⁴ Next day, on the 13th, the Soviet Union advised both Syria and Egypt that its own intelligence reports confirmed the presence of Israeli troops massing near the Syrian frontier. But those reports did not correspond with UNTSO reports which confirmed the absence of any troop concentrations on either side of the border. Disregarding those reports, the Egyptian government declared a state of emergency on the 16th and asked the UNEF to withdraw from the positions they occupied in Sinai, including Sharm es-Sheikh. Next day, following a meeting of defence and intelligence chiefs, the government was advised that if the UN forces were withdrawn the Strait of Tiran should *not* be closed to Israeli shipping because it “would mean cutting off the political line of retreat and make war inescapable.”⁴⁵ However the UN had no

option but to do as the host government asked and make way for Egyptian forces on their own territory. On the 18th both Iraq and Kuwait announced the mobilization of their forces.

- ~ 19: The UNEF was withdrawn, the buffer zone thus disappeared, Egypt was free to move its own troops in, and everything was in place for open warfare.
- ~ 21: The Egyptian government announced the mobilization of reserves; Shuqayri announced that 8,000 fighters of the Palestine Liberation Army based in Gaza were being placed under Egyptian command; and the Israeli government concluded that Egypt had decided on war.
- ~ 23: Ignoring the advice which he had received from his defence and intelligence services, Nasser ordered that the Strait of Tiran be closed to Israeli shipping, blocking tankers from Iran, and Saudi Arabia announced that it had ordered its troops to prepare for war with Israel.

This prompted immediate great power responses. There was a “reaffirmation” from President Johnson that the Gulf of Aqaba is an international waterway and that the blockade of Israeli shipping is therefore illegal. His Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, told him, after discussions with Congressional leaders, that Congress would support Israel but was opposed to unilateral intervention. The Soviet Union announced, without naming Egypt or the blockade, that: “Should anyone try to unleash aggression in the Near East, he would be met not only with the united strength of Arab countries but also with strong opposition to aggression from the Soviet Union.” The UN Security Council met, and continued in session for several days, and the Soviet Union consistently rejected moves to compel Egypt to lift the blockade. Next day De Gaulle refused to reconfirm France’s commitment to an open canal policy and warned Israel that France would not support it in a “shoot first” policy.

- ~ 24: Jordan joined the growing number of Arab countries which had ordered mobilization.
- ~ 27: A critical decision was taken by the Israeli government, by a split vote of nine for and nine against, that it would continue diplomatic efforts to end the Fatah incursions and that it would not, for the moment, invade Sinai to occupy Sharm es-Sheikh to reopen the Strait of Tiran. That decision incensed Israeli military leaders who told their prime minister very bluntly that as war was now inevitable and only a matter of who started it first, any delay would simply add to Israeli casualties.⁴⁶

International politicking reached fever pitch. After discussions with the Soviet Union, Johnson advised Eshkol that: “Israel just must not take pre-emptive action and thereby make itself responsible for the initiation of hostilities.”⁴⁷

- ~ 28: Diplomatic and political pressure gave way to public rhetoric with Nasser’s statement at a press conference that: “We will not accept any possibility of coexistence with Israel.”
- ~ 29: The widespread bitterness and emotion throughout the Arab World at having the Jewish State imposed on by the Western powers was reflected in the prolonged applause which Nasser received in the Egyptian National Assembly⁴⁸ when he reviewed the establishment of Israel, its support by the West, and his decision to close the Strait of Tiran in a prepared address in which he said, in part:

The circumstances through which we are now passing are in fact difficult ones because we are not only confronting Israel but also those who created Israel and are behind Israel. We are confronting Israel and the West as well - the West, which created Israel and which despised us Arabs and which ignored us before and since 1948. They had no regard whatsoever for our feelings, our hopes in life, or our rights. The West completely ignored us, and the Arab nation was unable to check the West's course. ...

Now, eleven years after 1956, we are restoring things to what they were in 1956. This is from the material aspect. In my opinion this material aspect is only a small part, whereas the spiritual aspect is the great side of the issue. The spiritual aspect involves the renaissance of the Arab nation, the revival of the Palestine question, and the restoration of confidence to every Arab and to every Palestinian. This is on the basis that if we were able to restore conditions to what they were before 1956 God will surely help us and urge us to restore the situation to what it was in 1948. ...

The issue now at hand is not the Gulf of Aqabah, the Straits of Tiran, or the withdrawal of the UNEF, but the rights of the Palestinian people. It is the aggression which took place in Palestine in 1948 with the collaboration of Britain and the United States. It is the expulsion of the Arabs from Palestine, the usurpation of their rights, and the plunder of their property. It is the disavowal of all the UN resolutions in favour of the Palestinian people. ...

I said yesterday that the states that champion freedom and peace have supported us. I spoke of the support given us by India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Yugoslavia, Malaysia, the Chinese People's Republic and the Asian and African States. ... I wish to tell you today that the Soviet Union is a friendly Power and stands by us as a friend. In all our dealings with the Soviet Union - and I have been dealing with the USSR since 1955 - it has not made a single request of us. The USSR has never interfered in our policy or internal affairs. This is the USSR as we have always known it. In fact, it is we who have made urgent requests of the USSR. Last year we asked for wheat and they sent it to us. When I also asked for all kinds of arms they gave them to us. When I met [War Minister] Shams Badran yesterday he handed me a message from the Soviet Premier Kosygin saying that the USSR supported us in this battle and would not allow any Power to intervene until matters were restored to what they were in 1956.⁴⁹

- ~ 30: Hussein flew unexpectedly to Cairo; achieved a rapprochement with Nasser which reversed the tensions which had persisted since the Suez debacle; and concluded a mutual defence agreement under which Jordanian forces would be placed under Egyptian command in the event of a war with Israel.
- ~ 31: The president of Iraq echoed Nasser's address, saying: "The existence of Israel is an error which must be rectified. This is our opportunity to wipe out the ignominy which has been with us since 1948. Our goal; is clear - to wipe Israel off the map."⁵⁰
- ~ However the Arabs and the Israelis could not have the war games to themselves. Less than a year after the second of its coups, Nigeria was plunged into three years of the Biafran Civil War as issues of religious and ethnic division, control of the oil rich eastern regions,

demands for regional autonomy, and a declaration of independence by the eastern regions under the name Biafra caused enormous confusion.

~ June

- ~ 1: Under great pressure from the IDF chiefs, and having been confronted by Brigadier General Ezer Weizman who through his IDF insignia on the prime minister's desk with the words "Jewish history will never forgive you if you do not declare war", Eshkol relinquished the post of defence minister which he had held jointly as prime minister, appointed General Moshe Dayan, and invited Menachem Begin to join the cabinet as a minister without portfolio.⁵¹
- ~ 3: With preparation for war well advanced, the Israeli cabinet voted to take a pre-emptive strike against Egypt with forces facing Jordan and Syria to be held in a defensive posture, even if they are attacked⁵².
- ~ 5: The war which the world had to have, the immediate trigger for which was conflict over competing water diversion schemes, burst with a devastating attack by Israel on Arab targets. Kosygin used the "hot line" to Johnson for the first time. They agreed that the superpowers should stay out of the war and encourage a cease-fire.⁵³
- ~ 9: Nasser broadcast to the nation, setting out again the background to the crisis from the Arab perspective, admitting a "setback" and noting the lessons which had to be learned in terms of "three vital facts:"

(1) The elimination of imperialism in the Arab world will leave Israel with its own intrinsic power; yet, whatever the circumstances, however long it may take, the Arab intrinsic power is greater and more effective. (2) Redirecting Arab interests in the service of Arab rights is an essential safeguard: the American Sixth Fleet moved with Arab oil, and there are Arab bases, placed forcibly and against the will of the peoples, in the service of aggression. (3) The situation now demands a united word from the entire Arab nation; this, in the present circumstances, is irreplaceable guarantee.

He then announced that he was taking full personal responsibility for the setback, and that he was resigning from all public office.

The forces of imperialism imagine that Jamal Abd al-Nasser is their enemy. I want it to be clear to them that their enemy is the entire Arab nation, not just Jamal Abd al-Nasser. The forces hostile to the Arab national movement try to portray this movement as an empire of Abd al-Nasser. This is not true, because the aspiration for Arab unity began before Abd al-Nasser and will remain after Abd al-Nasser.

However as a result of the public display of national emotion and demonstrations across the country he reversed that decision next day and remained in office.

- ~ 10: The Soviet Union, followed quickly by each of the Soviet bloc countries except Romania, severed diplomatic relations with Israel and Kosygin used the hot line again to warn Johnson that if Israel pressed on to Damascus the Soviet Union would intervene. Johnson assured him that the Israelis would stop, but directed the Sixth Fleet to the Syrian

coast as a signal that if the Soviet Union intervened the United States would also.

Following the capture of the Golan Heights the IDF discontinued the action and a cease fire was observed by all warring parties at 6.30 pm..

~ 23: Johnson and Kosygin met for two days in New Jersey, but they were poles apart in their views on a solution to the overall Arab-Israel question - and also on the question of Vietnam - and no concrete agreements were reached.

~ 27: The Israeli Knesset resolved to formally annex, or incorporate Arab East Jerusalem, the old city, and surrounding areas into the sovereign State of Israel.

The world knows that brief and bruising encounter as the Six Day War and as a dramatic victory over the might of its larger Arab neighbours in an action taken in self-defence by a small state which had not yet celebrated its twentieth anniversary. It was certainly an action taken in self-defence, but the reality was that the *outbreak* of the war was the consequences of the cumulative effects of the policies of the amorphous Christian gel and the *victory* was made possible through the support of the same gel. The war solved nothing. It did not greatly improve Israel's security and it actually complicated the situation by greatly lengthening the perimeter it had to defend. During the course of the war, Israel occupied all of the remaining territory which had been allocated for a Palestinian state, viz., the West Bank (Judea and Samaria) Gaza and Sinai, and the Syrian Golan Heights as well. Its security was dependent on the continued provision of an umbrella by the United States. What the war did was change a number of relationships, introduce a number of new factors into the trouble in the triangle and permanently anchor the Middle East as the focal point of world affairs and world relationships. It ensured that those relationships would come under increasing strain until such time that the *basis* of the trouble in the triangle was recognized and understood and a concerted effort was made to dismantle it.

And in doing so it demonstrated more clearly that the events of the previous twenty years that the conduct of the State of Israel was a parody on Herzl's *Der Judenstaat. Mein Kampf*, Hitler's parody of the amorphous Christian gel, was simply an encapsulation of the attitudes, self-understanding and conduct of the amorphous Christian gel which he proceeded to put into effect with devastating efficiency. Since 1948 the conduct of the Zionist State of Israel had been in sharp contrast to all of the grand principles which Herzl had set out as the basis for the State of Israel which he worked so hard to bring into being - right to the point of inviting the former leader of the criminal terrorist gang, Irgun Zvai Leumi, into the government as a minister without portfolio. (Chapter 15) It was the Irgun and Stern Group which massacred 254 defenceless civilians at the village of Deir Yassin on April 9, 1948, and triggered the mass exodus of Palestinians. (Chapter 27) He was now drawn into the government with the clear intention that he should be able to bring his vast experience of such matters to bear on the conduct of the country's defence and security systems. His appointment, which was opposed by many of the more moderate Israeli leaders, has been described as "a revolutionary change in Israeli political history."⁵⁴ It was much more than that. It was a matter of pasting a few more negative points on the Covenant 'score card' which would have to be offset by some positive

points in due course. But in another sense nothing had changed. That Covenant was still firmly in place and the People Israel, or World Jewry, was still the instrument of Divine Will through which the trouble in the triangle would be exposed and by means of which humanity would be enabled to move towards the Messianic Age of Maimonides' expectations. (Chapter 8) The stage had been reached that to be able to dismantle the crisis it was necessary to recognize the *twin parodies* and move to redress them. And it was, and still is, for the Christian church to defuse the fundamental cause of the tension through developing a new self-understanding and totally new relationships, and the starting point for that is the repudiation of the Doctrine of the Trinity.

There is really no need to review the conduct of the war in detail. Israel struck hard to eliminate the air power of the Arab states, especially Egypt, before they had a chance to strike at targets in Israel. Its ground forces made rapid progress through Gaza and Sinai, and swept through East Jerusalem and the West Bank. Then, after some delay because of the fear of Soviet intervention, not wanting to fight on all fronts at once, and because of the more difficult terrain and well equipped opposition, it made a lunge against the Syrian army and soon gained control of the Golan Heights as well. It was all over in a flash. But there were a few obvious changes in relationships and power balances at the time which each of the great powers fed into their strategic planning programs, notably the United States, and these are important. However, whatever the amorphous Christian gel did to consolidate its position of power and privilege just compounded the trouble in the triangle so that further wars in the Middle East would erupt periodically. This was the third in a sequence: 1948, triggered by the imposed establishment of the state; 1956, the Sinai-Suez War; now 1967, triggered by competition for water resources - each one getting progressively more complex - and there was no reason to believe that the sequence would not continue until the trouble in the triangle is ultimately dismantled by one means or another.

~ August

~ Right wing and radical religious groups helped to ensure that it would continue when they established the Land of Israel Movement and called on the Israeli government never to surrender any territory. And at the same time US Defence Secretary McNamara made it quite clear that current approaches to the other big war of the time, in Vietnam, was doing nothing to resolve the issues which ostensibly justified foreign intervention. He told a Senate sub-committee that the US bombing was ineffective. A few weeks later Johnson announced that the United States would stop the bombing in exchange for 'productive discussions.'

~ November

~ 22: The UN Security Council adopted Resolution 242 in a bid to find a settlement between Israel and its neighbours.

Essentially the UN sought to resolve the issues of legitimacy and territory. Realistically it could do nothing else. It certainly did nothing to address the trouble in the triangle. It could not. That initiative had to come from the church. There was no such initiative in sight. The UN

called for the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict; the termination of all claims and belligerency; respect for, and acknowledgement of, the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every state in the area, and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries, free from threats or acts of force. It also called for a guarantee of freedom of passage through international waterways in the area; a just settlement of the refugee problem; and the establishment of demilitarized zones under UN supervision to ensure political and territorial inviolability. Israel and all Arab states accepted the resolution as a basis for permanent settlement, but Syria and the PLO did not. They felt constrained by two things: the annexation of East Jerusalem by Israel on June 27, and the establishment of the Land of Israel Movement.

As a matter of logic, the Palestine Liberation Organization moved its base to Jordan, King Hussein's Hashemite Kingdom, which had been the eastern half of the previously mandated territory of Palestine and therefore had a significant proportion of Palestinians in its total population. The combined movement of ethnic Palestinians from west of the Jordan to the east as a result of the wars of 1948, 1956 and now the 1967 Six Day War was that the ethnic Palestinian population became a majority of the population of Jordan and progressively changed the social and employment pattern of the kingdom. Tensions were inevitable as the PLO sought stronger support from the king for its claims and the king sought to prevent guerrilla activities being launched from Jordan.

But that was not the only consequence for Jordan. The Israeli government had given an undertaking, through UN emissaries that it would not invade the West Bank, which Jordan had formally annexed in 1950, if Jordan stayed out of the war. Clearly that was not realistic for Jordan. It was the principal protector of the Palestinians whose interests were a key factor in the war, and it was in an alliance with Egypt and Syria. Thus, having failed to persuade Jordan to stay out of the war, Israel invaded the West Bank as soon as Hussein ordered the Arab Legion to shell positions in the Jewish sector of Jerusalem. The occupation of the West Bank meant that Jordan's territory was back to its former area, but its economy was seriously undermined because it had become largely dependent upon that area for growth. It lost control of East Jerusalem and responsibility for a great number of key religious sites. Its relationship with Britain was in tatters and it became more dependent on its relationships with its Arab neighbours.

The occupation of both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip by Israel immediately meant that the Palestinian question assumed an even greater importance in Middle East and international affairs. Large populations of Arabs came under Israeli rule and that meant that the United Nations would be required to play a much bigger role. But when one quarter of the population of the West Bank, about 220,000 persons, fled across the Jordan into the Kingdom of Jordan proper the complications became greater. The need for UN-managed refugee camps increased, and so did the opportunity for the government of Israel to increase the number of Jewish settlers in the areas vacated. In that sense it was an extension of the refugee crisis of 1948. In the case

of Syria's Golan Heights the situation was even more stark. From an estimated 120,000 before the war, the population fell to a mere six to seven thousand.

But there was a big question about who would develop the UN policy, how it would be administered, and whether the United States would recognize whatever policy was decided. The number of Third World countries was now such that they could determine votes on the floor of the assembly and, as Nasser had told his parliament, many of them were sympathetic to the Palestinian cause. Since the passage of the resolutions on decolonization another 22 member countries had been admitted - everyone from the Third World - lifting total membership to 122. But that counted for little if they could not enforce decisions taken. If the United States did not want a decision acted on, it was most unlikely to be put into effect. And in addition, since the Suez crisis Israel had mounted a strong diplomatic effort to strengthen its relationships with a number of newly-independent Third World countries, notably in Sub-Saharan Africa, in a deliberate effort to counter the Arab trade boycott. It had provided packages of technological and development assistance - especially in matters of security which were of concern to a number of governments - and it established an extensive program of scholarships and other assistance to enable students and technicians from Africa to study and train in Israel in specialized fields.⁵⁵

There were also significant resource implications as well as the human and territorial implications. Egypt's oil fields in the Mount Tanaka region of Sinai and its facilities at Abu Rudeis with a capacity developed to 75,000 barrels of crude per day fell under Israel's control, so the commercial and strategic balances shifted and Israel was relieved, in part, of its reliance on Iranian oil obtained under United States protection. And concerning the issue which actually triggered the war - water - in place of Syrian armour which could command the water diversion schemes of the River Jordan, Lake Tiberias (the Sea of Galilee) and Upper Galilee, there was Israeli armour which could also overlook *Damasus* from an open-territory distance of less than 40 miles compared with about 75 miles from the nearest former Syrian positions to Jerusalem. Israeli forces completely surrounded the lake and were in complete control of all of the water resources of the region. Syria, Jordan and the West Bank settlers were totally dependent upon the future goodwill of Israel for water supplies for their most productive agricultural areas as well as a large proportion of their industrial and domestic requirements.

But the implications rolled on and on and were far wider. The Eisenhower Doctrine which was designed to ensure America's succession to Britain as the key foreign power in the Middle East, and which, in isolation, had never been viable, was now a sham. To seek to be the principal supplier of arms to a number of neighbouring countries may be a sustainable policy if they are all on good terms or if, as the United States had been trying to do, the supplier could keep the lid on tensions and retain good relations with each of them. But when there is deep division between them and the possibility of war, it becomes untenable. Nasser's statements to the Assembly in Cairo in which he had encapsulated the Arab national feeling very well indeed, made that patently clear. A country proposing such a policy as the Eisenhower Doctrine must be able to determine against whom the weapons will be used and, in effect, control each country's

foreign policy. If spontaneous good relations do not exist, then that is only possible by dangling the carrots of preferential treatment in other respects, notably trade; by buying inaction through development grants or other forms of 'bought peace;' by heavy handed threats to withdraw existing benefits; or by threats of direct intervention. A firm rebuff, or tension over the way in which the relationship is managed, can only push a country towards an alternative supplier and the tensions must immediately rise because more direct competition for relationships is encouraged..

This was exactly the situation into which the United States had blundered. It could not supply countries which were likely to go to war with Israel without the means to prevent them from doing so. But it wanted their oil and it wanted its barrier between them and the Soviet Union, so it had to devise ways and means of preventing them from going to war. Because it had sought, and gained, commercial control of the lion's share of the petroleum resources of the region it had to be able to maintain strategic control, or be prepared to substitute alternative sources of supply, at least for the duration of any periods of conflict. And if, in the event of a war between the neighbours it intervened directly in support of Israel, the period of substitution may extend indefinitely, or require military intervention to maintain control, either in short term "protective" exercise, or with permanent bases. In any case, the relationships are bound to be difficult, with an undercurrent of widespread public unease, even if the governments of the day are constrained to the arrangements. This had already been demonstrated several times by the violent revolutionary or military overthrow of governments which were seen to be lackeys of the British government. Within weeks of the cease fire being put into effect the Soviet Union began replacing the arms and equipment which the Arab countries had lost, regardless of whether the original equipment had been supplied by it or by the United States, and installed surface to air missiles along the Suez Canal as a cover for Egypt's artillery emplacements and defence against air attack on its air force bases where almost its entire fleet of aircraft had been destroyed on the ground twice, just a few years apart. By the end of 1968 the Soviet Union had re-supplied the Arab states with arms and equipment to the value of \$2.5 billion and had provided between 2,000 and 3,000 military training advisers.⁵⁶ At the same time President Johnson agreed to sell Israel 50 Phantom jets, just before he left office, to offset the French Mirage jets which De Gaulle had withheld following the Six Day War. He also increased military assistance loans to Israel from \$7 million in 1967 to \$25 million in 1968.⁵⁷

During the Six Day War America's relationships under the Eisenhower Doctrine were indeed put to the test and found wanting. Immediately the war erupted several Arab states imposed a ban on the export of crude oil, but the United States simply side-stepped it by increasing domestic production of crude by one million barrels per day to supply Britain and France and drawing on its enormous reserves. The ban therefore had no effect and was soon lifted. However, as a result of that experience, and knowing from the way in which the British and United States governments and their oil industries had previously wielded the "oil weapon" with devastating effect against countries which were out of favour, the Arab governments recognised the need for a regional grouping within the OPEC. The concept of withholding

resources to safeguard their interests, notably in relations with Israel and the USA as its main supplier of arms, had to be fine tuned, ready to put into effect in the event of another such emergency. The Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) was established. The new organization included some countries which were not members of OPEC.

About four months after the Six Day War an incident occurred which threatened to blow out into another full scale war. The distinct possibility that a more definite and more effective oil embargo could then be applied against the allies of Israel, added urgency to their deliberations within the United Nations. In that incident, on October 21, Egyptian naval vessels sunk an Israeli destroyer, *Eilat*, which they claimed had violated Egyptian territorial waters and was heading for Port Said in a provocative manner. Three days later the IDF responded with a massive artillery barrage, destroying two oil refineries at Suez.

When the UN Security Council then negotiated an urgent cease-fire and subsequently passed Resolution 242, calling for a withdrawal from all occupied regions, the Israelis were willing to view their conquests (except Jerusalem) as bargaining chips, but they insisted on Arab recognition of the right of Israel to exist and firm guarantees against future attack. The so-called front line Arab states were at first neither able (for domestic reasons) nor willing to give such guarantees and instead courted Soviet and Third World support against "US-Israeli imperialism." Hence Israel remained both greatly enlarged and possessed of shorter, more defensible borders, although it did acquire the problem of administering more than a million Arabs in Gaza and the West Bank, and the UN resolutions failed to address the refugee problem adequately and it was unable to enforce an Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories in the manner to which Israel had formally agreed.

And while the Security Council called for the principle of free navigation through all of the international waterways to be recognized, that call was easily circumvented by the simple expedient of leaving scuttled ships in the Suez Canal and refusing permission for their clearance. Israel had access to the Eilat, but the world had to revert to transporting all its goods of trade around the Cape of Good Hope, and its naval fleets had to use the same route. The canal remained closed from the Six Day War until after the *next* one. While that closure did not greatly inconvenience Israel, because oil tankers were able to access Eilat via the Strait of Tiran and it has unimpeded shipping access to its Mediterranean ports, it deprived Egypt of significant income from transit fees, and it also added to freight costs and inconvenience for shippers serving Europe and Asia via the Cape of Good Hope. It was cleared and reopened in 1975.

Another consequence of the Six Day War which previous crises in the Middle East had failed to achieve was that the World Council of Churches completed a serious reconsideration of the interfaith implications of the establishment of the State of Israel. The study had been proposed by its Faith and Order Commission three years earlier, and a report was ready for its meeting from July 29 to August 9, while the United Nations was struggling with the preparation of its own resolution on the crisis. The drafters had sought to answer two questions. First: in what

way does the continuing existence of the Jews have theological significance for the church? – Second: In what ways should Christians give witness of their faith to Jews? The fact that the second question was even nominated indicates that there was an expectation that the study team would find no need to modify any of the church's doctrines – especially the most fundamental one, the Doctrine of the Trinity. This is supported by the fact that this study was commissioned *after* the assembly had confirmed the Trinitarian basis of the Council's membership and operations. The church's self-understanding therefore placed the study team under some constraints, whether it was intentional or not. It considered a range of issues including historical and theological considerations, the Church and her witness, Ecumenical relevance, and some implications which flowed from those issues. If it started at basics and considered the question of whether Jesus could be the Messiah without being God in Person, they camouflaged it well.⁵⁸ One paragraph reads:

*The fact that by far the greater part of Israel did not recognize God in Jesus Christ posed a burning question for Paul, not primarily because of the crucifixion, but because even after Christ's resurrection they still rejected him. The existence of Jews today who do not accept him puts the same question to us, because in this respect the situation today is basically the same as it was in Paul's time.*⁵⁹

It then concluded:

We feel assured that an ongoing encounter with Jews can mean a real enrichment of our faith. Christians should therefore be alert to every such possibility, both in the field of social cooperation and especially on the deeper level of theological discussion. We realize that at the moment many Jews are not willing to be involved with Christians in a common dialogue; in that case Christians must respect this expressed or silent wish and not force themselves upon them. But when such conversation is possible, it should be held in a spirit of mutual respect and openness, searching together and questioning one another, trusting that we together with the Jews will grow into a deeper understanding of the revelation of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

*What form this further understanding may take, we must be willing to leave in his hands, confident that he will lead both Jews and Christians into the fullness of his truth.*⁶⁰

The Commission accepted the report and commended it for further theological study on a wider geographical scale. It was, however, felt that such issues as: (1) the concepts of salvation and election, and (2) the nature of God in relation to the two concepts of the People of God and the Body of Christ require a more thorough study and a more detailed examination. That report was certainly not about to rock the foundations of the church's theology and its self-understanding. The first Reformation – 'the one that got away' (chapter 10) – was still in the record books on its own. The world would have to wait for quite a while for the 'real thing' to come along.

The Six Day War also stimulated a significant shift in religious thought and life in Israel and throughout the Diaspora. The trauma and exhilaration of victory and survival of the State of

Israel raised the level of consciousness of the affairs of the state among people throughout the Jewish World. In 1968, for the first time, the World Union of Progressive Judaism held its biennial conference in Jerusalem and five years later, in 1973, the central administration was transferred to Israel. Then there came another war, but two years later again the WUPJ formally affiliated with the World Zionist Organization. The international reform Movement, so long neutral on Zionism, had thus placed itself firmly under the Zionist institutional umbrella, and the process had started with the Six Day War. Although Reform theologians drew no causal connection between the Holocaust and the establishment of the Jewish State, in the wake of the seemingly miraculous salvation of the Six Day War, they did note a prevalent sense of renewed divine presence: God had not after all, it seemed, forsaken Israel.⁶¹

At the same time, Soviet support for the Arabs and the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Israel led to a deterioration in the plight of Jews in the Soviet Union, and this generated an increased sense of responsibility to do something about it among Jews in the Diaspora. The most obvious step was further pressure on the United States to intervene and to make it an issue in US-Soviet relations. This complemented a rise in the ecumenical spirit which flowed from the Second Vatican Council through *Nostra Aetate* in 1965, and Jews worked closely with Christians in the anti-nuclear and disarmament movements, as the interfaith movement rose higher on the agenda of Reform Judaism. However that spirit was dampened by a wave of disappointment which swept across the American Jewish community when Christian leaders remained silent during the critical period as the Six Day War approached.⁶² It was further dampened by a wave of Black anti-Semitism when Jewish slumlords were targeted during the Black civil rights campaigns, and the Black-Jewish partnership in such matters threatened to fall apart.

In fact the coincidence of the war in Vietnam and the Six Day War complicated life for the Reform Movement's Religious Action Centre considerably. Jewish War Veterans were strongly defending US involvement in Vietnam, and the Orthodox rabbinate and laity were supporting American determination to resist Communist aggression, but Reform leaders took a reverse stand and were prominent in the campaign to end the Vietnam War. The general secretary of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations had said in November 1965 that: "We transgress every tenet of our faith when we fight on another's soil, scorch the earth of another's beloved homeland, slay multitudes of innocent villages." As a result the Reform Movement had to defend itself against accusations of double standards and self interest when on one hand it was "dovish" on Vietnam but "hawkish" on Israel and Palestine. Temple Emanu-El in New York withdrew from the Union for a year because of its attitude towards the Vietnam War, and 24 congregations, about four percent of UAHC membership, supported it in doing so, although they did not withdraw.⁶³

So: the Six Day War came and went, and the Western World settled back to thinking that it had everything under control. God was in His heaven and all was right with the world. They were right to the extent that nothing had really changed. The amorphous Christian gel had not understood what was happening - that the war had been yet another challenge or another

opportunity to reassess its self-understanding and its theology - so it carried on as it had been and after a pause the pressure began to build up towards the next big challenge: the Yom Kippur or October War. We could skip everything in between and go straight to it, but there are just a few pointers to note on the way, including the way in which the pressure began to build up when the West was lulled into apathy again by the cessation of the formal war.

In August a US Senate sub-committee was told by the Secretary for War, Robert McNamara, that US bombing in Vietnam was ineffective, and a few weeks later Johnson announced that bombing would stop in return for “productive discussions.”

~ December

~ After a delay of about four months, the North Vietnamese foreign minister responded to Johnson’s offer to stop the bombing by saying that talks could start once the United States halted its bombing. At that point it had 500,000 troops in Vietnam, with contingencies from several allied countries.

~ 1968

Far from seeing the cessation of US bombing in Vietnam, the New Year saw an escalation of the war while the Peace Conference was in progress in Paris, and General Westmoreland asked for an additional 206,000 troops! But Johnson announced, late in March, that further reinforcements would not be sent to Vietnam, that there would be a partial halt to bombing - and that he would not seek re-election as president.

Caught up in violence, war and crisis around the world and at home, the United States was at war with itself. Martin Luther King’s assassination in April signalled that there was still a long way to go in the civil rights struggle in America, and the establishment of the Black Panther Movement with a platform of armed self protection and violence to gain civil rights, confirmed it. And only two months later, in June, the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy, a brother of the assassinated former president and himself a contender for the presidency signalled that America’s social instability was worsening with every crisis that it dabbled in around the world. The assassin was a 24-year old Jordanian, born in Jerusalem.

But the United States was not the only country showing similar symptoms. In Poland, one of the Soviet bloc countries which had severed diplomatic relations with Israel when it appeared set to swoop on Damascus, a tightening of visa regulations and such like turned into another round of anti-Semitism. Cardinal Wyszyński, who had helped to engineer Gomułka’s return to power, was doctrinally a strong conservative and shared Pius XII’s views on education and the roles of the church and the Jews. His influence was said to be apparent as Gomułka became ever more autocratic in his behaviour and became involved in an ‘anti-Zionist’ campaign that resulted in purges within the party, the administration, and the army. Thousands of people of Jewish origin emigrated. In addition Polish troops joined the Soviet-led intervention in Czechoslovakia. Wyszyński’s influence also contributed to demonstrations by students in favour of “intellectual freedom” which led to

government reprisals in March 1968 and brought to an end a so-called “little stabilization” that Gomułka had succeeded in achieving.

Also, during the year, the Spanish government decided to give up the effort to hang on to its colonies in Equatorial Africa, but it regarded the phosphate rich Spanish Sahara as a different case. There was still a profit to be made after the cost of maintaining some sort of colonial administration. Or so it thought. The neighbouring countries, Morocco, Mauritania and Algeria were each interested, too, and they could each make a claim on the basis of ethnic community interest. Protracted struggles followed.

~ July

~ 1: The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NNPT) was signed by the US, USSR, UK and 59 other countries, under which the 3 major signatories agreed not to assist states which did not already possess nuclear explosives to obtain or produce them. It became effective in March 1970 and was to remain in force for a 25-year period. Two other major nuclear powers, France and China, signed the treaty in 1992. It was extended indefinitely in 1995 by a consensus vote of 174 UN member countries.

~ Two bodies with very different perspectives had the future of Israel and Palestine on their agendas concurrently during July. One was the Palestine National Council which met from the 1st to the 17th, and the other was the World Council of Churches which met in Uppsala, Sweden, from the 4th to the 20th.

~ The World Council of Churches was meeting in assembly for the fourth time.

This assembly was different to those which had gone before. For the first time, consistent with the fact that the Faith and Order Commission had distributed its report on the church and the Jewish people late the previous year in the wake of the Six Day War, the assembly had before it a formal item on the Middle East! But as with the statement on anti-Semitism it was handled by a Policy Reference Committee, it was not presented as a part of the CCIA report, it was brief, and it contained no reference to theology. When Dr. (later professor) Krister Stendahl proposed the addition of a third paragraph calling for the WCC to “discern ways in which religious and theological factors affect the conflict” it was amended during debate by the deletion of the word “theological”, by 188 votes to 128.⁶⁴ The statement as adopted read:

We are deeply concerned that the menace of the situation in the Middle East shows no present sign of abating. The resolutions of the United Nations have not been implemented, the territorial integrity of the nations involved is not respected, occupation continues. No settlement is in sight and a new armament race is being mounted.

In these circumstances we reaffirm the statement of the Heraklion Central Committee in August 1967, and make the following points based upon it:

a) The independence and territorial integrity and security of all nations in the area must be guaranteed. Annexation by force must not be condoned.

b) *The World Council of Churches must continue to join with all who search for a solution of the refugee and displaced person problems.*

c) *Full religious freedom and access to holy places must continue to be guaranteed to the communities of all three historic religions preferably by international agreement.*

d) *National armaments should be limited to the lowest level consistent with national security.*

e) *The great world powers must refrain from pursuing their own exclusive interests in the area.*

The forthcoming report of the Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary General is urgently awaited, and the Assembly earnestly hopes that it may open the way to a settlement.

*It is the special responsibility of the World Council of Churches and of its member churches to discern ways in which religious factors affect the conflict.*⁶⁵



~ The Palestine National Council was charting its course towards the establishment of a State of Palestine.

It approved *The Palestinian National Charter* which set out the Palestinian self-understanding, the aspirations of the people, how they hoped and planned to achieve them, and its relationship to the Arab nation. This is especially important, because it captured two concepts in one sweep. It said, in effect: "On one hand, we the Palestinians are an integral part of the Arab nation, but on the other hand we are a cohesive community within the nation. We do not want to be forcefully scattered over many states like the Jews of the Diaspora: we, too, want a state of our own." It therefore complemented the concepts which Nasser had expressed in his address to the Egyptian National Assembly which had amounted to a declaration of war against Israel as the epitome of the amorphous Christian gel's imperialism and colonialism and it confirmed the expectation of cohesion within the Arab nation in the event that a confrontation occurred because those aspirations were being denied and repressed. It was the Palestinian equivalent of Herzl's *Der Judenstaat*. It encapsulated the Arab challenges to Britain and its Balfour Declaration, and the way in which the Christian Western countries had imposed their will on the rest of the world by means of a stacked United Nations. But more especially it reflected the way in which responsibility to compensate for the trauma of the Holocaust which had been suffered by the first member of the triangle of Abrahamic faiths (World Jewry) had been flick-passed to the third member (the Muslim world community) by the second member (the amorphous Christian gel).

However the people of the gel did not want to recognize it as such, or respond to it, because if they did so they would have to go right back to basics to work out how they

had got into that situation, and Israel had become so dependent on the gel, and notably the United States, that it could not say: "This is what it means!" Israel and the Zionist Movement therefore set about denigrating it as an amateurish basis for terrorist operations with the sole aim of pushing the Jewish population into rafts on the Mediterranean Ocean, to drift, rudderless from country to country once more. They were not interested in that and neither, on a careful reading of the charter, were the Palestinians. The Charter made it perfectly clear that when the Palestinian State was established *all* Jews then living in the Palestinian State would be entitled to full citizenship. It was anti-Zionist. It was not anti-Semitic But Israel claimed that the PLO was not offering any meaningful solutions and accused it of wanting to do exactly what the church had tried to do over many centuries, and what Hitler had tried to do in the early stages of his rule. The West was not in the least interested in such a scenario. It was fraught with problems. If the amorphous Christian gel had not been able - or had not been willing - to resettle Europe's Jews during the late 1930s, (and that was what the Evian Conference (chapter 20) was all about) it had even less hope of, or interest in, achieving the impossible in the wake of two wars in the Middle East. In any case, they had gone to a lot of trouble to appropriate this plot of land for the purpose, there was a lot hanging on the success of it, politically, and they were not about to let go of it and to hunt for another piece of land. The world population had grown at such a rate that the whole world was now spoken for. There were no more areas available, realistically, to appropriate for the purpose of forced colonization, or for refugee or convict dumping and the like - except perhaps the Mid West of North America, or BiraBidzhan, or North Western Australia. People just had to learn to live together! The Palestinians would have to work out their own solution. There were only a few of them. The Charter read, in part:

Article 1: Palestine is the homeland of the Arab Palestinian people; it is an indivisible part of the Arab homeland, and the Palestinian people are an integral part of the Arab nation.

Article 2: Palestine, with the boundaries it had during the British Mandate, is an indivisible territorial unit.

Article 3: The Palestinian Arab people possess the legal right to their homeland and have the right to determine their destiny after achieving the liberation of their country in accordance with their wishes and entirely of their own accord and will.

Article 4: The Palestinian identity is a genuine, essential, and inherent characteristic; it is transmitted from parents to children. The Zionist occupation and the dispersal of the Palestinian Arab people, through the disasters which befell them, do not make them lose their Palestinian identity and their membership in the Palestinian community, nor do they negate them.

Article 5: The Palestinians are those Arab nationals who, until 1947, normally resided in Palestine regardless of whether they were evicted from it or have stayed there. Anyone born,

after that date, of a Palestinian father - whether inside Palestine or outside it - is also a Palestinian.

Article 6: The Jews who had normally resided in Palestine until the beginning of the Zionist invasion will be considered Palestinians.

Article 7: That there is a Palestinian community and that it has material, spiritual, and historical connection with Palestine are indisputable facts. It is a national duty to bring up individual Palestinians in an Arab revolutionary manner. ... He must be prepared for the armed struggle and ready to sacrifice his wealth and his life in order to win back his homeland and bring about its liberation.

Article 9: Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine. This it is the overall strategy, not merely a tactical phase. The Palestinian Arab people assert their absolute determination and firm resolution to continue their armed struggle and to work for an armed popular revolution for the liberation of their country and their return to it . They also assert their right to normal life in Palestine and to exercise their right to self-determination and sovereignty over it.

Article 10: Commando action constitutes the nucleus of the Palestinian popular liberation war. ...

Article 13: Arab unity and the liberation of Palestine are two complementary objectives, the attainment of either of which facilitates the attainment of the other. Thus, Arab unity leads to the liberation of Palestine, the liberation of Palestine leads to Arab unity; and work toward the realization of one objective proceeds side by side with work toward the realization of the other.

Article 14: The destiny of the Arab nation, and indeed Arab existence itself, depend upon the destiny of the Palestine cause. From this interdependence springs the Arab nation's pursuit of, and striving for, the liberation of Palestine. The people of Palestine play the role of the vanguard in the realization of this sacred (qawmi) goal.

Article 15: The liberation of Palestine, from an Arab viewpoint, is a national (qawmi) duty and it attempts to repel the Zionist and imperialist aggression against the Arab homeland, and aims at the elimination of Zionism in Palestine. ...

Article 16: The liberation of Palestine, from a spiritual point of view, will provide the Holy Land with an atmosphere of safety and tranquility, which in turn will safeguard the country's religious sanctuaries and guarantee freedom of worship and of visit to all, without discrimination of race, colour, language, or religion. Accordingly, the people of Palestine look to all spiritual forces in the world for support.

Article 22: Zionism is a political movement organically associated with international imperialism and antagonistic to all action for liberation and to progressive movements in the

world. It is racist and fanatic in its nature, aggressive, expansionist, and colonial in its aims, and fascist in its methods. Israel is the instrument of the Zionist movement ...

Article 24: The Palestinian people believe in the principles of justice, freedom, sovereignty, self-determination, human dignity, and in the right of all peoples to exercise them.

Article 26: The Palestine Liberation Organization, representative of the Palestinian revolutionary forces, is responsible for the Palestinian Arab people's movement in its struggle - to retrieve its homeland, liberate and return to it and exercise the right to self-determination in it ...

Article 28: The Palestinian Arab people assert the genuineness and independence of their national (wataniyya) revolution and reject all forms of intervention, trusteeship, and subordination.

Article 30: Fighters and carriers of arms in the war of liberation are the nucleus of the popular army which will be the protective force for the gains of the Palestinian Arab people.

Article 31: The Organization shall have a flag, an oath of allegiance, and an anthem. All this shall be decided upon in accordance with a special regulation. ⁶⁶



- ~ 17: In Iraq, bitter at United States support for Israel in the Six Day War, the Baath Party seized absolute power in the country's third coup in ten years and turned to the Soviet Union for support.
- ~ 20: In the United States the people celebrated, the government basked in glory reflected from their scientists, and the nation's prestige recovered greatly in the eyes of the world as the first astronaut to walk on the moon, Neil Armstrong, stepped from the "Eagle" onto its dusty surface with the words, "That's one small step for [a] man, one giant leap for mankind."
- ~ 25: And in Rome, Paul VI issued the encyclical *Humanae Vitae*, against artificial birth control, which assumed central importance in Catholic social teaching and social action.
- ~ August
- ~ President Johnson ordered a stop to all bombing of North Vietnam. One stroke towards peace ... perhaps.
- ~ And at the Vatican, leaders of world Catholicism met for the 39th Eucharistic World Congress to discuss social justice issues in an atmosphere of peace, love and harmony, while just a two-hour flight north from Rome people were enjoying anything but social justice in an atmosphere of peace, love and harmony.

In Czechoslovakia a reform-minded leader, Alexander Dubcek, had replaced a traditional Stalinist Communist at the beginning of the year and set course for social and economic liberalization with increased civil freedoms, an independent judiciary, and other democratic

institutions. His intention to do so was well known, and it was also known that he intended to remain within the mainstream of Soviet bloc Communism. However his plans unnerved some Warsaw Pact leaders and on the night of August 20-21 Czechoslovakia was invaded by a combined force from all Warsaw Pact countries except Romania, dominated by Soviet units, and the reform movement was suppressed. A Soviet-controlled security service was installed, and the Dubček leadership was gradually forced out of top posts and eventually expelled from the party. The suppression was thorough, but there was no mass terror.⁶⁷

Indeed Social Justice considerations were big news in a number of countries. At this time, the home of a leader of the Liberation Theology Movement in Brazil, Archbishop Helder Câmara, was raked with machine gun fire in an attack which was believed to have been instigated by the country's military rulers. Câmara who, as archbishop of the poverty-stricken archdiocese of Olinda and Recife, and general secretary of the Brazilian conference for 11 years, was encouraging the Brazilian church to take an active role in promoting social change. His interest in the shantytown slums of Rio de Janeiro and his television sermons earned him renown as a champion of the poor. At the second Vatican Council, Câmara had advocated a church that distributed its riches. The impact of his social programs and addresses in favour of reform in weekly radio broadcasts led to government authorities harassing him actively, interfering with his ministry in the slums and condoning, possibly instigating, the machine-gun attacks on his residence. Câmara had angered landlords and army officers by warning that only the social action of the church could ward off a violent revolution by the dispossessed. He attacked the disparity in wealth between developed and underdeveloped nations, and, at home, the prevalence of an "internal colonialism" that fostered disrespect for basic human rights.

Also at this time, the second Latin American Catholic Bishops' Conference was held in Medellín, Colombia, and its active support for the liberation theology movement became headline news around the world. But it was not universally popular. The bishops issued a document affirming the rights of the poor and asserting that industrialized nations enriched themselves at the expense of Third World countries. They urged coordinated social action to set things right. That was music to the ears of the poor and the oppressed, but not to the political and industrial leaders who benefited from the way the Latin American socio-economic system functioned. What the bishops were saying and beginning to put into effect was likely to incite rebellion and upset the status quo. Because of their insistence that Christian ministry includes involvement in the political struggle of the poor against wealthy elites, active liberation theologians were often criticized - both formally, from within the Roman Catholic church, and informally - as "naive purveyors of Marxism and advocates of left-wing social activism." Many of their critics were well connected with the Catholic Church hierarchy and pressure was soon brought to bear to force them to conform to standard social theology.⁶⁸

At first the Vatican hierarchy did not intervene and the movement gathered strength and gained many successes in relieving social distress, reaching a peak of influence during the 1970s. But in due course some authorities became fearful that church-state relations were being undermined, that this could cost the church status and influence - and no doubt the flow of cash

as well - and in the mid 1980s instructions were issued by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith with warnings against translating sociology into theology and advocating violence in social activism.⁶⁹ Further pressure was applied during the 1990s and Pope John Paul II appointed more conservative prelates in Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America in a bid to curb the movement's influence. Other leaders of the movement included the writer of *Teología de la liberación* (1971; *A Theology of Liberation*), Gustavo Gutiérrez, a Peruvian priest and theologian; Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero of El Salvador (killed in 1980); Brazilian theologian Leonardo Boff; and Jesuit scholar Jon Sobrino.

~ October

~ But there was not much social justice to be talked about among the Palestinians, and antagonism between Egypt and Israel continued at a high pitch after the major Suez engagement, with period heavy shellin across the fortifications which Israel had built on the eastern side of the Suez Canal, and the IDF now undertook a major retaliatory attack well inside Egypt. Bridges across the River Nile were attacked and electricity plants in Upper Egypt were put out of action. Diplomatic intervention was achieving nothing and the situation gradually deteriorated.

~ November

~ 5: Richard Nixon was elected President of the United States. The Jewish vote was estimated to have favoured the second candidate, Humphrey, by 81 per cent to Nixon 17 per cent, and Wallace 2 per cent in one of the closest results in US history.⁷⁰ Nixon appointed Henry Kissinger as his assistant for national security affairs. He was elevated to head of the National Security Council some time later, in 1969.

~ 16: A bit of the gloss fell from America's reputation when the world learned of the cold-blooded massacre of about one hundred civilians at Mylai, Vietnam, which had taken place a year earlier. It was America's equivalent of Deir Yassin.

~ December

~ The spin-off effects of Israel's dispossession of the Palestinians, and their conversion into refugees, now began to show more clearly in other countries.

They had become apparent first in the former British mandated territory of Jordan, but as the PLO increased its influence in Southern Lebanon, began to develop administrative arrangements for its own refugee enclave, and made more cross border raids from there, tension between the Lebanese government and the PLO increased, too. This was especially so when, in response to a terrorist attack on an Israeli El Al airliner at Athens airport, Israel launched a retaliatory attack in Beirut, Lebanon, by landing troops at the airport: 14 Arab commercial aircraft were destroyed. The Christian-dominated government had stood aloof from the June War, thus being the only immediate neighbour of Israel which was not invaded and did not suffer territorial losses, and, in a bid to stay clear of the conflict, it now sought to restrict and control the Muslim-dominated PLO in the south. This led progressively to Muslim youth demonstrations in Beirut and other cities linked to demands that the government give the PLO more support. The interfaith conflict factor came in to play immediately, and the Israelis were

just as eager to take advantage of as Britain ever was with its Hindu and Muslim communities in India. This was later illustrated when clearly when, at the time of the 'civil war' in Lebanon when Israel was contemplating more direct intervention against the PLO, a senior Israeli government official said to this author: "If your fellow Christians in Lebanon can't control the Muslims, we will have to do it for them."

~ 1969

As the New Year passed, clashes between Lebanon's government forces and the PLO increased and the government's inability to restrict the operations of the PLO illustrated the weaknesses in Lebanon's faith-based constitution and its lack of preparation or will to work in a team with the other Arab states to force Israel to find a solution to the Palestinian problem. Because of their different circumstances they did not have the same priorities. This resulted in pressure being brought to bear by other Arab states for Lebanon to do more for the Palestinian cause and led directly, as an initial act of intervention, to the closing of the border between Syria and Lebanon.

Then it was almost as if the world was being given a dose of light relief from the pathos of Vietnam and the Middle East when tension between Catholic Civil Rights activists and Protestant extremists gradually worsened and put the spotlight on Christians in conflict in a British-Irish national crisis. The decolonization process took another controversial step when the carefully orchestrated 'Act of Free Choice' resulted in the incorporation of West Papua into Indonesia. Massive foreign exploitation of its resources began, coupled with large scale immigration from Java. The Free Papua Movement (OPM) progressively gained momentum. And the American Black Civil Rights Movement had a major success when a US Federal Court ordered an end to the dual segregated school system in Mississippi.

~ February

~ When Golda Meir assumed office as prime minister in Israel following the death of Eshkol she received confirmation of the United States commitment to the security of the Jewish State from Rogers, but she and her government began having misgivings when, a few weeks later, he added the stipulation that the concept of "secure and recognized boundaries" should not "reflect the weight of conquest" and "any changes agreed upon in the 1967 boundaries should be minor."⁷¹

Organizations such as the Land of Israel Movement were somewhat disturbed and pressure on the government to establish defended villages, kibbutzim, in the occupied territories increased. That was the colonizing aspect of Zionism to which the PLO objected most, so there was a hardening of attitudes on both sides. Those changes seemed to be the signal for both sides to step up the tempo and intensity of their campaigns, and in a war of attrition it was apparently Egypt's aim to destroy the Israeli positions along the canal to enable it to then recover Sinai, while it was Israel's aim to destroy Egypt's capacity to do so with quite deep strikes.

~ March

~ Coinciding with that development, the peace talks in Paris were progressing very slowly, and Nixon secretly ordered an expansion of the war in Indochina with the bombing of Cambodia, but then commenced a phased withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam in the interests of “Vietnamization” of the war, in which Kissinger played a major role.

~ May

~ 6: Lebanon’s crisis entered a new phase when the president declared a state of emergency and proclaimed that the government would only support the Palestinians in future if they submitted to the authority of the state and curtailed their actions against Israel. In a town near the border with Israel, the Lebanon army had tried to arrest a group of commandos when they returned from a commando raid; the towns people harboured them; the army threatened to blow up the town; and the commandos surrendered. The situation worsened; protests were organized, and the political opposition suddenly gained new muscle.⁷²

~ July

~ 25: Nixon announced the ‘Nixon Doctrine,’ which appears to have been substantially influenced by Henry Kissinger, during a visit to Guam, and developed a policy of détente with the Soviet Union, and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) began.

Tessler notes that according to Kissinger’s memoirs, during this period “Hussein remained reluctant to take on the Palestinians.”⁷³ [Emphasis added] This suggests that US strategy was to keep the level of tension between the Arabs and Israel suppressed by eliminating the Palestinian factor and by fostering cordiality between Jordan and Israel. That suggests either a lack of appreciation of the nature of the Arab nation, or a belief that other Arab communities could be persuaded, by means of a few favours and divide-and-rule tactics, to dump one of their integral communities.

~ “Incidents” occurred on the Sino-Soviet border.

~ August

~ An “incident” also occurred in Jerusalem. A young overseas Zionist activist on a visit to Jerusalem attempted to fire the Al-Aqsa Mosque on the Temple Mount. To some it appeared just another case of arson inspired by religious hatred. But the fact that a person would attempt to destroy one of the most revered places of worship in all dār al-islām prompted an event of far reaching importance only a few weeks later.

~ September

~ During a visit to the US base at Gaum, Nixon announced that the 550,000 American troops in Vietnam, and those of allied foreign countries, would be progressively withdrawn. However he said it, he could not camouflage the fact that the war had been a disaster, in human terms, for the people of Vietnam, the United States, the other Western countries which had been persuaded to back a “United Nations effort” and for the world.

~ In Morocco, King Hassan II, was host to a summit meeting of Islamic countries to consider the wider implication of the attack and to coordinate a response. The in-principle decision was taken that there should be a permanent forum for consultation at national leadership level within dār al-islām, and consideration was given to what its role should be, the

nature of the organization, and how member countries could be involved. A meeting of foreign ministers the following year was determined as the next step, and subsequently the Organization of the Islamic Conference was established in 1971. The huge flames which spring from small sparks are not always as may be expected.

~ October

~ Nixon's announcement of proposed American troop withdrawals from Vietnam was not enough to avoid two massive anti-Vietnam War protests in successive months in Washington.

They were followed by similar rallies in each country which contributed forces to the destruction, total inhumanity, depravity and suppression which passed as a war to avoid the Communist overthrow of democracy in South East Asia but which was, in reality, a war to ensure United States hegemony in the region. The people of the world, and especially the Western world, were becoming numbed by the series of crises which engulfed the world. Old concepts of peace and stability seemed to have been lost. People had to cope with a constant elevated level of tension, information overload and manipulation, and old social values were being discarded together with the expectation of peace and stability, especially by the threat of nuclear war which hung over them. For many people, the traditional Judeo-Christian values of America were no longer relevant. The Flower Power generation had arrived. Hippies, drop-outs, draft resisters, drugs, licentiousness, communal living and alternative life styles filled the pages of hundreds of "underground newspapers." The process had been gradual at first and people, generally, took little notice. There was a new high-tech world of the space age, big business, fortunes to be made. The establishment view was, overall, "if they can't cope let 'em drop out, as long as we don't have to look after them." But only two months before the first of the big anti-war rallies the world had been variously shocked, amused or bemused when the youth counter-culture and youth suicide became factors to be reckoned with when 450,000 people descended on Bethel, New York State, for the Woodstock festival of rock music, art and everything which went with it.

Five years earlier a magazine editor turned research scholar and then Visiting Professor at Cornell University, Alvin Toffler, had coined the term 'future shock' to encapsulate the circumstances which the Western world faced and had to come to terms with. Now, after several years of social research he published a book of that name *Future Shock*, and the world had an excellent opportunity to understand and plan how to cope with the phenomena he described. Sociologists took it up, concerned at how to slow down the 'system' and enable people to live more natural lives. . So did big business. But not to consider how to *offset* the phenomena, but how to *capitalize* on it. And to 'protect' the system which had spawned the new phenomena there had to be more arms and more militarism with more resource and human exploitation, so the pressure spiralled upwards. After a while interest lapsed in some aspects of the counter-culture, notable the drop-out alternative life styles, but some other aspects remained, taking firm hold on society. The key one was the drug scene. It was soon all downhill for a lot of young

people who either could not cope or simply rejected the culture which the dominant forces in society imposed. As Christmas approached it was, for them, a rather meaningless extravaganza.

And Lebanon's Christians began to think the same way, because in November the government had been forced to accept mediation by Nasser in its row with the PLO, and the outcome was virtual autonomy for a PLO state-within-a-state in South Lebanon under the Cairo Agreement. It could bear arms, determine its own military and foreign policy, and administer that portion of the country. The central government could no longer prevent any attacks on Israel which the PLO wished to mount. Unless the trouble in the triangle was miraculously resolved, or unless - at least - Israel and the PLO could be reconciled there was a near-certainty of an Israeli invasion of the south, or civil war in Lebanon, or an open war between Lebanon and Israel. Circumstances would soon determine which it was to be. No one understood the trouble in the triangle well enough, or had the will, to try to resolve that, and too many vested interests were involved on either side of the Israel-PLO divide for anyone to be able to soften their attitudes towards each other.

~ December

~ Having given his proposals to the Soviet government six weeks earlier, Roger's announced his plan for a joint US-USSR approach to resolving the Israel-Egypt conflict.

He simply proposed that Israel would return to the recognized international boundary between the two countries, and they would each give a binding undertaking that their territory would not be used to launch hostilities against the other. The implication was that the four 'great powers,' would guarantee the peace. At a meeting of the big four week about a week later, he proposed that a similar plan be put into effect for Israel and Jordan also. Israel was not about to give up the territory which it had occupied, on such an elementary basis, even though it had accepted Resolution 242. It rejected the plan outright. Egypt and Jordan wanted their territory back, so they were prepared to agree, with some conditions, but the other Arab countries objected. They wanted an overall settlement which resolved all issues, especially the Palestinian question, and they objected to a piece meal approach under which one country could again be played off against another. There was a stalemate.

In reality the plan had only a little to do with peace between Israel and its neighbours, and absolutely nothing to do with the fundamental question of Western-imposed Zionist colonial settlement in Palestine, or the trouble in the triangle. There was no attempt to resolve the second issue and no understanding of the third. The plan had all to do with protecting the interests of the United States. The Eisenhower Doctrine was no more, as already noted. The Arab countries had all turned to the Soviet Union for their defence supplies, naturally, (see above, supplies for the year 1968), because the United States would not supply them without a guarantee that they would *not* be directed against Israel, and if the United States was unable to broker a stable peace, and *very quickly*, it was in danger of not only forfeiting its strategic position in the Middle East, but also its entire commercial interests. All those beautiful black gold wells. If that happened, its relationship with the Soviet Union in world affairs was in danger of being inverted. Thus the *very least* that the United States had to be able to do was coerce Israel into

withdrawing from the land which it had occupied; coerce it into accepting a guarantee of its security so that in turn Israel would not feel the need to undertake further actions against its neighbours; and so that its neighbours felt able to accept that uneasy peace. It was a very tall order.

If it was not supplying their armaments, the only means the United States had of securing peaceful relations between the Arabs and the Israel was by trade. Trade meant buying their oil, which it was hell bent on controlling anyway, so that appeared to offer a solution. But that became a matter of a dog chasing its tail. The more it bought from the Arab countries, as a proportion of its total requirements, the more it became dependent on them - and on stability in the Middle East - for its own security. And the United States administration could not put all of its cards on the table, because if it did so it exposed the weakness of its hand. Whatever it did had to be seen to be done in the interests of world peace, and therefore, contrary to everything else that it was doing, it had to be seen to be collaborating with the Soviet Union. It is incredible if the Soviet Union did not see the basic strategy behind the American plan. *If* they saw it, then it indicates that - consistent with the leads which they had been trying to take at the various disarmament conferences - they were more interested in world stability than in scoring a major point at the expense of the United States. If they *did not* see it, they must have been persuaded by other issues or advantages.

Rogers' decision, or in terms of ultimate authority, that of the president, was not taken lightly. They had initiated an in depth study of the petroleum industry and US requirements which was published, and its recommendations put into effect, a few weeks later, in February. Such a study is not done overnight. The two things were certainly running in parallel: preparation of the Middle East settlement proposal and the petroleum utilization proposal. That step reinforced, remarkably, the United States' dependence on peace and stability in the Middle East which was already in place because of the earlier policies it had pursued. However they had not put all their cards on the table in December, so Israel, Egypt and Jordan could only react to the hand that had been played.

The Israeli government rather spoiled Nixon's Christmas when it made it displeasure patently clear on December 22, four days after the second phase plan - Israel's withdrawal from the West Bank - had been announced. Cabinet issued a forceful denunciation calling the Rogers Plan "an attempt to appease [the Arabs] at the expense of Israel" and stating that "Israel will not be sacrificed by any power or interpower policy and will reject any attempt to impose a forced solution on her ..." ⁷⁴ The following week, in Washington, the Israeli Ambassador told Henry Kissinger, then Nixon's national security adviser, "I personally shall do everything within the bounds of American law to arouse public opinion against the administration's moves." ⁷⁵ In addition to its substantive objections, Jerusalem also complained that US intentions had deliberately been kept from it, even though the relevant documents were being readied for presentation at the very time that Golda Meir was visiting Washington, and Rabin wrote in his memoirs that he was "genuinely appalled" at the lack of consultation. ⁷⁶ This suggest very strongly that Israel did not know that the petroleum decision was just about to be released and

that it had certainly not been briefed on the administration's self-preservation strategy. *This situation and the United States' decision parallel quite remarkably Britain's decision to dump the White Paper proposal for the partition of Palestine and, in effect, renege on the Balfour Declaration in the midst of the Munich negotiations.* (Chapter 21)

~ 1970

~ January

~ Israel made its displeasure even more patently clear in the New Year by ensuring that the Egyptian government would renounce its conditional acceptance of the plan.

Israel's Phantom jets - which Johnson had agreed to sell it just as he left office - were put into devastating use against Egypt. Bombing raids were launched deep into Egypt, reaching within a few miles of Cairo, and later in the month the IDF captured and temporarily occupied Shadwan Island at the entrance to the Gulf of Suez, near Sharm es-Sheikh, in an action in which two torpedo boats were also sunk, thirty Egyptian soldiers were killed and many more were wounded or taken prisoner. That action, combined with others in previous months, left Egypt's defence forces so under-equipped that it forced Nasser further into the Soviet camp and set the scene for further action in three years time. He made a secret trip to Moscow to appeal for further aid.. It was not long in coming.

~ February

~ Just as the US Cabinet Task Force of Oil Import Control released its report, about 1,500 Soviet personnel arrived in Egypt with advanced anti-aircraft equipment, including new SAM-3 missiles to strengthen Egypt's vital defences and to deter Israel from any further such actions.⁷⁷

According to Tessler, Israeli officials argued that the Soviet decision to intervene was actually made as early as the fall of 1969 [possibly October] and that if that was the case their intervention should not be seen as a response to Jerusalem's deep-penetration retaliatory strikes. If that *were* the case, it suggests a decision taken about the time that Rogers sent his proposals to the Soviet government, October 28, 1969, and if so, it also suggests that they saw through the US strategy immediately and were determined to do their bit to undermine it. However in either case the result was the same. When the Russians arrived Israel responded with even more intense attacks which encouraged Nasser to further expand the Russian presence. Soviet combat personnel arrived as well as advisers, and highly trained Russian pilots flew in defence of Egyptian positions, forcing Israel to cease deep penetration raids, encouraging Egypt to step up its own attacks on Israeli positions, swinging the balance temporarily in Egypt's favour, and resulting in an overall increase in battle actions during the next few months. It also resulted in a rapprochement between Jerusalem and Washington so that by mid-June the US was able to propose to each of Israel, Jordan and Egypt that they accept a three-month ceasefire and engage in another round of talks with American envoy Gunnar Jarring.⁷⁸

THE CRITICAL DECISION: 'DEplete THE ME AND CONSERVE OUR RESOURCES'

The report by the United States Cabinet Task Force on Oil Import Control is subtitled *A Report on the Relationship of Oil Imports to the National Security*. Given the circumstances of the time, and its consequences, it is a truly remarkable document which bears close scrutiny. Two issues had coincided. One was the want by major companies in the US oil industry to extract every possible dollar out of every available barrel of oil, regardless of where it was located. The other was the administration's need to find a way out of the crisis of its broken relations with the Arab oil producing neighbours of Israel without enabling the Soviet Union to take advantage of its predicament and thereby undermining both its role as the dominant force in world affairs and its ability to negotiate the most advantageous access to the raw materials of the world.

The American oil industry and government authorities were very conscious of the vast petroleum resources within continental and off-shore USA and they had been very happy to capitalize on their position as the principal supplier of fuels, solvents, lubricants, and chemical industry feed stocks to the world during two world wars and lots of smaller ones. That had been highly profitable. But now they either had control of, or access to, other vast sources of petroleum which could be extracted even more easily and even more profitably, especially if the industry were fully integrated all the way from the well, through transport, refining and distribution.

The two groups, commerce and government, wanted to exploit the resources of the world while they conserved their own. It was totally consistent with the philosophy which John Foster Dulles had espoused at the time of the establishment of the Bretton Woods institutions and the Marshall Plan. There were worlds to conquer and resources to exploit without the need for imperial armies! But they reckoned there was another convincing reason, especially in the case of the Middle East. If all of its petroleum was to be preferentially removed it would remove a security consideration and virtually take the Middle East out of future strategic consideration. At first the administration was not enthusiastic. In fact it was opposed to the concept. But then, when Israel-Arab relations loomed large in America's security planning, and when there was even a possibility that the crisis might open the door for the Soviet Union and that US interests might be elbowed out, it was decided to re-examine the matter, and a cabinet task force was appointed to do the job. If a suitable proposal could be devised there would be many advantages. Conservation of US crude; depletion of the Middle East reserves to eliminate a strategic consideration, prevent those fields from falling into European or Soviet hands; gain a big commercial advantage over Europe which would have to draw from the area; pick up greater profits by importing low-cost crude, and squeeze their competitors in America who did not have access to imported crude. Pressure began to mount for the removal of import restrictions and for other benefits.

The task force was set up. It did a very thorough job. While Golda Meir was trying to ascertain the strength of US support for Israel, and while the Egyptians and the Israelis were hurling shells and bombs at each other, the Cabinet Task Force was talking oil and the State

Department was talking to Moscow about a possible joint approach to peace in the Middle East. Some extracts from the report - and others from a minority "separate report" which were in strong opposition to the adopted report - show the emphasis the task force placed on security.⁷⁹ The extracts have been edited to condense them.

A BIT OF ERRATIC THINKING

Nature of security. *We begin ... by focusing on possible import interruptions ... [T]he risks to security from interruptions of oil supply do not, in the main, concern any danger to the functioning of the nation's armed forces. The military needs of the nation in an emergency, even if all requirement had to be procured in the United States, are such a small fraction of total domestic consumption that oil supply for the armed forces is very unlikely to be placed in jeopardy. We are thus speaking largely of security, of supply for defense production and for essential civilian uses – space heating, motor vehicles, etc. The risk of import interruptions poses a threat to the functioning of the civilian economy which might possibly have a serious effect on the nation in general or on defense industries in particular.*⁸⁰

Possibilities or probabilities. *[If the] United States [were] largely "dependent" on imports for its petroleum supply, [t]o what extent might such "dependence" compromise our security? ... [A] risk that is not considered probable may nevertheless threaten such serious damage as to warrant expenditures to guard against it. We must ... balance the impact on essential consumption of any given risk against the likelihood that it will take place. ...*⁸¹

Kinds of risks. *... we begin by noting the major difficulties that might attend dependence on foreign supplies. (1) War might possibly increase our petroleum requirements beyond the ability or willingness of foreign sources to supply us. (2) In a prolonged conventional war, the enemy might sink the tankers needed to import oil or to carry it to market from domestic production sources such as Alaska. (3) Local or regional revolution, hostilities, or guerrilla activities might physically interrupt foreign production or transportation. (4) Exporting countries might be taken over by radical governments unwilling to do business with us or our allies. (5) Communist countries might induce exporting countries to deny their oil to the West. (6) A group of exporting countries might act in concert to deny their oil to us, as occurred briefly in the wake of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. (7) Exporting countries might take over the assets of American or European companies. (8) Exporting countries might form an effective cartel raising oil prices substantially. We shall discuss these matters in greater detail after noting three more general topics: (1) the adequacy of tanker capacity in various crises; (2) the role in our analysis of other consuming areas, especially Europe and Japan; and (3) the fact that many countries produce crude oil and desire to sell it.*⁸² [Emphasis added.]

Tanker capacity in a crisis. *Apart from a war case to be discussed later, free world tanker supply would be adequate in most crises. The 1975 supply of tankers would, however, fall short of carrying 7 per cent of the free world oil available for export if (1) all US import controls were removed, (2) our Alaskan production turned out to be at the low end of the predicted range (1 MMb/d in 1975 and 2 MMb/d in 1980), and (3) supply either from the*

overseas Western Hemisphere or from North Africa ceased to be available. It is worth noting, moreover, that this tanker shortage would be substantially larger—about 10 per cent—with continued import controls, since the volume of world oil trade and the resulting size of the available tanker fleet would be correspondingly smaller⁸³

Other consuming countries enter our analysis in three ways. [The report then discussed pooled supplies, allied needs, competing demand, and producing countries.]⁸⁴ Concerning producing countries it noted:

*Oil revenues needed. Most exporting countries ... need their hard-currency oil revenues (or the equivalent) to finance internal economic development and military requirements. Expectations generated by such revenues are difficult to stifle for any extended period, although it must be recognized that some individual countries have in the past foregone revenues for several years for political reasons. Generally speaking, however, every producing country wants to sell more oil.*⁸⁵ [Emphasis added.]

*Middle East uncertainties. So long as tensions continue in the area, several problems with Middle Eastern supplies may be noted.*⁸⁶

*Physical disruption. In the event of another regional war, it is not inconceivable that major Arab installations might be attacked. Incidental interdiction of Iranian delivery routes is also possible. A physical disruption attributable to a regional war is not likely to be long - probably not more than a few months - but we cannot exclude the possibility of prolonged interruption. Sporadic guerrilla activity - short of regional war - is not likely to interrupt the bulk of exports.*⁸⁷

*Concerted political denial. It is possible that the Arab states might band together as they did briefly in 1967 to ban oil shipments to specified Western countries. If the boycott were brief or were directed selectively against only one or two importing countries, total supply would remain adequate. Thus to have a problem, one must postulate something approaching a total denial to all markets of all or most Arab oil. The probable duration of any such concerted action may, however, be limited by the difficulty of maintaining political cohesion in the face of sacrifice of immediately needed revenues and the risk of losing market share to exporters not participating in the boycott. [A footnote indicated that Iran could take advantage of the situation by expanding its production.] Still, given the tensions in the area, the possibility of a prolonged and virtually total boycott cannot be ignored. ...*⁸⁸ [Emphasis added.]

Radical regimes; Soviet involvement. Hostile governments are unlikely to arise simultaneously in major supplying countries. There might, however, be a succession of such governments. In either case, such governments would need to market their petroleum. If they wished to deny supplies to the West, they would have to rely on the Soviet Union, itself a major producer and net exporter, to absorb large volumes of supplies diverted from the West ... [The report proposed that this was not likely to happen because by 1980, the Arab countries alone would be exporting something like 30 million barrels per day, requiring an

underwriting of more than \$10 billion per year. It then discussed Venezuela separately and 'other countries.']

Economic exploitation. *The exporting countries might form an effective cartel that would charge us "a monopoly price." But that seems unlikely... Furthermore, the possibility of a monopoly price in the future is not usually a persuasive reason for paying an enhance price now.*⁸⁹

The report then considered *war Contingencies*, noting that nuclear war and general non-nuclear war were considered unlikely, and, concerning limited war, that: "Our experience in limited wars such as in Korea and Vietnam indicates that dependence on foreign oil supplies in limited wars does not lead to protracted supply interruptions." [A footnote indicated that the Defense Department purchased about 40 per cent of its needs offshore, and discussed Japan, South East Asia and Europe, noting that simultaneous denial to Europe and Japan "seems quite unlikely".]⁹⁰ It next turned to incremental wartime demand and the risks to wartime tanker deliveries.

The Task Force had been told that "a prolonged conventional war is a possibility but not a probability or the key risk." It said that while "the distinctive implications of submarine risks must be stressed ... Import restrictions do not bring us total insurance against submarines unless provision is made to supply the East and West Coasts from Gulf Coast and Alaskan sources by pipelines or other inland means of transportation [and] Western Hemisphere oil on the other hand *does* provide incremental security, since in the view of the Defense Department the Caribbean and coastal waters affected during World War II are now significantly more secure than the high seas."⁹¹

Turning to Consumption

*... We assume domestic demand for all petroleum ... of 18.6 million barrels per day (MMb/d) in 1980 at current prices [based on] government and company submissions to the Task Force. At lower prices, there would be some increase in consumption from expansion of the petrochemical industry, increased use of asphalt, greater use of low-sulphur liquid fuels to minimize air pollution, substitution of fuel oil in space heating, and some increase in gasoline consumption. Quantification is not easy, but we adopt as plausible the estimate of Standard Oil Co. (NJ,) that a 10 per cent price decrease would increase demand 1 per cent. This would imply an increase of 0.7 MMb/d in 1980 if prices fell from present levels to about \$2.00 per barrel. ...*⁹²

CLEAR WARNINGS, RATIONAL DISSENT, IGNORED

Considering that Egypt and Israel were then in the middle of a highly destructive war of attrition; that Soviet advisers and pilots were assisting Egypt in large numbers; that Israel had already destroyed two Egyptian refineries; and that, as it acknowledged, the Arabs had attempted a boycott in 1967, the recommendation to immediately cut domestic production and

increase imports, would have seemed a *flight of fancy of enormous proportions* if the risks were not being traded for the opportunity to secure the allegiance of, or control over, Arab producers. Even so, three top ranking members of the task force still seemed to regard it as a flight of fancy. In their dissenting *Separate Report on the Oil Import Question*, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Commerce and the Chairman of the Federal Power Commission said they did not agree generally with the analyses and conclusions in the *Task Force Report* and specifically oppose the program which it recommends.⁹³ They said:

The program would substitute a tariff for the present quota system. A tariff is highly undesirable in many respects and would lead to domestic and international problems of great significance.

The program would result in price fixing. Stripped of its foliage, the recommendation of a tariff of \$1.45 is designed to produce a domestic price of \$3.00 a barrel for oil. The control of imports based upon any predetermined price for domestic oil is not only impractical, but would be a further retreat from a free market.

The program would risk the national security in fundamental respects. It would make us dependent on insecure foreign supplies by discouraging the exploration and development necessary to build our own reserves of oil and gas. Because of its adverse impact on the natural gas industry the proposed program would disrupt energy resource utilization and consumer demand for 75 per cent of our current energy base.

The program would involve substantial economic loss to the industry, to its 1.2 million employees and to the 31 oil- and gas-producing states, so as to weaken our internal economy and impair the national security within the meaning of the statute.

These objections to the majority program are multiplied by the intimation that the recommended tariff of \$1.45 a barrel is to be followed by further liberalization. The analyses in the majority report are directed toward a proposition that the price of domestic oil should be forced down toward \$2.50 a barrel. Whether or not such further actions do occur, the uncertainty that they present to the industry must necessarily involve a significant reduction in oil and gas exploration and development. The record shows that at a price of \$2.50 a barrel the United States would be at the mercy of distant supplying countries within ten years.

It is neither desirable nor timely to consider a major change in the quota approach of the oil import program. ... The present Mandatory Oil Import Program, based upon import quotas, has in fact worked effectively... There is no need for a fundamental change in the structure of this program at this time.

Nevertheless, some increase in oil imports is appropriate, since the probability is that we will need to bring more oil into the United States over the long term [and] we propose that ... steps be taken to improve the administration and policy guidance for the Mandatory Oil Import Program ... [and to] ... provide for an annual increase in the percentage of oil imported for each of the next five years, moving it up gradually from the present level. ...

They said their alternative program would serve the national interest best; effectively protect national security by stimulating further development of our own resources; reduce reliance on historically uncertain distant sources of supply; and avoid major shock to the oil producing and refining industries, to their stockbrokers and landholders, and to the states dependent upon them for tax revenues. Then they added a very blunt supplementary warning about the effects if the proposals was intended to force the price down. ***US national security would be jeopardized*** for reasons including that the availability of supply from domestic production, from Canada, and from Latin American sources has been overestimated; the dependence on Middle East and North African supply will inevitably be significantly higher; and “we question seriously the wisdom of the United States undertaking the risks involved in becoming oil dependent on Middle East countries.” There would be major investment losses to American producers, reduced employment, reduced state revenues, and damage to the economies of a number of states.

They slammed the approach taken to costing the recommendations, saying that the available supply of natural gas would be seriously reduced or its price increased, but at the same time there would be large scale waste of oil and gas resources if the recommendations were implemented. *They said that the premises on which the Report seeks to satisfy national security considerations were not supported by the record, and were based on the most optimistic assumptions*, seriously understating the probabilities, severity, and consequences of oil supply interruptions in both a conventional war, when the availability of adequate oil supplies would be a major factor in determining the military and diplomatic options open to the United States. Similarly, in a short conventional war supply shortages can result from regional wars or guerrilla activities and “recent history and *current events* indicate that the probabilities of these interruptions are considerably greater in both frequency and duration than the *Report* implies.”

“Extreme nationalism pervades policy thinking in most foreign oil producing nations” they said, and those countries know that oil is a non-replaceable resource and “we cannot assume, therefore, that a continuance of dollar income will rank high in their priorities or that their actions will be rational by Western standards. Widespread denials, moreover, are not dependent on concerted action; they may reflect concurrent individual actions arising from a common approach to domestic and international problems. Two such denials of Middle East oil have been experienced in the past 13 years. That requirements were met without serious supply deficiencies lends little assurance that they can be similarly met if the status of the US producing industry is substantially changed.” They could have said: “We and Britain have each shown them how to do it, and they are quick learners!”

They noted that the oil industry’s inventories were normally kept to minimum levels consistent with seasonal requirements and provisions for contingencies, and that inventories cannot be drawn upon in an emergency without causing future shortages. And referring to the implication in the report that in an emergency some unspecified amount of petroleum would be replaced by conversions to alternative fuels, particularly to natural gas and coal, they said: “Such an anticipation is entirely unrealistic.”

PUSH ON REGARDLESS!

Three very senior policy advisers could hardly have been more scathing, but in view of the administration's hidden agenda the recommendations were implemented. Depletion allowances for domestic producers were reduced. There were substantial increases in domestic crude oil prices and the lifting of free-oil regulations which related imports to the level of domestic production. The major American oil companies then embarked on a systematic programme to reduce domestic production of crude oil, exploration, drilling and reining. And they applied pressure to the government and the public to provide finance for overseas exploration out of grants and higher profit margins. The administration may have thought that by offering the Arab petroleum produces the opportunity to supply more oil to the United States they were strengthening the trade ties and reducing a security risk, but the major oil companies were trading national security for higher profits and they had the government in a weaker position from several points of view.

Domestic crude oil production in the United States, having peaked in 1970, immediately began a steady decline, just as the minority report had said it would, and total domestic consumption continued to rise. The short fall between production and consumption was made up by additional imports from the Middle East. The Arabs generally, and the Palestinians in particular, rubbed their hands with glee. They knew that the United States could not now afford to allow a war in the Middle East because of the threat to its own security. They could therefore expect cooperation from the United States in applying pressure on Israel to make concessions to redress the wrongs done to the Palestinians. They began to have visions of a State of Palestine with East Jerusalem as their capital. It was their turn to cry "*Next year in Jerusalem!*" (cf. Chapter 16.) And the United States had lost the capacity to limit arms build up in the Middle East because if the Americans wanted their oil they had to let the Arabs trade with who ever they wished.

The Israeli government perceived the situation very quickly. Before the ink was dry on the new regulations they realized that if the United States had made itself dependent on the Arabs for stability it was not likely to rush to its aid to defend Israel. The Americans would *necessarily* play their "even handed" game and apply pressure on Israel for it to make unacceptable concessions, in order to avoid offending the Arabs. Israel could therefore no longer rely on it, without serious reservation, to hold up the umbrella. They already sensed that as soon as Rogers trotted out the US plan for US-Soviet cooperation in the Middle East. They now knew that they had to be able to hold their own umbrella. They made it quite clear that if America did not want a war in its oil territory the best way to ensure that it could avoid one was by providing Israel with sufficient means to secure its own defence that its neighbours would be reluctant to risk a war. They wanted weapons, planes, tanks, artillery - and plenty of them. The graph of US aid to Israel suddenly changed. It went almost vertical! But what did that achieve? If Israel had arms and had not resolved the Palestinian question to their satisfaction, and if the Arabs did not have comparable arms, it left them in a hole. They did not like it. They expected

to at least have parity with Israel, and it did not really worry them who they bought their arms from. They would soon be independent of aid to obtain them, because the prospects for their future oil revenues were looking good. The Middle East was about to have its mini-arms race. But it would only be mini compared with the real thing between the United States and the Soviet Union.

THE WINNER, BIG OIL: THE LOSER, THE WORLD.

And the oil industry had achieved a coup as well. It could demand anything and if it did not get it, it could just pull a plug or two somewhere and the United States would have to back it or face a regional war. Furthermore, with such copious supplies of oil available to them from the Middle East where production costs were so much lower than anywhere else, the oil companies could screw any country which had reserves of oil and which wanted to go into production to generate development funds for virtually any concessions. The grounds were very simple. We don't need your oil. We can get it more cheaply somewhere else. We are doing you a favour. Take our price or leave your oil in the ground!

Where did this leave the United States? Desperate for peace in the Middle East, but with a lot less bases than it needed if it was going to play policeman. Having lost its footing in the Middle East it had to have massive mobility and strike power or allow the Soviet Union to take over the role of king-maker peace-maker. If it did that, Israel would be forced to make concessions to the Palestinians which would be domestically unacceptable in both Israel and the United States. The United States would be in for a rough ride. It therefore needed a lot of big aircraft; big air fields dotted around the world to handle them; big missiles so that it did not have to be close at hand; and big aircraft carriers and cruisers which were not dependent on regular refuelling stops. That meant nuclear powered. That meant allies who were prepared to have visits by nuclear powered and nuclear armed ships, or the means to coerce them into issuing an invitation. And all of that meant a string of highly sophisticated signal stations strategically placed for pin-point accuracy in position finding. This all had to be packaged and sold as the defence of the free world. No one would accept the idea of the defence of pure American self-interest. Even though the Soviet Union was being surprisingly cooperative in almost every issue of international significance - except the easing of restraints on Jews in the USSR and permission to emigrate to Israel - the anti-Commo agitation and propaganda could not be put away yet. It was still needed to whip up those naval, air and navigation bases. All because the United States had got itself into an untenable position in the Middle East. It was aping Britain between the two world wars to perfection. The US-Israeli Alliance had become the determining fact in international affairs. And it was all because no one cared to dismantle the trouble in the triangle. It was not Israel's fault - except to the extent that it refused to recognize that it had become the colonial oppressor *par excellence* and that it refused to put things right with just as much resistance as the European colonial powers. The difference was, as we have traced all the way through the trouble in the triangle, that it was in that situation because of the misconduct of

the amorphous Christian gel and it still remains, essentially, for the gel to dissolve itself and start all over again.

The world would just have to stagger on for a while longer yet. But it should not take too long for things to come to a head one way or the other. The United States had picked up the Zionist umbrella when Britain threw it away in 1948. Then it set its own treadmill going, succeeding Britain and the European powers as the great exploiter. It started off without armies: just economic and political policies. But each time it lifted the treadmill a notch it had to apply more military power. It had slipped a notch in Korea in 1950, then stepped up a gear the first time at Suez when Britain finally withdrew from the imperial stakes and the United States took over with the Eisenhower Doctrine. It slipped another notch in Vietnam in 1964, and now it had made its next gear change with the Oil Import Question and its decision to exploit the reserves of the Middle East in what it hoped would be a peace bargaining chip. It did not take it long to realize what had happened. It now needed far more fire power constantly available than it had required before, but it had a constant juggling act to keep the interests of Israel, the Palestinians and the Arabs, and the oil industry in some sort of perpetual balance. The graph, *The Widening Gap*, illustrates the dilemma. [For the supporting data, see note ⁹⁴.]

DIPLOMACY - OF SORTS - CONTINUES

~ July

~ US Secretary of State Rogers made proposals for the settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict which were acceptable to Jordan but not to the PLO.

~ September

~ 4: In Chile Salvadore Allende became the first person to be freely elected president on a Marxist-Leninist platform in a non-Communist country. He did it against heavy odds at his third attempt, with the United States having provided massive financial and organizational support, coordinated jointly by the State Department and the CIA, for the previous Christian Democratic government.⁹⁵ Three days later a CIA report concluded, in part:

The US has no vital national interests within Chile.

The world military balance of power would not be significantly altered by an Allende government.

An Allende victory would represent a definite psychological set-back to the US and a definite psychological advantage for the Marxist idea.⁹⁶

~ Allende then proceeded to nationalize several US companies and complete the nationalization of the copper industry, which the Christian Democrats had already partly nationalized, but, in spite of the CIA report, the United States imposed an economic blockade and took internal domestic steps to sabotage the economy as well.

~ In Jordan, relations between the government and the PLO had been wearing thin for some time because the king's priority was to maintain reasonably friendly relations with Israel, and to avoid giving the PLO a say in government, except in affairs directly affecting the management of the refugee camps, while the PLO's priority was to strengthen its position in order to put increased commando pressure on Israel and to keep the plight of the Palestine people and the independence issue before the world.

At the same time tension developed between the Palestinians living in the West Bank and those living in Jordan, because the Israeli reprisals were directed at villages on the West Bank, not in Jordanian territory. Israel expected, quite naturally, that the West Bank settlers would want the incursions to cease so that they could live in peace. Gradually the PLO, whose people represented a substantial proportion of Jordan's real population, wanted a more direct say in government, and, in spite of Yasir Arafat saying that the PLO did not want to interfere in the affairs of government of any of the existing Arab host states, the reality was that some factions wanted a say and began to put direct pressure on the government to change its structure and methods of operation. The more radical factions began to regard Hussein as a liability rather than an ally, describing him in terms such as "reactionary", "a puppet of imperialism", and "a Zionist tool," and also began manoeuvring for his overthrow.⁹⁷ When Hussein indicated support for the Rogers plan in July, Fatah, the dominant faction of the PLO, found itself drawn towards the 'overthrow Hussein' factions.

A series of incidents between July and September, including an attempt to assassinate Hussein, several aircraft hijackings, the seizure of an oil refinery and the establishment of a unified command for the Jordanian and PLO armies with Yasir Arafat as commander, convinced the king that he had to eliminate the PLO challenge. He dismissed the civil government, appointed a military government, and, with Arafat refusing to negotiate, appointed a new Commander-in-chief. Next day:

~ 17: Hussein ordered all out war against the PLO, the destruction of its camps and its headquarters. The slaughter and brutality was comparable to that during the Israel-Arab conflicts, with estimates of the number of deaths ranging from 1,500 to 30,000. With the PLO in a desperate plight and the refugee camps badly battered, Nasser intervened with the king and negotiated an armistice, but Hussein was determined that no future PLO activities would disrupt his relations with Israel. In due course he ordered a second stage of the PLO elimination process.

~ December

~ In Poland Premier Gomulka had registered a foreign policy success by signing a treaty with West Germany that involved a recognition of the Oder-Neisse border. However, major strikes in the shipyards at Gdansk, Gdynia, and Szczecin, provoked by price increases, now led to bloody clashes with police and troops in which many were killed. Gomulka had to step down and was replaced as first secretary by the more pragmatic head of the party in Silesia, Edward Gierek. The uneasy church-state accord continued under Gierek, although Wyszynski more openly supported the Workers' Defense Committee,

Solidarity, and Rural Solidarity which would soon press for greater freedom. In due course Wyszynski's last major act in Poland would be to negotiate arrangements for the visit of Pope John Paul II in 1979.

~ 1971

~ The World Council of Churches established the Program to Combat Racism (PCR).

~ April

~ Hussein's prime minister, Wasfi Tal, ordered stage two of the assault to eliminate PLO influence in Jordan. The fedayeen were driven from Amman and other major towns and many prisoners were taken, but some PLO posts remained operational.

~ May

~ The Soviet Union signed a Treaty of Friendship with Egypt, and followed it with another with India, while the founding Summit Meeting of the Organization of the Islamic Conference convened in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, which was then designated as the headquarters of the organization.

Very ambitious plans were prepared to fulfil the aims of promoting Islamic solidarity by coordinating social, economic, scientific, and cultural activities. Under the banner of strengthening the struggle of Muslims, the conference pledges to eliminate racial segregation and discrimination, especially in regard to the PLO. Projects include the International Islamic News Agency, the Islamic Development Bank, the Islamic Solidarity Fund, and the World Centre for Islamic Education. Its membership (2000) includes Afghanistan, Algeria, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Benin, Brunei, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Comoros, Djibouti, Egypt, Gabon, The Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Maldives, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Oman, Pakistan, Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, The Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen

~ July

~ Wasfi Tal ordered a final assault on remaining PLO bases in Jordan. Its remnant forces fled to Lebanon, reorganized, and turned to international diplomacy in addition to direct confrontation. The process of rebuilding a military presence was slow, and Israel had reason to think that it may have faced the last challenge to its territorial ambitions. But although Hussein was caught in a sandwich which was the result of the way in which Israel had been established - not one of his own making - and had lost patience with the PLO, the Arab nation at large was still very sympathetic to its cause. A domestic argument between brothers did nothing to alter the historical relationship between the Arab nation, Britain and Israel. Nor did it alter the fundamental relationship between the amorphous Christian gel, World Jewry, and dār al-islām.

~ October

~ 26: In an historic decision the United Nations General Assembly voted to overrule the continued use of its veto by the United States in the Security Council, expelled Nationalist China and admitted the People's Republic of China in its place.

~ By the end of the year Britain had relinquished its protectorates over all of the Persian Gulf States which it had controlled and in which it maintained a military presence at the height of its imperial

power. The United States was then the only Western power to control military bases in the Middle East.

~ 1972

~ The Soviet Union became obsessed with the prospects of a hostile China, while Paulo Freire did all he could to consolidate the gains of the Liberation Theology Movement and to further undermine the grip of US-sponsored, Catholic Church dominated, right wing dictatorships in Latin America with the mass paperback publication of his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*.

~ May

~ Under the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT I) the Soviet Union and the US agreed to an Antiballistic Missile Systems treaty (ABM) under which the nationwide deployment of such systems would be banned and the number of anti-missile missiles which each would hold was limited to 200. This then placed the emphasis on the need to reach agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons, but accelerated the development of multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles (MIRVs)

~ July

~ In the spirit of things to come, the Soviet Union showed that it was more intent on peace than war when it was reluctant to support Sadat's policy of continuing confrontation with Israel and made it clear that it would not necessarily support Egypt in another war against Israel. It was so clear that Sadat announced the withdrawal of Soviet advisers and opened secret channels of communication with Washington, hinting that Egypt and the United States, together, could eliminate Soviet involvement in the Middle East. He reasoned that only the Americans with their special relationship with Israel might be able to influence the Israelis to return the occupied territories without war.

~ October

~ In what has been described as the achievement of détente by America, steered by Henry Kissinger, the US and the Soviet Union reached a comprehensive trade agreement. Nixon agreed to seek congressional approval for the Soviet Union to have most favoured nation treatment, in return for the Soviet Union repaying part of the Second World War Lend Lease appropriations. Then, following the failure of North Vietnam's spring offensive, South and North Vietnam and their backers all decided that it was time to end hostilities.

Secret talks began in Paris between Kissinger and Le Duc Tho of North Vietnam towards a cease-fire agreement based on the release of prisoners of war, evacuation of the remaining US and other foreign forces within 60 days, and political negotiations among all Vietnamese parties. However South Vietnam's president, Nguyen Van Thieu was concerned that the plan might enable the Americans to claim "peace with honour" and leave him appearing to carry all of the responsibility and the need to deal one-on-one with the Communists while 100,000

troops opposed to his rule remained in his country. The fighting and grandstanding therefore continued but with yet another US presidential election only ten days away Kissinger announced on October 26, with less than complete openness, that “peace is at hand.” Then, secure after his landslide re-election but facing even greater political pressure to bring the troops home, Nixon sought to impose his version of peace in a manner hardly filled with the spirit of peace at Christmas. He ordered 11 days of intensive bombing over Hanoi itself, from December 18 to 28, while threatening Thieu with an ultimatum that the US would make a separate peace and end its aid to South Vietnam if he did not accept the peace terms.

~ 1973

~ The UN General Assembly declared Apartheid to be a crime against humanity.

~ January

~ 27: Henry Kissinger was the US negotiator for a Cease Fire Agreement which was signed in Paris to end the Vietnam War.

~ March

~ 29: The United States withdrew the last of its troops from Vietnam, leaving a legacy of devastation, death, chemical defoliation, landmines and the destruction of an entire social order in a country which it had gone in to “save” from a socio-economic system of which it did not approve.

It was 19 years since the Geneva Peace Conference; 11 years since the American Military Assistance Command was formed, and almost nine years since the ‘official’ start of the war. The United States had lost its first war after dropping an estimated *7,800,000 tonnes of bombs - more than were dropped during the entire Second World War by all countries*. That is equal to 120 tonnes per square kilometre, or one third of a tonne for every man, woman and child in North Vietnam.⁹⁸ Total US expenditure was about \$155 billion. Estimates of total Vietnamese deaths (North and South) were more than 2,000,000 soldiers and civilians, compared with some 58,000 American and other foreign deaths. The end of that stage of US involvement in South East Asia also brought to a close 15 years of astounding change in world politics that featured the arrival of the space and missile age, and the climax of decolonization.

~ In Chile, Allende was elected for a second term against even greater odds than in 1970 and the US continued its campaign of destabilization to generate chaos. Chile was not allowed to have the government of its own choice.

~ June

~ The Soviet Union and the United States reached agreement to refrain from the threat or use of force against each other, to reduce the possibility of nuclear war.

~ August

~ The US ceased bombing attacks on Cambodia. Nixon announced the appointment of Henry Kissinger as Secretary of State. Previously National Security Adviser, he was the first Jew to hold the post.

~ September

~ 11: In Chile, Allende was killed in a massive US-backed military assault on the presidential palace in a coup which was followed by a period of repression under a military junta headed by General Augusto Pinochet. An estimated 30,000 people died and 150,000 were imprisoned, tortured or exiled.⁹⁹

~ Henry Kissinger was appointed US Secretary of State.

~ October

~ 6: During the Muslim month of Ramadan, and on the Jewish Day of Atonement, Egypt and Syria launched coordinated attacks against Israel in a bid to recover the Golan Heights and Sinai in the October War, otherwise known as either the Yom Kippur War or the Ramadan War.

The war took Israel completely by surprise. It had been pursuing policies aimed at “pacifying” the Palestinian population of the West Bank and Gaza with the immediate aim of ending all guerrilla activity, but which many Israeli politicians hoped - and expected - would involve the Palestinians in the management of their own local affairs to the extent that they would lose interest in the concept of independence enshrined in the Palestine National Charter. That, so the reasoning went, would enable Israel to remain in permanent occupation of those regions and to eventually incorporate them into the State of Israel, in defiance of UN Resolution 242 which required it to withdraw. Failing that, they preferred to return the West Bank to the Kingdom of Jordan and to retain the Gaza Strip, but in either case there would be no independent state of Palestine. Israel, pursuing a policy of “the carrot and the stick” had been lulled into a sense of confidence by the way in which many of the local Palestinian elite had responded to the “carrot” of local municipal elections in March and May 1972, and concessions which were proving commercially favourable. It was a revised version of Britain’s Indian ‘divide-and-rule’ policies. Those who were able to accept either permanent Israeli occupation or re-incorporation into a United Arab Kingdom of Jordan were given preferential treatment compared with those who wanted the more “radical” program of Palestinian independence. They were given the big “stick.” And big it certainly was.

Life in Gaza, which was home to the majority of the radical Palestinians who were involved in commando raids against Israel, was “paralyzed.” For two years it had been subjected to house to house searches, in which the families of suspects would be rounded up and transported to detention centres in occupied Sinai. About 12,000 people had been rounded up and transported in that manner prior to July 1973. The suspected commandos were subjected to treatment such as being forced to stand waist deep in the Mediterranean under armed guard for hours while the searches were carried out, and economic sanctions were imposed on their villages. In July 1973 the Israeli military commander decided that the refugee camps should be further thinned out, to make compliance operations easier, and an additional 13,000 people were rounded up and transported to the Sinai detention centres. During the weeks which followed, large numbers of suspects were gunned down in murderous raids on the camps. The program was successful to the extent that fedayeen raids in Gaza were fewer, fragmented and less effective.¹⁰⁰

Sharon was winning the war of the weapons. But he was losing the war of wills. He seems to have ignored the fact that the Palestinians were not a small separated ethnic community which could be suppressed in isolation. They were a fully integrated part of the total Arab nation, and the Arab nation was essentially Muslim, under the umbrella of *dār al-islām* regardless of the fact that a small percentage of the population was Christian. That complete sense of community and integration was clear from the Palestine National Charter, from the broadcasts by Nasser, from the statements and policies of the Arab League, and now from the statements and policies of the Organization of the Islamic Conference as well. *Dār al-islām* is just as cohesive as World Jewry. Much more cohesive than the amorphous Christian gel. Hitler knew that if you kick one Jew you kick every Jew. The British government knew it too. That was the basis of the Balfour Declaration. It was no different with the Arab nation or with *dār al-islām*. Kick one Arab and you kick every Arab. Kick one Muslim and you kick (almost) every Muslim. But the amorphous Christian gel is so fragmented, so diffuse, that the same does not apply. It cannot be said that if you kick one Christian you kick every Christian.

YOM KIPPUR. MORE THAN A WAR OF WILLS: A CHANGING WORLD

So: motivated by a complete sense of community with the Palestinians, Egypt and Syria struck without warning. Their training and security had improved enormously under the professional eye of their Soviet military advisers since the Sinai-Suez debacle, and their planning and preparations had been so good that the element of surprise was complete. Israeli intelligence had been unable to give its government any warning at all and their front line units had been lulled into a sense of over confidence. In its initial assault, on October 6, the Egyptian army smashed through the Israeli fortifications along the western edge of the Sinai, then leap-frogged over them to divide the Israeli forces and make great progress across the peninsula. Similarly, the Syrian armour smashed through Israel's eastern positions on the Golan Heights and forced the Israelis to retreat to new defensive positions in the southern sector of the Golan Heights. The Arab advances were so rapid and decisive that Israel ordered the mobilization of reserves and Defence Minister Dayan, after visiting the Syrian front told the commander of the Israeli air force that desperate measures were required and the fate of "the Third Temple" was at stake.¹⁰¹ With Israel facing the prospect of defeat the government appealed to the United States for urgent assistance. Egypt and Syria were being re-supplied progressively by the Soviet Union, and, after a few days hesitation, the United States undertook a massive re-supply operation designed to turn the tide. Nixon was determined to show Israel and its supporters - and the Arabs - that America had not deserted the Jewish State with its change of oil import strategy three or four years earlier. But he was not going to "do a Korea" or "a Vietnam" and send in the troops. He did not want a war in the Middle East in which the United States could only be the loser from two points of view. The Soviet Union could roll its forces straight in the short way, via the Caucasus, in overwhelming numbers and with unrestricted armour and artillery capacity, while the United States had to fly them in. And even if it won the war on the ground, it would lose the war of the oil wells. That would spell economic and political catastrophe. After his few

days of hesitation he decided on an air lift. He would supply the wherewithal and the Israelis could do the ground work, and the war was not likely to blow into a big one. American forces would not have to confront Soviet forces, and the Arabs could not say that the United States had gone to war against them. It was simply aiding a “preferred ally.”

On October 24, after another very short war of only 16 days, an armistice was agreed. Logic would suggest that with the armistice everything would quickly return to normal. The troops could go back to their barracks; the governments could go through the motions of shaking hands again and, perhaps, agreeing on small revisions to their boundaries. Even full voting rights might be possible for the Palestinians in a state which they did not want to call home. But this was the Middle East where nothing has ever been that simple. There was a bit more of the parody to act out. Not the parody of *Mein Kampf* this time, but the parody of *Der Judenstaat*. The world was in the middle of the trouble in the triangle and until that was dismantled nothing was going to be simple.

Nixon’s response to the *Oil Import Question* was coming home to roost. However he did not like the consequences which the three minority dissenters had made perfectly clear in their ‘separate report.’ He was going to do what he, and other members of the amorphous Christian gel had done when, acting in the name of the United Nations, they determined to establish the State of Israel and made the Arabs take responsibility and pay the price for the Western world’s *largesse* or the salve for its conscience. The United States was about to go to war with everyone who disagreed with its support for Israel. It would turn the screws a touch so that those countries would not be so silly in future. It was going to be quite simple, and almost painless for the United States. The allies of the Palestinians had sought to apply an oil embargo against the United States and Holland, the key allies of Israel in the Yom Kippur War, in an effort to force them to drop their support for the Jewish State and to negotiate a settlement of all the outstanding issues. It was a very simple matter to deflect the effects of that embargo onto other people because the United States held a strangle hold over the supply lines and the tanker fleets. And in addition, the major players in the oil industry would all stick together. They had a lot at stake in this too, and they could not afford to let the Arabs win. The world was heading for an unprecedented situation from which the road to recovery would be slow and difficult.

THE OIL EMBARGO AND CHANGING RELATIONSHIPS

When the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries, OAPEC, announced on October 17, 1973, that *several* of its members would cut their oil production by five per cent each month until Israel withdrew from all of the territory which it had occupied as a result of the Six Day War in 1967, and that *some* members had imposed an embargo on shipments of oil to the United States, Holland and countries through which those two might be supplied, it was *not an act of war*. The United States had very deliberately *not* entered the war, militarily, and some of the OAPEC members who imposed those supply restraints were not even at war with Israel. It was a negotiating mechanism which those members had learned very well from very

painful experience at the hands of both Britain and the United States. It was intended to put pressure on Israel *indirectly* by applying pressure on the major players in the amorphous Christian gel which had been responsible, both directly and indirectly, for imposing the colonial Zionist state on their community.

But to consider it as simply a political negotiating mechanism is also to miss the point. It was a critical phase in the trouble in the triangle and another event which illustrated the *nature* of the *role* of the people of the Covenant, the people Israel, in drawing humanity to a clearer understanding of its relationship with God and the norms of conduct and relationships provided for the guidance of humanity. The embargo became the trigger for dynamic changes in power relationships; in the relationships between the people directly caught up in the trouble in the triangle; and changes in the circumstances of trade and development which are inevitable, but which the amorphous Christian gel, dominated by the United States, has sought to prevent by a number of insidious means. Each new trick drags the world into greater disarray with more and more tension which makes the recovery and the upward movement towards Maimonides' understanding of the Messianic Age all the more difficult and increases the potential for disastrous lurches one way or another before that upward movement becomes apparent.

The western world, the amorphous Christian gel, insists on treating the situation which has evolved as if it were a series of only vaguely related incidents and economic difficulties, rising unemployment and fears about the collapse of the currently dominant and apparently sacrosanct global economic system. Its financial leaders meet, with a few politicians tagging along to give their meetings legitimacy, in august economic forums while police outside are used to violently suppress the efforts to be heard of those who see a more meaningful alternative. They debate particular factors such as whether the socially and environmentally destructive influence of the tax free and uncontrolled mass movement of capital from one market to another are real, or just the figment of the fertile imagination of those who want to rein in their excesses. The price of oil, the inflationary impact of the taxes which are associated with it, and attempts by various governments to restrict the free-enterprise sector of industrial activity are their greatest concerns. It concerns them little whether the world which they are *currently* controlling is stable and fit to live in for the ten or eleven billion people who will want to call the planet earth their home - and to share its water, food, land, resources and sunshine - when the population reaches its anticipated plateau in about six generations from now. Responsible, informed advice is that *it will not be* if they carry on the way they are going. In any case, if they do carry on the way they are going it is a near certainty that broken human relationships will have brought their system crashing down around their ears long before we get through another six generations to that population plateau level. That is what the oil embargo was all about. That is why the trouble in the triangle has to be resolved - and quickly. Attempts to deal in isolation with the factors which concern our world leaders to the point of distraction from reality cannot bring about stability and can only lead to further industrial and political manipulation and greater uncertainty.

So: if the oil embargo was as important as all that, it is equally important that we understand how it happened, how it was manipulated, and some of its consequences. To pick up some of the key issues, discussion follows on an outline of events as they affected a number of countries, then the development connection, and a close look at Australia's circumstances which encapsulate the issues involved, before a very brief diarized overview of the remaining years of the twentieth century.

ON COURSE FOR A DATE WITH DESTINY

The die was cast and the American oil industry had put its country, and the world at large, on course for a date with destiny when the president accepted the recommendations of the Cabinet Task Force on the Oil Import Question. There was soon a confrontation with the Revolutionary Libyan Government over prices and government equity interest or participation in *existing* oil fields, and a highly organised attempt by the oil companies to boycott Libya into submission. For that purpose the US government even exempted the companies from United States anti-trust laws. That was an abuse of legal process which was to the detriment not only of Libya, which was pushed to the edge of economic and social chaos, but to the whole world because of the flow-on effects. The world has forgotten about - or was never properly informed about - America's bid to crush Libya into economic submission, but it has been preoccupied to the point of obsession with the crash of an American civil airliner in Scotland in December 1988 with the deaths of 270 persons which is currently the subject of international legal prosecutions. Many observers allege that the two situations were linked. However the American non-anti-trust action was followed by an ultimatum from OPEC that government participation must be agreed to promptly. The pace was quickening. Revised pricing agreements were signed. Systematic price adjustments to offset, firstly, the dollar devaluation and, secondly, western inflation were agreed to.

Iraq was then unable to get satisfaction from the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC) so it nationalized its oil concessions. The companies turned the heat on Iraq, boycotted its nationalised oil and brought its industry to a halt. Again the Western world's governments turned their backs on a producer government and Iraq could make sales on a barter basis only to Eastern Europe, in much the same manner that Cuba had bartered sugar for oil a few years earlier. One by one the companies capitulated on the questions of participation and agreements were signed with Libya, Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi. OPEC established a contingency fund to assist Iraq and Syria which had been affected by the loss of pipeline transit fees because of the lack of lifting from the Mediterranean terminals served by the pipelines from Iraq. The companies began another round of supply manipulation in Latin America because they had committed themselves to reaching staggering new production levels in the Middle East, and Venezuela led the way with another initiative – penalties for variations up or down from agreed production targets which were related to the previous year's actual production. Iran proposed

the total acquisition of all the facilities of its oil industry, coupled with guarantees of supplies for the consortium members. It had nationalised the concessions in 1951, as already noted.

Canada had very quickly realised that problems arose from its unrestricted exports to the United States, and it imposed controls and began to reduce exports. It is reasonable to assume that the Government was also conscious that the American companies were using Canada as both a shield and a big stick in their dealing with the countries of the Middle East and Latin America. Then in mid year, 1973, the US government further relaxed import controls, and imports from the Middle East shot up immediately. (See the chart, The Widening Gap.) But before anyone realized what was happening the Middle East was at war. The sequence of events during and after the Yom Kippur War illustrates a remarkable degree of responsibility on the part of the Arab producers *in sharp contrast* to the conduct of the American dominated oil industry as a prime collaborator with the US State Department in pursuing its Middle East policy.

On October 6,th Israel found itself at war with Egypt and Syria. Next day, the 7th, Iraq expropriated the American quarter interest in the IPC subsidiary which was still operating, in retaliation for US support of Israel. All of the major oil companies immediately stopped lifting Iraq's oil from the Mediterranean terminals altogether. On the 8th Aramco halved the flow of oil from Saudi Arabia to the Mediterranean and subsequently stopped shipments from Sidon. In collaboration with the State Department it was cutting supplies to Europe to say to those governments, in effect and in very blunt terms: "come on board and support Israel against the Arabs." Iraq entered the war in support of Egypt and Syria on the 10th, then talks which had been in progress between OPEC's negotiators and the oil companies on revised pricing, participation and buy-back arrangements broke down when the companies stalled for time on the 14th. Next day, the 15th, with Israel having stalled the progress of both the Syrian and Egyptian forces, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait entered the war as well.

President Nixon announced next day, the 16th, that the US would not allow Israel's security to be jeopardized and directed the 6th fleet to the eastern Mediterranean. OPEC negotiators announced that an agreement would no longer be sought with the companies and henceforth prices would be fixed by the producing governments unilaterally. An immediate increase of 70 per cent in posted prices was applied. It was then, on the 17th, with the tide turning against the Arabs in the war, that OAPEC announced that several of its members would cut production rates by five per cent each month until Israel withdrew from all territory which it had occupied in 1967, and that some members had imposed an embargo on shipments to the USA, Holland and countries through which they might be supplied.

The United States and the oil industry set about a massive media blitz and succeeded in confusing the world-at-large about its role in the October War and the oil embargo by means of a smoke screen of innuendo, incomplete information and misrepresentation. The oil industry generally, in league with the US government, was at pains to show that the Arab countries were holding the rest of the world to ransom through the use of the oil weapon. However the facts are

that the matters of oil price and oil embargo were, and are, quite separate issues. The protracted price negotiations were between the oil companies and *all* members of OPEC including Venezuela, Iran, Nigeria and Indonesia – not just the Arabs. The embargo was a political matter between the Arabs and the United States. The outbreak of the Arab/Israeli war enabled the United States and the oil companies to confuse the two issues, and thereafter they certainly were linked. The oil industry and the United States administration hoped that by placing all the ‘blame’ on the Arabs at that time that the world might be stung into opposition, resulting in OPEC retracting its decision, and in other countries adding their weight to the US-Israeli Alliance against the Arabs.

The US and *its* oil industry used the oil weapon *before* the Arab states by closing the Mediterranean oil ports, thus cutting Europe’s supplies by 1.7 million barrels per day, initially, in an effort to coerce European governments into an anti-Arab posture through self interest and, at the same time, applying more pressure on the allies of the Palestinians by reducing the income available to them. The Arab states decided on economic warfare only *after* the American President threatened military and naval intervention and moved a troop-carrying fleet to the region. The production cut first announced was equal to about the rate of imports of Arabian petroleum into the United States. The clear intention of these countries in coupling productions cuts and embargoes was to apply pressure to the United States, and *not* to the world generally. However, the effective control of transport which the United States was able to exercise enabled it to buffer itself and to divert the supply cuts against whoever they wished. The US made big issues out of the fact that Iraq did not impose productions cuts and Saudi Arabia imposed bigger cuts than other OPEC members, implying division within the ranks. Those actions were in fact highly complementary.

Iraq had nationalised much of its oil industry and the government directly controlled 1.6 million barrels per day which was almost all committed in *government to government deals* with Spain, Italy, France, Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Russia, Bulgaria, Brazil, India, Egypt and Turkey. The Arabs had no wish to interfere with the flow of oil to these countries but it was precisely those countries which were affected first, and dramatically because of the speed with which it was done, when the oil companies stopped lifting from the Mediterranean terminals. The balance of Iraqi production, 0.4 million barrels/day, was in the hands of British and French companies supplying those countries with the full support of the Iraqi government.

On the other hand Saudi Arabia’s production at that stage was entirely in the hands of American-controlled Aramco. More than 60 per cent of the Arab crude oil imported into the USA, was from Saudi Arabia, and this was 20 per cent of US imports. Saudi Arabia therefore was in a better position to affect supplies in the USA than any other Arab country. However the US was able to keep the Mediterranean port of Sidon closed to oil tankers for the duration of the war and three weeks afterwards. Baniyas (Syria) from which most of Iraq’s government-to-government supplies are shipped was attacked by the Israeli air force, severely damaged and closed, but it was operational again on a restricted basis within a few weeks. That was the end

of Britain's window of opportunity. While it was closed the Arabs risked damage to pipelines and pumping stations by forcing the exceptional volume of 750,000 barrels per day through the Iraq-Tripoli pipeline which had a normal design capacity of 500,000 barrels per day.

By December 7th there was a shortfall in Bunker 'C' and marine diesel fuels of 25 per cent compared with actual requirements throughout the world. This must be related to the actual drop in crude oil production in Arab countries resulting from both Arab-directed costs and US manipulation of 5 per cent in October (approximately one per cent of gross world supplies) and 24 per cent in November (7 per cent), and also to the stocks normally held at major ports. By late November oil tankers were being laid up because of insufficient bunkers and marine fuel to carry crude oil and refined products. These lay-ups *inevitably* affected countries friendly to the Arabs or, more especially, those buying nationalised crude oil from Iraq. Shipments of wheat, coal, iron and other basic commodities between countries friendly to the Arabs were also affected to some extent from about this time.

Imports to Europe fell immediately the oil companies stopped lifting Iraqi Oil from Baniyas, *before* it was bombed by Israel, and a drop in imports to Britain was apparent immediately the embargo was announced. However imports to the United States were maintained at a record daily rate during November and were 7.7 per cent *above* the daily rate for September. The graph 'USA Petroleum Consumption, Production and Imports 1970-1975' illustrates these matters. Export restrictions imposed by Canada, Venezuela and Ecuador contributed to the drop in US imports to a low point in February. The subsequent recovery in US imports was rapid. By May imports were above the base September level and they continued to climb steadily. The *contrived* stock shortages and massive price increases engineered around the world shook the economies of every developed country but had the most devastating effects in the USA, where the combined effect resulted in the large scale shut-down of the automobile industry and, by negative flow-on effects, other manufacturing industries and the construction industry.

The main graph *page 1790*, compiled from data published monthly, progressively, by the Petroleum Economist shows the peak of crude oil production in the United States which was reached in 1970. Over the five year period 1966-1970 the domestic demand for petroleum products had risen by 22 per cent while domestic crude oil production had increased by only 16 per cent. On a two year average basis, the proportion of domestic crude used to meet total domestic demand had fallen by 4 per cent, from 69 per cent to 65 per cent. Data showing that change in supply and demand pattern and the data on which the graph is based are set out in footnotes.^{102 103 104} In that year, 1970, domestic crude production was 74 per cent of total 'new stock,' and imports accounted for only 26 per cent. The steady and deliberate decline in production which the dissenting minority report had anticipated began immediately, as a result of the adoption of the recommendations of the Cabinet Task Force on the Oil Import Question. Over a five year period that decline was at exactly the same rate as the increase over the previous five years.¹⁰⁵ For the full year 1973, the year in which the embargo was applied in mid October, domestic crude production had fallen to 60 per cent and imports had risen to 40 per cent of total new stock. Imports reached a new record high level for the full month of

November, even though *the embargo had been in place for six weeks*, before falling to a trough in March at the time that the embargo was lifted.

The graph shows that total domestic consumption of all products fell significantly more than imports, while stock levels were held virtually static. The industry did not tap into its standard stock levels. After a slight rise from June to October there was a slight fall from October to March, but the overall stock level at the end of 1973 was still marginally higher than the stock level at the beginning of that year. The figure of most significance in illustrating the gross irresponsibility of the petroleum industry is the domestic crude oil production figure. That figure illustrates the way in which the industry exploited not only the people of the United States but the entire world community while it played politics on two fronts - domestic and foreign policy - for profit to the disadvantage of *all* other parties involved. The production figures which were published progressively at the time of the embargo, and on which the main graph is based, indicated that domestic crude production was maintained at the same trend-level as before the embargo - continuing slightly downward but with a marginal increase for the month of February 1974. However, revised production figures which were published subsequently, and which are shown in the supplementary graph for the period September 1973 to June 1974, show a different situation. From the time that the embargo was imposed, domestic crude production was allowed to fall at a rate corresponding approximately with the fall in the level of imports. From March, when the embargo was lifted, domestic production was also increased at a corresponding rate so that by May it had recovered to the level before the embargo. The shortfalls in imports and in domestic crude production together correspond closely with the drop in domestic consumption.

It is difficult to find illustrations of the abuse of resource control and power politics which had a more lasting and degrading impact on human affairs than that. Throughout that period the American public and the world at large were being bombarded with propaganda about how the Arabs were holding the world to ransom. Not only had the oil companies ceased lifting oil from Iraq altogether; not only had Israel forced the closure of the Baniyas terminal by bombing to prevent any shipments of crude oil to Europe from the remaining Mediterranean terminal; but the oil industry in the United States had reduced production to tighten the economic and political screws even further. It could not argue with any legitimacy that it was impractical to increase production at short notice. It had increased production very readily in 1967 in order to increase supplies to Britain and Europe to offset the impact of Arab production cuts at the time of the Six Day War. And in addition, Iraq had put its pumping stations and pipeline at risk in order to increase the flow to Baniyas by 50 per cent in an effort to increase supplies to Europe. The industry in the United States had far more capacity and ability to increase production dramatically at this critical point. It chose not to do so. It chose to do the reverse. It *cut* production.

Those who determined the course of the industry appear to have had three main motives. One coincided with the political motives of the Arabs in applying the embargo against the United States, but it was exactly the reverse. By using the rest of the world as its direct target, it

was applying indirect pressure on the Arab countries to coerce them into “softening” their support for the Palestinians and their easing their pressure on Israel to make good the suffering of the Palestinians. Another was to undermine the influence of OPEC and to use the economic damage resulting from the production shortfalls to pressure it to slash its price increases, remove some of the restraints which it had placed on the operations of the industry, and to stay out of participation in such a complex and risk laden industry. Yet another was to persuade the world that it needed a highly profitable oil industry, free of competitive restraints, as the only way to finance the massive exploration and development which was necessary for the world to stay one step ahead of an enormous energy crisis. The aims of the oil industry neatly dovetailed with the aims of the US State Department; the State of Israel and its supporters; the Western world’s heavy resource extractive industries which did not want OPEC-type organizations interfering in their affairs any more than the oil industry; and with the church at large and the Vatican in particular because it did not want to see any increase in the influence of Islam which was very likely if the Arabs won this round. The amorphous Christian gel was in fine fighting form!

The official OAPEC embargo was lifted on March 17, 1974. The real aim and effect of this was to remove the ‘justification’ or the means by which American political manipulation of oil supplies was managed. It was to provide relief for the countries which were either allies of the Palestinians or which were not in a position to protect themselves in any way, and *not* to take the political pressure off the United States. In any case it was pointless to continue it because the United States, through its stranglehold of distribution and production around the world had made a mockery of it. The profits and share values of the oil industry jumped sharply. Percentage profit increases for selected US-based companies for the January – March quarter of 1974 compared with 1973 were: Exxon (Standard of New Jersey) 38 per cent; Mobil (Standard of New York) 66 per cent; Socal (Standard of California) 92 per cent; and Texaco 123 per cent. These figures must only be regarded as indicative because there is no common accounting base for comparisons.

A TOUCH OF PLANNING

As important as the immediate economic effects of the manipulation of the embargo were, the strategic, interfaith and human relations implications were much more far reaching. If the industry was being driven by the motives or aims noted above it was to be sorely disappointed. Its actions backfired in every case. Interfaith and human relations first. Although Egypt and Syria were not immediately better off at the end of the brief and bloody encounter, their cause had been lifted to new heights of international understanding. The Arabs were seen to be the champions of the underdog. That meant the Muslims, too. The church’s role, and its attitude to those outside the narrow pathway to salvation which it prescribed, were under a brighter spotlight than ever. Other Third World countries were hurting, certainly, from the combined effects of the steep oil price rises and from the traumatic and disruptive impact of the US-

imposed supply cuts. But as soon as the huge bags of gold began arriving on the doorsteps of the major oil producers they began to share it out through a series of aid programs. At first it was a bit *ad hoc*, hit and miss, as urgent needs were drawn to their attention. This was indeed something quite new and quite radical. People in the Third World were not accustomed to profit sharing on an international scale by those who exploited them or their resources. The ripple of excitement was visible, audible and real. The oil producers had to do some immediate planning. They were not accustomed to the flow of cash which was coming their way. They did not have the financial institutions which could handle it. They were virtually starting from scratch. They had to do some planning, and quickly.

First, there were their own needs for economic development with provision for social planning and enhanced physical infrastructure. Then there was investment to protect their future when their oil would run out. And overlaying the whole lot were the responsibilities which were part of a religious commitment. Help for those less fortunate. Protection and preservation of the environment. And propagation of one faith. It was the Muslim's turn to wonder whether there was a touch of Divine intervention in their changing circumstances, just like the Jews after their salvation in the Six Day War. It was their chance "to get out from under the heel of the Christian West."¹⁰⁶ They were going to put their faith into action. And they were going to spread the word and support their fellow Muslims wherever they lived. *Dār al-islām* was about to blossom! Enormous, inspiring mosques began to spring up and beckon the faithful not only in the mainstream Muslim world but in countries where there were only small populations of Muslims. So did international Islamic universities, schools and colleges, and hospitals. Where there were small Islamic societies, they began to flourish. Where there were none, they began to sprout.

Now strategic considerations. As already noted, if the United States was to be able to sustain Israel in the face of military attack, without having to launch an invasion of the neighbouring Arab countries which would be a task of Herculean proportions and which would backfire with disastrous repercussions, it had to be able to control military re-supply routes both by air and sea; it had to have air strike capacity from places out of range of immediate retaliation; and it had to be able to secure both the oil fields and the petroleum shipping lanes for itself, for its allies and for Israel as well, because Israel does not have significant supplies of its own. Securing the shipping lanes of the Middle East to be able to supply Israel was going to be very difficult indeed. This caused enormous complications for countries lying on those supply routes - especially if they were not favourably disposed to support the US-Israeli alliance in conflict with the Arabs, and it certainly will again, in the event of another war between Israel and its neighbours. Any other war in the Middle East pales into insignificance alongside a war involving Israel. Such a war threatens to become a war of the United States and Israel versus the rest - if Israel is able to retain the support of the United States - and the simple reason is the current nature of the world's oil and resource dependence.

This need not have been the case, even for a world dependent upon petroleum, if the Western powers had been prepared to utilize their own resources rather than exploit those of other

people who were not in a position to resist, and if it had not continued to practice exploitation when the imperial colonial era had been extinguished. In the years following the Yom Kippur War and the oil embargo there was a mad scramble for each country to develop secure petroleum sources of its own, and that has relieved the potential for crisis to some extent, but oil is not the only resource which plays a major role in the stability and continued economic success of the West. To force such a change was actually an important motive in the decision of OPEC to impose the structural and pricing policy changes which it did. But that factor still exists to the extent of each country's dependence on other countries - especially the allies of the Palestinians.

It is therefore apparent that any pressure to *increase*, instead of to reduce, dependence on oil from the Middle East in current circumstances by coercing the countries of the Middle East to open their valves a little wider actually *increases* the potential for multilateral crisis in the event of another war. In such circumstances, those who lead the push for greater supplies from the Middle East on the basis that it is necessary to reduce domestic oil product prices certainly have a mixed bag of motives. One could well be an attempt to spread the 'risk' factor and make other countries equally dependent on peace and stability in the region as is the United States, making them more amenable to supporting the United States and Israel in a showdown. If they are not aware of the consequences of such a manoeuvre, or if they are so convinced of their power and the invincibility of their system that they believe they can roll their way through any crisis, then they are incredibly naïve. Just as naïve as those who thought they could deflect the impact of the oil embargo onto the rest of the world without any adverse consequences for themselves. However the majority who make such calls are probably not in a position to be aware of such issues and they are concerned only with short term domestic economics.

MILITARY RESUPPLY FOR ISRAEL IN A CRISIS

Coupled with the question of guaranteed passage for Israel's tankers is the question of resupply of arms, ammunition and heavy equipment in the event of an Israel/Arab war. This is quite different to and separate from arrangements for the 'normal' supply of these items, whether under congressional aid programmes or commercial contracts, in which case sea transport is quite adequate. The characteristics of a war in the Middle East are such that resupply of Israel must be by air.

The question of resupply bases is so important that the struggle between the US and Israel on one hand in their efforts to obtain secure resupply bases, and the Palestinians and their allies on the other hand in their efforts to *prevent* such bases being made available, will linger until the trouble in the triangle is finally dismantled and peace becomes a reality in the Middle East. The effects of that struggle were manifest in intense domestic political manoeuvring in each country which is a potential resupply base. In very few cases is an open or public debate likely on the issue of bases-for-Israel or no-bases-for-Israel. In most cases legal, commercial or industrial tactics coupled with personal attacks were used to change leadership or leadership policies in

the direction which each interest-group wished. It is always the bread and butter issues which arise as secondary effects around which the public posturing occurs.

In October 1973 the US carried out a massive airlift which avoided humiliation for Israel, by a shuttle service using refuelling facilities in Guam, the Philippines, Thailand and the Azores. Britain refused the use of its bases. Turkish and Greek bases were also used for related purposes. However, subsequent to October 1973 the use of all of these bases for such purposes was denied – with the sole exception of Guam, which is a territory of the US. The key bases in 1973 were the Azores and Guam. A senior diplomat at the US Embassy in Canberra confirmed (on February 6, 1976) that the arrangements which were then current for US access to the Azores specifically excluded their use for Middle East operations in support of Israel. The vulnerability of Guam, quite apart from the requirements of sound strategic planning, makes it absolutely essential for the US to have resupply access to at least one alternative base on the eastern approach to the Middle East, as well as at least one and preferably two secure bases on the western approach. The bases on the approach from the east must lie somewhere along a line from Korea or Japan in the north, through the chain of island states, to the northern region of Australia in the south. The bases on the approach from the west must lie somewhere between Britain or Ireland in the north to the Ivory Coast region of Africa. Spanish bases, already mentioned in connection with trade route protection, are therefore important, being well placed in the resupply-flight belt as well.

The economic and political factors leading to the denial of bases, subsequent events in each case, in related territories and in countries in the resupply-flight belts must be considered. The situations in Portugal, plus Angola and Timor, Spain, Greece, Turkey, the Philippines and Thailand illustrate this, and Australia's special position involved a number of inter-linked issues.

Member countries of the Islamic Conference should be excluded from consideration as resupply-flight bases in view of the stand being taken by the Conference in support of the Palestinian cause. These include Indonesia and Malaysia on the eastern approach and all of the countries of the northwest coast of Africa, from Morocco to Gabon, excepting Sierra Leone, Liberia, Ivory Coast, Ghana, Togo, Dahomey, Cabo Verde and Equatorial Guinea. Nigeria was granted Observer status at the Conference. However, all of the African countries listed are members of the Non-Aligned Nations Group and all except Cabo Verde and Equatorial Guinea are also members of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

PROTECTION OF THE VITAL INTERESTS OF THE US

For this purpose we must consider 'vital interests' to be those factors which, if interrupted or interfered with, prejudice the economic or political stability of a country. Vital interests change from time to time as domestic arrangements, indigenous supplies of raw materials, foreign trading patterns and trade routes, international alliances and the technology of warfare change. In present circumstances America's most vital interest is its oil supplies from other countries.

America's current dependence on foreign oil, although a consequence of its own decisions and actions, is very real, as indicated by the dissenters in their Separate Report. Strategic considerations can be looked at from the point of view of guaranteeing supplies and protecting supply chains.

The US must be able to replace any shortfall in petroleum supplies in the event of an embargo on supplies from Arab countries being imposed on it. The options available include: increased domestic production; increased supplies from other sources by negotiation; increased supplies from other sources by manipulation; substitution of alternatives for petroleum oil and products; and the withholding of product exports. In the early stages of the 1973/74 embargo, manipulation resulted in imports for the month of November 1973 being an all-time record as shown in the graph of US petroleum supplies, *page 1791*. That option is no longer open to it without prejudicing its international relationships or without the use of associated force.

The obvious option of an immediate substantial increase in domestic production has been effectively killed by the industry's deliberate policy of running down both production capacity and refining capacity to exploit overseas sources although, in the wake of the embargo, dramatic changes in government policy were made and the strategic reserve was established. The nature of US politics is such that the industry will press for further concessions or the electors will have to pay a high price before that policy is likely to be reversed. The present situation in which one candidate for the presidency is pushing for an increase in domestic drilling while another has sought the release of part of the strategic reserve illustrates that. Even that option presupposes that available refining capacity exceeds domestic crude production capacity by a reasonable margin and access to export refining capacity in other countries is not impeded to any greater extent than access to foreign crude oil.

Reliable figures for achieving increases in production in an emergency are difficult to obtain, but serious consideration must be given to the contention in the Separate Report that 5 per cent reliable excess is not likely to be maintained. Figures for well drilling in recent years support that contention.

In an economy as complex and as energy dependent as the United States there is no way that significant substitutions could be achieved in a short term without major disruption and loss of industrial productivity during conversions as the Separate Report made clear. Increased nuclear power generation is no longer an easy political option, and it takes time and capital even if the electors were to embrace it again. Hydrogeneration accounts for only a few percent of gross energy production and even a big relative increase would not be significant in short-term substitution and is dependent on other factors as well. There is great reluctance to substitute solid fuels for liquid, gas or electricity and such substitutions require much time and capital, and, in the current circumstances in which the United States is already trying to find ways to avoid its international climate change obligations, a change back to substantial use of solid fuels is politically unthinkable. Natural gas offers the best prospects for short-term substitution and it is used extensively in place of oil products as a chemical feed stock, but any further substantial

substitution would have to be met by imports or by withdrawal of supplies from other uses, and the effect on industrial employment and the slowing down of the economy would keep the financial number crunchers very busy indeed.

The withholding of exports by USA was used as both a commercial and a political lever in 1973/74, and commercially it was highly successful in forcing price increases for many product lines such as solvents and waxes beyond cost-justified levels in countries such as Australia. In other countries without established price control procedures, price increases of the same nature were achieved in basic fuels as well as in refined products. However, politically the policy backfired violently with the expropriation of US-owned assets in many countries, increased pressure for government control of - and participation in - the industry, the establishment of national tanker fleets and the establishment of national grids and strategic reserves. As a future emergency conservation measure it could still be useful but politically, it would again have wide repercussions, even if it was seen to be differently motivated from the manoeuvring of 1973/74, being for different reasons - economic stability rather than market exploitation - and it would be an option which the US administration would want to avoid until forced into it by domestic circumstances. Commercially such a policy must now have less attraction!

To offset an embargo on supplies from one source, increased supplies by negotiation is the obvious choice if the government has been unable to impose the logical option of increased domestic production. However, the ability of the US to negotiate increased supplies in an emergency is dependent on a number of factors: normal commercial and political relationships between the US and the potential suppliers; their ability to increase production quickly; the scale on which emergency supplies are required, and, most critical, their political preparedness to replace embargoed supplies in the event of a war in the Middle East which involves Israel. It must be assumed that every Arab producer would decline to increase the supplies available even if it did not join in an embargo against the US and those of its allies who collaborated in military support of Israel. On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that every other current supplier which does not participate in an embargo will agree to either increase production or allow exporting companies free rein in the disposition of supplies available to them. All of the oil imports into the US are in commercial hands with no government-to-government agreements because the industry has resisted with vigour any attempts at Administration 'interference'. In contrast to that, the major governments of Europe have numerous government-to-government agreements, even if most of the mechanics of supply have been left in commercial hands. Neither the exporting governments nor such importing governments will be prepared to see earmarked supplies 'diverted' by the commercial interests of another country.

A TOUCH OF MANIPULATION

There was a range of factors which led to countries denying transit and resupply-base facilities during the embargo, and in the events which followed the denial of such facilities. The situations in Portugal and related territories, Spain, Britain, Greece, Turkey, Cyprus, Thailand,

the Philippines and Latin America each serve to illustrate the complex flow-on effects of the trouble in the triangle. The case of Portugal and the Azores bases is especially important. The consequences flowing from it are of immense significance and the world is currently experiencing another round of shock waves from it.

PORTUGAL: A VERY SPECIAL CASE

The United States used the Portuguese Azores Islands as a main base for military resupply to Israel in October '73 and Portugal's petroleum supplies were 'protected' accordingly. But on November 14, while the embargo against supplies of oil to the US was still firmly in place, the government of Portugal advised the United States that the Azores bases would only be available to it for Middle East operations in future in return for American support and equipment for Portugal in its long-standing wars to suppress guerrilla liberation movements in its African colonies. What made it change its mind?

On October 16, President Nixon had sent 2,000 troops to join the 6th Fleet on stand by in the Eastern Mediterranean, declaring that the US would not see the security of Israel jeopardised. It was the next day that Arab Oil Ministers imposed an embargo on shipments to the US. During UN debate on a Peace Keeping Force on the 25th Russia said it might send troops to help police the cease-fire. This move was rejected by the UN which excluded both US and Russian troops. The US immediately placed all of its troops on full alert, without consulting its NATO allies. Next day, NATO allies and the US clashed bitterly. Its allies condemned the placing of US troops on full alert whether with or without consultation. A US spokesman countered with the objection that no NATO ally *except Portugal* would allow planes on re-supply flights to Israel to land and refuel. It took Portugal a month to react!

In other words it was prepared to trade an embargo by the Arabs for the continuation of its colonial authority in Guinea Bissau, the Cape Verde Islands, Angola and Mozambique. During 1972, 81 per cent of Portugal's oil supplies had come through commercial channels from Arab countries, (Iraq 38 per cent, Saudi Arabia 32 per cent, United Arab Emirates 11 per cent). Although the producing fields in Angola were mainly held by the Gulf Oil Co of the US, under highly favourable terms, and the fields produced more than double Portugal's imports, only 10 per cent of its supplies were received from its colony. It is therefore apparent that Portugal's prime interests included the oil fields of Angola and the uranium deposits of Mozambique with, in addition, the copper, manganese and diamonds in Angola. Negotiations with the US proceeded. On November 21 the Ministerial Council of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), objecting to this effort to tighten the colonial grip with a capitalist sledge hammer, and to the implication that Zionism was to be preferred to African self-determination, adopted a resolution. It invited all member states of the OAU, and it appealed to all friendly countries, to impose a total economic embargo, including in particular an oil embargo, against Israel, Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia; and it called for the setting up of a framework to promote cooperation between members of the OAU and the Arab League.

Another week later, on November 28, the Sixth Arab Summit Conference resolved:

- 1. That those Arab States which had not already done so would break off diplomatic relations with Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia,*
- 2. That a total embargo on Arab oil exports would be imposed on those countries,*
- 3. To take special measures to continue normal oil supplies to fraternal African countries,*
- 4. To extend full support to the African countries in their struggle for national liberation and economic progress,*
- 5. To collaborate with the OAU in the establishments of a committee of seven countries to organise Afro-Arab co-operation, and*
- 6. To instigate whatever administrative and financial arrangements might be necessary within that framework.*

In accordance with the spirit of those meetings four funds were established during the following three months, viz; the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa, January 18, 1974, capital \$231 million, later increased to \$500 million; the Arab/African Fund, capital \$200 million; the Arab Fund for Technical Assistance to African States, capital \$25 million; the Arab-African Oil Assistance Fund, February 1974, capital \$200 million.

Disenchantment with the guerrilla wars had already reached significant levels among army officers. This was rapidly compounded by the new agreements and their effects on Portugal's domestic activity and international relations. The government was overthrown in a military coup on April 25, 1974, and on June 12, the new government offered each of the African colonies self-determination. Independence was granted to Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands on August 26, and the withdrawal of troops from guerrilla operations in the mainland colonies began. Conflicts within the government led to President Spínola's resignation on September 30. In January, 1975, independence for Angola was set for November 11. A provisional Government was established including nominees of the Portuguese administration and the three established liberation movements. The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) was by far the longest established and the largest. The Zaire-based National Front of Angolan Liberation (FNLA), which had formed a Provisional Revolutionary Government during the 1960's included relatives of members of the government of that country. The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), based mainly in the south, was the most recently formed.

Concurrently with those developments the Portuguese Government entered into agreements with both Iraq and Russia for government-to-government oil supplies, giving an indication of just how far the new governments had shifted ground from mid-November 1973. In March, 1975, the Provisional Government in Angola increased the oil royalties and taxes payable by

Gulf, but not to the OPEC price levels, and on the March 12 a counter-coup to reinstate General Spínola as president was attempted but failed and he fled the country. Gulf refused to pay the new royalties and taxes. A secessionist movement – reported to be fostered by the US, and assisted financially by Gulf – developed in the Cabinda Enclave, and the Provisional Government gradually became ineffective because of growing dissension, and civil strife worsened. The MPLA established firm control in the capital (Luanda) and also in Cabinda after a brief but brisk round of fighting early in June. Portugal sought international help to evacuate Europeans during this period, and the MPLA went ahead and proclaimed the Republic of Angola on the planned date, November 11. Western reports rarely made any reference to the background to the crisis. They were aimed at establishing how greedy the Angolans were, how they had a history of in-fighting, how they were totally incompetent to run a country, and how desperately they needed foreigners back to run the country for them.

Subsequently many factors were introduced to compound the problem and to confound the outside world. Many press ‘sources’ presented the struggle by the US to retain control of the Cabinda oil fields and the consequent assistance received by the MPLA to ensure local control as the response to an attempt by Russia to set up a puppet government in an African state. The US shifted its strategy away from secession for Cabinda to annexation by Zaire, on the assumption that a ‘friendly’ government in Zaire would look favourably on US oil interest, and then back again after its Ambassador was expelled from Zaire on June 19 for being implicated in a coup plot, which was uncovered. The situation became highly confused and when, after failing to get the support of the OAU, the Front for the Liberation of the Enclave of Cabinda proclaimed the independence of Cabinda in August, in Kampala, Uganda, it claimed to have the support of the key countries of Zaire, Congo and Gabon. The OAU was portrayed as divided over whether to support the movements ‘backed by the West’ or the MPLA ‘backed by Russia’, while the real issue was that of a government of national unity, involving all three parties, or a one-party MPLA government. The closing of the Gulf refinery, and their production operation, and the further withholding of disputed payments on the grounds that Gulf didn’t know whether to pay them to the MPLA or to FLEC, the Cabinda separatists, further inflamed the situation.

Recognition of the MPLA by the OAU, various governments including Portugal, and New Zealand eased the tensions to some extent but did not close the chapter. Greatly strengthened anti-colonial efforts, co-ordinated between governments and fuelled by an increased flow of funds and resources, were directed at Rhodesia, South Africa and its dependent territories.

Portuguese East Timor seemed to have been bypassed by the upheavals of the African colonies for some time, and there was a chance self-determination would take place smoothly. However, among a host of factors including military and political stability in the immediate region, the potential advantages of a small independent territory on the eastern re-supply route which was not aligned with the Islamic Conference did not escape the attention of those concerned with Israel’s defence. At the same time the increasing interest of Australian-based oil companies in both sections of Timor began to complicate the situation. Coupled with a genuine Australian sympathy for self-determination causes, these factors resulted in Australia playing a

very confused role – both at government and non-government level – with unfortunate consequences for relations between Australia and Indonesia and unhelpful, overall, to the people of Timor.

However they all came together with a determination among certain Roman Catholic leaders, strongly supported by the Vatican, that their two small territories should not be absorbed into Muslim Indonesia. The establishment of those enclaves was yet another consequence of the self-understanding of the amorphous Christian gel and competition between the European colonial powers for exclusive trading posts. One small island but two colonizers: Portugal and Holland. A totally artificial border split the island and its communities in two - except for a small Portuguese enclave in the Dutch section, completely isolated from its Catholic co-religionists in the larger section. Essentially the only difference between the people of the two sections of the island was that at one end they had a modern-era Portuguese-Catholic heritage overlying their indigenous language and culture, while at the other end the overlay was of Dutch-speaking Protestant heritage. The people at the south western Dutch-Protestant end were quite happy to be associated with the new nation of Indonesia - the largest nation in *dār al-islām*. The people at the north eastern Portuguese-Catholic end were *not* happy to have that association.

A GRAND IMPERIAL EXPERIENCE

The British experience is noteworthy in view of several factors: Britain's complicated historical and commercial involvement both in the Middle East and with the United States; Churchill's WWI decision to have a substantial government share-holding in the Anglo Persian Oil Company, with the power of veto in all company decisions; Britain's traumatic involvement in the establishment of the modern state of Israel, and its position on the aerial re-supply route which makes it a potential alternative transit base for US Middle East operations. During the year before the 1973/74 embargo Britain's imports had been sourced essentially from 13 countries. Of the 13, 11 were members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Of the two who were not members, one, Nigeria, had observer status, and the other, Venezuela, had intimate working relations with them as a founder member and the initiator of OPEC. Ten were also members of the Arab League, and six had been under British domination during the colonial era and many of their leaders had reason to bare grudges because of the treatment they had received from time to time.¹⁰⁷

Immediately after the announcement of the oil embargo, crude oil imports into the UK dropped sharply despite the undertakings given to the UK government by Arab governments that liftings to the UK would *not* be restricted in any way, the 50 per cent British share holding in Kuwait, 40 per cent in Iran and significant holdings in Iraq and North Africa. But the reason was *not* the strain in their historical relationship. Tankers loaded under manifests showing UK destinations were diverted elsewhere. Britain's Conservative Prime Minister, Ted Heath, is reported to have summoned the Chairman of British Petroleum to indicate with some degree of

firmness that as the British government was the principal shareholder, through the Bank of England, in BP, and in view of BP's 40 per cent holding in the Iranian Consortium, he expected that Britain would receive preferential liftings and *at least* the non-restriction from Arab countries which their governments had guaranteed. The Chairman is reported to have replied that he could not make such arrangements due to the structure of the industry and inter-company agreements and that if the Prime Minister intended a government direction he would have to have it in writing and would give it normal consideration as with all shareholders' communications. The Prime Minister apparently found that he was unable to issue such a direction.¹⁰⁸

Press reports continued to attribute the shortfalls to 'the Arab embargo'. On December 10 the British government approached Kuwait for direct government-to-government supplies to offset the shortfall which had reached 20 per cent of normal liftings from *all* sources. On January 7, 1974, the British and Iranian governments signed an agreement for 5 million tons of oil for 1974, and on January 22 the government announced the resumption of arms sales to Arab countries. There were no smiles on the other side of the Atlantic. If Britain wanted to play that game and supply the enemies of Israel with arms, it would have to take the consequences. The government soon found it necessary to introduce a three-day working week because of the severity of the oil shortfall, coupled with industrial strife on the coal fields. On February 20 the Labour Party gained office in a snap election called in view of the national emergency, and in which control of the oil industry was a major issue. Heath would not be the only Commonwealth prime minister to lose office as a consequence of the Yom Kippur War and the oil embargo. The dissolution of the Shell-Mex BP partnership in the UK, which had been announced in 1971, was accelerated. The partnership finally ceased on January 1, 1976, the same day on which the British National Oil Company was established and become responsible for all British government oil production assets and the management of supplies available to the government from its planned 51 per cent participation in other purely commercial operations. Through the purchase of Woodside-Burmah's holding in BP the government then had over 50 per cent interest in the company. A jointly owned tanker fleet was established by BP and the National Iranian Oil Co, and it was operated under BP management. The government proceeded with plans for 51 per cent equity in all new North Sea (British sector) production operations but faced great difficulty in negotiations for participation in current North Sea operations of foreign companies, notably Exxon.

The British government was not the only Western government to decide that the national interest demanded either government to government oil supply arrangements, or control of its own tanker fleet, or massive national security oil storage facilities, or participation and effective control over vital energy suppliers, or all those and more. But such massive undertakings required equally massive sums of money as well, which could not be raised through normal government revenue sources. They had to be financed through loans from one source or another. The major finance institutions of the Western world - the amorphous Christian gel - were not interested in providing them. To do so would run counter to the interest of the US-

Israel Alliance and that was not acceptable, and the oil companies and other resource giants were opposed, naturally, because they could see their power bases being weakened, especially if such collaboration between governments across the international divides led to the growth of more OPEC-type resource organizations. The world would end up with a lot of well planned mixed semi-socialist economies and that would never do! The only people who were able and prepared to lend for such projects on such a scale were the new petro-dollar wealthy countries of the Middle East.

Very soon there was a steady stream of diplomats, ministers, and civil servants from the governments of Europe and other Western world countries as well as Third World countries beating a path to the oil capitals of the Middle East. Some were lucky. Some were not. The Arabs put one condition on such loans. They had to be secured under government-to-government agreements, and it was not just a matter of the financial security of the loans. What mattered was recognition of the new status of the Arab world. A signature on a government-to-government agreement implied acceptance that after a long period of colonialism the Arab countries were now accepted on an equal footing; recognition of the legitimacy of the Palestinian cause; and a just settlement of the Palestinian question contrary to the dictates of the US-Israeli Alliance. That was the sting in the tail. Some governments were able to offer government-to-government agreements on that basis. If they were “masters in their own houses” they could. If they were not: that was just unfortunate. The funds might be available from some other sources, but not from the government treasuries. But not all governments had money worries on their minds. Some were more concerned about how their territory and their bases had been used, or might be used in the event of another war in the Middle East.

A MEDITERRANEAN MIXING BOWL

Turkey is, geographically, in a critical position wedged between Asia, Europe, Russia and Africa. Its history has been moulded accordingly with periods of turbulent relationships including confrontations between Islamic empires and the Christian empires of Rome and Constantinople. The Turkish Ottoman rulers who had an uneasy relationship with their subject peoples in Eastern Europe, Asia Minor and North Africa saw the remnants of their empire dismantled by Britain and its allies after its WWI alliance with Germany. Subsequent to WWII the country became embroiled in the Cold War and, in spite of protests from some Muslim countries, notably Egypt, it was persuaded to enter formal alliances with other Muslim nations within the Baghdad Pact which was later re-organized around Britain and the United States as CENTO, as already discussed. Concurrently, Turkey has been a key piece in the NATO jigsaw for which it provides “essential” surveillance into southern and central Russia. With Greece it sits astride Russia’s access to the Mediterranean and therefore its short route to the Indian Ocean via the re-opened Suez Canal, as well as the Mediterranean seaboard of the Middle East.

Turkey's support in the Middle East conflict has been for the Arab cause while in other political and economic matters it has been aligned with the West through being drawn into the OECD, the EEC, (as an Associate Member) and the International Energy Agency, IEA. Its relations with Greece became severely strained over the issue of the future of Cyprus with its mixed Christian and Muslim population, being adjacent to the south coast of Turkey with a Greek Orthodox Archbishop as President, strong economic links with Greece, and Commonwealth membership. However NATO dependence on both countries required them to develop close working relations and the Military government in power in Greece at the time of the Yom Kippur War agreed to the use of Greek naval bases by the US Sixth Fleet in Middle East operations. That decision was revoked when the Premier was deposed on November 25 1973, but further damage had been done to relations between the two countries.

On July 15, 1974, a US-inspired but Greek-conducted coup was attempted on Cyprus. Not only did the President escape to Britain, but a Turkish invasion of Cyprus was precipitated, resulting in a Greek/Turkish war on the island. Nine days later the Greek President dismissed the military government and called on the former civilian Premier to form an interim government and to conduct elections. In September the Turkish Premier resigned and relations between Turkey and the US deteriorated rapidly, and the Greek elections two months later resulted in a landslide victory for the interim Premier Karamanlis. Then on February 5, 1975, the US imposed an embargo on arms sales to Turkey. It was a member of NATO, it was now host to the headquarters of CENTO, both designed to isolate the Soviet Union, but it was not allowed to buy arms. They might be used against the wrong people.

The mixing bowl of the trouble in the triangle was working overtime, and eight days later the Turkish Cypriot forces partitioned Cyprus and proposed a Federal form of government for the island to couple a Greek southern and Turkish northern state. Less than three months later, on April 30, the new Greek Government announced that the US had 'agreed' to relinquish the use of both the naval base and the air bases which had been in use since 1953, and on July 16 Turkey announced that the US occupation of 25 Turkish bases would be phased out if the arms embargo against it was not lifted. Ten days later Turkish troops actually occupied 26 of the 27 bases used by the US and/or NATO, and all US operations on the bases were suspended. Only operations carried out specifically for NATO were permitted at the other base and all US shipping movements were placed under restrictions and subjected to customs examination. Negotiations for a settlement dragged on with Turkey insisting that any pact for the re-activation of the bases was not to be subject to the whims and caprices of any "ethnic power group" in Congress. Turkey and Libya thereupon negotiated an arms and oil supply arrangement, and soon afterwards negotiations were completed for an export oil pipeline from Iraq to terminate on the Turkish coast. Greece, while maintaining its membership of NATO, withdrew from all military commitments.

COMING FROM THE OTHER DIRECTION ... OR ... IT DOESN'T PAY TO ARGUE

Both Thailand and the Philippines provided air and military bases for the US for operations during the war in Vietnam under mutual defence treaties, and Thai bases were also being used for ordinary flights to the Middle East. However in October 1973, both countries declined the use of their bases for military resupply flights and soon found themselves faced with cuts in their oil supplies through normal commercial channels of up to 30 per cent, even though they had been *excluded* from any embargo by Arab countries. Their Asia neighbours soon came to their aid.

Indonesia, through Pertamina, was able to divert some fuel, oil and gasoline to Thailand (and also Myanmar) but only at a rate of about 5,000 b/d. China provided 50,000 tons of diesel fuel for Thailand, used mainly in the tin mines, and this led to a re-evaluation of the need for diplomatic relations between the two countries, a marked shift in Thailand's attitude towards the role of the US in South East Asia, and to restrictions on the use of Thailand as a base for operations in Vietnam. The US was required to progressively reduce its air force strength in Thailand and its ability to sustain military operations in Vietnam declined. A deadline of March 1976, was later placed on the evacuation of all operational US forces from the country. The status of that deadline was an important issue in subsequent changes of government. On the passing of the deadline the government insisted that all remaining operations, including communications systems used in association with flights to Diego Garcia and the Indian Ocean be moved to another country within one month.

In the case of the Philippines the wife of the President visited China - unofficially, because they had not had diplomatic relations since the establishment of the PDR of China - and was able to arrange a massive trade agreement involving 8 million tons of crude oil in return for minerals, lumber, copra and other agricultural produce. The Philippines National Oil Company was established and acquired all Exxon facilities. Negotiations were subsequently announced for the US to phase out its use of Clarke and Subic air bases, which it had occupied as part of the *quid pro quo* for granting full independence to the Philippines, so that the land and facilities could "be put to productive use in the interests of the development of the Philippines." Diplomatic relations were also established with China in due course.

Both Thailand and the Philippines negotiated long-term oil supply agreements with countries in the Middle East. Some were barter agreements, and some involved joint exploration and refinery construction. Countries involved included Kuwait, Iraq, Egypt, Libya, Saudi Arabia and Iran. The spin-off from the argument between partners in the triangle of Abrahamic faiths was having a direct impact on the Asian people of the non-Abrahamic, non-messianic faiths who did not like what they saw. The long-assumed moral and ethical superiority of the great white western Christian powers - the amorphous Christian gel - which had already taken a battering as a result of the Second World War was appearing less and less justified. Close, cordial relations were developing between those Asian countries and the Muslim countries with which they found they had a lot more in common: community of interest; more closely allied

ethical standards; similar problems ... and a common heritage of oppression by the amorphous Christian gel whose presence was increasingly bringing social discontent, the collapse of long established social order, and a continuation of oppression. The oppression now simply came packaged differently.

SOUTH OF THE BORDER: A CRISIS THAT LINKED THREE CONTINENTS

From a distance the Middle East crisis often appears to have passed by Latin America and the Caribbean with hardly a ripple. In fact two countries are members of OPEC - Venezuela and Ecuador- and another, Peru, has discussed membership, and Mexico has a close working relationship with the organization. Seven countries of the region are members of the Non-Aligned Nations group, two are observers and another three have guest status at conference. Several regional cooperation groups already existed at the time of the Yom Kippur War and a number of countries then played an active part in establishing commodity cooperation groups. Subsequently most of the commodity groups have lost their influence as the United States and Europe have sought to place all trade negotiations in the hands of the World Trade Organization.

However, at the time a marked militancy developed in relations with the US in particular but the industrially developed world in general, and the commercial activities of US interests are no longer accepted without question, many important operations were nationalised and the resources on which others are dependent were expropriated. These countries are not directly affected by the strategic considerations of the US/Israel alliance to the same extent as countries lying between North America and the Middle East. Manipulation of their supplies of oil - whether as consumers or producers - is their main strategic interest. However the oil dependence of several countries of the region on either the Middle East or Africa contributed largely to the shift in their stance.

Prior to 1973 the Catholic-dominated countries of Latin America tended to be much more supportive of Israel than of the Muslim Arab states. However, under the impact of the oil embargo their support swung heavily for a time towards the Arab cause. It faltered a bit, as did numerical support from the Non-Aligned Nations Group overall, when a resolution equating Zionism with racism was submitted to the United Nations. However, it recovered somewhat because the countries of the South began to realize that their economic and political stability was not totally dependent on a submissive relationship with the United States. A number of them had been seated in the United Nations at Nelson Rockefeller's initiative (chapter 27) in order to bolster support for whatever the United States wanted to manoeuvre through the General Assembly and in order to secure a position for the United States against the possibility of Soviet influence in the region, but they began to have confidence in other relationships and a determination to break their geographic and historical isolation.

In January, 1974, while the world was still reeling from the impact of both the manipulation of the embargo and the imposition of more responsible pricing policies, the Lebanese Foreign Minister, Fuad Naffah, helped that process along when he visited Mexico, Venezuela,

Colombia, Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina and Cuba at the request of the Arab Summit meeting a few weeks before. He told those governments that the Arabs had forgotten Latin America because its problems seemed somewhat alien to them. They were all quick learners and by the time he left they each had a good understanding of the other's problems and what they had to do about them. "No underdeveloped country that backs the just cause of the Arab World will suffer from an energy shortage," Naffah told them. They knew quite well that a "just cause" included Israeli evacuation of the territories occupied since June 1967 and recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people. However not all of them wanted to get too close to the Arabs. Brazil, a major oil-deficient country, preferred to make arrangements with the Nigerians and the Iranians rather than with the Arabs, but in any case the Israeli cause in Latin America had suffered a severe setback.¹⁰⁹

However interference in interfaith relations was very unedifying at times. Direct pressure of the kind which United States and Zionist interests had used to persuade Latin American countries to vote in favour of the partition of Palestine (chapter 27) was apparently exerted on the Uruguayan commander-in-chief, General Hugo Chiappe Posse, by a Libyan diplomat who agreed to provide all the oil Uruguay needed - provided that all the Jewish members of cabinet resigned. The military papers in Montevideo had made no secret of their want to force the minister for planning, Moses Cohen, a person of Jewish origin, from office but the undiplomatic pressure backfired. It was the minister for the economy, Manuel Pazos, who resigned.¹¹⁰

Similarly, when the Brazilian government decided to support the Arab resolution describing Zionism as a form of racism, mass meetings were organised by Jewish groups who wanted to test an order given early in October by Justice Minister Armando Falcao forbidding public meetings of any kind. They believed the order was aimed against them and relations with the military government deteriorated further. The president and some members of government had not hidden their view that Jews could not be loyal to both Brazil and Israel, and when the Saudi foreign minister, Omar al Sakkaf, visited Brazil they formally recognised the rights of the Palestinians. According to press reports, large Libyan investments were promised in exchange for an anti-Zionist vote.¹¹¹ Following the military coup in Portugal, Brazil had promptly recognised the new regime because the government had been unhappy with Portugal's attempt to hold on to its colonies in Africa by military force, and its need to find new markets, coupled with its search for oil supplies, had forced Brazil to reassess its policy of unquestioning loyalty to Portugal and acceptance of whatever treaties it pursued. Senior army officers had agreed with General de Spínola that military victory was impossible and the fall of the government provided an opportunity for Brazil to shape a new African policy, *but it took the oil crisis to actually bring it to a head*. The Brazilian government was eager to secure agreements with Nigeria and Libya and it was afraid of possible Arab and African boycotts if Brazil did not quickly "abandoned the Portuguese camp." When the Nigerian foreign minister, Okoi Arikpo, visited Brazil in January 1974 the foreign minister signed a joint declaration repudiating both apartheid and colonialism. Local press reports suggested that Brazil's policy shift towards the Arabs and the Africans may have been a factor in the Portuguese political crisis.¹¹²

EMPOWERMENT, PROTECTION THROUGH UNITY AND ...

The impact of the oil embargo in breaking the United States strangle-hold on Latin American affairs and in encouraging a sense of unity and empowerment among Third World countries was quite remarkable. And while it was certainly never the Vatican's intention that any of its subordinate bodies should encourage closer relations between its flock and Muslim countries, or Socialist countries, that was a primary effect of the growth of the Liberation Theology Movement which was coming to its peak about the time of the Yom Kippur War.

At a conference of the Organization of American States in May 1974 there was strong support for the thrust of debate at a concurrent special session of the United Nations General Assembly. The assembly reaffirmed the permanent sovereignty of states over their natural resources, and the rights of nations producing raw materials to enter into associations to maintain and increase prices. That was directly opposed to the Washington argument that companies which had been nationalised had rights to compensation 'established by international law.' The United States argued that this included compensation in respect of concessions to exploit mineral resources, and Kissinger had warned that the formation of blocs by producer nations would lead to the formation of counter-blocs.

But, as the Argentine ambassador put it, the members of the OAS were determined to treat Washington as 'just one more Latin American capital,' and the momentum for more OPEC-type groups was growing. And to make things worse for the West, the Venezuelan president planned to use the country's new oil wealth, backed by strong nationalist sentiment, to nationalise the iron and steel industry and the takeover of two United States mining companies. He proposed that unprocessed iron ore exports would eventually be banned and that would profoundly affect the United States, which took 13 million of the 23 million tons exported by the two companies in 1973. A national iron and steel industry was being planned and foreign companies producing a wide range of goods and services would be required to sell 80 per cent of their capital to Venezuelans within three years. One company concerned, the Cada chain, was half owned by Rockefeller interests. It was the government's intention that at least half the earnings from oil were to be transferred to a special domestic development fund and agriculture would be given special tax exemptions and incentives. Most of the balance was to be used for investment and aid within Latin America, and in defence of its interests as a developing region producing food and raw materials.¹¹³

The foreign policies of both Brazil and Argentina had changed dramatically, but the Peruvian minister of mines, General Jorge Fernandez Maldonado was another in the long line of Latin American pilgrims who had toured the Middle East. He announced on his return to Lima that he had secured 'economic, financial and mutual support agreements with the Arab nations,' that Peru will attend OPEC conferences as an observer, and that it was planning to seek full membership.¹¹⁴

Mexico's reaction to the Middle East crisis was no less significant in view of its relationship with, and substantial dependence on, the US. It had nationalised its oil industry in 1937 because

of the repressive tactics of the oil companies. At that time the US government had refused to intervene on behalf of the US-based companies which proceeded to isolate Mexico internationally as effectively as they could, but the UK government intervened and diplomatic relations were broken off, by Mexico. Compensation was not finalised, nor diplomatic relations re-established with the UK until October 1941. Without foreign commercial help Mexico's oil industry faltered and by the end of the war it had become a net importer of both natural gas and oil – through commercial channels.

But in 1974 when substantial new fields were located the United States tried to arrange an export/import preference deal with Mexico in an effort to break OPEC's influence. Mexico stood firm. During discussions at Presidential level Mexico succeeded in using oil pressure in reverse to get better treatment for illegal immigrants into the US. The government then proceeded to make arrangements for preferential exports to other Latin American countries, to make a major trade pact with Jamaica and Venezuela over oil and bauxite smelting, and to offer supplies of oil to Israel with whom it had always had close relationships. This had the effect of relieving Israel's dependence on its relationship with Muslim Iran under the protection of the United States. It discussed membership of OPEC but an understanding was reached that it was not eligible for membership and the matter was not pursued further. However, the government's attitude was shifting, and when the anti-Zionism resolution was before the UN Mexico voted in favour of it. After the first vote, in November, the Jewish community in the US suspended extensive travel programmes in Mexico, and confirmed the suspension after the second vote a month later. Then in March, 1976, the Mexican government invited the PLO to open an information office in Mexico City. The invitation was confirmed by the Foreign Minister at a joint press conference with the visiting Israeli Foreign Minister!

And while the United States was trying to break Mexico's connections with OPEC the foreign ministers of the Islamic Conference were more intent on demonstrating the spirit of empowerment. On July 21, 1974, meeting in Kuala Lumpur, they resolved to establish an Islamic Foundation for Science, Technology and Development. When it was finally established five years later it became a subsidiary organ of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

... THE DEVELOPMENT CONNECTION

The fact that these developments had all taken place within nine months of the Yom Kippur war demonstrates the dynamic way in which the relationship between Latin American and the Arab world had been transformed and the cohesion which was developing at an amazing pace within the former colonies of the Third World. Unwittingly, Israel was the trigger for it all. The United States had certainly not anticipated any such reactions when the decision was taken to deflect the Arab oil embargo onto the rest of the world. It had been warned, very clearly, not only by the dissenting minority on the Oil Import Question, but by the mini-embargo which it had deflected in 1967, and it had demonstrated its own expertise at the embargo game several times. However its self-understanding had not changed. It was determined to push on with the policies

it had in place to perpetuate its position at the pinnacle of world affairs and as the chief member of the amorphous Christian gel. But the nature of the gel had changed somewhat. It was now the amorphous Judeo-Christian gel.

In a nutshell, through the oil embargo the issues of Third World development and self determination had become firmly linked with the Middle East crisis, Zionism and inter-faith relationships for a number of reasons. A very important one was that accelerated development in each of the oil producing countries was made possible whether they were Arab or not because the Arab oil producers were first able to increase the flow of funds, through prices raised to higher levels than it had previously been intended, or possible, to negotiate, as a direct consequence of their embargo against the US. That embargo had been implemented, with some reluctance, as a direct consequence of the war between Israel and its neighbours. Another important reason was that aid was channelled to other developing countries from the Arab oil producing countries at a rate which contrasted sharply with the flow of aid from the Western countries which had held virtually exclusive responsibility for the flow of funds prior to the October war. The will and the ability of other groups or countries which are dependent on the export of raw materials for development income to negotiate or enforce higher prices in order to achieve that income sprang directly from the Arab action in 1973.

However the *continued* ability to achieve that income has subsequently been undermined by the way in which the Western powers were making a rapid recovery after the temporary shock; gained control of the new 'petro-dollars.' The western powers were able to entice the producer countries into placing the bulk of their funds in the financial institutions of the west which were then able to fulfil two distinct functions. One was to manage and control the placement of loan funds and to get the kudos and the majority benefit from doing so instead of the oil producing countries whose money they were managing.. The other was to impose the established financial, lending, investment and commercial practices of the West on those countries which sought to borrow investment funds, or which got into financial difficulties because of their inexperience in managing a western-style capitalist economy and required help. It was the sudden transition from 'poor-nation' to 'poor-nation-with-a-massive-cash-flow' without the benefit of steady transition and without the opportunity to develop the large financial institutions necessary to manage the enormous funds which became available, which made it necessary for the new oil economies to turn to the West for assistance. That was no fault of the oil producing countries. It was circumstantial.

It is ironic that by this mechanism the greater part of the benefit from the new oil production arrangements flowed back to the West and did not stay with the oil producers and the people of the Third World. It is even more ironic that the countries of the Third World were not only required to adapt to the financial and monetary systems of the West, but they also had to cope with a deluge of social conduct, habits and influences which were foreign to their culture, undermined their social fabric and left them with massive urban slums, unable to provide the infrastructure for either their urban or rural populations.

In addition, aid and development funds were deliberately withheld, or provided with conditions attached by the United States as a political weapon in attempts to secure the use of bases and facilities which were required for the support and defence of Israel or to buffer the US against the effects of an embargo in the event of another war. The flow of aid from Western countries to the Third World had been deliberately hampered, not only from political motivation but also as a consequence of the recession in the Western world which had been seriously aggravated by the manipulation of the oil flow in 1973 / 1974.

Attempts to preserve the privileged economic position of Western countries, or to avoid increased pressure against the capitalist system which resulted from trading realignment, by undermining commodity-export groups or government-to-government trading arrangements had the effect of inhibiting development mainly in those countries of Africa and Asia which were, or which become, aligned with the Arab cause against Zionism. They are therefore seen both as pro-Zionist and racist.

The truth was soon evident and understood that while emergency relief aid will always be needed in some circumstances, and while there will always be a role for assistance towards specific development or social programmes, assessments or feasibility studies, the only means by which development of Third World countries can be effectively accelerated is by substantially increased national income. Grants and Loans within the existing institutional and trading pattern are of only limited effectiveness and value. Therefore the increases in national income must come from either increased income through the private sector *or* increased trading through government entities with government ownership of the exhaustible resources being traded, coupled with an agency relationship in the case of replaceable resources which are the product of personal labour. Given the freedom to choose, most Third World governments opt for the latter alternative because of the conduct of private enterprise; the inability of governments to properly control the utilization of their natural resources when they are in the hands of major companies which have operations in a number of countries; the high proportion of income which is repatriated; and the relatively low proportion of total funds which, through taxation, are available for development.

This enables Western vested interests to discuss the whole issue as if it were simply a matter of capitalism versus socialism/communism, and not one of development and international relations. It camouflages and confuses the fact that a country's desire to have control of its own resources, rate of extraction, utilization and national development does not equate to socialism and many of these countries, whether the Muslim or Christian heritage wish to operate within a basically free enterprise structure. The tactics employed by the Western world and its 'free' enterprises have been a significant influence in pushing many developing countries towards a greater degree of state ownership and operation within a 'socialist' framework.

In simple terms, people across the Third World can not be criticized for seeing the life equation this way. The Western world is Christian; it has stood over us for years; and it is now denying us development and a fair deal. It is doing this to maintain and extend its privileges and

control over us, to enforce Zionism against the rights of the Palestinians, and it is imposing social values which we reject.

The Arab community is helping us with aid; it is enabling the redistribution of wealth from the oppressor to the oppressed, and it has made it possible for us to get a better deal for our resources to speed our development. The Arab community is Muslim: therefore Muslims are good and Christians are bad, and therefore Islam's teaching must be right and the Christian Church has failed. Putting it another way, the 'religious connections' which were already showing before the October war have been reinforced by events since then. In the minds of uncommitted observers - and not only uncommitted observers but may Christians as well - Christianity is associated with capitalism, corruption, decadence in the Western world, colonialism, oppression and exploitation in the Third World, support of corrupt regimes in the Third world, theological divorce from daily life and organisational failure

Judaism is associated with racial arrogance, religious exclusiveness and a privileged relationship with the West, while Islam is associated with fair distribution of wealth, development of 'community, responsible corporate action, support for the underdog, a practical faith for living, and organizational simplicity.

Whatever the US now does in terms of its alliance with Israel emphasizes these associations and denies rather than accelerates development in the Third world. That alliance will continue to be counter-productive in world relationships until either the US is prepared to sacrifice its position of dominance and privilege, or until Israel negotiates a proper settlement with its neighbours.

The natural reactions to these links are well illustrated by the Portuguese experience. That attempt to trade strategic bases required by the US/Israel alliance for colonial power and resources probably had wider repercussions and underlined the consequences of Israel's continuing refusal to make sacrifices more than any other single incident, although the pressure applied to Thailand by restricting its oil supplies was also of immense significance. In addition Venezuela established a novel development aid scheme for Latin America. It charged full OPEC prices for crude oil but accepts part payment in the currency of the customer and places that amount to the credit off the customer's country in a development fund. The amounts so earmarked were available on highly favourable terms for development programmes supported by the government off the country. The sudden massive transfer of funds from oil importing developed western countries to oil exporting countries not only benefited 'the Arabs' and other members of OPEC. Countries which also benefited directly included Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Bolivia, Trinidad, Bahrain, Oman, Angola, Tunisia, Malaysia, Congo, Zaire (from November 1975 when exports began), Canada, Norway, the People's Republic of China and the former Soviet Union. While its charter does not permit these countries to become members of OPEC (and whether they would want to in any case is a separate matter) they have certainly moved closer to the OPEC member countries in international affairs and attitudes to development.

All oil importing countries were actively encouraged to develop their own petroleum and other resources and in many cases assistance was provided by the present exporting countries. Investment in industry and property meant a reverse flow in funds to a number of developed countries for a time.

However, as important as the effects of the transfer of these funds are, they are not the main development connection. The main connection was the ability of developing countries to negotiate higher prices for their raw material exports and, as groups, to move towards revised commodity trading arrangements as part of a new economic order. Prior to the October war a number of governments had been trying without much success, to gain support for commodity export groups along the lines of OPEC. Those which had been established found that because of pressures applied to divide the members very little could be achieved. However the instant success of the oil embargo in achieving both price justice and political change strengthened the hands of those others already established, triggered the establishment of a series of others, and also encouraged the producer members of the UN sponsored commodity study groups to look much harder at trade questions rather than being restricted to technical co-operation.

According to the Handbook of International Organisation, 1975; "One of the most significant developments in intergovernmental organizations has been the proliferation of commodity organizations. While it is difficult to generalise about these organisations, three general observations can be made. The importance of intergovernmental commodity organizations as forces in world politics is a relatively recent phenomenon. Intergovernmental commodity organizations comprised solely of producer states are increasing, while organization made up of consumer and producer states are declining in number. While the organizations' goals have always included the exchange of technical and scientific information and the expansion of trade, they now embrace trading, marketing and pricing arrangements, as well."

A very high proportion of producer members of these commodity organization are members of the Non-Aligned Nations group, and even though the more recent successful moves to shift commodity trading arrangements into the arena of the World Trade Organization has reduced the influence of the original commodity groups, the potential for their activation in a crisis, and their cross-membership with the Islamic Conference and OPEC are of very great significance. The strong trend towards the establishment of resource producer groups which have the capacity to negotiate on behalf of their member countries was not welcomed by Western governments and their major resource consuming industries. It clearly inhibited the resource consuming companies from direct one to one negotiations with government authorities who had control of resources and this meant that they could not "play" one government against another to depress resource prices and to obtain preferential access to resources, to demand investment incentives, tax concessions and other benefits. They could no longer do the things which the oil industry had been so expert at doing until OPEC was established. It was a part of the Western self-understanding - the aura of the Capitalist free enterprise system - that it was a company's right to walk into a country of the Third World where the needs of the people were seen to be very elementary and to offer a pittance for what ever resources were available. It was just the

normal thing to do: buy cheap and sell high. That was exactly what the great empires of Europe had been built on and, in their view, there was no justification for changing the system. But the growth of producer groups would do exactly that. They would change the rules of the game in favour of the Third World.

However there was a second aspect of producer group functions. They were not only interested in price maintenance. They were interested in market rationalization as well, to enable every country which wanted the opportunity to supply a commodity to do so. That could be good in one sense, because it gave companies which wanted to enter a field the opportunity to do so, and tended to prevent the producer governments from demanding high prices. But on the other hand, for companies already in the mineral extraction business it could be serious. Unless the demand for a resource was rising faster than new production, it meant a reduced market share and greater competition for the favours of processors. The boot was then on the other foot.

Then there was an additional issue. The relationship between western and non-western governments. Western governments were expected to support their own enterprises and not to enter into arrangements with non-western governments. In the long term any collaboration of that nature could only reduce the advantage enjoyed by western enterprises. Western governments were therefore expected to stand aloof from such commodity producer groups, or to boycott them. There was no place for sentiment, like supporting the underdog, in world trade. That was a matter for big business. But just occasionally a government came along which had a conscience, in spite of the best efforts to prevent it. One such government had been elected in December 1972, in Australia. It set about introducing a new social order by establishing the Australian Assistance Plan under which a new tier of community-based regional bodies were directly involved in social planning, the development of new welfare and educational initiatives and even the allocation of significant slabs of government funds. It was especially intended to strengthen rural Australia against the debilitating influence of urban population concentration.

But it had the audacity to say that it was going to end Australia's servile dependence on United States decision making. It was going to have an independent foreign policy. It ended military conscription and it was getting positively revolutionary! It took Australia into a series of commodity producer groups, including those concerned with copper, bauxite and iron ores, with the stated intention of strengthening the negotiating position of developing countries and to end the "divisive competition between Australian [resource] producers."¹¹⁵ It began dismantling barriers to Asian and African migration, it moved towards establishing full recognition of indigenous Australian land rights, and it even wanted to prevent Australia from being caught again in the event of another exercise in massive manipulation of the world's oil supplies. It planned the establishment of a oil tanker fleet, a massive natural gas strategic storage system with a pipeline linking North Western Australia with Sydney via the South Australian Cooper Basin, state-controlled coal export facilities, a uranium enrichment plant, and an in-situ emergency oil storage plan in collaboration with Arab governments. That was intolerable. It had to go. The question in Washington was, "how?" It would be easy enough to prevent the schemes

from going ahead because they were going to cost billions and the government did not have control of the Senate, the Australian Upper House. It could therefore never get approval for a government-to-government agreement, but the fact that such a government was trying to do these things in a formerly friendly ally country was bad enough. It could unleash an unacceptable pattern of conduct for governments in many countries. Time would tell.



~ 1974

~ The oil embargo against the United States had been lifted, but prompted by the impact of the rise in oil prices and the need for more equitable distribution of wealth and economic opportunities, the Group of 77 demanded that the United Nations examine alternatives for - and move towards - a New International Economic Order (NIEO). They had the support of the Australian government, too.

~ The Indian government ordered the test explosion of its first nuclear bomb, and this meant that the arms race was getting more and more out of control. Any government would soon be able to build, or obtain access to nuclear weapons and they might not all be as responsible as the United States!

~ People in the United States had become more worried about the possibility of a nuclear war in the wake of the Cuban missile affair and the concept of mutually assured destruction - MAD - as a basis for security through deterrence began to fall from favour. The US Secretary of Defence James Schlesinger announced that future US nuclear targeting would be geared to selective strikes and not massive blanket attacks.

~ 1975

~ September

~ The United States and Israel signed an agreement, kept secret for some time, under which the US agreed to help Israel meet its requirements for arms, economic assistance, and energy and to support Israel's right to free passage through the Straits of Bad el Mandeb and the Strait of Gibraltar, and pledged not to recognize or negotiate with the PLO as long as it did not accept Israel's right to exist.

That agreement was signed on the same day as the second Egypt-Israel disengagement agreement under which Israel agreed to withdraw from the Mitla and Gidi passes and, reluctantly, to return the Abu Rudeis oil fields. The 'non-recognisable' PLO had been growing progressively stronger, better organized and better equipped around its base in South Lebanon ever since the Cairo Agreement of November 1969, and after being ejected from Jordan in July 1971, it developed a high degree of organization. However relations between the PLO and the government were continuing to deteriorate as a result of the Yom Kippur War, and while Syria was exerting its influence to assist the Palestinians, Israeli forces were providing clandestine help for the Lebanese forces. Thus, although the PLO did not initiate the civil war in Lebanon which was about to erupt, its presence as a sub-state, and the strained relations which resulted, were a major factor in triggering the war. Concurrent with the US-Israeli negotiations, a consultation

on the crisis in the Middle East was being held by the World Council of Churches at Cartigny, Switzerland. The civil war erupted while the consultation was in progress and two participants from Lebanon, the Metropolitan of Beirut and the assistant secretary general of the Middle East Council of Churches, found it necessary to withdraw early. Some of the executive staff of the Council who were involved in that consultation had also taken part in a retreat during the previous week, and among the matters discussed were the implications for the Council in the event that the question of the Doctrine of the Trinity became contentious, re-kindled debate about the basis of membership, and caused friction between member churches.

~ October

~ In New Zealand the government acknowledged a history of suppression of indigenous Maori rights and the failure of governments to honour the Treaty of Waigani. It passed the Treaty of Waigani Act and established a tribunal to make recommendations on Maori land claims and measures which were necessary to redress past wrongs. However, after a few years, governments came under strong pressure to exclude resource bearing areas, water resources and fisheries from Maori claims and to release them for private enterprise competition.

~ 16: In Australia all eyes were on Canberra where the Opposition used its numbers in the Senate to block supply. The constitutional crisis which had been widely anticipated was breaking. At the same time, just an hour or two flight from the Australian coast, in the oil-rich Timor Sea over which Australia had been negotiating with the Portuguese authorities prior to the collapse of Portugal's empire, Indonesian forces invaded the small colonial territory in order to absorb it into Indonesia. The future of the two small Portuguese-Catholic territories which made up one half of the island was being determined. The Australian government did not object. It had its mind on higher things - quite apart from the constitutional crisis - oil and the need for good relations with Indonesia. But its immediate problem was how to manoeuvre the Opposition into passing the supply bill so that it could carry on governing and prepare for an election on the issues of its choice.

~ November

~ 8: A small item appeared in the CIA's top secret National Intelligence Daily, an internal briefing paper prepared in the Directorate of Central Intelligence for US government eyes only. It read:

The determination of the Australian Opposition to force a general election is weakening. Prime Minister Whitlam has managed to raise real alarm about the dire consequences of government bankruptcy, which he claims will result from the Opposition's blocking of Government appropriations.

Disenchanted Australians are swinging, at least temporarily, in support of Whitlam's Labor Party. They agree with the Prime Minister and blame the Liberal-Country coalition for the mess.

The Liberal members of the Opposition are having doubts about the wisdom of stalling on appropriations. Several Liberal Senators, unenthusiastic from the start over the tactic, are threatening to break ranks. Some Liberals, worried by the strength of public reaction, are talking of replacing Opposition Leader Fraser.

Fraser this week offered to delay an election for six months - a proposal quickly rejected by the Prime Minister. Although Fraser has not yet abandoned stalling on the appropriation bills, his ability to force an election has clearly been weakened.¹¹⁶

Later that day the CIA took the extreme step of accusing Whitlam of being “a security risk” and threatened to end the intelligence ties which had been developed between the two countries over the period of a generation, and the Governor-General, Sir John Kerr, was given a special briefing on the CIA’s “deep security concern surrounding Whitlam.”¹¹⁷

~ 11: In circumstances of deep intrigue, Kerr dismissed Whitlam, dissolved parliament, appointed the Opposition Leader, Malcolm Fraser, as caretaker prime minister, called elections for December, and immersed Australia in its constitutional crisis.

The window of opportunity to get rid of the government had opened when it used very unorthodox means to raise the loans to finance its very ambitious ‘Australian Independence Program.’ The ‘Khemlani Loans Affair’ had swamped the government and given the Opposition the opportunity to withhold Senate authorization for supply, the bills required to approve the funds for the day to day running of the government. But the election was not going to be fought around the issues of the Middle East and foreign affairs. That would be divisive and the opposition did not want the election to be focussed on issues like resource management, relations with the United States and Israel, and defence planning. It had to be focussed on domestic issues like inflation and unemployment. As in Britain, but to a lesser extent, these had blown out because of the effects of the manipulation of oil supplies. That could be blamed on the Arabs, of course, and one did not want to blame one’s principal ally! So the election campaign got under way. The Opposition cause did not languish for lack of funds to fight a vigorous media campaign on its own terms.

~ 23: At the Fifth Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Nairobi a bid by delegates from South Africa to inhibit the operation of the Program to Combat Racism was defeated decisively (62 in favour, 325 against, 22 abstentions). Speaking during debate on that issue, Bishop R.C. Nichols of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in the USA had more than South Africa on his mind when he said: “Peace is not the absence of war but the presence of justice.”¹¹⁸

Portugal had just granted independence to its remaining African colonies: Guinea-Bissau, Sao Tome and Principe, and Angola. East Timor was its remaining colony. A rush of one million expatriate Portuguese and refugees to Portugal was causing great social and industrial tensions and destabilizing the country still further. Unfortunately Nigeria had returned to a period of coup and counter coup. Gowon was deposed in July 1975 by a Muslim, Brigadier Murtala

Mohammed, who was murdered in an attempted counter coup in February 1976. Worse was to come over the next 25 years.

The assembly also had before it a report prepared by the Cartigny consultation on the crisis in the Middle East and in due course it adopted a statement in two parts: the Middle East and Jerusalem. Concerning the Middle East generally, it noted that current events demonstrated that tensions persist unabated and that continued escalation of military power in the area can only aggravate the threat to world peace from the unresolved conflict. It noted that there was an international 'consensus' that the basis for a peaceful settlement required Israel to withdraw from territories which it occupied in 1967; the right of all states including Israel and the Arab states to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries; and the 'implementation' of the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination. It was "encouraged" that the parties to the conflict seemed to be progressively willing to accept these principles and recognized that the Second Sinai Disengagement Agreement was a means of reducing tension between Egypt and Israel. It then said:

However, since [the disengagement agreement] is not addressed to the fears and distrust among Israel, other neighbouring states, and the Palestinian people, [it] must be followed soon by resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference for reaching a total settlement on the basis of the principles mentioned above. The Geneva Conference should necessarily involve all parties concerned, including the Palestinians.

We note that some Arab states have recently declared their readiness, with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, to seek agreement with Israel based upon these principles.

Although the parties have not trusted one another sufficiently until now to engage in dialogue, full mutual recognition by the parties must be seen not as a precondition to, but rather as a product of, the negotiation. We call upon all parties to take those steps essential to negotiations with hope for success. Among these steps, we emphasize the cessation of all military activity, both regular and irregular, including terrorism.

Peace in the Middle East must be based upon justice and security for all concerned. The wellbeing of each party depends upon the wellbeing of all other parties. We urge the churches to help their constituencies to have more accurate information on and more sensitive awareness of the various discussions of the Middle East conflict. The churches could thus help to promote natural trust among the parties and to develop a responsible involvement in peaceful solution on the part of their members and the government of their countries. This opportunity is open to churches within the area and the churches outside the area as well.

That statement showed very clearly that the executive staff of the Council were very well informed indeed on the crisis in the Middle East. They had been ever since 1948, and yet it was not until Uppsala twenty years later that the issue appeared on the business paper of an assembly, and only now, seven years later, that there is a reference to an opportunity for the

“churches within the area and the churches outside the area as well” to “help ... promote natural trust among the parties and to develop a responsible involvement in peaceful solution on the part of their members and the government of their countries.” Politics, religion, the *theology and consequences of the church’s self-understanding*, human rights, exploitation of people, and the use of land and resources were, and always had been, intimately involved in the trouble in the triangle. But it took an international crisis which actually *hurt* to bring the fact to the surface. The facts of life had not changed. No one ever surrenders a position of privilege or reassess and surrenders a self-understanding and practices which are to the disadvantage of others until pleading progresses to force. For the privileged to say to terrorists: “Why did you take up weapons? Why did you not come and talk to me?” is arrant nonsense. Change in the relationship between oppressor and oppressed, or the distribution of benefits between the politically strong and the politically weak *never* occurs simply because the two sit around a table and talk. They only sit around a table and talk *after* the oppressed has been able to hit back in some way.

The conduct and history of the European colonial powers had demonstrated that very well. The United States was doing all it possibly could to prove that the version of democracy which it was hell bent on promoting only works if the playing field is fairly level, and it was perfectly comfortable subverting the principle and reverting to the law of the jungle when the processes of democracy did not suit it. And the response of the amorphous Christian gel to the inspired work of the Liberation Theologians in Latin America was about to confirm it all. However the extent of the hurt from the OAPEC oil embargo - a classic case of the oppressed hitting back - had not been sufficient to make the amorphous Christian gel surrender more than a sliver of its pedestal of privilege and it had not shaken the church’s self-understanding to the point of reassessment either. In fact the gel was about to stiffen and use its almost-undisturbed power to consolidate its position of privilege. The world would have to wait quite a bit longer until the pressure in the boiler of the trouble in the triangle reached the point of blowing the safety valve - triggering action by the people of the Covenant whose role and obligations have not changed.

Now: the portion of the WCC assembly statement referring to Jerusalem. It noted that Jerusalem continues to be a focus of deepest religious inspiration and attachment for “many millions of Christians throughout the world, *as well as* for the adherents of the two great *sister* monotheistic religions,” each with “their responsibility to cooperate in the creation of conditions that will ensure that Jerusalem is [an open] city” ... “where they can meet and live together [and] the tendency to minimize Jerusalem’s importance for any of these religions should be avoided.” It noted the various treaties which had governed access to the city, that the “Status Quo of the Holy Places must be fully safeguarded and confirmed” and that *none* of the church authorities of *a given denomination* could represent unilaterally ... all Christians [and] ... each church authority of a given denomination [represents] only its own point of view.” It then noted that “the question of Jerusalem is not only a matter of protection of the Holy Places, it is organically linked with living faiths and communities” and it is “essential that the Holy Shrines should not become mere monuments of visitation, but should serve as living places of

worship integrated and responsive to Christian communities ... [and] ... for those who out of religious attachments want to visit them.”

Finally, after “recognizing the complexity and emotional implications of the issues surrounding the future status of Jerusalem” it said “such status has to be determined within the general context of the settlement of the Middle East conflict in its totality,” that “apart from any politics, the whole settlement of the inter-religious problem of the Holy Places should take place under an international aegis and guarantee which ought to be respected by the parties concerned as well as the ruling authorities” and these matters “should be worked out with the most directly concerned member churches, as well as with the Roman Catholic Church. These issues should also become subjects for dialogue with Jewish and Muslim counterparts.”

That statement was sensitive. It recognized *a sister relationship* between the three faiths. It acknowledged the complex relationships within the church and the fact of its diverse and divisive theology. And it took account of realpolitik. It had been drafted under the guidance of dialogue staff who worked intimately with people of the partner faiths, and with people of the non-Abrahamic faiths as well, and whose understanding of the relationships was way out in front of the church at large. It could not possibly have been written before the Balfour Declaration. It could not even have been written in 1948. It took the trauma of the Holocaust - imposed by Hitler as the Scourge of the Night Journey - and the fourth conflict centred on Jerusalem within a single generation of 25 years to tear away some of the cobwebs and to shake the self-understanding of the Christian church to that point of recognition. There was still a long way to go. Churchmen and women would still only talk dialogue and not reassessment of theology. And it had taken real trauma - the direct painful impact of the oil embargo on the amorphous Christian gel - to even get to that stage. The catalyst was in place throughout. The people of the Covenant were back at their home base, by courtesy of the self-misunderstanding of the church and the gross misconduct of the amorphous Christian gel, but no one had been prepared to recognize the coincidence of the Qur’anic Night Journey and Maimonides’ understanding of the circumstances of the return of the people of the Covenant to Israel. There was still quite a long way to go. It was only November 1975.

~ December

~ Australia went to the polls for the election which the CIA said it had to have and the caretaker government of Malcolm Fraser won a sweeping victory. Australia was embroiled more deeply in the trouble in the triangle than most people realized, and the importance of the position in world affairs which the Whitlam government had adopted was not widely recognized. Because it impinged directly on each of the major factors in world relationships, a close examination is called for.

AUSTRALIA AND THE TROUBLE IN THE TRIANGLE

Australian Jewry has tended to assume a special relationship between Australia and Israel because of the assistance received by the Jewish Agency from Australia’s delegations to the

United Nations and in particular the significant role played by the Dr. H. V. Evatt (formerly Minister for Foreign Affairs and later Leader of the Federal Opposition) in his role as chairman of the UN Ad Hoc Committee on Palestine in 1947. It was that committee which finalised the proposals for the partition of Palestine into separate Arab and Jewish states which the General Assembly adopted later that year. It was therefore rather hard for the Jewish community to accept that the Australian government's policy of 'even handedness' in relation to the Middle East was not, in fact, a distinct move away from Israel and towards support for the Arab position, especially in view of greatly increased diplomatic activity in the region, economic collaboration, and very definite support for the developing countries of Africa. Australia's position was critical in three 'areas'. In each area it had many options but basically two, and the implications of each choice were quite distinct. In brief, the areas and basic options were as follows.

Geographic location in relation to the strategies of the US/Israeli alliance. Australia could either support the alliance and provide the facilities required, or decline to do so and thus strengthen the immediate position of the Arab cause.

The exploitation (or 'development') of mineral resources. Australia could permit unrestricted resource extraction and export irrespective of ownership or control, and that course, in the circumstances of the time, made overseas-based companies and governments the main benefactors in terms of both political and economic gain, tended to bolster the capitalist system, to consolidate the Western position of privilege and, in so doing, to restrict the Third World's means of accelerating development. On the other hand it could move to control resource extraction, regulate exports and prices and supervise ownership or control patterns. This course provided increased benefits for Australia, enabled conservation of resources, and would have provided support for Third World countries in commodity group negotiations, coupled with progressive redistribution of wealth, accelerated development and the narrowing of the privilege gap.

Political Relationships. Australia's options were to support Israel in its present stand and assist it to maintain or negotiate from a position of relative strength, or shift ground, assist the Palestinians to strengthen their negotiating position and reduce world tension, but incur the displeasure of the US

Broadly speaking, the dismissed Government of Gough. Whitlam had moved firmly towards the second option in each case, while the government of Malcolm. Fraser moved even more decisively towards the first option in each case.

GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION: THE US/ISRAEL ALLIANCE

This area related to the strategic requirements of the US/Israel Alliance and involved three considerations: transit bases for both military re-supply of Israel and personnel and equipment for operations in the event of US intervention; naval and air facilities for operational maintenance and trade route surveillance; and communication facilities. What was once a

problem of remoteness had become a problem of conflict of allegiances and consequences of the highest order.

The nature of the strategic requirements of the US/Israel Alliance showed quite clearly that the trouble in the triangle knew no boundaries and its spin-off affected countries and people without regard to their normal religious and political interests and associations. New tensions could be generated and new issues could become important, undermining relations between neighbours, without most people having any idea at all why it was happening. For example, geographic isolation or distance between countries meant nothing once the United States had to start a serious hunt for re-supply transit bases.

TRANSIT BASES

Australia lies at the southern end of the belt in which a secure transit line base had to be located. It was not in an ideal position, being on the extremity, but each time another country of the belt denied alternative bases, the need for such a base in northern Australia, and the pressure on Australia to provide it, became greater.

The logical country, in terms of America's post Second World War relationship with it, was *Japan*, but it denied the use of its bases; established joint petroleum operations and a tanker fleet with Arab countries, mainly with private capital but under agreements sponsored government-to-government. It had diversified its energy supplies as much as possible and was drawing about five per cent of its needs from the People's Republic of China, but it was still highly susceptible to an oil embargo.

When US-based companies cut supplies to Japan the Prime Minister appeal to Dr. Kissinger, personally, to intervene. He declined, unless Japan supported America's position and requirements with respect to the Middle East, otherwise the matter remained strictly one of commerce. Rigid restrictions were imposed. Japanese industry was seriously disrupted, trade relations with the US were strained, various tariff rearrangements were made by both countries, petroleum product prices in Japan soared, output of fertilizer was cut (to avoid restricting heavy industry activity) and exports to China and India (at a critical stage of the season) were cut. Japan approached China for emergency supplies of oil (the arrangement was subsequently converted to a long-term agreement); sought government-to-government deals with Iran and Arab countries; markedly shifted ground away from Israel - and the Prime Minister was subjected to accusations of graft and corruption. He was accused of accepting bribes from US sources and resigned in disgrace amid political scandal. There was a shift to the right, but the government's Middle East position did not.

The Philippines was not prepared to permit the use of its bases either and the renegotiation of its bases agreement resulted in the US being restricted to operations in the 'western Pacific', with Indian Ocean and Middle East operations excluded.¹¹⁹

In *Thailand* the use of bases by the US had been a major issue in domestic politics since 1973. In April, 1976, following the national elections, leaders of the largest single party in the

new parliament said that the party ought to be prepared to relax the ban on US flights to the Indian Ocean but the suggestion would be subject to discussions with other probable partners in a coalition. However there were active Muslim secessionist movements in the south of Thailand and uprisings among the 3.5 million Malay Muslims (10 per cent of the population), and the Islamic Conference had made formal approaches for a better deal for the Muslim minority following the 1974 conference of foreign ministers.

The government of **Malaysia** was among the strongest non-Arab supporters of the Palestinian cause and the internationalisation of Jerusalem, together with Pakistan and Iran. Tunku Abdul Rahman became the first Secretary-General of the Islamic Conference Secretariat when he stepped down at the end of his term as Head of State and Malaysia provided much of the expertise for the Islamic Broadcasting Association which was established in Jeddah.

During the oil embargo of 1973/74 the **Singapore** government directed its very big refining industry – US companies and all – not to fuel US naval vessels or air force craft.

Indonesia's President Suharto and President Ford held discussions on December 6, 1975, and although all of the matters relating to the Middle East are known to have been discussed, their joint communique made no reference to them. A previous report proposing an increase in military aid was released, but their communique did not mention defence, air bases, or Timor. After mentioning presidential hospitality and good relations, it referred to discussions of “international, bilateral, and regional issues”, indicated that the US agreed to “continue to provide substantial development aid” and that the presidents “agreed to expand dialogue at Ministerial level and on specific issues.

With all of those potential base-hosts eliminated the remaining possibilities were Korea, Taiwan, Papua New Guinea, Timor and Australia. East Timor would have ceased to be available if those pressing for its independence did not achieve their aim, but, as noted above, Indonesia was in the middle of determining that matter at the time of the Australian elections.

Korea's circumstances were so complex that it could hardly be defined as a ‘secure base’. In 1972 its oil supplies, all commercially controlled, were obtained from: Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and other members of the Islamic Conference.

Taiwan was not available.

Each of Papua New Guinea, Darwin and Perth probably only became operationally acceptable as transit bases when used in conjunction with Diego Garcia, which is approximately the same direct air distance from Israel as are the Azores.

Diego Garcia had become vital to the US/Israel alliance and the requirements which flow from it. It was a transit base for final operational deployment of ground troops for either offensive or defensive operations in Israel, and it was also as a staging base for such troops. Both shore-based and carrier-based attack and reconnaissance aircraft can operate over the whole of the Middle East from the island, but especially over the Arabian Peninsula and Persian Gulf. Submarines, both long-range and attack, and carrying either conventional or nuclear weapons, can operate from it and the whole of the Middle East is within range of nuclear

warhead missiles launched from submarines operating it. Without Diego Garcia, the surveillance and/or control of trade routes east and west of the Persian Gulf is very difficult and therefore the security of oil supplies for the US are at serious risk in the event of hostilities. The name of Diego Garcia therefore figures prominently in any consideration of the trouble in the triangle.

Whatever their purpose – transit or otherwise – all operations in the Arabian Peninsula, Persian Gulf or Red Sea require a primary access route to be available from the Indian Ocean. Australian access bases have significant advantages which partly offset the greater distance involved in the event of no other bases being available, firstly, because it is unnecessary to fly over restricted and potentially hostile airspace, and secondly, since transit base operations and Indian Ocean operations are intimately related and must be considered together, they can be co-ordinated more easily within this country.

NAVAL AND AIR FACILITIES: TRADE ROUTE SURVEILLANCE

The principal trade routes which the US had to protect in the context of the US/Israel alliance and a potential war in the Middle East were Iran to Israel via the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea (northern Indian Ocean), the Gulf of Aden, the Red Sea and Gulf of Aqaba. If that route becomes untenable, then the alternatives are the Mediterranean Sea route via Gibraltar, or a land route or a land/sea route from a neighbouring country's fields. The fields and pipeline systems of Iraq to the Mediterranean coast and tanker to Haifa would be more than adequate, but as the Gulf War later showed, the repercussions of an attempt to take over Iraq's supplies would require the US to intervene in Saudi Arabia to 'protect' its own imports from that country. Because the Mediterranean sea route is acutely vulnerable the most likely alternative at that time became Saudi Arabia, Tapline, Sidon and tankers to Haifa.

In addition the United States has to protect the route from the Persian Gulf ports to the east coast of the USA via the Cape of Good Hope and from the Persian Gulf ports to the west coast of the USA via the Straits of Malacca or, in the event of that being unavailable, the Timor and Arufura Seas. In each case, naval and air capacity *in* and *from* the Indian Ocean is vital.

Such considerations made it apparent that in the circumstances of the time Australia was in a potentially critical situation. Similarly, renegotiation of the border between Australia and Papua New Guinea involved the strategic questions of naval access and defence as well as sovereignty over a group of islands, their people, fish and seabed resources, regardless of the fact that public debate was directed at the questions of citizenship and social welfare benefits for the people of the Torres Strait islands.

THE EXERCISE OF OPTIONS

The McMahon Liberal/Country Party coalition government, which preceded the Whitlam government, had placed restrictions on the use of Cockburn Sound naval base by the US These

were confirmed and extended by the Whitlam government, which strongly supported the Afro-Asian concept of a 'nuclear-free zones of peace' in the Indian Ocean. The Whitlam government also opposed the US development of Diego Garcia.

Within weeks of assuming office the Fraser government inverted that policy completely. It vigorously endorsed the US development of Diego Garcia and invited the US Seventh Fleet to use Cockburn Sound as a base in the Indian Ocean. It did not exclude nuclear-powered ships and as the available surveillance equipment could not distinguish between nuclear-powered ships carrying nuclear warheads and those not carrying them, and as a dependent government is not likely to enforce physical equipment checks, such a policy amounted to an open invitation to nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed ships and submarines and aircraft to use Australian bases.

COMMUNICATIONS FACILITIES

Naval vessels and aircraft in military operations require more sophisticated communications systems than similar vehicles in civilian use. A system which may be quite adequate for navigation and position fixing for civilian vehicles may not be sufficiently accurate and reliable for military purposes – position fixing, reconnaissance, identification and weapons systems. Accordingly, the major powers place a great deal of emphasis onto development of precision military communications systems. Both the U.S.S.R. and the USA developed 'hyperbolic low-frequency navigation systems' in parallel following the Second World War. The Soviet union had three transmitters in operation. The Americans planned the Omega system, with a network of eight transmitters give effective global coverage.

In Australia, the establishment of communications bases by the USA was the subject of vigorous controversy. The US Navy began to place Omega receivers in its surface ships in 1967, and at time of the Six-Day War, the US government approached the Australian government for agreement to establish a US Navy transmitter in Australia. However, it was not until September 1968 that the US Navy decided to establish a world-wide Omega system. In that light, a transmitter in Australia was most important as the accuracy of the system over the Indian Ocean would be low without such an Australian transmitter. The use of the system in the Antarctic would also not be possible without the Australian base. However, a transmitter in SE Australia would be unreliable for shipping on the coastal trade or approaching the Australian coast and an arc from Tasmania to Brisbane could be adversely affected. A transmitter in New Zealand or somewhere south of Australia would be of greater benefit to Australia, but reliability to the west of Australia in the Indian Ocean) would be poorer. Any US submarine missile launch against the Soviet Union. or China would have to be made from waters in which the vessel would not be dependent on the Australian transmitter.¹²⁰

It was of special significance, but *not* referred to in the report from the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence dealing with the Omega Navigational Installation (Australian Government Publishing Service, 1975) that Diego Garcia lies on a direct line from Reunion to

Japan and thus, for position fixing as opposed to message communications, the triangles – Norway/Reunion/Japan or Liberia/Reunion/Japan – are not acceptable. Similarly, it lies *outside* the triangles formed by any other three transmitters except triangles which include the proposed Australian transmitter. Therefore, on technical grounds, the transmitter in Australia was essential for an acceptable degree of reliability in position fixing for all vessels and aircraft operating from Diego Garcia and relying on the Omega system. Furthermore, the Russian-built Berbera base is on the gulf of Aden coast of Somalia. It appears to have been an Arab initiative after the 1967 war, it is aimed primarily at command of the Red Sea route, and it was *not* under construction at the time that US interest in the Indian Ocean routes to the Middle East increased and when the initial approach to Australia for an Omega base was made. Justification of US build-up is therefore not valid if seen in terms of a response to prior Soviet build-up, even considering that the Soviet Union is reported to be expanding the Somalia Indian Ocean port of Kismaya.

THE EXERCISE OF OPTIONS

It was concurrent with the announcement that Britain had agreed to the US developing facilities on Diego Garcia in December, 1970, that the Liberal-Country Party coalition government agreed in principle to the establishment of an Omega base and detailed discussions and planning commenced. The Australian government exchanged notes with the US government (set out in the report) concerning conditions in August, 1972. Minor points of difference had been resolved, but the agreement had not been ratified in December when the L-CP government was defeated in a general election.

The incoming Whitlam government reversed the decision, declined to conclude an agreement, but, in view of the public debate which had occurred, referred the matter for enquiry to the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence in May, 1973. Because of the way in which the parliamentary committees are appointed, that committee was dominated by members of the former government and not the Whitlam government of the time. Its report, completed in May, 1975, was a bit like the US Cabinet Task Force Report on the Oil Imports Question. It carried a dissenting report and the following extracts from the primary report illustrate the situation.

... the Committee concludes that there is no likelihood that an Omega transmitter built in Australia will be attacked because of a belief that its signals assist ballistic missile submarines.¹²¹

*There is some disquiet in Australia that the building of a local transmitter may have adverse effects, but the Committee hopes that its thorough investigations and the availability of its findings will allay these fears.*¹²²

It is apparent that whether or not an Omega transmitter in Australia was required for ballistic missiles submarines, its strategic significance at that time made it a primary target for attack if

there was an outbreak of war in the Middle East between Israel and its Arab neighbours and which involved both the United States and the Soviet Union. Thus, despite the committee's favourable report, the Whitlam Government confirmed its decision *not* to proceed with an agreement or the construction of a transmitter. As the New Zealand government had previously also declined such an installation, and as circumstances suggest an installation on Guam or any of the other US-administered Pacific territories would not provide the same capability, the US military capabilities in the Indian Ocean, with regard to Middle East operations, was significantly retarded. It was no wonder the US administration and the CIA were unhappy with Whitlam. Dissent on such a matter was not acceptable!

Shortly after the Fraser government assumed office, the prime minister "responded positively" to statements by the newly-appointed US ambassador to Australia, made at his very first press conference, to the effect that one of his first jobs would be to pursue discussions about an Omega base with the Australian government because it was crucial to the "free world's ability to counter the increased Soviet influence in the Indian Ocean". [Emphasis added.] An instrument to authorise establishment of an Omega installation was one of the first items submitted to the new Parliament when it assembled in March, 1976.

RESOURCES

The Whitlam government's attitude to resource extraction has already been noted. In terms of a 'national philosophy', at the stage when Australia's economy was even more heavily rural-export based, the argument was commonly used and generally accepted that it was essential to develop the country's mineral resources in order to diversify the economy, increase export earnings, provide employment, build population of non-urban areas and 'avoid the Yellow Peril' which would be coming to grab Australia's unused resources. The corollary was that large-scale foreign investments were necessary to achieve this.

Discussion of the side-effects of accepting massive equity capital investment, as opposed to non-equity capital, from integrated companies or consortia of related companies in the countries which would import the extracted minerals and the conflicts of interest which would be generated was usually superficial. The conflicts which were discussed tended to hinge around profit repatriation, employment and wages, and other policies which were potentially restrictive. Little consideration was given to the experience of, and consequences for, countries in Latin America where the resources had been used by the international giants to play one country against another for the continued financial benefit of those giant companies. That was, after all, Latin America, not Australia!

Even less consideration was given to the way in which Australia and its resources could be used, either by a government of its own or by a combination of foreign political and commercial influences to retard the development of other countries or to influence the course of international alliances. The issue of the moment was the development of Australia, not of other countries.

AUSTRALIA: CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE TRIANGLE

When the Yom Kippur War erupted and the oil embargo was imposed the instant success of the embargo in forcing oil prices justice encouraged and welded together all of the Third World resource producing nations, and notably those of Arab North Africa and Latin America, in view of the Whitlam government's well articulated position it was bound to become involved in another dispute with the United States. The resources issue simply added to its woes. It could anticipate the outbreak of another war between Israel and its neighbours - everyone could do that - but it could not reasonably have anticipated the response of the United States government and the oil industry to the imposition of an oil embargo. Most people would have expected negotiations to begin towards some sort of rational settlement. However the deep-seated self-understandings of the major players involved, and the principal player in the amorphous Judeo-Christian gel in particular, did not permit rational discussion. That would have to wait until more settled times. But in more settled times people relax, or relapse, into complacency and the incentive to think about the fundamental issues of the trouble in the triangle wanes. Therefore it was virtually inevitable that the issue would be shelved until another crisis erupted, or until there was the *apparent* and *understandable* potential for another crisis of such proportions that people would say: "Stop! Let's call a halt to the action; do some thinking and start all over again."

In the meantime the Whitlam government became, like Ted Heath's government, a victim of the trouble in the triangle. All areas of vital importance to the US-Israeli Alliance had coincided in its policies. It had no hope. The defence issues of resupply routes, communications facilities, political relations with the Arab nations, resources policy and support for the developing countries of the Third World brought together a coalition of interests which was just too powerful. It could have, perhaps, survived an onslaught from one, or two, but not the whole lot together. If it had control of the Senate it would probably have survived because it would have been able to offer one or another Petro-dollar wealthy country a government-to-government loan agreement. The government's relations with the Arab countries were extremely good. The funds *were* available, provided there was a government-to-government agreement.¹²³ It could not offer one. The election was fought on the domestic issues of financial management, inflation, employment and the skulduggery involved in a well-motivated but ill-conceived bid to obtain the funds through a back door. It could not work. With all the cards stacked against it, and being manipulated with the help of the CIA, it could not have survived until it was able to win an election with a big enough margin to secure control of the Senate. Without realizing it, the government fell victim to the trouble in the triangle.

The world did not fall apart simply because the government of Australia changed hands. But the decisions taken by the new government helped to further strengthen the US-Israeli Alliance and meant that any resolution of the trouble in the triangle was likely to be deferred yet again. The world simply carried on as if nothing had happened.

~ 1976

- ~ The Group of 77 issued the Manila Declaration in which its members deplored the lack of action by the major powers to bring some equity into world trade and development, made proposals for a New International Economic Order, and called for urgent action by the United Nations and its dominant members.
- ~ In an effort to secure the approval, or at least recognition, of other countries for its form of 'decolonization' the South African government offered the homelands 'independence' supported by South African subsidies. Between 1976 and 1981 four homelands did so, without gaining recognition from any country. Another spiral began. Black South African leaders, including Bishop Desmond Tutu, began calling for an international boycott of South Africa; other African countries sought to isolate it in trade and international forums; South Africa retaliated with a program to destabilize those countries which soon included CIA-type tactics of sending military raiding parties into every other southern African country; those countries turned increasingly to either the Soviet Union or China for trade and defence support; and the United States increased its efforts to sabotage such contacts and the level of anti-Communist rhetoric increased.
- ~ June
- ~ 16: Police opened fire when thousands of students demonstrated in the black township of Soweto against a new law requiring Afrikaans to be used as the language of teaching. Rioting followed in the suburbs of Cape Town and Johannesburg and further repression focussed world attention on the crisis of Apartheid. Principal overseas support for the campaign against Apartheid was coming from the churches, notably the WCC's Program to Combat Racism, and Communist countries.
- ~ 1977
- ~ The facts of Soweto were enough to persuade the UN Security Council to support, unanimously, a mandatory embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa. Whether that resolution would have been supported so strongly if the Third World countries had not reached the numerical position in which they could bring the matter before the General Assembly is very problematic.
- ~ The Soviet Union deployed the first of its Intermediate-Range Nuclear Ballistic Missiles (IRBMs) with a range of 1,000 km.. Its basic strategy was to have the capacity for a major pre-emptive strike against US long-range arsenals if a regional war erupted and indications were that it was escalating and the US was preparing to introduce nuclear weapons.
- ~ Following Mao's death in September 1976, and the purge of the 'Gang of Four' who were held responsible for propping up his program, China's Cultural Revolution was declared at an end. About three million party members and ordinary citizens, including many teachers and other professionals had been purged and now sought reinstatement or a new role in society.
- ~ 1978

In quick succession Vietnam was invited to join the East European Economic Community, COMECON. Relations between Vietnam and China, and between Vietnam and Cambodia immediately deteriorated. The US postponed its planned 'normalization' of relations with Vietnam, and Vietnam and the Soviet Union signed a Pact of Friendship which China denounced as a threat to the security of South East Asia. The repression of ethnic Chinese in Vietnam began, and the result was one more large scale refugee exodus. It was just another major refugee crisis for the United Nations to try to come to grips with. When President Carter announced full scale diplomatic relations between the United States and China it was a case of the wedge was being driven in, firmly, between the Soviet Union and china. As the year closed, Vietnam invaded Cambodia.

Then Carter introduced a new factor into relationships in the Middle East when he invited Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin and Egyptian president Sadat for a direct conference with him at Camp David.

Afghanistan's situation was complicated when Daud was assassinated in an army coup and the military government of Mohammad Taraki aimed at closer ties with the USSR, but it faced increased Muslim resistance and Taraki was also murdered a few months later. The ruling faction was then led by Hafizullah Amin.

~ 1979

When, as a consequence of the Camp David conference, an Israeli-Egyptian peace agreement was signed, Egypt was suspended from the Organization of the Islamic Conference. It was five years before it accepted an offer to rejoin the organization. The Shah of Iran fled in the face of an Islamic Revolution which was led by senior Muslim clerics whose paramount leader, Ayatollah Khomeini, had been forced into exile for some years. The basis of the revolution was resentment at the rapid Western secularization of Iran under the influence of the Shah's alliance with the United States and the divisive influence which that was having in the Middle East.

It was soon China's turn to invade Vietnam.

Then, in response to the deployment by the Soviet Union of Ground Launched Cruise Missiles (GLCMs) missiles with a range of 5,500 km and the capacity to carry three nuclear war heads, which could strike targets anywhere in Europe within 10 minutes, the European NATO powers persuaded the United States to deploy two IRBM missile systems, one of them mobile, with a range of 2,000 km, with the capacity to strike Moscow from Western Europe. The stakes were being raised, and in June the SALT II treaty was agreed, but in the light of the United States reversal of relations with China, which facilitated China's invasion of Vietnam, and deployment of much greater missile capacity in the NATO countries, the policy of détente was in tatters, no real progress was made and international relations deteriorated further when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan to eliminate the CIA's surveillance network and to prevent it from establishing new facilities to replace those which it lost in neighbouring Iran with the overthrow of the Shah.¹²⁴

Ayatolla Khomeini returned and was declared the nation's Spiritual Leader. The Islamic Revolution was in full swing, and the US hostage crisis followed in November, when students stormed the US embassy in Tehran, and took a number of hostages. The students found documents which provided evidence of CIA involvement in Iranian politics. A few weeks later a referendum resulted in the adoption of a constitution which provided for a nationally elected president, a single-house parliament, a Council of Guardians composed of clerics and judges to ensure the maintenance of Islamic law, and a supreme religious leader.

The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan began on December 25. Amin was murdered in another coup; and the KGB installed Babrak Karmal. The US then accelerated the arming of competitive Muslim groups in order to gain control and replace the link in its surveillance system following the fall of the Shah in neighbouring Iran.

~ 1980

In April, five months after the hostages were taken, the US attempted, unsuccessfully, to rescue them. They were not released until after lengthy negotiations on January 20th next year. In the meantime Iraq took advantage of the volatile political situation to invade Iran in a bid to seize the disputed Shatt Al-Arab waterway which controlled access to its oil facilities. The dispute then widened to embrace control of the adjacent province, relations between civil and religious law, and relations with the United States. The devastating war, in which Iraq resorted to the use of gas against massed Iranian counter-attacks, continued for eight years.

Negotiations began in October towards a treaty to control the placement of Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces (INFs) within what was termed a "countervailing" strategy involving a range of "targeting options," but a lot of people wanted them eliminated, not "controlled," and an organization for research, education and anti-nuclear war campaigning, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, was established by doctors in the US and USSR. By 1985, when it was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, its membership had grown to 135,000 in 41 countries.

~ 1981

Late in the year the more pacifist-inclined actor-president of the United States, Ronald Reagan, proposed removing NATO's INFs (1,000 km range) if the Soviet Union dismantled its SS-20 GLCMs (5,500 km range). No conclusion was reached, but the Soviet Union warned that the negotiations would end if NATO proceeded with the planned deployment of enhanced missiles.

~ 1982

On September 15, Pope John Paul II met Yasir Arafat for a 20-minute private audience at the Vatican, then, in what a PLO official termed "a turning point" in favour of the movement, issued a call for Israel and the PLO to "accept the existence and the reality of the other." Prior to the meeting an Israeli spokesperson had said "If, in fact, Arafat meets the pope, Israel would view the meeting grievously," then, after the event, another official complained strongly. He said that the Roman Catholic Church had not spoken out against

the Holocaust or the killing of Christians in Lebanon, but now the pope wanted to meet the guerrilla leader sworn to destroy Israel and thus complete the work of the Nazis.” Yet another, in the Foreign Ministry, called it “revolting,” and the commander of the Christian militias in Southern Lebanon claimed that Arafat had been responsible for killing at least 100,000 Christians and said “We wonder how our spiritual father can receive our killer.” At that the Curia issued a communiqué expressing outrage at “language so little respectful of a pope of whom one cannot ignore what he had said on numerous occasions, and particularly during his visit to Auschwitz, to condemn and abhor the genocide directed by the Nazis against the Jewish people (and not only against them).”¹²⁵

~ 1983

When the United States deployed enhanced missiles in Europe. The Soviet Union withdrew from arms limitation talks. Soon afterwards, Mikhail Gorbachev assumed power in the Soviet Union and began to implement policies of *Perestroika* (restructuring of the economy and democratization of social and economic life) and *Glasnost* (openness in government, social justice and education) which he had foreshadowed in a speech three months earlier. It was another move in the right direction and Reagan announced the start of second search for an alternative to MAD. He envisaged a Strategic Defence Initiative which would render nuclear weapons “impotent and obsolete.” It was dubbed ‘Star Wars.’ He later sought to shift the super-power talks away from arms limitation to Strategic Arms Reduction (START).

The United States moved a step closer to formalizing its relationship with the Vatican when a rider, proposed by Senator Richard Lugar, was added to the State Department Appropriation Bill to repeal the 1867 ban on diplomatic appointments to the Vatican..¹²⁶

~ 1984

The foreshadowed new relationship between the United States and the Vatican was formalized when full diplomatic relations were established after some acrimonious public debate. Opposition is said to have come from the World Council of Churches, the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Baptists. An Evangelical minister associated with President Reagan, Rev. Jerry Falwell, told the White House that if they appointed an ambassador to the Vatican he may ask for a similar appointment to Mecca. He also proposed a condition on the appointment to the Vatican: that it recognize Israel. Political speculation centred on Reagan’s need for the Catholic vote in the presidential election later that year, and “American progressives feared a conservative cabal by Reagan and John Paul II.”¹²⁷ Such speculation was to be expected in view of the Vatican’s silence on the matter of Reagan’s Star Wars proposals and the sensitivity of discussions at the time of the Soviet walk out from arms limitations talks over that issue in december 1983. The Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal Casaroli, had told reporters that the Vatican was trying to mediate that crisis but he was not hopeful of attaining “very conciliatory results,” and the absence of either papal or Vatican condemnation of the Star Wars proposals, despite personal lobbying by Gromyko and other Soviet diplomats, was considered a diplomatic victory for

the United States. That victory had resulted less from US obbying than from the Vatican's general orientation toward Western European security policy.¹²⁸ The proximity of the rider to the State Department's appropriation bill, the arms talks crisis, and Reagan's decision on an appointment to the Vatican seems too much to be a coincidence.

~ 1985

The United States took advantage of Iran's circumstances to seek favours in return for secret arms deals in the Iran-Contra Affair. Senior officials of the US National Security Council (NSC) arranged weapons transactions and other activities that either were prohibited by the US Congress or violated the stated public policy of the government. The head of the NSC, Robert C. McFarlane, undertook the sale of antitank and anti-aircraft missiles to Iran, believing that such a sale would secure the release of a number of American citizens who were being held captive in Lebanon by Shi'ite terrorist groups loyal to Iran. This and several subsequent weapon sales to Iran directly contradicted the US government's publicly stated policy of refusing to bargain with terrorists or to aid Iran in its war with Iraq. The NSC believed that Iran was sponsoring international terrorism. A portion of the \$48 million that Iran paid for the arms was diverted by the NSC and given to the Contras, the US-backed rebels fighting to overthrow the Marxist-oriented Sandinista government of Nicaragua. NSC officials also raised private funds for the Contras, violating a 1984 law under which direct or indirect US military aid to the Contras was banned.¹²⁹

In New Zealand an international incident erupted when the Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior*, which was due to sail to Moruroa Atoll where the French government was conducting nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere to protest at, and to inhibit, the tests, was sunk by French intelligence agents on the orders of a government agency. The French minister for defence was eventually forced to resign and the head of the defence intelligence service was dismissed. In Moscow, following an unsuccessful coup against Gorbachev in which leaders of the KGB were involved, the organization was stripped of some of its powers and downgraded in a bid to speed up democratization of the Soviet Union.

There was good news on the Apartheid front in October when a conference of the Commonwealth Heads of Government reached an 'Accord' by means of which they sought to isolate South Africa and to apply an economic embargo until such time that it rescinded its system of Apartheid. They also proposed that a group of seven 'Eminent Persons' visit South Africa for consultations and to further assess the situation. The accord was only reached after a period of great reluctance on the part of Britain's Thatcher government because of the impact of such embargoes on British investors. A few months later the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, including Malcolm Fraser who had bitten the bullet and brought on Australia's constitutional crisis to get rid of Whitlam, the thorn in America's side, commenced consultations in South Africa. The consultations continued for several months without the Group being able to achieve the substantial

changes which they sought. A extra dimension was added to that good news when the Kairos Document was published by churches of South Africa in a direct Theological challenge to the attitude of the dominant church on Apartheid

~ 1986

US Congressional leaders, and parts of the administration, then saw that the whole of Africa was being pushed more firmly into collaboration with the Soviet Union and China, and Congress passed a comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act under which new investment and loans to South Africa were banned, import restrictions and a ban on air links were imposed. The legislation was in tune with the dramatic adjustment in dominant American attitudes to the race question, and resentment of South Africa's racial policies, but it was in contrast to its own recent track record and it was passed in the face of opposition from President Reagan who was apparently more concerned about the immediate impact on US companies which had major interests in South Africa, and who sought to veto the legislation.

On the other hand, concerned that progress was too slow, Gorbachev proposed that nuclear disarmament talks be accelerated with a radical agenda aimed at a nuclear-weapons-free world by the end of the century. Shortly afterwards the issue was made more urgent when, in April, a catastrophic explosion at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant in the Ukraine led to 32 deaths, the evacuation of tens of thousands from adjacent towns, many thousands of cases of human radiation illness and cancers, with massive radio active fallout which contaminated farm land, forests and water ways, caused abortions and deformities in livestock in Eastern Europe and demonstrated that such fallout could never be restricted in the event of deliberate use. The contamination affected areas of Ukraine, Russia, Belarus, much of Eastern and Central Europe, and drifted as far as Sweden, Italy and France. When the leaders again met in a summit in October at Reykjavik, Iceland, Reagan basically supported the Gorbachev proposal but he refused to drop the Star Wars plan, and as a result no agreement was reached.

~ 1987

It was not until more than a year later that Reagan and Gorbachev reached agreement that the USA and USSR would eliminate their stocks of intermediate and shorter range land-based missiles which had nuclear warhead capability. The Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty was ratified by both powers the following year. It was agreed that a total of 2,619 missiles would be dismantled over three years. Two thirds were Soviet and one third US. West Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl opposed modernizing NATO's missile system to avoid antagonizing the Soviet Union and precipitating another round of new developments. He expressed concern that Germany was the prime launching place for NATO and thus the prime target for the Soviet Union.

There was an initiative of enormous importance in interfaith relations when, at great personal risk, a delegation of religious leaders from the Christian, Muslim and Hindu communities of South Africa met with representatives of the African National Congress

and a delegation from the World Conference on Religion and Peace in Lusaka, Zambia. The meeting was an initiative of Archbishop Desmond Tutu to review the individual and collaborative approaches of the three faith communities to the struggle against Apartheid. They were drawn together within the WCRP of which Tutu was a joint World President. The Lange Labour government in New Zealand, elected in 1984, also took a great risk when, with strong public support, it actively promoted the campaign to limit nuclear weapons and to ban them from the Pacific region. It refused to allow visits by US naval vessels unless an assurance was given that they were neither nuclear armed or powered. The US government refused to give such an assurance and excluded New Zealand from the ANZUS Treaty. It applied rigorous trade and financial pressure in an effort to force the government to change its position, fearing that if New Zealand was able to have its way, other US defence arrangements could be undermined, not only in the Asia-Pacific region but around the world. The value of the New Zealand currency plunged and the government had to take strong measures to stabilize the economy. The New Zealand public maintained its support for the government's anti-nuclear stand and it was re-elected in 1987, only to face further deterioration in the country's economic position and defeat at the 1990 elections by the National Party which reversed the anti-nuclear policy.

~ 1988

President Jakes of Czechoslovakia resigned in December following three months of economic and social upheaval and the violent dispersal by police of massive student demonstrations. The Czech Communist government then agreed to cede power to an interim government with a majority of non-Communists pending elections seven months later.

~ 1989

The world knew that the Cold War and the arms race was unnecessarily exhausting and Gorbachev proposed extending negotiations to eliminate all nuclear weapons but Thatcher (Britain) and Bush (USA) insisted that this would be "imprudent." However NATO agreed to postpone modernizing some systems as a step towards continued negotiations. They were urgently needed because Europe was still very tense. In June, non-Communist parties gained power at the Czech elections and a law was promptly passed to prohibit former senior Communist officials from holding senior political, economic or judicial posts. A few months later the East German Government was forced from office by popular uprisings. Gorbachev either supported, or acquiesced in the move, and a few weeks later, on November 9, the new East German Government opens the Berlin Wall and allows free movement from East to West.

~ 1990

The trouble in the triangle took one turn for the better when the Soviet Union relaxed restrictions on the emigration of Jews, and then another when the newly installed President of South Africa, F.W. de Klerk, announced that parliament would consider a radical program of reform to the Apartheid system. In due course all of the major

Apartheid legislation was repealed, including the Group Areas Act, the Population Registration Act and the Lands Act, and the state of emergency was lifted. Nelson Mandela was released from prison on February 11, and his election as president of the ANC followed, enabling consultations towards the drafting of a new constitution for South Africa to begin.

Then the real big breakthrough came about the same time, after much debate on a proposal from Gorbachev, when the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union resolved to relinquish the constitutional guarantee of monopoly power in government, thus providing for a multi-party electoral system. Gorbachev also proposed that the US system of election of the president by universal suffrage be adopted as from 1995, and that changes to give the president executive powers take effect immediately. He was confirmed as president of the Soviet Union on March 15 on the basis of the new powers.

With the impending collapse of the Soviet Union, American opinion was sharply divided on how to take advantage of the sudden surprising victory in the Cold War. Neo-isolationists urged the United States to pare back foreign commitments neo-nationalists wanted the country to look more to its own interests abroad liberals hoped for a “peace dividend” that could be applied to a domestic agenda ranging from education to health care and crime and all hoped to address the yawning deficits in the U.S. budget and trade balance. Internationalists of both parties however insisted that Americans would miss a historic opportunity if they turned inward after the Cold War. Twice before in the 20th century the United States had led the world to victories over tyranny only to see its plans for a democratic world order frustrated. As the only nation with the unique combination of military economic and ideological strengths needed to lead the United States now had a duty to “win the peace.”

Not far away, after a period of upheaval Hungary adopted a new constitution and held free elections. Gorbachev approved. Poland also went through a period of turmoil and constitutional crisis which led progressively to the end of the Communist regime. However in the Soviet Union change was not going to be easy and the fragmentation of the party hierarchy began. Gorbachev was under challenge from both those who wanted the former system of a single party maintained and those who wanted change at a faster pace. In May the Soviet Union and the United States (Gorbachev and Bush) signed a series of 16 agreements, some of which related to trade and disarmament. They followed that with the signing of the START treaty, committing their countries to a total of 1,600 intercontinental bombers and missiles, being a 30 per cent reduction in capacity. The Iraqi and Iranian Foreign Ministers were in make-up mode, too. They met in Geneva to resolve some of the issues outstanding after the end of the Iraq-Iran War, but it proved to be a prelude to another round of conflict in the Middle East. On August 2, intent on achieving a position from which it could, in due course, lead a push against Israel, Iraq occupied Kuwait on the pretext of Kuwait’s failure to honour OPEC oil production and

pricing agreements and its refusal to waive loan debts incurred by Iraq during its war with Iran. Next day the UN Security Council called for Iraq to withdraw, and four days later it imposed a total ban on trade with Iraq which promptly announced the annexation of Kuwait. But understanding the complexities of the trouble in the triangle was not easy. The United States only understood the concepts of either buying peace, Camp David style, or heavy handed force, and on November 29 the UN Security Council authorized military action to force Iraq out of Kuwait if it had not withdrawn by January 15, 1991. Over the next ten weeks the United States, acting in the name of the United Nations and on the rationale that it was relieving an occupied country; securing world oil supplies; and protecting other Arab countries from Iraqi subjugation, organized a Korea or Vietnam-type coalition of European, Arab and other countries including Britain, France, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Syria. The force of 700,000 personnel was comprised of 540,000 Americans and 160,000 others. Almost all of the military, naval and air force hardware and munitions were supplied by the United States. The Soviet Union, Iraq's principal supplier of arms, in desperate need of US economic support to overcome its internal crises, agreed not to intervene and to withhold all further arms supplies from Iraq. A few weeks later Gorbachev won approval for a new constitutional treaty between the Soviet Union and the member Federated Republics.

There was trouble of a different kind brewing when Slobodan Milosevic gained power as president of Serbia in December and moved to appropriate all Yugoslav national assets to Serbia. Slovenia declared its independence, and the presidents of the six constituent republics were unable to agree on the formation of a new loose federation. [Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Slovenia, Macedonia and Montenegro.] During the Cold War the US had favoured Yugoslavia in order to drive a wedge between it and the Soviet Bloc, but it would not now provide any assistance to relieve its deep seated problems.

~ 1991

On January 16 when the Gulf War began with Operation Desert Storm, it soon changed from an operation to relieve Kuwait and recover its territory, to an operation to pursue and destroy the Iraqi Army. At other times the Soviet Union may have intervened to prevent that tactic, but it was in no position to exert any influence. It had too many problems of its own and the United States was left to run the rest of the world. Soviet troops were busy suppressing rebellions in the Baltic Republics. and Gorbachev faced calls for his resignation. Aided and abetted by the United States, "progressive" forces throughout the Soviet bloc were pressing for reform, and in February the Baltic Republic of Lithuania voted overwhelming for independence from the Soviet Union.

At that stage, on February 28, a cease fire was called in the Gulf War.

A draft constitutional treaty to govern relations between the Soviet Union and its constituent republics was drawn up in March and it gained the general support of the republics in a referendum, except that the Baltic Republics, Moldavia and Georgia refused

to take part or to recognize it. Tensions between the republics were near explosion point. Three months later, in June, speaking in Oslo to accept the Nobel Peace Prize which had been awarded to him in 1990, Gorbachev emphasized that the economic recovery of the Soviet Union was vital to the future of the new world order. He stressed that his country's urgent need was for massive, unconditional foreign aid, and warned that if Perestroika failed "the prospect of entering a new, peaceful period in history will vanish, at least for the foreseeable future."¹³⁰ A few days later Boris Yeltsin became the first elected president of the Russian Federation in 1,000 years.

Gorbachev was still working for reform within the framework of the existing structure of the Soviet Union and in July he produced a draft charter which amounted to a complete rewriting of the principles of the Communist Party. It provided that the Party would stand for conversion to a mixed economy; unconditional denunciation of Stalinism and totalitarianism; acceptance that Marxism is not necessarily the sole foundation of socialist theory; and the freedom to worship for Party members. After vigorous debate the Supreme Soviet approved legislation designed to break the central government's stranglehold on industrial and commercial property. While they did not want to totally dismantle the system they had worked under for so long - and they still believed it could be made to work - the majority were realists enough to know that enforced economic and political isolation from more than half of the world had made it impossible to manage the system in the way they may have wished. The relatively low productivity levels which they were achieving, coupled with the debilitating costs of defence systems on a scale which was ludicrous, had made the system insupportable. They needed help, and they needed lots of it.

In mid July Gorbachev was invited to the London summit meeting of the Group of Seven (G7) industrialized democracies. He had early urged them to recognize that it was time for the "Soviet Union's organic incorporation into the world economy." He was given assurances of immediate expert advice and technical assistance. This was to include "special association" with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. He also received pledges of additional aid conditional on *continued transition to a free market economy*. He knew that the virtual ending of Soviet Communism would mean a struggle with the conservatives around him, but he also knew that it had to be done. He went home to finalize the draft Union Treaty.

On August 15 when it was ready for public airing, his final version contained no reference to socialism; it endorsed all forms of property; it vested ownership and control of all economic resources in the republics; provided that membership of the proposed new Union was voluntary except that the 1922 constitution would remain in force in any republic which refused to sign the new treaty; and provided for election to all union bodies and of the executive president. Those elections were to be followed by presidential appointment of a new Cabinet of Ministers and a Soviet of Republics. Delegates of the republics would form one chamber of a bicameral national parliament which would

approve the cabinet appointments made by the president. In addition the premiers of the republics were to have the right to participate in cabinet meetings and their votes would decide issues.¹³¹ It was dynamite. It was too much for the conservatives.

Three days later Gorbachev was placed under house arrest by senior party and government officials acting as a 'State Committee for the State Emergency' (SCSE) when he refused to step down and hand all authority to Vice President Yanayev. On the 19th the Soviet newsagency, Tass, reported that he was ill and had temporarily yielded power to Yanayev and that the Soviet Union would be run by the SCSE for six months. It moved swiftly to reverse the reforms and suppress dissent. Yeltsin denounced the coup and called for a general strike. Two days later the coup collapsed but Yeltsin, ignoring pleas from Gorbachev, signed a decree ordering the suspension of the Communist Party in the Russian Federation.

On August 24 Gorbachev resigned as general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and persuaded the central committee to disband. Republics which declared their independence or confirmed their non-cooperation in the proposed new union were Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Armenia, Georgia and Moldavia. They were the mainstay of the old Union. The end was near. On September 5 the Congress of People's Deputies formally annulled the old power structures and appointed a State Council with Gorbachev as head to administer affairs for a transitional period while a new constitution was being agreed. There was as much conflict as coordination during the next three months as the federations each sought to determine their futures. In October before the three months had passed for the new system to be put in place, free parliamentary elections were held in Poland. The satellites were not eager to wait to see how the new arrangements would work.

On December 8 the Federations of Byelarus, Ukraine and Russia signed the Minsk Agreement to establish the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) as an alternative to Gorbachev's proposed new union. On the 21st the leaders of the eleven former republics of the USSR met in Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan, and signed a declaration joining them as member states of the CIS. The USSR was a mere shell. Gorbachev resigned on the 25th, very bitter, as president of the USSR. He had wanted reform, not disintegration. Next day the Supreme Soviet of the USSR voted itself out of existence. The USSR was no more.

~ 1992

By agreement with the other republics of the CIS, the Russian Federation was recognized as the legal successor to the USSR and assumed control of the nuclear arsenals of the former USSR in consultation with the other republics in which they were sited, and the United States and Russia reached an informal agreement, START II, to make further drastic reductions in their nuclear armaments over an unspecified period. The new President of the Russian Federation, Boris Yeltsin, signed friendship treaties with Britain and France in return for aid and credits, and, soon after, Bush and Yeltsin signed the START II Pact, agreeing to reduce long range nuclear arsenals by two thirds within ten

years. The US also approved an economic assistance package and help to dismantle Russia's nuclear weapons. Clinton then agreed to an additional \$1.6 billion in aid. There was much debate about whether to apply shock therapy to propel Russia into capitalist mode at the risk of causing high unemployment and social disruption, or whether to hasten slowly, and about how much influence Russia should be allowed in international affairs. But after half a century of enforcing isolation on its big eastern neighbour neighbour Europe was finding it just as difficult as the United States to work out a new relationship with the Soviet Union, and this was reflected in tortuous negotiations over the future of the European Community. Under the Maastricht Treaty the European Community became the European Union; the European Parliament at Strasbourg gained enhanced powers, and it was agreed that there would be monetary union by 1999, plus common policies on crime, immigration, social welfare and the environment, and joint action on security and foreign policy

A NEW ERA?

The Cold War was at an end. That was official. The enormous structure which had been built as the material challenge to the amorphous Christian gel based on Marx' philosophical challenge had collapsed. That did not mean that a challenge was no longer relevant. It was needed as urgently as ever. But the structure had collapsed for two basic reasons. One was that those who gained control of the *structure* of the challenge in its early years had lost sight of the original *point* of the challenge and abused their power and the human rights of their own people to the extent that it was a challenge in a political and military sense only. The philosophical challenge had dissipated very quickly. The second reason was that the powers of the amorphous Christian gel - both religious and political - had set out to undermine the challenge and to make the system which carried it unworkable. They had succeeded admirably. Their first efforts was through direct invasion to prevent the structures of the challenge from being built. Then, having failed, except to the extent that they had forced it to become a military backed regime at least as brutal as the one which it replaced, they had sought to isolate it from the rest of the world by political and military means, and to withhold from it everything which they regarded as necessary for a vibrant successful state. Finally, having destroyed the challenge, the principal member of the gel refused to lend it a hand to recover and to join the world community and could only regard it as another opportunity for market and resource exploitation. The combined burden had proven unsustainable. The Western world regarded the collapse of the soviet Union as a great success. Being unable to appreciate the nature of the trouble in the triangle they were not likely to see it any other way, and the world would just have to wait for a challenge from a different source. There would soon be plenty of them.

With the United States now the undisputed dominant power in world affairs the Clinton administration articulated the principles of its new foreign policy in a series of speeches. Official spokesperson Lake explained in September, 1993, that democracy and market economics were in the ascendancy, so that just as the United States had previously laboured to

contain Communism it should now work for “enlargement” of the community of free nations. Secretary of State Albright outlined the moral, financial and political benefits of multilateral action in regional disputes and Clinton personally defined his goal as nothing less than “to expand the reach of democracy and economic progress across the whole of Europe and to the far reaches of the world.” Within three weeks of Lake’s speech this bold agenda began to unravel. On October 3-4 more than 75 US Army Rangers were wounded in an effort to capture the renegade Somali warlord, General Maxamed Farax Caydiid (Muhammad Farah Aydid), and two American corpses were dragged through the streets of Mogadishu before television cameras. American opinion immediately turned against the intervention, especially when it was revealed that the troops were fighting under UN commanders and had been denied heavy weapons by Secretary of Defense Les Aspin. Clinton was obliged to announce a deadline of March 31 1994 for evacuation of the troops which in turn meant abandoning the state-building mission.

But that was only indicative of the troubles which lay ahead. The Cold War may have been ended, but the United States, other powers in the amorphous Christian gel, together with the church, had been so preoccupied, or obsessed, with the confrontation with the challenge that had originated with Karl Marx that they failed to grasp the fact that the trouble in the triangle was a very complex matter. Marx had provided a major philosophical challenge, but the real challenge was the relationship between Christianity and its self-understanding, and its partners in the triangle of Abrahamic faiths, Judaism and Islam, and they had paid very little attention to that, other than at the political level. It was time to begin some serious thinking. Very soon they would be encouraged to do so as one trouble spot after another appeared to take on a new dimension. American leaders began to talk of the new world conflict being between the West and Islam, as if the world Muslim community was simply taking up the attack against the Capitalist West where the former Soviet Union had left of.

Such was not the case. What the world was experiencing was a reaction in many parts of the world to the abuses and excesses of the amorphous Christian gel which had simply been submerged by the political confrontation between the West and the Communist East. As each of these “new” challenges arose, or became more apparent, they would all have a basic component linked directly back to the decisions and conduct of the amorphous Christian gel either during the European *imperial* colonial era or the American-dominated era of *economic imperialism* and globalization. Every conflict which has erupted since the collapse of the former Soviet Union can be shown to have either a territorial, ethnic, or religious aspect which is an integral part of the evolution and history of the trouble in the triangle. Each of those conflicts, whether it is the crisis in the Balkans, the series of crises which have wracked Africa, Afghanistan, East Timor, Fiji, Indonesia’s Ambon, the so-called Asian economic melt-down, or the continuing saga of Northern Ireland - as well as the major conflict between Israel and the Palestinians centred on the questions of refugee return and the future of the city of Jerusalem - all link directly to the trouble in the triangle. Solve that, and the world will be closer to peace and stability than it will ever be if the amorphous Christian gel continues on its merry way, blinkered by the self-

EMBARGO! NOT FOR WANT OF WARNINGS. NEW ORDER OR DISORDER?

understanding and conduct which has resulted from its insistence that its developed Trinitarian theology is the be all and end all of human salvation.

CHAPTER 31

TO GOD BE THE GLORY!

The world has celebrated the beginning of a new millennium. Or at least a very large hunk of it has. That part of it which has fallen under the influence of the Christian church and its amorphous Christian gel of doctrine, imperialism, militarism, commercial exploitation, racism and crude politics all rolled up into an insidious self-understanding from within which some of its key leaders still believe that their membership of it gives them the right and the authority to command and to benefit preferentially from anything which exists. However that part of the world which does not want to celebrate it or which sees no great point in doing so, cannot avoid being uncomfortably aware of it. And even that fact is an accident of the trouble in the triangle.

Until about 1,640 years ago no one had thought that it was necessary to have a universal system of dates to record events of historical importance or for planning future events. Each scattered kingdom or republic, or locally dominant religious community established its own system, usually based on the beginning of the reign of each successive ruler. The Chinese and the Indians were apparently better organized than the Europeans, with Chinese historians able to date some events as early as 4,697 years before the current year (2000 CE), the Vikrama era of the Jains dates from 2,058 years ago. But with those exceptions, the recording of history by generation or length of reign was a bit clumsy. During the reign of each ruler someone had to remember, for the community's oral history or, if it had a system of written history, to record the sequence in which things of importance occurred, and for how long each ruler held sway, or how many generations there were from one event to another. It was a bit vague, too, because no one thought to tell their subjects or their successors that they had to produce their first offspring at precisely the same age for the convenience of history! The fifth generation in one royal line might coincide with only the fourth generation in one neighbouring kingdom, or the sixth generation in another. So in the writings of the early church we read that Jesus of Nazareth was born in the forty second generation of Jewish history, or, to be more precise, that he was born in the fourteenth generation after the Babylonian exile which was fourteen generations after King David, who was of the fourteenth generation after Abraham.¹ Some of its writers also noted that Jesus was born in the reign of King Herod.²

It was only three generations later that some other authorities in India thought it wise to be able to record events a little more reliably and the Shaka or Salivahana era, which is recognized throughout India, dates from 1,922 years ago. It would have soon become known to people in the Arabian Peninsula that such a system was being used in India, because of the number of

coastal traders plying back and forth along the two or three thousand miles of coastline from the west coast of India to the Horn of Africa, but there appears to be nothing to suggest that they had taken up the system. However the dramatic spread of *dār al-islām* through the territories of other rulers, east through Iran into Afghanistan, and west across North Africa made it necessary for the Arabs to be able to relate events in one part of their empire to events in other parts. The second caliph, ‘Umar I, who reigned for ten years beginning 1,366 years ago, thereupon determined that universal dating would be based on the rise of Islam, with year one being the year that the Prophet Muhammad and his small band of followers fled from Mecca to Medina. Wherever *dār al-islām* went, the Arab Islamic system of administration went too, and the new system of recording dates and events was an essential part of it. Thus the new calendar crossed into Spain from North Africa with the Berbers 1,289 years ago. Within four years virtually the entire Iberian Peninsula to the Pyrenees Mountains was under the rule of Muslims who had been aided and abetted by the Jewish community, and everyone was happily working to a new understanding of time and history. Then in 722, after the Muslims broke through the gaps in the Pyrenees and swamped the southern coast of France as far as the Rhone, there began a period of eleven years of papal power politics and corruption during which the Arian Visigoths were double crossed to enable the pope to maintain his alliances with Boniface and Charles Martel - financially supported in their ‘evangelism’ by clergy and piles of Peter’s Pence from across the channel in England. The pope and Martel were successful, and in 732 when the Muslims reached Poitiers, in Central France, they were turned back to the Spanish border. (Chapter 7.)

Among the key figures of the church in England at that time was a 60-year old monk named Bede who was based at the monastery of Jarrow which provided many helpers for Boniface’s program of evangelism. He had become prominent as a Biblical scholar and church historian and was subsequently canonized, honoured with the posthumous title ‘Venerable’ and proclaimed a Doctor of the Church. He is most often mentioned in connection with “clarifying” the date of Easter and his histories, but it was he who, when the Muslims were firmly entrenched in Spain and threatening to burst through Central Europe, determined that Europe would not adopt a calendar and a dating system based on the mission of the Prophet Muhammad. He set out to persuade the church to adopt a system based on the birth of Jesus Christ. There was already within the church a body of opinion, or a movement of people, who, from their reading of chapters 20 and 21 of the Book of the Revelation of John anticipated some kind of apocalyptic event one thousand years after the time of the Messiah, followed by a period of the reign of the saints and a second apocalyptic event after a second thousand years. There were a range of ideas, concepts and interpretations involved, some contradictory of others. Some people expected a catastrophic occurrence which would signal the end of the world. Others expected such an era of chaos and catastrophe to be the prelude to a second coming of Christ in person, in glory, to reign *in person*, literally taking charge of the church or superseding the church in some way. The church at large, although its leaders included the book in the official church canon of the Bible, questioned its credibility as prophecy and left it in the too-hard basket. In a sense it was treated in the same manner as the Qur’anic Night Journey:

“Ignore it. It’s irrelevant. It was only written to offset the pressure from the Roman imperial authorities to revert to emperor worship.”

However one consequence of the decision to base the recording of the passage of time on the life of Jesus Christ was to focus attention on the literal change of date from one millennium to another, to side-track reflection on the Book of Revelation, and to encourage the establishment of Millenarian cults with a fixation for that date to the exclusion of all else. The members of some cults even entered into suicide pacts in anticipation of a cataclysmic event at the stroke of midnight on the day designated as the end of the second millennium, with tragic consequences for them and those directly affected by the events, but with little discernible impact on the way the church thought about the issue.

Even if one were to accept that an inspired prophecy could be so precise as to anticipate the exact moment of an occurrence such as the return of the Messiah in person, or a ‘big bang’ in reverse, the ideas proposed beg the question of what defines the start and end of each millennium. Would it have been the moment of birth of the Messiah, the moment of his death, or the moment of his resurrection? Or would it have been the experience of Pentecost from which the church dates its birth? But to focus on such questions is to misunderstand the nature of prophecy and to confound oneself by conceptually placing God in a straight jacket defined, or determined, by the limits of one’s own capacity to comprehend. We have, therefore, to look at the entire matter with a fresh mind, building on what is now apparent about the relationship between the three partners in the triangle. In particular we must recognize and reflect on the way in which the *role* of the people of the Covenant relates to, and has interlocked with the Qur’anic prophesy of the Night Journey (chapter 6), Maimonides’ understanding of the return of the people Israel to Palestine (chapter 8), the personal statements of Jesus, and those key passages from the Book of Revelation.

To do that we must first think about how we got here, and how we let ourselves, as humanity, get into the mess we are in. As a body of people we know a lot more about the world in which we live, and about the universe into which our world fits as little more than a mere speck, than people did about 400 years ago when the vice-chancellor of Cambridge University calculated the date and time of creation (in the wake of the Reformation) based on Biblical sources: nine o’clock in the morning on October 23, 4004 BCE, with all species created complete, of course!³ (Chapter 15) We can have every confidence in the scientific consensus which has developed in recent years that the universe came into being somewhere between ten thousand million and fifteen thousand million years ago, and that our world began a separate existence somewhere between four and five thousand million years ago.

Our scientists can tell us that no matter existed prior to that occurrence, but they cannot tell us what the originating cause of the occurrence was. Now it takes more than a modicum of intelligence on the part of a lot of people over some hundreds of years to have made the observations and developed the techniques and the equipment required to reach such conclusions. But even with that accumulated knowledge and the developed skills required to

have achieved that understanding of the origins of the universe they are happy to concede that they cannot emulate it. Given a bit of existing matter, or a source of energy, they can probe it, examine it, modify it, plan around it, utilize it, construct, convert, degrade, and explain it. But they cannot *create* it from nothing. In the sloppy, self-centred, egotistical manner of today our politicians, commentators, scientists, business people, computing buffs, artists and musicians, more or less everyone - at least in the Western world - say, at the drop of any old hat, that they have “created” something or other. They have done nothing of the kind. They may have built, designed, written, painted, formulated, unraveled, discovered, composed, executed, conceived, fabricated, or converted, for arguments sake, but they have *created* absolutely nothing. They are totally incapable of doing anything without the necessary building blocks. However such abuse or misuse of language is more than sloppiness. It indicates a mind set and reflects a process of conditioning which we shall come back to. The scientific consensus therefore leads logically to the conclusion that an external ‘cause’ beyond our comprehension was responsible for the big bang of creation.

That being the case, it is not logical to say that life was generated spontaneously, without external cause, or that the course of evolution has been haphazard. Again, in a remarkably short time span, our scientists have been able to identify genetic patterns, understand and utilize the characteristics of DNA, manipulate chromosomes, modify patterns of growth and determine what characteristics they wish to implant in a living organism. They can predict with remarkable accuracy the outcome of their efforts, but not invariably so. They do make mistakes and they do, at times, exceed the bounds of their current knowledge. But as with physical and chemical scientists, one thing is absolutely certain. They may be able to *manipulate* life. They cannot *create* it. That is the exclusive province of the external cause which is beyond our comprehension. So: to some charts.

Chart 1

Humanity in Universal History

Time scale: Thousand million years

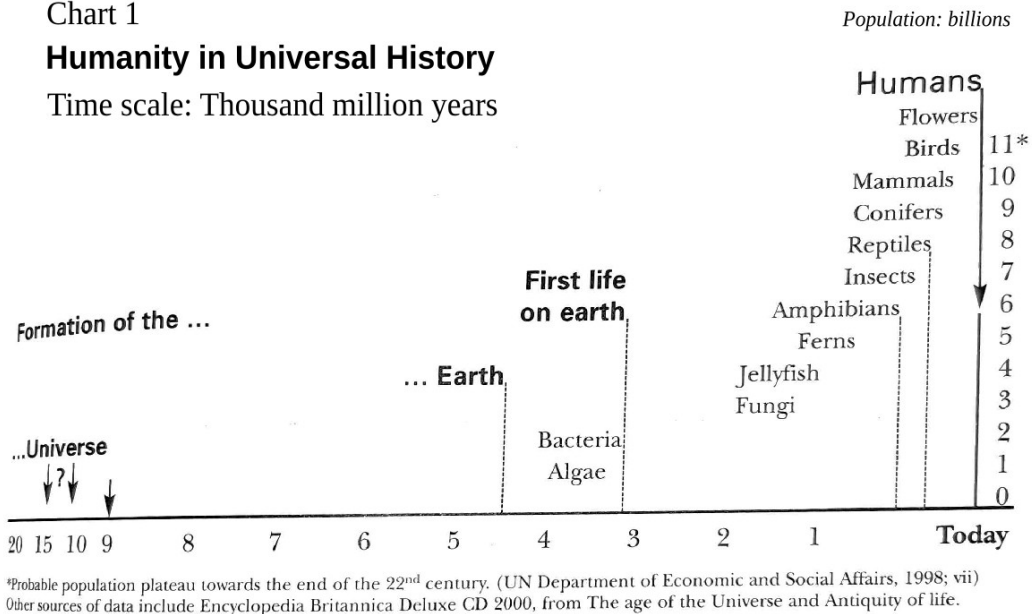


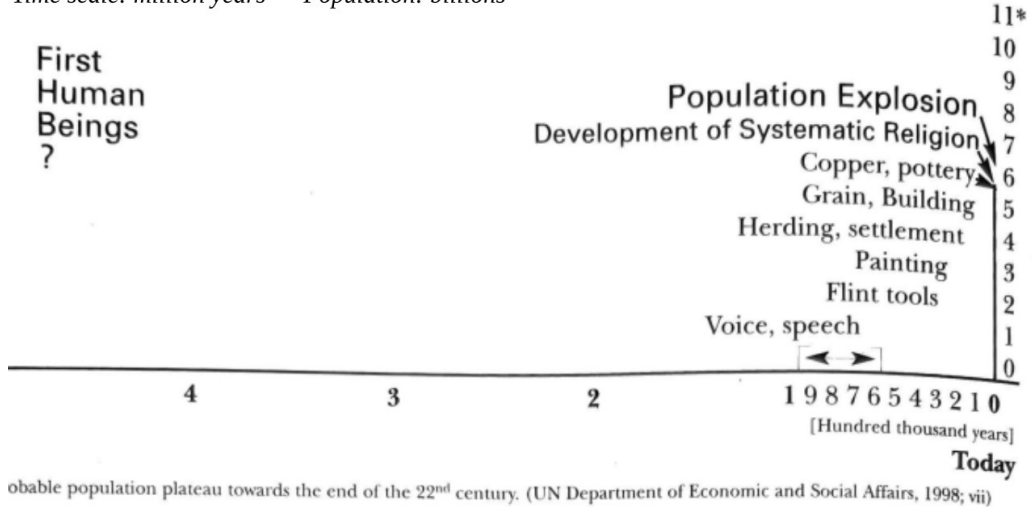
Chart 1, drawn with units of one thousand million years, indicates humanity's place in universal history. All of human history fits into less than a pin prick at the forward end of a graph of time, and the only way to graph human population growth is by means of the finest possible vertical line. This does not suggest for one moment that humanity is of no consequence in the divine scheme of things, nor that it is an incidental extra. All that we can say, with reasonable confidence, is that humanity is the most recent 'component' to be introduced into the universal environment. We cannot say, on any basis at all, that there will not be some one or more additional 'components' introduced at a future time. To do so would be totally presumptuous. The scientific consensus seems to be that the universe is likely to be around for another 25 thousand million years. That is a fairly long time! If it has been in existence for 10 to 15 thousand million years and humanity has just been introduced, how can we possibly preclude the possibility of a future life 'presence' of one form or another?

The second chart, drawn to units of only one million years, shows that while we can place a few pointers to human evolution along the time line, even at that scale the growth of the human population can still only be illustrated by means of a fine line at the forward end of the time span. Similarly, we can only place the development of systematic religion as a pin prick below an arrow at the forward end of the period of human evolution, too.

Chart 2

Systematic Religion in Human History

Time scale: million years Population: billions



The third chart, covering a period of only four thousand years, shows how we fit into a very *brief* heritage of religious development. It suggests something of the circumstances in which the development of systematic religion has taken place. It identifies the early period of barbaric communal life when urbanization was beginning, with broken relationships and brutal wars in the early stages of the development, which was the background to the development of all of the major systems of religion and ethics. It then shows the fantastic population explosion which was about to occur and notes some of the key beacons scattered along the path of the trouble in the triangle which we have discussed. Both population growth and urbanization placed strains on people and communities, and required systems of ethics, morality and conduct which would enable people to live in peace and harmony.

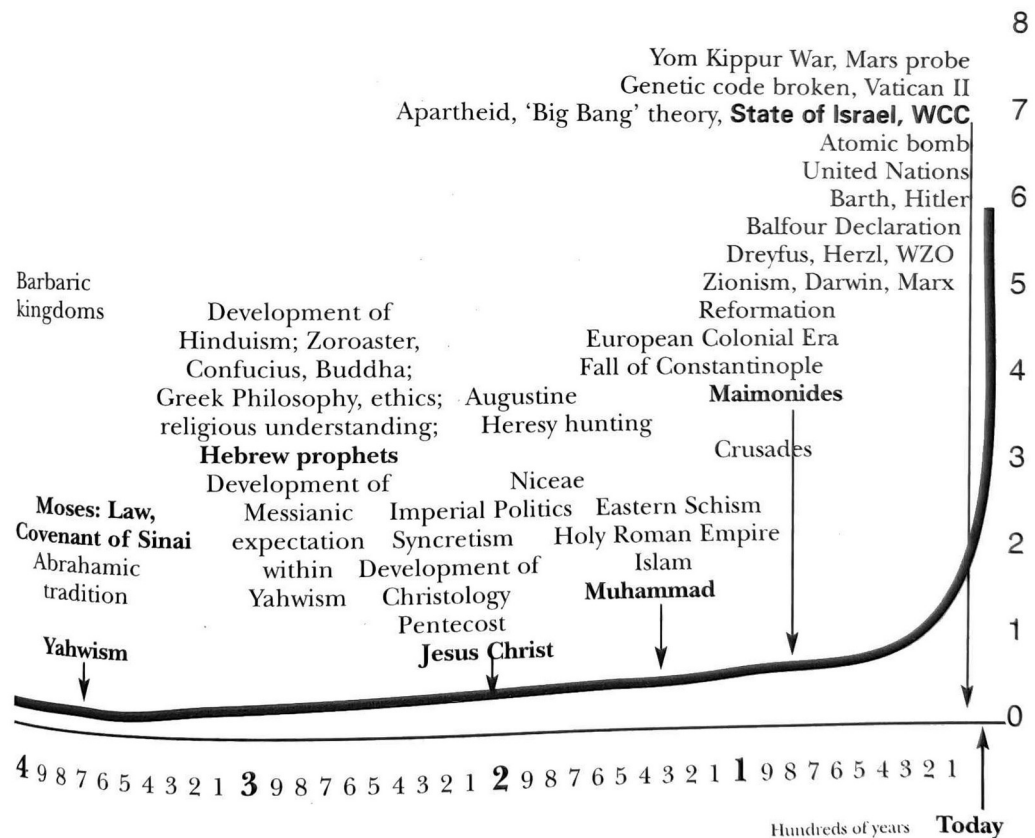
It is of major importance that in the overall historical context of that development, all of the world's great religions and systems of ethics have their *origins* in the same general period. That was the period when there was a growing need for systems of ethics, morality and relationships on which the conduct of both individuals and their communities could be based to ensure long term harmony within communities and therefore long term viability of human life on this planet. It was as if the Divine Authority was saying "get your act together and live in harmony or I'll start all over again." Who do we think we are, given our minute time and space in the universal scheme of things, to say: "we are so important that God would never let us self-destruct"? That *may* be the case. But if we did, it could be less than another pin prick on the leading edge of time before a successor population could have evolved to be given a chance to make a better go of colonizing planet earth.

After all, we simply do not know the limits of creation or whether there are other units of the universe colonized by living creatures. There is absolutely no reason why there should not be. Who is to say, and on what grounds, that the Divine Authority would not or could not place one or more colonizing populations on other units of the universe somewhere in time and space?

Chart 3

The Human Population Explosion: Development of the Abrahamic Faiths

Time scale: Thousand years Population: billion



Some people will say that logical reasoning simply led people in different regions of the world to develop systems of ethics and conduct to suit the circumstances of their time and the cultures which were already evolving around them. Others will say that those systems are in some way inadequate inventions of man or even, in the extreme view, false religions. And still

others may see divine inspiration behind each of them, and it has even become acceptable in recent years to say that ‘nowhere has God left the world without witnesses to the Divine Will’. I hold that view.

There is absolutely nothing inconsistent in the idea that persons in different regions of the world, in communities with quite different circumstances and environments, could be divinely inspired or guided in the development of seemingly different systems of ethics. Similarly there is absolutely nothing inconsistent in one community of people in one particular place in the world being selected by divine will to enable us to focus on a series of critical relationships and therefore having a special relationship involving a covenant obligation to The Divine Authority, *at the same time* that the Divine Authority concurrently works through selected people in other parts of the world. That critical series of relationships includes: humanity’s relationship to God; the relationships of person to person and community to community; and the relationship between humanity, its environment, and the resources, capacities *and faculties* available to humanity. That is exactly the situation which we have. Abraham and his successors were specifically designated by God to learn from personal and national experience the nature and reality of the relationship between God and humanity. In doing so, they were to provide *an illustration* of that relationship and thus enable all humanity to understand and to live in harmony on the basis of the critical relationships already noted. They may not have thought of their task and their role in those terms but they were certainly well aware of a special relationship with Yahweh - the Divine Authority. They came to understand that a key person in their on-going relationship with Yahweh would be a Messianic figure.

But because of their circumstances during that period they tended to look for a political leader figure rather than a person who would exemplify God’s Will, provide an illustration of God’s incomprehensible authority and power, and clarify the relationship between humanity and God. Thus when Jesus of Nazareth lived out his ministry they divided into two groups. The majority could not recognize in him the Messiah for whom they were waiting. A minority recognized him but were confused about his person and his relationship with God.

That minority then divided into two camps. One, the Jerusalem-based community, sought to remain within mainstream Rabbinical Yahwism while the other sought to redirect it. Their circumstances and their reasoning have been discussed in early chapters. However, briefly, the latter group, working in the Hellenistic regions to the north of Palestine, grasped the established Gnostic concept of a divine saviour from the realm of the pure spirit above who could effect the release of the soul or the divine spark within each person. They merged this with another concept, the ‘logos’. This referred to a pre-existing agent in creation which provided a continuing bond between God and the universe, and which was already Philo’s syncretistic attempt to rationalize the Apocryphal concepts of the Book of Wisdom and the Greek philosophy of Plato. They then took advantage of Philo’s development of the idea of a Messianic Age and although Philo did not necessarily link the final redemption of that age with a particular Messianic agency or Messiah, they identified Jesus of Nazareth with all of those concepts. But they went further and used various techniques of syncretism, notably in relation

to Mary the mother of Jesus and an assortment of feasts and symbols, to penetrate and absorb a host of pagan sects.

Subsequently the Jewish revolt against Roman rule led to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE and the massacre of about 600,000 Jews (including most of the Jerusalem-based Christian sect), the development of new leadership within Rabbinical Judaism and the establishment of the Jabneh Sanhedrin. The northern or Hellenistic Christian group was left to determine the theology and to chart the future course of the sect which had already established a presence across Asia Minor and in Rome to which it turned increasingly for leadership. That group adopted an increasingly Trinitarian stance. It was then expelled from the synagogues, it more firmly established its own identity as the Christian Church and it set out in competition with Judaism. Subsequently, in order to save their skins when Jerusalem was again purged 65 years later, the remnant Christian community in the city disowned the Torah, renounced its connection with the Judaists and joined the Hellenized-Christian communities to their north. (Chapter 1.)

Confusion and controversy then marked the life of the young church as it sought to supplant both Hellenistic paganism and Judaism, and to penetrate the heart of the empire. But its influence was spreading and an alliance of convenience for the leaders of the empire and the church was soon forged. The benefits for the church were an end to persecution and the opportunity for rapid penetration throughout the empire. The empire wanted political stability and successive emperors believed it was achievable through religious conformity. Having adopted Christianity and having granted the church the status, privileges and trappings of state religion, the emperors expected the church to deliver both conformity and stability. They got neither. Constantine's big bid - Councils of the church - resulted in the adoption of the Creed of Nicaea but there was continuing disruption because this was not acceptable to many. Subsequent councils struggled to find an acceptable compromise. The result was firstly, the development of a complex web of creeds, doctrines and dogma and secondly, a long running heresy hunt which was enforced with ruthless disregard for the sanctity of human life as the church built an enormous state-funded ecclesiastical structure which provided a power base from which it could exercise rapidly increasing civil authority. Between the third and fifth centuries 16 heresies were condemned. These things ensured the fragmentation of the church and a host of sects or denominations each teaching its own theology in a territorial niche.

The key belief that God the Father, Jesus Christ the Son, and the Holy Spirit are three equal and co-eternal persons of one Triune God, known as the Doctrine of the Trinity, was enshrined in two statements. First, the Creed of Niceae (as variously amended) and second, the Athanasian Creed which was the dominant statement of the church's belief, teaching and conduct for a very long period. But that creed also embraced or implied the ideas that the church exercised powers delegated by Jesus, that the church had replaced the Jews as the 'Chosen People', that it was therefore the sole representative of God on earth, that there was no salvation outside the church, and that Judaism was no longer valid. (Chapter 2.) That creed generated the "God's own"

complex among Christians, inhibited or even prevented an understanding of other faiths, and generated and entrenched bigotry, racism and anti-Semitism within Christianity.

The church, which was by then dominated by non-Jews who had become adherents either by conversion or syncretistic absorption, disregarded the fact that such teachings were a direct contradiction of Christ's teaching on personal conduct and judgment. It placed blind acceptance of dogma before both *faith* in a covenant relationship of trust and *action* in response to an understanding of God's will, which were the basic tenets of Judaism and which Jesus of Nazareth had exemplified.

But it also entrenched the church's erroneous self-understanding that it is the exclusive representative and interpreter of the Divine Will on earth. Thereafter, wherever it was present the church acted on that self-understanding and wherever its influence was felt human understanding of the power, authority and glory of God was inhibited by that self-understanding and tended to be restricted to the capacity of the church or its politics, and by the pomp, splendour and mystique of its liturgy.

The consequences of that development, compounded by the conduct, heresy hunting and teaching of Augustine of Hippo, contributed to the disarray into which the empire plunged over the next three hundred years. Together with the dominance of Monophysite belief in the wedge of territory from Alexandria to Abyssinia and Yemen, across the Red Sea from each other; in Syria and in Armenia, it provided the stimulus for the divinely inspired prophetic ministry of Muhammad. The Prophet's primary roles were to call the church and its Christians back to the simple uncluttered worship of God and to call the Jews to recognize that the Messiah, the person Jesus, had already appeared among them. However it soon became apparent to Muhammad that the establishment of Islam as a separate and militant religious force was required as a consequence of the rejection by both mainstream Christians and Jews of the call which he had been divinely instructed to convey to both of them. The trouble in the triangle was soon in full swing.

Muhammad received and transmitted the inspired Qur'anic prophesy of the Night Journey, but at that time the Jewish community, being scattered far and wide after the 'final' dispersion of 135 CE, was in no position to transgress against anyone and had no national home which could be attacked by an aggressor, so very few people took the prophecy seriously. (Chapter 7.) The Jews were naturally reluctant to do so and certainly the dominant church leadership did not because it regarded Muhammad as simply an Arab Nationalist fiend who deserved no recognition at all. And after all they were God's exclusive representatives on earth and if anyone knew, they would. So Islam just continued to expand and conquered or threatened many lands of the Christians, but it had its ups and downs due to the same sort of internal disputes and divisions which had wracked the church and it ran out of steam.

The church - or at least the church in Rome - thought it had thrown off that challenge but it watched, aghast, while the Khazar Khanate adopted Judaism. Then, sixty years later, Pope Leo III engineered his Holy Roman Empire at the expense of Charlemagne. He and his successors

were free to defiantly expand their program of Mariology as they ravaged their way through the Christianization of much of the balance of Europe. But then they were foiled in their bid to do the same to Russia, and the Vatican had to watch while the Russian princes destroyed the Khazar Khanate in 1016, scattering converts to Judaism throughout eastern and central Europe in their bid to built stronger alliances against a possible take over by Rome. (Chapter 8.)

Then Christendom suffered its Eastern Schism with the mutual patriarchal excommunications in 1054 and, although there were two 'bodies of Christ' instead of one, the Western world's affairs were dominated by the papacy. Rome thought it could recover the Holy Land and eliminate Islam by a military campaign and in 1095 it set about a program of crusades which ran on and off in bloody and disgraceful turmoil for nearly four hundred years. It was at one of the high points of its program, gloating over the temporary recovery of Jerusalem through negotiation by Emperor Frederick II instead of by the sword, that it was confronted in 1232 by the works of Maimonides, author of the second of the two great challenges to Christian self-understanding.

Maimonides, who had died in 1204, had written that Judaism was a rational religion, that Moses performed miracles out of necessity and not to prove a divine connection, that Israel had lost its prophetic capacity because it had become impaired, and that there was a place for each of Christianity and Islam in the Divine Plan as well as Judaism. (Chapter 8.) Conservative rabbis in the south of France pronounced an excommunication against anyone who read *The Guide for the Perplexed*. When supporters of Maimonides' views retaliated with a counter-excommunication the 'anti' group appealed to the Christian Inquisition (which had been established only the year before) to intervene on the grounds that *The Guide* was heretical. But when the Inquisitors obliged by arranging public burnings the 'anti' group fell into disgrace. Then when a cardinal in Paris joined the fun of the burnings interfaith relations plummeted, but interest in Maimonides' work rose sharply among Christians throughout France and Spain.

Maimonides disputed the church's view that the world was the centre of the universe but he maintained that humanity was the ultimate piece in creation, that God would not use or would not allow a change in natural law to bring about the unnatural destruction of the world, and that these situations were quite consistent with a non-eternal universe in a state of continuous change. The church was especially angered by his belief that any person who wanted to add to or abrogate any of the biblical commandments or regard them as only temporary enactments for the Israelites was a false prophet. It could not reconcile the fact that while both Jesus and Muhammad insisted that their tasks were to interpret the law and not change or annul it, the church, claiming to be Jesus' representative, overrode that position and regarded Judaism - and therefore its enactments - as no longer valid. Maimonides was welcome to criticize Muhammad if he wished, but not Christ. Neither could the church reconcile the fact that while Maimonides rejected the proposition that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah of Jewish understanding (because he had not survived to establish his Messiahship) Jewish understanding allowed for the subsequent (or consequent) recognition or affirmation of the Messiah once his Messianic promise had been fulfilled.

But Maimonides major contention, based on his interpretation of the Hebrew Prophets and set out in the final chapters of his monumental Mishneh Torah, was that the Messianic Age would be heralded by a war of Gog and Magog in association with which the King Messiah would restore the kingdom of David to its former position and dominion, rebuild the Temple and gather the dispersed of Israel. He believed that the Messianic Age would not differ greatly from ‘the current age’ except that Israel would be emancipated from subjugation by the gentile nations which would return to the true faith (of Yahwism) and live in peace with Israel, that the whole world would then live in peace and that, led by the scholars of Israel, they would devote their efforts to the knowledge and service of God. It was then, he believed, that prophetic capacity would return to the people of Israel. To that extent he was wrong. His own contention was the most significant prophetic utterance since Muhammad’s Night Journey. But as far as the church was concerned that was anathema. The prophet could not say who Gog and Magog were and in any case it was not interested in assessing the reasoning behind the prophecy. The Messiah had already arrived, been rejected by the Jews who were therefore relegated to permanent irrelevance, and he had appointed the church as his sole successor.

The fact that Maimonides accepted Muhammad as a divinely inspired prophet and both Islam and Christianity as having roles in the Divine Plan but rejected the proposition that Christ was the Messiah of Hebrew expectations identifies an understandable inconsistency in Maimonides’ reasoning. He knew that Muhammad accepted Jesus as the foreshadowed Messiah while he rejected the church’s definition or interpretation of Jesus as Messiah, and he therefore reasoned that Islam arose directly from Judaism. It does not appear to have occurred to him that Muhammad’s inspired ministry was a consequence of the church’s erroneous definitions and self-understanding coupled with its massive abuse of the imperial authority which it enjoyed.

However the unsettling impact of Maimonides’ writing and the questioning of the church’s dogma during the following years was such that the church had to go into damage control. One of its foremost scholars, Thomas Aquinas, was instructed to counter it.⁴ His attempt to do so is the *Summa Contra Gentiles*, a text book for missionaries and a manual and systematic defence of Christian Doctrine. (Chapter 8.) So the church stumbled on. Rome refused to intervene to support the Eastern Church and stood by why Constantinople fell to the Muslim Ottoman Empire. Then, fearful of the loss of influence and trade which it was suffering as a consequence, and fearful of the impact of rising populations in Europe, the Pope decided to mount one more major crusade to the Holy Land, dangling the carrot of control of whatever lands they might ‘discover’ in Africa, Asia or elsewhere in front of his authorized papal standard bearers in the Bull *Rominus Pontifex*, (chapter 9). That crusade was never carried out, but in the rush to exploit colonial spoils which resulted, those authorized papal standard bearers and their unauthorized competitors did a lot of damage. They destroyed civilizations, oppressed the people to whom they were supposed to be bringing salvation, exploited resources in a most irresponsible manner, superimposed arbitrary boundaries and European economic and cultural systems on long-standing cultures, and established massive but fragmented empires spanning

every continent, three of which were not even known to them until the papal standard bearers set sail.

But while that rush was getting under way the church fell to such a level of depravity and introduced such abuses of its sacraments and liturgy - justifying them by its distorted theology - that internal rebellion was assured. The Reformation was triggered just a generation after the first papal standard bearers set sail for the East via Africa, (chapter 10). As a consequence, the network of Christian explorers, exploiters, mercenaries and the church which enveloped the globe soon had representatives of a gaggle of Reformed churches as well as papal standard bearers. At the same time the church pursued anti-Semitic policies with ever increasing vigour so that, coincidental with the extremes of colonial exploitation by the European powers, towards the end of the nineteenth century the Jews of Europe were struggling in the face of great trauma to organize and to find themselves a new homeland free of Christian oppression. For many that could only mean a return to Palestine. They did not know that they were preparing a safety valve which would, when it was triggered, change world relationships profoundly and challenge the self-understanding of the church.

And at the same time challenges were building up from other directions. The scientific challenge was spearheaded by Galileo and Darwin. The philosophical and political challenge was spearheaded by Karl Marx. (Chapter 14.) And the theological challenge was multi-pronged with leadership coming from the Society of Friends followed by numerous non-sacramental and non-Trinitarian groups within the Christian family, the Wahhabi Movement in Islam, the Reform Movement in Judaism, the Baha'i Movement, the Theosophical Movement, and a host of people within mainstream Christianity who saw a new way ahead through the Ecumenical Movement.

But few people seemed to be conscious of the fact that there were two great prophetic challenges hanging over their heads as the Great Powers of Europe sent their armies marching into battle in 1914 to determine a few territorial claims. Certainly the Great Powers were not, and especially Great Britain or it would never have gone down the path of competitive exploitation of faiths which it did in that Great War. Everything was on a great scale - except their motives. Britain's empire was the greatest the world had ever known. It exemplified assumptions which people made about 'the great Christian powers'. Any justification for exploitation was adequate. Especially the responsibility which the church insisted it had to Christianize the world. But unlike earlier empires which had grown by simple peripheral expansion, it had unwieldy and exposed lines of communication that required either enormous goodwill or enormous naval and military might to sustain it. But goodwill and colonialism are contradictory concepts. Empires exist to be exploited in the interests of the 'mother' country.

Britain confirmed its lack of understanding of interfaith relations and lack of concern for them when it responded to approaches from the World Zionist Organization by issuing the Balfour Declaration which assisted the Jewish communities throughout the Diaspora towards their great hope: their return to Palestine even if it was against the wishes of the people of that

country. (Chapter 16.) Britain had a complex set of aims in issuing that declaration but basic to most of them was unadulterated self interest. Its aim was to perpetuate and to expand its colonial power base and to secure as much of the resources of the Middle East as possible. In doing so it was compounding the hurt done to the people of the Third World and expanding the list of 'black marks' in the book hanging around its corporate neck for the day of judgement or divine retribution. (Chapter 6, *The Night Journey*) Complications were triggered immediately in Germany, Russia the United States, the Vatican and across Europe. (Chapter 16.)

Warning bells were soon ringing clearly in the Middle East, but the loudest warning bell of all was sounding in Europe. It was Hitler's inspired parody of the Western Christian World : *Mein Kampf*. (Chapter 18.) Hitler did not realize that he was writing a parody. Neither did he appreciate its place in history. But it was a mocking parody of the Christian West and an archive for all of the misguided ideas which had evolved as a consequence of the church's self-understanding and its collaboration with the powers of the West. Hitler was a product of the church and its influence. Make no mistake about it. The virus of so-called 'scientific anti-Semitism' grew in an anti-Semitic religious culture. As he said repeatedly, he was simply setting out to achieve the aims which the church had failed to achieve. Ten years after it was written the church and its collaborators sought to distance themselves from *Mein Kampf*. But they could not and they cannot. There was absolutely nothing in *Mein Kampf* which was new. Everything - including race based immigration laws and euthanasia as well as his colonial policies and of course his anti-Semitism - had been implemented by one or more of the Christian Western powers.

In the meantime Britain set out to implement the declared purpose of the Balfour Declaration, supremely confident that it could negotiate its way through the minefield of conflicting promises and religious tensions which it had laid. It did not realize that it had concurrently triggered the two great prophecies of the Qur'an and Maimonides. How could it? The church was steadfastly refusing to recognize either the validity of their faiths or that prophecy could be generated through them. Its self-understanding, based on the creeds, doctrines and dogma which it had formulated and imposed on the world had it firmly tied in a knot. The knot could have been unraveled and the subsequent course of world history could have been modified if the religious and political leaders involved had heeded the warning bells and given those prophecies some thought. But they did not and the plot therefore had to be acted out.

In order:

- Palestine was thrown into crisis by moves to implement the Balfour Declaration.
- The philosophical challenge to the amorphous Christian gel from Karl Marx became a more direct political and economic challenge when the Russian monarchy fell and the Bolshevik Soviet Union was established.
- Gog and Magog (the Western Alliance plus Russia in one camp and the Tripartite Alliance in the other) went to war in terms of Maimonides' expectation; (chapter 22).

- Hitler acted out the role of the Scourge in the Night Journey, (chapter 25); and the awful truth gradually began to dawn on the amorphous Christian gel that it had to at least share the responsibility for that crisis.
- Western Christian powers, led by the United States, imposed the re-establishment of the State of Israel on the people of Palestine in 1948 (chapter 27), in spite of opposition from the Vatican, the body which was still proclaiming itself to be the Messiah's exclusive representative on earth. Thus phase two of Maimonides' expectation was in place, even if it was not in the manner which Jews may have hoped for.
- Concurrent with that action, and as a consequence of relationships and factors which it did not understand, Britain and the other European colonial powers were quite quickly edged out of their colonies and trust territories. However foreign economic imperialism and globalization replaced them and the circumstances of many Third World countries did not improve. The United States manipulated the Cold War for its own benefit as the world floundered from one regional war to another, including a succession of four wars in the Middle East which directly involved Israel, plus three others in which its involvement was less direct, all within the time span of one generation.

Each of those wars involving Israel and its neighbours was, as we have seen, of great importance in reshaping world relationships, but the one which had the greatest impact was the Yom Kippur War with which was associated the oil embargo and a dramatic change in the financial fortunes of many Muslim countries. Its influence in reshaping the relationships between the people and the systems of the amorphous Christian gel and its partner faiths, Judaism and Islam, was readily recognizable and assessable immediately the embargo was imposed,⁴ but the church's self-understanding, coupled with its members' supreme confidence in the dominance of the West's economic system, inhibited its capacity to accept the fact. The rigidity of the church's self-understanding was critical at that point and greatly inhibited its ability to influence the course of the new relationships. But as already noted (chapter 30), the leaders of *dār al-islām* began to do their planning and responded responsibly to their new circumstances.

First, there were their own needs for economic development with provision for social planning and enhanced physical infrastructure. Then there was investment to protect their future when their oil would run out. And overlaying the whole lot were the responsibilities which were part of a religious commitment. Help for those less fortunate. Protection and preservation of the environment. And propagation of one faith. It was the Muslim's turn to wonder whether there was a touch of Divine intervention in their changing circumstances, just like the Jews after their salvation in the Six Day War. It was their chance "to get out from under the heel of the Christian West."⁵ They were going to put their faith into action. And they were going to spread the word and support their fellow Muslims wherever they lived. Dār al-islām was about to blossom! Enormous, inspiring mosques began to spring up and beckon the faithful not only in the mainstream Muslim world but in countries where there were only small populations of Muslims. So did international Islamic universities, schools

and colleges, and hospitals. Where there were small Islamic societies, they began to flourish. Where there were none, they began to sprout.

And that process of spiritual renewal and religious awakening involved a yearning for a return to *dār al-islām*: a yearning for *way of life* to be linked to be linked with faith and belief in a manner which was not possible in the cultural environment, or the cultural *malaise*, of the amorphous Christian gel. Therefore, as another consequence of the conduct and permissiveness of the amorphous Christian gel, *dār al-islām* increasingly became linked to the ideas of political independence for significant homogenous populations of Muslims, and fair treatment for minority populations enmeshed in either a multicultural *milieu*, or under the domination of the amorphous Christian gel, with recognition of their religious practices and cultural needs. It was a natural process and a natural development - no different to the expectations of minority Christian populations in alternative religious environments. Where the dominant community was understanding and accepting, and both able and prepared to provide that recognition and accommodate those needs there was harmony and no disruption. But where that was *not* the case, agitation for independence, cession, or the establishment of an Islamic State, disputation and disruption began to surface. The thicker the overlay of Christian arrogance, mistrust, intolerance or antagonism, the more likely was the development of an independence movement. And the thickness of the overlay was influenced by history, cultural heritage and denominational patterns.

- And also, concurrent with those developments, the church began to see its influence and the level of support which it had enjoyed begin to fall, community social and ethical values in the Western world began to drift, and there was a rapid rise in the number and influence of community-based organizations which were neither directly church-linked nor government sponsored.

Subsequently the United States succeeded in isolating and undermining the Soviet Union so that the major challenge to the West from atheistic Communism appeared to dissipate. However, because of the policies which it pursued for a period of a generation following the Second World War, the United States has made itself dependent on three diverse parties in the Middle East for its stability: the State of Israel; the Palestinians and their allies; and the petroleum industry. Consequently, with the competitive rise of Muslim influence in many countries; with the growing push for independence and with the world staggering from civil wars or civil turmoil in countries dotted around the globe - every case of which appears to have a religious component - the United States has been able to represent Islam, in isolation, as the major challenge to the position of the West in succession to Soviet Communism. There had been a period of relative calm in the Middle East for several years and - because of the number of distractions around the world and the impact of the irrepressible, unavoidable and grossly irresponsible electronic media competing and pounding them for their constant attention and their expendable consumer dollars - people had tended to forget about it. Hadn't the Americans solved it all at Camp David anyway? To pick up the threads we must step back a few years, to

Camp David, and move forward again with the Jews, the Muslims and the Christians. But first, this is the time to look briefly at the factors which contributed to the decline in the influence of the churches and support for them, and the linked issues of the impact of globalization and the growth of civil society organizations, CSOs, and non-governmental organizations, NGOs. They are all, either directly or consequentially, products of the churches self-understanding and doctrinal development, and they all became apparent and have increased in significance in the wake of the Second World War.

THE FALL AND FALL OF THE CHURCH'S INFLUENCE

Simply living and relating to other people in the constantly changing passing parade gradually became more complicated for people after the Second World War. The dramatic surge in population which is illustrated in chart three, above, provided a host of new opportunities but a host of new challenges as well. Some of these have already been discussed (chapter 27, ... *and postwar social change*) from the point of view of issues which the churches had to cope with, especially in relation to social and family disintegration and postwar foreign development, and they helped to encourage a drift away from church attendance. But attendance at church is little more than an indicator of the influence of the church and the scale of the challenges which it faces, and it is the factors which *affect* that influence which are now our concern.

Perhaps the most important factor was the growing awareness, once the smoke of battle settled, of the way in which the church had been fundamentally associated with the causes of the war; the rise and support of both Fascism and Nazism; anti-Semitism; and racism - especially in providing the warped basis for institutional Apartheid in South Africa. When the church had got it so wrong in these issues, its teaching authority was thrown into doubt on other issues, especially social issues, of which human sexuality, marriage, birth control and related issues were seen by the church to be most important. They were seen as so important that the pope of the day, Pius XI, had made the Social Encyclicals the centre piece of his papacy. (Chapters 17,18.) Now, in the aftermath of the war, people were finding them unnecessarily restrictive and an impediment to human fulfilment. When the Kinsey Report (chapter 27) demonstrated what the reality of life was and showed that the church's teachings had the potential to do real harm to people, especially during their critical and formative adolescence, they shied away in droves. The practice of young people living together before marriage and then marrying outside the church, either from choice or because the church condemned their practice and, at times, even refused them the sacrament of marriage, raised a barrier between them and the church which they preferred not to try to breach. The attempt to do so was often met with demeaning and very hurtful rejection or, at the very least, constant reminders that they had fallen below the "proper" standards of conduct for Christians.

The release of the Kinsey Report marked a watershed in the issue of human sexuality. It did not cause the watershed: it coincided with it, explained it and provided an opportunity and a challenge for the church to do something about it. The church failed lamentably: especially in

the matter of homosexuality. It had taught for so long that it was a sin, on the same basis as masturbation, fornication, adultery and buggery, that it found it impossible to change direction, and carried on regardless. It was not prepared to recognize that buggery was the one act of the five which was universally condemned, and that in the case of homosexuality there was a natural physiological dimension to it and that, for a small percentage of the population, heterosexual practice was not an alternative. Those people were ostracized, forced to accept that they were subhuman and criminal, only fit to be excluded from mainstream life, and that they had automatically forfeited any chance of salvation. Why should they bother?

The church should have been able to recognize and distinguish between the constraints of human sexuality - providing support and pastoral counselling in situations in which they may have been appropriate - and deliberate perversion, promotion of the practice as an alternative lifestyle, and exploitation of those who were caught up in that net. There were the stumbling blocks strewn along the way: promotion and exploitation. Similarly it failed to distinguish between sex before marriage between lovers, and licentiousness and adultery, and wrapped them all up in the same condemnation, proscribing them, tying them up in the ropes of canon law and making them subject to the church's disciplinary system and penance instead of doing what Jesus of Nazareth had done. He placed his teaching firmly in the 'guidelines' box, leaving the matter as one of conscience to be determined between the individual and God at the appropriate time, saying of a woman who was found in the act of adultery: "If there is one of you who has not sinned, let him be the first to throw a stone at her," and, to the woman; "Has no one condemned you? ... Neither do I condemn you; go away and don't sin any more." (John 8:7,10,11 Jerusalem translation.) However it was not only the church's teaching and canon laws on sexuality which turned people away, but its double standards in the conduct of its clergy and religious. As the number of reports and disclosures of deviant conduct by clergy and religious increased, the pedestals on which they had always been placed or on which they sought to perch came crumbling down. Lost respect led to lost influence.

Then came the impact of scientific research and technological development. The sexual revolution coincided with and was encouraged and facilitated by the development of chemical contraceptives and techniques for the termination of pregnancy. Instead of seeing them as aids to human fulfilment, understanding and communal self-management, the church, or the greater proportion of it, could only see the way in which they could be abused. Their condemnation was lifted above the level of social teaching and canon law to the level of a divine obligation. More people walked. The same applied to matters of mental health and the stress brought on by the pressure of business and employment practices. Instead of placing more effort into developing and encouraging non-exploitative workplace practices, the church was caught up in the closed cycle of support for unrestricted Capitalism and the condemnation of socialism and other alternative approaches to socio-economic policy. However in this case, while some people walked away, others came in from the cold to make sure that the church continued along that favourable path, and to discourage, or to sideline, research and education in matters of social change and social responsibility such as investment practices, resource exploitation,

environmental protection and armament development and sales. These matters were almost invariably relegated to committees which were understaffed and under-resourced. The church had to, according to the dominant view, concentrate on matters of personal salvation rather than an effort to enable people to better understand their relationship with God and to develop relationships such that people could live in peace and harmony. There were always a few exceptions, where service to humanity, human rights and welfare came first, and we have already noted the rise of the Liberation Theology Movement in Latin America.

Related to these matters was the impact of the Cold War and the nuclear arms race which undermined the confidence of many people in not only the capacity of their governments to protect them, but also encouraged them to question the existence or power of a God who would permit the world to rush headlong in the direction of self-destruction. Coupled with the feeling that “if governments don’t care about the future of the world community why should I” and the feeling that Divine intervention had to be a myth, there were the developments in astronomy which amounted to a frontal attack on the church’s credibility, even though, for some, they demonstrated more clearly than a month of Sunday sermons that God was, in fact, in control.

Related to all of those issues was the development, exploitation and overwhelming influence of the electronic media. Coming very soon, in historical or generational terms, after the telegraph and radio, television brought a revolution in communications. But the revolution went well beyond the simple question of transmission of information. People’s life styles changed dramatically. Membership of lodges, community service clubs and other community self-help and activity groups, such as theatrical societies and craft clubs, fell sharply. So did church attendance. People became transfixed by, and dependent upon their television set so that the producers of programs - and advertisements - displaced parents and school teachers as the principal ethical and educational influences on children and adolescence. So pervasive and persuasive was the impact of television that whatever was “seen on TV” was taken as Gospel truth and became the norm for personal conduct. It mattered not what the source or origin of the material was, or the motive of the producer: the impact and acceptance was the same. Cultural integrity was a thing of the past. Manipulation of every *decision*, every *want*, and every *desire* was subjugated by the commercial motive to extract the last dollar out of every pocket within viewing range of a television set. Stimulation of emotions became the way into every pocket, and because there is no more easily aroused emotion than sexual desire, sex became the principal selling tool in the armoury of the advertiser, producer, presenter and licensee.

Responsibility was soon thrown to the wall - or into the system of “industry self-regulation” which means exactly the same thing. The mainstream churches felt powerless to compete. Ethical standards were reduced to the lowest common denominator; gambling, alcohol and tobacco companies took full advantage of it, to such good effect that governments saw them as ‘milking cows’ for tax revenue. Then, becoming dependent on them for a significant proportion of their revenue, they made the tax system and the licence system into major planks of the government budget system rather than a means of control and regulation of things socially questionable or distinctly disadvantageous. Governments and their people were trapped and

there was no incentive to rein in the abuses of such advertisers. Social problems increased. The need for offsetting services and rehabilitation services increased. Some churches set up Christian television services to very good, but very limited, effect. Some became more permissive in their attitudes and their teaching in order to accommodate people who fell under such influences. The Catholic Church tightened the reins still further in some respects and loosened them in others. And a completely new breed of animal of very questionable influence and, in some cases, motives, leapt out of the jungle. The television evangelist. The *profile* of 'religion' was lifted, but the *influence* of the church as an instrument to lead the mass of humanity towards a better understanding of its relationship with God and into an environment of stability, peace and harmony certainly was not.

And amid all of that, the church, overall, has been unable to redefine the purpose of its ministry or to adapt its structures, methods and staffing to the actual demands upon Christian ministry. However, the Reformed churches of the Western world have been among the foremost supporters of responsible migration and refugee policies and since the Second World War they have taken the lead in the battle to overcome racism in programs initiated and led by the World Council of Churches. That has been greatly to their credit, but when these programs are implemented they steadily change the nature of the community, and the balance between faiths, and the church's role within that changing *milieu*. At that point the church cannot cope. It faces increased contact with, or "competition" from, other faiths and because of its theological stance and its self-understanding, it is seldom able to relate to the people of those faiths in a proper and socially productive manner. On both counts the church faces an ever-increasing challenge to reassess its self-understanding and the theology which underpins it.

THE GROWTH OF CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS (CSOs) AND NGOS

Also, during those years, a number of churches took a leading role in the development and provision of community welfare services and new forms of chaplaincy. Not all. Some wanted to withdraw and concern themselves only with the concept of personal salvation for those who, in their view, had already found the doorway to heaven and were inside, waiting for the climactic event of their lives, or deaths, depending on their particular point of view, as "**We**, the people of God," sipped wine from common cups or grape juice from individual ones. That development was very pleasing in the eye of government. Governments had always been keen to keep a good symbiotic relationship going with the churches, with or without concordats according to their history and heritage, as long as they did not rock the political boat. It was a variation on the Constantinian theme that political stability was achieved through religious conformity. "Cooperation" was simply substituted for "conformity." And in addition, the system saved governments money because they only had to top up the costs with subsidies or grants. They did not have to fund the entire programs because the people in the pews found much of it, either out of a commitment to the "Christian" principle of charity - as if the concept was exclusive to the Christian Gospels and did not occur in the Torah, the Qur'an or the holy books of the non-

Abrahamic faiths - or as a part of their penance or their advance payment for a ticket through the Pearly Gates.

However during those years the churches' resources did not grow as quickly as the demands of expanding post-war populations, either on a gross volume basis or in terms of the kinds of services required. These gradually became both more varied and more specialized. The churches could not cope. Neither did they have all the expertise which was required, and governments were reluctant to expand their welfare program budget lines. There was always competition for the taxation dollar. Stalemate. Fortunately, where there is a serious need there is usually someone with the initiative and the will to find a solution, who will find a way. As a result, that period saw a gradual expansion of the network of non-governmental organizations, NGOs, some of which are better described as civil society organizations, CSOs. But even that posed problems for the churches, and tested their self-understanding, because a high proportion of the people who supported such initiatives once they were established were church members. Their time, and the money which they had available for such purposes was generally not a bottomless well, so they had to determine their priorities and apportion their resources of time and money. Debates galore took place in synods, bishops' conferences and assemblies about whether it was proper for church members to support such causes or whether they should devote their entire efforts to "Christian" good works. In the more progressive churches the consensus was usually reached that all such programs were consistent with a Christian commitment. But in the more conservative churches the debates could become quite acrimonious and the decision was not always to support an "outside" organization.

CSOs and NGOs were not new to that period, and while it is not easy to define them, their origins can all be traced to the need to provide a service or a facility which was not being provided by either the churches or the governments of the time. They therefore all represent, in one sense or another, an unfulfilled challenge to society at large and the church in particular. They can be grouped into three broad areas. Perhaps the first should be the charities. These were generally started by churches or in association with churches or other faith groups until after WWI, when governments began to accept some responsibility. Second, come the movements. The Anti-slavery and universal suffrage movements were among the first ones to show the early stages of centralized organization and promotion. The third were the professional, trade and labour groups. These were often regarded as pressure, self interest or pseudo political groups, and they were not regarded as NGOs until after WWII. In every case the stimulus for the introduction of the service was the failure of the existing power structures of state, church, and community to provide for identified or perceived needs. Most notably, the need was the relief of suffering for victims of war, or of neglect (such as of children), oppression (of prisoners), or of economic failure (homelessness).

The pattern of development can be traced to the infamous Crusades when the first field hospitals were established. (Chapter 8) There was a long gap then until the mid-nineteenth century wars. Organized nursing began when the Red Cross was established in 1863 and then given international recognition under the Geneva Convention of 1864. The early twentieth

century saw the establishment of the first major community support organization, Rotary International, in Chicago, in 1905. Then a British initiative led to the next major move, after the First World War: the establishment of Save the Children, in 1919, and it was followed by Reconstruction Assistance, Service Civil International, in France in 1920.

The needs generated by the deaths, injuries, dislocation and destruction of the Second World War were enormous. British and American Jewish communities established a number of specialized relief organizations, but among the best known are the World Council of Churches Refugee Service and the British-based emergency relief organization, OXFAM. Then, in the wake of that war, churches took a number of initiatives in development aid programs, and the ones which broke new ground were the Quakers, the French Catholic organization Pax Christi 1945, and Catholic Grail, in 1947. A major new concept, volunteer overseas aid, took root when the Australian Volunteers Abroad program was established in 1950, and there was soon a host on similar organizations operating from a number of countries.

Eleven years later, in 1961, under the influence of one postwar crisis or development after another a whole series of new initiatives were taken. A politicized version of the volunteer concept of development aid was introduced when President Kennedy established the US Peace Corps as a means of extending American influence into developing countries through a large scale volunteer aid worker program. Non-government initiatives to give substance and structure to the United Nations Human Rights Charter took shape with assistance for prisoners of conscience, and legal aid, through Amnesty International. At the same time, prompted by the scourge of religious conflict around the world, the first regular programs on the interfaith front were introduced with the establishment of the World Conference on Religion and Peace, WCRP. And by that time many people were becoming concerned at the abuse of the environment by virtually uncontrolled and undisciplined resource extraction and industrial contamination, and the World Wildlife Fund for Nature was established. Another major initiative in the environmental field came ten years later when Greenpeace was established.

In the meantime population pressures and ethnic conflict had encouraged the establishment of a range of community protection and education programs. Major ones were the Population Institute, 1969; Racial Discrimination, 1969; and Habitat during the 1970s.

Every one of these initiatives had a major impact on the planning and provision of human services world wide by encouraging complementary services and a high level of community involvement, and they were not only in the 'normal' welfare field. They soon gained international recognition and attracted government support either through grant funding or taxation incentives for donors. But a vital consideration is that they were all either church, individual or community initiatives, not initiatives of governments, and they were all, in some sense, the product of the trouble in the triangle. The fact that they became necessary is therefore a reflection of the conduct and self-understanding of each of the religious communities involved in those conflicts and consequential developments. They therefore represent a challenge to the people of each of those faiths to reflect on how they relate to the situation, but to the Christian

church in particular because its self-understanding has been the basis of the trouble in the triangle.

However they also represent a challenge to governments because, having recognized them and helped them financially in the early stages, they have come to see them as either another instrument which they can manipulate for their own purposes, or call on to do some of their dirty work including, in some cases, manipulation of the communities among whom they work and intelligence intervention which is quite contrary to the perceived roles of CSOs or NGOs. In some cases they have even become involved in exploitation, commercialization of their enterprises in a manner which raises concerns about their legitimacy, corrupt practices to maintain their established position, and competition for available funds with other CSOs and NGOs. Government financial support has become a double edged sword. Taxation disincentives can be applied to discourage their work if it becomes an embarrassment to a government, and pressure for political control of their programs can often be recognized in the programs which they either undertake, or decline to undertake out of fear of the withdrawal of government support for their core programs.

Internationally the CSOs and NGOs can exercise substantial influence through their accreditation to bodies of the United Nations, and that can also be a double edged sword. Some governments fear the influence of foreign-based NGOs operating in their country, and there can also be conflicts of interest in policy making. There is a clear need to be able to isolate those NGOs which can be deemed to represent a 'grass roots' planning or development concern and those which have virtually unlimited funds available to influence decision making in the interests of particular special interest groups whose interests may be in conflict with the real needs of Third World countries or the broad needs of their home-base countries.

In view of the way in which the ultimate resolution of the trouble in the triangle can be influenced or affected by "peace operations" of one kind or another, and by the motives of the NGOs which are involved with government forces in those operations, it is important that the relationship between NGOs and the United Nations which is put in place when a new structure for the UN is decided, will have been thought through very carefully. This issue is highlighted by the report of the Global Governance Reform Project, *Reimagining the Future*. The report is not primarily concerned with CSOs and NGOs. In fact they are peripheral to its focus of democratic governance of world affairs through the United Nations. But they have an important role in the process of democratic resolution of conflict through the processes of the United Nations. The report notes:

Democratic reform of global governance means increasing democratization at all levels. It means greater participation, transparency and accountability by states and non-state actors in international decision-making, not least in the structures and processes of the United Nations.

Ensuring balanced access to mass media and communication is vital to creating an informed public, and therefore to democratizing governance.

Given that inequalities of wealth and income lead to unequal access to knowledge and influence, democratizing governance both requires and promotes distributive justice.⁶

What is particularly important from a global governance perspective is the relationship that has emerged between the United Nations and the various multilateral peace operations. Both during and since the Cold War the UN's normative authority over multilateral peace operations has been continually challenged.

During the UN's first 40 years, few peace operations took place. Extra-UN multilateral peace operations were even fewer. The challenge to the UN's authority had two manifestations. At times the major powers managed to get the organization to act in the way they wanted (e.g. the United States during the Korean crisis). At other times they shaped the UN's response by ensuring inaction (e.g. the Soviet Union during the Hungarian crisis).

In the post-Cold War period, challenges to the UN's authority were at first thought to be at an end. Yet before long it emerged that the challenge would continue unabated. By the late 1990s the full dimensions of the UN's authority crisis had become clearly visible. In the Kosovo crisis a Cold War alliance took independent enforcement action with almost no reference to the UN.

Evaluating UN peace operations is no easy task. Success or failure of individual missions is of course important, but no more so than the overall success or failure of the UN peace operations mechanism as a whole.⁷

GLOBALIZATION: ENMESHED IN THE TROUBLE IN THE TRIANGLE

Evaluating UN peace operations is certainly no easy task, and neither is the evaluation of the effects of globalization. But they must both be understood if we are to be successful in dismantling the trouble in the triangle, and a few paragraphs to review critical issues which we have already noted will help to clarify the two matters and the way they interlock. Conflicts are being generated by the *processes* of globalization which will continue to get worse until radical action is taken to offset them and that radical action must go right to the fundamental reassessment of Messianic theology which, as we have seen, is at the base of the contradictory self-understandings of the three Abrahamic faiths.

At present the world is focussed on Islam, and in the West the focus has become a preoccupation. Islam is widely perceived as the only threat to the global hegemony of the United States and therefore to the stability and economic well-being of the whole of the white Western Christian world. Attention is glued to anti-West terrorist attacks by 'radical Islamists' and the Islamization of whole regions, either by evangelism or by political action. The Christian Church sat astride the fabric of international relationships for so long that its adherents were persuaded to accept its self-understanding that it was by divine authority that it so sat. We have noted that that self-understanding was shaken a bit by the events and consequences of the Great

War followed promptly by World War II and that the church changed direction to some extent but that it did not undertake a thorough reassessment of itself or of its relationships with other faiths, and that over the next eighty years there were a series of international shocks which each should have precipitated such a reassessment.

We have also noted that the central fact of the Christian Era occurred in 1948: the establishment of the State of Israel and a remarkable rebirth of Jewish intellectual endeavour. That was followed by a similar and equally remarkable rebirth of Muslim intellectual endeavour in two bursts. The first followed the Six Day War in 1967. The second followed in 1973 in the wake of the Yom Kippur War and the imposition of the oil embargo by the friends of the Palestinians against the principal supporters of Israel. And Russia's Glasnost and Perestroika in 1985, coupled with China's Tiananmen Square massacre in 1989, prompted more attention to the over-arching relationships between politics, religion, personal conduct, community cohesion and international relations, with renewed interest in the major Oriental religions.

Concurrent with those developments there were technical and social developments in the Western world which weakened and questioned the authority of, and undermined support for, the mainstream church. The church has been assailed from many directions and it is struggling to maintain its influence. It rode into the modern world as a major factor in colonialism and it now faces the consequences of that relationship.

The year 1933, with Hitler's rise to power on the back of his parody of the church - *Mein Kampf* - was a dramatic wake up call for the church. It shook its head once or twice, pressed the slumber button and went back to sleep. A generation later, 1948, with the establishment of the World Council of Churches as well as the State of Israel, provided both a challenge and an opportunity. A couple more nods of the head and the church pressed the slumber button again. Another generation later and in 1973 the combined consequences of its actions and inaction, and the new direction which it had to take, involving a comprehensive reassessment of its self-understanding and its theology, should have been apparent to its leaders. The slumber button was pressed yet again.

YUGOSLAVIA: A CASE STUDY

Now, in 2000, (yes, another generation), the events in Asia, Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union, have led us into another period of challenge. On one hand the church is under growing pressure to achieve reconciliation between its "separated parts" and Rome, (although the Vatican is not only resisting any significant change to its theology, it is re-stating it), and on the other hand there have been predictions of the end of the Ecumenical Movement. At the same time there has been a further stimulus to social activism and intellectual renewal within Islam. If the church simply presses the slumber button this time it might as well stay asleep. It is in the process of forfeiting the leadership of world religious thought to its partners in the triangle of Abrahamic messianic faiths, Judaism and Islam, and it will be left wallowing in their wake. Yugoslavia's continuing crisis illustrates the way in which the historical tensions and conflicts

erupt from time to time, but it has also introduced a new phase in the conflict, requiring urgent consideration of the steps to initiate the reconciliation process.

Yugoslavia sits on a triple divide. The first divide is that between the Eastern and Western Roman Empires which became the frontier between Roman Catholicism and Orthodoxy. The second is that between the former Ottoman Empire of Islam and the Holy Roman Empire of Christianity. It was at that divide that the threat of Islam dramatically influenced relations between the pope and the princes on whom he relied for military support against Islam and thus enabled the survival of both Martin Luther and the Reformation, and the recuperation of the Orthodox Church. The third divide is that between the Western Capitalist bloc (with its intimate links with the church) and the Communist bloc (with its philosophical basis in atheism triggered by revolt against the church's cosy relationship with the excesses of Capitalism). Yugoslavia has shared with Poland the role of the knot in the ongoing multiple tug-of-wars. NATO's recent intervention in its affairs is a reflection of that role and of Western fear of the eruption of a major war, rather than a consequence of NATO's humanitarian instincts and its want to redress some of the wrongs perpetrated against the people of Islam over a long period. The way in which that intervention occurred indicates that humanitarian concern has yet again provided the justification for intervention, not the motive.

The boundaries which defined post-World War II Yugoslavia contained nations which have been kneaded like potting clay during the 600 years since the Ottoman victory against the Serbs at Kosovo, but notably during and since the two world wars. The proportion of peoples of each of the three major faiths - Christian Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism and Sunni Islam - plus Europe's largest concentration of Gypsies - and the territories in which they have been dominant, have changed with repeated waves of battle, refugees and migration. However throughout that turmoil, mythology and continuity of religious teaching has prevented any merging or unification of communities. Intermingling, yes. Unification, no. An indication of the religio-ethnic mix in recent years is set out in a footnote.⁸

The present phase of the crisis can be said to begin with the constitution drawn up under the Communist regime in 1974 which the various ethnic communities claimed enshrined inequalities. Following the death of Tito in 1980 the internal pressures for independence were soon manifest from within each of the religio-ethnic communities except that in the case of the Serbs the pressure was for the restoration of a Serbian Empire. The Muslim minority community, growing in numbers as immigrants from near-derelict Albania sought a new life in Yugoslavia, staked its claim for an autonomous republic in Kosovo with the right to eventual self-determination. The discrimination which they saw as pushing them in that direction was well set out by Abdullah Dedic in January 1987.⁹ His statement could well have been a response to the publication a few months earlier of the Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences' "Memorandum 1986" which amounted to an ambit claim for a Greater Serbia incorporating each of the autonomous regions. An overview of the period from the Serbian Academy's 'Memorandum 1986' to 1996 is set out in end note¹⁰. It illustrates that in the Balkans Christian attitudes to Muslims were of precisely the same nature of Nazi Germany's attitudes to Jews and

that their plans for ethnic cleansing of Greater Serbia actually predate the development of Germany's worst excesses.

During the peak of the Kosovo crisis the Churches were at pains to maintain the impression that Yugoslavia's wars, and particularly the Kosovo crisis, have not been religious wars. However it is indisputable that religious belief and affiliation have been a major influence. In fact the crisis has aggravated strains between the faiths and between the churches of the East and the West. It has also aggravated strains within the World Council of Churches which was already considering closely the future of the entire Ecumenical Movement. The WCC now faces a bigger challenge than ever.

Some of the steps taken by the World Council of Churches prior to and during the Kosovo crisis, and factors which have impinged upon it are set out in the end notes¹¹. Special note should be taken of the moves to establish a Special Commission of the World Council of Churches to resolve theological conflicts between the Reformed and Orthodox wings of the Council and proposals to expand the Ecumenical Movement beyond Trinitarian Christian Churches. In addition, the appointment to the Council's staff of three people from Eastern Europe was announced on October 2, 2000, following its Executive Committee meeting a few days earlier. Fr. Dr. Ioan Saucă of the Romanian Orthodox Church was appointed director of the Ecumenical Institute at Bossey. Dr. Tamara Grdzeliidze from the Orthodox Church of Georgia, and Rev. Kersten Storch, Lutheran from the former East Germany, were appointed to the Faith and Order team.¹²

When the major war between NATO and Serbia (a mere state within Yugoslavia) was over everyone was still trying to make believe that it was not a religious war. But a little squabble in a small territory which happened to sit on the triple divide (between Orthodox East and Catholic West; Socialist East and Capitalist West; and Christian North and Muslim South) had left the church in a very invidious position indeed. In the West, very few people outside the churches' leadership structure had taken much notice. The churches were not worth getting too worried about anyway. And probably even fewer people in the West took any notice of what was happening in the Muslim world. Why should they? They didn't understand it. They should have taken more notice.

The intolerable aggression against yet another Muslim community at the hands of the dominant Christian West - and right in the middle of Christian Europe - provided a stimulus to Muslim social welfare, political and educational activity probably second only to (but a long way short of) the stimulus of the Yom Kippur War and the oil embargo of 1973. The effect was felt especially in the United States where the added political clout of the six-million-strong Muslim community (half of Arab extraction and half of other ethnic background) has reshaped the troubled triangle just a wee bit more. But it was felt in every country which has either a significant Muslim minority in a dominant Christian environment or vice versa. End note ¹³ gives an indication of the impact of the Kosovo crisis on the Muslim communities in the United States and Canada.

There have been several clear indications of the Muslim community's new influence and its determination to defend itself against the oppressive majority Christian influence and authority. They include the appointment of a Muslim as an Ambassador for the United States for the first time and the close collaboration which is developing between Arab and Muslim umbrella organizations within the United States. But perhaps the clearest indication is the fact that first-ever invitations were promptly extended for leaders from those two communities to meet privately with Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs Martin Indyk.

At the same time Israel, the senior partner in a troubled triangle of Abrahamic Messianic faiths, recognized its dependence on US aid, international criticism of its conduct towards the Palestinians, and the similarity between the conduct of the Serbian campaign and Nazi Germany's treatment of the Jews. It promptly offered substantial humanitarian aid while neither condemning Serbia or NATO. The Kosovo crisis coincided with a critical stage in the final status negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian authorities, and there was real fear among Israeli Jews of a spin-off effect. And, quite understandably, Muslim leaders called for the long-running Palestinian refugee crisis to be settled on the same basis as the Kosovo refugee crisis. The predominantly Muslim Palestinians demanded not only an end to new Israeli settlements in the occupied territories but a prompt return to their homeland and to their own homes for all Palestinians still in neighbouring countries. They also wanted talks aimed at compensation for losses suffered. The Palestinian line was simple. If the Kosovars can return home with compensation why can't we?

So: a touch of 'ethnic cleansing' in Yugoslavia was very significant in shaping the course of future religious dialogue - together with accelerating globalization. Globalization - the intermingling of people, their ideas and their practices - was already occurring as a function of population growth, migration, and the development of transport and communications systems as a matter of course. Chart 3, page 1835, indicates the relationship between the evolution of faiths, population growth and some other factors. It highlights the establishment of Islam through the inspired ministry of the prophet Muhammad as a reaction and a challenge to the development of certain Christian doctrines and dogma, the excesses which resulted from them, and the vital role of the Spanish Jewish scholar Maimonides.

GLOBALIZATION: UNDERSTANDING THE PROBLEM

It is not globalization *per se* which is the problem that the world has to resolve. Neither is it solely a matter of territorial conquest. The current phase of globalization is not directly linked to territorial conquest. It is linked to economic conquest and the abuses of capital transfer and communications. Those abuses can be reversed but it will require a substantial change in attitude among those who dominate and steer the system - or their demise as a consequence of conflict generated as a result of the abuses. And religion, or conflict generated between them

because of the way they are linked into the system, will play a major part in bringing about those changes.

The impact of globalization has been most dramatic in recent years, in the era of electronic communications, when we have been able to read about, hear about and even see episodes of interfaith conflict before the third shot is fired. It takes two shots to confirm that conflict exists. But the process is as old as humanity. Therefore, because religious conflict is central to the late twentieth century crises of globalization, and because religion was fundamental to the process of globalization, the necessary starting point for our thinking is the post-exilic period of Yahwism when people such as the writer of Jonah began to think more assertively of Yahweh as God-universal, or global, and not specific to the people of Abraham, and of an ongoing responsibility to convey that understanding to all humanity.¹⁴ The process assumed more definite character at the very beginning of the Christian era with the injunction by Jesus of Nazareth that his followers were to “Go out to the whole world (to) proclaim the Good News to all creation.”¹⁵

The process of Globalization and the process of territorial conquest to satisfy the demands of population expansion could have proceeded quite independently, in parallel. However the successors of the followers whom Jesus sent forth to proclaim the Good News began to modify, confuse and codify the message within the framework of a self-indulgent, power-seeking, empire-building institution known as ‘the church’ and from that point the processes of globalization and territorial conquest became irrevocably intertwined and progressively more painful. And because the message then being proclaimed diverged further and further from the original divinely inspired message, additional divinely inspired messages were introduced into the processes of proclamation and globalization in order to bring the church and its confused messages back into line with the original.

We have considered at length the relationship between Hitler’s parody of the amorphous Christian gel, *Mein Kampf*, and the convergence of critical prophecies generated within the troubled triangle. That is one of the critical stages in the globalization of the trouble in the triangle which have already been discussed, but which are briefly noted by way of an *aide memoir* in another end note,¹⁶. That complex of events leads us directly to the current phase of globalization. It is a phase characterized by confrontation between the White Western Judeo-Christian World under the domination of the United States (the ‘North’) and the countries of the so-called Developing or Third World (the ‘South’) with the people of Islam, pejoratively labelled ‘activists’ but with a very strong base of academics, providing a strong core of leadership.

The same mechanisms which tied the church to the colonial powers as they set out to exploit the rest of the world also merged the abuse of people and resources with the church in the amorphous Christian gel. That gel cannot possibly be separated into its constituent parts. Therefore the church’s denigration of the beliefs and practices of people of other faiths; the doctrine and dogma which the church maintains and to which the people of other faiths object

as erroneous or unjustifiable; and the patterns of personal or social conduct which are contrary to the standards which they maintain are all equally subject to criticism when they are associated with political or economic exploitation and abuse.

If those things have all been imposed at the point of a gun as well; and if they have been imposed against the will of the people; and if they have involved the degradation or undermining of stable community structures and systems of ethics which have long sustained the people - even if at a low level of economic activity - the level of frustration which the people feel and their level of determination to overturn those abuses, and to retaliate for them, becomes even more intense. Similarly, if the religions and systems of ethical belief are linked and held with tenacity, the determination to overturn those imposed will exhibit equal tenacity.

If the amorphous Christian gel happens to satisfy the majority of people for a time; if the apparent benefits of materialism and consumerism outweigh the disadvantages and the environmental and social destruction for a time; or if the personal benefits for those in power encourage them to maintain the system by oppressing their own people, then some degree of stability may also be maintained for a time. This leads to the antagonistic minority being labelled as terrorists, pushed underground and suppressed. They can be kept there until the pressure becomes sufficient or their numbers grow large enough or some factor weakens the grip of the amorphous Christian gel, and then the retaliation begins.

It will inevitably take on an anti-Christian aspect, even if the present Christian community, their clergy or leaders, have no direct links with those who have imposed the disadvantage or been responsible for the oppression. Those people may be working to very good effect and well within the guidelines of the Gospel and enlightened church policy. That does not matter. They are labelled. They are part of the oppressive gel. They will suffer the consequences. In present circumstances it is the people of Islam who have been most affected by the history of Christian oppression and who are providing much of the leadership for the anti-globalization-anti-Christian reaction and they hold their faith and maintain the associated ethics with tenacity not equaled by the people of any other faith.

So: as the great investment houses of the West, their bankers and money manipulators shift massive funds from one country to another, hold governments to ransom for better investment and taxation benefits, and boost consumption of non-essentials for greater profit in preference to producing staple foods, essential clothing and shelter the governments of the host countries may tolerate it for a time, until they face real domestic opposition because the social fabric of the nation and its ethical standards are being shredded. And in present circumstances key ethical and social factors relate to the abuse of human sexuality and the extended family, alcohol, gambling, community responsibility, degradation of the environment and profiteering, each of which relate to articles of faith of Islam as well as to ethics.

The benefits of Western style investment and money moving can seldom provide the infrastructure and employment base which an under-resourced nation requires to progress in line with population growth, let alone to offset the social costs of the policies being pursued.

Therefore, when the crunch comes the backlash is against those who are seen to be associated with the amorphous Christian gel. However it is no longer that simple. The United States, the superpower of the White Christian Western World, is no longer a Christian country. It prides itself on being Judeo-Christian. It is home to the largest proportion of the world's Jewish community, and it provides the protective umbrella for the State of Israel. Therefore as anti-globalization pressure increases, the Jewish community will also have to face some of the backlash. That is most likely to be directed at the State of Israel because that state is seen to be the principal beneficiary of the great exploiter as well as the focal point of the crises in the Middle East; its adherents are perceived to control a disproportionate amount of US investment and policy decision making; and it is more easily got at than the United States - especially if the umbrella becomes less effective or becomes unwelcome because of the consequences of its policies.

Therefore the Jewish community, highly endowed with intellectual talent as well as political capacity in the United States, will not sit idly by as the Christian church tries to distance itself from the faults of the amorphous gel which has coalesced around it. This will be especially the case if the third partner in the triangle of Abrahamic faiths, Islam, continues on its perceived path of confrontation with the West and the disruption which the West fears becomes a reality. It does not matter around what point the great reassessment begins. It can be a finer point of theology or a matter of social or political practice. Once it begins it must inevitably involve all three partners in the triangle and it must embrace the most fundamental issues of theology because it is around them that the amorphous Christian gel has coalesced. Once that fundamental reassessment begins, reconciliation is just around the corner.

The rejection of reconciliation because of resistance to sacrificing a position of dominance and privilege are too horrific to contemplate. The West must soon realize that it cannot maintain dominance and privilege by ever increased defence capacity. Rome and Spain have both taught us that the destruction of one's suppliers and one's markets leads very quickly to the destruction of one's own capacity. Historically divine judgement and retribution have been administered through the consequences of broken human and international relations. It is no different today. And in any case the West simply cannot maintain enough gunboats, rockets, and local-impact nuclear weapons and spy satellites to simultaneously subdue the "terrorists" in every country which might care to bring it down by concerted cooperative action - unless it chooses to defy reality and plunge the world to the depths of Armageddon. But that is jumping ahead. We are still at the Camp David accords.

THE CAMOUFLAGE: OR AN ATTEMPT TO BUY PEACE

In April 1977, while most people had their minds on Soweto and the UN arms embargo against South Africa, or the nuclear armed ballistic missiles which the great powers were aiming at each other, or the death throes of China's Cultural revolution, Anwar Sadat was traveling to Washington. He wanted to find out whether Jimmy Carter, the new president whose style and

philosophy were so much different to the Nixon-Ford-Kissinger style, was as serious about making the achievement of peace in the Middle East his administration's top foreign policy objective as he had said during his campaign for office. He was encouraged by Carter telling him that in ten years time Washington's economic, military, and political ties with Egypt might be as strong as the ties between the United States and Israel, and that he would be interested to meet Yasir Arafat. The diplomatic footwork started. In September, responding to signals from both Washington and Cairo, Moshe Dayan, foreign minister in the new Begin government, visited King Hassan II in Morocco to ask for his help in arranging high level contact with the Egyptian government. After some further exchanges the outcome was a visit to Jerusalem by Sadat on November 19-20, when he addressed the Israeli Knesset. He told the nation that he did not want a separate peace between Israel and Egypt, saying that any peace settlement required Israel's complete withdrawal from Arab territories captured in 1967. He insisted that "there is no peace that could be built on the land of others" but that such a withdrawal would bring acceptance by the Arab world and that it was logical that Israel should live in security and safety among its Arab neighbours. Begin made a return visit to Cairo on Christmas Day, but high hopes for progress were not realized, and when work began on four new Jewish settlements in Sinai only a few days later the strains between them were exacerbated.¹⁷

In spite of that setback diplomatic activity continued and the two leaders accepted Carter's invitation to meet with him at Camp David in September, 1978. The talks were near breakdown point after ten days, but they continued talking and a couple of days later, having been assured by the Americans that they would pay for the construction of alternative bases in the Negev Desert at a cost of \$3 billion (chart: *The Widening Gap*, chapter 30), the Israelis agreed to relinquish their military bases in the Sinai and to construct no more settlements there. It was agreed that Egypt would ensure free passage for Israeli shipping through the Gulf of Aqaba and the Suez Canal; that all Israeli troops would be withdrawn from Sinai within three years; and that the rights of Palestinians, and the future of Gaza and the West Bank would be determined within "A Framework for Peace in the Middle East," based on UN Resolution 242, after a five year transitional period of full autonomy.¹⁸ However progress was slow, each government accusing the other of dragging its feet and, only two weeks after the signing of those agreements, Israel published a five-year master plan, the *Drobles Plan*, for the development of Jewish settlements in the West Bank. It provided for the number of settlers to be increased to 27,000 families, some located in enlarged existing settlements and others in fifty new settlements.¹⁹

In fact, although the Camp David Accords were hailed and promoted as the nearest thing to peace in the Middle East they could be nothing of the kind. Carter knew, and his administration knew, that the United States was in an increasingly difficult position because of its commitment to satisfy each of the three groups identified previously: the State of Israel, its Arab neighbours and the Palestinians, and the oil industry. This step involved only one of the Arab states and it did not take account at all of the most fundamental issues: the resettlement of refugees who were dispossessed to establish the Jewish State, a territory for the Palestinians to call home, and

the future of the City of Jerusalem. It also introduced new complications because of the fact that Israel was dealing with only one neighbour and was seen to be playing one off against the others, and the agreement was left so loose that the Israeli government could interpret UN Resolution 242 in any number of ways. It therefore increased the tension between Egypt and the other Arab states which claimed that it was abandoning the Palestinian cause in order to recover the Sinai Peninsula. The United States was providing further evidence of what should have been self-evident to the world. It was buying peace, piecemeal. The only peace treaty which can ever be fully effective is one made freely between parties which have struggled with the issues and have both reached the conclusion that they are taking the right steps to the peace which they want. When a third party intervenes and provides inducement out of desperate self interest for warring parties to sign a document and call it peace, it can never be stable because the underlying issues have not been resolved. Camp David was a classic 'bought peace.'

The United Nations knew that, even though people did not talk about it in such terms and the Western media made no mention of such a concept. No one was expecting a quick fix, and a Secretariat, later renamed the Division for Palestinian Rights, was established to extend and enhance the work of the UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People which had been established in 1974, but which had previously been dependent on staff and facilities of the UN General Secretariat. Its 1976 report had noted that the question of Palestine is "at the heart of the Middle East problem" and it had drawn up a two-phase plan for the return of the Palestinians to their homes and property, and a timetable for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied territories by June 1, 1977, fifteen months before the Camp David conference.²⁰

And only a short distance away another aspect of the crisis in the Middle East, or the trouble in the triangle, was building up. On the same day that the Drobles Plan was published, Ayatollah Khomeini was forced to leave Iraq because his constant and very effective campaigning against the Shah and his pro-American policies was causing unrest in Iran and friction between Iraq and Iran. His campaigning was so effective that within a few more weeks open rebellion was occurring in Iran and on January 16, 1979, the Shah fled, the Ayatollah returned to a tumultuous welcome on February 1, appointed a Provisional Government, and began planning towards the reorganization of the nation. Iran's Islamic Revolution had been effective.

Now the pace quickened even more. On March 26 Israel and Egypt signed a separate peace treaty based on the Camp David Accords. Egypt's membership of both the Arab League and the Islamic Conference was suspended and Sadat ceased to be the de facto leader of the Arab world. The world should have taken note that the crisis was not simply a matter of territory or politics, or refugees. It was a very deeply held matter of religious belief. On April 1, Iran was proclaimed an Islamic Republic and its leaders set about drafting a new constitution and reversing the former Shah's pro-Western policies. In October, about the time that the Shah arrived in the United States, on the 22nd, for medical treatment and safe asylum, the profile, legitimacy and nature of *dār al-islām* was raised by the establishment of the international organization 'Islam and the West' with its headquarters in Geneva. By the end of the month

Israel handed its Sinai oil field back to Egypt under a guarantee from the United States that its supplies would be secure. Those supplies were drawn from Kuwait. On November 4, Iranian forces invaded the United States Embassy in Teheran, captured 50 hostages, located evidence of US interference in Iran's affairs, and demanded the Shah's extradition. The United States did not oblige, so the hostages remained as 'guests' of the Iranian government, and the Carter administration found it wise to encourage the deposed Shah to make his home elsewhere. He was granted asylum in Egypt by Sadat - a decision which further undermined his standing with the aroused radical Muslim section of his population.

In Iraq, Saddam Hussein assumed the dual roles of head of state and head of government upon the resignation of President Ahmad Hassan al-Bakr, and sought to assume the leadership of the Arab community which had effectively been left vacant when Sadat's influence waned with Egypt's suspension from the two peak bodies, and to establish Iraqi hegemony over the Gulf Region. On December 1, a referendum in Iran approved the country's new constitution with Ayatollah Khomeini as Supreme Religious Leader. He was then clearly the leader of the Shia Muslim world community and very eager to extend his influence across the Sunni Muslim world as well. A few days later Saudi Muslim extremists who wanted a more militant Islamic regime in Saudi Arabia, moved in revolt against the Sa'udi dynasty and seized the Great Mosque at Mecca, but Saudi authorities soon dealt with them decisively. A new element of competition had been introduced into the affairs of the Muslim Arab world with Hussein and Khomeini in neighbouring countries and sharing a common boundary through the vital Shatt Al-'Arab waterway with major oil facilities on either side. There was deep animosity between them because of Khomeini's expulsion from Iraq just as the revolution in Iran was getting under way, and the broadly Sunni-based Iraqi government was fearful that the substantial majority of Shi'ite Muslims in the south would either seek to secede to Iran or rise in revolt against its own government.

Early in 1980, Israel and Egypt exchanged ambassadors, opened the border between them, and welcomed a steady flow of both trade and tourists. But with its hand strengthened by the peace agreement with Egypt, Israel became more belligerent towards the Palestinians, and on May 8, Sadat recognized the reality of the continuing Jewish settlement and the introduction of legislation to annex East Jerusalem, and suspended negotiations towards autonomy in Gaza and the West Bank. Soon after, in June, the European Council, acting on behalf of its nine member countries, recognized the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the PLO as their negotiating body. One by one, a number of countries granted formal diplomatic recognition to the PLO as it undertook a massive international diplomatic initiative, but this was undermined to some extent, and Islamic solidarity took a battering when Iraq invaded Iran in September to claim the disputed oil-rich border province of Khuzestan - and the oil centre of Abadan. It succeeded in seizing the religious centre of Khorramshahr but it could not capture the well defended refinery port of Abadan. Saudi Arabia openly assisted Iraq financially with its war effort; it was also supported or encouraged by a number of other moderate Arab countries; it had the tacit support of both the United States and the Soviet Union, and Kuwait, also a member

of the Arab League, acted as a side-door conduit for Iraq's supplies while military action made the direct approach impossible. Iran received support from Syria and Libya.

The National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA, which had an active interfaith unit, chose that time to issue a comprehensive 18-page statement on the Middle East which explained the situation very clearly and indicated a marked improvement in the overall Christian perception of the church's partners in the increasingly troubled triangle. It included an overview of the Middle East and statements on relations among the churches, between Christians and people of other faiths, the rights of religious minorities, the nature of the arms race and some security implications, and an appendix of key documents including the Camp David Accords. Extracts from the statement on relations between Christians and people of other faiths illustrate the extent to which the attitudes of church leaders had evolved under the influence of the establishment of the State of Israel and the crisis in the Middle East.

The Middle East is the spiritual homeland of three major monotheistic religions: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In the past few decades the attention of the whole world has been drawn in an unprecedented way to the vitality of all three faiths. At the same time these religions have encountered one another in new ways, both in context of peace and in the midst of violence. ...

Nevertheless, deep tensions have arisen out of Christian and Muslim convictions that the revelation granted them is a corrective fulfillment of that which was given to those before them, and out of the sue of theological expression by all three faiths in their struggle for power. ... Theological differences which produce tensions among Jews, Christians and Muslims today are concepts of land, mission, and the relation between religion and state. ...

The relations of Christians with Jews and Muslims are often complicated by the variety of theological positions held by differing Christians about people of other faiths. These positions vary all the way from the claims of some Christians that all other faiths are false to those who claim that all are true. Depending on the particular theological position, a variety of missionary efforts have been carried out with respect to Muslims and Jews, some of which have alienated both. The theological diversity found among Christians is paralleled by the diversity found among Jews and Muslims. ...

Today there is evidence of the necessity of responding to opportunities for new openness to each other by Jews, Christians and Muslims. It is urgent that the moment not be lost, but that people of different faiths seek new contacts, relationships, and ways of working together. ...

People of all faiths must be aware of how theological and religious understandings and differences are affected by political, economic, cultural, ethnic and social concepts. The search of peoples in the Middle East for national identities and boundaries, for economic viability and autonomy, and for cultural distinctiveness as opposed to the impact of western culture on the region is supported by religious affirmations. The national pride of the USA, its readiness to use the nations of the region to further its own national security, and its need for oil shape the attitudes of everyone involved including Christians, Muslims and Jews, both in

the USA and in the Middle East. An awareness of the implications of all these factors will help Christians, Muslims and Jews to deal justly with such important issues as the sacredness of land, the nature of liberty, the rights of religious minorities, the relationships between religion and state, and the purpose and structure of mission. ...

The 1978 Camp David Framework for Peace provided new hope and evidence that the negotiations can bring an end to hostilities of long standing. ...

While the Camp David Framework has provided a new climate of trust between Egypt and Israel, this has not been the case throughout the entire Middle East. This agreement has isolated Egypt from the other Arab states and has not brought Israel closer to peace agreements with other Arab states or with the Palestinian people.^{xxi}

Early in 1981, as a consequence of Kuwait's support and assistance for Iraq, Iran began shelling a Kuwaiti refinery complex, and inspired acts of terrorism and sabotage against the interests of the ruling clan. In response, in March, the Gulf Cooperation Council was established by Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, Oman, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates in order to coordinate economic and defensive arrangements. But world attention was soon focussed on Israel again when, in May and June, it undertook a series of aerial attacks, mainly on missile sites which Syria had installed in the Beqaa Valley of southern Lebanon. However on June 7 it made one audacious long-distance attack into Iraq which was linked to a continuing crisis in relations between the two countries and which reflected the continuing potential for a major war between Israel and its Arab neighbours. That raid was the fourth major action in a campaign which began four years earlier, in 1977, when Iraq had begun planning and construction of an Osiraq nuclear power plant with French assistance and technology. The Iraqi government claimed that the plant was intended purely for power generation but Israel was not convinced. It claimed to have evidence that the plant was also intended to produce weapons grade plutonium for a small stockpile of weapons which would be used against Israel in due course. On that basis, Israel persuaded the French government to reduce the grade of fuel which it would provide for the reactor, to make it more difficult to upgrade it for weapons use. Then in April 1979 Israeli agents broke into a warehouse in France and destroyed casings which had been constructed for the Iraqi reactor, and in June 1980, the Egyptian-born physicist who was directing Iraq's nuclear research program was assassinated. Next, the June 7, 1981, attack raised the stakes and the level of bitterness between the two countries higher still. The Israeli government directed a flight of F-16 and F-17 jets to fly more than a thousand miles to Iraq and back to destroy altogether the power plant under construction. The Osiraq reactor was devastated and a French technician working on the site was killed. The reactor may have been liquidated, but Hussein's determination to develop nuclear weapons capacity certainly was not. It was reinforced, together with the foundations for a major international crisis a few years later.

Back on the conventional war front, in July Israel intensified its attacks in Southern Lebanon and when, in response to those attacks the PLO began shelling northern Israel, the IDF extended its attacks beyond the PLO field positions in that region to its headquarters in Beirut as well.

The war briefly escalated in spite of American efforts to contain it. Then, in a direct spin-off reaction to the signing of the Camp David Accord, Sadat was assassinated while reviewing a military parade in Cairo on October 6, the anniversary of the outbreak of the Yom Kippur war in 1973. The bishop of Public Affairs for the Coptic Orthodox Church, who was among those with the president, was also killed in the attack. In December Israel followed its annexation of East Jerusalem with the annexation of the Golan Heights, justified by the fact of Syria's missile bases sited further west.. Bitterness towards Israel among the Arab countries over each of these issues naturally increased, but the government had to contend with internal opposition and violence as well, when, in accordance with its agreement with Egypt, it moved to implement the final phase of its one territorial concession to date, the withdrawal from Sinai.

The war of words between the PLO and Israel gradually aggravated the tension along the border until, in April 1982, coincidental with the IDF's forced removal of Jewish settlers from Sinai, Israel massed troops along the border with Lebanon in preparation for an invasion. The opportunity to invade came on June 3 when a Palestinian shot and wounded the Israeli ambassador to Britain as he left a function in London. The campaign began on the 4th with major air strikes against PLO positions and, after the PLO responded with more shelling into northern Israel, the military invasion by several thousand troops began on the 6th. After three days it had achieved its stated aim of clearing the PLO artillery positions from southern Lebanon but, instead of stopping, it pushed on towards Beirut. Syria was drawn directly into the war on the 7th, the advance Israel forces reached the outskirts of Beirut on the 8th and began pounding hell out of the PLO headquarters. An American cease fire proposal was agreed to on June 11th, after Israel had ignored a UN Security Council resolution calling for it to halt the invasion on the 6th. Then, at the end of June, 1982, Reagan, unhappy with the performance of his pro-Israeli secretary of state, Alexander Haig, replaced him with a person well connected with the Arab world, George Shultz. It appears that Haig had to take the blame for Israel's rejection of the Security Council resolution and for its advance to Beirut. The American proposal called for Israel to withdraw; for UN Peace Keeping forces to occupy the critical wedge along Israel-Lebanon border; and for the PLO to leave Beirut with their protection guaranteed by the United States. The United States was also to guarantee the security of the people in the refugee camps.. But the front was not quiet for very long. The city of Beirut was under siege through most of July and August, and on August 11, *without cabinet approval*, Defence Minister Sharon ordered the IDF to totally clear the PLO from Beirut. Devastating air attacks were made against refugee camps as well as PLO headquarters, with very heavy civilian casualties. The last of the PLO forces were repatriated under the cease fire plan by road to Syria.

REAGAN'S VOLTE FACE: REACHING FOR THE SKY

At that point, on September 1, Reagan took two broad linked initiatives. The first was to announce solid support for Israel; to place the blame for the crisis on the Palestinians; and to

pursue his unique solution which was to write them out of the immediate scenario of conflict with Israel altogether. He guaranteed safe passage for all PLO forces right out of the theatre of war - at the expense of the United States. It was his variation on Carter's Camp David theme of a bought peace. The second initiative was to announce the Star Wars program.

The PLO's very successful diplomatic campaign for support and recognition around the world had strengthened its hand very considerably and, in doing so, made it much more likely that there would be strong support for, *and from*, the Arab countries in the event that push again came to shove between the Palestinians and Israel. Israel had so far come through four wars in quick succession - 1948, 1956, 1967 and 1973 - more or less unscathed, but there was a growing feeling within the country that this might not be the case again if support for the Palestinians continued to rise, and some of the Arabs were already showing increased frustration and becoming much more belligerent since the signing of its peace treaty with Egypt. Israel was increasingly aware of its isolation and that its only defensive shield was the United States. If that shield happened to 'walk' Israel would have no hope. The PLO had to be written out of the plot and the security umbrella, or shield, had to be strengthened.

At the beginning of June, when the invasion was launched, Reagan and the Security Council told the Israelis that they had to stop and withdraw to the border. At the end of June he sacked his secretary of state for being too sympathetic to Israel. But now he was speaking as if he was the world's staunchest Zionist and always had been. Reagan, or his advisers, must have come under intense diplomatic and political pressure to make them realize the parlous situation which the United States was in and to make a change of stance of such magnitude. When he broadcast to the nation on September 1, Reagan told America that he was proud that the US Marine contingent had helped in the successful evacuation of the PLO from Beirut which had been completed that day and that "Our young men should be out of Lebanon within two weeks." He said that over the previous two weeks US diplomats had traveled through Middle East capitals "to map out an American peace initiative for the long-suffering peoples of the Middle East, "Arab and Israeli alike," and he was determined to seize that moment because "In the words of scripture, the time had come to 'follow after the things which make for peace'."

"Our involvement in the search for Mid-East peace is not a matter of preference," he said, "it is a moral imperative. The strategic importance of the region to the United States is well known. But our policy is motivated by more than strategic interests. We also have an irreversible commitment to the survival and territorial integrity of friendly states. Nor can we ignore the fact that the well-being of much of the world's economy is tied to stability in the strife-torn Middle East. Finally, our traditional humanitarian concerns dictate a continuing effort to peacefully resolve conflicts." He was being very reassuring. He told the world, in effect, that Chile, Vietnam, Korea and even the extension of the Second World War to ensure that a couple of atomic bombs could be tested in real life-and-death situations were all a part of America's "continuing effort to peacefully resolve conflicts." A lot of people had not previously realized that!

He said that: “with respect to the Arab-Israeli conflict we have embraced the Camp David Framework as the way to proceed ... [and a little later] ... The evacuation of the PLO from Beirut is now complete. And we can now help the Lebanese to rebuild their war-torn country. ... The Lebanon War, tragic as it was, has left us with a new opportunity for peace in the Middle East. ... In the aftermath of the settlement in Lebanon we can now face an opportunity for a broader peace. ...[and]... the opportunities for peace do not begin and end in Lebanon.” He noted that the *military losses of the PLO* “*have not diminished the yearning of the Palestinian people for a just solution of their claim.*” [Emphasis added] Were they, perhaps, intended to? He also noted that: “while Israel’s military successes in Lebanon have demonstrated that its armed forces are second to none in the region, they alone cannot bring just and lasting peace to Israel and her neighbours.” He omitted to say that it was largely due to America’s largesse with military hardware that they were second to none in the region. He then noted that Israel’s legitimate security concerns had to be reconciled with the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. “*The departure of the Palestinians from Beirut dramatizes more than ever the homelessness of the Palestinian people. Palestinians feel strongly that their cause is more than a question of refugees. I agree.*” He unwittingly gave an excellent illustration of the parody of *Der Judenstaat*. The establishment of Israel had enabled the Jews to regain a national home as well as a national identity, but in doing so it had deprived the Palestinians of a national home, and forced them into a situation corresponding to the Diaspora while they retained a national identity.

Then Reagan exposed the lack of logic in the position which the United States had adopted and the fact that its aims were irreconcilable. He referred to the need for Israel to accept that the five-year transition period was to enable *the transfer of authority* from Israel “*to the Palestinian inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza,*” then said: “... it is clear to me that peace cannot be achieved by the formation of an independent Palestinian state in those territories. Nor is it achievable on the basis of Israeli sovereignty or permanent control over the West Bank and Gaza. So the United States *will not support* the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, and we will not support annexation or permanent control by Israel.” The firm view of the United States was “that self-government by the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza in association with Jordan offers the best chance for a durable, just and lasting peace.”

Jerusalem must remain undivided, he said, with its final status decided through negotiations. But everything else that he said revolved around the key element of his plan: continuing American support for Israel.

*I have personally followed and supported Israel’s heroic struggle for survival ever since the founding of the state 34 years ago ... the bulk of Israel’s population lived within artillery range of hostile Arab armies ... [prior to 1967, and] ... I am not about to ask Israel to live that way again ... America’s commitment to the security of Israel is ironclad. And I might add, so is mine.*²²

The State of Israel is an accomplished fact; it deserves unchallenged legitimacy within the community of nations ... [and it] ... has a right to exist in peace behind secure and defensible borders. ... [and I call on the Arab States to recognize this right and] ... to accept the reality of Israel and the reality that peace and justice are to be gained only through hard, fair, direct negotiation.²³ ... [Emphasis added.]

The dreadful truth had hit home. The United States *did not have* on-site or nearby forces to guarantee that security, even with its powerful navy, air force and the ability to transport ground forces in great numbers very quickly. Those existing capacities were geared for intervention, offensive action and invasion. They were not geared for defence from within an existing perimeter: especially one as small as Israel's. Massive new capacity was required which would enable accurate intervention as if from within a defensive perimeter. The Star Wars concept of orbiting satellites, constantly available, which could direct and deliver controlled and substantial destructive force against any form of offensive action, whether missiles, other airborne equipment or ground forces was required. But, naturally, there was no mention of any of any of this in Reagan's address to the nation on September 1. He could not say "we do not yet have this capacity: we will now set about developing it." Such an exercise would take years and a frightening amount of money. The Arabs would be incited to strike while they had the opportunity.

Reagan's program therefore had to be presented separately and sold as an extension of America's defence against the Soviet Union. That would fit comfortably into his existing pattern of anti-Communist rhetoric and the Western world would be easily convinced that it was justified. Quite clearly the Soviet Union was already trying to lead the world along a down-sizing program. It had taken a number of such initiatives, and to announce a program of this nature, now, could set back the program of détente and lead to another round of arms escalation. In fact it did just that (chapter 30), but to do nothing, thereby leaving the United States exposed to such a critical situation in the Middle East, was not an option. The risk had to be taken. If a few astute American observers realized what the situation was, they would be sufficiently astute not to draw attention to it. The facade had to be kept intact. Reagan was taking a leaf out of Chamberlain's book. (Chapters 20-21) He launched the largest peacetime military buildup in United States history and budgeted in 1993 for the design and construction of a US Strategic Defence System, Star Wars, which undermined his capacity for arms-control negotiations with the Soviet Union which he then had to approach "with reluctance and extreme caution." The domestic result, when it was coupled with promised tax cuts, was massive budget deficits and the doubling of the national debt between 1981 and 1986.²⁴ Reagan knew no more about the nature of the trouble in the triangle than any of his colleagues or other leaders in the amorphous Christian gel and the world was therefore condemned to heightened tension and undermined relationships until such time that they woke up to it. However the need for further changes in strategy in the Middle East to secure the interests of both Israel and the United States was not satisfied simply by the promise of further high-tech defence initiatives. There were the

questions of ensuring permanent disengagement by removing the PLO from the cycle of action, and satisfying the demands of the Arabs as well.

However Reagan was to be sorely disappointed. The interests of Israel and the United States were poles apart. They were both using each other when it suited them and Israel was in the much stronger position. The government knew - and the US administration also knew - that while Israel could, if it achieved a political consensus to negotiate, dump its umbrella and go its own way, the United States could not dump Israel. Whether Reagan thought his diplomats had reached an understanding with Israel in advance of his broadcast there was certainly none in place. The Likud-led government was firmly committed to the eventual imposition of Israeli sovereignty over both the West Bank and Gaza and it issued a communique the day after the president's broadcast, saying "the Government of Israel has resolved that on the basis of these [American] positions it will not enter into any negotiations with any party." It noted that in spite of Reagan's declared opposition to a Palestinian state based on Gaza and the West Bank "there would be nothing to prevent King Hussein from inviting his new found friend, Yasir Arafat, to come to Nablus and hand rule over to him, [and] it is inconceivable that Israel will ever agree to such an 'arrangement' whose consequences are inevitable."²⁵ It announced a further acceleration in its settlement plans to put more than one million Jews in the West Bank and Gaza in new towns and cities over a period of thirty years, and three days later it allocated \$18.5 million for three new settlements and approved plans for another seven.²⁶

Then on September 9, still only eight days after Reagan's broadcast to America, the leaders of the Arab world, meeting at their Twelfth Summit meeting, in Fez, Morocco, issued a final statement which showed that they did not care much for what they had heard either. They wanted greater United States involvement in the processes of peace negotiations; they wanted to show that the gap between them and Israel was bridgeable; and that they were prepared to recognize Israel within the boundaries of 1967; but rather than discuss the Reagan plan directly, they issued an alternative proposal of their own.²⁷ They "greeted the steadfastness of the Palestine revolutionary forces, the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples and the Syrian Arab Armed Forces and declared [their] support for the Palestinian people in their struggle for the retrieval of their established national rights," and they adopted a series of principles on which a settlement must be based. They were:

*Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, including Arab Jerusalem; the removal of settlements established since then; guarantees of the freedom of worship and the performance of religious rites at all holy places; the right of Palestinians to self-determination and the exercise of their inalienable national rights under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, and compensation for those who do not wish to return; UN supervision of Gaza and the West Bank during a transitional period of not more than a few months; the creation of an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital; and Security Council guarantees for the implementation of these principles and the peace of all states in the region.*²⁸

Diplomats and governments were still digesting the likely consequences of the conflicting approaches taken by Reagan, the Israeli Government and the Arab Summit Conference when, in mid-September, whatever remained of interfaith goodwill in Lebanon was torn to shreds by the Phalange Party, an organization dedicated to the principle of Maronite Christian primacy in Lebanon. It carried out a massacre of Palestinian men, women and children in the adjacent refugee camps of Sabra and Shatilla on the outskirts of Beirut. The massacre was only possible through the permissive collaboration of the IDF who were actually responsible for guarding the camps, but the murder in cold blood of not less than 700 people shocked even the battle hardened Israeli officers and troops. Some witnesses contended that the number of people slaughtered was between 1,500 and 2,000, but whatever the number, that operation made even Deir Yassin (chapter 27) seem like a pallid imitation of genocide.²⁹ The Phalange was suddenly an international pariah and Israel's standing, for being associated with the action, took a battering.

However, while that massacre was in progress, and with the support of the Arab Summit leaders, Arafat and Hussein were holding discussions about the Reagan plan in the hope that it might lead to an acceptable level of autonomy and that it would be a lot better than total rejection of any change, and creeping annexation by Israel. By November they agreed to sponsor a confederation of two equal states, and by January 1983, they had agreed in principle to form a joint negotiating team for talks with Israel.³⁰ But in February Reagan pressed Hussein to revert to his original proposal and again dangled the carrots of military assistance and other specific project inducements if Hussein would dump the PLO and take part in reactivated autonomy talks. This Hussein would not do without the agreement of both the PLO and the Arab League, and he knew that the more radical elements of the PLO would never endorse it.

Even the fact that Arafat was prepared to talk federation with Hussein was causing problems for him and Fatah was split by mutiny only a few months later and the radical factions declared open war against the moderates, led by Arafat. The conflict between the major religious communities in Lebanon had also erupted when the IDF eventually withdrew, and the country was in turmoil with two overlays of civil war and Syrian military involvement as well. By November the Fatah moderate wing, with Arafat, was hemmed down under siege in Northern Lebanon, and it was not relieved until Saudi Arabia intervened and negotiated a settlement under which the moderate wing, with about 4,000 troops, would leave Lebanon for re-settlement in new PLO camps in Tunisia, North Yemen, Iraq, Algeria and Sudan. That did not please Israel which would have preferred the Palestinians to continue pounding each other to pulp in Northern Lebanon, and the Israeli navy blockaded the coast to prevent the Greek ships which had been arranged by Saudi Arabia from taking the PLO passengers on board. It was not until the United States intervened that Israel agreed to lift the blockade and permit the embarkation of the Palestinians on December 21.³¹

The Israeli government had realized that the effect of spreading the PLO camps over several countries would be to strengthen support for the Palestinian cause more uniformly and more firmly through the Arab world. It was quite right. Immediately he was able to leave Lebanon,

Arafat visited Cairo and that visit proved to be the beginning of rapprochement between Egypt and Jordan which reestablished diplomatic relations in October 1984, and Egypt's isolation from the Arab League began to crumble. In addition Hussein reconvened the Jordanian parliament which had been suspended at the time of the crisis ten years earlier, and this enabled Palestinians to gain direct representation again. The next step, in February 1985, was a formal pact between Jordan and the PLO, and the Middle East was, indeed, moving into a period of relative calm - before another storm. Israel mounted a very long distance air attack on the PLO's headquarters in Tunis, 2,500 km distant, on October 1. Its pilots struck with precision, killing sixty persons, wounding many more, and damaging a number of buildings. The US government failed to condemn the raid, but many others made up for it. There were then a series of border incidents and killings in quick succession, but the situation led to a major international diplomatic crisis a week later. Four members of the Palestine National Front responded by hijacking the cruise liner *Achille Lauro* in Egyptian waters and demanding the release of a number of Palestinian prisoners in Israeli jails. When their demands were not met they murdered one American tourist and maintained control of the liner for some time before surrendering to Egyptian officers on being promised safe passage to Tunis for trial there. However US planes intercepted the Egypt Air plane and forced it to land at a NATO base in Sicily where the four were arrested. Further negotiations were deferred for a time, and demonstrators in Cairo called for the abrogation of the Camp David Accords.³²

The Iran-Iraq War was still in progress, although Saddam Hussein had proposed an armistice in 1982, and withdrawn Iraq's forces from the territory they had occupied. Because Iran had rejected the peace overture there was something approaching a deadly stalemate along the border which flared from time to time and Iran sought to disrupt shipping in the Gulf, launching attacks on Kuwait in 1983 and 1986. On that second occasion Kuwait appealed to both the United States and the Soviet Union to intervene, and for a time the United States authorized it to fly the US flag on its ships, implying that there would be a direct response if one was attacked.

The situation was incredibly complicated because every major party to the series of Middle East crises, but especially Israel and the United States, was trying to manipulate Jordan, Lebanon, the Palestinians and Kuwait to suit their own ends. In February 1986 King Hussein, frustrated by Arafat's ambiguity regarding the PLO's recognition of Israel and the renunciation of terrorism, which in turn confirmed Israeli intransigence, repudiated the Amman agreement with Arafat and broke off negotiations with the PLO. He did not try to expel the PLO as he had done once before, even though he was embarrassed by an increase in guerrilla violence in the West Bank, but he did order the closure of the PLO offices in Amman a few weeks later, in March. In a complete turnaround in the Jordanian policy that had been followed since the Arab summit in Rabat (1974), he declared that he would now be responsible for the economic welfare of the West Bank Palestinians and that the West Bank would be included in the new five-year plan for Jordan to be announced in August, 1986. The king also approved an increase in the number of Palestinian seats (to about half) in an enlarged National Assembly. His aim was to establish a Jordanian-Palestinian-Israeli administration so that the West Bank would not be

dependent on the PLO and so that he could reach a settlement with Israel in which he would regain at least partial sovereignty of the area.

AN OPPORTUNITY LOST: IDF VIOLENCE, THE INTIFADA AND HAMAS

By April 1987 Hussein and Israel's foreign minister, Shimon Peres, agreed to a UN-sponsored conference involving all parties to the conflict to seek a comprehensive peace. The Palestinian representatives would be part of a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation. That proposal was endorsed by Reagan, but the Israeli prime minister Shamir wanted a conference with only Jordan. He resisted American pressure for a more comprehensive peace conference and relentlessly pursued a policy aimed at isolating and demeaning the PLO.

Of course the UN Security Council had other things on its mind, too, and on July 20, it unanimously passed Resolution 598, urging Iraq and Iran to accept a cease-fire, to withdraw their forces to internationally recognized boundaries, and to settle their frontier disputes by negotiations held under the auspices of the United Nations. Iraq agreed to abide by the terms of the resolution if Iran would also do so. Iran, however, neither accepted nor rejected the resolution but demanded amendments condemning Iraq as the aggressor in the war and calling on all foreign navies to leave the gulf. When military operations in the gulf promptly resumed Iraq recaptured the Fao peninsula and the districts of Salamcha and Majnun, and it was soon clear that Iran's military position in the gulf was becoming untenable.

Israel had lapsed into an almost relaxed confidence about its relations with Jordan and tended to play down the strength of the Palestinians for a couple of years, but that was shattered by an incident on December 8, 1987, at the northern checkpoint between Gaza and Israel. An IDF tank transport crashed into a row of cars and vans bringing workers home. Four men were killed and seven injured. Many people who witnessed the incident did not believe it was an accident. They believed it was a deliberate act of slaughter, and the funeral for the victims brought a spontaneous outburst against the IDF.

However it proved to be more than just another incident in a history of inter-communal violence. It released a mass of suppressed or latent hatred towards the IDF, it resulted in two years of open rebellion which became known as the *intifada* and changed the landscape permanently, and it greatly aggravated the religious dimension of the Palestinian saga. The initial spontaneous reactions led to the establishment in January, 1988, of an Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, which was soon adopted by the Muslim Brotherhood as its military wing and the resistance to Israeli occupation took on a militant religious character instead of a more diffuse ethnic character. Hamas dedicated itself to the destruction of Israel and the establishment of an Islamic Palestinian state. This raised further divisions because the Palestinian National Charter provided for a multi-religious community; the PLO's membership and the National Council included both Muslims and Christians, and there had never been any move for an Islamic State.

The Muslim Brotherhood as it had operated in Palestine and Israel was a wing of the wider pan-Arab Muslim Brotherhood Movement. It had been founded and was led by Islamic activists; it had established a network of charities, clinics, and schools in Gaza, and it was active in many mosques; but its activities in the West Bank were generally limited to the universities. To that time its activities in the occupied territories had been generally nonviolent, but a number of small groups began to agitate for a jihad, or holy war, against Israel when the December 8 incident triggered the *intifada*. As a result, the new body, Hamas (meaning 'zeal' in Arabic) quickly acquired a broad following when it issued its charter which maintained that Palestine is an Islamic homeland that can never be surrendered to non-Muslims, and that waging jihad to liberate Palestine is the duty of Palestinians. The *intifada* took a number of different forms: boycotts of Israeli goods, attacks against Israeli civilians and settlers, demonstrations to show public support for Palestinian nationhood, and rock throwing by youths against Israeli soldiers. Israel's reaction was one of armed suppression of the revolt, including the use of rigorous tactics by the Israeli military, whose severity was condemned not only by the Palestinians but also by many Israelis.

The spontaneous uprisings which followed each successive incident in which the IDF were involved gave way to organized and systematic terrorist attacks. King Hussein quickly realized that the uprising was directed in part against his rule as well as against the Israelis. His immediate response was to support the *intifada* publicly and to offer aid to families of victims of Israeli reprisals in an effort to deflect hostility to his regime. But the *intifada* leaders (known as the Unified Command) renounced the king's overtures. The *intifada* brought Jordanian and Israeli plans for an economic path to peace to a halt. Hussein canceled the five-year plan for the West Bank, and, with liberalization on his mind, he did not wait for the Israeli government to make concessions to the force of the *intifada*. He announced on July 31, that Jordan was renouncing its official claims to the West Bank and East Jerusalem, and this provided an opportunity for the PLO to stake its claims again. Arafat quickly assumed the role of spokesman for the revolt. An important factor in the sustained unrest was a steady increase in unemployment among the Palestinians. However neither Israel or the United States were sufficiently disturbed by the *intifada* to think it necessary to soften their policies or make concessions to the Palestinians. And while Israel's Labour and Likud parties were deadlocked on peace proposals and many other issues, they agreed that the *intifada* must be suppressed before changes could take place in the status of the occupied territories. The overall effect was therefore a general hardening of attitudes on all sides, which the IDF displayed with even more heavy handed repression, and to which the Arab world reacted with greater sympathy for the Palestinians and determination that after so many years the problem finally had to be confronted.

About the same time, Iranian leaders, fearing an internal uprising in the face of looming military defeat, impressed on Khomeini the importance of accepting the UN cease-fire in order to save the new Islamic regime from collapse. Iran then formally declared its acceptance of Resolution 598 on August 20, 1988. When its foreign minister met his Iraqi counterpart for the

first time in Geneva soon after, (and again later in 1989), there was no immediate progress on how Resolution 598 was to be implemented. Iraq demanded the full exchange of prisoners as the first step, while Iran insisted that withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Iran should precede the exchange of prisoners. It was not until almost two years later that both Iraq and Iran finally agreed to settle their differences on the basis of the earlier, 1975, agreement and to carry out the terms of UN Resolution 598. However, immediately after the cease-fire, Saddam Hussein began a program of reconstruction, concentrating on the areas that had suffered most during the war, and he promised to liberalize the regime. At the same time Arafat was being advised, or pressured, by the head of the Arab Studies Society in Jerusalem, Faycal Husayni, to make a declaration of Independence based on the partition plan which the United Nations had adopted. The "Husayni Document" was a comprehensive blueprint for the establishment of a state with the PLO Executive Committee constituting its government at the time of formation.³³ The combined effects of these developments placed Israel under a lot more pressure to make concessions to the Palestinians because it faced a much more unified Arab world, but instead of talking concessions it made the repression of the *intifada* even tougher, and leaned on the United States for more support.

Saddam Hussein of Iraq, a strong supporter of the Palestinian cause, was a key leader who thought it was time for coordinated action. In a number of public statements he made it clear that it was time for Israel to take the consequences of its policies and, soon after the *intifada* erupted, he directed that work was to begin on construction of a nuclear reactor - for strictly peaceful production of energy, of course! That was the situation in August 1988 when the deteriorating state of Iran's economy, coupled with an upsurge in fighting which saw Iraq make some gains, had led Iran to accept a UN mediated cease fire which it had previously resisted.

Within weeks, Arafat, visiting European capitals, issued repeated calls for a peace conference which would include both Israel and the PLO in determining a two-state settlement based on UN Resolution 242 and subsequent resolutions. In the absence of any positive response from Israel, Arafat met with King Hussein and Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak in late October at Aqaba, on the eve of elections in Israel, and they agreed to work together to find a solution. An immediate outcome was that on November 15, the PLO National Council voted to declare the establishment of "a Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital;" then it followed that with an equally dramatic move a week later when it voted overwhelmingly to accept UN Resolutions 242 and 338, calling for Israel to evacuate the occupied territories and for all countries in the region "to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries." Reference to Resolution 242 and the use of the expression "*to evacuate the **occupied** territories*" clearly implied that some of its territory was not "occupied" but legitimate, and that the PNC was acknowledging Israel's right to exist.

However, because of the powerful influence of Hamas in the Palestinian coalition and the vigour of its opposition to the presence of Israel, Arafat was reluctant to put that into direct words. When he declined to do so the United States - contrary to established practice - denied him a visa to make a trip to the UN.³⁴ However, more than one can play constitutional antics,

and in a sharp rebuff to both the United States and Israel, the UN resolved to adjourn its meeting and to reconvene in Geneva to enable Arafat to address members. At first he again avoided being explicit until he faced a news conference the following day, when he both recognized Israel's right to exist, and renounced terrorism as well. Secretary of State Schultz immediately announced that the United States would conduct "open dialogue" with the PLO. In contrast, the Israeli government, caught in a cabinet crisis, could not respond, but it was surrounded by a sea of Hamas supporters who were eager for it to be known what they thought of Arafat's announcement: conflict between the PLO and Hamas soon followed and the armed wing of Hamas, the 'Izz al-Din al-Qassam Forces, began a campaign of terrorism against Israel. Soon afterwards, the next regular meeting of the PNC confirmed the intention of a declaration of independence and called for Israel to evacuate its forces from all occupied territories, and within two weeks some fifty five UN member states had recognized the Palestinian State. They included the Soviet Union, China, India, Greece, Yugoslavia, Sri Lanka, Malta and Zambia. The United States could no longer say that it was only the former colonial states of Africa which were supporting the Palestinian cause, and by mid-November it had to agree to substantive discussions with the PLO.

In January 1989, consistent with his promise to liberalize Iraq's Constitution, Saddam Hussein announced that a committee had been appointed to draft a new constitution that would establish a multiparty system as well as freedom of the press. Then to enhance Iraq's position in the Arab world, Saddam Hussein began to negotiate a set of bilateral agreements with his neighbours. He concluded nonaggression pacts with Saudi Arabia and Bahrain, and he established the Arab Cooperation Council with Jordan, Egypt, and North Yemen to promote economic and cultural development. He had again developed close ties with every country in the circle around Israel except its northern neighbours, Lebanon and Syria, and he began lobbying for closer cooperation in the vital area of Palestinian rights. About the same time, Shamir proposed that elections be held in the occupied territories to select delegations which would negotiate arrangements for self-government during an interim period. While Bush gave it "cautious support" the Palestinians wanted nothing to do with it because they already had the body they wanted: the PLO. The Likud liked it even less: it may have meant making significant concessions and that, they had no intention of doing. The party imposed conditions which they knew would be totally unacceptable.

Saddam Hussein's call also received some very valuable support from an unexpected quarter. A group of prominent Israeli academics, attorneys, journalists and Knesset members were so concerned at their government's brutal suppression of Palestinian human rights that they formed B'Tselem, an organization dedicated to educating the Israeli public and policy makers about human rights violations in the occupied territories and combating the "phenomenon of denial prevalent among the Israeli public [in order to] help create a human rights culture in Israel" and to change Israeli policy in the occupied territories to ensure that the government "protects the human rights of residents there and complies with its obligations under international law." Its members had a tough and risky job in front of them, but their efforts earned the organization

almost immediate recognition and, later in the year, the Carter-Menil Award for Human Rights.³⁵

Then in late July, in an effort to break the diplomatic stalemate, Mubarak presented a fresh ten-point plan which required Israel to accept the results of an election overseen by international observers; that all Israeli troops be withdrawn from balloting areas during the election which would be conducted with complete freedom of speech; East Jerusalem Palestinians would be included in the ballot; further Israeli settlements were to be frozen; Israel was to accept the principle of trading land for peace; and a date would be set for the start of final status talks. The Mubarak plan received a mixed reception from the Israelis, but the Palestinians, while they appreciated his efforts to help, objected that there was no automatic role for the PLO. They need not have worried. On October 6, all six Likud ministers in the inner cabinet voted against the plan, and it was dead.

AN INTERLUDE IN THE DESERT

A little to the east, in the Gulf region, working on the basis that Iran had not yet signed a peace agreement as the basis for a lasting settlement in the Gulf, Iraq continued to purchase weapons. But Israel, which had destroyed the Ozirak nuclear reactor eight years earlier and had reason to think that Iraq might be preparing to retaliate, and the United States which had been helping Saddam Hussein in the war with Iran, now found his want for arms, especially chemical and biological weapons, “a matter of concern.” It had not been of concern when he was helping to sedate one of their declared enemies, or when he had used them to clear one of the disputed regions to the north where Iran, Iraq and Turkey abut - Kurdistan - but consistent with the ‘selective’ representation of foreign affairs which we have noted so often, when he had served his purpose, criticism began to build up in the Western press, attributed to ‘informed government sources’ about Iraq’s record in human rights and the country’s acquisition of sensitive technology. No mention of Israel, or the Palestinian question. They were not entitled to ‘human rights.’ That growing barrage of planted reports prompted Hussein to make highly inflammatory speeches about the hostile Western attitude. He did not hesitate to mention Israel by name. He warned that if Israel ever again attacked Iraq (as it had attacked and destroyed Iraq’s nuclear plant in 1981 and assassinated its director of nuclear research), he would retaliate with chemical weapons.

Hussein’s cards were all on the table, but the United States was playing another concealed hand. It had no idea what the trouble in the triangle was all about: no more idea than Britain when it had been master of the Middle East. It only knew that it was in a highly vulnerable position and that it did not have forces in the region which could be used in Israel’s defence. It only had its arsenal of offensive equipment. There was a real war of nerves in progress. The United States knew, as did Israel, that Iraq had canvassed the idea that the time was ripe for a concerted Arab coalition push against Israel to force it to negotiate a settlement of the Palestinian question. But they all knew that if push came to shove and a war broke out - or was

mounted quite deliberately - they could not rely on Soviet support either with the supply of arms or with political support sufficient to dissuade the United States from intervening. The Soviet Union was in fact in complete disarray. It had negotiated a series of agreements with the United States; some on disarmament and some on trade and further discussions were continuing towards the establishment of a complete market economy. Earlier in the year Lithuania had withdrawn from the Union; each of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria had renewed diplomatic relations with Israel, and the newly appointed Czechoslovak ambassadors to the Soviet Union and the United States were both Jews.³⁶ The Soviet Union had not only lost all of its leverage over the United States, it had become beholden to it virtually to the point of dependence.

Together with the Soviet Union, the Israeli government was also in disarray. When the Mubarak plan lapsed the United States offered an alternative and told the Israeli government that it had to be more flexible in its attitude. Likud rejected the American plan. Labor wanted to accept it. Cabinet split, and on March 15 the Knesset voted by 60 to 55 to dissolve the government. Some of the small religious parties voted against Likud even though they were opposed to the plan, because they saw the opportunity to appoint an even more hard-line government. They were right.³⁷ In contrast, the Arab states had recovered much of their cohesion with their progressive rapprochement with Egypt, to such an extent that in March 1990, the Arab League had moved its headquarters back to Cairo from Tunis where it had been for eleven years. But they were not confident that, in the prevailing circumstances, the United States would restrict its activities to organizing a system of arms re-supply for Israel if they went to war with Israel. They did not believe the time was appropriate for a push against Israel. In addition, both the United States and Britain were in a very belligerent mood after Iraqi agents had been foiled in an attempt to ship unspecified nuclear devices or components to Iraq, and they were both experts in the game of divide-and-rule. The Palestinians were becoming very discouraged. All that the intifada seemed to have brought was further repression, not concessions.

However Saddam Hussein was in no mood to wait. He was annoyed that the Arab states had, broadly, been cowed into submission. He was also annoyed that Israel's oil supplies were being drawn from the Gulf States under US protection; he accused Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates of depressing oil prices by allowing excessive production; and he warned them to cut production or face intervention. He cleared the decks for such "intervention" by ensuring that Iran would not take advantage of such a distraction. Talks resumed between Iran and Iraq towards a formal peace treaty. He then had reason to believe that by marching into Kuwait he could cut oil supplies to Israel; enforce a small cut in production and thus push the price up a touch; and that by demonstrating Iraq's determination to solve the Palestinian question he would bolster the confidence of the other Arab states and have his coalition in place for swift action against Israel. Iraq's southern army was already in place at the head of the Gulf, having been there during the long drawn out hostilities with Iran, so they barely had to move to be in

position to close the pipelines from the Gulf through Jordan to Israel and the Mediterranean, or to rattle their sabres at Kuwait.

At that point Saddam Hussein made his big strategic blunder. If he had done nothing and just waited, Israel would have come under gradually increased pressure over its oppression of the Palestinians and, even with no backing from the Soviet Union, the Arab states may have achieved their aim with or without an invasion of Israel. If he had ignored the other Arab states and attacked Israel directly, by air initially, with the expectation that a joint land invasion would develop, the United States would have been in the position which its strategists feared. It had no ground forces available in the region to defend Israel. If either it or Israel had joined battle with Iraq either by aerial bombardment or ground invasion from the Gulf, public reaction in the front line Arab states would have forced their governments to come to Iraq's aid. They did not have to join the battle. They simply had to close the pipelines. The United States could not possibly have invaded every country at once, and even if it tried, it could not have achieved control of the oil fields quickly enough to prevent them being put out of action, and the international ramifications would have been horrendous. The United States would have been forced to negotiate a settlement of the Palestinian question, either with a very widespread embargo in place or under threat of one. But the domestic political consequences of deserting Israel - of "doing a Britain" and throwing away the umbrella - would have thrown the United States into turmoil. It still did not understand the trouble in the triangle, but it understood very well indeed the consequences if it could not prevent that particular war.

AN ERROR OF STRATEGY

But the United States was in luck. On Aug. 2, 1990, Iraqi forces marched into Kuwait. Saddam Hussein had converted himself from an ally against a common enemy into a demonic monster in one simple move. He had invaded an innocent Arab neighbour! Israel could be kept out of the equation. The situation could be isolated from the ongoing crisis in relations in the Middle East. There need be no discussion of interfaith relations. This was a one-off isolated incident in which a tyrannical dictator had to be brought to heel: or eliminated. No one need even be told that the turmoil of the previous few years in Iraq, and the circumstances in which Saddam Hussein had come to power at the head of the Revolutionary Command Council, were the product of long running Western interference and resource exploitation. Neither did they need to know that the draft of a revised and liberalized constitution which had been prepared in 1989 had already been scrutinized by the RCC and the National Assembly, and that it was about to be submitted to a public plebiscite.³⁸ No one need know that, and the present constitution would certainly continue in operation at least for the duration of any pending action.

Hussein could be shown to be the tyrant at the heart of the Middle East crisis; he could be represented as the new Hitler and there could be a sympathy spin-off which could only do Israel a bit of good, even though it had to be kept out of the discussion, and Hussein's motives could be shown to be sheer greed for a neighbouring country's oil and territory, or imperial expansion

to rule the Arab world. If he could be kept in Kuwait for a while without doing any damage - and he was most unlikely to go voluntarily - and if the other Arab countries could be persuaded that he was a danger to them, it would provide the opportunity to mount a coalition against him; to push him back; and for the United States to be seen to be the hero. But the real prize was the fact that the United States had been handed the opportunity to place very large ground and air forces into the region to protect its twin strategic vital interests - its grip on the region's oil supplies and Israel's security. Once they were placed there, they would stay there. Permanent Bases. Not short term regional war requirements. Further crises involving Israel and its relations with its neighbours were bound to arise but they could not get out of hand if the United States already had forces on the ground, especially in a country which might otherwise be belligerent. Or could they? It might be necessary to take steps to "neutralize" one or two countries by other methods.

However, overall, Hussein's action had reversed completely the situation in which the United States had found itself as a consequence of its decisions and actions in the 1950s, 1970 and 1973. It could now manoeuvre itself into complete control of the region without the need for a sky full of Star Wars hardware, and it need never admit what the motive behind the Star Wars program had been. The planned development of the program had been justified, for public consumption, by the need for enhanced protection against Soviet Communism, and now the program could be quietly dropped on the grounds that the Soviet Communist threat was no more, that it would relieve the American voters of a big budget and tax item, and that a sympathetic government was responding to the widespread American perception that it was security over-kill. The Palestinian question had effectively been defused because none of the other Arab countries would be at all keen to press the Palestinian cause while the United States was hovering so close at hand. In addition there would be sufficient local tensions arising from time to time which could be exploited so that the recovery of strong regional cohesion within the Arab world, bringing with it the possibility of a serious political threat, could be avoided.

In a nutshell, Hussein's ill-advised intervention had very possibly destroyed his chances of leading a future push against Israel; and enabled United States forces to go into the Middle East in sufficient strength to "protect" all of the vital oil fields *and* Israel at the same time. To establish a case was going to be easy.

On the same day that the UN Security Council passed Resolution 660, condemning the invasion and demanding Iraq's unconditional withdrawal, it also called on Iraq and Kuwait to begin immediate negotiations, and the United States froze all Iraqi assets. The high pressure lobbying began immediately to persuade Kuwait's neighbours, and especially Saudi Arabia, that they were in dire straits because Saddam Hussein was not going to stop at Kuwait: according to the Americans he wanted the whole of the Arabian Peninsula. Bush told the world on August 5 that the Iraqi invasion "would not stand" and that only its complete withdrawal was acceptable. Next day the Security Council passed another resolution, 661, imposing economic sanctions against Iraq. That was not a new experience for the Iraqis: Britain had done it back in the 50s, and the United States had done it in 1973 at the time of the oil embargo.

AN OPPORTUNITY GRASPED

On August 7, having “received” an invitation from Saudi Arabia in circumstances which caused serious tension within its government, Bush ordered combat aircraft and troops to “protect” Saudi Arabia. Turkey, America’s NATO and CENTO ally, closed the pipelines from Iraq. Next day Iraq proclaimed the annexation of Kuwait, but, as expected, the UN Security Council declared the annexation void.

As Hussein showed no sign that he was prepared to withdraw from Kuwait, US President George Bush and various allies, considering Iraq’s action a threat to Western interests, decided that the *status quo ante* must be reestablished. American troops began arriving in Saudi Arabia on August 9, the same day that the Security Council declared Iraq’s annexation of Kuwait void. Saddam Hussein agreed to withdraw from Kuwait provided that Israel also agreed to withdraw from the West Bank, and if Syria withdrew from Lebanon. The Syrian withdrawal was a possibility once Israel withdrew from the West Bank and the Palestinian question was thus resolved. No such luck. No one really expected Israel to withdraw from the West Bank and so the United States piled on the propaganda that Iraq was trying to involve Israel in the crisis. *Israel’s imposed presence was the crisis*. The double standards were palpable. Israel was occupying sections of three countries - Egypt, Jordan and Syria - plus territory allocated for the establishment of a fourth: Palestine. But because it was able to blackmail the United States, it could not be forced by international pressure to quit. On the other hand Iraq was occupying one country but it was doing it in such a matter that it had the potential to redraw the political map of the Middle East and, in doing so, to critically undermine the position of the United States. It had to be crushed, not just made to quit the area it occupied.

The Arab League met in emergency session next day, August 10, to consider a United States request to endorse the presence of its troops in Saudi Arabia and to provide units to join a multinational force against Iraq.

On the other hand, by agreeing to all of Iran’s demands in their peace settlement negotiations on the 16th, Iraq ensured its big non-Arab neighbour’s non-intervention. About 6,500 British and American nationals were rounded up and held as prisoners of war the same day, but four days later, Bush, referring to them as “hostages,” demanded that the Americans be released. Nevertheless, the figures do not tell the complete story. In several countries which endorsed the request, the governments faced unrest from the majority of their ordinary people whose sympathy lay with the Palestinians and Iraq, and who believed that blatant foreign interference was driving the process. They had good reason for their belief. A few days after the Security Council authorised the imposition of a total economic embargo against Iraq, August 25, the US Congress was asked to “forgive” or waive Egypt’s \$7 billion military debt to the United States. That would seem to be a very high price to pay to ensure Egypt’s endorsement and token involvement. And after a meeting in Helsinki, Bush and Gorbachev jointly warned Iraq to leave Kuwait, and then announced US assistance for the Soviet Union to change to a market economy over 18 months.

However there was another complication. Once Iraq quit Kuwait and agreed to mind its own business, there would be no justification for the United States to remain in the Middle East, except pure self-interest, and that would not be a good enough reason for the Arab countries to say: "Please stay, we love having you." Basically the dominant presence of a foreign power was not welcome, but especially the one which was propping up Israel. The United States would be asked to leave, quickly, so that the countries of the region could get on with their own living, trading and social organization. The United States would have to find a reason to justify staying. If there was not one, then it would have to engineer one. It was not about to go voluntarily. And in the new circumstances the countries of the region and their allies definitely had the means of forcing the United States to go home. They did not have to fire a shot. Trade sanctions would do it very nicely. But once the United States was gone, it would be back to square one. Israel had to make peace through a settlement of the Palestinian question. If it did not, there would be war. Then what would the United States do? It still did not have its Star Wars hardware. So it would have to come back in force, or apply pressure on Israel to accept an appropriate settlement. But the position had not changed. Take away the umbrella and the political stability of the United States would be torn to shreds. The spiral, or the vortex, of the trouble in the triangle was getting tighter and tighter.

THE WRONG CHOICE OF SOLUTION

The only *apparent* solution was for the United States to be able to maintain the peace. But if it could not satisfy the aspirations of the people of the region - all of the people - the situation would develop in such a way that the friction caused by its unwelcome presence became a key factor in the dismantling of its pseudo-colonial power, or its system of economic imperialism. It had chosen to go down exactly the same course as Britain: to take advantage of the people of the Covenant at the seat of their faith *for no reason other than economic and political power*. There was no sense in which Britain or the United States were correcting an historical abuse of the Covenant of Sinai by the Jewish community in the manner which applied when Nebuchadrezzar destroyed the city in 597 BCE, (Ezekiel chapters 20, 22, 26). Pompey had done it for Rome in 64 BCE (Chapter 1). The popes had tried it many times between 1095 and 1464 (chapter 8). Britain had tried it in 1917 (chapter 16). And finally the United States tried it in 1948 (chapters 27, 28). Its politicians should have read their history a little more carefully first.

In fact there *was* an alternative solution. Dismantle the triangle. But the United States did not understand the triangle. Its self-understanding was that it was the divinely ordained world policeman, a bit like a political Vatican, with the *role* of directing world political and economic affairs and with the *opportunity* that went with the role, of taking advantage of the world and its resources as a successor to all of Europe's "old" or "failed" Christian pace-setters. Its political understanding of the three Abrahamic faiths when it assumed its role of world policeman was no better than Britain's at its peak. They were simply tools to be manipulated to advantage, playing one off against the others at will. But, like Britain, by its own decisions and actions it

had now lost the capacity to manipulate one of them. The interesting question was: “How will it try to do it?”

On August 28, Iraq declared that Kuwait had become the 19th province of Iraq. A 28-member coalition, including several Middle Eastern states and led by the United States, mobilized sufficient military and political support to enforce the Security Council’s sanctions, including the use of force. However it took a great deal of diplomatic footwork to get that alliance in place, and in spite of all the American bluster about the crisis having nothing to do with Israel, Saddam Hussein made it clear that it was, and Bush was forced to acknowledge this. On September 23, Hussein threatened to attack oil installations in Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf States - and Israel - if the West tried to “strangle” the people of Iraq. Then Bush told the United Nations General Assembly on October 1, that *after* the Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait steps could be taken “for all the states and the peoples of the region to settle the conflicts that divide the Arabs from Israel.” He ought to have said “... to settle all the conflicts related to the trouble in the triangle,” because the situation was becoming unbelievably complex. Only days earlier, the Syrian-backed Christian Lebanese President had ordered the predominantly Muslim Lebanese Army to blockade the competing army of the pro-Israeli Christian General Aoun, who operated a competing administration in an adjacent enclave, in a bid to seize power. Then, in October, Syria took advantage of the turmoil caused by Iraq’s occupation of Kuwait to “accept” an invitation from the president (which was a bit like Saudi Arabia’s ‘invitation’ to the United States) to help eliminate Aoun. The consequences of the divide-and-rule religion-based constitution which France had imposed on Lebanon to ensure continuity of Christian domination were bursting out everywhere.

During the weeks since Saudi Arabia’s “invitation” Bush had rapidly boosted the number of US ground troops in Saudi Arabia. During August-September 240,000 troops were deployed; 100,000 followed in October, and at the beginning of November he ordered an additional 150,000 to lift the total to 490,000. Responding to that build-up, the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA, which had published its remarkable astute assessment of the situation ten years earlier, passed a resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of US troops from the Persian Gulf, and criticized Bush for “reckless rhetoric” and “imprudent behaviour,” and a precipitous military buildup. It linked the Persian Gulf crisis to the Israeli-Palestinian issue, accused the US administration of double standards, and called for an international conference to resolve the crises.⁴¹ It was a bold and very responsible initiative which did not win very many friends in the US where people were much happier when they heard their president tell their troops, during a visit to the Gulf, that they were doing God’s work.

THE HAND OF OPPRESSION PEOPLE WILL REMEMBER

By the end of November the Bush administration was satisfied that it had enough firepower and troops on the ground to “roll” Iraq’s forces before them like a carpet - if they were not all left

dead on the side of the roads. On November 29 the compliant Security Council, with Yemen reluctantly acquiescing, authorized the use of force against Iraq unless it withdrew from Kuwait by Jan. 15, 1991. By that date the multinational coalition forces had risen to a strength of 700,000 troops, including 77 per cent or 540,000 US personnel and small numbers of British, French, Egyptians, Saudis and Syrians, plus token representation from the other five Arab League members. Hussein steadfastly refused to withdraw his 300,000 troops from Kuwait, which he maintained would remain a province of Iraq. When he was still defiant on January 15, the US command ordered the most intense bombing blitz in history to begin next morning. It was determined to show that Star Wars or no Star Wars the United States was master in *everyone's* backyard. It was a clear warning that if anyone else wanted a *military* confrontation in the Middle East over the question of Israel it could expect the same treatment. Iraq was to be the example extraordinary. It was not an exercise in recovery of territory. It was an exercise in total humiliation. Over the next few weeks, this sustained aerial bombardment, which had been named Operation Desert Storm, destroyed Iraq's air defenses before attacking its communications networks, government buildings, weapons plants, oil refineries, and bridges and roads. By mid-February the US shifted its air attacks to Iraq's forward ground forces in Kuwait and southern Iraq, destroying their fortifications and tanks. Then Operation Desert Sabre, a massive ground offensive, was launched on February 24, and by February 27 most of Iraq's elite Republican Guard units had been decimated. Bush declared a cease-fire for February 28. Iraq was swept by US activated uprisings against the government of Saddam Hussein, who managed to survive.

Kuwait's independence was restored, but the UN-sanctioned trade embargo on Iraq remained in force and a UN special commission was set up to oversee the destruction of Iraq's medium-range missiles and its chemical and nuclear weapons research facilities. There are no official figures for the Iraqi military operation. Estimates of the number of Iraqi troops in the Kuwait theatre range from 180,000 to 630,000, and estimates of Iraqi military deaths range from 8,000 to 100,000.⁴²

The United States at large seems totally oblivious to the blood bank of hatred which it generated during that exercise. Nine years later it wears its self-understanding on its sleeve as it still refuses to lift sanctions on humanitarian grounds, confident that by such an awesome demonstration of power it has eliminated any threat to Israel and therefore to its own stability through a domestic political backlash. It has confirmed repeatedly that it has no intention of withdrawing its forces. It is determined to rewrite history: to be the first imperial exploiter to grab Jerusalem and hang on to it. On April 10, 2000, a spokesperson for Defense Secretary William S. Cohen said reports that troop levels at Prince Sultan Air Base would be reduced were "complete hogwash." Spokesman Ken Bacon said: "We have no plans to reduce the number of airmen or planes at Prince Sultan Air Base," and Prince Sultan "expressed a strong desire for a continued US presence in Saudi Arabia at current levels."⁴³

In August 1996 the former Defense Secretary, William J. Perry, told the American Bar Association:

America is the world's sole remaining superpower. Our economic and political philosophy is ascendant worldwide. Our culture is the world's most influential, and the very openness of our society makes us a relatively easy target for those who do not like these facts or who disagree with what we stand for.⁴⁴

In a statement to the US Senate Arms Services Committee a month earlier he had said:

The gulf is the world's energy storehouse, home to two-thirds of the globe's proven oil reserves. At the same time, it is a volatile region. It is the reason we fought Desert Storm and the reason we sent forces to deter Saddam's [Hussein] threatened aggression in October 1994.

Our nation has vital interests in the Middle East and the Gulf. ... [A terrorist attack] ... does not change this reality. We cannot withdraw, for doing so would reward terrorists and endanger our nation. We must remain engaged in the region, take responsible action to ensure the safety of our servicemen and women abroad, and focus on accomplishing our mission.

During the five years since Desert Storm, we have maintained an increased military presence ... Yet even then we knew that the mission we are conducting in Saudi Arabia, so vital to us, is opposed by others. Certainly it is opposed by Iraq and Iran, since our forces in the region deter them from actions they might otherwise take. And our very presence in Saudi Arabia is opposed by some religious extremists in that country, some of whom are willing to use violent measures to drive us out.⁴⁵[Emphasis added.]

WAITING FOR THE NEXT MOVE: OSLO

So: back to Palestine. In spite of having actual police and army control over the territory claimed for the new state, after 1989 Israel was only able to suppress but not eliminate much of the disruption and some of the violence associated with the *intifada*, and it increasingly involved Palestinian violence against other rival Palestinian groups because of their unfulfilled expectations. Although the negative impact of the uprising on the economy was lessened, the measures needed to cope with the uprisings, combined with the budgetary cutbacks needed to reduce inflation, led to substantial unemployment among the Palestinians.

When Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990, the balance of power within the Middle East, already affected by the decline of the Soviet Union, was totally upset. The United States feared that the precarious coalition of countries that it had tied to it would fall apart if Israel aggravated the situation either by heavy handed tactics against the Palestinians or by provoking, or responding to provocation by Iraq. If it was going to isolate Iraq, the US had to be able to maintain the facade that the ultimate aim of Iraq's program was not to apply pressure on Israel, but territorial expansion. Israel responded very carefully and avoided direct involvement in the diplomatic manoeuvring. Hussein's policy at the outbreak of war was to try to break the unity and resolve of the US-led coalition. He decreed a holy war against the United States, called on all Muslims to unite against the Satanic enemy, and warned that in this "mother of all battles"

the Americans would drown in “pools of their own blood.” He carried out his threat that if Iraq was attacked Soviet-made Scud surface-to-surface missiles would be launched at Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Most fell harmlessly, none contained the poison gas warheads Hussein had threatened to use, and after the first days many were destroyed in flight by American Patriot antimissile missiles. If Israel had responded in the heavy handed manner which was its usual practice, the public reaction in several of the Arab countries would most likely have caused the US coalition to fall apart, with Syria and Egypt likely to have been the first countries to mount an attack on Israel.

Late in 1991, when a new round of peace talks was set in motion, negotiations seemed to be ending in deadlock. In the circumstances that was only to be expected, but soon after his Labour-dominated coalition won power in the summer of 1992, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin embarked on a personal mission to redraw the political map of the Middle East, strengthening the negotiating teams which met with Arab representatives from time to time. However the stalemate continued into 1993 despite the ongoing “peace process” talks that were launched in October 1991 in Madrid and later moved to Washington.

In the mean time the interfaith crisis in the cauldron of the Balkans was beginning to simmer again. A referendum on the question of independence in Bosnia in March 1992 was boycotted by the Serbian minority who then declared their own republic in April; the United Nations admitted Bosnia-Herzegovina as a member in May and applied sanctions against Serbia soon after. The program of ethnic cleansing in which both Croats and Bosnians were replaced by Serb settlers began in that region in July, and a proposal prepared by the Vance-Owen negotiators for ten provinces (three each for the Muslims, Croats and Serbs and one mixed) was published in October, as one of a number of peace plans in quick succession;

Then, by late February 1993, Rabin realized that no real progress was being made in Washington in discussions with the Syrians and the Palestinians. An agreement had nearly been reached with Jordan, but King Hussein was not prepared to settle with Israel until parallel agreements had been made with Syria and the Palestinians. Rabin and his Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres, therefore decided, together with a small number of trusted officials, that it was time to open secret backdoor negotiations with Arafat. Rabin reasoned that since decisions were being made by Arafat in Tunis and not by the Palestinian leaders in Jerusalem, it made more sense to deal with him directly, especially at a time when he was being written off by many of his former friends and supporters because his administration had been able to show very little progress towards statehood. The Israelis expected that in such a situation he would be more pliable and likely to make less demands.

With peace at stake, Rabin and Arafat both sought a credible third party, and contact was made with the Norwegian Foreign Minister Johan Jorgen Holst. Rabin delegated Peres to oversee the Israeli interests, and Arafat nominated one of his veteran political advisers, Mahmoud Abbas. Neither the US nor other members of the Israeli government were aware of the talks. The Palestinian, Arab, and Israeli delegations, deadlocked in negotiations in

Washington, had no inkling either until rumours appeared in the Israeli and Palestinian media. For five months, from April to the end of August, Israeli and Arab politicians and diplomats continued talks in Washington while the Norwegian-hosted talks took place secretly in Oslo. The rumours led the pro-Iranian Hezbollah fundamentalists to launch rocket attacks, possibly with Syrian support, against northern Israel with the aim of derailing an Israeli-Palestinian agreement. Rabin ordered a fearsome retaliation in kind. Some 300,000 southern Lebanese were temporarily displaced and fled north before returning to their villages.

The Oslo talks were officially revealed in late August, and on September 13, in Washington, with President Clinton as host, Rabin and Arafat met and shook hands. Peres and Abbas signed the Declaration of Principles, which outlined the process and timing of self-rule for the Palestinians. By the end of October, detailed negotiations for the implementation of the Gaza-Jericho agreement and phased Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank were under way. Discussions for Palestinian autonomy, including the civilian takeover of municipal and policing functions, were held in Taba, Egypt. When the accords went into effect on October 13, Israel pledged to release more than 10,000 Palestinians still held in Israeli jails. Later that month Israel eased long-standing travel restrictions, allowing Palestinians in the occupied territories to enter Israel, Jerusalem in particular. In December the last 200 Palestinians exiled to Lebanon in 1992 were allowed to return. However tensions increased in the occupied territories following the signing of the September 13 accords, and three moderate Palestinians were assassinated. Riots followed in both the West Bank and Gaza Strip. On November 9, Rabin met with three leaders representing the settlers. He promised not to abandon them when Palestinian self-rule took effect.

The international response to the Israeli-Palestinian accords was dramatic and swift. The US pledged \$2 billion; \$400 million was promised by EC donors; and the World Bank vowed to raise \$475 million annually for 10 years. However efforts to meet the December 13 deadline for implementing the accords were unsuccessful. Key issues included Israel's insistence on controlling the borders with Jordan and Egypt and the size of the Jericho area to be under Palestinian control. Talks continued, but progress was slow until the end of the year.

In March, 1994, Benymin Netanyahu, a vociferous opponent of the Israeli-Palestinian accords, took office as leader of Likud but in spite of that Israel began to reap the dividends of making peace with the PLO, although very little of the benefit was apparent to the Palestinians. The economy lifted as various economic boycotts were lifted: first by India, then China, and new relations were established with Indonesian President Suharto in Jakarta. That was a significant development because Indonesia has the largest Muslim population in the world. Negotiation began with important European-US multinationals and with several Arab Gulf states. In mid-November Peres announced that a peace agreement with Jordan was close to being initialed. At the opening of the 1993 UN General Assembly, for the first time since Israel became a member of the United Nations, no Arab delegation challenged its membership. It was the Christians of Yugoslavia who were about to be challenged instead. An international

conference held in Istanbul in April, 1994, called for condemnation of Serbian aggression against its Muslim population.

On November 7, 1994, some 500 years after the expulsion of Jews from Spain by King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella, Spain's King Juan Carlos and Queen Sophia visited Israel as part of a program of reconciliation, and on December 29 the Vatican and Israel announced that they would establish diplomatic relations. However Hamas opposed the peace accords. Israel had imprisoned its founder, Sheikh Ahmad Yasin, in 1991 and arrested hundreds of Hamas activists. It denounced the agreement and, with the Islamic Jihad group, subsequently intensified its terror campaign by using suicide bombers. The PLO and Israel responded with even harsher security and punitive measures, but Arafat sought to include Hamas in the political process by appointing Hamas members to some leadership positions in the Palestinian Authority.

The political temperature between Israel and the Palestinians has since soared as deadlines for successive stages of development have passed without results, and especially as Israel has continued establishing new villages on occupied land. When Arafat, reflecting the community frustration, threatened to declare an independent state without waiting for Israeli agreement it looked as if a critical situation might develop, but he came under a lot of pressure from foreign governments not to act, and the situation remained reasonably stable.

However a crisis soon erupted from a different quarter. When the Soviet Union ceased to exist in 1991, the new state, called the Russian Federation, set off on the road to democracy and a market economy without any clear conception of how to complete such a transformation in the world's largest country. Like most of the other former republics, it entered independence in a state of serious disorder and economic chaos, and it was for that reason that Iraq could not call for any political support when the United States wanted it out of Kuwait. The country emerged with formidable ethnic problems owing to the fact that it had formed an empire before 1917 and many of the autonomous ethnic regions that were part of the empire no longer wished to be under Russian hegemony. The Russian Orthodox church has reestablished itself as a force in the moral guidance of reborn Russia, but there are many other religions among the minority groups, particularly Islam, which are becoming strong again after decades of Soviet repression. There has been a decentralizing flow of power to the periphery of Russia that accelerated after the union's breakup. In the early 1990s it became clear that Russia would have difficulty ruling its numerous ethnic minorities as many of them sought to take advantage of the new political freedoms of the era. Tartarstan and Chechnya proved particularly difficult to accommodate. Moscow agreed to an advantageous treaty that gave Tartarstan considerable economic and political autonomy, but immediately after the 1991 elections Chechnya, under Premier Dudayev, preferring recognition as a Muslim state, and yearning to be an effective part of *dār al-islām*, declared its independence.⁴⁶

However Dudayev's aggressively nationalistic, anti-Russian policies soon began to undermine the republic's economy and, Russian observers claimed, transformed the region into a gangsters' paradise. In 1993 the Chechen parliament attempted to organize a referendum on

public confidence in Dudayev on the grounds that he had failed to consolidate Chechnya's independence. He retaliated by dissolving parliament and other organs of power. Then, beginning in early summer 1994, About the time of the Istanbul conference on Serbia, armed Chechen opposition groups with Russian military and financial backing tried repeatedly, but without success, to depose Dudayev by force. In late November, Russian President Boris Yeltsin issued an ultimatum to Dudayev and the opposition to lay down their arms. Russian tanks and troops entered Chechnya to quell the rebellion in December but found the tough mountain people an even match.⁴⁷ Fierce fighting, most of it centred in Grozny, continued, for five years, until Russian forces, still under periodic heavy attack, secured the area. The people of the Muslim world community were divided over how to handle the crisis while it was a civil war, but once the Russians invaded it was a different matter. The international Muslim community rallied and vigorously supported the Chechnyan defenders. Large numbers of volunteers soon arrived from the countries of the Middle East and North Africa. From Russia's point of view, access to the large oil reserves of the region had been put at risk. From the United States point of view its dealings with the new free enterprise capital-hungry Russian Federation were far more important than the human rights of a Muslim community, and the US supported Russia in the conflict. That irritated Muslim communities in America, but there was little they could do except protest.

In the meantime, a new constitution for Bosnia-Herzegovina was introduced in 1995. Some 15,000 fighters from Saudi Arabia and Iran who went to the support of the embattled Bosnians but they were soon forced out by United States pressure. On October 14, Velika Srbija, the Greater Serbia Journal, Belgrade, published a lengthy statement by the Serb Deputy Prime Minister, Voislav Seselj setting out a blueprint for Cleansing Kosovo. It was very ominous indeed. Then the Dayton Peace Accord, to be enforced by 60,000 IFOR troops, was signed in December. In spite of Holbrooke-Milosevic talks in February, 1996, the program of oppression against the Muslims, who were always referred to as "Ethnic Albanians," backed up by propaganda in which some Orthodox clergy were involved, continued. In March a consortium of eleven Arab and nine European Union countries agreed to arm the Bosnian Federal Army to offset the power of the well-armed Serbian army, the fourth biggest in Europe, and a few weeks later mass graves of 8,000 Bosnian Muslims were discovered.

In view of the continuing turmoil in the adjacent regions of the Middle East and the Balkans, the United States was eager to strengthen its position with additional bases, and in April 1996, only a few months after entering into agreements with both the PLO and Egypt to support Palestinian demands for autonomy, Jordan agreed to permit the use of its bases for surveillance flights over Iraq. However Jordan's relations with Israel were severely strained in June because of an incident involving attacks on Jordanians, and a major incident on the Temple Mount on September 27, in which three Palestinians were killed by police gunfire and more than one hundred were wounded, strained relations to the point that Hussein threatened to withdraw from the peace process in October. However, subsequently, in December, he played a key role in negotiating Israel's withdrawal from Hebron and a month later Clinton agreed to upgrade the

US-Jordan defence relationship, and approved a \$300 million military aid package. Relations seemed to be on an even keel for a time, but in January 1997 Israel insisted on approving new Israeli settlements in East Jerusalem, then in March it reneged on a land transfer agreement and relations soured again. A series of suicide bomb attacks were carried out by Palestinians against Israel in July, and that became the justification for Israel to withhold a tax revenue payment from the Palestinian Authority. The situation could not be described as other than a state of mistrust from then until October 23, 1988, when the Wye River Accords were signed and Palestine was *promised* 40 per cent of the West Bank under an autonomy arrangement. But factions which wanted nothing less than independence and rejected the Wye River agreement caused another deferment six days later, with another suicide bomber attack. In spite of that Israel agreed in November to proceed with the hand over of ten small towns and 18 villages.

In continuing information manipulation much like that of the 1930s Chamberlain era, the US and its NATO allies were desperately trying to isolate each of the interfaith crises which were running in the region which covers the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Middle East to avoid the world at large recognizing the common threads running through them. From March 16-18, 1999, a summit meeting of Kosovo's religious leaders, the first ever, was convened by the US-based Interfaith Appeal of Conscience Foundation in an effort to find a solution to the crisis without the need for NATO intervention. Leaders of the Serbian Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Muslim communities and a representative of the WCC participated.

On March 24, acting on the basis that Yugoslavia had refused to sign the Rambouillet Agreement and that negotiations had therefore reached the end of the track, NATO began its bombing campaign. That was in spite of the fact that many observers believed that for Yugoslavia to sign it was tantamount to surrendering national sovereignty, and that there was still room for negotiation. The Russian Orthodox Church immediately expressed its support for Serbia and its sister Orthodox Church. The from May 26-26, with the war dragging on and masses of Muslims in Kosovo being converted into refugees, an Ecumenical Consultation was held in Budapest, Hungary, at which the Catholic Bishops' Conferences of Europe was also represented. In its report the WCC was again at pains to stress that it was not a religious war and, in line with virtually all Western media reporting, it used the expression "ethnic cleansing" to describe the slaughter and forced refugee marches, and its references to Christians reaching out to assist Muslim refugees seemed rather laboured.

A few days later, on May 31, the head of the Greek Orthodox Church condemned the NATO bombing and said the West thinks that civilization ends where the Orthodox Church begins. Then, on June 3: came the first signs of an admission from the Serbian Orthodox Church that it had actually supported the Serbian forces in the Bosnian war, but there was no reference to the war in Kosovo and, on the same day, Russian church officials repulsed moves by the Pope to arrange a visit to Russia. The, immediately after the NATO bombing stopped in June, the Serbian Church expressed concern that its holy sites in Kosovo were to be left 'unprotected' after the withdrawal. That meant, in effect, that they were in areas to be controlled by the

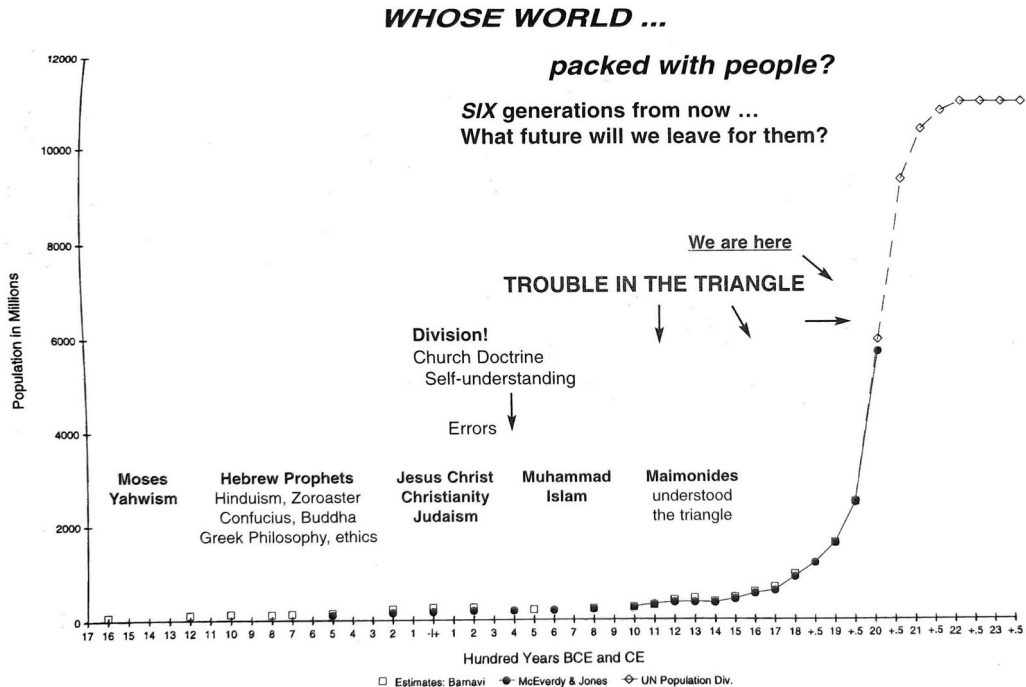
Kosovo forces and may be subject to retaliation. In fact they were not, in spite of the fact that mosques of major significance had been razed by Serbian forces.

Subsequently, with the three crises running in parallel, progress on the question of Palestine has been a matter of fits and starts, with factions on both sides of the divide equally eager to undermine every new agreement. If a Palestinian group does not take action to undermine the present process in an attempt to steer it back to full independence, an Israeli group does, in an effort to prevent any hand-over at all. But in October 2000, with talks stalled between the PNC and Israel on a number of issues: the exact areas to be transferred to Palestinian control, access from one zone to another, the right of return and compensation for refugees, and the final status of the Old City of East Jerusalem, the Leader of the Israeli Opposition, Ariel Sharon, has lifted the crisis to new heights. There is fear of all out war between Israel and at least Lebanon and Syria, and possibly other states as well, after Sharon made a highly provocative visit to the Temple Mount on September 28, tightly guarded by an Israeli security cordon reported to be about 60 police. The right-wing Israeli opposition leader who may soon join the Israeli government in coalition, led a group of Israeli legislators onto the bitterly contested Temple Mount to assert Jewish claims to the area which is critical to both faith communities. Prior to 1967 it had been under Muslim administration for about 1,400 years. His visit, described as a “photo opportunity”, triggered a renewal of the *intifada* with devastating casualties among the Palestinian demonstrators which led the Security Council to urge that such brutal repression should not be used, and to a round of shuttle diplomacy by the UN Secretary General, Koffi Anan, and Clinton in a bid to prevent a slide to war.

The new millennium has hardly started – on the basis of Bede’s dating system, anyway – and Maimonides’ vision of the Messianic Age seems to be receding further and further in to the distance, and with a dynamically increasing world population many people despair of the way ahead. It certainly calls for clear-headed consideration and a special effort to ensure that *no power* in the Western world – the amorphous Christian gel – takes precipitate political, economic or military measures in the middle of the crisis in a bid to secure its position of privilege.

The United States has very few options. It is still tied firmly to all three competing parties in the crisis. More firmly than ever. It has forces in Saudi Arabia and in Jordan but it cannot deploy them against the Arab parties to the present crisis or all hell will let loose. The 1973-74 oil embargo will be made to look like a mere curtain-raiser. In fact all three interest groups which are dependent upon the insecurity of the United States to achieve their aims have got the tiger by its tail and will not let it go. Clinton is quite unable to force Israel to make concessions which will satisfy the Arabs only four weeks from an American Presidential election in which he is not a contestant, but in which his anointed successor, Al Gore, is vigorously waving his Christian banner, supported by a running mate who is equally blatantly waving his Jewish banner. They are ranged against the son of the man who, as president, told American troops in the Gulf War that they were doing God’s work in subjugating Saddam Hussein and Iraq. Similarly Clinton and his aides cannot suppress the demands of the Palestinians because the

pressure cooker is now at such pressure that it will blow its top if he tries to use force, and it will almost certainly take with it all of the oil supplies in Arab and other Muslim controlled countries. His only option is to very promptly take steps to dismantle the trouble in the triangle, and in the circumstances that is not going to be a quick process. So to another chart.



THE CHALLENGE OF TOMORROW

Six generations ago, in 1850, the total world population was 1.2 billion. It is now 6 billion, and in another six generations, when it is leveling off to the expected long term plateau, there will probably be about 11 billion. We are little more than half way to that point. Even two generations ago, in 1950, the population was only 2.5 billion.

It is too easy to think of finding solutions to today's series of crises just for today. If we think and plan that way, we think and plan only in terms of preserving or improving on our present level of economic and social privilege, and that is not a basis from which we will leave future generations a legacy to be proud of. Sheer weight of numbers will ensure that the world's broken relationships are not repaired and the world will be left to blunder from one worsening crisis to another. The world was, relatively, a sleepy little hollow during the two thousand years that it took for the evolution of all of the world's major religions, and in particular the three

parallel Abrahamic partner-faiths which now comprise the very troubled triangle. From the facts of history which we have traced it may not seem to have been very sleepy, but everything is relative. Even if we extend that period of development by another five hundred years, to take in the life and times of Maimonides whose contribution to our understanding of the triangle was of such importance, and take in the Crusades as well, it was still relatively sleepy, with only 360 million people scattered unevenly over our world. Humanity has learned a lot about how to be inhuman, and inhumane, since that time.

Planning, either for the present or the future, was not an issue our forebears thought they had to bother much about. We have got to do better. As we have seen, serious economic and social planning in the Western world only began during the years of the Great Depression, in the 1930s, and there was great resistance even then. And cooperation across community or international boundaries didn't bother them much either. Their most serious concern was to get ahead of the other fellow. To compete. To preferentially grab all of the available resources to protect their own bailiwick. And they did not do a very good job of reflecting their religious beliefs in the preparations they made for their successors to inherit the Messianic Age, either. They are both matters which we must give a lot more attention, and they are closely linked. They are the two issues above all others which will determine whether humanity can live in peace and harmony when the world approaches its population plateau or not.

Twenty five years ago the infant Group of 77, at only its third meeting of ministers, issued the Manila Declaration calling for the world's great powers to work together with the smaller powers through the United Nations to develop a New International Economic Order (NIEO) as had been promised at the peak of the 1973-74 oil crisis. The effects of the manipulation of the oil embargo were just beginning to wane after having devastated the economies of many struggling countries, and they were in urgent need of funds for basic requirements including food and shelter – quite apart from capital for infrastructure development or income generating projects. They enjoyed cooperation from some western countries, notably Australia and Canada, and from the Soviet Bloc, but they were excluded from virtually all trade and finance forums because of the policies of the great and powerful of the Western world, and they were simply expected to welcome every resource extractor who came knocking on their doors offering a minimum return for whatever lay below the surface of their ground. The declaration showed their frustration at getting a raw deal and implied that they were prepared to act together to force realistic trade and financial adjustments. There is, in reality, little that they could have done then, or can do now, except withhold their resources on a coordinated basis until it hurts.

The G77 statement noted the economic situation of the developing countries and the results achieved since the adoption of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade which contrasted with the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the Non-Aligned Countries, and expressed “deep disappointment” that there had been very few concrete results and that “the developed countries have generally not implemented the policy measures and fulfilled the commitments undertaken [which were] designed to improve the situation of the developing countries,” especially the least developed

and most seriously affected countries whose position had worsened during this period. It declared that international economic conditions – particularly world inflations, monetary disorders, recession in the highly industrialized regions, the appearance of new forms of economic discrimination and coercion, certain forms of action by trans-national corporations and the revival of protectionist trends in the developed countries – have seriously affected the economies of all developing countries:

It noted that some developing countries, the oil producers, had continued to make major efforts to provide other developing countries with financial and other assistance, including their food and energy, and deplored the unjust and discriminatory trade regulations and the obstacles which developed countries imposed on developing countries, especially in regard to access to modern technology. It stressed the urgent need to bring about radical changes in economic relations in order to establish new relations based on justice and equity, “principally through the exploitation and marketing of their natural resources and wealth.”

The G77 reaffirmed its conviction that “the implementation of a new international economic order is essential for the promotion of justice and the maintenance of peace and international co-existence, owing to the ever-increasing interdependence of nations and peoples;” and emphasized “the close solidarity of all the developing countries which has made it possible for them to evolve a unified position, as well as the importance of harmonizing positions which help to enhance the irreversible process they have created in international economic relations and to consolidate and strengthen their unity and solidarity through joint concerted action, thus laying the foundation for the new international economic order and for the adoption of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.”

A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER, BUT WHOSE VERSION?

The G77 also declared again that “international economic relations should be based on full respect for the principle of equality among States and non-intervention in internal affairs, on respect for different economic and social systems and on the right of each State to exercise full and permanent sovereignty over its natural resources and all its economic activities.”⁴⁸ Of course the group also threatened to use its coordinated muscle through withholding resource supplies, but it could have saved its breath. Its members were so dependent on the major Western powers in other respects that if they tried it, at that stage, they would have been more seriously affected, and there was no end to the divide and rule mechanisms which could be used against them. Nothing happened. Since then, as already noted, the capacity of the commodity groups which had already been established has been weakened and channelled through the World Trade Organization.

But in addition, in 1995 the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) began drafting highly restrictive proposals which were intended to be obligatory for any country trading internationally or accepting any foreign investment. The Multilateral Agreement on Investments, MAI, would have seriously undermined the sovereignty of the governments of

small nations, making it virtually impossible for them to obtain redress for damages, losses or disability caused by the activities of a foreign investor. It would have required them to provide guarantees of certain services, to forfeit normal rights of control and intervention, and required them to grant a foreign investor the right to sue the government for any action which the investor deemed to have undermined its profits, and it would have been binding for twenty years. The preparation of the draft agreement was not disclosed to non-member governments until a very advanced stage of planning by the OECD group, representing only 29 countries, and it was only aborted due to sustained campaigns by major consumer protection groups and lobbying by developing countries. It was an incredible attempt by the major OECD trading nations to permanently subjugate small countries to the will of foreign investors and prevent future cooperation between resource producer countries. It would have aggravated the problem of capital flows from one country to another and the repatriation of disproportionate profits, and it would have exacerbated the crisis of economic and cultural globalization. The authorities and the countries which were involved in the proposal either totally disregarded the antagonism which it would have generated, together with industrial disputation and social dislocation in the countries affected, or, if they took it into account they must have assumed their ability to crush any such dissent. Hardly a basis for stability and harmony between nations as the world approaches that population plateau.

If the Western powers were serious about a review of the international economic order, about making room for mixed economies or any alternative to the existing system of investment and capital control, or the redistribution of wealth for infrastructure and services development, or about the sharing of technology and the enhancement of food production and industrial capacity with the aim of encouraging more uniform economic and social development they could have demonstrated it years ago. They have had the examples of OPEC's profit sharing programs, joint investment, alternative funding programs such as those offered by the Islamic banking system, plus, of course, the barter programs undertaken by the Soviet Bloc, China, Japan and a number of other countries. However every effort is made by the major powers to prevent the operation of such programs or to undermine and seek to have terminated those which already exist. And at the same time every effort is made to justify a continuation of the existing relationships, in *relative terms*. This is illustrated by the release of a World Bank report on economic growth research which purports to show that *income* for the poor rises on a one-to basis with *overall growth* using recognized funding procedures. Even if that is accepted at face value it ignores the consequences of gap-widening in overall growth. An abstract of the report read:

Income of the poor rises one-for-one with overall growth. This general relationship between income of the bottom fifth of the population and per capita GDP holds in a sample of 80 countries covering four decades. Although there is a fair amount of variation around this general relationship, a number of popular views about the poverty-growth relationship are not true. The effect of growth on income of the poor is no different in poor countries than in rich ones. Incomes of the poor do not fall more than proportionately during economic crises.

The poverty-growth relationship has not changed in recent years. We also show that policy-induced growth is as good for the poor as it is for the overall economy. Openness to foreign trade benefits the poor to the same extent that it benefits the whole economy. Good rule of law and fiscal discipline are other factors that benefit the poor to the same extent as the whole economy. Avoidance of high inflation in fact is “super-pro-poor”: that is, high inflation is more harmful to the income of the poor than to GDP overall. In contrast we find no evidence that formal democratic institutions or public spending on health and education have systematic effects on incomes of the poor. These findings leave plenty of room for further work, because they emphasize the fact that we know very little about what systematically causes changes in the distribution of income.⁴⁹

That report, which has the effect of further entrenching the existing economic order, was released only three months after the release of joint proposals for poverty relief, *A Better World for All*, by the OECD, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) with the endorsement of the UN General Secretary, which had drawn trenchant criticism from a consortium of 80 international Non-Government Organizations. They said “the document is presented as a new consensus between the United Nations, the OECD, the IMF and the World Bank, thereby reinforcing Northern perspectives and *disempowering* the South while undermining the concept of political inclusiveness that defines the UN.” It promotes an image of poor people living only in the South who will be grateful for assistance, as opposed to empowering people living in poverty to demand their rights, and social development can only be achieved in *an enabling economic and political environment*, and it proposes to eradicate poverty with more of the same medicine – despite the recent failure of these very same policies in East Asia.

Taking a positive approach, the NGOs called on UN Member States to analyze the root causes of poverty and gender inequality within the current macro-economic framework of globalization, to reverse the decline in development assistance, to set a target date of 2005 to meet the UN target of 0.7 per cent of national budgets, to pledge immediate and full debt cancellation for the poorest countries so that resources can be released for investment in social development, and to introduce a Currency Transfer Tax (CTT) to counter the instability of global capital transactions and to mobilize further resources for social development. They said that goals already set cannot be achieved if developing countries are marginalized in the decision-making process of international institutions, and that national efforts to eradicate poverty cannot succeed without “an international enabling environment.”⁵⁰ They were quite right, but they could have also said that if the major trading nations were serious about overcoming famine and serious food shortages, or about equity of trading, and about security of relationships – peace – they could adopt a preferential weighted resource trading scheme which would guarantee minimum basic supplies of essential food and raw materials for every country, while retaining the opportunity for competitive free trade in the remaining areas of commodity supplies. Such a scheme would operate within the framework of an internationally managed barter scheme, preferably the United Nations. It would require a moderately large organization

to implement it, but that is hardly a problem. The World Trade Organization or the UN Development Program could be easily adapted to meet its requirements. The major consideration is that such a scheme would virtually eliminate the need for a World Food Aid Program, except in the worst of emergency situations; and it would narrow the gap progressively between the most privileged countries and the most disadvantaged ones referred to in the Manila Declaration. But: it would require the major trading nations to sacrifice a sliver of their trading privileges.

A proposal for one such initiative was drawn up by the author in 1975 and circulated on a restricted basis. It was sufficiently well received for the author to be invited to present it at the Fourth Assembly of the World Conference on Religion and Peace, in Nairobi, 1984. However, the threat to their country's position of privilege was of sufficient concern to certain participants that they threatened to withdraw if the proposal was referred by the commission which considered it to the plenary session. It was not referred. It is set out, in its untouched form, as an appendix at the end of this chapter.

LET'S LOOK AHEAD

Surely, in such circumstances it is vital that we think about the role or purpose of systematic religion because the attitude which religious communities take to that question greatly influences their ability to live in harmony with others and affects whether the world will ever be able to enjoy either Maimonides' expectation of a world living in harmony and in homage to God or the vision splendid of the Revelation and the New Jerusalem.

Relationships and conduct are the key considerations in religious development. Not liturgy and ritual. Not adherence to doctrine and dogma. The first relationship is that between God and humanity. The second is that between one human or community of humans and another human or community of humans. The third is the relationship between humanity and all other units of creation whether living organisms or inanimate substances – broadly speaking, resources. Broken relationships have brought us to the point at which the church's self-understanding must be dismantled if justice, harmony and world peace and stability are ever to be achieved.

Challenges to the church's theology and self-understanding have been building up ever since their evolving Christology led to Christians being ejected from the synagogue about two generations after Christ's ministry. The way in which the challenges have built up to the present time is the best demonstration that people can look for of the nature of divine intervention, guidance and judgment in the affairs of humanity. Why has this not become apparent before? Because the church's self-understanding has involved an obstinate refusal to recognize prophecy which was generated anywhere other than within the church and an equally obstinate determination to reject all challenges to that self-understanding. All that the church could generate was a din so oppressive and so repressive that it further undermined human capacity and inter-religious relations and strengthened its resistance in such a manner that to crack it

required the cumulative weight of each of the progressive challenges. To understand how we have finally reached that point we must go back to Abraham or beyond and work forward.

We must examine the primary purpose or the role of systematic religion. Is it to achieve ‘personal salvation or redemption’, ‘communal salvation or redemption’ or ‘a system of ethics or conduct which will enable us to live together in peace’? I believe history shows us that the first is strictly a matter between each individual who each carry a “book” slung around their necks - no one can carry someone else’s for them - and God. I also believe that a person or a community is most unlikely to achieve, or to receive by the Grace of God, either the first or second without a deliberate effort to achieve the third. So to our two books of history summarized in the three charts on pages 1833, 1834 and 1835.

Several factors have to be noted.

First. Although it was the World Zionist Organization, as the precursor of the State of Israel, which actually transgressed against the people of Palestine and triggered the fulfilment of the Qur’anic prophecy of the Night Journey, it did so under enormous pressure from the church and the Western Christian powers. However it is now the people of Israel who sit there, totally unrepentant for the trauma caused by their *continuing* transgression, determined to retain the privileges which they sees as just, and due to it both as a measure of the Covenant of Sinai and in recompense for its history of subjugation.

The cause of that pressure was the church’s self-understanding and the policies which have been pursued as a consequence of it, which had, as already noted, precipitated Muhammad’s ministry, the establishment of Islam and the prophecy of the Night Journey which has now been fulfilled. Go back one step and they, in turn, are a consequence of the Trinitarian creeds which the church formulated and imposed on the world.

The church is therefore primarily responsible, together with the most influential nations of the Western Christian world, for the fact that the people of the two faiths are in bitter conflict in the most critical region in the world.

Second. Although the world expects the State of Israel and the world wide Jewish communities which support it to resolve the impasse by settling the territorial questions of Palestine and Jerusalem, it is the church and the countries of the Christian world which must acknowledge responsibility for the impasse and take the initiative to resolve it.

Third. When certain essential steps have been taken Maimonides’ vision will start to come into focus.

Step one is for the church to acknowledge that it was a major factor in the abuses of the colonial era and Europe’s anti-Semitism which led to the rise of Zionism and the crisis in the Middle East.

Step two is for the church to announce a series of acknowledgements:

1. that the ministry of the Prophet Muhammad and the establishment of Islam were the consequence of divine inspiration;

2. that there are continuing joint roles for Judaism, Christianity and Islam in achieving the reality of the Messianic Age as anticipated by Maimonides;
3. that all three faiths are parallel streams of Yahwism which came into separate existence because of errors in the formulation of the church's early theology and the consequences of its self-understanding;
4. that the Doctrine of the Trinity therefore is not and never has been valid; and
5. that it is prepared to reassess Messianic theology in collaboration with Jewish and Muslim scholars.

In addition the church must recognize that there are two - not one - covenants in place together with as special charge, or task. The first covenant clearly places corporate or community responsibility squarely on the shoulders of the Jewish community to perpetually guide humanity towards a clearer understanding of its relationship with God and that in doing so it has acted, and will continue to act, as a catalyst in whatever function God may require of it. The second covenant places personal responsibility on all people of the book - all three books - to respond in their personal conduct and in the way in which they exercise all of their rights and take advantage of all of their opportunities in accordance with the guidelines of the Gospel. That responsibility applies equally to Muslims as to Christians in view of the Qur'anic confirmation that Jesus is Messiah and that the Gospel was given to him so that *all* might live by it. It would be inconsistent with that Islamic teaching if the Gospel were to be relegated to a lesser status. Similarly it will apply equally to Jews when, in Maimonides' understanding the Messiah is recognized, and it takes its place alongside, and complements the Torah, which it was never intended to supersede.

Furthermore, both covenants involve a "penal clause" component as well as a promise and an obligation. The penal clause of the New Covenant has already been put into effect through the dismantling of the imperial colonial system which we have traced from chapter 20 onwards. It is now being invoked again, through the catalytic process of the crisis in the Middle East, for which Israel is the focal point, in the dismantling of the current system of economic imperialism which was "perfected" by the United States. The special task with which Islam was charged is to lead, all believers in the first and second stage expositions of the Book back to strict adherence to the worship of God as such.

Step three, concurrent with the second, is for the church to set about campaigning to redress the abuses which have been noted in step 1. This must involve initiating or supporting proposals for a New International Economic Order with the aim that reports of regional famines, perpetual poverty and mass refugee marches will in future be found only in history books. Three initiatives can be taken very promptly which do not even require the time to plan and implement the restructuring of global capital. They can each be put into effect promptly and without touching the structure of global capital. The first is the Tobin Tax on international currency transactions which was proposed in 1978 and which is widely supported by Third World countries and responsible CSOs and NGOs.⁵¹ The second is the introduction of a modified or

needs-weighted resource trading scheme such as that set out in appendix A. The third is the cancellation of Third World debt which has been the subject of intense discussions for two or three years and to which the Western Powers have paid much lip service but nothing more. Those three measures would stabilize world currencies, which is exactly what currency manipulators do not want, ameliorate the effects of chronic capital instability, and facilitate equality of trade opportunities. They are all principles to which the Western powers *say* they subscribe, but which, when it pleases them, they simply ignore. With those three basic programs in place the world's leaders can then devote the energy required to restructure the global capital system - if the rest of the world can bring sufficient pressure to bear to force them.

This straightforward series of steps will totally reshape relations in the Middle East. First, they will reassure the world Jewish community that anti-Semitism is no longer an issue and they will therefore enable the State of Israel to resolve the territorial questions. Second, for the mainly Muslim Arab community they will offset a history of economic exploitation backed up by military might and end an era of anti-Western bitterness. With all three Abrahamic faiths then on the same wavelength humanity will be enabled to move towards Maimonides' vision of the Messianic Age.

But the whole process has got to be out in the open under the gaze of the whole world. The church cannot quietly engineer a subtle shift in emphasis by a few theologians working in a back room and hoping for the trickle down theory to work. Neither can it try restating the Doctrine of the Trinity in terms of modalism or different manifestations of God, even if such thinking has regained some currency in recent years under the influence of the trouble in the triangle. It was, after all, condemned as a heresy about 260 CE!

But what happens if the church declines to go along this path?

Well, this is where we come to the *Book of Revelation*. A careful reading of Revelation 21:9-14, 22:1-5 shows quite clearly that the achievement of the vision splendid requires the collaboration of Jews and Christians.

It appears to have been written about the time that Christology was taking on the forms which were progressively enshrined in doctrines, creeds and dogma and while the northern Hellenizing Christians were smarting from being expelled from the Synagogues. It gives us an appreciation of the vision splendid for humanity which is possible if Christians deliberately work in collaboration with Judaism and, by implication, Islam as parallel instruments of God's Will to achieve the relationships illustrated by the Law and the Gospel. But it also gives us an appreciation of the contrasting degradation of humanity which will result from broken relationships if we reject God's Will and continue on the divisive basis of the church's long-established self-understanding.

Every indication is that *if* the church and the amorphous Christian gel of the Western World continue along their present paths we shall very soon see the vision horrible triggered by the crises in the Middle East. **If** we allow that to happen interfaith relations will be dragged through the mud and the rest of the world will gang up on Christian countries which are currently

intimately linked to the US-Israeli Alliance. The consequences of that scenario would obviously be dramatic. The church would become irrelevant and it would be left to the Jewish and Muslim communities to work their way towards a new Messianic understanding out of the rubble of the Middle East and the trauma that has been imposed on them. That new understanding would result from enlightened study of the Qur'an, the Hebrew Prophets, the Gospels and Maimonides' teaching, but *not* contemporary Christology.

However there is an alternative.

While the church may decline to act or be unable to act because of its self-generated inertia there is every possibility that the people of the State of Israel and their supporters world wide may not wish to experience the vision horrible. Certainly there are extremist religious groups pushing the nation to the edge of the precipice because of an understanding of the State of Israel which is just as erroneous as mainstream Christian self-understanding. They believe that the Covenant of Sinai is still in place, that their return to Israel is in accordance with God's promise, and that it is. They overlook the fact that the Covenant of Sinai is like any other covenant in the sense that it is a two-way contract: a promise *from* God and an obligation *to* God, and that it has a penal clause as well as an umbrella. (Chapter 6.) It has already been applied a few times - most recently in the 1940s - but there is no reason why it should not be applied again. A careful reading of Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Zechariah and Malachi should not leave any of us in any doubt about that. And the consistency between Zechariah and Revelation is remarkable. However there is reason to be optimistic that responsible Jewish leadership in the Diaspora, acknowledging the critical situation and the continuing role of The People Israel as the principal vehicle for revelation of the Divine Intention, will intervene before the crisis reaches the level of degradation of the vision horrible. Logic dictates that they will finalize and implement negotiations towards the territorial and citizenship agreements which are necessary, join with the Muslim World in pressing for action on a new world order, and pick up the question of Messianic theology in collaboration with Muslim scholars.

Immediately the world Jewish community collaborates in setting up a new world economic order the State of Israel will forfeit its special relationship with the United States, including the American military umbrella, because of the economic, social and political consequences of such a move for the Western Christian World and the United States in particular. However at that point the umbrella will no longer be required. It will have been made redundant by the steps already taken.

The world *outside* the triangle of Abrahamic faiths will benefit as new relationships are worked out *within* the triangle. The world at large will at last catch a glimpse of Maimonides' vision of the Messianic Age, or the vision splendid of the Book of Revelation. The relationship between Yahwism and the other major systems of ethics and religious belief which were inspired concurrently will then become apparent, as will the mechanism by which Divine Will has been revealed and implemented through the interlocking prophecies of Judaism and Islam.

If responsible leadership of the world wide Jewish community does not arise in this manner until the world is well down the path to the vision horrible the process must be much more traumatic, especially for the Western World, but the situation will still be retrievable and the process can be expected to follow broadly the same pattern.

Whether the church formally repudiates the Doctrine of the Trinity and initiates the reassessment of Messianic theology with Christian, Jewish and Muslim scholars working in collaboration, or whether it fails to do so and the world is forced to take the more traumatic path, all three partners in that triangle of Abrahamic faiths will ultimately reach a series of common understandings and points for action.

I anticipate that they will:

- acknowledge the Jewish community as the continuing primary instrument of God's will, living and working in a community covenant relationship through which the Messiah will enable all humanity to better understand its relationship to God;
- acknowledge Muhammad as a divinely inspired prophet whose role was to confirm that Jesus of Nazareth is the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy and to call the people of The Book to acknowledge and to worship God, the Supreme Being whose authority is absolute;
- adopt a basic statement of faith along the lines of the Columbus Platform of Reform Judaism (chapter 20);
- adopt the Qur'anic understanding that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah, the ultimate exemplification of God's will, conceived in virgin birth by Divine intervention as a guide to all humanity (but not in the sense of a son and heir or earthly ruler) and risen in glory to confirm the absolute power and authority of God the Creator;
- recognize Gospel teaching as the norm for human conduct within a philosophical framework drawing on the accumulated experience and spirituality of all major world faiths whether they pre-date or post-date Hebrew Messianism;
- acknowledge that the establishment of the State of Israel is consistent with prophecies generated within all three Abrahamic faiths and in particular those of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Zechariah and their successors; Muhammad's vision of The Night Journey; and Maimonides' teaching on The Laws of Kings and Their Wars concerning the manner of the return of the *people* Israel to the *state* Israel; and the ongoing relationship between all three faiths as partners in a common stream.

These outcomes will not be a matter of syncretism or adaptation for convenience. There are many scholars and authorities within each of the three streams who are prepared to acknowledge that the beliefs which they each hold dear as absolutes of revealed truth are so contradictory that they cannot all be right, and these people are prepared – even eager – for the process to begin. But there are many others, often among those known as Extreme Orthodox or

Fundamentalist, who are earnestly persuaded that their particular position is exclusively correct and who will oppose the process.

The process is therefore likely to be both slow and traumatic, but the present situation is so critical that it cannot be deferred. It is both vital and inevitable, and it will be a matter of real theological and spiritual growth for all three partners. The nature of the crises and the origins of the conflict within the triangle are such that world peace and stability *cannot* be attained *until and unless* the collaborative reassessment of messianic faith takes place. But as it proceeds:

- the State of Israel will assume a new significance in the understanding of people of all faiths;
- the City of Jerusalem will become the focal point of faith for all believers;
- the stone which the builders rejected will be seen in all His glory as the main cornerstone;
- the people of each of the three streams of Abrahamic faith will be seen to have acted on their divinely inspired obligations; and
- people of all faiths will be enabled to focus more clearly on their relationship with God, with their fellow human beings, with the totality of creation, and on the way forward towards a stable, harmonious future for humanity in the terms of Maimonides' understanding of the Messianic Age.

It is catastrophic that throughout the twentieth century CE the leaders of the church-universal made successive decisions and determined additional dogma and doctrine on the basis of previous erroneous decisions and that they firmly rejected the possibility that these may have been flawed. They acted as if their filtered information was absolute and total, and insisted that it was.

It is a damning indictment of the church that its conduct, based on its flawed theology, was the trigger for, *first*, the establishment of the triangle of Messianic faiths instead of a single stream of Yahwism; *second*, the generation of critical prophecies within its partner streams; and *third*, the fulfilment of the Night Journey and the partial fulfilment of Maimonides' vision. The willingness or unwillingness of the churches to acknowledge their errors, to reassess their self-understanding and to repudiate the Doctrine of the Trinity is now critical. The position which the churches adopt and the conduct of the Western Christian World will now determine whether phase three of Maimonides' vision – the Messianic Age – comes into view because of their readiness to reassess their theology, or through the agency of their partner faiths because of their unreadiness to act.

The coincidental fulfilment of the two critical prophecies demonstrates clearly the role of the Jewish community as the continuing primary instrument of God's Will. The trauma suffered by the European colonial powers in retribution for their oppressive colonial policies (by way of subversive activities, wars, rebellion, overthrow or economic decline) pales into insignificance

compared with the severity of the scourging meted out to the Jewish community when it pursued a similar colonial policy in its transgression against the people of Palestine. Yahweh demands a higher standard of conduct from them than is expected from the rest of humanity as an indication of the Divine Intention for all humanity. This is fully consistent with the consequences of the covenant relationship which have been recorded throughout their history. It is also fully consistent with that relationship that they became the trigger for the dismantling of the European colonial era and that they are now pivotal to the unfolding of the Messianic Age. Their suffering was at the hands of the same church and the same Christian powers which first committed massive transgressions against them and the non-Christian world, then provoked them to transgress, left them to be scourged for their trouble, and finally propelled them back to Palestine.

In due course, as they act upon their covenant responsibility in the years ahead, their realization of the roles which they and the ‘messengers’ of the ‘King Messiah’ have played in bringing phase three of Maimonides’ vision of the Messianic Age into focus will lead to their affirmation of Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah. Yes. Maimonides was right on that one, too. As he indicated (*The Laws of Kings and Their Wars*, chapter 11 Halachah 4, and chapter 12 Halachah 1,2) the Messiah will be recognized once he has *gathered* the dispersed; *compelled* all Israel to walk in the way of the Torah; *ensured* Israel’s security, and peace is *established* in the world. His Messianic promise will have been fulfilled. Indeed there is a remarkable relationship between that contention of Maimonides and the words attributed to Jesus of Nazareth (Matthew 23:37-39 and Luke 13:35) that: “You shall not *see* me till the time comes when you say ‘Blessings on him who comes in the name of the Lord’.” *Fulfillment* of Messianic promise and *recognition* of Messianic status are inexorably linked. And in this sense Christians have to reflect carefully on whether to expect the physical return of Christ or whether the *seeing*, or the *coming*, are consistent with the *recognition* of him as Messiah. Does it really matter? Let’s not waste time arguing about it. Let’s get on with the task of living our theology and acting on *our* obligations under the New Covenant.

A glance at chart four makes it quite apparent that we must approach a solution to the present crisis on the basis that we are responsible for planning a long term future for humanity which has a lot of living to do, and not as if we were intent on securing and even more privileged position for ourselves. The words which Jesus used when he asked his disciples to share a cup in communion and in remembrance of him should be sufficient for us to realize that we are recognizing an additional covenant and not a replacement for Sinai. Basically they mean the same: respond responsibly to the Law and the Gospel and in homage to God - or take the consequences. The promise of salvation is subject to the book (of conduct) hanging around everyone’s neck in accord with the Night Journey.

Muhammad and Islam were given quite a specific task: to drag both Jews and Christians back onto the track. The Prophet’s early successors tried, and in due course ran out of steam. Now his later resurgent successors, since 1973, are having another go. And if we are in the middle of a period of Divine retribution or judgement for which the establishment of the State

of Israel is the catalyst, then we should reflect in what way we ran off the track and for what conduct, recorded in the book around our corporate neck, we are being judged. We do not have to look very far. Seeing that the United States is the country most directly affected by the present situation we need only glance at the extent of its exploitation of other countries under its program of economic imperialism or neo-colonialism. Intimately associated with that has been its use of the CIA to subvert governments in many countries, some Third World, some Western, some democratic and some totalitarian. In *Killing Hope*, William Blum details 55 such interventions. I have drawn heavily on his work to illustrate only four or five instances. Similarly, in *The Rationale for US Military Intervention After the Cold War*, Naseer Aruri notes that: "During President Clinton's first term alone, the United States imposed new unilateral economic sanctions, or threatened legislative actions to do so, sixty times in 35 countries that, taken together, make up about 42 percent of the world population."⁵² How does one reconcile that with a policy of free trade and non-intervention in the domestic policies of other countries?

In a number of situations the United States has combined the techniques of direct military intervention, trade embargoes and electoral manipulation in one package. The Institute for Public Accuracy attributes to Marjorie Cohn, Associate professor at Thomas Jefferson School of Law in San Diego, the statement that : "For months before the September 24 election in Yugoslavia, the US and its NATO allies poured millions of dollars and technical support into the opposition movement. They also bankrolled pre-election polls which showed Kostunica leading Milosevic. Many people in Yugoslavia oppose Milosevic but they also despise NATO, which subjected them to a ruthless 11-week bombing campaign. Yugoslavia remains crippled by economic sanctions imposed by the West. The US interference has tainted the election.... They must be able to choose their own leadership, free from Western domination.... The long-term question is who will run Yugoslavia once Milosevic is ousted — Kostunica or NATO? Members of the opposition have been meeting in Bulgaria with representatives from the International Monetary Fund, World Bank and NATO."⁵³ One wonders how the cost of that exercise compared with funding and staffing Boris Yeltsin's election campaign.

The situation into which the United States has now blundered because of the policies it has pursued over many years which we have traced, and from which it cannot not extricate itself without substantial loss of status and authority - and significant impact on the rest of the amorphous Christian gel - is one matter, but it is more important to consider the way ahead. In chapter 6, I wrote:

The outcome of the transgressions and the failures of the dominant white Christian Western World – the amorphous Christian gel – coupled with the Jewish community's transgression in the terms of the Qur'anic Night Journey, was the establishment of the State of Israel in circumstances of great bitterness and trauma for both its neighbours and Israel. Now: through the antagonism generated against them by their transgression against the people of Palestine – which they were forced to make in self defence – they have acted, and will continue to act, as a catalyst or a 'lightning conductor' in a number of responses which flow from the continuing three-way confrontation between communities linked to Judaism, Islam

and Christianity. That situation will continue until and unless the three streams of faith act together on their joint and individual obligation to lead humanity towards the Messianic Age. For that to happen there is a major precondition. To enable the three faiths to move forward in that way, the Christian church must rethink its self-understanding and its relationship with its two partners because that is the fundamental cause of the trouble in the triangle and the massive transgressions by the powers of the amorphous Christian gel. That requires the development of a common messianic understanding by the three faiths. And that, in turn, requires the church to repudiate the Doctrine of the Trinity on which its self-understanding has been built and because of which Muhammad was called to his prophetic ministry. Clearly that process and that end can only be achieved by scholars of the three faiths working together.

While that precondition is being met there are three results, or effects, which we can anticipate from the situation which the world has blundered into. First: ultimately and inevitably the confrontation between the three faiths must bring benefit to those peoples who have been exploited, either currently or previously, by the amorphous Christian gel which has been acting on the basis of Christian self-understanding. Second: and with equal inevitability, the confrontation must result in substantial loss of privilege or detriment – judgement and discipline if you like – for the amorphous Christian gel. The extent of the detriment or discipline will be determined by the resistance of either Christians or Jews, or both, to the negotiation of proper settlements for the transgressions in which they have both been involved. Third: both of those aspects of the situation will inevitably contribute towards a clearer understanding of the Messianic message and humanity's relationship with God. The State of Israel and the City of Jerusalem will be seen in quite a different light – a unique light – and will assume a unique status in human understanding. The entire process is being triggered through the interaction of prophesy which has been generated within all three partner faiths in the triangle: Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

These three points raise a host of questions. Why? Why? And why? We shall consider them after we have traced the history of the trouble in the triangle. But briefly, it is a matter of the consequences, or the effects, of continuing conflict within the triangle of Messianic faiths and the progressive loss of the capacity to exploit the rest of the world at its whim by the amorphous Christian gel. This can be either by the conscious decisions of Western leaders to relinquish the position of privilege which they have imposed and cling to by force, or, by the collapse of the system which they impose and dominate, brought about by concerted action with collaboration between those who have been exploited by the amorphous Christian gel in the process of achieving its privileged position.

That is the point we have reached.

As noted above, even though it now has land and air forces in Saudi Arabia and Jordan, the United States cannot use its military might to fight its way out of the crisis in the Middle East in October 2000 by going to the defence of Israel. If the Israeli government acts on its threat to strike at Lebanon and Syria unless the renewed *intifada* subsides, it must be assumed that several other Arab governments, under great pressure from their people, will declare war as

well. The level of bitterness generated by the brutal oppression of the Palestinians is at a higher level than it has previously been, and the Palestinian authorities have appealed for Arab governments to help prevent the Holy City from falling totally under Israel's control. If that occurs it will not be a minor war. It could involve the use of nuclear weapons which Israel is known to possess. But even in that case the United States would be very unlikely to intervene. To do so would precipitate a resources embargo which could go well beyond petroleum. Appendix B indicates the relationships between the world's resource producers and consumers, and although it was prepared in 1975, and it is therefore not accurate in respect of current organizational memberships, it indicates the religious affiliations, political and trade relationships of each country. It is quite apparent that a series of embargoes or trade sanctions would have an enormous impact well beyond the United States. The United States and the European powers cannot afford that. There is most unlikely to be any real support for the United States in the circumstances, in view of the experience of other countries in 1973-74. (Chapter 30)

If the United States is not prepared to make political and trade concessions of the kind discussed above, then it is likely that the friends of Israel overseas, who do not want to see Israel embroiled in a major war without an "umbrella" will take matters into their own hands, in consultation with Israel. They would certainly counsel Israel to avoid precipitate action. The likely outcome would then be compromise territorial arrangements to satisfy the Palestinians, coupled with economic arrangements which, by offsetting the impact of Western exploitation over many years, would result in completely new relationships between the Third World and Israel. Israel would again be a catalyst in events of great significance: we would be edging a little closer to Maimonides' understanding of the Messianic Age. Any arrangements which the supporters of Israel in the Diaspora make will, naturally, involve very substantial transfer of capital from the amorphous Christian gel to the Third World in circumstances such that technology and trading strength will flow too. That means a significant drop in the economic status of the Western world concurrent with a rise in the status of the Third World. That means the progressive narrowing of the gap, with the countries of the Third World in a better position to control their own destinies. The ramifications are enormous.

But such a process would not automatically mean the dismantling of the trouble in the triangle. The processes of economic adjustment and theological reassessment must go in parallel. That being the case, who should initiate it and be invited to participate?

The preferred answer is a consortium of all of the peak church bodies, basically the Vatican, the World Council of Churches and the principal Orthodox Patriarchates, acting as the hosts to the peak bodies of World Jewry and the peak bodies of the *dār al-islām*, coordinated through the World Muslim League and the Islamic Conference. Is that achievable? In present circumstances the Vatican, having issued the document *Dominus Jesus*, and in doing so having snubbed other churches by re-confirming its self-understanding as the sole successor to Peter and therefore the chosen representative on earth of the Triune God; and having re-consecrated the world (or perhaps only the Catholic Church, depending on which reports one reads) to Mary

the Mother of God, appears unlikely to want to grasp the nettle. In addition, its relations with the Russian Orthodox Church and a number of other organizations are currently under severe strain. The Jewish community of Italy has broken off dialogue because of the pope's decision to proceed with the beatification of Pope Pius IX; the Ecumenical Coalition of Hawaii has asked the pope to repeal the 500-year old decree under which Pope Alexander VI divided the New World between Portugal and Spain; and while the Vatican is insisting on the independence of East Timor as two enclaves of Catholicism in an ocean of Indonesian Islam, it rejects appeals for a Muslim state in the Philippines and a Catholic bishop has called for a ban on Muslim migration to Italy.

In the circumstances the World Council of Churches must be regarded as the logical host or initiator for a program of theological reassessment in collaboration with Jewish and Muslim authorities and scholars. It has restored its relations with the Orthodox Churches in the wake of the Yugoslavian crisis; moved to establish a very broadly based Global Christian Forum involving many churches not currently involved in the Council; and achieved a remarkably wide 'spread' of member churches on all continents. The pattern of its membership is set out in the end notes.⁵⁴

The range of concepts, doctrine and dogma which will automatically come under scrutiny is enormous, and a massive effort spanning quite some years will be required. The partner faiths, having agreed to take part in the reassessment will have a great deal of soul searching to do, with complete openness and honesty between them in considering the way in which traditions and beliefs have evolved. There is no doubt that the very idea will be threatening to many people of each faith. The foundation of their beliefs, their self-understanding and their relationships will seem to be at risk. But that is only a problem when people focus on the statement of belief or the act of worship rather than on the ultimate object of belief and worship: God.

I envisage a Council of people drawn from all three faiths determining a basic agenda and a method by which to proceed, probably through teams of scholars, again of all three faiths, gathered to plan their research on particular matters, exchanging discussion papers, meeting from time to time and then progressively pooling their work as the process continues. There is no dearth of scholars available. Each of the faiths have well staffed universities, training centres, and centres of retreat and worship dotted around the world. Concurrently with that process the work of congregations, mosques and synagogues must continue - and be expanded - with dialogue programs also expanded, but concentrating on local and regional reconciliation. Leave the deep research and debate to the scholars. But why not try worshipping together at times, and acknowledging each others special feast days? There will be a few stumbles from time to time. That's inevitable too, in a process which has got to cover as much ground as this. There is plenty of room for the several major interfaith bodies, such as WCRP, and the Council for a Parliament of the World's Religions each having a role in the ongoing program of dialogue. But I doubt they would want to be directly involved in the early stages of the consultation process. They will certainly be observers. Critical observers no doubt, to be drawn

in as the process advances, but initially it is only the Christians, Muslims and Jews who can unravel the trouble in the triangle.

Certainly the church will never be the same once the process begins. But it will be much more effective as an instrument through which humanity can be enabled to understand its relationship with God, with their neighbours and with their environment. The Muslim community will have much the same concerns. If its people recognize the Gospel as the basis for personal conduct, what role will there be for Sharī'a? Are some of its cultural traditions which are regarded as basic to Islam necessarily so, anymore than some of the traditions of the church? In my view the faith group which will be least affected in terms of its belief base will be the Jewish community. They anticipate a Messiah. It is only a matter of recognition. But its big problem will be the question: "How do we relate to Jerusalem and how does Jerusalem relate to the two partner faiths – and to the world community which is to be served by the People of the Book? Is it too much to hope that the Dome of the Rock will remain, perpetually, the symbol of faith in Jerusalem and that in another generation we might be able to worship, all together, in a new temple on an appropriate site in Jerusalem to which the people of the world will have contributed?

Having said all that, let's talk logic for a moment.

The quantum shift in relationships between powers and faiths around the world which has been hovering around for a generation, since the Yom Kippur War and the oil embargo, and which is now becoming a reality, has occurred in the context of the trouble in the triangle. And that occurrence is consistent with the convergence of the prophecy of the Qur'anic Night Journey (chapter 6), Maimonides' inspired understanding of the circumstances in which the Jewish community would return to the land of their forefathers, and the Revelation of John (chapter 8). In the process, the Jewish community has been, and still is, a reluctant catalyst and that is consistent with its obligations under the continuing Covenant of Sinai. Could anyone among those who wear their Christianity as a badge of political correctness during election campaigns argue that this convergence does not fit their expectations of Divine intervention? If they were prepared to, they would probably say that there was a burning bush or a Pentecostal flame or two missing. Or perhaps they might be waiting for the roll of thunder which comes with an atomic blast-flash to imitate the circumstances of Sinai. After all, that is the power which their predecessors introduced to help them exercise the divine authority delegated to them as the new chief unit of the amorphous Christian gel in association with those who claimed to be the anointed successors of Peter and therefore the sole representative on earth of the Triune God.

Humanity, with its absolute discretion in decision making and freedom of action, and America with the level of conceit, arrogance, greed and determination to sit astride the human pile which is reflected in some of the statements already quoted, would not surrender its position of privilege without a big fight – unless its leaders realized that the result of a big fight would be more debilitating than no fight at all. If they decide that the risk involved is worth it,

they may yet through caution to the winds and embark on that big fight. But all the circumstances which we have considered indicated that the consequences of such a fight would be an even greater shift in relationships. Israel's role as a reluctant catalyst is therefore amply illustrated. It is reluctant because, with its blinkers firmly in place, it saw the US umbrella as vital to its national welfare, and the difference between 'security' and oblivion. At first the umbrella was political and military, but the emphasis changed somewhat, as we have seen, with the US oil policy change in 1970. Having lost confidence in America's determination to stand by it after that policy change (when the US committed its own security to an ongoing stable relationship with the Arabs in return for more oil), the emphasis shifted to politics and military aid grants so that it had control of its own firepower. Now, with another shift in circumstances, we can anticipate that it will very quickly acknowledge – and the world will soon realize – that stable relationships, goodwill and the absence of oppressive domination are the basis of real security, *not* military hardware and star wars.

And what is security? As the world approaches the population saturation-plateau, arms will be increasingly pointless. We can forget about empires and super powers. They are approaching their 'use by' date. The needs of populations and the role of government is changing. What is "defence" all about? In the case of major powers it is a matter of sitting on, or expanding upon, a position of privilege. No more, no less. With the world approaching saturation the emphasis *must* shift – *will* shift –to distributive equality. If a country is prepared to share and not to dominate, then it has no need for systems designed to manipulate, to undermine other governments, and to play one country against another, constantly undermining relationships and generating conflicts on a divide-and-rule basis. And if it is not happy to go down that track? Under the evolving relationships, power will not save it. Economic isolation will see to that, as the United States has demonstrated to very good effect, in Africa and Latin America as well as in Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union, *ad nauseam*. In its own interests it must now say: "Enough is enough. Star wars are unnecessary and we will totally disband our strategic defence system, retaining only coastal surveillance and domestic policing."

In the matter of population: we are better off without migration barriers. We should have no need for Evian Conferences either, provided we put in place a proper resource distribution scheme (such as the proposal in appendix A) and couple it with a world population council which would work with governments to assess population pressure points and to negotiate resettlement programs. Who do we manage planet earth for? What is the divine authority's wish? Certainly not a debilitating, soul destroying scramble for crumbs. We need understanding, respect, and concern, which brings us back to the issue of church authority. If human conduct and human interaction is a matter between each person and God, with a system of civil law to guard against abuse, there is no need for a church or any other body to dictate in the matter of personal conduct. We need guidelines.

A church which claims to be the sole path to salvation, a church which proscribes conduct and usurps the role of civil law by applying rules and enforcing them, (or tempting people to suppress their honesty to avoid discovery), through threats and sanctions, places stumbling

blocks along the path or a barrier between its people and God. A church which claims absolute authority and infallibility faces the prospect of making itself irrelevant. A church which establishes a system of binding concordats and then uses its political weight to subvert the freewill of people who do not even subscribe to it, is perilously close to being a political organization masquerading as a vehicle for salvation. If people act in freewill in the knowledge that they have to answer to God, and to God alone, they will decide the burning social issues with a view to human fulfilment, not with a view to avoiding the suppression of their humanity. If a church pursues these policies it may attract and bind a core church community, but in doing so it deepens the trench separating it from people of other faiths.

On that basis, for so long as the Roman Catholic Church maintains its stance that it is the infallible sole pathway to salvation it cannot be taken seriously as the initiator or host in genuine theological reassessment. It could only be welcome as a participant in the process alongside other Christian churches or the peak Ecumenical body, the World Council of Churches, and even that would pose problems until after it had taken steps to annul such claims. Therefore, at this time, it may even be an impediment to the process. This places the focus directly on the World Council of Churches, or the Global Christian Forum which has now been established, as the appropriate ecumenical body to initiate the process and to invite the participation of Jewish and Muslim partners.

Furthermore, when a process of serious reflection and interfaith theological reassessment is at hand, if the Roman Catholic Church cannot feel able to participate on that basis, it may even be better that the parallel process of dialogue and rapprochement between the Roman Catholic Church and the Ecumenical Movement be left in abeyance until it has cleared itself of that impediment. If it is not, then the World Council of Churches or the Global Christian Forum would have to go into the process of interfaith reassessment with one hand tied behind their backs. That raises the question of Christian unity. Christian unity is not an end in itself. To the extent that it was approached in the early stages with a siege mentality, to strengthen the church's competitive position in evangelism for the hearts and minds of the uncommitted or - even worse - from the point of view of proselytism, it is a concept which may have been better not adopted. Cooperation, acknowledgement of another church's legitimacy and participation in ecumenical affairs is one thing. An attempt to induce unity is quite another. It could only, and has only, lead to theological compromise and regression towards acknowledgement and acceptance of concepts and practices which were contentious at the time of the reformation, quite apart from being fundamental to the establishment of the triangle of faiths during earlier periods.

Immediately we take seriously the *unity of humanity* rather than the *unity of Christianity*, we can begin to dismantle the barriers erected either to protect the amorphous Christian gel or to restrict its spread. At that point we can approach world coordination or governance on a totally new basis. Democratization can move towards reality rather than being a concept to trot out and use as a bargaining chip in trade negotiations or in a bid to exclude a country from world forums. The bias in favour of the amorphous Christian gel which was built into the United

Nations (chapter 27) ensured its dominance for a time, but it then began to fail and, with the acceleration of the decolonization process, representation and participation progressively improved and, with that, the opportunities for coercive evangelism began to decline. The world cannot afford any more exercises in imposed Christianization such as those which were attempted in Japan which was subjected to formal coercive constitutional change, or even the less formal but often more oppressive ventures in Latin America, India, Burma, China and a host of other countries - with or without swords. We now have an opportunity to ensure that no such bias is possible in future by adopting the democratizing proposals of the Global Governance Reform Project.

Turning to another matter: as the new relationships become more apparent the concept of Star Wars becomes totally irrelevant. If the world wants to know more about creation, let there be exploration by all means – cooperatively and not in competition. And if nations are serious about developing the peaceful uses of space as opposed to the military uses, they will do it cooperatively as well. The United States spends billions on staying in front in the space race at the same time that it declines to bring its contributions to the United Nations up to date and insists on maintaining sanctions which condemn millions of people to deprivation, death and distress in countries such as Iraq. And all the time it pleads that it is the most Christian country on God's earth.

If the world is on the verge of substantially adjusted relationships, and if we are serious about questions of governance, then now is the time to think about the future of empires, superpowers and conglomerate nation states. To the extent that they preferentially attract capital and then control its distribution and use they are an impediment to the democratization process and to the most effective use of available capital and the rational distribution and use of resources. And experience during the past two generations has shown that attempts to retain national borders which were drawn on maps at a distance without regard to population dynamics, ethnicity, language and natural physical barriers have condemned many countries to civil wars and to disputes over the allocation of government resources and the provision of services. These situations have simply increased the opportunities for speculative intervention by the major powers, as has been noted in instances such as West Papua. Small nations are just as viable as large ones, if they are given the opportunity to run their own affairs. Their security is only at risk when larger nations take an interest in their resources. That highlights an important reason for establishing a system for rational trading in food and resources: to help ensure the right of self determination for people irrespective of the size of their prospective nation. If the decision makers did not believe that, then why did they support independence for East Timor in circumstances which, very predictably, increased the pressure and agitation for independence in a host of other minority or subject communities which, so far, neither the existing governments nor foreign powers have not been prepared to recognize. East Timor's situation was a classic case of a community and its neighbours being caught up in the trouble in the triangle. Similarly, the disintegration of the former Soviet Union and the crises in both Yugoslavia and Chechnya

TO GOD BE THE GLORY!

illustrate the challenges ahead for many other composite nations which also have complex ethnic and religious communities.

Wherever we turn we come face to face with the trouble in the triangle, so it inevitably leads us back to the question of whether to take a deliberate step to dismantle it through fundamental theological reassessment, starting with the doctrine of the Trinity.

What is the alternative? To decide not to proceed would condemn the world to the continuation of the trauma of recent years, but on an ever increasing scale. There should be no doubt about that. Is that what the believers in each of the faith communities want? I hardly think so. Surely no one would regard the present circumstances as the first stepping stone on the path to salvation. And because it all started with a definition of the Messiah, it cannot be dismantled without starting at the same point. We are at a turning point in world history. Humanity hasn't been around for very long, but its got a long time to go! Its history is still before us. The past is only something to help us understand the future. Let us pray that our successors, up there on the eleven billion plateau, will be able to look down - or back - and say: "Golly! Didn't they make a botch of things around the turn of the millennium! At least they found their way forward." It is time to stop the action, do some thinking, and move off in a new direction. It's time to have the Reformation. The real thing. So that then we can all cry out, together:

"To God be the Glory!"

Appendices

APPENDIX A

A PROPOSAL

A PROPOSAL TO ACCELERATE DEVELOPMENT THROUGH INTERNATIONAL RESOURCE TRADING IN ACCORDANCE WITH REAL NEEDS.

AIMS:

- To ensure that the governments of developing countries receive funds consistent with their contribution to the economies of the world community, more consistent with their development requirements and more consistent with the aspirations of their people.
- To increase world food production, to ensure adequate food supplies for all mankind, to ensure more equitable distribution of food supplies and to provide for an international and famine and emergency relief scheme.
- To minimize competition for resources and thereby to reduce tension between nations and the likelihood of armed conflict.

GENERAL

The scheme resembles a giant barter system. It envisages all essential international trade in basic commodities being under the control of each sovereign government through a central international agency, with supplies obtained and adjusted so that funds flow preferentially from highly developed countries to developing countries. Developed countries would be encouraged to produce food for export to balance their international trade. The scheme does not reduce the domestic sovereignty of any government or presuppose any particular political or economic system. However it does anticipate greater government control over the private sector.

OPERATION

1. The scheme would operate as a programme of the United Nations with an international 'central agency' established by and responsible to, the United Nations General Assembly for its administration

2. Commodities to be traded through the agency would be determined by the UN from time to time but it is envisaged that the scheme would cover:

- exhaustible resources, including energy and metals.
- unprocessed foodstuffs.

other unprocessed primary products such as rubber and fibres and other economically strategic materials.

3. All trading through the agency would be on account of the national governments.

4. The requirements of each country for each commodity would be determined by two factors:

- basic requirements
- additional requirements

Both factors would be carefully defined but, in general terms, a country's basic requirements would be:

- foodstuffs: sufficient to ensure an adequate diet for the entire population.
- other materials sufficient to satisfy achievable development programmes and to ensure stability in the country's economy, but not to provide for the luxury consumer market or for re-export of goods.
- Additional requirements would include supplies for the luxury market, processing for re-export and stockpiling.

5. All basic requirements would be supplied and obtained through the agency. Additional requirements could be obtained or supplied either through the agency or by direct negotiation with another country except that no country could obtain or supply additional requirements of a commodity until it had honoured its obligations in respect of basic supplies.

6. The proportion of supplies which would be obtained from each supplying country would be determined by the agency according to criteria such as:

- each country's need for funds.
- ability and willingness to supply.
- relative dependence on one or a series of exports.

7. The relative level of prices at which the agency would buy from and sell to each country would be determined by criteria established by the UN and would be weighted in

favour of developing countries. A mean price would be determined for each commodity and each country would be charged or paid at the price determined for it within the range of mean price minus one quarter to mean price plus one quarter.

8. The price levels or classification for each country would be determined each year according to agreed criteria.

9. The disbursement of funds paid to it by the agency would be at the discretion of each government. Payments by a government to its producers need not be based on the same unit value as the payments by the agency to it. A government could therefore, – within the limits acceptable to its electorate, encourage one industry relative to another according to world needs for particular commodities, such as food grains, or according to its own national planning.

10 Supplies and their availability would be kept under constant review, but allocations would be made annually at least a full year in advance when the scheme became fully operational.

11. Finance. Net movements in national accounts would be adjusted quarterly and not against individual shipments of individual commodities.

12. Transport. Source of supply and basic arrangements would be determined and accounts for commodities would be handled through the central agency on an FIS basis but shipping or other transport arrangements would be determined by negotiation between the agency, supplying and receiving governments and shippers.

In case of dispute the agency would make appropriate arrangement and determine charges. No change of ownership or control of shipping or other forms of transport is necessarily envisaged.

13 Discipline within the scheme would be relatively easily because of the ease of supervision and because of the ease with which economic embargoes could be applied by the majority against a country which set out to bypass the scheme.

14 Criteria for determining supplies and pricing would be based on specific readily assessed factors which are indicative of the needs of a country and not on standard economic indicators. A system is envisaged in which groups of factors would be weighted to give each country a rating related to the world mean in each of three categories. The categories, or 'groups', and the factors proposed in each are:

Category I. Current economic activity:

- national import/export ratio.
- energy consumption.
- personal income levels.

Category II. Current level of community advancement:

- availability of education.

- workforce employed.
- population growth rate.

Category III. Current level of personal fulfilment:

- protein consumption.
- health status.
- housing and/or mobility.

15 The ratings could be determined by a variety of methods, but it is envisaged that the statistics collected by the UN and published in a statistical yearbook each year would provide the basis. For any single factor the statistics for each country accordingly. The ratings would be given a plus or minus value according to whether a high assessed factor indicates an advanced stage of development or otherwise.

16 An amount would be debited to the trading account of each national government to provide for the operation of the scheme and for the establishment of a food stockpile for famine relief and other emergencies. It is envisaged that this amount would be determined as a percentage of the total trade transacted through the agency by each country, say one half of one percent to the food stockpile, plus the actual costs of operating the scheme, but a range of alternatives is available.

17 Foodstuffs for the stockpile would be purchased at the basic exports price. They would be stored in facilities established on the seaboard of the exporting countries, or elsewhere as appropriate in the case of land-locked countries. They would be rotated with annual export supplies in line with good practice for each commodity and they would be distributed by the agency at the direction of the United Nations.

TABLE A

An illustration of the method of weighting commodity buying and selling prices proposed in the scheme of International Resource Trading

- In this table ratings for the criteria proposed have been set out for three countries from statistics published by the United Nations. Country "A" is a Western country, highly developed and technically advanced. Country "B" is a middle ranking European country. Country "C" is one of Africa's poorest nations.

The overall trade ratings have been translated directly into commodity buying and selling prices except that in the case of Country "C", for which the ratings are outside the range of mean value plus or minus 25% the buying price has been set at the proposed minimum of mean minus 25 % and the selling price has been set at the proposed maximum of mean plus 25 %. *

Categories and Factors

Relative Country Country Country

A PROPOSAL

	Weight	A	B	C
Group I: Economic				
Import/Export ratio	3	+3	+1	-3
Energy consumption	3	+3	+2	-3
Personal income levels	3	+3	+2	-3
	9	+9	+5	-9
Group II: Community Advancement				
Education	4	+2	+2	-3
Workforce employed	4	-4	+2	-3
Population growth	4	+2	-1	-4
	12	0	+3	-10
Group III: Personal Fulfilment				
Protein consumption	5	+4	+3	-3
Health status	4	+3	+2	-3
Housing and/or Mobility	3	+3	+1	-2
	12	+10	+6	-8
Overall trade rating		+19	+14	-27
Assessed buying price as % of mean:		119%	114%	73%
Adjusted buying price				75%
Assessed selling price, % of mean:		81%	88%	127%
Adjusted selling price				125%

(* As the calculations were made in 1975 from the 1973 Statistic Yearbook and other sources the ratings, being no longer current, can only be taken as indicative and the countries are therefore not named)

Discussion

1. The resources trading scheme proposed can be very readily related to the operations of existing world financial institutions including the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.
2. There may be conflict between the proposed scheme and certain aspects of the EEC's operations but there is no reason why these cannot be resolved. In this respect the negotiations between the EEC and OPEC governments for oil and gas supplies should be examined.
3. There is obvious conflict between this proposal and free trading practices of certain Western countries. However as the main aims of the scheme are to increase essential food supplied, to accelerate development by channelling capital funds and to reduce international tension by compensating for past exploitation, it is hoped that countries currently adopting those practices will recognize their responsibility and change in the interests of long term peace and world development.

4. Because of the scheme's stimulating effect on selected aspects of their domestic economies it would not have the tendency, which highly advanced countries would obviously fear, to retard essential technical development or to reduce them to the present material level of less developed countries. On the contrary, it would tend to encourage the re-deployment of other resources away from non-productive sectors of the economy, such as war preparation, and towards new and productive fields, and in doing so it would tend to increase total world productive economic activity and to progressively raise the status of the less technically advanced countries with the "highest common factor" effect and not the reverse.

5. The proposal is obviously in accord with the basic aims of such associations of governments as OPEC, CIPEC, IBA. The International Rubber Association and APEF, (to ensure proper returns for resources, equitable market sharing and market stability). Such bodies can continue to operate while relinquishing some of their functions to the central agency.

6. Selling price differentials between international customers and between domestic and export markets are commonplace. However to minimise disruption to existing marketing arrangements and to encourage more ready acceptance of the proposal, the range of buying and selling prices above and below the mean export levels could be phased in over two or three years,

Say: Year one, maximum variation, plus or minus 12.5%.

Year two, maximum variation, plus or minus 25%.

Or: Year one, plus or minus 8.5%.

Year two, plus or minus 17%.

Year three, plus or minus 25%.

It can be expected that over a period of years, as the preferential flow of funds enables governments to put development plans into effect, the buying and selling price differentials will tend to be reduced but the speed of reduction will depend on many factors. Among the most important are the extent of the differentials set at the commencement of the scheme, the criteria by which they are determined and the effectiveness of development plans implemented by the governments concerned.

7 Additional requirements traded outside the central agency arrangements would presumably be bought and sold at premiums to the disadvantage of the party initiating the transaction. Any substantial price variations would usually be the result of a shortage in world supplies above "basis requirements" or the desire of a country to increase its export earnings from a particular sector. Pressure for such transactions is most likely to come from a laissez-faire developed economy in the early stages of the scheme.

8 In markets in which raw material quality determines suitability for processing in particular plants, or price differentials, these would be taken into account by the central agency in determining supply sources or price variations.

9 The scheme allows each sovereign government to relate its current domestic political environment and resource ownership patterns to the proposed international trading relationships with a minimum of disruption but places emphasis on reducing competition between countries. It will assist governments to respond to the aspirations of their people and facilitate adjustments to domestic commodity prices and profits in any particular industry.

10 The scheme may tend to encourage advanced countries to use their own resources rather than those of other countries and therefore it may reduce the volume of raw material flowing in world trade. The extent of the incentive to reduce imports will depend largely on the gap between the cost of domestic extraction and the cost of imports. In many cases this will depend on labour costs rather than geographic factors, but many other factors are involved, not least of which is the influence of those who have private capital invested in off-shore extractive industries.

11 The proposal for the adjustment of national trading accounts quarterly rather than on the basis of each shipment would significantly reduce the international flow of funds. This would help to improve currency stability, especially for small countries, by reducing the capacity of interested parties to manipulate the international monetary system for capital gain.

12 The influence of vertically integrated multi and trans-national corporations would be greatly appreciated as decision making about utilisation of resources is taken out of the hands of purely profit-oriented groups which are most resident in, or ultimately responsible to, the countries from which the resources are being extracted. This should mean that while such corporations are able to operate in a country by arrangement with its government on a proper basis, their capacity to manipulate world resource supplies, to play one government against another to apply political pressure on particular governments, or to avoid responding to the legitimate demands of such governments, would be greatly curtailed.

13 Balanced extraction of resources should replace the situation in which corporations can determine whether to preferentially extract from one country or another, to its long term disadvantage, and whether to ignore resources available in another, for whatever reason, to its disadvantage.

14 A national government, having sought and been granted a future market allocation for a particular resource by the central agency with the authority of the United Nations, would be assured of the capacity to negotiate for either loan funds to finance a government owned and operated industry or for a private corporation to establish and operate it, according to national policy.

15 The pressure for settlement of resource questions by military means and the tendency for corporate interest in extractable resources to develop into national territorial conflict would be substantially reduced.

16 More realistic nutrition levels for people in all countries should be achievable with a minimum of delay. Security of pre-planned markets and prices, together with the need to increase export earnings to offset otherwise reduced export income and increased import costs,

would encourage developed countries to increase food production. The domestic adjustment which accompanies this could also help to stabilise or increase rural populations in those countries.

17 Similarly, export industries in unregulated fields would be stimulated and this, together with the impact on rural production, would tend to offset the fall in emphasis on domestic consumer production and employment. The rating system could actually be used as an international device to take the emphasis off rampant consumerism.

18 The proposal is not intended to displace any schemes for development assistance which currently operate, whether loans, grants, concessional arrangements, training, health or educational programmes arranged through governments, the United Nations, international institutions, private aid agencies, religious bodies or privately. However, it is based on the principle which is most likely to be effective in the long-term in accelerating development in such a way that the aspirations of the people of developing countries can be achieved. It should enable their governments to utilise increased income from export trade generated from domestic production.

The majority of governments are now involved in import/export trading to some extent. Many are actually trading through statutory bodies or wholly or partly state-owned companies while others are involved only through supervisory or agency authorities. An increasing number are becoming involved in domestic trading as well. There would be little real difficulty for governments to adjust their operations to participate in this proposal.

APPENDIX B

SELECTION OF ALLIANCES, AGREEMENTS & ORGANISATIONS

A SELECTION OF MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCES, AGREEMENTS AND ORGANISATIONS INDICATING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION PATTERNS AS AT 1975.

SELECTION OF ALLIANCES, AGREEMENTS & ORGANISATIONS

	Religious	Political	Military	Economic	Development	Regional Trade	Commodity Trade																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																													
GROUP I AFRICA Algeria Cameroon Chad Egypt Gabon Gambia Guinea Guinea-Bissau Libya	Islamic Conf	Non-Aligned	O.A.U.	Arab League	Brit. Com	O.A.S.	NATO	CENTO	Warsaw Pact	Nordic C.	ANZUS	ASEAN	OECD	EFTA	EEC	Group of Ten	COMECON	IEA	C.I.E.C.	OPEC	OAPEC	OLADE	OCAS	LAFTA	CARIFTA	COLOMBO	CACM	UDEAC	EAC	CEAO	RDC	Bauxite	Iron	Copper	Phosphate	Tin	Peanuts	Rubber	Cocoa	Coffee	Cotton	Lead/Zinc	Olive Oil	Sugar	Wheat	Bananas	Wool																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																					
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SELECTION OF ALLIANCES, AGREEMENTS & ORGANISATIONS

	Religious	Political	Military	Economic	Development	Regional Trade	Commodity Trade
	Islamic Conf						
	Non-Aligned						
	O.A.U.						
	Arab League						
	Brit. Com						
	O.A.S.						
	NATO						
	CENTO						
	Warsaw Pact						
	Nordic C.						
	ANZUS						
	ASEAN						
	OECD						
	EFTA						
	EEC						
	Group of Ten						
	COMECON						
	IEA						
	C.I.O.E.C.						
	OPEC						
	OAPEC						
	OLADE						
	OCAS						
	LAFTA						
	CARIFTA						
	COLOMBO						
	CACM						
	UDEAC						
	EAC						
	CEAO						
	RDC						
	Bauxite						
	Iron						
	Copper						
	Phosphate						
	Tin						
	Peanuts						
	Rubber						
	Cocoa						
	Coffee						
	Cotton						
	Lead/Zinc						
	Olive Oil						
	Sugar						
	Wheat						
	Bananas						
	Wool						
GROUP I							
AFRICA							
Upper Volta	X						
Zaire	X						
Zambia	X						
Mezambique	X						
Tanzania	X						
Kenya	X						
Ethiopia	X						
Rwanda	X						
Burundi	X						
Malawi	X						
Angola							
Congo	X						
Central African Rep.	X						
Ghana	X						
Togo	X						
Dahomey	X						
Ivory Coast	X						
Liberia	X						
Sierra Leone	X						
Malagasy Rep.	X						

SELECTION OF ALLIANCES, AGREEMENTS & ORGANISATIONS

	Religions	Political	Military	Economic	Development	Regional Trade	Commodity Trade
	Islamic Conf						
	Non-Aligned						
	O.A.U.						
	Arab League						
	Brit. Com						
	O.A.S.						
	NATO						
	CENTO						
	Warsaw Pact						
	Nordic C.						
	ANZUS						
	ASEAN						
	OECD						
	EFTA						
	EEC						
	Group of Ten						
	COMECON						
	IEA						
	C.I.O.E.C.						
	OPEC						
	OAPEC						
	OLADE						
	OCAS						
	LAFTA						
	CARIFTA						
	COLOMBO						
	CACM						
	UDEAC						
	EAC						
	CEAO						
	RDC						
	Bauxite						
	Iron						
	Copper						
	Phosphate						
	Tin						
	Peanuts						
	Rubber						
	Cocoa						
	Coffee						
	Cotton						
	Lead/Zinc						
	Olive Oil						
	Sugar						
	Wheat						
	Bananas						
	Wool						
GROUP I							
AFRICA							
Swaziland	X						
Botswana	X						
Lesotho	X						
Mauritius	X						
Cabo Verde	X						
Equatorial Guinea	X						
South Africa							
GROUP II							
Asia Pacific							
Oceania							
Afghanistan	X						
Bahrain	X						
Bangladesh	X						
Indonesia	X						
Iran	X						
Iraq	X						
Jordan	X						
Kuwait	X						
Lebanon	X						
Malaysia	X						
Oman	X						
Maldives	X						

SELECTION OF ALLIANCES, AGREEMENTS & ORGANISATIONS

[illegible]

	Religions	Political	Security	Economic	Development	Regional Trade	Commodity Trade
	Islamic Conf						
	Non-Aligned						
	O.A.U.						
	Arab League						
	Brit. Com						
	O.A.S.						
	NATO						
	CENTO						
	Warsaw Pact						
	Nordic C.						
	ANZUS						
	ASEAN						
	OECD						
	EFTA						
	EEC						
	Group of Ten						
	COMECON						
	IEA						
	C.I.O.E.C.						
	OPEC						
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	CACM						
	UDEAC						
	EAC						
	CEAO						
	RDC						
	Bauxite						
	Iron						
	Copper						
	Phosphate						
	Tin						
	Peanuts						
	Rubber						
	Cocoa						
	Coffee						
	Cotton						
	Lead/Zinc						
	Olive Oil						
	Sugar						
	Wheat						
	Bananas						
	Wool						
GROUP II Asia Pacific Oceania							
Nauru							
Tonga							
Fiji							
Kmer Rep.							
Laos							
Bhutan							
Korea, Rep.							
Nepal							
Vietnam, Rep.							
Korea, P.D.R.							
Vietnam, P.D.R.							
China, P.R.							
China, Nationalist							
Israel							
GROUP III The Americas Caribbean							
Ecuador							
Venezuela							
Colombia							
Guyana							
Surinam							

SELECTION OF ALLIANCES, AGREEMENTS & ORGANISATIONS

	Religious	Political	Military	Economic	Development	Regional Trade	Commodity Trade
	Islamic Conf						
	Non-Aligned						
	O.A.U.						
	Arab League						
	Brit. Com						
	O.A.S.						
	NATO						
	CENTO						
	Warsaw Pact						
	Nordic C.						
	ANZUS						
	ASEAN						
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	UDEAC						
	EAC						
	CEAO						
	RDC						
	Bauxite						
	Iron						
	Copper						
	Phosphate						
	Tin						
	Peanuts						
	Rubber						
	Cocoa						
	Coffee						
	Cotton						
	Lead/Zinc						
	Olive Oil						
	Sugar						
	Wheat						
	Bananas						
	Wool						
GROUP III The Americas Caribbean							
French Guyana							
Brazil							
Uruguay							
Paraguay							
Argentina							
Chile							
Bolivia							
Peru							
Panama							
Costa Rica							
Nicaragua							
El Salvador							
Guatemala							
Mexico							
Trinidad and Tobago							
Jamaica							
Canada							
United States							
Cuba							

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SELECTION OF ALLIANCES, AGREEMENTS & ORGANISATIONS

[illegible]

SELECTION OF ALLIANCES, AGREEMENTS & ORGANISATIONS

	GROUP IV EUROPE U.S.S.R.	Cyprus	Malta	Vatican City		Religious	Political	Military	Economic	Development	Regional Trade	Commodity Trade
Islamic Conference					Islamic Conf							
Non-Aligned National Movement		X	X		Non-Aligned							
Organisation of African Unity					O.A.U.							
The League of Arab States		X	X		Arab League							
The (British) Commonwealth of Nations					Brit. Com							
Organisation of American States					O.A.S.							
North Atlantic Treaty Organisation					NATO							
Central Treaty Organisation					CENTO							
The Warsaw Pact		X			Warsaw Pact							
The Nordic Council					Nordic C.							
ANZUS Pact					ANZUS							
Association of Southeast Asian Nations					ASEAN							
Organisation for Economic Cooperation and					OECD							
European Free Trade Association					EFTA							
European Economic Community		A	A		EEC							
The Group of Ten					Group of Ten							
Council for Mutual Economic Assistance		X			COMECON							
International Energy Agency					IEA							
Conference International Economic					C.I.O.E.C.							
Organisation of Petroleum Exporting					OPEC							
Organisation of Arab Petroleum Exporting					OAPEC							
Latin American Energy Organisation					OLADE							
Organisation of Central American States					OCAS							
Latin American Free Trade Association					LAFTA							
Caribbean Free Trade Association					CARIFTA							
Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic					COLOMBO Plan							
Central American common Market					CACM							
Central African Economic and Customs					UDEAC							
East African Community					EAC							
West African Economic Community					CEAO							
Regional Cooperation for Development					RDC							
International Bauxite Association					Bauxite							
Association of iron Ore Exporting Countries					Iron							
Intergovernmental Council of Copper					Copper							
International Phosphate Club					Phosphate							
International Tin council		C			Tin							
African Peanut Council					Peanuts							
Association of Natural Rubber Producing					Rubber							
International Cocoa Council					Cocoa							
M - Café Mondial Ltd. L = L.A. Coffee					Coffee							
International cotton Advisory committee		C			Cotton							
International Lead and Zinc Study Group		P			Lead/Zinc							
International Olive Oil Council					Olive Oil							
International Sugar Organisation		X			Sugar							
International Wheat Council		E		I	Wheat							
Union of Banana Exporting Countries					Bananas							
International Wool Study Group					Wool							

Notes

NOTES TO VOLUME I & II

CHAPTER 1: GROWING PAINS: FROM A MINI-SECT TO A MAJOR COMPETITOR

- 1 Revill, J. C. *World History* [London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1953] pp. 85–86.
- 2 Josephus. *The Jewish War* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970] p. 41.
- 3 *ibid.*, introduction, JERUSALEM: strictly for the faithful, p. 6R.
- 4 Flannery, Austin P. [Ed.] *Documents of Vatican II, Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation* [Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1975] chapter 1, clause 10. p. 755.
- 5 *ibid.*, clause 9.
- 6 Wells, H.G. *The Outline of History* [London; Cassell, 1951] p. 538.
- 7 Fljannery, *op.cit.*, pp. 350–358, Chapter 1, clauses 2, 6, 7, 8.
- 8 Dimont, Max I. *Jews, God and History* [New York: Signet/New American Library, 1962] p. 134.
- 9 Since the trauma of the Reformation years the church has made much of the exchange between Jesus and his disciples over the question “Who do you say I am?” in Matthew 16: 13–20. It is used to justify its Trinitarian theology and, in the case of the Roman Catholic Church, to justify its claims to be the one true church. This will be discussed further in the final section *Reflections in a wine glass*.
- 10 Hick, John [Ed.] *The Myth of God Incarnate* [London: SCM Press, 1977] p. 88.
- 11 Bornkamm, Gunther, Paul [London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1971] pp. 5–6.
- 12 *ibid.*, p. 9.

- 13 Stoicism is generally defined as a philosophical belief [Macquarie] or a school of philosophy and a form of materialistic pantheism [Oxford Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church]. During the third and second centuries BCE it had been decidedly revolutionary and internationalist, promoting human brotherhood and denouncing slavery but by late in the first century BCE it had lost its revolutionary fervour and become the dominant philosophy of the Roman ruling elite. [Hutchinson 20th Century Encyclopedia] However, because it involved belief that “God was the immanent all-pervading energy by which the world was created and sustained” and “the world reason or ‘Logos’ which manifests itself in the order and beauty of the world” [Oxford, p. 489] it is more properly regarded as a religion.
- 14 Corbishley, T. contrib. Christianity: the Catholic Church Since the Reformation in *The Concise Encyclopedia of Living Faiths* (Ed. R.C. Zaehner) [London: Hutchinson, 1977] pp. 162–163.
- 15 Bornkamm, op. cit., pp. 26–29.
- 16 Furnish, Victor Paul, contributing Commentary on the Letter of Paul to the Galatians in *The Interpreter’s One Volume Commentary on the Bible* (Ed. Charles M. Laymon) [Nashville: Abingdon, 1971] discusses dates as early as 48 or 49 CE but offers the hypothesis that Galatians was written from prison between 57–62 CE.
- 17 Hinnells, John R. (Ed.) *Penguin Reference: Who’s Who of Religions* [London: Penguin, 1996] p. 322.
- 18 Some translators attribute words such as “the God of our fathers hath glorified His son Jesus” to Peter the Apostle in Acts 3:13, [such as in the King James, Domestic and Knox translations], but the majority of translations in English use the word ‘servant’ in place of ‘son’, [as in the Revised Standard, Modern Language, Living Bible, Jerusalem, New English, Moffat, New World and American translations].
- 19 Ling, Trevor *A History of Religion East & West* [London: Macmillan, 1968] provides insights into this period in his chapter *Creeds and Conformity*, pp. 167–186.
- 20 Criticism of the New Testament for inconsistencies and omissions does not suggest that there are no such inconsistencies and omissions in the Old Testament. One such situation has already been noted – the influence of Zoroastrianism on Hebrew worship during the Babylonian exile which only became apparent as a result of relatively recent scholarship. However by their nature the New Testament inconsistencies had a significant bearing on the subsequent development of Christology and thus the course of history.
- 21 Dating of events during that period is extremely difficult and authorities differ in the dating of the calendar, but it is most likely that at that time, about two years before Jesus’ first visit to the temple in Jerusalem, Paul was a babe in arms and Jesus was about ten.
- 22 Ling, op. cit., pp. 159–160.
- 23 Stirling, John F. *Philips’ Atlas of the New Testament* [London: George Philip & Son, 1961] pp. 21, 26, indicates 64 CE as the year of Paul’s martyrdom, but other authorities give the year as 67/68 CE, ie, after the fire of Rome, and the Catholic Almanac 1975, p. 242, suggests either 64 or 67 CE. As both dates are after Nero’s reign and before the fall of Jerusalem the divergence is not of consequence.
- 24 Dimont, op. cit., p. 101.
- 25 Gilbert, Martin *Jewish History Atlas* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976] p. 16.
- 26 Borchsenius, Paul *The Son of a Star* Trans. F.H. Lyon [London: George Allen & Unwin, 1960] p. 18.
- 27 Dimont, op. cit., p. 105.
- 28 Wells, H. G. *The Outline of History* [London: Cassell] p. 480.
- 29 Borchsenius, op. cit., pp. 23–27.
- 30 Gilbert, loc. cit.
- 31 Dimont, op. cit., p. 106.
- 32 Werblowsky, R.J. Zwi contrib. Judaism, or the Religion of Israel in *The Concise Encyclopedia of Faiths* (Ed. R.C. Zaehner) [London: Hutchinson, 1977] p. 18–19.
- 33 *Oxford Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church*, pp. 272, 400.
- 34 Dentan, Robert C. contrib. Commentary on Proverbs in *The Interpreter’s One-Volume Commentary on the Bible* (Ed. Charles M. Laymon) [Nashville: Abingdon, 1971] pp. 304–310.

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- ³⁵ Dentan, Robert C. contrib. Commentary on The Wisdom of Solomon in The Interpreter's One-Volume Commentary on the Bible, pp. 545–546.
- ³⁶ Hinnells, op. cit., pp. 325–326.
- ³⁷ Davies, J.G. contrib. Christianity: the Early Church in The Concise Encyclopedia of Faiths (Ed. R.C. Zaehner) p. 51.
- ³⁸ Hinnells, loc. cit.
- ³⁹ Dentan, (Wisdom), op. cit., p. 546.
- ⁴⁰ Stirlig, op.cit., pp. 1–29.
- ⁴¹ Furnish, op.cit., p. 826.
- ⁴² Phillips, J.B. Letters to the Young Churches [London: Collins/Fontana, 1955] pp. 110–111.
- ⁴³ Ling, op. cit., pp. 159–160.
- ⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p. 170.
- ⁴⁵ Matthew 23: 37–38; 24: 15; Mark 13: 14–23; Luke 13: 35; 17: 26–37; 19: 41–44; 21: 20–24.
- ⁴⁶ Dimont, op. cit., p. 104.
- ⁴⁷ Jones, Alexander, [Ed.] the Introduction to the Synoptic Gospels, The Jerusalem Bible, [London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1968] suggests that Mark's Gospel can be dated before AD 70, perhaps about 64.
- ⁴⁸ Matthew 23:38–39, Jerusalem translation.
- ⁴⁹ Neill, Stephen A History of Christian Missions [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1966] p. 25.
- ⁵⁰ Ling, op. cit., p. 174.
- ⁵¹ Neil, op. cit., p. 32.
- ⁵² Ling, op. cit., p. 176, with reference to J.H. Stawley The Early History of the Liturgy [Cambridge, 1947].
- ⁵³ Epstein, Isadore Judaism [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1973] p. 113.
- ⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 112.
- ⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 113.
- ⁵⁶ Dimont, op. cit., p. 108.
- ⁵⁷ Epstein, op. cit., p. 118.
- ⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 119.

CHAPTER 2: AN INSTRUMENT OF STATE: FROM PERSECUTION TO POWER

- ¹ Wells, H. G. The Outline of History [London: Cassell, 1951] p. 538.
- ² Franzen, August A Concise History of the Church [New York: Herder & Herder, 1969] p. 50.
- ³ Epstein, Isidore Judaism [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1959] p. 118.
- ⁴ Dimont, Max I. Jews, God & History [New York: Signet/New American Library, 1962] p. 121.
- ⁵ *ibid.*, p. 123.
- ⁶ *ibid.*, p. 113.
- ⁷ Epstein, op. cit. p. 121.
- ⁸ Dimont, op. cit., p. 122.
- ⁹ Hurlbut, J.L. The Story of the Christian Church [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970] p. 47.
- ¹⁰ Hinnells, John R. (Ed.) Who's Who of Religions [London: Penguin, 1996] pp. 258–259.
- ¹¹ Filson, Floyd V., contrib. The Unity Between the Testaments in The Interpreter's One-Volume Commentary on the Bible, Charles M. Laymon (Ed.) [Nashville: Abington, 1971] p. 989.
- ¹² Oxford Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church, p. 321.

- 13 Ling, Trevor. *A History of religion East and West* [London: Macmillan, 1968] p. 174.
- 14 Franzen, op. cit., p. 32.
- 15 Neuner, J. and J. Dupuis *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church* [Bangalore: Theological Publications, 1978] p. 222, Dogmatic Constitution on the Church of Christ, The Institution and Foundation of the Church, chapter II, The Perpetuity of St. Peter's Primacy in the Roman Pontiffs.
- 16 Ling, loc. cit.
- 17 Catholic Almanac, 1975, p. 128.
- 18 Ling, op. cit., p. 175.
- 19 Franzen, op. cit., p. 27.
- 20 Roth, Cecil A *History of the Jews* [New York: Schocken, 1970] p. 143.
- 21 *ibid*, p. 139.
- 22 Catholic Almanac, op.cit., p. 156.
- 23 Gilbert, Martin *Jewish History Atlas* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976] pp. 2–8.
- 24 Ling, op. cit., pp. 78, 182.
- 25 Brown, Peter *Augustine of Hippo* [London: Faber & Faber, 1975] pp. 43–44.
- 26 Wells, op. cit., p. 542.
- 27 Barrow, R. H. *The Romans* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1976] pp. 177–178.
- 28 *ibid*, p. 182.
- 29 Franzen, op. cit. p. 55.
- 30 Gilbert, op. cit., pp. 12, 18.
- 31 *ibid*, p. 17.
- 32 Roth, op. cit., p. 138.
- 33 *ibid*, p. 129.
- 34 Wells, op. cit., p. 544, quotes extracts from Gibbon's translation of the edict.
- 35 The edict of toleration of 311 carried the names of Constantine and Licinius as well as Galerius. Another colleague of the emperor, Maximin Daza, ruler of Egypt ad Syria, refused to sign it.
- 36 Bettenson, Henry (Ed.) *Documents of the Christian Church* [Oxford: 1977] p. 15.
- 37 Brown, op. cit., p. 215.
- 38 Franzen, op. cit., p. 58. Franzen points out that the statement of the new policies was in the form of a rescript sent to the governors of the eastern provinces and that it was not an edict. It may have been prompted by a question from one of those governors in view of Constantine's further rise in power and his well known support for Christianity in the western provinces.
- 39 Bettenson, op. cit., p. 16.
- 40 *ibid*, pp. 17–18.
- 41 Franzen, op. cit., p. 59.
- 42 Ling op. cit., p. 180.
- 43 Catholic Almanac, p. 156.
- 44 Wells, op. cit., pp. 358–359.
- 45 Hurlbut op. cit., pp. 68–69.
- 46 Wells, op. cit., p. 541.
- 47 O'Grady, Joan. *Heresy* [Longmead: Element, 1985] p. 76, citing Eusebius' *History of the Emperor*.
- 48 O'Grady, loc. cit.

- 49 Franzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 71–72.
- 50 Bettenson, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
- 51 Neuner, J. and J. Dupuis, *op. cit.*, pp. 6–7. [The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church carries the Imprimi potest of the Delegate of the Superior General S.J. for the Indian Assistancy and the Imprimatur of the Archbishop of Delhi.] The Symbol of Niceae includes the following expressions. (1) “... Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only-begotten generated from the Father, that is, from the being of the Father ...” (2) “... one in being with the Father ...” (3) As for those who say “... He was made from nothing...” [This implies an act of making on the part of God, in contrast to “He came into being from what-is-not” which implies spontaneous existence without action on the part of God the Father.] (4) Such persons, the church “condemns” [this implies subject to excommunication which is the reversible exclusion from the sacraments, in contrast to “anathematizes” which implies irreversible exclusion and separation from the life of the church under ceremonial curse.]
- 52 Catholic Almanac 1997, p. 199.
- 53 Neuner and Dupuis, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
- 54 An Australian Prayer Book (Sydney: The Standing Committee of the General Synod of the Church of England in Australia, 1978) p. 625.
- 55 Oxford Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church, p. 307.
- 56 Shepherd, Massey H. contrib. Commentary on The Gospel According to Saint John in The Interpreter’s One-Volume Commentary on the Bible, Charles M. Laymon (Ed.) [Nashville: Abington, 1971] pp. 707–709.
- 57 Baird, William, contrib. Commentary on The Acts of the Apostles in The Interpreter’s One-Volume Commentary on the Bible (Ed. Charles M. Laymon) [Nashville: Abington, 1971] p. 729.
- 58 Hinnells, *op. cit.*, pp. 325–326.
- 59 Davies, J.G. contrib. Christianity: the Early Church in The Concise Encyclopedia of Faiths (Ed. R.C. Zaehner) p. 51.
- 60 Shepherd, *op. cit.*, p. 708.
- 61 Oxford Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church, p. 307.
- 62 Shepherd, *op. cit.*, p. 709.
- 63 Some translations, based on alternative early manuscripts, use other words: ‘the Son of Man who is in heaven’ (Jerusalem); ‘even the Son of man which is in heaven’ (King James); ‘the Son of Man whose home is in heaven’ (NEB).
- 64 Some manuscripts read ‘How can Abraham have seen you?’
- 65 Advocate’ is also rendered as ‘counsellor’, ‘comforter’ or ‘protector’ in some translations, and ‘Issues’ is rendered as ‘proceeds’ in some translations. ‘Issues’ implies either an involuntary response by the Spirit or a positive act of sending by the Father, while ‘proceeds’ implies an independent or positive action by the Spirit.]
- 66 Greeley, Andrew M. The Mary Myth: On the femininity of God [New York: Seabury, 1977] pp. 88–89, 98.
- 67 *ibid.*, pp. 96–97.
- 68 *ibid.*, p. 73, 81.
- 69 Gibbon, Edward (Ed. Dero A. Saunders) The Portable Gibbon: The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977] p. 548.
- 70 Greeley, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
- 71 At the time of publishing The Mary Myth: On the femininity of God [New York: Seabury, 1977] Fr Andrew M. Greeley was director of the Center for the Study of American Pluralism at the National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago. The author of at least seven previous books, he was described as “one of the most popular Catholic writers and sought after lecturers in the country today” and in 1972 he was a joint recipient of the Thomas More Award for “the most distinguished contribution to Catholic literature.” [From jacket cover notes.]
- 72 Greeley, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
- 73 *ibid.*, p. 77.

- 74 An Australian Prayer Book (Sydney: The Standing Committee of the General Synod of the Church of England in Australia, 1978) p. 625.
- 75 Matthew 23: 13, 23, 24. Jerusalem Bible [London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1968].
- 76 Wells, loc. cit.
- 77 Hurlbut, op. cit., p. 68.
- 78 Wells, loc. cit.
- 79 Barrow, op. cit., p. 99.
- 80 Zaehner, R. C. (Ed.) The Concise Encyclopaedia of Living Faiths [London: Hutchinson, 1977] p. 239.
- 81 Grant, Michael Gladiators [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1971] from chapters one and two, pp. 13–54.
- 82 *ibid.*, p. 115.
- 83 *ibid.*, p. 116.
- 84 *ibid.*, pp. 117–11.

CHAPTER 3: TO HUNT A HERETIC

- 1 The Jerusalem Bible, (Edit.) Alexander Jones Introduction to the Letters to All Christians [London: Darton Longman & Todd, 1968] p. 294.
- 2 “So then, as the body without the spirit is dead, so also faith without actions is dead.” James 2: 26. The Good News Bible Translation [London: The British & Foreign Bible Society, Collins/Fontana, 1976] p. 286.
- 3 Diaspora is a term which is taken to refer to the scattering of the Jewish people from Palestine generally. But it refers more particularly to people of Jewish faith living in separated communities in an alien religious environment, waiting for the restoration of the Temple in Jerusalem and their right to worship there.
- 4 It is difficult to define a theocratic state in terms of the thinking of the day because religious argument was confused with the politics of the empire and personal ambitions which knew no bounds. It is reasonable to think of either a state governed by God through ordained or predestined leaders, or a state governed by leaders according to their interpretation of God’s will.
- 5 Franzen, August (Trans., J. P. Dolan) A Concise History of the Church [New York: Herder & Herder, 1969] p. 57.
- 6 *ibid.*, p. 59.
- 7 Ling, Trevor A History of Religion East & West [London: Macmillan, 1968] p. 181.
- 8 Bettenson, Henry Documents of the Christian Church [Oxford, 1967] p. 16.
- 9 Roth, Cecil A History of the Jews [New York: Schocken, 1970] p. 143.
- 10 Franzen, op. cit., p. 60.
- 11 *ibid.*, p. 72.
- 12 Neill, Stephen A History of Christian Missions [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1964] p. 44.
- 13 Franzen, op. cit., p. 72.
- 14 Bettenson, op. cit., p. 19.
- 15 Ling, op. cit., p. 180.
- 16 Franzen, op. cit., p. 60.
- 17 Bettenson, op. cit., p. 16.
- 18 Dimont, op. cit., p. 154.
- 19 Neill, op. cit., p. 48.
- 20 Bettenson, op. cit., pp. 19–20.
- 21 *ibid.*

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- 22 Gibbon, Edward *The Decline & Fall of the Roman Empire* (Ed. Dero A. Saunders, *The Portable Gibbon*) [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1977] pp. 463–466.
- 23 Gibbon, *op. cit.*, chapter xi, pp. 436 ff.
- 24 Brown, Peter Augustine of Hippo [London: Faber & Faber, 1975] p. 215.
- 25 Roth, *loc. cit.*
- 26 Dimont, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
- 27 Neill, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
- 28 Dimont, Max I. *Jews, God & History* [New York: Signet/New American Library] p. 154.
- 29 Hurlbut, J. L. *The Story of the Christian Church* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970] p. 68.
- 30 *ibid.*, p. 69.
- 31 Quotations from the Authorized King James translation of the Bible.
- 32 Zarnecki, G. *The Monastic Achievement* [London: Thames & Hudson, 1972] p. 11.
- 33 Gibbon, *op. cit.*, p. 466.
- 34 Kellett, A *Short History of Religions* [London: Victor Gollancz, 1933] p. 221.
- 35 Franzen, *op. cit.*, p. 62–63. It appears that both joint-emperors acted on the edict, but that it was issued in the name of Theodosius only.
- 36 Fisher, H.A.L. *A History of Europe* [London: Arnold, 1955] p. 112.
- 37 Neill, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
- 38 Gibbon, *op. cit.*, p. 547.
- 39 *ibid.*
- 40 McEvedy, Colin *Atlas of Medieval History* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977] pp. 16–18.
- 41 *Catholic Almanac*, 1975, p. 166.

CHAPTER 4: CALL IT A CITY OF GOD

- 1 Brown, Peter Augustine of Hippo [London: Faber & Faber, 1975] p. 142.
- 2 Hurlbut, J. L. *The Story of the Christian Church* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970] p. 49.
- 3 Wells, H.G. *The Outline of History* [London: Cassell, 1951] p. 191.
- 4 Gilbert, Martin *Jewish History Atlas* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976] pp. 6, 7.
- 5 Roth, Cecil A *History of the Jews* [New York: Schocken, 1970] p. 90.
- 6 Wells, H. G. *The Outline of History, Revised: Raymond Postgate* [London: Cassell, 1951] p. 192.
- 7 *ibid.*, p. 449.
- 8 Barrow, R. H. *The Romans* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1949] p. 106.
- 9 Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
- 10 *ibid.*, p. 91.
- 11 Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 433.
- 12 *ibid.*, p. 445.
- 13 Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
- 14 Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
- 15 Grollenburg, L.H. *Shorter Atlas of the Bible* [Edinburgh: Nelson, 1959] p. 135.
- 16 Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

NOTES TO VOLUME I & II

- 17 *ibid.*, p. 90.
- 18 Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 460.
- 19 *ibid.*, pp. 444, 460.
- 20 Barrow, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
- 21 Gilbert, *loc. cit.*
- 22 Barrow, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
- 23 Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 462.
- 24 Revill, J.C. *World History* [London: longmans Green, 1953] p. 107.
- 25 Barrow, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
- 26 *ibid.*, p. 143.
- 27 See above, chapter 3, *An Instrument of State*.
- 28 Brown, *op.cit.*, p. 21.
- 29 See above, chapter 3, *To Hunt a Heretic*.
- 30 Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–24.
- 31 Augustine *Confessions* (Trans. J.K. Ryan) [New York: Image/Doubleday, 1960] p. 216 (Book 9, chapter 8, p. 17).
- 32 *ibid.*, p. 19.
- 33 *ibid.*, p. 21.
- 34 *ibid.*, p. 22.
- 35 *ibid.* Notes to Book II, chapter 3. P. 375.
- 36 *ibid.*, p. 67 (Book II, ch. 3).
- 37 *ibid.*, p. 66 (Book II, ch. 2).
- 38 *ibid.*, p. 65 (Book II, ch. 2).
- 39 *ibid.*, p. 66 (Book II, ch. 2).
- 40 Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
- 41 *ibid.*, p. 43.
- 42 See above, chapter 3, *To Hunt a Heretic*.
- 43 Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
- 44 Hurlbut, *op.cit.*, p. 76.
- 45 Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
- 46 *ibid.*, p. 63.
- 47 *ibid.*, p. 81.
- 48 *ibid.*, p. 151.
- 49 See above, chapter 3, *To Hunt a Heretic*.
- 50 *ibid.*
- 51 Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 139, 203.
- 52 *ibid.*, p. 139.
- 53 See above, chapter 3, *To Hunt a Heretic*.
- 54 Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 203.
- 55 *ibid.*, p. 143.
- 56 See above, chapter 3, *To Hunt a Heretic*.

NOTES TO VOLUME I & II

- 57 *ibid.*
- 58 *ibid.*
- 59 Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 231.
- 60 Revill, *op.cit.*, p. 117.
- 61 See above, chapter 3, To Hunt a Heretic.
- 62 Franzen, August A Concise History of the Church [New York: Herder & Herder, 1969] p. 88.
- 63 Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 334.
- 64 Fisher, H.A.L. A History of Europe [London: Edward Arnold, 1936] p. 112.
- 65 Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 236.
- 66 McEvedy, Penguin Atlas of Medieval History [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961] p. 18.
- 67 Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 336.
- 68 *ibid.*, p. 341, 345, 353, 357.
- 69 *ibid.*, p. 357.
- 70 Wells, H.G. The Outline of History [London: Cassell, 1951] p. 511.
- 71 McEvedy, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
- 72 Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 524.
- 73 Parrinder, Geoffrey Africa's Three Religions [London: Sheldon, 1969] p. 109.
- 74 Bourke, Vernan J. Introduction to City of God (New York, Image, Doubleday & Company, 1958) p. 7.
- 75 Brown, *op.cit.*, p. 142.
- 76 *ibid.*, p. 147.
- 77 *ibid.*, p. 197.
- 78 *ibid.*, p. 154.
- 79 *ibid.*, p. 196.
- 80 *ibid.*, p. 199.
- 81 *ibid.*, pp. 210, 212.
- 82 *ibid.*, p. 222.
- 83 *ibid.*, p. 209.
- 84 *ibid.*, p. 223.
- 85 *ibid.*, p. 405.
- 86 *ibid.*, p. 222.
- 87 *ibid.*, p. 336.
- 88 *ibid.*, p. 350.
- 89 Augustine City of God, Book III, Trans. G. G. Walsh et.al. (New York: Image, Doubleday & Co, 1858) chapter 1.
- 90 *ibid.*, Book XXII, chapter 24.
- 91 Quotations from Deuteronomy and the Letter of Jude: The Jerusalem Bible (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1968) pp. 193 (O.T. section) & 319 (N.T. section).
- 92 Augustine, *op.cit.*, Book I, chapter 1.
- 93 *ibid.*, Book XIII, chapter 5.
- 94 *ibid.*, Book XIII, chapter 15.
- 95 *ibid.*, Book VII, chapter 11.
- 96 Gilson, Etienne, Foreword to City of God (New York: Image, Doubleday & Co, 1958) p. 31.

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- 97 Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 89.
- 98 Ling, Trevor A History of Religion East and West [London: Macmillan, 1968] p. 282.
- 99 Graef, Hilda Devotion to the Blessed Virgin (London: Burns & Oates, 1963) p. 11.
- 100 Hurlbut, *op.cit.*, p. 72.
- 101 Graef, *op.cit.*, p. 18.
- 102 *ibid.*, p. 22.
- 103 Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 77.
- 104 Kellett, E. E. A Short History of Religions (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1933) pp. 219, 220.
- 105 Franzen, *op.cit.* pp. 76–78.
- 106 Wells, *op.cit.*, p. 564.
- 107 Hurlbut, *op.cit.* p. 169.
- 108 Catholic Almanac 1975; Felician A. Foy, Ed. (Huntington, Ind., USA: 1974) Our Sunday Visitor, Inc., p. 326.
- 109 Graef, *op.cit.*, p. 35.
- 110 Catholic Almanac 1975, *op.cit.*, p. 348.
- 111 *ibid.*, p. 305.
- 112 *ibid.*, p. 348.
- 113 Catholic Almanac 1990; Felician A. Foy, Ed. (Huntington, Ind., USA: 1989) Our Sunday Visitor, Inc., p. 148.
- 114 Gibbon, Edward, Ed. D. A. Saunders The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977] p. 483.
- 115 Brown, *op.cit.*, pp. 398–400.
- 116 Catholic Almanac 1990, *op.cit.*, p. 198.
- 117 Wells, *op.cit.*, p. 515.
- 118 Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 78.
- 119 Catholic Almanac 1975, *op.cit.*, pp. 163, 323.

CHAPTER 5: THE LOST OPPORTUNITY: FROM ROME TO MEDINA

- ¹ Johanson, Donald (Cleveland Museum of Natural History, press conference, Jan 1979).
- ² Gibbon, Edward. The Decline & Fall of the Roman Empire (Ed. Dero A. Saunders, The Portable Gibbon) [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1977] p. 621.
- ³ *ibid.*, p. 622.
- ⁴ *ibid.*, p. 623.
- ⁵ Mark 16:16 The Jerusalem Bible (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1968).
- ⁶ Wells, H. G. The Outline of History [London: Cassell, 1951] pp. 175–179.
- ⁷ Topping, Audrey National Geographic Vol 153, No. 4, April 1978.
- ⁸ Ling, Trevor A History of Religion East and West (London: Macmillan, 1968) p. 101.
- ⁹ *ibid.*, p. 83.
- ¹⁰ Brownlee, W. H. contrib. The Interpreter's One-Volume Commentary on the Bible (Nashville: Abingdon, 1971) p. 411.
- ¹¹ Catholic Almanac 1975, *op.cit.*, p. 157.
- ¹² Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 117.

- 13 Three authors put the date of the adoption of Roman Christianity by Clovis at 496, immediately after his victory over the Alemanni at Alsace. They are: Fisher, H. A. L. *A history of Europe* (London: Edward Arnold, 1955) p. 121; Revill, J. C. *World History* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1953) p. 121; and Neill, Stephen A *History of Christian Missions* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964) p. 58, who dates his “conversion” as Christmas Day, 496, and links it to his marriage to a Christian Burgundian princess three years earlier.
- 14 McEvedy, *op.cit.*, pp. 24, 26.
- 15 Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 121.
- 16 Revill, *op.cit.*, p. 22. Theodoric arranged a series of diplomatic marriage alliances. He married a sister of Clovis, and two of his sisters and two of his daughters each married kings (of the Vandals, Thuringians, Visigoths and Burgundy).
- 17 Keen, Maurice *The Pelican History of Medieval Europe* (Harmondsworth: Penguin-Pelican, 1975) p. 29.
- 18 Franzen, *op.cit.*, pp. 119–121.
- 19 Bettenson, Henry Ed. *Documents of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967) p. 22.
- 20 Franzen, *op.cit.*, pp. 121–122.
- 21 Zarnecki, George *The Monastic Achievement* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1972) p. 19.
- 22 Wells, *op. cit.*, pp. 556–558.
- 23 Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
- 24 Von Grunebaum, G. E. *Classical Islam* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1970), p. 19.
- 25 *ibid.*, pp. 21, 22.
- 26 *ibid.*, pp. 22–23.
- 27 Gilbert, Martin *Jewish History Atlas* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976) p. 29.
- 28 *ibid.*, p. 11.
- 29 Revill, *op.cit.*, p. 127.
- 30 Lewis, Bernard *The Arabs in History* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1966) p. 32.
- 31 Fisher, *op.cit.*, p. 133.
- 32 von Grunebaum, *op.cit.*, p. 19.
- 33 McEvedy, Colin *The Penguin Atlas of Medieval History* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961) p. 30.
- 34 Franzen, *op.cit.*, pp. 80, 81.
- 35 Lewis, *op.cit.*, p. 34.
- 36 Lewis, *op.cit.*, p. 30–31.
- 37 Von Grunebaum, *op.cit.*, p. 22.
- 38 Data available on this period of Arabia’s history is limited and unreliable and historians have difficulty in dating many events such as Abraha’s bid to gain control of Mecca. Information in each of von Grunebaum, *ibid*, Lewis, *ibid*, and Watt, *Montgomery Muhammad – Prophet and Statesman* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964) is helpful.
- 39 McEvedy, *op.cit.*, p. 28.
- 40 *ibid.*, p. 32.
- 41 Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 32.
- 42 Livingstone, Elizabeth A. *Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977) p. 507.
- 43 *ibid.*, p. 430.
- 44 von Grunebaum, *op.cit.*, p. 19.
- 45 Watt, W. *Montgomery Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman* [London: Oxford, 1961], p. 5.

- ⁴⁶ Roth, Cecil A History of the Jews (New York: Schocken, 1970) pp. 145–46.
- ⁴⁷ Hurlbut, *op.cit.*, p. 83.
- ⁴⁸ Catholic Almanac 1975, *op.cit.*, p. 244.
- ⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 373.
- ⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 381.
- ⁵¹ Smith, G. D. contrib. Faith and Revealed Truth, The Teaching of the Catholic Church (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1949) p. 31.
- ⁵² Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 92.
- ⁵³ Avi-Yonah, Michael, contrib. Byzantine Jerusalem in Jerusalem, (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing, Israel Pocket Library, 1973) p. 47.
- ⁵⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 38, 43.
- ⁵⁵ McEvedy, *op.cit.*, p. 34.
- ⁵⁶ Hurlbut, *op.cit.*, p. 91.
- ⁵⁷ Graef, *op.cit.*, p. 34.
- ⁵⁸ Roth, *op.cit.*, pp. 146–148.
- ⁵⁹ Wells, *op.cit.*, p. 565.
- ⁶⁰ Catholic Almanac 1975, *op.cit.*, p. 298.
- ⁶¹ I Samuel 5: 1–6, The Jerusalem Bible.
- ⁶² I Kings 8: 6–9, The Jerusalem Bible.
- ⁶³ Josephus, Flavius Antiquities of the Jews, trans. Wm. Whiston in The Complete Works of Flavius Josephus (London: Thomas Nelson, undated) pp. 220–223.
- ⁶⁴ Von Grunebaum, *op.cit.*, p. 42.
- ⁶⁵ Wells, *op.cit.*, p. 570.

CHAPTER 6: TURN BACK THE CLOCK

- ¹ Von Grunebaum, G.E. (trans. Katherine Watson) Classical Islam [London: George Allen & Unwin, 1970] p. 42.
- ² Wells, H.G. (Revised, Raymond Postgate) The Outline of History [London: Cassell, 1951] p. 570.
- ³ Watt, W. Montgomery Muhammad: Prophet and Statesman [London: Oxford, 1961] p. 231.
- ⁴ Kellett, A Short History Religions [London: Victor Gollancz, 1933] p. 333.
- ⁵ Hurlbut, J. L. The Story of the Christian Church [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970] p. 91.
- ⁶ Neill, Stephen. A History of Christian Missions [Harmondsworth: Penguin / Pelican, 1964] p. 14.
- ⁷ Davenport, R. A., publisher's note, The Life of George Sale, The Qur'an [London: William Tegg, 1869] pp. x–xi.
- ⁸ Sale, George, letter of inscription to Lord Carteret, The Koran, trans. by George Sale [London: William Tegg, 1869] p. iii.
- ⁹ Davenport, R. A., *op.cit.*, pp. xi–xii.
- ¹⁰ The date of Muhammad's birth cannot be verified but it must have been within a few years of 570.
- ¹¹ Guillaume, Alfred. Islam [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1976] pp. 14–15.
- ¹² *ibid.*, p. 16.
- ¹³ Von Grunebaum, *op.cit.*, pp. 18–19.
- ¹⁴ Watt, *op.cit.*, p. 7.

- 15 Von Grunebaum, *op.cit.*, p. 29, refers to Khadija as “a rich merchant’s widow” and his wording indicates that her marriage to Muhammad was her second.
- Watt, *op.cit.*, p. 12, refers to her as a “woman with property and independence who had already had two husbands.” Both writers say the evidence suggests that she may have been somewhat younger than the 40 years which Muslim tradition accepts.
- 16 *ibid.*, p. 12.
- 17 Von Grunebaum, *op.cit.*, p. 22.
- 18 The Qur’an, translation checked and revised by Mahmud Y. Zayid and approved by the Supreme Sunni and Shii Councils of the Republic of Lebanon [Beirut: Dar Al-Choura, 1980].
- 19 In his English translation of the Qur’an N.J. Dawood uses the word ‘religion’ in place of ‘brotherhood’, and in the verse referring to worshippers returning to their Lord he uses the word ‘salvation.’ and says “these vie with each other for salvation and are the first to attain it.”
- 20 George Sale retains the word ‘religion’ but in the second instance uses the words “these hasten unto good and foremost to obtain the same.”
- 21 Livingstone, Elizabeth A. *Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977] pp. 27, 283, 343.
- 22 Jeffery, Arthur (Ed) *Islam: Muhammad and His Religion* [Indianapolis, USA Bobbs-Merrill Co Inc, The Library of Liberal Arts, 1958] p. 147.
- 23 *ibid.*, p. 35.
- 24 The Qur’an. Trans. Zayid.
- 25 The way in which translators attempt to present a work in a second language (say, to maintain the literal meaning of the original, to interpret the author’s presentation so that it is more understandable in another culture, or to simplify language to present the work in a contemporary idiom) may lead to significant differences in emphasis or interpretation and can influence the readers’ understanding of the work or cause confusion, even if the translators have approached the work with essentially the same understanding of it. In view of that, and in view of the importance of The Night Journey, extracts from the three translations which have been used in the present work are set out here to show how the translators have presented two key phrases. The translations are by Zayid (approved by the Supreme Sunni and Shii Councils of the Republic of Lebanon, first published 1980); Sale (see above, first published 1734); and Dawood (Iraq State Scholar, London University 1945, first published 1956, fourth edition 1974).
1. Allah’s response in the event of a third transgression.
Sale: Peradventure your Lord will have mercy on you hereafter: but if ye return to transgress a third time, we also will return to chastise you; and we have appointed hell to be the prison of the unbelievers.
 [Sale notes that Muslims interpret this passage to refer to the contemporary Jewish rejection of Muhammad as a prophet and the ‘extermination’ of the tribe of Koreidha, etc.]
Dawood: We said: Allah may yet be merciful to you. If you again transgress, you shall again be scourged. We have made Hell a prison house for the unbelievers.
Zayid: It may be that Allah will have mercy upon you. But if you return (to mischief) We will return (with punishment). We have made Hell a prison-house for the unbelievers.
2. The matter of predestination or judgement.
Sale: The fate of every man have we bound about his neck; and we will produce unto him, on the day of resurrection, a book wherein his action shall be recorded: it shall be offered to him open, and the angels shall say unto him, Read thy book; thine own soul will be a sufficient accountant against thee, this day.
 [Sale notes that a literal translation would be the bird in place of fate, and this, to the Arabs, would signify a person’s fortune or success.]
Dawood: The fate of each man We have bound about his neck. On the Day of Resurrection We shall confront him with a book spread wide open, saying: ‘Here is your book: read it. Enough for you this day that your own soul should call you to account.

Zayid: The works of each man We have bound about his neck. On the Day of Resurrection, We shall confront him with a book spread wide open, (saying): 'Read your book. Enough for you this day that your own soul should call you to account.'

These translations involve considerable change in emphasis and the thrust is not the same in each case. As noted in the text, if one is using Dawood's translation it is more difficult to appreciate the relationship between the Night Journey, the Covenant of Sinai, Maimonides' understanding and expectations, and twentieth century events which have been referred to in the text and which will be dealt with in later chapters.

- ²⁶ Dawood, N. J. (Trans) Footnotes to the Qur'an [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974] p. 234.
- ²⁷ Barnavi, Eli (Ed.) A Historical Atlas of the Jewish People [London: Kuperard, 1994] pp. 4–5.
- ²⁸ Meiseles, Meir. Judaism: Thought and Legend [New York: Feldheim, 1964] pp. 481–482.
- ²⁹ Dawood, loc. cit.
- ³⁰ Von Grunebaum, op. cit., p. 31.
- ³¹ Watt, op.cit., p. 68.
- ³² Hurlbut, op.cit., p. 90.
- ³³ Von Grunebaum, op.cit., pp. 36–45.
- ³⁴ Watt, op.cit., pp. 218–219.
- ³⁵ Von Grunebaum, op.cit., p. 46.
- ³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 48.
- ³⁷ Watt, op.cit., p. 222.
- ³⁸ Guillaume, op. cit., p. 19.
- ³⁹ Von Grunebaum, op.cit., p. 54.
- ⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 55.
- ⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 54.

CHAPTER 7: ON THE ROMAN ROAD

- ¹ Wells, op.cit., p. 610.
- ² *ibid.*, p. 612.
- ³ Roth, op.cit., p. 146.
- ⁴ Von Grunebaum, op.cit., p. 67.
- ⁵ Wells, op.cit., p. 580.
- ⁶ *ibid.*, p. 581.
- ⁷ Guillaume, op.cit., p. 111.
- ⁸ Von Grunebaum, op.cit., p. 58.
- ⁹ Hinnells, John R. (Ed.) Who's who of Religions (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1996) p. 18.
- ¹⁰ Von Grunebaum, op.cit., p. 48.
- ¹¹ Guillaume, op.cit., p. 116.
- ¹² Franzen, op.cit., pp. 81–82. According to Franzen it was the Sixth General Council, summoned by Emperor Constantine III.

- 13 Neuner, J. & J. Dupuis (Eds.) *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church* (Bangalore: Theological Publications in India, 1978) pp. 165–166. According to Neuner it was the Third Council, convoked by Emperor Constantine VI “with the full consent of Pope Agatho.” He notes that there was correspondence between the Pope and the Emperor in March 1990 which formed the basis of doctrinal statements acclaimed at the fourth session of the council in November 680; the then Patriarch of Constantinople, Macarius, was condemned at the ninth session for promoting the “monothelistic tendency”; and the statements noted above were approved at its 18th and last session on September 16, 681.
- 14 Bettenson, Henry *Documents of the Christian Church* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967] pp. 92–93, The Third Council of Constantinople.
- 15 Von Grunebaum, *op.cit.*, p. 63.
- 16 Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 122.
- 17 Livingstone, *op.cit.*, p. 384.
- 18 Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 123.
- 19 *ibid.*, p. 123.
- 20 Livingstone, *op.cit.*, p. 384.
- 21 Wells, *op.cit.*, p. 638.
- 22 McEvedy, Colin *The Penguin Atlas of Medieval History* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961), pp. 22–26.
- 23 Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 128.
- 24 Livingstone, *op.cit.*, p. 374.
- 25 Dimont, Max I. *Jews, God and History* (New York: New American Library/Signet, 1962) p. 191.
- 26 Kellett, *op.cit.*, p. 255.
- 27 Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 124.
- 28 *ibid.*, p. 125.
- 29 *ibid.*, p. 131.
- 30 Livingstone, *op.cit.*, p. 70.
- 31 Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 130.
- 32 Wells, *op.cit.*, p. 637.
- 33 von Grunebaum, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
- 34 Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 132.
- 35 *Catholic Almanac* 1975, p. 371.
- 36 Bettenson, *op.cit.*, p. 94.
- 37 Livingstone, *op.cit.*, p. 254.
- 38 von Grunebaum, *op.cit.*, pp. 78–80.
- 39 Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 145

CHAPTER 8: A CHALLENGE WITH A DIFFERENCE

- 1 Gambling systems run by Totalisator Agency Boards.
- 2 World Council of Churches.
- 3 Franzen, *op.cit.*, pp. 154–155.
- 4 Wells, *op.cit.*, p. 647.
- 5 Bettenson, *op.cit.*, p. 184.

⁶ Livingstone, *op.cit.*, p. 505.

⁷ Dillenberger, John Martin Luther (New York: Doubleday, 1961), introduction p.xx.

⁸ See the final section of Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, *The Laws of Kings and Their Wars*, [New York/Jerusalem: Moznaim, 1987], notably chapters 5, 6 and 8 and commentary by Rabbi Eliyahu Touger.

Chapter 6 reads, in part:

Halachah 1. "War, whether a *milchemet hareshut* (fought to expand the boundaries of Eretz Yisrael) or a *milchemet mitzvah* (fought against Amalek or one of the seven idol-worshipping Canaanite nations) should not be waged against anybody until he is offered the opportunity of peace as [Deuteronomy 20:10] states: 'when you approach a city to wage war against it, you must propose a peaceful settlement.' If [the enemy] accepts the offer of peace and commits itself to the Seven Mitzvot that were commanded to Noah's descendants, none of them should be killed. Rather, they should be subjugated, as [ibid:11] states: 'They shall be your subjects and serve you.' If they agree to tribute, but do not accept subjugation, or if they accept subjugation, but do not agree to tribute, their offer should not be heeded. [They must] accept both. ...

Halachah 3. It is forbidden to lie when making such a covenant or to be untruthful with them after they have made peace and accepted the Seven Mitzvot.

Halachah 4. If they do not agree to a peaceful settlement, or if they agree to a peaceful settlement, but refuse to accept the Seven Mitzvot, war should be waged against them.

⁹ Grollenberg, Luc. H. *Shorter Atlas of the Bible* [London: Thomas Nelson, 1959] p. 135 (quoting Jewish historian Josephus).

¹⁰ Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 164.

¹¹ McEvedy, *op.cit.*, p. 52.

¹² Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 167.

¹³ Wells, *op.cit.*, p. 654.

¹⁴ Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 178.

¹⁵ *Catholic Almanac* 1975, pp. 171, 173.

¹⁶ Neill, *op.cit.*, p. 88.

¹⁷ Pipes Richard, *Russia under the old regime* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977) pp. 35–36.

¹⁸ Neill, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

¹⁹ Pipes, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

²⁰ Gilbert, *op.cit.*, p. 26.

²¹ McEvedy, *op.cit.*, p. 38.

²² Lilienthal Alfred M. *What Price Israel?* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1953) pp. 220, 222.

²³ Gilbert, *op.cit.*, p. 26.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 25.

²⁵ The Khazar Khanate is not the only example of a population with no ancestral linkage with Abraham having adopted Judaism en masse, but it is the classic example of such an event since the beginning of the Christian Era. Another example, (the use of an army of pagan mercenaries by John Hyrcanus to force the Idumaeans to adopt Judaism and to accept the practice of circumcision), has been referred to in footnote ⁶, page 4 above. However, because that incident took place during the pre-Christian consolidation of Eretz Yisrael no distinction is generally made between the descendants of the Idumaeen converts and the descendants of Abraham who formed the basis of the Jewish community when the Christian Era dawned. The Torah includes specific provision for the acceptance of converts into the community and, as noted in earlier chapters, there have been periods of active proselytizing during the Christian Era with acceptance of the converts on a similar basis.

²⁶ Gilbert, *op.cit.*, pp. 26, 31, 32.

²⁷ Lilienthal, *op.cit.*, p. 222.

- 28 Roth, Cecil. *A history of the Jews* (New York: Schocken Books, 1974) pp. 158–162.
- 29 McEvedy, op.cit., pp. 54–84.
- 30 Heschel, Abraham Joshua Maimonides [New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1982] p. 9.
- 31 Gribetz, Greenstein & Stein. *The Timetables of Jewish History* [New York: Simon & Schuster/Touchstone, 1993] pp. 115–120.
- 32 Heschel, op. cit., p. 196.
- 33 Gribetz, op. cit., p. 121.
- 34 Heschel, op. cit., p. 97.
- 35 Barnavi, op. cit., p. 103.
- 36 Touger, Eliyahu introduction to Maimonides' *Mishneh Torah*, final volume, *The Laws of Kings and Their Wars* [New York/Jerusalem; Moznaim, 1987] pp. vii–ix.
- 37 A paraphrase of the Jerusalem English language translation.
- 38 Touger, op. cit., p. 234.
- 39 *ibid.*, p. 236.
- 40 Touger, loc. cit.
- 41 See also Minkin, Jacob S. *The Teachings of Maimonides* [Northvale, New Jersey: Jason Aronson, 1993] pp. 398–401. Minkin devotes four pages to the issue of the Messiah and the Messianic Age. He interprets the Rambam's teaching as referring to two Messiahs: "the first, namely, David, who saved Israel from the hand of their enemies; and the later Messiah, a descendant of David, who will achieve the final salvation." The (later) Messiah will be a mortal human being who will die and will be succeeded by his son who will reign after him. He will excel in wisdom and learning and the fear of God. The world will continue in its usual course; there will be rich and poor, strong and weak, no change in the order of nature or man, except that, freed from oppression, the Jews will be able to devote themselves more completely to the service of God and knowledge of the Torah."..."He who does not believe in the restoration or does not look forward to the coming of the Messiah denies not only the teachings of the prophets but also those of the Law of Moses ..." Minkin does not make any reference to Gog or Magog or to the way in which the Messianic Era will be ushered in. He moves straight to his interpretation of Maimonides' teaching about the Messianic Age. He notes that the world will continue in its normal course except that independent sovereignty will be restored to Israel, oppression and servitude will cease, and Israel will live securely among the wicked of the heathens who will all "accept the true religion, and will neither plunder nor destroy, and together with Israel earn a comfortable living in a legitimate way."
- 42 Rowley, H.H. *Dictionary of Bible Personal Names* [London; Nelson, 1968] p. 121.
- 43 John H. Marks contributing commentary on *The Book of Genesis* in *The Interpreter's One-volume Commentary on the Bible* [Nashville: Abingdon, 1971] p. 9.
- 44 Gribetz, op. cit., pp. 2, 6.
- 45 Barnavi, op. cit., p. 2.
- 46 Phillips, J. B. *The Book of Revelation* [London: Collins/Fontana, 1957] p. 13.
- 47 Barclay, William *The Revelation of John*, Vol II, in *The Daily Study Bible* series [Edinburgh: Saint Andrew Press, 1959] p. 269.
- 48 From the Koran, Sura 18: 83–110, English translation approved by the Sunni and Shii Councils of the Republic of Lebanon, checked and revised by Mahmud Y. Zayid, [Beirut: Dar Al-Choura, 1980] pp. 217–219. Paragraphing omitted.
- 49 Heschel, op. cit., p. 183.
- 50 *ibid.*, p. 185.
- 51 *ibid.*, p. 199.

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- 52 Maimonides, Moses. *The Guide of the Perplexed* Trans. Chaim Rabin (New York: Hebrew Publishing Co., East & West Library, 1978) p. 85.
- 53 *ibid.*, p. 135.
- 54 *ibid.*, book III, pp. 151 f.
- 55 Epstein, Isidore. *Judaism* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1959) pp. 208–216.
- 56 Maimonides, quoted by Meir Meiseles *Judaism, Thought and Legend* Trans. Rebecca Schonfeld-Brand and Aryeh Newman (Jerusalem: Feldheim Publishers, 1964) p. 575.
- 57 Barnavi, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
- 58 A systematic attack on the Talmud was first mounted in 1144 by Peter the Venerable, the Abbot of Cluny, but that does not appear to have involved confiscation and destruction. [Barnavi, *op. cit.* P. 106.] The same man arranged for the Koran to be translated into Latin and attacked Islam in his writings. [Livingstone, *Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, p. 396.]
- 59 Maimonides, *Yesodei ha'Torah*, quoted by Meir Meiseles, *op.cit.*, pp. 476–477.
- 60 Graef, *op.cit.*, p. 60.
- 61 Maimonides, quoted by Meir Meiseles, *op.cit.*, p. 575.
- 62 *ibid.*, p. 573.
- 63 Dimont, Max I. *The indestructible Jews* (New York: Signet, 1973) pp. 205–207.
- 64 Graef, *op.cit.*, p. 36.
- 65 *ibid.*, pp. 53–54, 42–43, 49.
- 66 *ibid.*, pp. 46–47.
- 67 *Catholic Almanac* 1975, p. 366.
- 68 Graef, *op.cit.*, p. 77.
- 69 Ignaz Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, Trans. Andras and Ruth Hamori (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), pp. 122–123. Muhammad insisted that the married state was the norm for Muslim community life, he expected Muslim leaders to be drawn from the ranks of married men, and he was scornful of those who neglected their normal duties to spend more time than required in devotions. Goldziher describes several situations to illustrate this point. The Prophet is reported to have rebuked a man named 'Akkaf ibn Wada al-Hilali, who had decided upon an unmarried life, with the words: "So you have made up your mind to be one of the brethren of Satan! If you want to be a Christian monk join them openly. If you are one of us, you must follow our sunna; and our sunna is married life."
- 70 Von Grunebaum, *op.cit.*, pp. 64–79, *The Umayyads*.
- 71 Guillaume, Alfred. *Islam* (Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1956) pp. 82–83.
- 72 Von Grunebaum, *op.cit.*, pp. 80–85.
- 73 Goldziher, *op.cit.*, p. 32.
- 74 *ibid.*, p. 46.
- 75 Von Grunebaum, *op.cit.*, p. 83 and chronology, p. 205.
- 76 Goldziher, *op.cit.*, pp. 44, 49.
- 77 Mian Rashid Ahmad Khan, *Islamic Jurisprudence* (Lahore: Sh. Mohd Khalil, Premier Book House, 1983) pp. 6–8.
- 78 Von Grunebaum, *op.cit.*, p. 83.
- 79 Goldziher, *op.cit.*, p. 50.

NOTES TO VOLUME I & II

- 80 For a long time the concept of *ijma'* had a stabilizing but conservative influence throughout Dar al Islam which Western Christian authorities and colonizers were quick to take advantage of. However in recent years, as a result of the twentieth century development of mass media with its immeasurable impact on public opinion and enormous power as an instrument of propaganda, the *ijma'* has had a very radicalizing influence, leading to the adoption, or acceptance, of some extreme social and political positions. This will be discussed in later chapters.
- 81 Goldziher, *op.cit.*, pp. 97–98.
- 82 Von Grunebaum, *op.cit.*, pp. 92, 205.
- 83 Goring, Rosemary (Ed.) *The Wordsworth Dictionary of Beliefs & Religions* (Ware, Herts.: Wordsworth Editions, 1995) p. 354.
- 84 Roth, *op.cit.*, p. 154.
- 85 Barnavi, Eli (Ed) *A Historical Atlas of the Jewish People* (London: Kuperard, 1994) p. 88.
- 86 Roth, *op.cit.*, p. 153.
- 87 Livingstone, *op.cit.*, pp. 137, 406.
- 88 Franzen, *op.cit.*, pp. 194–198.
- 89 Lewis, Brenda Ralph *The Crusades* (London: Transworld Publishers, 1975) pp. 8–11.
- 90 Wells, *op.cit.*, pp. 665–673.
- 91 Franzen, *loc.cit.*
- 92 Wells, *loc.cit.*
- 93 Barnavi, *loc.cit.*
- 94 *ibid.*, p. 106.
- 95 Lewis, *loc.cit.*
- 96 Livingstone, *op.cit.*, p. 505.
- 97 Neill, *op.cit.*, pp. 110–112.
- 98 *ibid.*, p. 111.
- 99 *ibid.*, p. 115.
- 100 *Catholic Almanac 1975*, p. 165.
- 101 Livingstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 69, 95.
- 102 Wells, *op.cit.*, p. 671.
- 103 McEvedy, *op.cit.*, p. 76.
- 104 Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 217.
- 105 *Catholic Almanac 1975*, page 167.
- 106 Livingstone, *op.cit.*, pp. 13, 158, 260.
- 107 Roth, *op.cit.*, p. 177.
- 108 Clark, Mary T. *An Aquinas Reader* (New York: Doubleday/Image, 1972) pp. 535, 541.
- 109 Roth, *op.cit.*, p. 200.
- 110 Aquinas, Thomas. Foreword to *Summa Theologiae*. Trans. Thomas Gilby (New York: Doubleday/Image, 1969).
- 111 *Catholic Almanac 1975*, p. 165.
- 112 Bettenson, *op.cit.*, p. 147 f.
- 113 Clark, *op.cit.*, introduction, chronology, pp. 23, 39.
- 114 Aquinas, quoted by Clark, *op.cit.*, p. 111.
- 115 Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, quoted by Clark, *op.cit.*, pp. 436–437 & 442/443.

¹¹⁶ Livingstone, op.cit., p. 261.

¹¹⁷ The New Hutchinson 20th Century Encyclopedia, Australian Edition, 1977, p. 660.

¹¹⁸ Bettenson, op.cit., quoting Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, Pt II, Q XI, article 3, pp. 133/134.

¹¹⁹ Hutchinson, op.cit., p. 64.

Hutchinson Encyclopedia, op.cit., p. 64, notes that in 1879 Leo XIII “directed that Aquinas’ teaching should be the basis of the theology of the Catholic Church.”

The Catholic Almanac 1997, notes, p. 128, that in the encyclical Aeterni Patris of August 4, 1879, Leo XIII “ordered a renewal of philosophical and theological studies in seminaries along scholastic, and especially Thomistic, lines, to counteract influential trends of liberalism and Modernism. On p. 198 it also notes that Aquinas was “named patron of Catholic schools and education, 1880.”

Encyclopedia Britannica Deluxe CD 2000, from Thomas Aquinas, Assessment, notes:

Thomas Aquinas was canonized a saint in 1323, officially named doctor of the church in 1567, and proclaimed the protagonist of orthodoxy during the modernist crisis at the end of the 19th century. This continuous commendation, however, cannot obliterate the historical difficulties in which he was embroiled in the 13th century during a radical theological renewal—a renewal that was contested at the time and yet was brought about by the social, cultural, and religious evolution of the West. Thomas was at the heart of the doctrinal crisis that confronted Christendom when the discovery of Greek science, culture, and thought seemed about to crush it. William of Tocco, Aquinas’ first biographer, who had known him and was able to give evidence of the impression produced by his master’s teaching, says:

Brother Thomas raised new problems in his teaching, invented a new method, used new systems of proof. To hear him teach a new doctrine, with new arguments, one could not doubt that God, by the irradiation of this new light and by the novelty of this inspiration, gave him the power to teach, by the spoken and written word, new opinions and new knowledge.

¹²⁰ Catholic Almanac 1975, p. 245.

¹²¹ Pope Benedict XV, Canons Nos. 589 and 1366, 1917.

¹²² Aquinas, Summa Theologiae, Pt I, Q. 1.

¹²³ Aquinas, Exposition on the Lord’s Prayer, quoted in Clark, op.cit., p. 528.

¹²⁴ Clark, op.cit., pp. 535, 541 f.

¹²⁵ Maimonides, Moses. The Guide of the Perplexed. 80, and Guttman’s commentary, p. 211.

¹²⁶ Clark, op.cit., introduction pp. 21, 24.

¹²⁷ Hutchinson, loc.cit.

¹²⁸ Clark, op. cit., p. 20.

¹²⁹ Guttman, Julius. Introduction to Maimonides’Guide of the perplexed.’

¹³⁰ Minkin, Jacob S. Preface to The Teachings of Maimonides [Northvale, New Jersey: Jason Aronson, 1993] p. 6.

¹³¹ Hertzberg, Arthur Contributing the introduction to Minkin, The Teachings of Maimonides, pp. ii, vi.

¹³² The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

¹³³ Hertzberg, op. cit., pp. i, ii.

¹³⁴ In fact those links had been weakened, (some may say severed), by earlier programs of proselytizing in Arabia, the Persian Empire, Ethiopia, North Africa and Europe, and the establishment of the Jewish Kingdoms of Mahaza and the Yemen are especially noteworthy in this regard. However in terms of scale and impact on the thinking of both the Jewish community and the Christians of Europe it is the formation and destruction of the Khazar Khanate which must be regarded as an historic beacon.

CHAPTER 9: WHEN THE COFFER RINGS

¹ Keen, op.cit., p. 187.

- ² Roth, *op.cit.*, p. 266.
 - ³ Synan, Edward A. *The Popes and the Jews in the Middle Ages* (London: Macmillan, 1967) pp. 110–111.
 - ⁴ *ibid.*, p. 116.
 - ⁵ Hurlbut, *op.cit.*, p. 87.
 - ⁶ Synan, *op.cit.*, p. 85.
 - ⁷ Bettenson, *op.cit.*, p. 112.
 - ⁸ *ibid.*
 - ⁹ Franzen, August. *A Concise History of the Church* [New York: Herder & Herder, 1969] pp. 222–223.
 - ¹⁰ Paul, Leslie A *Church by Daylight* [London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1973] pp. 9–10.
 - ¹¹ Livingstone, Elizabeth A. *Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977] p. 13.
 - ¹² Bettenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 132–133.
 - ¹³ Roth, *op.cit.*, pp. 192–195.
 - ¹⁴ Pipes, Richard. *Russia under the old regime* (Harmondsworth: Penguin-Peregrine, 1977) chapter 2.
 - ¹⁵ Synan, *op.cit.*, p. 118.
 - ¹⁶ Gilbert, Martin. *Jewish History Atlas* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976] p. 41.
 - ¹⁷ Synan, *op.cit.*, pp. 121–122.
 - ¹⁸ Gilbert, *op.cit.*, pp. 45–46.
 - ¹⁹ Bettenson, Henry *Documents of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967) p. 115.
 - ²⁰ Hurlbut, J. L. *The Story of the Christian Church* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970] pp. 86–87.
 - ²¹ Ling, Trevor. *A History of Religion East and West* [London: Macmillan, 1968] pp. 282–283.
 - ²² *Catholic Almanac*, 1975, p. 160.
 - ²³ Barnavi, Eli (Gen. Ed.) *A Historical Atlas of the Jewish People* [London: Kuperard, 1994] pp. 110–111 and Demographic Introduction.
- The population of the world is estimated to have been 442 million a few years prior to the Black Death and to have fallen by 15 percent to 375 million in 1400. During the same period the world Jewish population is estimated to have fallen from one and one third million to one million, a drop of 25 percent. However, considering that the Jewish population was concentrated into only three regions, North Africa and the Middle East where they enjoyed relative security provided by Muslim governments and where the plague was of little consequence, and Europe, and that there were very few Jews elsewhere, the percentage drop in Europe was clearly far greater than that average of 25 percent. A reasonable estimate would be 50 to 60 percent. As indicated previously, (chapter seven, pp. 10, 13.) the Jewish community could be expected to suffer lower mortality rates because of its strict dietary and hygiene codes than the general population. Thus, if the average mortality rate for the whole population was between 25 and 33 percent, or about half of the rate for the Jewish community, the scale of the church's atrocities is quite clear.
- ²⁴ Synan, *op.cit.*, pp. 131–134.
 - ²⁵ Roth, *op.cit.*, pp. 214–215.
 - ²⁶ *Catholic Almanac* 1990, p. 127.
 - ²⁷ Johnson, Paul. *A History of Christianity* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976) p. 259.
 - ²⁸ McEvedy, Colin *The Penguin Atlas of Modern History* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972) p. 2.
 - ²⁹ Keen, Maurice *The Pelican History of Medieval Europe* (Harmondsworth: Penguin-Pelican, 1969) pp. 233–237.
 - ³⁰ Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 231.

- 31 Ample correspondence and extracts from speeches remain to show the extent of the resentment and intrigue between the church and the civil or secular authorities, but a note from Marsiglio's *Defensor pacis* indicates the depth of feeling and fear about the papacy's intentions. He argued that the ambitions of the papacy had become the prime cause of war and the dissolvent of Christian social unity saying: "The singular cause which in the past has produced civil discord in princedoms and communities, and which will soon spread to other states unless checked, is the belief, the desire and the efforts by means of which the Roman bishop and his clerical associates, in particular, aim to seize each secular sovereignty and so gain possession of its temporal wealth." (Paul Johnson. *A History of Christianity*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976. P. 202.)
- 32 Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 230.
- 33 Livingstone, *op.cit.*, p. 323.
- 34 Catholic Almanac 1990, p. 117.
- 35 Livingstone, *op.cit.*, p. 555.
- 36 Catholic Almanac 1990, p. 129.
- 37 Seven cardinals were not present, but considering that six of them were at Avignon and only one was in Italy it is hardly conceivable that the ratio could have changed in favour of Rome.
- 38 Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 232.
- 39 Harney, Martin P. *The Catholic Church through the Ages* (Boston: Daughters of St. Paul, 1974) pp. 205–206.
- 40 Harney, *op.cit.*, p. 212.
- 41 Bettenson, *op.cit.*, p. 135, uses the title 'Sacrosancta' but as other authors consulted use the title 'Haec Sancta' that title is used here.
- 42 Hurlbut, J. L. *The Story of the Christian Church* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970) pp. 111–112.
- 43 Deane, David J. *Two Noble Lives* (London: S. W. Partridge & Co., undated) p. 103.
- 44 Bettenson, *op.cit.*, p. 135.
- 45 Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 238.
- 46 Neill, Stephen A *History of Christian Missions* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1964] p. 130.
- 47 Ling, Trevor A *History of Religion East and West* [London: Macmillan, 1968] pp. 228–230.
Ling lists Mahmud's invasion as the third phase of Muslim contact with India, the missionary work of the Sufis as the fourth, and the Turkish invasion which led to the setting up of the Mughal Empire as the fifth.
- 48 Von Grunebaum, G. E. *Classical Islam* [London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1970] p. 152.
- 49 Neill, *op.cit.*, p. 131.
- 50 Von Grunebaum, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
- 51 Neill, *op.cit.*, pp. 128–129.
- 52 Firm dates can not be given for this incident because the information available is inadequate and historians differ in the years quoted for this and related matters.
- 53 Barnavi, *op.cit.*, pp. 114–115.
- 54 McEvedy, *op.cit.*, p. 82.
- 55 Other dogmatic statements, notably those relating to purgatory and the use of alternative hosts in the mass were modified to accommodate different practices and understandings in the east and the west, but these were relatively minor matters. See *The Decree for the Greeks*, Neuner, pp. 107, 215, 388, 625.
- 56 Pastor, Ludwig (Ed. F. I. Antrobus) *The History of the Popes from the close of the Middle Ages* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd; 1923) Vol II, pp. 248–251.
- 57 Pastor, *op.cit.*, pp. 74–86.
- 58 Barnavi, *loc.cit.*
- 59 Pastor, *op.cit.*, pp. 267–268.

- 60 *ibid.*, pp. 268–269.
- 61 Pipes, *op.cit.*, pp. 71–73.
- 62 The Hutchinson 20th Century Encyclopedia pp. 1022, 581, 349.
- 63 Hurlbut, *op.cit.*, p. 118.
- 64 Wells, *op.cit.*, p. 193.
- 65 Bruce, Neil. Portugal: The Last Empire (London: David & Charles, Newton Abbot; 1975) pp. 47–48.
- 66 Scannell, T. B. (transcribed, D. J. Potter) “Pope Nicholas V” [The Catholic Encyclopedia. Source: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11058a.htm> as at May 14, 2000].
- 67 Bruce, *loc.cit.*
- 68 Fisher, H.A.L. A History of Europe [London: Arnold, 1936] p. 485.
- 69 King Alfonso of Castile and his supporters, who deposed Alfonso’s half brother, Henry IV, on June 5, 1465, had demanded that the Inquisition be reinforced at that time, so it took some years to get it fully operational. (Barnavi, *loc.cit.*)
- 70 Catholic Almanac 1990, p. 118.
- 71 Roth, *op.cit.*, p. 224.
- 72 Barnavi, *loc.cit.*
- 73 Whether these instructions were before the Toledo Statute incident or at the time that he approved the tightening of the Inquisition is not clear. (See page 31 above.)
- 74 Roth, *op.cit.*, p. 225.
- 75 Synan, *op.cit.*, p. 141.
- 76 Revill, J. C. World History [London: Longmans, Green, 1953] p. 275.
- 77 Roth, *op.cit.*, p. 226.
- 78 Gilbert, *op.cit.*, p. 45.
- 79 Barnavi, *op.cit.*, pp. 120–121, 130–131.
- 80 Wells, *op.cit.*, p. 772.
- 81 Gilbert, *op.cit.*, p. 47.
- 82 Pendle, George. A History of Latin America (Harmondsworth: Penguin-Pelican, 1978) p. 34.
- 83 Synan, *op.cit.*, p. 145.
- 84 Fisher, *op.cit.*, p. 489.
- 85 Franzen, *op.cit.*, p. 251.
- 86 Chadwick, Owen. The Reformation (Harmondsworth: Penguin-Pelican, 1977) pp. 31–39.
- 87 Livingstone, *op.cit.*, p. 176.
- 88 Franzen, *op.cit.*, pp. 260–263.
- 89 Menen, Aubrey. Upon This Rock (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1972) p. 88.
- 90 Pastor, *op.cit.*, vol. III, pp. 402–403.
- 91 *ibid.*, *loc.cit.*
- 92 Chadwick, *op.cit.*, pp. 41–42.
- 93 *ibid.*, p. 43, footnote.

CHAPTER 10: THE ONE THAT GOT AWAY

- ¹ St. Peters was not in fact reconstructed to the first grandiose plans drawn up, because of limitations imposed by the site available, structural capacity of the soil and foundations and finances.
 - ² McEvedy, Colin & R. Jones *Atlas of World Population History* (Harmondsworth: Penguin-Pelican, 1978) p. 353, give their estimate of 415 million and refer to other authorities estimates of 427 million (Clark) and 446 million (Bennett). Barnavi, Eli, *A Historical Atlas of the Jewish People* [London: Kuperard, 1994] (introduction) gives a higher estimate of 461 million.
 - ³ *Catholic Almanac* 1975, p. 365.
 - ⁴ Franzen, op. cit., pp. 130, 140.
 - ⁵ Pendle, op. cit., pp. 24–25.
 - ⁶ McEvedy, Colin. *The Penguin Atlas of Modern History* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972) p. 8.
 - ⁷ Chadwick, Owen. *The Reformation* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1972] p. 42.
 - ⁸ Dillenberger, John. *Martin Luther* (New York: Doubleday/Anchor, 1961) p. 407, extract quoted from Martin Luther's *An Appeal to the Ruling Class of Germany*.
 - ⁹ Kuhner, Hans. *Encyclopedia of the Papacy* (London: Peter Owen, 1959) pp. 118–122.
 - ¹⁰ Pastor, Ludwig (Ed. F. I. Antrobus) *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages* [London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd; 1923] vol II.
 - ¹¹ Franzen, op. cit., pp. 254–256.
 - ¹² Dillenberger, op. cit., pp. 417–431.
 - ¹³ *ibid.*
 - ¹⁴ Franzen, op.cit., p. 248.
 - ¹⁵ Livingstone, Elizabeth A. *Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977] p. 14.
 - ¹⁶ Pastor, Ludwig, *The History of the Popes, from the close of the Middle Ages, Vol VIII*. Ralph Francis Kerr (Ed.) [London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1923]. 96–97.
 - ¹⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 122–123.
 - ¹⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 406–407.
 - ¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 410–411.
 - ²⁰ Kuhner, op.c it., p. 145.
 - ²¹ O'Grady, Joan. *Heresy* (Longmead: Element Books, 1985) pp. 4–6.
 - ²² *ibid.*, p. 52.
 - ²³ When his disciples asked Jesus to explain the parable of the darnel he said: 'The sower of the good seed is the Son of Man. The field is the world; the good seed stands for the children of the Kingdom, the darnel for the children of the evil one. The enemy who sowed the darnel is the devil. The harvest is the end of time. The reapers are angels. As the darnel, then, is gathered up and burnt, so at the end of time the Son of Man will send out his angels, who will gather out of his kingdom whatever makes men stumble, and all whose deeds are evil, and these will be thrown into the blazing furnace, the place of wailing and grinding of teeth. And then the righteous will shine as brightly as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. If you have ears, then hear. ...
- ‘Again the kingdom of Heaven is like a net let down into the sea, where fish of every kind were caught in it. When it was full, it was dragged ashore. Then the men sat down and collected the good fish into pails and threw the worthless away. That is how it will be at the end of time. The angels will go forth, and they will separate the wicked from the good, and throw them into the blazing furnace, the place of wailing and grinding of teeth.

‘Have you understood all this?’ he asked; and they answered, ‘Yes.’ He said to them, ‘When, therefore, a teacher of the law has become a learner in the kingdom of Heaven, he is like a householder who can produce from his store both the new and the old.’

Matthew 13: 37–43, 47–52. The New English Bible translation.

²⁴ O’Grady. *op. cit.*, p. 4.

²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 49.

²⁶ Franzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 249–250.

²⁷ O’Grady, *op. cit.*, pp. 45–46, quoting from Eusebius’ Church History 2, i.(4).

²⁸ Definition of heresy from the Code of Canon Law, English translation, (London: Collins, 1983), p. 138, Canon 751.

²⁹ *ibid.*, Canon 750.

³⁰ Chadwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 78–79.

³¹ *ibid.*, p. 97.

³² This was partly because of England’s isolation and partly because of English resistance to the French connection with the papacy, fear of French intervention in English affairs, and the effect of laws restricting the popes’ authority to direct English bishops, beginning with the statute of Praemunire in 1393.

³³ Catherine was betrothed to Arthur when she was two and they were married in 1501 when she was 16. Arthur died the next year and Catherine was then betrothed to Henry who was then 11 years of age. Their marriage took place in 1509 when Henry became king, aged 18, and she was 24.

³⁴ Franzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 249, 251.

³⁵ The election of a new emperor developed into a straight contest between Francis I of France and Charles V in which Pope Leo X agitated against Charles and in favor of Charles. In spite of that, or perhaps because of it, Charles was elected unanimously by the princes in June 1519. He was crowned in October 1520. See below, p. 17R re bribes paid to princes.

³⁶ Often referred to as *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church*.

³⁷ Dillenberger, John. *Martin Luther: Selections from his writings* edited and with an introduction [New York: Doubleday, 1961] pp. 5, 3–4. Extracts from Martin Luther’s preface to his Latin Writings.

³⁸ Wendel, Francois. (Trans. P. Mairet) *Calvin* (London: Collins/Fontana, 1976) p. 86.

³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 92.

⁴⁰ Luther never deviated from that view but in later years he went even further. In the preface to his Latin Writings, referring to that early crisis in his relations with Rome, he wrote: “Finally ... I had already defended the proposition publicly that the Pope is not the head of the church by divine right. Never-the-less, I did not draw the conclusion, namely, that the Pope must be of the devil. For what is not of God must of necessity be of the devil.” Dillenberger, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁴¹ Luther’s reply to the summons to appear before the Diet at Worms gives another illustration of his view of the church, his self-understanding and humility, and his determination. He wrote that he was providing a simple answer because that was what the emperor and the bishops had asked for, then he said: “Unless I am convinced by the testimony of the Scriptures or by clear reason (for I do not trust either in the Pope or in councils alone, since it is well known that they have often erred and contradicted themselves), I am bound by the Scriptures I have quoted and my conscience is captive to the Word of God. I cannot and I will not retract anything, since it is neither safe nor right to go against conscience. ... May God help me. Amen.” Dillenberger, *op. cit.*, introduction p. xxii.

⁴² Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

⁴³ Wendel, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p. 20.

⁴⁵ This draconian regulation was based on Matthew 16:19, the very passage on which Rome relies to justify its ecclesiastical authority.

- 46 Wendel, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
- 47 *ibid.*, pp. 93–102.
- 48 *ibid.*, p. 97.
- 49 *ibid.*, p. 98.
- 50 *ibid.*, p. 101.
- 51 Hurlbut, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
- 52 Wendel, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
- 53 Sources of biographical material include the Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, the Penguin Reference Who's who of Religions, and the Wordsworth Dictionary of Beliefs and Religions as well as Chadwick, Dillenberger and Wendel.
- 54 Franzen, *ibid.*
- 55 Dillenberger, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–12, quoting M. Luther, Preface to Latin Writings.
- 56 Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
- 57 Ninety thousand ducats went to secure the vote of the prince Archbishop of Mainz and Magdeburg whose offices carried one of the seven German votes in imperial elections and whose sale of indulgences to finance his mere 40,000 ducats papal dispensation had triggered the Reformation two years before.[30] (See page 1/XII/41).
- 58 McEvedy, *Modern*, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
- 59 Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 266.
- 60 *ibid.*, pp. 267–271.
- 61 Kuhner, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
- 62 Chadwick, *loc. cit.*
- 63 Kuhner, *op. cit.*, p. 174.
- 64 Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 611–631.
- 65 Livingstone, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

CHAPTER 11: FOLLOW THE LEADERS

- 1 The term 'church' must be qualified by the term 'Roman' at this stage because the trigger for the process of reformation within the Western Church was only then being set, the papacy was exclusively involved in the arrangements being made, and neither the Greek wing of the church nor the fragments of it which would later coalesce into the Russian Orthodox Church were in a position to be involved in such adventures.
- 2 Neill, Stephen. *A History of Christian Missions* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1964] p. 170.
- 3 Pipes, Richard. *Russia Under the Old Regime* (Harmondsworth: Penguin-Peregrine, 1977) pp. 80–83.
- 4 Pendle, George. *A History of Latin America* [Harmondsworth: Penguin-Pelican, 1978] pp. 39–42.
- 5 Kuhner, Hans. *Encyclopedia of the Papacy* [London: Peter Owen, 1959] p. 150–f.
- 6 Pendle, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–46.
- 7 Kuhner, *op. cit.*, pp. 153–154.
- 8 Harris, Joseph E. *Africans and their History* [New York: New American Library/Mentor, 1972] pp. 65–69.
- 9 Von Grunebaum, G. E. *Classical Islam* [London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1970] p. 117.
- 10 Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 68.

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- 11 The religion of the Norsemen had been established in Iceland by Viking settlers during the previous two hundred years while Rome was trying to subdue or Christianize Scandinavia. Papal Christianity was also enforced in Iceland from 1030, as far as possible, but it was later superseded by Lutheran Christianity at the same time as in Denmark. In spite of those impositions the Norse religion survived and was officially recognized by the Icelandic government in 1973. Livingstone, Elizabeth A. *Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977] p. 361. The Hutchinson 20th Century Encyclopedia p. 923.
- 12 McEvedy, Colin. *Atlas of Medieval History* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977] p. 60.
- 13 Livingstone, Elizabeth A. *Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977] p. 23.
- 14 Hutchinson, op. cit., pp. 606, 804, 1302.
- 15 Von Grunebaum, op. cit., p. 149.
- 16 Harris, op. cit., p. 53.
- 17 *ibid.*, p. 54.
- 18 *ibid.*, pp. 68–69.
- 19 *ibid.*, p. 56.
- 20 McEvedy, Colin. *The Penguin Atlas of Modern History* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972] pp. 34, 43.
- 21 Harris, op. cit., p. 56.
- 22 McEvedy (Modern), pp. 16, 30, map 17.
- 23 Harris, op. cit., pp. 131–132.
- 24 Neill, op. cit., p. 143.
- 25 *ibid.*, p. 150.
- 26 *ibid.*, p. 152.
- 27 Wells, op. cit., pp. 720–724.
- 28 Neill, op. cit., p. 145.
- 29 *ibid.*, pp. 180–181.
- 30 Aykroyd, W. R. *Sweet Malefactor* [London: Heinemann, 1967] p. 19.
- 31 Columbus' father-in-law owned a sugar plantation on Madeira.
- 32 Aykroyd, op. cit., p. 15.
- 33 Harris, op. cit., p. 72.
- 34 Pendle, op. cit., p. 72.
- 35 Harris, op. cit., p. 73.
- 36 Aykroyd, op. cit., p. 21.
- 37 *ibid.*, p. 22.
- 38 Various laws or instructions can be found in the Pentateuch, the first five books of the Bible, and they can be readily identified and located by the use of a reference such as Nave's Topical Bible, [Chicago: Moody Press, 1973] p. 1260.
- 39 Aykroyd, op. cit., pp. 34–38.
- 40 Harris, op. cit., pp. 76–78.
- 41 Von Grunebaum, op. cit., p. 80.
- 42 This was the very year Leo crowned Charlemagne as Holy Roman Emperor. The caliphate continued for about 500 years, until 1258, when it fell to the Mongols, although after 946 it was "relieved" of any political authority and had only limited religious influence.

⁴³ Roth, Cecil. *A History of the Jews* [New York: Schocken Books, 1974] pp. 153–155.

⁴⁴ Gilbert, Martin *Jewish History Atlas* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976] p. 29.

⁴⁵ Von Grunebaum, op. cit., pp. 105–106.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p. 116.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p. 124.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 170.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 193

CHAPTER 12: LET’S MAKE A NEW START

¹ The London Times, November 20, 1975, reporting the Second Reith Lecture by the Librarian of Congress.

² McEvedy, Colin. *The Penguin Atlas of Modern History* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972] p. 8.

³ The question of the nature of the universe related to the question of the nature of the earth: whether it was flat or spherical. European scholars had generally accepted that the Earth was spherical in shape ever since the spread of the popular Etymologies of St. Isidore of Seville, produced in Spain in the early 7th century, but this did not stop some authorities from clinging to the belief that the earth was flat. The two issues became interwoven with superstition and religious mystique in the question of how one object rotated around the other in space and the dangers of pursuing treasure under the rights granted by Pontifex Maximus.

⁴ Kuhner, Hans. *Encyclopedia of the Papacy* [London: Peter Owen, 1959] p. 137.

⁵ Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, p. 130.

⁶ See above, chapter 13, p. 20L.

⁷ McEvedy (Modern), p. 34.

⁸ Church of England Book of Common Prayer, [Cambridge: University Press, undated] pp. 345–358, or other authorised Anglican prayer books such as the 1978 Australian edition.

⁹ The first text of the 39 Articles was agreed on by the clergy of Canterbury and York in 1562 and issued in 1563 but with some amendments the final version was issued in 1571, the year following Elizabeth’s excommunication by Pius V. The dogmatic status of the 39 Articles was modified in 1865 so that clergy are now required only to affirm general assent to them.

¹⁰ Aykroyd, W. R. *Sweet Malefactor* [London: Heinemann, 1967] p. 18.

¹¹ The Hutchinson 20th Century Encyclopedia, p. 447.

¹² Kuhner, op. cit., p. 166. See also chapter 13, p. 19R, above.

¹³ Catholic Almanac, 1990, p. 300. Some exceptions are now made in cases in which married ordained clergy from other denominations are accepted into Roman Catholic orders and permitted to retain their married status.

¹⁴ Bettenson, Henry. *Documents of the Christian Church* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967] p. 240.

¹⁵ Graef, Hilda, *Devotion to the Virgin Mary* [London: Burns & Oates, 1963] p. 70.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 71.

¹⁷ Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, p. 446, et.al.

¹⁸ *Encyclopedia Britannica Deluxe CD 2000.*

¹⁹ Hurlbut, J. L. *The Story of the Christian Church* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1970] p. 134.

²⁰ Extracts from *The Confession of Faith* [Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1907]

From Chapter III: (On predestination) “Wherefore they who are elected ... are redeemed by Christ, are effectually called unto faith in Christ by his Spirit ... are justified, adopted, sanctified, and kept by his power through faith unto salvation. Neither are any other redeemed by Christ ... and saved, but the elect only.

“The rest of mankind, God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of his own will, whereby he extendeth or withholdeth mercy as he pleaseth ... to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonour and wrath for their sin ...”

From Chapter VI: “Works done by unregenerate men, although ... they may be things which God commands ... because they (come from a heart not) purified by faith; nor are done in a right manner ... are ... sinful, and cannot please God, or make a man meet to receive grace from God. And yet their neglect of them is more sinful, and displeasing unto God.”

²¹ Hurlbut, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

²² Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, p. 202.

²³ Ling, Trevor. *A History of Religion East and West* [London: Macmillan, 1968] p. 320.

²⁴ Kuhner, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

²⁵ Pascal, Blaise. *Pensees*, trans. A. J. Krailsheimer [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977] p. 177.

²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 172.

²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 176.

²⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 205–206.

²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 125.

³⁰ Gilbert, Martin. *Jewish History Atlas* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976] pp. 39, 48.

³¹ Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, p. 787.

³² Kuhner, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

³³ *Encyclopedia Britannica Deluxe CD 2000*.

³⁴ Not all of Europe and Scandinavia bowed to the Holy Roman Emperor at that stage but the entire Baltic Seaboard was controlled by current or former Catholic monarchies with their love-hate relationships. When Peter’s army was humiliated by the Lutheran Swedes in Estonia in 1700 it was a toss up whether the Swedes would push south against Catholic Poland or east to Moscow. They went south. McEvedy (*Modern*) p. 52.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, (*Medieval*) pp. 82–88.

³⁶ *ibid.*, (*Modern*) pp. 22–23.

³⁷ These figures do not account for the Jews and although reliable figures are hard to find it appears unrealistic to put the total Jewish population at less than two million and it could have been nearer double that in spite of continuous harassment, wholesale slaughter and official Inquisitions. That means the Jewish population was between three and six percent of Europe’s total population.

³⁸ De Rachewltz, Igor *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* [London: Faber & Faber, 1971] pp. 87, 213, 214.

³⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 144–159.

⁴⁰ Pipes, Richard *Russia under the old Regime* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Peregrine, 1977] p. 222.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, pp. 227–228.

⁴² *ibid.*, p. 229.

⁴³ *ibid.*, pp. 231–232.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p. 226.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 234–236.

⁴⁶ McEvedy (*Modern*) p. 52.

⁴⁷ Pipes, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 241.

⁴⁹ Pope Benedict XIV, encyclical *A Quo Primum*, Castelgandolfo, June 14, 1751, sourced from New Advent Catholic Website –<http://www.knight.org/advent> as at November 21, 1999.

⁵⁰ Pipes, *op. cit.*, pp. 243–244.

- 51 *ibid.*, p. 38.
- 52 *ibid.*...
- 53 Chadwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 199–203.
- 54 Pipes, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
- 55 *ibid.*
- 56 Chadwick, *op. cit.*, pp. 402–402.
- 57 Kuhner, *op. cit.*, pp. 211–212.
- 58 Cragg, Gerald R. *The Church and the Age of Reason 1648–1789* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977] p. 220.
- 59 Kuhner, *op. cit.*, p. 218. What a wonderful description of a person credited with being infallible.
- 60 Dillenberger, John. *Martin Luther* [New York: Doubleday/Anchor, 1961] pp. 81–83.
- 61 Roth, Cecil. *A History of the Jews* [New York: Schocken Books, 1974] p. 245.
- 62 Kuhner, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
- 63 Roth, *op. cit.*, pp. 273–288.
- 64 *ibid.*, p. 293.
- 65 Chadwick, *op. cit.*, p. 354.
- 66 Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 294.
- 67 *ibid.*, p. 280.
- 68 Cragg, Gerald R. *The Church and the Age of Reason 1648–1789* [Harmondsworth: Pelican/Penguin, 1977] pp. 220–221.
- 69 They were secondhand dealers of course, because Jews were prohibited from trading in new goods.
- 70 Barnavi, Eli, (Gen. Ed.) *A Historical Atlas of the Jewish People* [London: Kupreard, 1994] pp. 146–147.
- 71 Gilbert, *Jewish History Atlas*, and Roth, *A History of the Jews*, both say over 100,000; Barnavi, *A Historical Atlas of the Jewish People*, notes that in the town of Nemirov 6,000 Jews were massacred on June 10th alone.
- 72 Barnavi, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–149.
- 73 Roth, *op. cit.* P. 313.
- 74 Barnavi, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
- 75 *ibid.*
- 76 Epstein, Isidore *Judaism* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973] pp. 275–280.
- 77 Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 314.
- 78 Epstein, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

CHAPTER 13: PADDLE YOUR OWN CANOE

- ¹ The Declaration of Independence [US Information Service, Publication No. 72–314(25)].
- ² Two items were deleted from the draft before it was adopted by Congress. One was a denunciation of the slave trade and Britain’s interference in bids to stop it, and the other was a reference to former good relations with Britain. The Declaration was signed on July 4th, 1776; sovereignty was recognized in 1783; the Federal Constitution was drafted in 1787 and took effect in 1788; Washington was elected President in 1791; and the Civil War erupted in 1860.
- ³ Hacker, Louis M. *The Course of American Economic Growth and Development* [New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1970] p. 19.
- ⁴ McEvedy, Colin. *The Penguin Atlas of Modern History* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972] p. 60.
- ⁵ Hacker, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

- ⁶ *ibid.*, p. 25. An exception was also made of trade with Europe south of Cape Finisterre on the northwest coast of Spain so the American colonists avoided English duties, cargo charges, commissions and warehousing by dealing as much as possible through Spain, Portugal, Madeira and the Canaries.
- ⁷ *ibid.*, p. 26. The benefit to England of these arrangements from manufacturing mark-ups, freights, taxes, and market manipulation, and the retarding effect which they had on the colonies can be seen from the case of tobacco. England consumed only 3.7 percent of the total crop of 100.5 million pounds imported in 1773 and re-exported the rest. Its imports fell to 45.5 percent of the crop in 1779 (the middle of the war), and to 22.7 percent by 1840.

⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 27–29.

⁹ Fisher, H.A.L. *A History of Europe* [Great Britain: Arnold, 1955] pp. 751–761.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 762.

¹¹ Franzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 384–384.

¹² Hacker, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

¹³ Total English overseas trade increased by 134 percent during the three generations spanning the period from 1701–10 to 1761–70. But while trade with Europe rose by only 53 percent trade with the colonies and Ireland rose by 351 percent. The comparison for the latter half of that period, 1731–40 to 1761–70, is even more significant and England's dependence on its colonies and re-export of their products to Europe is quite striking. Trade with Europe rose by only 11 percent while trade with the colonies and Ireland rose by 120 percent.

Average Annual import/export trade (in thousands of pounds Sterling) between England and the regions listed for the periods shown:

	<u>1701–10</u>	<u>1731–40</u>	<u>1761–70</u>
Colonies and Ireland	2,802	5,751	12,651
Total Europe	7,673	10,555	11,740
All other (by deduction)	594	2,613	1,539
Total Trade	11,069	18,919	25,930

By the end of the Seven Years War England's trade with its empire was greater than its trade with Europe and was barely less than its total trade outside the empire.

Source of figures: Louis M. Hacker, *The Course of American Economic Growth and Development* quoted from David Macpherson, "Annals of Commerce, Manufactures, Fisheries and Navigation." Vol. 3, 1805.

¹⁴ Hacker, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–43.

¹⁵ Franzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 382–384.

¹⁶ Wells, H. G. *The Outline of History* [London: Cassell, 195] p. 881.

¹⁷ *Encyclopedia Britannica Deluxe CD 2000.*

¹⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁹ US Information Service, Publication No. 72–314(25) pp. 1, 2, 5.

²⁰ *The Hutchinson 20th Century Encyclopedia* p. 361.

²¹ Liddle, William D. *A Patriot King or None* [Organization of American Historians: *Journal of American History*, Vol. LXV No. 4, March 1979] pp. 969–970.

²² Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 877.

²³ Franzen, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

²⁴ Liddle, *op. cit.*, pp. 958–959.

²⁵ Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 794–795.

²⁶ Franzen, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

²⁷ Wells, *op. cit.*, pp. 886–887.

²⁸ Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 797.

²⁹ Cragg, *op. cit.*, pp. 222–223.

- 30 Kuhner, Hans. *Encyclopedia of the Papacy* [London: Peter Owen, 1959] p. 219.
- 31 Vidler, Alec R. *The Church in an Age of Revolution* [Harmondsworth: Pelican/Penguin, 1976] p. 15.
- 32 Fisher, loc.cit.
- 33 Wells, op. cit., pp. 890–892.
- 34 Vidler, op. cit., p. 15.
- 35 Kuhner, op. cit., p. 219.
- 36 Franzen, op. cit., pp. 344–345.
- 37 Vidler, op. cit., pp. 15–16.
- 38 Von Aretin, Karl Otmar *The Papacy and the Modern World* [London: World University Press/Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970] p. 25.
- 39 Vidler, op. cit., p. 17, accepts these estimates while Franzen, op. cit., p. 355, says about two thirds refused to sign (nonjurors).
- 40 Wells, op. cit., p. 903.
- 41 *ibid.*, pp. 909–910.
- It points out that the executions and slaughter during the French Revolution for crimes against the state were far less numerous than such fates for crimes against property in Britain and America during the same period. The reign of terror in Paris could only happen because of persistent treacherous disloyalty by the royalists, including nonjuring clergy, which incited the extremists and discouraged the moderates from intervening.
- 42 Kuhner, op. cit., p. 219.
- 43 Beales, Derek. *The Risorgimento and the Unification of Italy* [London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971] pp. 2–38.
- 44 Markham, Felix. *Napoleon and the Awakening of Europe* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1975] p. 43.
- 45 *ibid.*, p. 44.
- 46 Minus a detachment left to secure Malta after it had been captured on route on June 10.
- 47 Markham, op. cit., p. 46.
- 48 *ibid.*, pp. 179–180.
- 49 Von Aretin, op. cit., pp. 30–32.
- 50 Franzen, op. cit., p. 356.
- 51 Vidler, op. cit., p. 42.
- 52 Revill, J. C. *World History* [London: Longmans, Green, 1953] pp. 454–455.
- 53 Markham, op. cit., pp. 79–80.
- 54 *ibid.*, p. 10.
- 55 Toleranzpatent, January 2, 1782, ten years after the first partition of Poland had brought a large population of Jews under Austrian authority and only months after his earlier Patent of Toleration.
- 56 Roth, Cecil. *A History of the Jews* [New York: Schocken Books, 1974] p. 318.
- 57 *ibid.*, pp. 322–323.
- 58 Dimont, Max I. *Jews, God and History* [New York: New American Library/Signet, 1962] pp. 301–302.
- 59 King Boleslav's model charter for the protection of liberties for Jews in Poland in 1264 can not be viewed in the same light because his policy was designed to counteract specific religious oppression and to encourage religious harmony through arrangements which provided development benefits for Poland as well as relief and employment or business opportunities for Jewish settlers.
- 60 Gilbert, Martin *Jewish History Atlas* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976] p. 57.
- 61 Roth, loc.cit.
- 62 Gilbert, loc.cit.

⁶³ Von Aretin, op. cit., pp. 38–40.

⁶⁴ Catholic Almanac 1975, p. 313.

⁶⁵ Beales, op. cit., p. 42.

⁶⁶ Dimont, op. cit., p. 304.

CHAPTER 14: LET'S TRY ANOTHER REVOLUTION!

¹ Cipolla, Carlo M. *The Economic History of World Population* [Harmondsworth: Penguin; 1975] p. 111.

² McEvedy, Colin. *The Penguin Atlas of Modern History* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972] pp. 8, 9.

³ *ibid.*, pp. 84–86, and Cipolla op. cit., p. 114, both suggest in excess of 900 million in the early 1800's. Cipolla then suggests between 1,100 and 1,300 million by 1850 and that range corresponds with figures used by Meadows et al. *The Limits to Growth* [London: Potomac Associates for the Club of Rome, 1972] p. 33.

⁴ Wells, H. G., *The Outline of History* [London: Cassell, 1951] p. 939.

⁵ Kinder, Hermann & Werner Hilgemann, *The Penguin Atlas of World History*, Trans. E. A. Menze [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978] Vol. II, p. 39.

⁶ Wells, loc. cit.

⁷ Cipolla op. cit., pp. 24–28.

⁸ Bonar, Horatius, *The Church Hymnary of the Church of Scotland and associated Presbyterian Churches*, Revised Edition [London: Oxford University Press, 1927] hymn 356.

⁹ Adapted from Coghill, Anna Louisa, *The Church Hymnary*, Revised Edition, hymn 357.

¹⁰ Docker, Edward Wybergh *The Blackbirders* [Melbourne; Angus and Robertson, 1970] p. 47.

¹¹ Cipolla, Carlo M. *The Fontana Economic History of Europe: The Industrial Revolution* [London: Collins/Fontana, 1976] pp. 192–197.

¹² Aykroyd, W. R. *Sweet Malefactor* [London: Heinemann, 1967] p. 42.

¹³ *ibid.*, p. 46.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 67.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 63.

¹⁶ Malthus, Robert *The Principle of Population as it affects the Future Improvement of Society, with Remarks on the Speculations of Mr. Godwin, M. Condorcet, and other Writers*. 1798.

¹⁷ Cowles, Virginia. *The Rothschilds* [London, Futura, 1975] p. 23.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 15–16. Prince William's father, Frederick II, a reconvert to Catholicism, had conscripted one out of every three able-bodied youths in his realm and hired them to George III of England to throw into the fray against the rebellious American colonies. His grandfather had once hired a Hessian regiment to George II who then loaned them to the Duke of Brunswick who used them to defend their own Hessian villages against the French.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 24.

²⁰ The bill to outlaw slavery in Denmark had been passed in 1792 in the wake of France's Declaration of the Rights of Man and the slave rebellion on Saint Domingue but there was to be a delay in promulgation of the act to provide for a period of adjustment. It may be that the date for promulgation had arrived coincidentally but in any case the king took full advantage of it at this time.

²¹ Ward, W. E. F. *The Royal Navy and the Slavers* [London: George Allen & Unwin, 1969] pp. 13–18.

²² Hacker, Louis M. *The Course of American Economic Growth and Development* [New York: John Wiley, 1970] pp. 65–66.

²³ Pendle, George. *A History of Latin America* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1978] p. 67.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 68.

- 25 *ibid.*, p. 80.
 - 26 *ibid.*, pp. 84, 100.
 - 27 Latin Americans of Spanish parentage, usually excluded from administrative and church positions because of long-standing arrangements between the church and the monarchy.
 - 28 Pendle, *op. cit.*, p. 90: quoting Fortescue, J. W. *History of the British Army* [London: 1910, Vol. V, p. 435.]
 - 29 Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–21.
 - 30 Harris, Joseph E. *Africans and their History* [New York: New American Library/Mentor, 1972] p. 22.
 - 31 Cowles, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
 - 32 *ibid.*, pp. 27–29.
 - 33 *ibid.*, p. 31.
 - 34 *ibid.*, p. 60.
 - 35 *ibid.*, pp. 84, 89, 90.
 - 36 *ibid.*, p. 83.
 - 37 Von Aretin, Karl Otmar *The Papacy and the Modern World* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, World University Library, 1920] p. 39.
 - 38 *ibid.*, p. 57.
 - 39 Beales, Derek *The Risorgimento and the Reunification of Italy* [London: George Allen & Unwin, 1971] p. 48.
 - 40 Von Aretin, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
 - 41 Cowles, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
 - 42 *ibid.*, p. 147.
 - 43 Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 120–121.
 - 44 Hacker, *op. cit.*, p. 68, quotes estimates by Stanley Lebergott [American Economic History, edited by Seymour Harris, 1961] thus: In 1800 the work force of the United States was made up of 1,190,000 self-employed persons (57 percent), 170,000 wage earners (12 percent) and 490,000 slaves (31 percent). Hacker notes further, pp. 166–167, that in spite of legislation in 1808 and 1820 aimed at preventing further imports, a further 270,000 Negro slaves were smuggled in between 1808 and 1860, largely to service the cotton trade. After the trade with Britain was reopened with the Peace of Ghent in 1814 production doubled by 1822, then again by 1826 and again by 1837. By 1860, when Lincoln was campaigning for the presidency, the peak concentrations of slave labour were in parts of Central Alabama and Arkansas with 66 percent of the total population in slavery, Louisiana with 86 percent and the Yazoo Delta of Mississippi with 89 percent.
 - 45 *ibid.*, p. 70.
 - 46 *ibid.*, pp. 162–166.
 - 47 Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
 - 48 Hacker, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
 - 49 Cowles, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–97, 109.
 - 50 Leviticus 25: verses 44–46.
- Both thy bondmen, and thy bondmaids which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you; of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids. Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that are with you, which they begat in your land; and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen for ever....
- (From the Authorized (King James) version which was the English language translation most widely used at the time.)

The deliberate or inadvertent misinterpretation of passages of very early laws such as this one from a situation which was so different historically, socially and geographically, clearly shows the consequences of canonizing such writings. Attributed to priestly traditions of the period after Moses and the Exodus, Leviticus probably dates from between 1100 and 1200 BCE. The passage quoted cannot be understood in isolation from the larger section of which it forms a part and it must be set against the circumstances of the day.

⁵¹ Franzen, August (Trans. J. P. Dolan), *A Concise History of the Church* [New York: Herder & Herder, 1969] p. 377.

⁵² Cowles, *op. cit.*, p. 109. Lionel Rothschild adopted a somewhat more enlightened approach to the suffering of Christians than his Jewish community was accustomed to when their roles were reversed. He established the British Relief Association Fund in 1846 to provide aid for victims of the Irish famine. The following year, waiving his commission, he joined with Barings to raise eight million pounds Sterling for the Irish Famine Loan.

⁵³ Wells, *op. cit.*, pp. 1053–1058.

⁵⁴ Franzen, *op. cit.*, p... 375–377.

⁵⁵ The potato famine did not start mass migration from Ireland. Systematic emigration had been in progress for about fifty years at an average rate of about 30,000 persons each year since 1800. Of those, about one third, or 500,000 persons, had settled in England and Scotland and two thirds, or one million persons, had gone to the New World. Significant arrivals in the United States date from about 1820. In spite of that rate of emigration Ireland's population still rose from 5.25 million in 1800 to 8.5 million in 1845 immediately before the disaster struck. Famine induced deaths (the number in excess of the normal death rate) in the years from 1846 to 1851 are estimated at 750,000 and more than one million people emigrated during the same period. But emigration did not stop when the famine ended. It continued at a rate averaging 60,000 per year, totaling three million during the next fifty years to 1900. The impact of the famine on Ireland was thus very great indeed, but the level of impact of associated Irish immigration on the United States as the principal recipient country is indicated by the following figures. In 1800 the total population within the boundaries of modern-day USA was six million, comprised of 4.3 million 'whites' (Europeans), one million Africans (almost entirely slaves), and about 0.7 million American Indians and Alaskans. Fifty years later, with the Irish famine rush tapering off, the US population of 24 million was made up of about 20.2 million whites, about 3.5 million Africans and a mere 0.3 million American Indians and Alaskans. The increase in whites (about 15.9 million or almost four-fold) represents both natural increase and migration. The increase in Africans, (about two and a half fold), of whom 90 per cent were still slaves, represents almost all natural increase because slave imports stopped in 1808. The fall in American Indian population of about 0.4 million, (more than half of the 1800 population), represents the impact of oppression and deaths in the wars of land acquisition.

⁵⁶ Based on data in the *Penguin Atlas of World Population History*, (1978), pp. 46–48, 286–290.

⁵⁷ Samkange, *Stanlake African Saga* [New York: Abingdon Press, 1971] pp. 179–182.

⁵⁸ *Enclopedia Britannica Deluxe CD 2000*.

⁵⁹ Irving, R. E. M. *Christian Democracy in France* [London: George Allen & Unwin, 1973] pp. 20–23.

⁶⁰ Gregory, J. S. *Church and State* [Australia: Cassell, 1973] pp. 5, 53, 68, 133, 221, 232. In the British colonies in Australia the schools question emerged very early as an important issue, along with the closely related issue of whether there should be a constitutional link between the establishment Church of England and the various colonial or state structures. Secularism then took a firm hold in the 1850's when Victoria, being constituted a colony separate from New South Wales, inherited the older colony's church-state links. The controversy was spawned by the arrival of large numbers of rebellious Irishmen as non-fare-paying 'guests' of Her Majesty, accompanied by Church of England clergy. It was then fueled by the disruption of the gold rushes and it was kept on the boil by the arrival of large numbers of ordinary people who aimed to make a fresh start, free from religious persecution, together with a few wealthy settlers from England, Scotland, Ireland and Germany and smaller numbers from other countries. During the 1870's the Syllabus of Errors and papal infallibility then helped to push Victoria and the other colonies towards the withdrawal of all state aid for church schools and towards insistence that state funded education should be free and secular. Arrangements stayed basically that way until conservative state Governments needed a touch of anticommunist support to stay in office in the 1950's and the Menzies federal government turned the clock back, and also stepped firmly into an area of state responsibility, with its state aid promises of 1963.

NOTES TO VOLUME I & II

- 61 Irving, op. cit., pp. 26–28.
- 62 *ibid.*, pp. 29–31.
- 63 Vidler, Alec R. *The Church in an Age of Revolution* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1976] pp. 73–77.
- 64 McLellan, David *Karl Marx: His life and Thought* [U. K.:Paladin/Granada, 1976] p. 31.
- 65 *ibid.*, p. 88.
- 66 *ibid.*, pp. 423–424.
- 67 Bottomore & Rubel, op. cit., p. 69.
- 68 *ibid.*, pp. 89–90.
- 69 *ibid.*, pp. 94–95.
- 70 *ibid.*, pp. 70–72.
- 71 *ibid.*, p. 98.
- 72 *ibid.*, p. 101.
- 73 Zaehner, R.C. Ed., contributing ‘Dialectical Materialism’ in *The Concise Encyclopaedia of Living Faiths* [London: Hutchinson, 1977] pp. 393, 402–405, 395. Roth, Cecil. *A History of the Jews* [New York: Schocken Books, 1974] p. 331.
- 74 Roth, op. cit., pp. 337–343.
- 75 Gilbert, Martin. *Jewish History Atlas* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976] pp. 337–343.
- 76 *ibid.*, p. 51.
- 77 Roth, op. cit., pp. 334–335.
- 78 Von Aretin, op. cit., p. 51.
- 79 Cowles, op. cit., pp. 97, 127.
- 80 Cipolla, Carlo M. *The Industrial Revolution* [London: Collins/Fontana, 1976] pp. 38–49.
- 81 Kuhner, Hans. *Encyclopedia of the Papacy* [London: Peter Owen, 1959] p. 223.
- 82 Taylor, A. J. P. *Introduction to the Communist Manifesto* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1976] p. 24.
- 83 *ibid.*, p. 23.
- 84 Von Aretin, op. cit., pp. 83, 97.
- 85 Beales op. cit., pp. 54–59.
- 86 Gandhi, Mahatma *All Men are Brothers* [Paris: UNESCO, 1969] p. 46.
- 87 *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Deluxe CD 2000.
- 88 Wells, op. cit., pp. 964–969.
- 89 Marx, Karl *Kritik des Hegelschen Staatsrechts*, quoted by Bottomore & Rubel *Karl Marx: Selected writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1976] p. 41.
- 90 Franzen, op. cit., pp. 377–379.
- 91 Pendle, op. cit., p. 57.
- 92 *ibid.*, pp. 59–63.
- 93 *ibid.*, pp. 72–73.

- 94 Intermarriage didn't worry the Portuguese in Brazil at all. This may have been linked with the high degree of religious and racial tolerance which the monarchy had shown in open opposition to the Inquisition (see p. 1/XII/35) but some writers suggest it was a matter of survival and they point to the racist laws of Portugal's later African colonies to support their case. In any case the degree of intermarriage and the racial harmony which had developed made the transfer of the monarchy from Portugal to Brazil a relatively smooth operation and subsequently also smoothed the path to independence and the end of the Brazilian slave trade. (Pendle, op. cit., pp. 75, 121, 123.) In contrast the Spanish generally rejected intermarriage and racism tended to go hand in hand with feudalism along the eastern half of the continent. (Niedergang, Marcel *The Twenty Latin Americas* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1971] p. 8.)
- 95 Pendle, op. cit., p. 125.
- 96 Cipolla, C. M. *The Economic History of World Population* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1975] p. 116.
- 97 Pendle, op. cit., pp. 138–139.
- 98 Niedergang, op. cit., p. 12.
- 99 Niedergang uses United Nations figures for the period 1959–1963 to show continuing heavy dependence on single product exports as follows: 1) Venezuela, petroleum 91.9 percent; 2) Colombia, coffee 71.7 percent; 3) Chile, copper 66.3 percent; 4) Guatemala, coffee 61.8 percent; 5) Bolivia, tin 61.4 percent; 6) Ecuador, bananas 61.2 percent; 7) Uruguay, wool 54.9 percent; 8) Brazil, coffee 54.2 percent; 9) Haiti, coffee 50.4 percent; 10) Honduras, bananas 46.6 percent; 11) Dominican Republic, sugar 46.4 percent; 12) Argentina, cereals, meat and leather 44 percent.
- 100 Meyer, Michael A. *Response to Modernity: A history of the Reform Movement in Judaism* [Detroit: Wayne State Uni., 1995] p. 6.
- 101 Gribetz, Greenstein & Stein. *The Timetables of Jewish History* [New York: Simon & Schuster/Touchstone, 1993] pp. 165, 167, 171.
- 102 Meyer, op. cit., pp. 7, 8.
- 103 Jacobs, Louis *The Jewish Religion: a companion* [New York: Oxford, 1995] pp. 218–223.
- 104 Meyer, op. cit., p. 16.
- 105 Hinnells, John R. [Ed.] *Who's Who of religions* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991], p. 266.
- 106 Jacobs, op. cit., pp. 223–226.
- 107 *ibid.*, p. 226.
- 108 *ibid.*
- 109 *ibid.*
- 110 Meyer, op. cit., pp. 21–23.
- 111 McEvedy (Modern), op. cit., pp. 68–72.
- 112 Barnavi, Eli *A Historical Atlas of the Jewish People* [London: Kuperard, 1994] pp. 134–135, 154–155.
- 113 *ibid.*, p. 154.
- 114 McEvedy (Modern), op. cit., p. 87.
- 115 Meyer, op. cit., pp. 27–28.
- 116 *ibid.*, pp. 36–37.
- 117 *ibid.*, p. 64.
- 118 *ibid.*, p. 29.
- 119 *ibid.*, pp. 64–65.
- 120 *The Wordsworth Dictionary of Beliefs and Religions*, 1995, p. 278.
- 121 *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1977, p. 285.
- 122 *Who's Who of Religions*, Penguin, 1991, p. 208.

- 123 Meyer, op. cit., p. 69.
- 124 *ibid.*, pp. 34–43.
- 125 *ibid.*, pp. 43–54.
- 126 *ibid.*, p. 59.
- 127 *ibid.*, pp. 53–61.
- 128 *ibid.*, pp. 63–64.
- 129 *ibid.*, pp. 68–69.
- 130 *ibid.*, pp. 70–71.
- 131 *ibid.*, pp. 72–74.
- 132 *ibid.*, pp. 121–123.
- 133 *ibid.*, pp. 125–131.
- 134 *ibid.*, pp. 146, 151.
- 135 *ibid.*, pp. 144–145
- 136 *ibid.*, pp. 164–170.
- 137 *ibid.*, pp. 162–163.
- 138 *ibid.*, p. 164.
- 139 Meyer, op. cit., p. 172, quoting from D’Israeli’s *Genius of Judaism*, published anonymously, pp. 265–266.
- 140 *ibid.*, pp. 171–178.
- 141 Gribetz, op. cit., pp. 260, 265, 267.
- 142 The New Hutchinson 20th Century Encyclopedia, pp. 135, 401.

CHAPTER 15: LET’S FIND A NEW HOME

- 1 Cowles, Virginia. *The Rothschilds* [London, Futura, 1975] p. 88.
- 2 *ibid.*, p. 113.
- 3 From the opening lines of Marx’ introduction to the *Communist Manifesto*. He went on to say that the pope, the czar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police spies had entered into a holy alliance to exorcize the spectre. (Marx K. & Engels F. *The Communist Manifesto* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1976] p. 78.)
- 4 Pipes, Richard. *Russia under the Old Regime* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Peregrine, 1977] p. 148.
- 5 Wells, H. G., *The Outline of History* [London: Cassell, 1951] p. 988.
- 6 Graef, Hilda *Devotion to the Blessed Virgin* [London: Burns & Oates, 1963] pp. 27–37.
- 7 Tibawi, A. L. *British Interests in Palestine 1800–1901* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961] pp. 4, 5.
- 8 The Jewish community then at Jerusalem is so described by Virginia Cowles. (Cowles, op.cit., p. 192.)
- 9 The impression that Christian mission involvement in the Holy Land during the nineteenth century was harmonious, productive and uplifting to the extent of correcting the misdeeds of the Crusaders is soon corrected by a reading of A. L. Tibawi’s “British Interests in Palestine 1800–1901”, Oxford University. Press 1961.
- 10 Tibawi, op. cit., pp. 10–12.
- 11 Vidler, Alec R. *The Church in an Age of Revolution* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1976] p. 225.
- 12 Fisher, H. A. L. *A History of Europe* [Great Britain: Arnold, 1955] p. 881.
- 13 Pipes, op. cit., pp. 250 & 340.
- 14 Von Aretin, Karl Otmar. *The Papacy and the Modern World* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, World University Library, 1920] p. 108.

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- 15 Vidler, *op. cit.*, pp. 225–227.
- 16 Revill, J. C. *World History* [London: Longmans, Green, 1953] p. 563.
- 17 Tibawi, *op. cit.*, pp. 31–33.
- 18 Roth, Cecil. *A History of the Jews* [New York: Schocken Books, 1974] pp. 344, 345.
- 19 Tibawi, *op. cit.*, pp. 45–56.
- 20 *ibid.*, p. 45.
- 21 *ibid.*, pp. 75–77.
- 22 The notion dies hard and is still promoted in some Christian mission enterprises.
- 23 Tibawi, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
- 24 *ibid.*, p. 13.
- 25 *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 17, p. 767.
- 26 Revill, *op. cit.*, pp. 562–564.
- 27 Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 919–923.
- 28 Von Aretin, *op. cit.*, p. 83.
- 29 Tibawi, *op. cit.*, pp. 20–23.
- 30 *ibid.*, citing a C.M.S. handbook “Christian Researches in the Mediterranean from 1815–1820”.
- 31 Revill, *op. cit.*, p. 565.
- 32 Pipes, *op. cit.*, pp. 160–163.
- 33 Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
- 34 Cowles, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 122–123.
- 35 *ibid.*, pp. 162–163.
- 36 *ibid.*, p. 119.
- 37 Dimont, Max I. *Jews, God & History* [New York: New American Library/Signet, 1962] p. 307.
- 38 Pipes, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
- 39 *ibid.*, pp. 162–166.
- 40 Dimont, *op. cit.*, p. 308.
- 41 Pipes, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
- 42 One aspect of this, the Rothschild loans to the Confederate States has already been mentioned.
- 43 Fairbank et al, *East Asia: The Modern Transformation* [London: George Allen & Unwin, 1967] p. 31.
- 44 *ibid.*, pp. 32–34.
- 45 Neill, *op. cit.*, p. 160.
- 46 Fairbank, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–225.
- 47 Ling, Trevor. *A History of Religion East and West* [London: Macmillan, 1968] p. 405.
- 48 Parrinder, Geoffrey. *The World’s Living Religions* [London: Pan, 1974] pp. 115–118.
- 49 Buss, Claude A. *Asia in the Modern World* [London: Collier-Macmillan, 1964] p. 158.
- 50 *ibid.*, p. 282.
- 51 *Oxford Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1977, p. 156.
- 52 Woodard, William P. *The Allied Occupation of Japan 1945–52 and Japanese Religions* [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972] p. 250, citing Hirobumi Ito, *Commentaries on the Constitution of Japan* [Tokyo: Government Printing Office, 1899] translated by Miyoji Ito.
- 53 Buss, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

- 54 *ibid.*, p. 320.
- 55 Neill, *op. cit.*, pp. 408, 409.
- 56 *ibid.*, pp. 195–196.
- 57 Fairbank, *op. cit.*, pp. 437–438.
- 58 Neill, *op. cit.*, p. 346.
- 59 Fairbank, *op. cit.*, p. 457.
- 60 *ibid.*, pp. 451–452.
- 61 Yule, George. The Theological Differences behind the Varieties of Patterns of Reformation in the 16th Century [The Reformed Theological Review: Vol. XXVIII, Sept/Dec 1969, No. 3] pp. 81–90.
- 62 Schild, Maurice. “On Luther’s Understanding of the Word and History” in The Reformed Theological Review: Vol. XXVIII, Sept/Dec 1969, No. 3, pp. 90–99.
- 63 Paul, Leslie. A Church by Daylight [London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1973] p. 27.
- 64 The Westminster Confession of Faith [Edinburgh: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1957] pp. 3–6.
- 65 Lindsell, Harold The Battle for the Bible [Michigan: Zondervan, 1976] p. 210.
- 66 Meir Meiseles. Judaism [Jerusalem/New York: Feldheim, 1977] pp. 472–480 & 142–171.
- 67 Burrow, J. W. Introduction to The Origin of Species [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1977] pp. 20–21.
- 68 *ibid.*, p. 41.
- 69 Paul, Leslie, A Church by Daylight [London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1973] p. 39.
- 70 *ibid.*, pp. 101–102.
- 71 *ibid.*, pp. 44–49.
- 72 In 1795, four years after John Wesley’s death, Methodism had been formally “pacified” through agreements reached with the hierarchy while the shadows of Robespierre’s last guillotine and the final partition of Poland still hung over Europe and while the London Missionary Society was being established.
- 73 Franzen, *op. cit.*, pp. 370–371.
- 74 By way of example: in Australia, (then the colony of New South Wales), the Church of England was to be endowed permanently and finally as the established church with complete responsibility for public education. The Church and Schools Corporation was set up under Imperial Charter in 1826. One seventh of all crown lands in the colony were vested in the corporation and the revenue was to be used to maintain and support the clergy of the Established Church of England, schools and schoolmasters. Opposition to the charter came first from the Roman Catholic Church then later from the Presbyterian Church. The Corporation was dissolved after only a few years and annual endowments were paid to those churches. In 1833 the Church of England received 11,500 pounds Sterling; the Roman Catholic Church 1,500 pounds Sterling; and the Presbyterian Church 600 pounds Sterling. Other churches received only grants of land on which to build chapels. (Gregory, J. S. Church and State [Australia: Cassell, 1973] pp. 9–14.) The colonial authorities had hoped to avoid carrying denominational dissent to Australia by richly endowing one established church to do two jobs at once. The questions of denominational preference or theological emphasis probably did not arise. It was a case of “we are starting from scratch let’s have stability through religious conformity.” The established church of the colonizing power was a logical starting point.
- 75 Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
- 76 Other changes, including greater lay involvement in the local affairs of the church, followed within a few years but they did not affect the status or security of the Church of England.
- 77 The Papal Encyclical and Syllabus Translation reprinted from the Daily News [London: Bradbury, Agnew, 1875].
- 78 Meir, *op. cit.*, pp. 562, 572.
- 79 Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (1977) p. 394.

- 80 Not all writers accept this. Von Aretin says Pius discussed it in secret with the cardinals immediately after releasing the syllabus, although he had “entertained” the idea beforehand.(Von Aretin, op. cit., p. 99.)
- 81 Franzen, op. cit., p. 388.
- 82 Archbishop Henry Edward Pastoral Letter to the Clergy [New York: D. & J. Sadlier, 1871] pp. 7–46.
- 83 The council intended to issue a more comprehensive “constitution” at a later session but it couldn’t. Events caught up with it. (Neuner, J. & J. Dupius *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church* [Bangalore, India: Theological Publications/St. Peter’s Se,minary, 1978] pp. 220–221.)
- 84 Edward, Henry, *The Vatican Council and its Definitions* [New York: D&J Sadlier, 1871] P. 65.
- 85 *ibid.*, p. 74.
- 86 From a pastoral letter by the Archbishop of Westminster, Henry Edward, to the clergy explaining and interpreting the Council’s decisions. Prepared soon after the Council, it reviewed the public debate and controversy and attempted historical justification for the decisions. It was published in full in 1871.
- 87 In 1893, (twenty two years after Darwin’s “Descent of Man”, and twenty six years after Vol. I of Marx’s “Capital”), Alfred Loisy was removed from his post at the Paris Institut Catholique for denying Biblical inerrancy. However he continued to publish and was excommunicated for his trouble on the Feast of St. Thomas Aquinas, March 7th 1908. Eventually his work gained wide recognition among Catholic theologians and not just those of the radical fringe. (von Aretin, op. cit., pp. 139–140.)
- 88 Neuner & Dupius *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church* [Bangalore: Theological Publications in India, 1978] p. 220. From the introduction to *The Institution and Foundation of the Church, Dogmatic Constitution on the Church of Christ, First Vatican General Council, fourth session, 1870.*
- 89 *ibid.*, p. 248
- 90 Kuhner, Hans. *Encyclopedia of the Papacy* [London: Peter Owen, 1959] p. 229.
- 91 The Franco/Prussian war continued without Napoleon III. His prestige was in tatters after the Mexican adventures and few people missed him. Paris was besieged in the first week of October and a fearful end was in sight when the main French army surrendered at Metz on October 27th. But a second army was already being raised in an effort which proved unsuccessful to relieve the capital. Prussia agreed to an armistice on January 1st 1871 so that French elections could be held and a peace treaty negotiated with a new government. Bismarck demanded Alsace and part of Lorraine. It was a material success but a great political blunder. He was fomenting trouble for the twentieth century. But success in France encouraged other German states to join the Confederation and Bavaria soon followed. The German Empire was a reality and by the end of 1871 Bismarck dominated Europe.
- 92 von Aretin, op. cit., pp. 910–92.
- 93 *ibid.* When Garibaldi entered Rome with his army for the second time the Jews were more jubilant than ever. He had to dismantle the Roman ghetto again. After the ‘48 Republic had been crushed the pope had re-established it. He must have taken pride in having the last ghetto in Europe. But it was only part of the chaos in social affairs, public utilities and government administration which the Curia’s anti-liberal, anti-progress and reactionary policies had left for the Piedmontese occupation troop to clean up.
- 94 Franzen, op. cit., pp. 394–396.
- 95 *ibid.*, p. 359.
- 96 *ibid.*, pp. 396–398.
- 97 Von Aretin, op. cit., p. 105.
- 98 J. S. Gregory sets out a comprehensive study of the situation in Australia in *Church and State*, [Cassell, Australia 1973].
- 99 Fisher, op. cit., pp. 985–988. This was actually the mechanism by which Bismarck manoeuvred Napoleon III into the war which brought down both him and the papal states.
- 100 Franzen, op. cit., p. 367.

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- 101 Oxford Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church, p. 34.
- 102 Handbook: Member Churches. Ed. Ans J. van der Bent. World Council of Churches, 1982, pp. 168–169.
- 103 Dimont: Jews, God & History, p. 305.
- 104 Gribetz, Greenstein & Stein. The Timetables of Jewish History [New York: Simon & Schuster/Touchstone, 1993] p. 282.
- 105 Two incidents in quick succession gave the Mortara affair an American perspective and indicated how quickly one incident might become a precedent and trigger an avalanche. In the first a Jew, Paulson Dietrich, was buried in a Catholic cemetery after being involuntarily baptized in hospital on his death bed. Eventually his body was exhumed and reburied in a Jewish cemetery. In the second, a Jewish child was secretly baptized by his nurse and forcibly taken from its parents by Catholic authorities for adoption. He was returned to his parents by court order.
- 106 Gribetz, op. cit., pp. 283–284.
- 107 Roth, op. cit., pp. 345–346.
- 108 Simon Halkin Modern Hebrew Literature [New York: Schocken Books, 1970] p. 34.
- 109 Cowles, op. cit., pp. 139–142.
- 110 Roth, op. cit., pp. 347–348.
- 111 Kuhner, op. cit., p. 230.
- 112 Franzen, op. cit., p. 390.
- 113 Catholic Almanac, 1975, p. 688.
- 114 Roth, op. cit., pp. 348–349.
- 115 Pipes, op. cit., p. 156.
- 116 Roth, op. cit., p. 351.
- 117 Barnavi, Eli A Historical Atlas of the Jewish People [London: Kuperard, 1994] pp. 220–221, 224–225.
- 118 Pipes, op. cit., pp. 305–309.
- 119 Barnavi, op. cit., p. 180.
- 120 Gilbert, op. cit., pp. 71–72.
- 121 Consistent and reliable figures for the flow of refugees are difficult to obtain because of the relatively elementary census and statistical methods of the period and because authorities use different periods for the presentation of data. Sources available include the following.

Source 1 Barnavi, p. 191

Emigration from the Pale of Settlement

Destination	Years	Number
America, W. Europe	1881–1906	1,500,000

Source 2 Penguin Atlas of World Population History p. 80.

Emigration from Russia

Destination	Years	Number
Siberia	1870–1914	5,000,000 (1)
New World–		3,000,000 (2)

Source 3 Gilbert (Jewish History Atlas) pp. 71, 81

Destination	Years	Number
All countries from 1880		>2,000,000 (3)
United States 1880–1914		2,000,000

Source 4 Barnavi, pp. 194–195

NOTES TO VOLUME I & II

Emigration from:	The Pale of Settlement		Eastern Europe		Europe		All Jewish Migration	
Destination	Years	Number	Years	Number	Years	Number	Years	Number
Canada	1881–1914	450,000	1915–1931	N/A	1932–1948	N/A	1948–1976	100,000
United States	–	2,040,000	–	465,000	–	260,000	–	270,000
Argentina	–	115,000	–	80,000	–	35,000	–	30,000 *
Brazil	–	15,000	–	65,000	–	75,000	–	30,000 *
Europe	–	30,000	*	–	30,000	*	–	30,000 *
South Africa	–	5,000	–	15,000	–	10,000	–	10,000
Australia	–	15,000	–	30,000*	–	30,000*	–	10,000
Palestine	–	65,000	–	115,000	–	300,000	–	730,000 (4)
		.	–	–	–	–	–	915,000 (5)
Other countries	–	55,000	–	20,000	–	160,000	–	65,000
Total, all countries.		2,430,000	–	820,000	–	900,000	–	

Notes to migration tables

* Mid point of range from 10,000 to 50,000 shown graphically. (1) Total emigration of peasants, not only Jews, from Russia to Siberia. (2) Total emigration of peasants, not only Jews, from Russia to the New World. (3) Jews from the Pale of Settlement to United States, Britain, Europe, South America and Palestine. (4) Migration to the State of Israel from Eastern Europe and USSR combined. (5) Migration to the State of Israel from all other countries.

¹²² Dimont, *Jews, God & History*, pp. 323–327.

¹²³ Dimont, Max I. *The Indestructible Jews* [New York: New American Library/Signet, 1971] pp. 3909–391.

¹²⁴ Meyer, Michael A. *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* [Detroit: Wayne State Uni., 1995] p. 226.

¹²⁵ Isaacs, Ronald & Olitzky, K. M. *Critical Documents of Jewish History* [Northvale: Jason Aronson, 1995] p. 5.

¹²⁶ Meyer, op. cit., p. 227.

¹²⁷ Gilbert, *Jewish History Atlas*, pp. 61, 70 and the *Penguin Atlas of World Population History*, p. 77. Estimated Jewish population in the US: 2,000 in 1800, rising to 6,000 in 1826. That represents a mere 0.04 percent compared with 30 percent in ‘Congress Poland’ (the Pale of Settlement) at about that time, (an estimated 1,200,000 Jews in a total population of about four million).

¹²⁸ Meyer, op. cit., p. 229.

¹²⁹ Isaacs. Op. cit., pp. 53–54 (Charleston Creed) & pp. 179–18 (Maimonides’ Thirteen Principles of Faith).

¹³⁰ Meyer, op. cit., pp. 233, 234.

¹³¹ *ibid.*

¹³² At the time of the Cleveland Conference the Jewish population in the United States was probably about 100,000. By 1860 it had reached 150,000 and in the next ten years it almost doubled, reaching 280,000 in 1880 as the majority of a wave of 150,000 refugees arrived from Germany and Poland during those years. Then the flood gates opened as Russia’s pogroms and resettlement policies in the Pale of Settlement, coupled with simple over population, led to the exodus of millions of Jews as already noted. The Jewish community increased from 0.04 percent of the US population in 1825 to 0.34 percent in 1858 when President Buchanan made his infamous non-intervention decision, to 0.56 percent in 1880, then leapt to 3.9 percent in 1925, since when it has settled back to an estimated 2.9 percent in 1975 and 2.2 percent in 1997. (Calculations based on figures in Fishman, Priscilla *The Jews of the United States* [Jerusalem: Keter, 1974] pp. 32–33, 285. *Penguin Atlas of World Population history*, op. cit., pp. 286–290. Gilbert, op. cit., pp. 61, 81.)

¹³³ Meyer, op. cit., p. 241.

- 134 *ibid.*, pp. 259–263.
- 135 *ibid.*, pp. 264–270.
- 136 Isaacs, *op. cit.*, p. 58: a comment on the Pittsburgh Platform by the editors.
- 137 *ibid.*, pp. 58–59. All extracts from the Pittsburgh Platform are from Isaacs pages 58 and 59.
- 138 Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 270.
- 139 Sources: The Wordsworth Dictionary of Beliefs and Religions, pp. 52–56; Penguin Who's Who of Religions pp. 41, 43; Ling, *op. cit.*, pp. 388–389; Basic Facts of the Baha'i Faith, The National Spiritual Assembly of the Bah'a'is of Australia Inc.
- 140 Gribetz, *op. cit.*, p. 309.
- 141 *ibid.*, p. 314.
- 142 Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 265.
- 143 *ibid.*, p. 292–293.
- 144 Katz, Jacob (contributor) 'Zionism' in [Jerusalem: Keter Books/Israel Pocket Library, 1973] p. 66.
- 145 Locker, Berl. Introduction to the 50th anniversary edition of The Jewish State, quoting conversations and letters from Herzl to Baron Hirsch, pp. 22–23.
- 146 Dimont, Jews God & History, p. 397.
- 147 Hertzberg, Rabbi Arthur (contributor) 'Zionism,' p. 23.
- 148 Kressel, Getzel, (contributor) Zionism, p. 1.
- 149 Locker, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–16, 153–156.
- 150 Herzl, Theodore, The Jewish State [Tel Aviv: M. Newman Publishing House, 1954] pp. 38 ff.
- 151 *ibid.*, p. 66.
- 152 Meyer, *loc. cit.*
- 153 Gabler, Neal, An Empire of Their Own [New York: Crown, 1988] from the introduction, p. 2., and biographical notes forming part one, chapters one to five, and chapter eight.

CHAPTER 16: NEXT YEAR IN JERUSALEM

- ¹ Dimont, Max I. The Indestructible Jews [New York: New American Library/Signet, 1971] p. 391.
- ² Jacobs, Louis The Jewish Religion: a Companion [New York: Oxford, 1995] p. 342.
- ³ Katz, Jacob, Contributing 'Forerunners of Zionism' Zionism p. 5.
- ⁴ Dimont, Max I. Jews, God & History [New York: New American Library / Signet, 1962] p. 397.
- ⁵ Laqueur, Walter. A History of Zionism [New York: Schocken Books, 1976], pp. 70–74.
- ⁶ Tessler, Mark A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994] pp. 201–202.
- ⁷ Tessler, *loc. cit.*
- ⁸ Dimont. Jews, God & History p. 396.
- ⁹ Herzl, Theodor The Jewish State [Tel Aviv: Newman Publishing House, 1954] p. 139.
- ¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 149.
- ¹¹ Kuhner, *op. cit.*, p. 231.
- ¹² Minerbi, Sergio I. The Vatican & Zionism [New York: Oxford University Press, 1990] p. 96, quoted from Civiltà Cattolica, 1897.
- ¹³ Wilson, Collin. Rasputin and the fall of the Romanovs [Granada: Panther, 1977] pp. 77–83.

- ¹⁴ Medzini, Moshe. Contributing “Zionist Policy” [Zionism], pp. 84–85.
- ¹⁵ Roth, op. cit., p. 353. A pogrom thought to have been triggered with semi official sponsorship broke on April 19th at Kishinev, about 100 miles inland from Odessa and close to the border with Rumania. Even Jew-baiting Europe was shocked by the sheer savagery of three days of nonstop rioting and bloodshed which exceeded any previous pogroms.
- ¹⁶ Minerbi, op. cit., p. 100, quoted from Herzl’s Diaries.
- ¹⁷ von Aretin, op. cit., pp. 152, 164–165.
- ¹⁸ Tessler, op. cit., pp. 202–203.
- ¹⁹ Wilson, op. cit., p. 86.
- ²⁰ Roth, loc. cit. and Pipes, op. cit., pp. 168–169. The ‘Bloody Sunday’ plan backfired. Unrest, looting, burning and attacks on the landlord class increased. By October 1905 liberal pressure had forced the tsar to agree to a constitution and, by November 1906, the beginnings of real land reform and power sharing. In retaliation, reactionary groups, calling themselves the “Genuine Russians” set up terrorist branches (“The Black Hundreds”) in the main provincial centres in an effort to make sure the constitution didn’t work. Jewish repression was an integral part of their program. In the next four years massacres in 284 towns (roughly one each week), accounted for an estimated 50,000 victims at an average of 175 murders in each ‘event’, although certainly not all the victims were Jewish.
- ²¹ The Hutchinson 20th Century Encyclopedia, p. 1025.
- ²² Dimont, Jews, God & History p. 321.
- ²³ Neill, op. cit., pp. 384–385, 432.
- ²⁴ Laqueur, op. cit., p. 131.
- ²⁵ Medzini, op. cit., pp. 84–85.
- ²⁶ Laqueur, op. cit., pp. 129–130.
- ²⁷ Kressel, Getzel, contributing Zionist Utopias [Zionism] p. 243.
- ²⁸ Laqueur, op. cit., p. 138.
- ²⁹ Laqueur, loc cit.
- ³⁰ Figures before the note marker are from Laqueur, op. cit, p. 56. Figures after the marker are a compilation of data from Laqueur, Barnavi, Gilbert and Fishman, Priscilla The Jews of the United States [Jerusalem: Keter Publishing, 1974].
- ³¹ Genesis chapter 1 verse 28, Jerusalem Bible translation.
- ³² Hacker, op. cit., pp. 139–148.
- ³³ *ibid.*, pp. 132–138.
- ³⁴ The influence of migration across the Atlantic is evident from figures for population growth and Gross National Product of selected countries for the period between the American Civil War and World War II, even though it cannot be isolated from other factors.

Country	Period	[——— Rates of Growth for each factor (%) ———]		
		Population	GNP	GNP/Capita
USA	1869–78 to 1904–13	22.3	56.0	27.5
Canada	1870–79 to 1905–14	17.8	47.1	24.7
Germany	1860–69 to 1905–14	11.5	35.6	21.6
UK	1860–69 to 1905–14	11.1	25.0	12.5
France	1841–50 to 1901–10	1.9	18.6	16.3
Japan	1878–87 to 1903–12	11.6	49.2	33.7

Comparison of figures for Japan, with a population growth rate directly comparable with Germany and the UK, shows clearly the economic consequences of Britain, France and the US having combined to force Japan into world trade.

Source: SS Kuznets *Economic Development and Social Change*, October 1956 p. 13; quoted by L. M. Hacker, *The Course of American Economic Growth and Development* (Wiley, 1970).

- 35 Scott, E. *A short history of Australia* [Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1947] pp. 39–45; 191–202. Transportation of convicts from Britain to the Australian colonies officially ceased in 1868 after more than thirty years of steadily increasing opposition from the colonies and in spite of the warped morality of people like Lord Grey, British Secretary of State for the Colonies. In 1853, while Britain was trying to sort out the relationship between the state and its established church, while it prepared to prop up the sultan against Russia and while it breathed a sigh of relief at having avoided the round of rolling revolutions in Europe, he wrote his book *Colonial Policy*. In it he claimed that Britain was perfectly justified in continuing to transport convicts to the colonies in the interests of its own stability. The colonies were only entitled to ask that their interests and welfare were consulted as far as possible while arrangements were being made, he wrote. He lauded the system of depriving Britain's criminals of the right to return to their homes after they had served their sentences, as a deterrent, and he decried the prospect of thousands of them being released and turned loose on English society. During eighty years of the system 160,663 convicts had been dumped in Australia compared with some 50,000 in the American colonies during the sixty years before the War of Independence.
- 36 Hacker, *op. cit.*, pp. 234–239. Between 1850 and 1860 when petroleum production began in earnest about 21,000 miles of railways were built in the USA, taking the total tracks in use to 30,626 miles. Three subsequent railway construction boom periods took the total US railway system to 176,500 miles by 1893. (1866–1873, 30,000 miles; 1879–1883, 40,000 miles; 1886–1892, 50,000 miles). There was little system in the expansion program as private capitalists, (not government agencies), built competing systems in dog-eat-dog competition which recalled the stupidity of competing parallel systems in Austria and also on either side of the River Seine from Paris to the Channel. But the cost of moving commodities fell dramatically (in the case of wheat from 65 cents per 100 pounds from Chicago to New York in 1866 to 20 cents in 1897, and provided an added stimulus to development.
- 37 *ibid.*, 136, 145. In 1826, 92.5 percent of US foreign trade was carried in American owned ships. The proportion stayed very high until the 1850's when new and advanced British ships made quicker turn around times and cut the US shipping market to ribbons. The British ships were steam powered, with iron- hulls, required smaller crews and were built with government subsidies. Even fast clippers built especially for the California-Asia trade could only hold the share of America's foreign trade which was carried in American shipping to 66.5 percent in 1860 when competitive conversion began.
- 38 A small refinery was built to refine "coal oil" the next year but the British Colonial administration did little to encourage production and it was not until 1908, fifty years later, that oil production began in earnest in Trinidad.
- 39 Significant commercial production did not begin in Canada until 1862.
- 40 Production figures are apparently not available for the Baku fields during that period.
- 41 US Bureau of Mines figures.
- 42 Gossett, T. F. *Race: The history of an idea in America* [New York: Schocken, 1971] p. 179.
- 43 *ibid.*, pp. 228–252.
- 44 Hacker, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–173.
- 45 *ibid.*, pp. 193–197.
- 46 Gossett, *op. cit.*, pp. 253–264.
- 47 Gossett, *loc. cit.*
- 48 *ibid.*, pp. 264–286.
- 49 Gabler, Neal *An Empire of Their Own* [New York: Crown, 1988] pp. 59, 117, 132.
- 50 *ibid.*, pp. 273, 274.
- 51 *ibid.*, p. 271.
- 52 *ibid.*, p. 129.
- 53 *ibid.*, p. 130.

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54 *ibid.*, p. 119, 125.

55 *ibid.*, p. 277.

56 *ibid.*, p. 195.

57 *ibid.*, Intro. P. 6.

58 *ibid.*, p. 131.

59 Edwardes, Michael. *A History of India* [Thames & Hudson, 1961] p. 269.

60 Relative population growth in Europe and India between 1483 and 1815.

Region	Area (mil Km2)	[——— Population Estimates ———]			Density increase
		a	b	c	
Year >		1483	1648	1815	c/a
Europe (to the Dnieper)	4.9	70	93	150	2.1
Russia (to the Urals)	5.6	3	7	50	16.6
Total Europe	10.5	73	100	200	2.7
India	4.4	110	130	190	1.7

Sources:

Areas; UN Statistical Year Book, 1975.

Populations; C. McEvedy *Penguin Atlas of Modern History*.

61 Edwardes, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

62 *ibid.*, pp. 144–145. In the early days of the Portuguese spiritual outpost of Goa the emphasis in administration was on the promotion of papal Christianity and trade took second place. Hindus were allowed to practice their religion but Islam was suppressed ruthlessly. Then the priorities began to change in several respects. Trade and piracy took the upper hand and tolerance towards Hindus fell away. The Inquisition was introduced in 1540. Hinduism was banned from Portuguese settlements as well as Islam, and great numbers of Hindus left the territory rather than undergo ritual baptism.

63 *ibid.*, pp. 128–129; 190–191; 226–227.

64 Ling, *op. cit.*, pp. 323–330.

65 Edwardes, *op. cit.*, pp. 240–242.

66 *ibid.*, p. 259.

67 *ibid.*, p. 249.

68 *ibid.*, pp. 224–225.

69 The visit of the “negotiators” had been delayed while Britain put down the Indian Mutiny and Queen Victoria prepared her own declaration of religious tolerance.

70 They linked with Chinese traders in the Philippines which was rapidly and almost totally Christianized by some 400 Spanish Roman Catholic missions almost free of competition from anything other than Animist religions, faith healers and quite remarkable psychic medicine men, all of whom were either suppressed or absorbed in the Philippines version of Roman Catholicism by the well-trodden path of syncretism. The church’s doctrines left no room for the influence of the Holy Spirit outside the church and therefore successful psychic medicine men who survived were portrayed as gaining their supernatural powers through the church by some mystical means. However their existence and their success were generally decried outside the Philippines, (as with such practices as Acupuncture in China), thereby retarding cooperation and development in medical practice in both the West and the non-Western world. At the same time Christianity in the Philippines took on highly mystical and superstitious overtones, partly because it was not until 1873 that any part of the Bible was translated into the Philippine language. This increased tension even more than usual in the Sulu Archipelago, extending from the island of Mindanao, which was the one region where competition with Islam did occur. Bitter inter-faith conflict soon erupted and has never abated completely. It remains a major consideration in Philippines affairs even after the granting of autonomy for a Muslim province of Mindanao in 1996, with strong resistance from the Christian minority in the area.

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- 71 Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai in addition to Canton.
- 72 Reischauer E. O., *Fairbank Craig East Asia: The Modern Transformation* [London: George Allen & Unwin, 1967] pp. 136–146.
- 73 The British troops included Sikh cavalry from the Punjab which had not joined the Indian mutiny.
- 74 Reischauer et.al., op. cit., pp. 169–171.
- 75 Ice breakers now keep it open continuously.
- 76 Reischauer et.al., op. cit., pp. 168–169.
- 77 Franzen, op. cit., pp. 365–369.
- 78 The Sacred Edict. 1. Perform with sincerity filial and fraternal duties in order to give due importance to social relations. 2. Behave with generosity to your kindred to demonstrate harmony and affection. 3. Cultivate peace and concord in your neighborhoods in order to prevent quarrels and litigations. 4. Recognize the importance of husbandry and the culture of mulberry trees in order to insure a sufficiency of food and clothing. 5. Hold economy in estimation in order to conserve money and goods. 6. Extend the schools of instruction in order to make correct the practice of scholars. 7. Reject false doctrines in order to honor learning. 8. Explain the laws in order to warn the ignorant and obstinate. 9. Manifest propriety and courtesy in order to make manners and customs good. 10. Work diligently at your proper calling in order to give settlement to the aims of the people. 11. Instruct your sons and younger brothers in order to guard them from evildoing. 12. Put a stop to false accusations in order to protect the innocent and good. 13. Abstain from the concealment of fugitives in order to avoid being involved in their punishment. 14. Pay your taxes fully in order to dispense with official urging. 15. Combine in the paochia* in order to suppress thieves and robbers. 16. Resolve animosities in order to value your lives duly.
- * Mutual guarantee groupings of 100 (chia) and 1,000 (pao) households.
- 79 Reischauer et al., op. cit., pp. 82–85.
- 80 *ibid.*, pp. 11–12.
- 81 Wiedner D. L. *A History of Africa South of the Sahara* [Random House/Vintage, 1962] pp. 67–70.
- 82 Estimates for the number of Africans shipped to North and South America vary widely and almost all commercial and government statistics have been destroyed at some time or another. D. L. Wiedner gives sound support for his estimates of between 3.5 and 5.5 million arriving at their markets out of between 4.0 and 6.5 million shipped. He says that British and Portuguese ships each carried one third of the total number, Dutch about 18 percent, French 12 percent and United States (after independence) 5 percent. (43) By a peculiarity of Spanish morality its ships were prohibited from carrying slaves but its authorities and nationals were quite at liberty to exploit them after they had arrived.
- 83 Wiedner, op. cit., pp. 116–117. The Portuguese chose to reprovision in Brazil to give their ships a good sweep south of the African coast; British ships stood off the Cape and sent hunting parties ashore; and the Dutch settled St. Helena as a compromise until 1652 when they established a servicing station at Capetown.
- 84 *ibid.*, p. 128.
- 85 *ibid.*, pp. 130–132.
- 86 *ibid.*, pp. 138–139.
- 87 *ibid.*, pp. 150.
- 88 Charles Darwin's follow-up to *The Origin of Species*, *The Descent of Man*, had just been published. All the old issues and misconceptions had been aired again, plus a lot more, and controversy reached a new peak. Darwin's works became known as "the monkey theory" and this led to the widespread idea that everyone other than a white Anglo-Saxon was somewhere between a monkey and a true man. On that basis they were said to be fit only to serve the white man. Efforts to achieve racial understanding, harmony and emancipation took a pounding. In Africa and Australia, where the Aborigines were considered especially primitive, a white man had to be either very courageous or a trifle mad to openly proclaim racial equality.

- 89 Britain had established Freetown, Sierra Leone, as a home for freed slaves who wanted a chance to establish their own community much earlier, in 1773. The United States found its sponsorship of Liberia in 1820 both a commercial and political success and it therefore decided to persevere with it even though its mass recolonization proposals lapsed. France followed with Libreville, Gabon, in 1849.
- 90 Cowles, *op. cit.*, pp. 146–147. Apart from its paranoia over Russia gaining easy access to the East and its fear of a concentration of its own shipping through a single foreign-controlled point, Britain was jealous of the competitive position which Mediterranean nations gained from the opening of the Suez Canal. Although the voyage from Southampton to Bombay had been cut from about 10,600 nautical miles to 6,300, that from Marseilles had been cut from 10,400 to 4,700, and that from Athens from 11,200 to 3,600. On top of that it was obvious that future East African trade would have to go to Europe via the Suez and as the depressing effect on Capetown could not be avoided the British government decided it was better to have joint control of Suez than to be a customer paying in future political favours for access to the canal. It was the Rothschilds, (with one eye on their vast new investments in South and East Africa no doubt), who raised a short term loan of four million pounds Sterling, in secret, at the personal request of their close friend Benjamin Disraeli, then Britain's prime minister.
- 91 Oliver R. & Atmore A. *Africa since 1800* [Cambridge University Press, 1972] p. 103.
- 92 Wiedner, *op. cit.*, p. 282.
- 93 Oliver et. al., *op. cit.*, pp. 112–113.61. Eventually Britain and Germany settled in 1890. Germany got a narrow wedge of country running into the mineral-rich heart of the Zambezi basin, (almost separating Northern Rhodesia from Bechuanaland), plus the North Sea island of Heligoland which is strategically placed between Holland and Denmark opposite the Elbe estuary. Britain gained Bismarck's recognition of its claims to Zanzibar, Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, Eastern Nigeria and Uganda.
- 94 *Petroleum Gazette* [Melbourne: Australian Institute of Petroleum Ltd., vol. 21, No. 4, December 1979].
- 95 The use of wood for structural timber, pressed board, paper and packaging materials or even garden mulch is not dependent on the rate of its use as fuel. In a highly integrated plant such uses may be complementary but in general terms they are competitive. Wood may be used for either one purpose or another. Similarly coal may be coked for steel production, or used for synthetic oil, chemical and fibre production but, as with wood, it is essentially one thing or the other: fuel or non-fuel use. Uranium has its peaceful uses other than energy production, but they are in no way dependent on it being used for energy production, even in those instances in which byproducts of the energy cycle can be used for other purposes instead of specifically producing them for such purposes.
- 96 Six countries shared the remaining two percent. (Year of first commercial production in brackets.) Poland 465,000 barrels (1874); Canada 250,000 (1862); Rumania 193,000 (1857); Germany 41,000 (1880); Japan 30,000 (1875); Italy 2,000 (1860). Source: American Petroleum Institute. Centennial edition, "Petroleum Facts and Figures" (1959). Authority: US Bureau of Mines.
- 97 Cowles, *op. cit.*, pp. 147–148.
- 98 Cowles, *loc. cit.* The concession came into production in 1886. It proved highly successful, and soon made the Rothschilds' B'nito Petroleum Company the chief export competitor of the Rockefeller Standard Oil conglomerate. They sold it in 1911 to Shell.
- 99 The Nobel brothers commissioned the first ever oil tanker, built in Sweden in 1877, to serve the European market from their Baku fields. A refinery had been established the previous year but it was not until 1883 that a pipeline linked Baku with the Black Sea port of Batum. Standard Oil did not introduce tankers on the US/Europe run until 1887 when the Rothschilds' fields had made competition much tougher. It followed that with the establishment of its first foreign subsidiary, the Anglo-American Petroleum Company Ltd., in Britain in 1888 for the same reason.
- 100 Stocking, G. W. *Middle East Oil* [Allen Lane/The Penguin Press, 1971] pp. 7–8.
- 101 The rivalry continued unabated. It led Britain into another totally unjustified and abortive war with Afghanistan five years later in which it used three Indian armies and succeeded in forcing an alliance between Afghanistan and Russia. It also led to that fateful British intervention, at about the same time, when Russia tried to force Turkey to grant full Rumanian independence and Britain grabbed Cyprus in return for its 'support' for Turkey.

- 102 The Philippines was immediately rushed by Protestant missions with all the prestige of a conquering power and the divisiveness of Protestant evangelical fervour in conflict with the long-established Catholic mysticism.
- 103 Wiedner, *op. cit.*, pp. 300–303.
- 104 Gandhi, M. All men are brothers [Paris: UNESCO, 1958] p. 25.
- 105 Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 1068–1069.
- 106 Reischauer et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 394–404.
- 107 *ibid.*, p. 403. The Boxer Protocol was signed on September 7, 1901 by China and eleven foreign powers. It required the execution of ten high officials and punishment of 100 others; suspension of the civil government examination system in 45 cities; fortification and garrisoning of the foreign legation quarters; destruction of 25 Chinese forts; steps to secure foreign railway access to Peking; and increases in import duty levels to help pay foreign indemnities (compensation) of \$US333 million (which was doubled by interest payments) over 40 years. To its credit, the China Inland Mission, and one or two others, declined to accept compensation.
- 108 *ibid.*, p. 616. By 1905 Protestant missions were operating 2,200 kindergartens and primary schools with 42,000 pupils plus 389 other schools and colleges with 15,000 students. By 1907 they were able to report 3,500 missionaries from 70 societies working in 632 stations to minister to 250,000 Chinese Christians.
- 109 Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 1074.
- 110 Tibawi, *op. cit.*, pp. 219–228.
- 111 Revill, *op. cit.*, p. 569. Having been relieved of much of what had remained of his dominantly Christian European provinces by the Christian powers at the Congress of Berlin in 1878 the Sultan was constantly made aware of the fanatical Armenian Christian enclave deep inside his otherwise Muslim Asian territory. They had links with both Constantinople and the Russian Orthodox Church, but little in common with either. And because their theology and their practices reflected the history of the region, they were a constant thorn in the Sultan's side. In 1894 he decided to take the simple way out and eliminate them. The world was horrified by two years of massacre, destruction of property and refugee status for those who could escape. It brought disgrace to Islam at a time when Muslim morale was badly shaken by the domination of imperialist Christian European powers all around the world. It also triggered struggles for control of Macedonia and Crete. Macedonia suffered chaos which the great powers did little to relieve, but Crete gained a degree of self government and (in 1913) union with Greece.
- 112 Stocking, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–11.
- 113 Pipes, *op. cit.*, pp. 168–169.
- 114 Stocking, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–19.
- 115 Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 294–305. Britain repudiated the annexation by its colonial government at first on the grounds of little return for the cost involved and because it already had "too many blacks" in its empire. It was only after Germany had occupied the north east sector that Britain agreed to establish a protectorate over the south east portion with the Australian colonies responsible for its administration.
- 116 A glance at a globe shows the remarkable continuity of that oil belt across Europe. It extends via Rumania and Poland (where production was already in full swing), the Ukraine and White Russia out into the great North Sea fields of Britain and Norway which were only recognized much later when petroleum technology had developed into a complex of modern sciences.
- 117 Marriott, J. A. R. A History of Europe 1815–1939 [Methuen, 1966] p. 491.
- 118 In addition to the Jerusalem and Jaffa settlements which had been initiated in 1855 by Sir Moses Montefiore there were settlements of Russians (1882), Rumanians (1882), Poles (1883), and Bulgarians (1896). In 1876 the Turkish authorities had refused to make land available in the Jordan Valley but generally their attitude was one of understanding and sympathy in the face of growing opposition from local Arab communities and provincial authorities. Steps had been taken to prevent refugees from being admitted through Haifa, Jaffa and Beirut in 1882, and attacks by bands of Arab tribesmen during the 1880's and 1890's stimulated the development of protected communities and the commune concept.

- 119 Gribetz, Greenstein and Stein. *The Timetables of Jewish History* [New York: Simon & Schuster/Touchstone, 1994] p. 350.
- 120 Kressel, G. contributing *Zionist Congresses in Zionism*, pp. 243–245.
- 121 Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 77. Vienna's mayor, Karl Lueger, had pushed ahead with his anti-Semitic programme, dismissing all Jews from civic employment and offices, segregating schools and distributing anti-Jewish literature. In Linz, Schonener had declared the removal of all Jewish influences from all sections of public life to be indispensable.
- 122 Precise figures are not available. Gilbert gives these figures while Dimont suggests Jewish immigration into Palestine during that period of 115,000. This suggests a much higher net population at the end of the 32 year period. (Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 83: Dimont, *op. cit.*, p. 400).
- 123 Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
- 124 Fishman, P. *The Jews of the United States* [Jerusalem: Keter, 1974] pp. 33–36. That figure does not take into account resettlement within Europe, but neither does it allow for other influences in the mass migration pattern, nor the numbers who returned to Europe. Between 1800 and 1900 the Jewish population of Eastern Europe had increased from an estimated 1,500,000 to about 6,800,000 which greatly exceeds the overall population growth rate. The complex pressures pushing Jews from West to East, family norms and a high standard of hygiene (which reduced mortality rates compared with the general population) are all reflected in that increase. In view of that population increase there was much more economic pressure on Jews to migrate even without oppression. However as the period of intense persecution in Russia continued unabated the natural tendency for a certain percentage of migrants to re-emigrate fell steadily. Of those who sailed to the USA during the 1880's about twenty five percent returned to Europe. By 1908 the figure had fallen to eight percent and by 1919 it was as low as one percent.
- 125 Rouse, Ruth contributing *Voluntary Movements and the Changing Ecumenical Climate in A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517–1948* [Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1993] p. 346.
- 126 Brandreth, Henry R. T. contributing *Approaches of the Churches Towards Each Other in the Nineteenth Century in A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517–1948*, p. 274.
- 127 In this context 'Puseyism' is taken to refer to proposals that the Church of England should seek a merger with the Eastern Churches in a manner which implied submission to Rome, the divinity of the Church of England and adoption of high church practices, including individual confession, which were promoted by the Oxford Movement and its leaders, notably Professor Edward Pusey.
- 128 Rouse, *op. cit.* pp. 318, 319.
- 129 The American delegation actually considered withdrawing when the issue of whether slave-holders could be admitted to membership was raised by British delegates.
- 130 Rouse, *op. cit.*, pp. 320–323.
- 131 *ibid.*, p. 347.
- 132 Brandreth, *op. cit.*, pp. 264–265.
- 133 *ibid.*, p. 266.
- 134 *ibid.*, pp. 266–267.
- 135 *ibid.*, p. 267.
- 136 Brandreth, *loc. cit.*
- 137 Rouse, Ruth Contributing "Other Aspects of the Ecumenical Movement 1910–1948" in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517–1948* [Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1993], p. 615.
- 138 *ibid.*, p. 338.
- 139 *ibid.*, p. 341.
- 140 Yoder, Don H. contributing "Christian Unity in Nineteenth-Century America" in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517–1948* [Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1993] pp. 256–257.

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- 141 Brown, H. B. *Mormonism* [Deseret, 1962] pp. 10, 12, 38, 55.
- 142 *Wordsworth Dictionary of Beliefs and Religions*, Rosemary Goring (Ed.) [Hertfordshire: Wordsworth, 1995, p. 104.
- 143 *ibid.*, p. 258.
- 144 *Mankind's Search for God* [New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, 1990] pp. 350–354.
- 145 *Wordsworth Dictionary*, *op. cit.*, p. 526.
- 146 Basham, A. L. contrib. "Hinduism" in *The Concise Encyclopedia of Living Faiths* [London: Hutchinson, 1979] p. 249.
- 147 Hinnells, John R. (Ed) *Who's Who of Religions* [London: Penguin, 1991] p. 57.
- 148 Rouse, *op. cit.*, p. 327.
- 149 Boegner, M. *The long road to Unity* [London: Collins, 1970] p. 58.
- 150 Rouse, Ruth & Stephen Neill (Eds.) *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517–1948* [Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1993] pp. 246, 256.
- 151 Franzen, *op. cit.*, p. 400.
- 152 Neuner & Dupius *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church* [Bangalore: Theological Publications in India, 1978] p. 51–54.
- 153 Pope Leo XIII, *Encyclical Letter Octobri Mense*, reproduced in Neuner & Dupius, p. 197.
- 154 Pope Pius X, *Encyclical Letter Ad Diem Illum*, reproduced in Neuner & Dupius, p. 198.
- 155 Rouse & Neill, *op. cit.* p. 257.
- 156 Sawyerr, Harry. Contributing "The First World Missionary Conference: Edinburgh 1910," *International Review of Missions* [Geneva: WCC, 1979] pp. 257–258.
- 157 *ibid.*, p. 269–271.
- 158 *ibid.*, p. 268.
- 159 *ibid.*, p. 259.
- 160 Boegner, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
- 161 von Aretin, *op. cit.*, pp. 145–147.
- 162 von Aretin, *loc. cit.* The Secret Service's campaign succeeded in forcing the closure of several liberal Catholic journals and in aggravating division within the church. Bitter reaction in Germany forced the pope to release professors of theology at German universities from the obligation to take the oath and eventually some of the leading secret servicemen either left the church or were dismissed. Benigni turned informer for Mussolini and "supervised" Vatican mail for the state secret service.
- 163 Webster, Richard A. *Christian Democracy in Italy 1860–1960* [Hollis & Carter, 1961] pp. 26–31.
- 164 After World War I Sayyid Ahmad retained his religious role as head of the Sanusi Brotherhood but moved to Turkey. His nephew, Sayyid Idris, stayed in Cyrenaica to exercise temporal authority and later accepted the Western-sponsored Libyan throne.
- 165 Oliver & Atmore *Africa since 1800* pp. 182–183.
- 166 Webster, *loc. cit.*
- 167 Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 31–43.
- 168 Zernov, N. *The Russians & their Church* [SPCK, 1978] pp. 137–139.
- 169 Wilson, Colin *Rasputin & the fall of the Romanovs* [Panther/Granada, 1977] pp. 77–86.
- 170 Zernov, *op. cit.*, pp. 149–150.
- 171 Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 59.
- 172 Ling, *op. cit.*, p. 379.

- 173 *ibid.*, p. 380.
- 174 Enayat, Hamid, *Modern Islamic Political Thought* [London: Macmillan, 1982] p. 41.
- 175 It appears that the abolition of the fee was a matter of economics rather than of enlightened religious understanding. The new steamship operators were in need of any paying passengers.
- 176 Algerians could even have full citizenship rights and a vote for the Algerian deputy in the French National Assembly if they adopted Christianity.
- 177 Oliver & Atmore, *op. cit.*, pp. 171–174.
- 178 Ling, *op. cit.*, p. 385.
- 179 Hart, Liddell *History of the First World War* [London: Cassell, 1970] p. 29.
- 180 Trotsky, Leon *The Russian Revolution* [New York: Doubleday, 1959] pp. 14, 241.
- 181 Zeman, Z.A.B. *A Diplomatic History of the First World War* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971] p. 89, citing *Die deutschen Dokumente zum Kriegsausbruch*, 11, no, 401, pp. 130 ff. quoted by Fritz Fischer, 1962.
- 182 Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
- 183 Zeman, *loc. cit.*
- 184 Zeman, *op. cit.*, p. 331.
- 185 *ibid.*, p. 49, citing FO800/29: Sir Edward Grey's private papers.
- 186 Moses, John A., Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Prioritization of Church Unity (Oekumene) [forthcoming *Journal of Religious History*, May 2000] citing Barth, Karl Nachwort to *Schleiermacher-Auswahl*, (Munich/Hamburg: Siebenstern Taschenbuch Verlag) 1968, 293.
- 187 Zeman. *Op. cit.*, p. 60.
- 188 Moses, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–4.
- 189 *ibid.*, p. 4.
- 190 *Who's who of religions*, John R. Hinnells, ed. [London: Penguin, 1996] p. 147.
- 191 Moses, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–6.
- 192 A catch cry coined by Dr. John R. Mott for his missionary recruiting campaigns in the 1880's but still in vogue at the Edinburgh Conference in 1910.
- 193 Webster, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
- 194 Zeman, *loc. cit.* For just a little while Japan even ceased to be "the yellow peril" and became "a chivalrous and honourable people upholding the principles of civilization in the Far East" according to a London "Times" columnist. It had just broken China's neutrality and occupied the German territory of Tsingtau with its naval harbour which supported the German Pacific fleet. This had been a threat to Britain's trade and Far Eastern "possessions." Japan went on to annex several other German Pacific colonies, thus sharing the territorial spoils with Australia and New Zealand.
- 195 Zeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–89.
- 196 Allen, Richard *Imperialism & Nationalism in the Fertile Crescent* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974] pp. 224–225.
- 197 Zeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 61–62. The Austrian Ambassador to Constantinople tried hard to persuade the Turkish Government not to issue the German-inspired Holy War call at all. He feared not only a backlash from Muslims in the Balkans and the Austrian Empire itself but also from the Italian Government which had a big task keeping a grip on Libya. It was soon apparent that the call had helped Russia's Pan-Slavic drive in Bulgaria.
- 198 *ibid.*, p. 332, citing Elizabeth Monroe, *Britain's Moment in the Middle East 1914–1956*, London, 1963, p. 27.
- 199 *ibid.*, p. 91.
- 200 *ibid.*, p. 97.
- 201 von Aretin, *op. cit.*, pp. 135–136.

- 202 von Aretin, loc. cit. Agreed at the London Conference, April 26, 1915, in the Treaty of London to which Britain, France, Russia and Italy were parties. Also: Marriott, op. cit., p. 511. Italy declared war against Austria on May 24 1915, against Turkey on August 21, but not against Germany until August 27 1916. Germany had actually succeeded in persuading Austria to transfer the Trentino to Italy on May 10 but by the time the necessary signatures had been obtained and arrangements made for an Austro-Italian Commission to supervise the transfer the Italian cabinet had approved the London pact and its decision had carried Italy past the point of no return. Also: Zeman, Z. A. B. A Diplomatic History of the First World War [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971] p. 38.
- 203 Zeman, op. cit., pp. 97–101.
- 204 Laqueur, Walter & Barry Rubin [Eds.] *The Israel-Arab Reader* [New York: Bantam, 1976] Document 6, Sir Henry McMahon's letter to the Sharif of Mecca, October 24, 1915. pp. 15–17.
- 205 *ibid.*, Document 5, Sir Edward Grey's 2nd letter to Paul Cambon, May 16, 1916, p. 15.
- 206 Zeman, op. cit., p. 32. Losses were heavy against determined Turkish resistance and reinforcements were brought in from India. At Kut the force was besieged and starved into submission in April 1916. Of the 8,000 troops captured 6,000 were Indian. Kut was not recaptured until February 1917.
- 207 Hart, op. cit., p. 218.
- 208 Zeman, op. cit., pp. 15–45.
- 209 Allen, op. cit., p. 228.
- 210 *ibid.*, p. 231.
- 211 Laqueur, op. cit., Document 6, pp. 15–17.
- 212 Litvinoff, Barnett Weizmann: *Last of the Patriarchs* [New York: Putnam's Sons, 1976] p. 85.
- 213 *ibid.*, p. 84.
- 214 *ibid.*, p. 86.
- 215 *ibid.*, p. 87.
- 216 Hertzberg, Arthur *The Jews of the United States* [Jerusalem: Keter, 1974] p. 55.
- 217 Zeman, op. cit., p. 169. A survey of 367 newspaper proprietors in the US just after the outbreak of the war showed that 105 were sympathetic to the Allies, 20 to the Central Powers and 242 had no preference.
- 218 In 1908 John D. Rockefeller had been accused of "intervention" in the presidential election while the anti trust row was in the air. Two years later he tried, unsuccessfully, to obtain a federal charter to establish a charitable foundation before Supreme Court action could result in the dissolution of Standard Oil of New Jersey under new laws.
- 219 Zeman, op. cit., pp. 179–181, 186–188.
- 220 Marriott, op. cit., pp. 529–530.
- 221 Zeman, op. cit., pp. 183–185.
- 222 *ibid.*, pp. 182, 185, 187, 209, 210.
- 223 Wilson, op. cit., pp. 179–195.
- 224 Zeman, op. cit., p. 188.
- 225 *ibid.*, pp. 189, 202–203, citing Official German Documents, II, 1337.
- 226 *ibid.*, pp. 191–195.
- 227 Litvinoff, op. cit., p. 100.
- 228 *ibid.*, p. 110.
- 229 Zeman, op. cit., p. 202, citing Foreign Relations of the United States of America (FR) 1917, supplement I: Page to Lansing, II.ii.1917.
- 230 *ibid.*, pp. 132–135.
- 231 Litvinoff, op. cit., p. 102–104.

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- 232 Zeman, op. cit., pp. 204–205, citing James Brown Scott (ed.), *President Wilson's Foreign Policy: Messages, Addresses, Papers*, New York, 1918, pp. 278 f.
- 233 Marriott, op. cit., p. 523. The United States learned very quickly that Germany was serious about cutting trade lines to Britain. In January a total of 181 British flag merchant ships with a gross tonnage of 298,000 tons had been sunk. Losses jumped to 259 ships (468,000 tons) in February, 325 (500,000 tons) in March, and 423 (849,000 tons) in April. Much of the increase was in American ships.
- 234 Minerbi, Sergio I., *The Vatican and Zionism* trans. Arnold Schwarz [New York: Oxford, 1990] p. 16.
- 235 Zeman, op. cit., p. 334.
- 236 Minerbi, op. cit., p. 17.
- 237 *ibid.*, p. 100, citing Herzl, *Diaries*, pp. 1591–1606.
- 238 Zeman, op. cit., pp. 61–62.
- 239 Minerbi, op. cit., p. 111–112, citing documents of the Central Zionist Archives and his own earlier work *L'Italie et la Palestine 1914–1920* [Paris, 1970].
- 240 *ibid.*, pp. 16–17.
- 241 *ibid.*, pp. 112–113, citing L. Stein *The Balfour Declaration* [London: 1961] pp. 409–410.
- 242 Zeman, op. cit., p. 336, citing Leonard Stein, *The Balfour Declaration*, London, 1961, p. 125.
- 243 *ibid.*, p. 336, citing Stein, op. cit., p. 523.
- 244 *ibid.*, citing W.R. Louis, *Great Britain and Germany's Lost Colonies 1914–1919*, Oxford, 1967, p. 2.
- 245 Zeman, loc. cit., citing Stein, op. cit., p. 518.
- 246 Minerbi, op. cit., p. 17.
- 247 Hart, op. cit., pp. 449–456.
- 248 Marriott, op. cit., p. 512. Between the middle of October and November 12 the Second and Third Italian Armies lost nearly 800,000 men killed, wounded or as prisoners and 1,800 field guns to a much smaller Austrian force. British and French forces were rushed from France, at serious risk to the western front, to bolster the Fourth Italian Army's defence of Venice and to keep Italy in the war.
- 249 Watt, D. C. notes to Hitler's *Mein Kampf* [London: Hutchinson, 1976] p. 176.
- 250 Litvinoff, op. cit., p. 109.
- 251 Zeman, op. cit., p. 339, citing David Lloyd George, *The Truth about the Peace Treaties*, vol. 2, p. 1137.
- 252 *ibid.*, p. 338, citing Stein, op. cit., p. 544.
- 253 Laqueur, op. cit., Document 7, p. 18.
- 254 Balfour's "Defence of Philosophic Doubt" (1879) attempts to show that the ultimate convictions of mankind rest on the non-rational ground of religious faith. He followed it with "Foundations of Belief" in 1895 and his Gifford Lectures in 1914 (under the shadows of the war clouds) published as "Theism and Humanism."
- 255 Boegner, op. cit., p. 33.
- 256 Hutchinson, op. cit., p. 118.
- 257 Allen, op. cit., p. 242.
- 258 Fishman, op. cit., p. 234.
- 259 Spiegel, Steven L. *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict* [Chicago: Uni. Chicago Press, 1985] p. 11.
- 260 Blumberg, H. M. *Weizmann: His life and times* [St. Martin's Press/Robson, 1975] p. 56.
- 261 Spiegel, loc. cit.
- 262 Allen, op. cit., pp. 240–243.

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- 263 Spiegel, op. cit., p. 12, citing Frank E. Manuel, *The Realities of American-Palestine Relations* [Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1949] p. 72, and Peter Grose, *Israel in the Mind of America* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983] p. 6.
- 264 Blumberg, op. cit., pp. 15–52.
- 265 *ibid.*, p. 56.
- 266 Cowles, op. cit., p. 178.
- 267 Trotsky, Leon *The Russian Revolution* [New York: Doubleday/Anchor, 1959] pp. 489–491.
- 268 Kochan, Lionel *The Jews in Soviet Russia since 1917* [Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Institute of Jewish Affairs, 1978] p. 47.
- 269 Less than two months before the final revolution Dr. Weizmann wrote to a newspaper editor friend saying that the revolutionary Soviets were not constructive. They were, he wrote, narrow-minded and fanatical, and it was Russia's misfortune to possess a small group of intellectuals, inexperienced in statescraft, with a huge mass of inert peasants who can be swayed by political demagogues.
- 270 Blumberg, op. cit., p. 54.
- 271 The head of the Eastern Department of the British Foreign Office, Sir Ronald Graham, advised Cabinet on October 24 1917 that almost every Russian Jew was a pro German Zionist. His advice was that if they could be convinced that the fulfillment of their ambitions depended on Allied support, an important section of the Russian people would swing behind the Allies.
- 272 Zeman, op. cit., p. 338.
- 273 Kochan, op. cit., pp. 34–35, 78.
- 274 Trotsky, loc. cit.
- 275 Zeman, op. cit., p. 296.
- 276 Minerbi, op. cit., pp. 18–19.
- 277 *ibid.*, pp. 20–21, citing C. Loiseau, *Politique romaine et sentiment francais* [Paris, 1923] pp. 73–74, and H. F. Kock, *Der Vatikan und Palastina* [Vienna, 1973].
- 278 *ibid.*, p. 20.
- 279 *ibid.*, p. 23, citing Van Den Heuvel (Rome) to Foreign Minister Hymans, February 4, 1918, no. 45/16, ABRE, St. Siege 1918.
- 280 Zeman, op. cit., p. 297, citing Richard J. Ullman, *Intervention and the War (Anglo-Soviet Relations, 1917–1921: vol. I)*, Princeton, N.J./London, 1961, p. 52.
- 281 Zeman, loc. cit.
- 282 Hertzberg, loc. cit.
- 283 Marriott, op. cit., p. 519.
- 284 In the closing stages of the war the highseas fleet of the German navy did mutiny against an order to put to sea in the face of overwhelming odds. Industrial strikes and local rebellions against the wartime administration also increased sharply.
- 285 Marriott, op. cit., p. 524.
- 286 Lilienthal, Alfred M. *What Price Israel?* [Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1953] p. 21, quoting Lloyd George from the Palestine Royal Commission Report, p. 23.
- 287 Allen, op. cit., p. 246.
- 288 It was very old in the sense that its civilizations predated those of Europe. It had then been occupied by both Greek and Roman powers before being swept free of European influence by Arab Nationalism, as a vehicle for the junior partner, until the trouble in the triangle began to approach its climax and Napoleon paid it a visit.

- 289 One of the titles conferred on British sovereigns ever since Pope Leo X conferred it on King Henry VIII in recognition of his treatise against Luther. That was before he broke with Rome over the issue of supremacy and began executing Catholics as well as Protestant heretics.
- 290 The established Church of England and in particular its missions in Palestine.
- 291 Lapidé, Pinchas E. *The last three Popes & the Jews* [Souvenir Press, 1967] p. 83.
- 292 Gandhi, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
- 293 Afghanistan and Tibet were among the few countries which Christian missionaries could not penetrate. They were denied access by the deliberate decisions of the rulers of the day.
- 294 A very debatable expression coined by Prof. K. S. Latourette to describe the nineteenth century expansion of Christian influence.

CHAPTER 17: IT'S TIME TO DESIGN THE PERFECT SOCIETY

- ¹ Zeman, Z. A. B. *A Diplomatic History of the First World War* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971] p. 265.
- ² *ibid.*, p. 116.
- ³ Simpson, Christopher. *The Splendid Blond Beast: Money Law And Genocide In The Twentieth Century* [New York: Grove Press, 1993] p. 17.
- ⁴ Laqueur, Walter *The Terrible Secret* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1980] p. 8.
- ⁵ Zeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 343–344.
- ⁶ *ibid.*, p. 242.
- ⁷ Lockyer, Herbert. *The Man Who Changed the World* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1966] p. 308, citing Arthur Link, *Contrib. Woodrow Wilson: Christian in Government in Christianity Today*, July 3, 1964.
- ⁸ Lockyer, *loc. cit.*, citing personal correspondence from Woodrow Wilson to a friend.
- ⁹ Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age, Volume V, The Twentieth Century Outside Europe*. [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1969], p. 12.
- ¹⁰ Zeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 162–164.
- ¹¹ Spiegel, Steven L. *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict* [Chicago: Uni Chicago Prs, 1985] p. 11.
- ¹² Lockyer, *op. cit.*, p. 307.
- ¹³ Spiegel, *loc. cit.*
- ¹⁴ Zeman, *op. cit.*, p. 339.
- ¹⁵ Zernov, Nicolas *The Russians and their Church* [London: SPCK, 1978] pp. 148–149.
- ¹⁶ Trotsky, Leon *The Russian Revolution* Trans. M. Eastman, Ed. F.W. Dupee [New York: Doubleday/Anchor, 1959] pp. 56–59.
- ¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 16.
- ¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 57.
- ¹⁹ Zernov, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–153.
- ¹⁹ *ibid.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 154–157.
- ²⁰ Delegates came from all over Russia for both the State Conference and the Council of the Russian Church. As it was the first such Council ever held it is reasonable to assume that the two functions were planned with collaboration between the respective government ministries to run one function after the other. It is therefore quite possible that many delegates were common to both bodies.
- ²¹ Trotsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 488–489 (chronological tables).
- ²² Zernov, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

- 23 From this point dates relating to the Russian Revolution will be stated according to the old calendar unless otherwise indicated.
- 24 Zernov, *op. cit.*, p. 156.
- 25 Zeman, *op. cit.*, p. 251.
- 26 *ibid.*, p. 262.
- 27 In Paris 23 soldiers were actually executed out of 150 condemned to death for their part in a mutiny in May 1917.
- 28 Zeman, *op. cit.*, p. 261.
- 29 *ibid.*, pp. 247–251, 293.
- 30 *ibid.*, pp. 292–297.
- 31 Zernov, *op.cit.*, p. 157.
- 32 Trotsky, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
- 33 Zeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 254–258.
- 34 Marriott, J.A.R. *A History of Europe 1815–1939* [Methuen, 1966] pp. 532–533.
- 35 Zeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 262–263.
- 36 *ibid.*, pp. 263–265.
- 37 *ibid.*, pp. 262–263.
- 38 *ibid.*, p. 149.
- 39 The Greek King, Constantine, had already been caught in the crossfire and been forced to abdicate in June 1917 for collaborating with his near neighbours in Austria and Bulgaria. Earlier in the war he had the audacity to refuse the “gift” of Cyprus from Britain (which was still very good at giving away other peoples’ territory) in return for joining the Allied cause.[Zeman, *op. cit.*, p. 349] Then in 1923, after another round of atrocious war with Turkey, (triggered by the Great War settlements), eliminated the problem of an Orthodox Christian minority in Smyrna and sent one million refugees scrambling to Greece, the Greek monarchy was replaced with a republic. [Fisher, H.A.L. *A History of Europe* [Guildford: Edward Arnold, 1936] pp. 1178–1181] But the game of musical thrones had not been played out by any means.
- 40 Zeman, *op. cit.*, p. 266.
- 41 *ibid.*, pp. 274, 297–298.
- 42 *ibid.*, p. 295.
- 43 *ibid.*, p. 303.
- 44 *ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 304.
- 45 Bottomore & Rubel *Karl Marx: Selected writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1976] pp. 404–405.
- 46 Kaiser Wilhelm had refused the young Emperor Karl’s proposal to open peace negotiations jointly in May 1918. It is problematical whether he knew much about Karl’s abortive peace overtures of the previous year but there was a level of mistrust between the two monarchs, their ministers and staffs, which arose in part from the Austrian Hapsburg links with many other European royal houses.[Zeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 124–127.]
- 47 Notably the Poles and the Czechoslovaks who had received encouragement from Woodrow Wilson.[*ibid.*, pp. 352–358].
- 48 Marriott, *op. cit.*, p. 534.
- 49 Zeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 313–317.
- 50 Marriott, *loc. cit.*
- 51 President Woodrow Wilson addressing the US Congress, January 22nd 1917.
- 52 Zeman, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

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- 53 *ibid.*, p. 354.
- 54 *ibid.*, p. 360
- 55 *ibid.*, p. 362.
- 56 Marriott, *op. cit.*, p. 534.
- 57 Italy signed a separate armistice with Austria on November 3rd after a bit more parleying over Trentino.
- 58 The British Foreign Office apologized to the leader of the Czech self-styled National Council in exile, Benes, and from November 4th he was invited to conferences of Allied heads of governments.
- 59 Zeman, *op. cit.* pp. 358–359.
- 60 *ibid.*, pp. 362–363.
- 61 Toland, John Adolph Hitler [New York: Ballantine, 1977] p. 98.
- 62 Watt, D.C. Editor's notes to Hitler's *Mein Kampf* [London: Hutchinson, 1976] p. 188.
- 63 Zeman, *loc. cit.*
- 64 Ross Alf, *The United Nations: Peace and Progress* [New Jersey, Bedminster, 1966] pp. 6, 17–18.
- 65 Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 19.
- 66 Ross, *loc. cit.*
- 67 Covenant of the League of Nations, Article 22.
- 68 *ibid.*
- 69 Covenant of the League of Nations, from Articles 5, 8, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 23 and 25.
- 70 Covenant of the League of Nations, Article 10.
- 71 Covenant of the League of Nations, Article 5.
- 72 Blum, William. *The CIA: A Forgotten History* [London: Zed Books, 1986] Introduction, pp. 2, 3, citing Frederick Lewis Schuman, *American Policy Toward Russia since 1917* [New York, 1928] p. 125.
- 73 Wilson, Woodrow. 65th US Congress, Third session, Senate Document No. 389, pp. 12–15,
source: <http://www.Mtholyoake.edu/acad/intrel/ww38.htm> as at October 24, 1999.
- 74 Simpson, C., *op. cit.*, pp. 18–19.
- 75 *ibid.*, pp. 16–26.
- 76 Zeman, *op. cit.*, p. 265.
- 77 *ibid.*, pp. 154, 188.
- 78 Cowles, Virginia *The Rothschilds: A Family of Fortune* [London: Futura, 1973] p. 68.
- 79 Allen, Gary *None dare call it Conspiracy* [Rossmore: Concord, 1972] pp. 79–81.
- 80 *League of Nations Fight – A Chronology*,
source: <http://ac.acusd.edu/History/text/versaillestreaty/vercontents.html> p. 2.
- 81 *League of Nations Fight – A Chronology*, *op. cit.*, p. 1.
- 82 The Estonians were routed, as were the Allied-supported reactionaries in Siberia whose leader, Koltchak, was captured and shot. Those in the south were rescued from Black Sea ports by British and French ships in the early months of 1920. But they had hardly reached the safety of the sea before the Vatican-supported Polish push was mounted against Russia in April 1920 and the French were back again in support of the Poles (who had used France as their Great War base) by July. (See p. 1 / /).
- 83 Wells, H.G. *The Outline of History* [London: Cassell, 1951] p. 1109.
- 84 Kimball, Warren F. *The Most Unsordid Act: Lend-Lease, 1939–1941* [Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1969] p. 1.
- 85 Zeman, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

- 86 Grants to the reactionary Russian generals and other subversive elements were additional. They included two highly secret lump sums of ten million pounds Sterling and many lesser amounts and regular support payments.
- 87 Zeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 297, 307.
- 88 Total deaths attributable to the Great War have been estimated at 25 millions.
- 89 Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 1156.
- 90 The shortage of houses in Britain alone during the months following demobilization have been variously put at between 250,000 and one million.
- 91 Wells, *op. cit.*, p. 1092.
- 92 Marriott, *op. cit.*, pp. 575–577.
- 93 Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–100.
- 94 Zeman, *op. cit.*, p. 255.
- 95 France had pushed a claim for Sterling 4,000 million pounds and was not happy with its share of about Sterling 3,800 million pounds, (58 percent of the total).
- 96 Marriott, *op. cit.*, p. 572.
- 97 To repay Stg.920 million pounds which it had borrowed progressively for the duration of the war, Britain was to make fifty annual payments from 1933 to 1984. Interest was to be three percent with each payment of Stg. 34 million pounds, making total payments in excess of Stg.1,700 million pounds.
- 98 See above, chapter 16.
- 99 Marriott, *op. cit.*, pp. 574–577.
- 100 Marriott, *loc. cit.*
- 101 Latourette, *op. cit.*, Vol V, p. 7.
- 102 Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age, Volume IV, The Twentieth Century In Europe*. [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1969] pp. 246–248.
- 103 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 253–254. Averages and percentages have been computed from the raw data provided.
- 104 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 246.
- 105 Tatlow, Tissington contributing *The World Conference on Faith & Order*, Rouse, Ruth & Neill, Stephen Ed. *A History of the Ecumenical Movement* [Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1993; first published, London, SPCK, 1954] pp. 407, 408.
- 106 Tatlow, Tissington *op. cit.*, pp. 410–413.
- 107 Boegner, M. *The Long Road to Unity* [London: Collins, 1970] p. 56.
- 108 Latourette. *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 247–248, citing Rouse and Neill, *A History of the Ecumenical Movement*, 1517–1948, pp. 530–532.
- 109 Possibly anticipating that such a Conference would result from the Lambeth Conference in 1920 or even referring to the Lambeth Conference itself.
- 110 Boegner, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
- 111 Tatlow, Tissington *op. cit.*, pp. 414–416.
- 112 Boegner, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
- 113 Bettenson, H. (Ed.) *Documents of the Christian Church* [London: Oxford, 1967] pp. 327–329 (Lambeth Conference Appeal); pp. 329–330, (The Orthodox Church re Anglican Orders).
- 114 *Concise Oxford*, p. 293.
- 115 Latourette. *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 248.
- 116 Pearson, Michael N. *Legitimacy and Symbols: The South Asian Writings of F. W. Buckler* [University of Michigan, 1985] author's introduction.

- 117 Buckler, F. W. The Oriental Despot, first read under the title A neglected feature of Eastern Kingship before the Oriental section of the Fifth International Congress of Historical Studies, Brussels, April 9, 1923, printed in the Anglican Theological Review, Vol. 10, No. 3, January 1928, and reprinted in Pearson, Legitimacy and Symbols, p. 176. (Note: page references are to Pearson, not to the ATR.)
- 118 *ibid.*, p. 177.
- 119 *ibid.*, pp. 178–185.
- 120 *ibid.*, pp. 185–186.
- 121 Ritual dances, originating in Hinduism, in which the believing worshipper seeks unity with the divine being which is the focus of the worship.
- 122 Buckler's use of the term 'shatter' is somewhat surprising in view of Matthew 10:17–19, referred to earlier, in which Jesus is quoted as saying "Do not imagine that I have come to abolish the Law of the Prophets. I have come not to abolish but to complete them."
- 123 From a summary of Buckler's lectures, (writer not identified), in The Oberlin Alumni Magazine, Vol. 22, No. 6, March 1926, reprinted in Pearson Legitimacy and Symbols, pp. 191–193. (Note: page references are to Pearson, not to the OAM.)
- 124 Ehrenstrom, Nils, contributing Movements for International Friendship and Life and Work 1925–1948 in A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517–1968 [London: SPCK, 1993, for the World Council of Churches, Geneva] Vol. I, p. 546.
- 125 Boegner, *op. cit.*, pp. 62–64.
- 126 Ehrenstrom, *op. cit.*, pp. 547, 549.
- 127 According to Karl Adams, quoted by David L. Mueller in "Karl Barth", Word Books, 1976, p. 23.
- 128 Both grandfathers, his father, a brother and a son.
- 129 Mueller, David L. Karl Barth [Waco: Word Books, 1976] pp. 18–22.
- 131 Barth, Karl The Epistle to the Romans [London: Oxford, 1968] From the author's preface to the English translation of the revised edition, 1933, Trans. Edwyn C. Hoskyns.
- 130 *ibid.*, pp. 477–478.
- 131 *ibid.*, p. 481.
- 132 *ibid.*, p. 487.
- 133 *ibid.*, p. 482–484.
- 134 *ibid.*, p. 418–419.
- 135 *ibid.*, p. 520.
- 136 *ibid.*, p. 525.
- 137 *ibid.*, p. 79.
- 138 *ibid.*, p. 75.
- 139 *ibid.*, p. 396.
- 140 *ibid.*, p. 398–399.
- 141 O'Grady, Colm. The Church in the theology of Karl Barth [London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1970] p. 35.
- 142 Barth, *op. cit.*, p. 344.
- 143 *ibid.*, p. 382–383.
- 144 Moses, John A., Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Prioritization of Church Unity (Oekumene) [forthcoming Journal of Religious History, May 2000] citing Eberhard Bethge, Dietrich Bonhoeffer – A Biography, (London: Collins, 1970), p. 52.
- 145 *ibid.*

- 146 *ibid.*
- 147 Jerusalem Bible translation, John 17:23.
- 148 Passelecq, Georges and Bernard Suchecky, *The Hidden Encyclical of Pius XI* [New York: Harcourt Brace/Harvest, 1997] pp. 96–97, citing; *Pax Super Israel* (1926, 4 p.); *Opus sacerdotale: Amici Israel* (1926, 2 p.); *Status Operis* (1927, 4 p.), *Pax super Israel* (I, 1927, 36 p.; II, June 1927, 31 p.; III, January 1928, 18 p.); *Nouvelle Revue theologique* 40 (July, 1928): 533–35. Also; the article “Amici Israel” in *Lexikon fur Theologie und Kirche* (1930), which gives a different date for the founding, June 6, 1926.
- 149 Webster, Richard A. *Christian Democracy in Italy 1860–1960* [London: Hollis & Carter, 1961] pp. 84–86.
- 150 *ibid.*, pp. 76–89.
- 151 Pope Pius XI; declaration on the occasion of a visit by Italian Catholic students; September 8th 1924; quoted by R. A. Webster; *Christian Democracy in Italy: 1860–1960* [Hollis and Carter 1961] pp. 96–97.
- 152 Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–97.
- 153 *ibid.*, pp. 99–100.
- 154 Boegner, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–65.
- 155 The sections were: 1. The call to unity; 2. The church’s message to the world – the Gospel; 3. The nature of the church; 4. The church’s common confession of faith; 5. The church’s ministry; 6. The sacraments; 7. The unity of Christendom and the place of the different churches in it. See *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517–1968*, [London: SPCK, 1993, for the World Council of Churches, Geneva] Vol. I, p. 420.
- 156 Tatlow, *op. cit.*, p. 424.
- 157 This attack was probably prompted by a memorandum prepared by Bishop J. H. Oldham early in 1927 which helped to prepare the ground for dialogue between Christians and people of other faiths at a later stage. He suggested that mission groups should recruit non-Christians to help them to understand and to interpret the faiths to which they belonged and to discover and compare the values which they experienced, without attempting theological definition. Although that can be interpreted as giving ground to other faiths, the Oldham plan was basically aimed at contrasting Christian and non-Christian values so that the overriding wealth of Christian revelation would become still more apparent. Even so, it was a vital starting point for dialogue rejected out of hand by the Vatican.
- 158 Gort, Jerald D. contributing *Jerusalem 1928: Mission, Kingdom and Church* [International Review of Mission], pp. 274–276.
- 159 From about this time Pius XI even discouraged the Belgium-based conversations with the Church of England which had been initiated by Cardinal Mercier and Lord Halifax under Benedict XV and which he had encouraged as a move towards corporate reunion in the first year or two of his reign. He offended the Church of England hierarchy and rebuffed Lord Halifax by receiving him in audience and then refusing to discuss church union.
- 160 Anderson, Robin *Between Two Wars* [Franciscan Herald Press, 1977] p. 94.
- 161 Livingstone, *Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, p. 229.
- 162 Neuner & Dupois *The Christian Faith in the Documents of the Catholic Church* [Bangalore: Theological publications in India, 1978, pp. 250–251.
- 163 Franzen, August & Dolan, A. *Concise History of the Church* [New York: Herder & Herder, 1969] p. 409.
- 164 The Oriental Institute was established in 1917 after the Balkans had fallen to Austria/Germany and while the Palestine and Iraq campaigns were at a critical stage. The Union monastery Amay Chevetogne was established in Belgium in 1925; then followed Istina, 1927, and Russicum, Rome, 1929.
- 165 Passelecq & Suchecky, *op. cit.*, pp. 97–98; citing *Nouvelle Revue theologique*, July 1928, pp. 532–33, and quoting the decree of suppression against *Opus sacerdotale Amici Israel*.
- 166 Passelecq & Suchecky, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–100; citing *Nouvelle Revue theologique*, July 1928, pp. 532–33; and a commentary signed by Fr. Jean Levie, S.J.
- 167 Passelecq & Suchecky, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

- 168 Gort, *op. cit.*, pp. 274–276.
- 169 Latourette, Kenneth Scott contributing “The International Missionary Council,” in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement* [Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1993] p. 366.
- 170 Gort, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
- 171 Toland, John, Adolf Hitler [New York: Ballantine, 1977] p. 302.
- 172 Tessler, Mark A *History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994] p. 195; citing Real Jean Isaac, *Party and Politics in Israel: Three Visions of a Jewish State* [New York: Longman, 1981], p. 183.
- 173 Latourette, contributing “The International Missionary Council,” *op. cit.*, p. 367.
- 174 Gort, *op. cit.*, pp. 278–280.
- 175 The Qur’an, Penguin Classics English translation by N.J. Dawood; a, passage 19:29; 3:45; b, 19:12; c, 5:45; d, 5:45; 61:6; e, 23:45; f, 5:62; 3:55; (these references are not exhaustive).
- 176 The wording adopted for the Council’s “Christian Message” is made even more significant because the draft was prepared by Bishop William Temple, later Archbishop of Canterbury. His conformist Church of England includes the traditional form of the Nicene Creed in its regular services and also retains the Creed of Athanasius. Such a radical draft might have been expected from a nonconformist churchman but it would then have been less readily accepted by Orthodox churchmen.
- 177 Some translations substitute “of” for “from”, and “through” for “By”, and omit the word “Begotten.”
- 178 Gort, *op. cit.*, p. 273.
- 179 The conference buildings on the Mount of Olives had been made unsafe by an earthquake in 1927. With the organizers determined to hold the conference in Jerusalem, Dr. Mott arranged for five temporary wooden barracks and 23 large tents to be provided. The campground atmosphere helped to introduce an atmosphere of equality between delegates and could well have helped to bridge “the deep chasm dividing them along theological lines” according to Dr. Jerald Gort.
- 180 Gort, *op. cit.*, p. 289.
- 181 The flush of growth and success which followed the suppression of the Boxer Rebellion and the signing of the Boxer Protocol with its additional privileges for Christian missions and schools (and with a continuation of the system of extraterritorial rights) had wilted somewhat for all the churches. However while Protestant numbers increased by nearly fourfold between the Boxer Rebellion and the end of the Great War, the Catholic increase has been put at only about threefold in a longer period, from the end of the Rebellion to 1930.
- 182 Goyau, Georges *Trans. Rev F. M. Dreves Missions and Missionaries* [Sands, 1932] p. 259.
- 183 Reischauer, E. O., Fairbank, J. K. & Craig, A. M. *East Asia: The Modern Transformation* [London: George Allen & Unwin, 1967] pp. 704–706.
- 184 Goyau, *op. cit.*, pp. 229 ff.
- 185 *ibid.*, pp. 231 ff.
- 186 The appointment to Indochina was actually of an Apostolic Visitor for the first two years.
- 187 Goyau, *op. cit.*, pp. 233 ff.
- 188 Reischauer, *op. cit.*, p. 660.
- 189 A novel variation on mass baptism techniques previously used by Portuguese priests in India, pier-bound bishops with their boat loads of slaves in Angola (see above, chapter 11); or Manoel’s pre-Reformation bid to save the Jews and Muslims in Portugal (chapter 10).
- 190 Reischauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 656–657.
- 191 *ibid.*, pp. 658–659.
- 192 *ibid.*, p. 665.

- 193 *ibid.*, pp. 674–675.
- 194 *ibid.*, pp. 678–680.
- 195 The World Student Christian Federation meeting in Peking in 1922 provoked an anti-Christian counter movement among students.
- 196 Reischauer, *op. cit.*, p. 668.
- 197 *ibid.*, pp. 636–637 & 681–683.
- 198 Goyau, *op. cit.*, pp. 232 ff.
- 199 Reischauer, *op. cit.*, p. 682.
- 200 The budget for all Protestant missionary enterprises which was published about that time called for Stg.495.8 million from all sources. (See footnote this chapter p. 32.)
- 201 Goyau, *op. cit.*, p. 282.
- 202 China was not his only interest. His Apostolic Delegates had also been busy with a Japanese National Council and a Council of Missionaries in South Africa in 1924. The Anglican Church still dominated “the mission fields” of South Africa and Pius called for a special effort to lift Catholic membership from only 64,000 in a total population of 4.5 million.
- 203 Goyau, *op. cit.*, pp. 231 ff.
- 204 *ibid.*, pp. 236–237.
- 205 Seen in the context of the circumstances in which he spoke, “civilization in its sublimest comprehension” can only be interpreted to mean a papal version of European culture with autocratic clerical domination of community life. (See also the pope’s address on the signing of the Lateran Treaty, p. 28 following.)
- 206 Goyau, *op. cit.*, pp. 237–238.
- 207 Goyau, *op. cit.*, pp. 239–249.
- 208 Neuner & Dupuis, (Eds.) *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Faith* [Bangalore, India: Theological Publications in India, 1978] pp. 297–299.
- 209 *ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 298.
- 210 This was not the first time that a pope had called for native clergy to be appointed in mission fields. Popes Alexander VII (1659) and Benedict XV (1919), at the two ends of the colonial era, are noteworthy. That their calls had not really been taken seriously is a further indictment of the church and its attitudes. The number of non-European priests rose from 2,600 to over 7,000 while Pius XI was in office, (1922–1939).
- 211 Neuner & Dupuis, *op. cit.*, pp. 283–297.
- 212 *Catholic Almanac* 1980, p. 177.
- 213 “Religious Congregations” in this sense refers to those who have taken simple vows, (in contrast to the solemn binding vows required of members of the church’s major orders), and who are under the authority of a Superior or Provincial in a group of monasteries or some other dedicated community.
- 214 Goyau, *op. cit.*, p. 246.
- 215 Mott had used it as the title of a book which was having an immense impact in China.
- 216 Reischauer, *op. cit.*, p. 704.
- 217 Goyau, *op. cit.*, pp. 240–241.
- 218 *ibid.*, pp. 249–251.
- 219 Goyau, *loc. cit.*

²²⁰ It was only in 1908 that the Propaganda was relieved of its responsibility for the operations of the Catholic Church in both Britain and the United States which had been administered as mission fields. The national hierarchies then assumed full responsibility for their affairs under the church's "common law." The Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America was founded three years later. When the US entered the Great War in 1917 a National Catholic War Council was set up. After the war, on the urging of the pope, Benedict XV, it became the National Catholic Welfare Council. (A National Conference of Catholic Charities had already been set up in 1910.) In 1922 it was changed again, by Pius XI, to a purely consultative body.

²²¹ Catholic Almanac 1980, p. 163.

²²² Franzen, August A Concise History of the Church (Ed. Dolan; trans. Becker) [London: Burns & Oates, 1969] pp. 379–380.

²²³ Before the final collapse of the Ch'ing Dynasty the Christian missions had generally taken full advantage of their extraterritorial treaty rights to foster Western individualism, thus undermining Chinese family ties and interdependence, and to set a revolutionary example. They refused to have their students pay homage to the emperor and Confucius, the founder of their system of ethics, as required in government schools but, in the case of Catholics, they had not only to pay recognition to prophets, apostles and "doctors" of their faith but also pray to them as their saints. Back home their counterparts had to salute their own national flags and show subservience to their monarchs or heads of state almost to the point of adulation. But of course that wasn't emperor-homage, it was only living-leader veneration. The Divine Right of Kings had been scrapped in favour of the omnipotent elected leader.

²²⁴ Reischauer, op. cit., pp. 403, 616.

²²⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 688–689.

²²⁶ Neill, Stephen. A History of Christian Missions. [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964] pp. 465–467.

²²⁷ According to available figures, both Catholic and Protestant membership continued to increase in China during the years of persecution. However it is very difficult to apportion "credit" to the various influences at work or to compare figures for "total Catholics" with figures for "Communicant Protestants."

China: Year	1914	1924	1929	1936	1937
Total Catholics	1,581,430	2,208,880	2,486,841		2,934,175
Communicant Protestants	257,431	402,539	–	567,390	–

Source: Latourette, K. S. A History of Christianity, pp. 1446, 1447.

Increases:

Catholics:	from 1914 to 1924,	40%	from 1924 to 1937,	33%
Protestants:	from 1914 to 1924,	56%	from 1924 to 1936,	41%

Alms collected by principal Roman Catholic mission groups.

	1922	1928	1929
Association for Propagation of the Faith*	24m lire	55m lire	–
Holy Childhood Association #	9m francs	–	27m francs
Association of St. Peter the Apostle #	2m lire	11m lire	–

The Missions Holy Year exhibition ran from December 1924 to February 1926.

Dates of transfers to papal control: * May 1922; # June 1929.

Source: Goyau, G. Missions & Missionaries, (trans. by F.M. Dreves) Sands 1932 p. 268.

²²⁸ Gort, op. cit., p. 291.

²²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 293.

²³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 280.

²³¹ Altogether some 150 concordats have been negotiated since the first, Worms, in 1122. Many of the powers with whom they have been made no longer exist and many others are no longer in effect. Their purposes and relative emphases changed dramatically after the Reformation, again after Napoleon, and again after Versailles.

²³² Von Aretin, Karl Otmar The Papacy and the Modern World [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, World University Library, 1920] p. 182.

- 233 The system of papal representation to the world's governments under concordats was criticized severely during the period of the Second Vatican Council, 1962–1965, especially because it deprived branches of the church of independence and tied them to the affairs and opinions of a foreign authority. The pope, Paul VI, subsequently issued an explanatory document in 1969 but the system has not been changed in any significant respect.
- 234 Catholic Almanac 1980, pp. 211–212.
- 235 *ibid.* P. 148.
- 236 *ibid.*, p. 324.
- 239 *ibid.*, pp. 321–325.
- 237 Zeman, *op. cit.*, p. 325.
- 238 Reischauer, *op. cit.*, p. 513.
- 239 President Wilson had offended the Allies by saying, during his own peace initiatives, that the causes of the war were unclear and it was known that German diplomats regarded him as sympathetic to their position. During the pre-armistice jockeying he gave Britain further cause for concern when he said the Allies should be content with “peace without victory” and “no annexations or indemnities.” If Britain had not already intended to fight on for Mosul without regard to the Turkish armistice those statements could well have inspired her to do so.
- 240 Marriott, *op. cit.*, p. 534.
- 241 Zeman, *op. cit.*, p. 325.
- 242 Zeman, *op. cit.*, pp. 155, 341–347, 351–354.
- 243 Franzen, *op. cit.*, p. 412.
- 244 Marriott, *op. cit.*, pp. 539–540.
- 245 Kuhner, Hans. *Encyclopedia of the Papacy* (London: Peter Owen, 1959) p. 328.
- 246 Minerbi, Sergio I. *The Vatican and Zionism* trans. Arnold Schwarz [New York: Oxford, 1990], p. 121, citing Sykes (Rome) to Sokolow in L. Stein, *The Balfour Declaration* [London: 1961] p. 282.
- 247 *ibid.*, pp. 122–123, citing Bourne (Jerusalem) to Prime Minister and Balfour (London), January 25, 1919, FO 371/4179, quoted in D. Ingrams, *Palestine Papers, 1917–1922* [London: 1972] pp. 60–61.
- 248 *ibid.*, p. 127, citing [Amette] Second conversation with Cardinal Gasparri, March 7, 1919, AAE, St. Seige, June 1918–September 1920, vol. 13/Z, pp. 54–55.
- 249 *ibid.*, p. 129.
- 250 *ibid.*, p. 131, citing *Osservatore Romano*, March 14, 1919; also *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, March 12, 1919, pp. 100–101; the English translation is in *The Tablet*, March 22, 1919, pp. 353–354.
- 251 *ibid.*, p. 131–132, citing Pierre van Zuylen (Rome) to Foreign Minister Hymans, March 16, 1919, no. 57/26, ABRE, St. Seige 1919–20.
- 252 *ibid.*, p. 136, citing “L’Orient ed il miraggio di Sion” *Osservatore Romano*, April 10, 1919.
- 253 *ibid.*, p. 32.
- 254 *ibid.*, pp. 145–146, citing *Osservatore Romano*, October 15, 1920 and May 30–31, 1921.
- 255 *ibid.*, p. 134, citing cable from de Salis, no. 35, March 13, 1919, PRO, FO 371/4179; see minute by S.K., March 15, 1919.
- 256 *ibid.*, p. 48.
- 257 *ibid.*, pp. 48–51, 63, 67–80.
- 258 *ibid.*, p. 148, citing “Allocutio ‘Causa Nobis’,” *Osservatore Romano*, June 25, 1921; *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, June 18, 1921, pp. 281–283; *Oriente Moderno* 1 (1921): 81–82; English translation in *The Tablet*, June 25, 1921, pp. 821–822.

- 259 Six weeks later the pope told the Protestant secretary of an Arab delegation (whom he presumed were all Catholics) that he would write to all governments advising them that “the Holy Land cannot be allowed to fall into the hands either of the Jews or the Protestants, to both of whom he objected to the same degree.” The Foreign Office decided against submitting a formal protest. Minerbi, *op. cit.*, pp. 154–155, citing Young of the Colonial Office, London, to the Foreign Office undersecretary, August 10, 1921, PRO FO 371/6396, E 9154/8364/88, and Sthamer (London) to Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Berlin), no. 902, September 1, 1921, AA Palastina-Zionismus, Rom/Vat 157/1, no. 69, et al.
- 260 Extracts from Pope Pius XII’s statements of February 11th 1929 (to the parish priests and Lenten preachers of Rome) and of February 13th 1929 (to a delegation of professors and students from Milan University) are from the English translation published as “The Settlement of the ‘Roman Question’” by the Australian Catholic Truth Society, reference H4, No. 551.
- 261 Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–111.
- 262 *ibid.*, p. 109.
- 263 Kuhner, *op. cit.*, p. 240.
- 264 On seizing control of the Russian government in November 1917 the Bolsheviks promptly arranged an armistice with Germany and its allies which took effect on December 5th. Firm peace negotiations began on December 22nd and the Treaty of Brest Litovsk was signed on March 3rd 1918. Russia gave up all rights to Poland, Courland and Lithuania; evacuated Estonia, Livonia, the Ukraine and all occupied Turkish territories; and agreed to demobilize its army. The Central Powers and Turkey agreed to refrain from agitation (or subversion) against Russia, its government or the system under which it existed.(39) The Bolsheviks have since been criticized for so readily surrendering the Jewish communities of Poland, Lithuania (50 percent of the urban population), and the Ukraine (30 percent of the total population) to German control.* However quite apart from the fact that they didn’t have any option (see p. 1/XX/57), short of continuing the war, there were the firm promises previously given by both the Central Powers and the Allies that Poland would be guaranteed independence either as a monarchy or as a republic. The safety of the Jews in that situation was therefore not a major factor, especially with the Balfour Declaration thrown in for good measure.
- 265 Marriott, *op. cit.*, p. 515.
- 266 Population estimates: Ettinger, S. *The Jews in Russia at the outbreak of the Revolution* [London: Oxford, 1978] Chapter 1 *The Jews in Soviet Russia since 1917*, p. 15.
- 267 Marriott, *op.cit.*, p. 566.
- 268 Franzen, *op. cit.*, p. 412.
- 269 Catholic Almanac, 1975, p. 295.
- 270 Anderson, *op.cit.*, pp. 74–75.
- 271 Neuner & Dupuis, *op. cit.*, p. 325.
- 272 Anderson, *loc. cit.*
- 273 Latourette, K. S., *A History of Christianity* [Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1964] p. 1371.
- 274 It was not a coincidence that *Mortalium Animos* had the ring of the Inquisition backed by totalitarian regimes. The pope felt quite at home in that setting. In fact when Mussolini dropped his mask in January 1925 and began his rule by dictatorship he had very good reason to expect the support of the Vatican. It is only surprising that they took four years to finalize the details of their Lateran Treaty and Italian Concordat.
- 275 Von Aretin, *op. cit.*, pp. 205–206.

CHAPTER 18: HITLER’S BLUEPRINT WINS SUPPORT

- ¹ Toland, John Adolf Hitler [New York: Ballantine, 1977] pp. 2–13.
- ² *ibid.*, pp. 45–65.

- ³ *ibid.*, p. 73.
- ⁴ Hitler's summons arrived via the Munich police on January 18. Planned expansion of the Austrian army by conscription had therefore begun at least as early as January. Archduke Ferdinand was not assassinated in Serbia until June 28. It took Austria less than four weeks to issue an ultimatum and then, on Germany's urging, (without waiting to negotiate over Serbia's reply and having rebuffed peace initiatives by both Britain and Russia), she invaded Serbia just five weeks later. The army build up before the assassination and the speed of subsequent events tends to support the contentions that there was an inside conspiracy behind the assassination, that Austria had been looking for a justification to jump its claims in the Balkans and that Germany was quick to take advantage of other people's worries to try to extend its Eastern interests. The Archduke's dying words are said to have been that "the fellow (the assassin) will get the Golden Cross of Merit for this". The Kaiser was then quick to remind the Austrian Emperor that Germany, (his ally) was ready for war but Russia was not.
- ⁵ Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
- ⁶ Marriott, J.A.R. *A History of Europe 1815–1939* [Methuen, 1966] pp. 487–488.
- ⁷ Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
- ⁸ *ibid.*, p. 77.
- ⁹ See chapter 14, "Let's try another Revolution," pp. 14, 18 ff.
- ¹⁰ Bottomore & Rubel Karl Marx: *Selected writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1976] pp. 404–405.
- ¹¹ Bavaria retained sovereign independence with its own monarchy until 1918 even though it was an integral part of the German Empire. Other dual sovereignties also existed in both the British and French empires.
- ¹² Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
- ¹³ The Iron Cross (2nd class) in November 1914; the Military Cross (3rd class with swords) in September 1917; the Regimentsdiplom (for outstanding bravery) in May 1918; the *Verwundetenabzeichen* (Medal for the wounded) also in May 1918; the Service Medal (3rd class) in August 1918 and the Iron Cross (1st class) also in August 1918.
- ¹⁴ Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
- ¹⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 48, 61, 83, 90.
- ¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 92.
- ¹⁷ The German philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer believed his views to be consistent with those of Christian mystics but the church regards them as one of the chief anti-Christian systems of the nineteenth century and as deeply pessimistic.[*Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*.] He wrote that will was the ultimate reality and that the evils of existence could be remedied by suppressing will with pity and mortification of the passions. English translations of his works appeared in the 1880's (25 years after he died).
- ¹⁸ Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
- ¹⁹ Zeman Z. A. B. *A Diplomatic History of the First World War* [London : Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971] p. 360.
- ²⁰ Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
- ²¹ *ibid.*, pp. 97–98.
- ²² Hitler, *Adolf Mein Kampf* (Ed.) D.C. Watt [London: Hutchinson, 1976] p. 47.
- ²³ This was not Hitler's first visionary experience. As a youth aged 17, only weeks before he learned of his mother's terminal cancer, he and a friend had attended a performance of Wagner's *Rienzi*. Visibly affected, he insisted that they walk to a nearby hilltop instead of going home. "Feverish with excitement" and in "a state of complete ecstasy and rapture" Hitler ranted to his friend about a call from the people to lead them to freedom which would one day be entrusted to him as a special mission. His family had to put up with a period of moodiness and rhetorical lectures for some time after that experience.[Toland, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–29].
- ²⁴ *ibid.*, prologue pp. xvii–xviii.
- ²⁵ Hitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 185–187.

- 26 Hitler put the date of the pastor's visit as November 10. Toland puts it as the 9th.
- 27 Professor Edmund Forster, chief of Berlin University's Nerve Clinic.
- 28 Watt, D.C. (Ed.) Introduction to Hitler's *Mein Kampf* [London: Hutchinson, 1976] p. 55.
- 29 Hitler discussed the impact of syphilis on German family and national life at great length in *Mein Kampf*.
- 30 These notes are extracted from D.C. Watt's Introduction to Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, [London: Hutchinson, 1976] pp. xxvi-xxviii, John Toland's *Adolph Hitler*, and Bullock, Alan, *Hitler and Stalin: Parallel Lives* [London: HarperCollins/Fontana, 1993] pp. 73–76. The details in these sources do not correspond in all respects but they were no doubt based on the best available sources at the time of their respective publication. These notes are an attempt to relate, chronologically, some of the key events noted in those sources.
- 31 The Holocaust History Project, Short Essay, What are 'The Protocols of the Elders of Zion?' source: www.holocaust-history.org/short-essays/protocols.shtml as at January 12, 2000.
- 32 Roemer, Nils, a review of Benjamin W. Segel, *A Lie and a Libel: The History of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, (ed., trans., Richard S. Levy, [Lincoln & London: Uni. Nebraska Press, 1995], source: www.h-net.msu.edu/~german/books/reviews/roemer1.html as at January 13, 2000.
- 33 Toland, op. cit., pp. 102–112.
- 34 Watt, D. C. Introduction to *Mein Kampf* Trans. Ralph Mannheim [London: Hutchinson, 1974], p. xxvii.
- 35 Toland, op. cit., pp. 117–119.
- 36 *ibid.*, p. 122.
- 37 Bullock, Alan, *Hitler and Stalin: Parallel Lives* [London: HarperCollins/Fontana, 1993] p. 75, citing Ernst Deuerlein, in *VfZ (Vierteljahresheft für Zeitgeschichte, Munich)* (1959), 2, pp. 201 ff.
- 38 Toland, op. cit., pp. 131–132.
- 39 Watt, op. cit., intro p. xxviii.
- 40 Toland, op. cit., pp. 136–137.
- 41 *ibid.*, p. 130.
- 42 The date March 31 is from Toland, op. cit. p. 135. Bullock, op. cit., p. 76, gives the date as April 1, but according to Watt, op. cit., p. xxvii, it was March 21, 1920.
- 43 Watt, op. cit., intro., p. xxviii.
- 44 Toland, op. cit., p. 121.
- 45 Watt, op. cit., intro. p. xxviii.
- 46 One of the children later became a Carmelite nun, Sister Lucy. She wrote an account of her experience of July 13, 1917 in three parts. The first was of a vision of hell and the second about the conversion of the Russian people. The third, thought to have been a prophecy of dire events, became known as "the secret" and was not to be opened until after her death or until 1960 (which ever came first). Its contents have not yet been made public. The Vatican acted on part two in 1942.
- 47 Catholic Almanac, 1980, p. 320.
- 48 Mary is supposed to have appeared to an Indian, Juan Diego, in 1531 to tell him to relay a message to Bishop Zumarraga about building a church (later a basilica) on Tepeyac Hill, Mexico City.[Catholic Almanac, 1980, p. 320.] It very conveniently helped to offset the efforts of Dominican priest Bartolome de Las Casas to expose the cruelty, exploitation and land-grabbing to which the Indians had been subjected. [Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, p. 295] [Pendle, George, *A History of Latin America* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963] p. 58].
- 49 The proposal passed the lower house but was rejected by the upper house and church/state relations entered another rough period. The fall of the government was followed by new treaties two years later.
- 50 Von Aretin, Karl Otmar *The Papacy and the Modern World* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, World University Library, 1920] pp. 174, 197–198.

- 51 Toland, *op. cit.*, pp. 137–138.
- 52 *ibid.*, p. 329.
- 53 *ibid.*, pp. 138–139.
- 54 *ibid.*, p. 137.
- 55 *The Times*, London, Saturday, May 8, 1921.
- 56 Cornwell, *John Hitler's Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII* [London: Penguin/Viking, 1999] pp. 94–95, citing Vatican Secretariat of State Archives (SRS), Germania, 1921, Fasc. 902, folio 9 RV and folios 20 ff.
- 57 *ibid.*, p. 95, citing US House Joint Resolution 433, 1920.
- 58 The League of Nations agreed to a British mandate in April 1920, subject to acceptable terms being drawn up. A leading British Jew, Zionist, banker's son and cabinet minister, Sir Herbert Samuel, took up his appointment as High Commissioner for the Defender of the (Christian) Faith in succession to the military administration three months later. An agreed text for the mandate was approved by the League in July 1922 and it officially took effect in September 1923.
- 59 Laqueur, Walter *The Israel Arab Reader* [New York: Bantam, 1976] notes to document 11, the British Mandate, p. 34.
- 60 Blumberg, H. M. *Weizmann: His Life and Times* [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975] pp. 80–81.
- 61 Lapidé, Pinchas E. *The Last Three Popes and the Jews* [London: Souvenir Press, 1967] pp. 84–85.
- 62 Allen, Richard *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Fertile Crescent* [London: Oxford, 1974] pp. 262–271.
- 63 France relinquished its claims to represent all Catholics in 1922 after the terms of the mandates had been agreed.
- 64 The results of the Upper Silesian plebiscite on March 20, 1921, were:
Popular vote: Germany 706,000; Poland 479,000. Vote by communes: Germany 792; Poland 682. The uprising occurred in May, and was only ended on October 20 when the Allied Powers endorsed the inclusion of southeastern Upper Silesia in Poland. Source: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Multimedia CD Edition, International Version, 1999.
- 65 Lapidé, *loc. cit.*
- 66 Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
- 67 Before the war Sir Mark Sykes, then a junior member of Parliament and a supporter of the British policy of propping up the Ottoman Empire, had written in scathing terms of the Arab Community. He saw them as an inferior race, incapable of ruling themselves and one of the most deplorable pictures to be seen in the East. The Bedouins were, he said, a rapacious, greedy, ill-mannered set of brutes. And before he was appointed to represent Britain in dividing up the Ottoman empire between Britain, France and Russia he had already written in a travel book that while even Jews had their good points the Armenians had none and were the lowest of the low. It is therefore little wonder that Britain did not deem it necessary to tell the Arabs of the Balfour Declaration.
- 68 Zeman, *op. cit.*, p. 330.
- 69 Blumberg, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
- 70 Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 263–269.
- 71 Toland, *op. cit.*, pp. 250–251.
- 72 *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, Vol. V [McGraw-Hill, 1967] pp. 627–628.
- 73 Schapiro, Leonard contributing the introduction to *The Jews in Soviet Russia Since 1917* [London: Oxford, 1978] p. 11.
- 74 Abramsky, Chimen contributing chapter 4, *The Jews in Soviet Russia Since 1917*, pp. 64–68.
- 75 Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
- 76 Marriott, *op. cit.*, p. 540.
- 77 Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
- 78 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

NOTES TO VOLUME I & II

- 79 Cornwell, loc. cit.
- 80 Cornwell, loc. cit.
- 81 *ibid.*, pp. 98–99.
- 82 Toland, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–178.
- 83 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–100, citing BelgFO, Allemagne, 17, Aspeslaugh to General de Guffory, Chief of the Belgian Delegation at the Inter-Allied Military Commission, July 12, 1923, previously cited in Stehlin, Weimar and the Vatican, 256.
- 84 *ibid.*, p. 112.
- 85 *ibid.*, p. 100.
- 86 Cornwell, loc. cit.
- 87 NOTES: All references to Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf* are to the English translation by Ralph Manheim, published by Hutchinson of London, 1974/76, with an introduction by D.C. Watt.
- 88 Toland, *op. cit.*, pp. 302, 316.
- 89 Watt, *op. cit.*, intro., pp. xxxvii–xl.
- 90 Bernstein, Herman *The Truth About the Protocols of Zion* [New York: Covici Friede, 1935].
- 91 Watt, *op. cit.*, intro., p. xxxvii.
- 92 Gossett, Thomas F. *Race: The History of an Idea in America* [New York: Schocken, 1965] pp. 346–350.
- 93 *ibid.*, p. 254.
- 94 *ibid.*, p. 152.
- 95 Hitler was ripe for such propaganda from his experience in Vienna even without the impact of the Allies' subversive propaganda aimed at ethnic groups and the church's anti-Semitism. He later had a couple of tragic love affairs but apparently he took a deliberate decision not to produce children from fear that he had a Jewish ancestor himself and that something might go wrong. [Toland, *op. cit.*, pp. 316, 344–350, 372–373].
- 96 Forsthoefel, P.F. contributing, *New Catholic Encyclopaedia* Vol. V, p. 627.
- 97 Gossett, *op. cit.*, pp. 340–371.
- 98 *ibid.*, pp. 263–269.
- 99 *ibid.*, pp. 353–361.
- 100 They took to nineteen the total number of states with such laws.
- 101 Gossett, *op. cit.*, p. 371.
- 102 *ibid.*, p. 404.
- 103 *ibid.*, p. 403.
- 104 *ibid.*, pp. 398–399.
- 105 *ibid.*, p. 402.
- 106 *ibid.*, p. 401.
- 107 *ibid.*, p. 400.
- 108 *ibid.*, p. 406.
- 109 *New Catholic Encyclopaedia* Vol V, p. 628.
- 110 Gossett, *op. cit.*, p. 453.
- 111 *ibid.*, p. 405.
- 112 Toland, *op. cit.*, pp. 199–200.

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- 113 The new restrictions proved difficult to administer and the target of 150,000 per year was not imposed until the economic collapse of 1929. Until then the average annual intake was almost double the target, at 287,000, and the US continued to reap the economic benefits. [Gossett, *op. cit.*, pp. 406–407].
- 114 Gossett, *loc. cit.*
- 115 Hitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 399–400.
- 116 *ibid.*, p. 134.
- 117 *ibid.*, numerous references, including pp. 195, 224, 258, 263–265, 269–297.
- 118 *ibid.*, pp. 583, 622.
- 119 *ibid.*, p. 582.
- 120 *ibid.*, p. 607.
- 121 *ibid.*, p. 123.
- 122 *ibid.*, pp. 122–129.
- 123 *ibid.*, pp. 165–180, 527–539.
- 124 *ibid.*, p. 409.
- 125 *ibid.*, pp. 286, 581.
- 126 *ibid.*, pp. 417–418.
- 127 *ibid.*, pp. 100–107, 243, 278–279.
- 128 *ibid.*, p. 393.
- 129 *ibid.*, pp. 366–367.
- 130 In Nazi Germany between 1933 and 1945 more than 200,000 people were sterilized and about 50,000 were put to death in gas chambers for being insane, feeble-minded or physically deformed.* For comparison, in the United States between 1927 (when the Supreme Court upheld the validity of state sterilization laws) and 1958 about 60,000 Americans were sterilized. (*The Holocaust is discussed in later chapters.)
- 131 New Catholic Encyclopaedia, *loc. cit.*
- 132 Gossett, *op. cit.*, pp. 446–449.
- 133 Gossett, *loc. cit.*
- 134 Encyclopaedia Britannica International Multimedia Edition 199, Italy: History since 1870, The Fascist Era.
- 135 Hitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 106–107.
- 136 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 105–106, citing P. Hoser, “Hitler und die Katholische Kirche”, 485ff.
- 137 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, p. 115.
- 138 Hacker, Louis M. *The Course of American Economic Growth and Development* [New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1970] pp. 285–287.
- 139 *ibid.*, pp. 279–282.
- 140 *ibid.*, pp. 291–293.
- 141 Professor Walter Rauschenbush, a Baptist minister teaching at Rochester Theological Seminary, wrote a series of books of which *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907) was probably best known. He criticized the church and the role of the clergy during the previous couple of generations while America’s commercial and industrial ethic had developed, and called for a series of reforms. He wanted social justice and economic democracy with public ownership of land and utilities and worker participation in management. President Theodore Roosevelt managed to show enthusiasm for his call while he also managed to avoid both social and monetary reforms. [Hacker, *op. cit.*, pp. 261–262.]
- 142 The Bank of England’s support for the new German bank related both to Locarno and American insistence on a new gold standard policy.

- 143 Marriott, op. cit., pp. 578–579.
- 144 *ibid.*, pp. 579–581.
- 145 Hacker, op. cit., pp. 292–299.
- 146 *ibid.*, p. 287.
- 147 Cornwell, op. cit., pp. 102–103.
- 148 *ibid.*, p. 104.
- 149 *ibid.*, p. 117.
- 150 *ibid.*, op. cit., p. 111.
- 151 *ibid.*, p. 117, citing Scholder, *The Churches and the Third Reich*, Vol. I, 149; Bergen to Foreign Office, June 2, 1930, Archive AA Bonn, *Botschaft Rom-Vatican*, Vol. 143, quoted in Scholder.
- 152 *ibid.*, pp. 108–109, citing a number of publications in which the correspondence has been published.
- 153 *ibid.*, p. 109.
- 154 Von Aretin, op. cit., p. 222.
- 155 Pius XI, Encyclical letter *Divini Illius Magistri* (On Christian Education) [Australian Catholic Truth Society: 1930] p. 26.
- 156 Anderson, Robin *Between two wars: The story of Pope Pius XI* [Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1977] p. 106.
- 157 The description of sex education comes from *Casti Connubii* in which it was contrasted with instruction in marriage.
- 158 Halberstam, David *The Fifties* [New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1993] pp. 282–287.
- 159 Pius XI, Pope, Encyclical letter on Christian Marriage *Casti Connubii* [The Australian Catholic Truth Society, March 30, 1931] p. 19.
- 160 *ibid.*, pp. 21, 32.
- 161 *ibid.*, p. 24.
- 162 *ibid.*, pp. 32–34.
- 163 *ibid.*, pp. 25–28.
- 164 In his personal conduct as well as in his efforts to impose the church's authority in civil affairs.
- 165 Anderson, op. cit., p. 111.
- 166 Barker, C.E. *The Church's Neurosis and Twentieth Century Revelations* [London: Hutchinson/Rider, 1975] pp. 13–16, 24, 37–38, 54.
- 167 *ibid.*, pp. 16, 55.
- 168 *ibid.*, p. 20.
- 169 Pius XI, op. cit., pp. 22–23.
- 170 *ibid.*, p. 19.
- 171 *ibid.*, pp. 29–31.
- 172 *ibid.*, p. 20.
- 173 *ibid.*, pp. 27–28.
- 174 Hitler, op. cit., pp. 120–123.
- 175 *ibid.*, p. 229.
- 176 *ibid.*, p. 367.
- 177 Pius XI, op. cit., p. 39.
- 178 *ibid.*, pp. 51–53.
- 179 *ibid.*, p. 54.

¹⁸⁰ *ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁸¹ *ibid.*, p. 29.

¹⁸² *ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁸³ Pius XI later produced a separate encyclical dealing with films and other mass media.

¹⁸⁴ In 1979, almost 50 years later, the Synod of Bishops did take a completely different approach in its expanded paper on “The Role of the Christian Family in the Modern World”. It divided the theme into three parts: a description of the contemporary situation of the family in various parts of the world; a statement of some factors affecting the state of the family and teaching about it in the modern world, and a pastoral section dealing with practical aspects of the role of the family. In its only reference to *Casti Connubii* the Synod paper says, “the encyclicals of Pius XI on education and the family, and the frequent talks of Pius XII ... propounded a sufficiently complete teaching, which was then taken up again and fitted to new circumstances in the documents of the Second Vatican Council.” It takes those documents as its starting point and proceeds to contradict much of *Casti Connubii* by means of numerous references to Bible passages. References to the Doctors and Fathers of the church are conspicuous by their absence. In particular the Synod paper repudiates sexual discrimination in schools and the prohibition on Catholic youths attending non-church schools. It says that parents can and indeed should send their children to the various school institutions in order that they may acquire an education suited to the demands of modern social life. “They have the inalienable right to choose a school that can satisfy their own aspirations and those of their children.” [Synod of Bishops *The Role of the Christian Family in the Modern World* (Vatican City, 1979) English translation; The Australian Catholic Truth Society Publications, Melbourne, pp. 3, 29, 30.]

¹⁸⁵ Sigmund Freud was born to Austrian parents of Jewish faith and lived in Vienna for 78 of his 83 years. He was 51 and a widely recognized psychologist and writer (*The Interpretation of Dreams*, 1900; *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, 1901) when Hitler arrived there as an impressionable 18 year old youth to face poverty with a monastery school education, a rejected secret love and his first experience of a vision behind him. It was in Vienna’s environment of classic anti-Semitic Catholic bigotry, (possibly even more acute than that which Karl Marx had experienced), that Freud developed both his methods of psychoanalysis (which revolutionized his profession) and his ideas about childhood development, the effect of sexual inhibition on youth, and that religious belief was an unhealthy delusion. His last major work, *Civilization and its Discontents*, was published in 1930 shortly before *Casti Connubii* which could hardly have been designed to conflict more sharply with Freud’s work. Hitler’s occupation of Austria in 1938 forced him to flee to Britain. He died the following year.

¹⁸⁶ Don Cupitt, Dean of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, discussed the change from rejection of the church’s dogma to rejection of its moral standards and authority in *Crisis of Moral Authority*, Lutterworth Press, 1972.

¹⁸⁷ C. Edward Barker, Methodist minister and analytical psychotherapist, traced the sources and effects of the church’s neurosis in *The Church’s Neurosis and Twentieth Century Revelations*, Rider, 1975. In his conclusions (pp. 246, 247) he calls for the church to dissociate itself from the Pauline theory of “redemption by the blood of Christ” and says it must repudiate “the neuroticism endemic in its traditional gospel” or dwindle to a small minority “chained to moral masochism and obsession, preferring the restricting compensations of suffering and ‘wilderness experience’ to the challenge and vigour of health, maturity and well-being.”

¹⁸⁸ Cornwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–103.

¹⁸⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 119–120.

¹⁹⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 120–122, citing references drawn from: Scholder, *The Churches and the Third Reich*, Vol. I, pp. 152 & 153; Bruning, *Memoiren*, pp. 358 & 359; I. Kershaw, *Hitler, 1889–1936* (London, 1998) p. 339.

¹⁹¹ Ehler & Morrall, *Divini Redemptoris*, translation by the Catholic Truth Society, London, clause 6 p. 546.

¹⁹² Cornwell, *op. cit.*, p. 123, citing Bruning, *Memoiren*, p. 360.

¹⁹³ *ibid.*, p. 124, citing Bruning manuscript, memoirs, 351–52: Harvard University Archive FP 93.4, quoted in Patch, *Heinrich Bruning*, 295–296.

¹⁹⁴ Walsh, Warren B. *Russia and the Soviet Union* [University of Michigan Press, 1958] pp. 455 ff, 474 ff.

¹⁹⁵ *Mankind’s Search for God* [New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, 1990], p. 358.

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- 196 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, p. 125, citing a report from the Bavarian envoy, Baron von Ritter, to Munich, December 20, 1931, cited in Scholder, *The Churches and the Third Reich*, Vol. I, 154.
- 197 *ibid.*, p. 131.
- 198 *ibid.*, pp. 127–128, citing Scholder, *The Churches and the Third Reich*, Vol. I, 154.
- 199 *ibid.*, p. 128, citing Scholder, *ibid.*
- 200 *ibid.*, pp. 128–129, citing Ludwig Kaas, “Der Konkordatstyp des faschistischen Italien”, *Zeitschrift für ausländisches öffentliches Recht und Völkerrecht*, III. 1, 1933, pp. 488–522.
- 201 Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 378.
- 202 Lewy, Guenter *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1964] p. 27.
- 203 Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 404.
- 204 Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
- 205 *ibid.*, p. 30.
- 206 Patterson, James T, contrib. a biography of Franklin D. Roosevelt, *Encyclopedia Americana* [source: <http://gi.grolier.com/presidents/ea/bios/32proos.html>].
- 207 Roosevelt, Franklin D, inaugural address, Saturday, March 4, 1933. Congressional Archives. [Source: <http://www.nscds.pvt.k12.il.us/nscds/us/apushist/roosevelt/inaug.html>].
- 208 The National Recovery Administration and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.
- 209 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 133–134.
- 210 Cornwell, *loc. cit.*, citing Scholder, Vol. I, pp. 240, 243.
- 211 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 136–137, citing Scholder, Vol. I, pp. 246, 299; and p. 138.
- 212 *ibid.*, p. 137, citing Helmreich, *The German Churches under Hitler*, p. 239.
- 213 *ibid.*, p. 138, citing Helmreich, *ibid.*
- 214 *ibid.*, pp. 139–140, citing S. Friedlander, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, Vol. I: *The Years of Persecution, 1933–39* (London, 1997), p. 42.
- 215 *ibid.*, p. 140, citing Friedlander, *ibid.*, 42; in turn citing Helmreich, *The German Churches under Hitler*, pp. 276–277.
- 216 Nafi, Basheer M. *The Arabs and the Axis: 1933–1940* [Arab Studies Quarterly, Vol. 19, No. 2, Spring 1997] distributed by MSANEWS <http://msanews.mynet.net/> July 31, 1999. The author cites: Y. Porath, *The Palestinian Arab National Movement* (London: Frank Cass, 1977) vol. 2, 76; Francis Nicosia, *The Third Reich and the Palestine Question* (London, I.B Tauris: 1985) 85–86.
- 217 Brenner, Lenni *Zionism in the Age of the Dictators* (London: Croom Helm, 1983) p. 61.
- 218 *ibid.*, p. 62. Cohen proved useful in other ways. Soon afterward, on behalf of the Jewish National Fund (the World Zionist Organization’s Palestine land fund), he arranged for the release of JNF funds frozen in Germany on the grounds that the cash was need to buy land for Jews whom Hitler would be pushing out.
- 219 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
- 220 *ibid.*, p. 144, citing Scholder, Vol. I. p. 387.
- 221 Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
- 222 Hitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 60, 512.
- 223 *ibid.*, p. 318.
- 224 *ibid.*, pp. 412–413.
- 225 *ibid.*, p. 103.
- 226 *ibid.*, pp. 106–107.
- 227 *ibid.*, p. 513.

- 228 *ibid.*, p. 624.
- 229 Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
- 230 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
- 231 Von Aretin, *op. cit.*, p. 207.
- 232 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, p. 143.
- 233 *ibid.*, pp. 144–145, citing Scholder, Vol. I., pp. 393, 394, 395.
- 234 Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 31, 32, 36–37. [The sequence of events and dates suggested by Lewy do not correspond directly with those given by Cornwell.]
- 235 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 145–146, citing Scholder, Vol. I., p. 395.
- 236 Conway, J.S. *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches: 1933–1945* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968] p. 20.
- 237 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, p. 147, citing L. Volk, *Kirchliche Akten über die Reichskonkordatsverhandlungen, 1933* (Mainz, 1975), 82–85.
- 238 *ibid.*, p. 148, citing L. Volk, *Das Reichskonkordat vom 20. Juli 1933* (Mainz, 1972), 231.
- 239 *ibid.*, p. 148 citing Patch, Bruning, 302–3.
- 240 *ibid.*, pp. 148–149.
- 241 *ibid.*, p. 149, citing R. Leiber, “Pius XII as I knew him”, *The Tablet*, December 27, 1958.
- 242 Lewy, *op. cit.*, sets out the progress of negotiations from 1919 to 1933 with special attention to the final stages after Hitler became chancellor]. ‘Consultations’ continued even after the concordat was signed, on July 20, in an effort to improve security for the church which was already being harassed even before final ratification on September 10.
- 243 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
- 244 Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
- 245 Von Aretin, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
- 246 Lewy, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 84.
- 247 *ibid.*, p. 85.
- 248 Conway, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–41.
- 249 Ehler & Morrall, *op. cit.*, p. 493.
- 250 Lewy, *loc. cit.*
- 251 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 155–156. Broken in health and spirit and threatened by the Nazis, Bruning was eventually forced to slip across the border into Holland as a refugee. After the Second World War he returned and played an influential role in the formation of the Christian Democratic Party.
- 252 *ibid.*, pp. 159–160.
- 253 Shirer, William L. *The Rise & Fall of the Third Reich* [London: Pan, 1964] pp. 264–265.
- 254 The strength of that public support must have amazed even Hitler and helped to strengthen his self-understanding as Germany’s “Saviour”. The oath of allegiance which Catholic bishops had been required to take under Article 16 of the Concordat said, in part, “I swear and promise to respect the Government established according to the constitution and to cause the clergy of my diocese to respect it. In the due solicitude for the welfare and the interests of the German Reich, I will endeavour, while performing the spiritual office bestowed on me, to prevent anything which might threaten to be detrimental to it.” [Ehler & Morrall, *op. cit.*, p. 491] It was therefore virtually automatic that they unanimously endorsed a call by Cardinal Faulhaber for a ‘yes’ vote so that Catholics would profess anew their loyalty to people and Fatherland and their agreement with the Führer’s farsighted and forceful efforts to spare the German people the terror of war and the horrors of Bolshevism, to secure public order and to create work for the unemployed. [Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 438].
- 255 Berkouwer, G.C. *A Half Century of Theology* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1977] pp. 12–13, 25–26.
- 256 Paul’s letter to the Church in Rome (‘Romans’), 13:12, Jerusalem Bible translation.

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- 257 Berkouwer, *op. cit.*, p. 183.
- 258 Conway, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 10, 410–411.
- 259 *ibid.*, pp. 11–13.
- 260 *ibid.*
- 261 Moses, John A., Dietrich Bonhoeffer's Prioritization of Church Unity (Oekumene) [Journal of Religious History, May 2000] (draft, pp. 8–12).
- 262 *ibid.*, draft, pp. 12–13, citing Bonhoeffer, The Church and the Jewish Question in No Rusty Swords, [Letters, lectures and notes 1928–1936, ed. E.H. Robertson, (London: Collins, 1974)] p. 225.
- 263 *ibid.*, draft, p. 13.
- 264 Theological Existence Today.
- 265 Berkouwer, *op. cit.*, p. 186.
- 266 Noakes, J & G. Pridham Eds., Nazism 1919–1945 Vol. I [New York: Schocken, 1983] p. 523.
- 267 Noakes, *op. cit.*, p. 522.
- 268 Yahil, Leni The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry [Oxford: Oxford Uni. Press, 1991] pp. 62–63; and Noakes, *op. cit.*, p. 524.
- 269 Yahil, Leni, *op. cit.*, p. 95.
- 270 Brenner, Lenni Zionism in the Age of the Dictators (London: Croom Helm, 1983) p. 57.
- 271 *ibid.*, pp. 45–6.
- 272 *ibid.*, pp. 46–7.
- 273 Yahil, *op. cit.*, p. 60.
- 274 Noakes, *op. cit.*, p. 524.
- 275 Yahil, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
- 276 Noakes, *op. cit.*, p. 525, 526.
- 277 *ibid.*, p. 528.
- 278 Noakes, *loc. cit.*
- 279 Noakes, *loc. cit.*
- 280 quoted in Brenner, *op. cit.* pp. 48–9.
- 281 quoted in Brenner, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–9.
- 282 Brenner, *op. cit.*, p. 58–59. See also Yahil, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
- 283 Brenner, *op. cit.*, p. 58. Yahil, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
- 284 Brenner, *op. cit.*, pp. 62–3.
- 285 Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 308–310.
- 286 Yahil, *op. cit.*, p. 101.
- 287 Brenner, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
- 288 Yahil, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
- 289 Brenner, *op. cit.*, p. 58.
- 290 *ibid.*, p. 63.
- 291 Yahil, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
- 292 Brenner, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–4.
- 293 *ibid.*, p. 64.
- 294 Yahil, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

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- 295 Brenner, op. cit., p. 64.
- 296 Yahil, op. cit., p. 102.
- 297 Brenner, op. cit., pp. 66–7.
- 298 *ibid.*, p. 68.
- 299 *ibid.*, p. 65.
- 300 Nafi, op. cit., p. 5.
- 301 Cornwell, op. cit., pp. 160–161.
- 302 *ibid.*, pp. 161, citing M. Faulhaber, *Judentum, Christentum, Germanentum. Adventspredigten, gehalten in St. Michael zu Munchen, 1933* (Munich, 1934).
- 303 Cornwell, loc. cit., citing Scholder, Vol. I. Pp. 518–519; S. Friedlander, *Nazi Germany and the Jews* (London, 1997) pp. 47–48.
- 304 Cornwell, loc. cit., citing Helmreich, op. cit., p. 262; D.J. Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners* (London, 1996) p. 109.
- 305 Cornwell, loc. cit., citing Scholder, Vol. I, p. 519.
- 306 Noakes, op.cit., p. 58.
- 307 Gabler, Neal, *An Empire of Their Own* [New York: Crown, 1988] p. 351.
- 308 *ibid.*, pp. 351–352.
- 309 *ibid.*, p. 317.
- 310 *ibid.*, p. 322.
- 311 Cornwell, op. cit., p. 166, citing J. S. Conway, *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches, 1933–45* (London, 1968), pp. 90–92.
- 312 Allen, op. cit., pp. 308–310.
- 313 Blumberg, op. cit., p. 142.
- 314 For a description of the orchestration of Pacelli's emotional departure, his quarters in the "floating cathedral", his demeanor and staffing for the trip see Cornwell, op. cit., p. 168.
- 315 Cornwell, op. cit., pp. 167–168.
- 316 Noakes, op.cit., p. 547.
- 317 Brenner, op. cit., p. 68.
- 318 Brenner, loc. cit.
- 319 Yahil, op. cit., p. 69.
- 320 Noakes, op. cit., p. 547.
- 321 Yahil, op. cit., pp. 71–2.
- 322 *ibid.*, pp. 72–3.
- 323 Gabler, op. cit., p. 328–331, 342–343.
- 324 Brenner, op. cit., pp. 64–5. See also Yahil, op. cit., pp. 101–03.
- 325 Kochan, Lionel *The Jews in Soviet Russia Since 1917* [Oxford: Oxford/Inst. Of Jewish Affairs, 19778] p. 79.
- 326 *ibid.*, pp. 66–69.
- 327 *ibid.*, pp. 79–81.
- 328 Walsh, op. cit., pp. 450–455.
- 329 Kochan, op. cit., p. 74.

- 330 Sources such as Gilbert, (*The Jewish History Atlas*, p. 90) and Chimen Abramsky, (contributing chapter 4, “The BiraBidzhan Project”, in “*The Jews in Soviet Russia Since 1917*” p. 73) differ in their migration figures, but the figures given by Abramsky for 1935 appear well supported.
- 331 Kochan, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
- 332 Walsh, *op. cit.*, pp. 486–488.
- 333 *ibid.*, p. 493.
- 334 Kochan, *op. cit.*, p. 119 J.B. Schechtman, contrib.
- 335 Noakes, *op. cit.*, p. 547.
- 336 Sampson, Anthony *The Seven Sisters* [Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton/ Coronet, 1977] pp. 96–97.
- 337 Roth, Cecil, *A History of the Jews* [New York: Schocken, 1954] p. 389.
- 338 Watt, *op.cit.*, p. xvi. The complete work was not published in an English translation for another two years.
- 339 Barth, Karl *The Doctrine of the Word of God* Trans. G.T. Thomson [Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1936] Vol I, pp. 431–433.
- 340 Barth, Karl. *The Epistle to the Romans* [London: Oxford, 1968] p. 344. Emphasis added.
- 341 *ibid.*, p. 337.
- 342 O’Grady, Colm. *The Church in the Theology of Karl Barth* [London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1970] p. 35.
- 343 Barth, *The Doctrine of the Word of God*, p. 435.
- 344 Mueller, David L. *Karl Barth in the series Makers of the Modern Theological Mind* (Bob E. Patterson, Ed) [Waco: Word Books, 1976] p. 142.
- 345 *ibid.*, p. 143.
- 346 *ibid.*, p. 147.
- 347 *ibid.*, p. 150.
- 348 Barth, *The Doctrine of the Word of God* p. 440.
- 349 Not all of Hitler’s opponents were radical Protestants. However most of the documented opposition from the two main churches was directed at particular issues and laws and not at the existence of the regime or the totality of Hitler’s philosophy.
- 350 Watt, *op. cit.*, pp. xv-xvi.
- 351 Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 93.
- 352 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 157–161.
- 353 *ibid.*, pp. 165–166.
- 354 *ibid.*, p. 179, citing E.C. Helmreich, *The German Churches under Hitler* (Detroit, 1979), p. 276.
- 355 *ibid.*, p. 180–181.
- 356 *ibid.*, pp. 181–182. Cornwell cites six references which deal with the matter of Cardinal Pacelli’s involvement in the editing and production of the encyclical. Their individual contributions as source material are not noted and this author has not sought to consult them directly to ascertain the extent of Pacelli’s editing. However, while Cornwell’s understanding is supported by Garry Wills in his introduction to Passelecq and Barnard Suchecky, *The Hidden Encyclical of Pius XI* [New York: Harcourt Brace/Harvest, 1997], p. xviii, it does not correspond with the details provided by Passelecq and Suchecky themselves which follow.
- 357 Ehler & Morrall, *op. cit.*, p. 520. Clause 4 of Mit Brennender Sorge.
- 358 Lapide, Pinchas *The Last Three Popes and the Jews* [London: Souvenir Press, 1967] p. 100–112.
- 359 Ehler & Morrall, *op. cit.* pp. 524–525. Clause 16 of Mit Brennender Sorge.

- 360 The euthanasia programme had been planned and the facilities and procedures had been organized progressively from 1935 but Hitler had deferred its full scale operation until the outbreak of his premeditated war in order to avoid a major backlash from the churches. [Conway, op. cit.]
- 361 Ehler & Morrall, op. cit., p. 534. Clause 42 of Mit Brennender Sorge.
- 362 In August 1934, following the death of President Hindenburg, leaders of the Reich Church had campaigned strongly in support of Hitler's plebiscite which resulted in the merging of the roles of Fuhrer, Chancellor and President. In eager anticipation of Hitler's support it also campaigned for the enforced amalgamation of the Confessing Church and other provincial resisters with the Reich Church. It began to use the Gestapo to enforce amalgamation, it urged the breaking of links with Rome and it urged the establishment of a single integrated church structure. The result was such an international reaction that even Hitler was forced to pause. But not for long. He was confident that he could destroy the "hollow and rotten" structure of the church with its priests who were "notorious (for their) greed and self-indulgence" with one push. However it was "something really big" and useful. "Now we are its heirs. Its day has gone". [Conway, op. cit., pp. 97–103] A year later he established the Ministry for Ecclesiastical Affairs to pull the whole disruptive lot into order. [Conway, op. cit., pp. 128–139.]
- 363 The World Alliance of Reformed Churches, although with a more restricted base, is often ranked alongside them and Marc Boegner adds the Central Office of Inter-Church Aid for the Protestant Churches of Europe [Boegner, Marc The Long Road to Unity London: Collins, 1970, p. 100.] but this might better be described as a joint activity of the member churches rather than as a "thrust" of the ecumenical movement.
- 364 Passelecq, Georges and Barnard Suchecky, *The Hidden Encyclical of Pius XI* [New York: Harcourt Brace/Harvest, 1997] p. 45.
- 365 *ibid.*, p. 102, note 10, citing Monsignor Georges Roche and Philippe Saint-Germain, *Pie XII devant l'histoire* (Paris: Lafont, 1972), p. 68.
- 366 Passelecq & Suchecky, loc. cit. [In addition to Kaas, Pacelli's co-workers on the draft were three Jesuit priests; Robert Leiber, H. Heinrich, and Augustin Bea who later became confessor to Pacelli during his papacy as Pius XII and first president of the Vatican Secretariat for Christian Unity.]
- 367 *ibid.*, op. cit., p. 45.
- 368 *ibid.*, pp. 94–95.
- 369 Pius XI, pope. *Divini Redemptoris*, encyclical, English translation. [Melbourne: The Australian Catholic Truth Society, 1937], p. 1.
- 370 Ehler & Morrall, op. cit., p. 545, *Divini Redemptoris*, clauses 1, 2, 3.
- 371 *ibid.*, p. 546, *Divini Redemptoris* clause 6.
- 372 Kuhner, op. cit., p. 238.
- 373 Pius XI, pope. *Divini Redemptoris*, loc. cit.
- 374 Pius XI, pope. *Divini Redemptoris*, loc. cit.
- 375 Ehler & Morrall, op. cit., p. 548, *Divini Redemptoris*, clause 12.
- 376 In Moscow the new divorce laws had a spectacular impact. In July 1936 there were only 215 divorces compared with 2214 in the previous month. In Leningrad the drop was from 10,313 for January-June 1936, to 3,860 for the same six months in 1937.
- 377 Walsh, op. cit., pp. 463–464.
- 378 Ehler & Morrall, op. cit., pp. 549–550, *Divini Redemptoris* clauses 14–15.
- 379 *ibid.*, pp. 550–552, *Divini Redemptoris* clauses 18–27.
- 380 *ibid.*, p. 557, *Divini Redemptoris* clauses 42–43.
- 381 *ibid.*, p. 558, *Divini Redemptoris* clauses 44–45.
- 382 *ibid.*, p. 559, *Divini Redemptoris* clauses 48.
- 383 *ibid.*, p. 557, *Divini Redemptoris* clauses 42.

- 384 *ibid.*, pp. 563–564, *Divini Redemptoris* clauses 62–63.
- 385 *ibid.*, p. 566, *Divini Redemptoris* clauses 70.
- 386 *ibid.*, pp. 570–578, *Divini Redemptoris* clauses 84, 87, 102, 112.
- 387 *ibid.*, p. 543.
- 388 Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age*, Volume IV, *The Twentieth Century In Europe*. [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1969] p. 499.
- 389 *ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 498–499.
- 390 Gribetz, Judah, Edward L. Greenstein & Regina Stein *The Timetables of Jewish History* [New York: Touchstone/Simon & Schuster, 1994] from entries for the period 1900 to 1939.
- 391 Meyer, Michael A. *Response to Modernity: A history of the Reform Movement in Judaism* [Detroit: Wayne State Uni., 1995] pp. 218–219, 221, 235–237.
- 392 *ibid.*, pp. 339–340.
- 393 *ibid.*, pp. 318–320.

CHAPTER 19: WHO DOES OWN THE MIDDLE EAST?

- ¹ Allen, Richard *Imperialism & Nationalism in the Fertile Crescent* [New York: Oxford, 1974] p. 248.
- ² *ibid.*, p. 246.
- ³ *ibid.*, pp. 275–276.
- ⁴ *ibid.*, p. 247.
- ⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 244–245.
- ⁶ Apparently on the urging of the legendary T.E. Lawrence who later declined a decoration for his work in Arabia.
- ⁷ Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 249.
- ⁸ This is confirmed by Faisal's letter to Felix Frankfurter, an American Zionist leader, dated in Paris on March 3, 1919, but signed two days later. That letter, and the agreement referred to in the next note, are both reproduced in full in Laqueur & Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict* [New York: Penguin, 1984] pp. 21–22.
- ⁹ Laqueur, Walter *The Israel Arab Reader* [New York: Bantam, 1976], pp. 21–22, Document 8(2), the Faisal-Weizmann Agreement. This agreement was signed in London on January 3, 1919. However Faisal held sufficient reservations to add a note to the end of the agreement which reads: "Reservation by the Emir Feisal. If the Arabs are established as I have asked in my manifesto of January 4th addressed to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, I will carry out what is written in this agreement. If changes are made, I cannot be answerable for failing to carry out this agreement. Feisal Ibn-Hussein."
- ¹⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 18–20, Document 8 (1).
- ¹¹ *ibid.*, pp. 23–33, Documents 9 & 10.
- ¹² The King/Crane Report had actually gone to the US President on or soon after August 28th and had been made available to the other governments involved, but it was very conveniently suppressed and did not become generally known for three years.
- ¹³ Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 255.
- ¹⁴ Stocking, George W. *Middle East Oil* [London: Allen Lane/Penguin Press, 1970] p. 22.
- ¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 26.
- ¹⁶ Simpson, Christopher *The Splendid Blond Beast : Money, Law And Genocide In The Twentieth Century* [New York: Grove Press, 1993], p. 33.

- 17 *ibid.*, p. 34 quoting Allen Dulles to Mark Bristol, April 21, 1922, Bristol Papers, RG 45, National Archives, Washington DC.
- 18 *ibid.*, pp. 35–36.
- 19 Chester could not raise the funds to proceed, probably because Britain would never have agreed to the Colby Chester group plan, and Turkey annulled the concession six months later. Iraq would also have been unlikely to agree because of the implications of it overlapping the two territories in a way which could have weakened Iraq's independence.
- 20 The Treaty of Alliance between Britain and Iraq was cut from 20 years to four years from the date of ratification of the peace treaty. Turkey was relieved of all reparations; Foreign Capitulations were abolished; control of the Straits reverted to Turkey, and Atatürk pushed ahead with modernization.
- 21 Simpson, C., *op. cit.*, p. 36.
- 22 *ibid.*, p. 76, quoting Richard Breitling (Eduard Calic, ed.) *Secret Conversations with Hitler. The Two newly Discovered 1931 Interviews* [New York: John Day, 1971] p. 81.
- 23 U.S., Office of United States Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, Nazi Conspiracy and Agression, vol. 3 Washington DC: USGPO, 1946, p. 753, quoted in Simpson, C., *op. cit.*, p. 76.
- 24 Laqueur, *op. cit.*, pp. 45–50, Document 12.
- 25 The council was enlarged from two Jews, two Muslim Arabs and two Christian Arabs, all appointed, to three from each faith.
- 26 As Minister of War Kitchener was a near legendary figure. He had been a key piece in the jigsaw puzzle of the Sudan, commanded Britain's Indian forces before becoming Agent in Egypt, and received an earldom in 1914.
- 27 Zeman, Z.A.B. *A Diplomatic History of the First World War* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1971], p. 332.
- 28 Karl Barth could not have known of that letter at the time that he was haranguing the church in Germany for supporting Kaiser Wilhelm's war plans and drafting his interpretation of 'Romans'.
- 29 Ibn Saud and his forces did not join the Arab uprising against the Turks during the Great War and in fact in 1919 Britain had to restrain him from overthrowing Hussein and his British-sponsored kingdom of the Hejas. Britain would have been completely incapable of fulfilling its promise to establish a unified single Arab kingdom under Hussein as its nominee. In 1920, when British and French political intrigue over mandates was hotting up, Ibn Saud overthrew the Rashid dynasty which had continued to support Turkey in the region to his north. That action was clearly aimed at strengthening his own position rather than at weakening Turkey's position.
- 30 Encyclopaedia Britannica, CD 2000 Deluxe.
- 31 Stocking, *op. cit.*, pp. 51–52.
- 32 *ibid.*, p. 68.
- 33 Syria was granted the same status four years later.
- 34 The Wall St. collapse has been attributed to many factors but eminent American economist J. K. Galbraith put his finger on the main ones very neatly. He said they were unequal income distribution linked to bad corporate and banking structures, the poor state of economic intelligence and the state of foreign money balances. To say simply that the US economy was "fundamentally unsound" would be quite inadequate. We have already noted the unbridled greed which went hand in hand with the modified Protestant work ethic during the Reconstruction period in the United States (between the Civil War and the Great War) and the fantastic manipulation of the period of the Great War and the years which followed. They provided the ingredients of the "fundamentally unsound" US economy and they were the result of irresponsible attitudes and actions taken in conflict with the Christian Gospel on which they were all supposed to be based. In the three years after panic struck investors on the New York stock exchange, the market value of registered stocks fell by 78 percent; national income fell by 52 percent; and unemployment in the civilian labour force rose to about 25 percent.
- 35 Hacker, Louis M. *The Course of American Economic Growth and Development* [New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1970], p. 299–301.

³⁶ Census figures for Jerusalem.

Year	Jews	Muslims	Christians
1922	33,971	13,413	14,699
1931	51,222	19,894	19,335
1936(Est.)	76,000	(49,000)	
1944	92,143	32,039	27,849

³⁷ The Catholic Church of All the Nations was built in 1924 and the Jesuit Pontifical Biblical Institute in 1927. The Scottish St. Andrew's Church was also built in 1927, the church of St. Peter in Gallicantu in 1931, and the Y.M.C.A. (complete with Jerusalem's first swimming pool) in 1933.(397).

³⁸ Hyman, Semah Cecil contributing Under British Rule in Jerusalem [Jerusalem: Keter Books, 1973] p. 151.

³⁹ Allen, op. cit., pp. 297–300.

⁴⁰ Kressel, Getzel contrib. Zionist Congresses in Zionism [Jerusalem: Keter, 1973] p. 250.

⁴¹ Sachar, Howard M. A History of Israel [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981] p. 180.

⁴² Hinnells, John R. (Ed) Who's who of Religions [London: Penguin, 1996] pp. 63–64. Buber also taught that "The Jew carries the burden of the unredeemed world in the knowledge that redemption is not an accomplished fact and that history has not yet known a caesura in which a redeemer appeared." Although Buber's credentials as a Jewish thinker were often queried (see Louis Jacobs, *The Jewish Religion*, Oxford 1995, p. 59) and his work was more widely accepted in the Christian world than among Jews, that sharp contradiction of a basic tenet of Christian faith must have retarded the acceptance of his work within the Christian churches.

⁴³ Tessler, Mark A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994] p. 182.

⁴⁴ Kressel, loc. cit.

⁴⁵ Hyman, op. cit., p. 155.

⁴⁶ Ibn Saud had actually ruthlessly suppressed the Ikhwan a couple of years earlier when it embarrassed his relations with Britain by turning from the Hejas to invade Iraq. Their puritanical reforming zeal was no longer either required or welcome. Multiple marriage was a much more acceptable weapon with which to achieve unification than the sword – especially when it provoked retaliation from superior forces. The religious fanatics of the Ikhwan had exceeded their authority, outlived their usefulness and become expendable.

⁴⁷ Stocking, op. cit., pp. 73–77.

⁴⁸ Sampson, Anthony The Seven Sisters [Sevenoaks: Hodder & Stoughton/Coronet, 1977] p. 87.

⁴⁹ I.C. Farben was one of the companies which financed Hitler into power and its agreement with Exxon became the centre of a political storm fifteen years later, after World War II had erupted.

⁵⁰ Sampson, op. cit., pp. 84–85.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, pp. 87–90.

⁵² Stocking, op. cit., pp. 84–87.

⁵³ Sampson, op. cit., p. 91–92.

⁵⁴ Sampson, loc. cit.

⁵⁵ Stocking, op. cit., pp. 73–75.

⁵⁶ Sampson, op. cit., pp. 105–106.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 93.

⁵⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 107–109.

⁵⁹ Stocking, op. cit., pp. 34–37.

⁶⁰ Aarons, Mark & John Loftus The Secret War Against the Jews [Melbourne: Heinemann, 1994] pp. 21, 35–37, 40.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, pp. 43–44.

⁶² Sampson, op. cit., p. 93.

⁶³ Stocking, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 85, 87.

⁶⁴ Aarons, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 51–52.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 47–48.

CHAPTER 20: JERUSALEM NOW!

¹ Calvocoressi, P., Wint, G., and Pritchard, J. *Total War: The Causes and Courses of the Second World War*, [London: Penguin, 1989] two volumes, Vol 1. p. 43.

² Simpson, Christopher *The Splendid Blond Beast: Money, Law and Genocide in the Twentieth Century* [New York: Grove Press, 1993] pp. 45–46.

³ Calvocoressi, *op. cit.* pp. 44–45.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 61.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 62–68.

⁶ They had been designated Dominions instead of colonies in 1907 and they had taken part in regular Imperial Conferences from that time.

⁷ Buss, Claude A. *Asia in the Modern World* [London: Collier/Macmillan, 1964] p. 342.

⁸ *ibid.*

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 320.

¹⁰ Parrinder, Geoffrey *The World's Living Religions* [London: Pan, 1974] p. 116.

¹¹ Ling, Trevor *A History of Religion East & West* [London: Macmillan, 1968] pp. 108, 413.

¹² Elmessiri, Abdelwahab M. *Zionist Apologetics and the White Man's Burden, a contribution to Israel & South Africa*, Stevens R.P. & A.M. Elmissiri [New York: North American Inc, 1977] p. 18.

¹³ Post, Gaines (Jr.) *Dilemmas of appeasement: British Deterrence and Defence, 1934–1937* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993] pp. 31–32.

¹⁴ Howard, Michael, *The Continental Commitment: the Dilemma of British Defence Policy in the Era of the Two World Wars*, [London: Temple Smith, 1972], p. 104.

¹⁵ Post, G., *op. cit.*, pp. 33–4.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 36.

¹⁷ Lamb, Richard *The Ghosts of Peace, 1935–1945* (London: Michael Russell, 1987) p. 4.

¹⁸ Von Schuschnigg, Kurt *Austrian Requiem* : [London: Victor Gollancz, 1947] For Schuschnigg-Mussolini discussions see p. 98; British, French and Italian adherence to the multi-lateral treaty system, p. 123; discussion on Czechoslovakia being an “unnatural state” and Austria being “an idea”, p. 102; Schuschnigg's London conference, p. 132.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 139–141.

²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 142.

²¹ *ibid.*, p. 139.

²² Post, *op. cit.* p. 41.

²³ Von Schuschnigg, K., *op. cit.*; for the disintegration of Austria's triangle of support, the London-Rome breach and Rome-Berlin rapprochement, see p. 108; the British government's difficulty with public opinion, p. 139; British moral support but no guarantee, p. 140; British intelligence apparently briefed by Hitler's entourage, p. 35.

²⁴ Cockett, Richard. *Twilight of Truth: Chamberlain, Appeasement and the Manipulation of the Press* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989] p. 4.

²⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 5, 7.

- 26 *ibid.*, pp. 8–10.
- 27 *ibid.*, pp. 8–10.
- 28 *ibid.*, p. 12.
- 29 *ibid.*, p. 13.
- 30 Kinder, Hermann & W Hilgemann *The Penguin Atlas of World History Vol II* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980] p. 161.
- 31 See Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age, Volume 1V, The Twentieth Century In Europe*. [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1969] pp. 158–165 for a discussion on changing relations between the Catholic Church and the Spanish government during the Fascist period.
- 32 Kimball, Warren F. *The Most Unsordid Act: Lend-Lease, 1939–1941* [Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1969] p. 2.
- 33 Churchill, Winston *The Gathering Storm, The Second World War, Volume I* [London: Reprint Society, 1953] p. 156.
- 34 Lamb, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–4.
- 35 Post, *op.cit.* pp. 84–85.
- 36 *ibid.*, pp. 91–92.
- 37 *ibid.*, pp. 93–94.
- 38 *ibid.*, p. 96.
- 39 Latourette, K.S., *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age, Vol. V*, p. 285.
- 40 Cornwell, John *Hitler's Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII* [London: Penguin/Viking, 1999], P. 175, citing a quotation in J. Ridley, *Mussolini* (London, 1997), p. 263.
- 41 Churchill, Vol.1 *op. cit.*, p. 155.
- 42 Gilbert, Martin *Churchill: A Life* [London: Mandarin/Minerva, 1991] p. 546.
- 43 Cockett, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–12.
- 44 Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 113.
- 45 Pratt, Lawrence R. *East of Malta, West of Suez: Britain's Meditteranean Crisis, 1936–39* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975) p. 32.
- 46 Post, *op.cit.* p. 98.
- 47 Best, Antony, *Britain, Japan and Pearl Harbor: Avoiding war in East Asia, 1936–41* [London: Routledge LSE, 1995] p. 7, citing Documents on British Foreign Policy (DBFP) Second Series Vol. XX doc.450 CP12(36) 'The Importance of Anglo-Japanese Friendship' Duff Cooper memorandum 17 January 1936, pp. 752–6.
- 48 Best, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8.
- 49 Lamb, *op. cit.* p. 37.
- 50 Kimball, *op. cit.*, p. 2.
- 51 Howard, *op.cit.*, p. 114.
- 52 Parker, R.C.A. *Chamberlain and Appeasement* [London: Macmillan, 1993] pp. 58–61.
- 53 Toland, John *Adolph Hitler* [New York: Ballantine, 1977] p. 526.
- 54 Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 61–65.
- 55 Porath, Y. *The Palestinian Arab National Movement: From Riots to Rebellion* [London: Frank Cass, 1977] p. 140.
- 56 *ibid.*, pp. 143–159.
- 57 *ibid.*, p. 129.
- 58 *ibid.*, p. 159.
- 59 *ibid.*, pp. 162–166.
- 60 *ibid.*, pp. 178–186.

- 61 *ibid.*, pp. 193–195.
- 62 *ibid.*, pp. 199–201.
- 63 *ibid.*, p. 205.
- 64 Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 541.
- 65 *ibid.*, p. 548.
- 66 Cowles, Virginia *The Rothschilds: A Family of Fortune* [London: Futura, 1973] p. 208.
- 67 According to biographer Virginia Cowles, the legal proceedings exploited the fact that a minority shareholder, another Jewish family named von Gutmann, needed cash and wished to sell its holding. That was taken as justification for revising the company's corporate structure.
- 68 Cowles, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
- 69 *The Times*, London, July 6 & 10, 1936, reports and letters.
- 70 Mussolini's change of attitude towards the church and his manipulation of it for political purposes are discussed in chapter 17. In 1935, midway between the church's abortive bid to overthrow the Spanish government with Mussolini's help and the full scale civil war which began in 1936, Mussolini discussed his attitude to the church with Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg of Austria. According to Schuschnigg he said: "You are quite right to cement your relations with the Holy See. That is very necessary. I do the same; and Austria, like Italy, will always be a Catholic State. Apart from that, I personally have the highest opinion of the present pope." Von Schuschnigg, Kurt *Austrian Requiem* : [London: Victor Gollancz, 1947] p. 104.
- 71 Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–81.
- 72 Britain's Foreign Secretary, Anthony Eden, and France's Premier Leon Blum, shared a common sympathy for Spain's elected Republican Loyalists and the conviction that Anglo French solidarity was crucial in the uncertain state of Europe. However the French cabinet favoured nonintervention and Prime Minister Baldwin had directed Eden that on no account, French or other, must he bring Britain into the fight on the side of the Russians. Eden later told cabinet that Europe's future danger spots of Memel, Danzig and Czechoslovakia would be threatened if the Nazi-Fascist adventure in Spain was not checked.
- 73 Aster, Sidney Anthony Eden [Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976] pp. 42–44.
- 74 Thomson, David *Europe Since Napoleon* [London: Longmans, 1963] pp. 673–678.
- 75 The response of the Church of England was quite consistent with the attitudes of Bishop William Temple, (by then Archbishop of York) and J. H. Oldham at the International Missionary Conference in Jerusalem eight years earlier. (See above, chapter 17).
- 76 *The Times*, London, Thursday, July 16, 1936, p. 9.
- 77 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, p. 175, citing quotations in H. Daniel-Rops, *A Fight for God*, pp. 332–335.
- 78 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, International Multimedia CD Edition, 1999.
- 79 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, p. 167, citing a quotation in D. Tardini, *Pio XII* (Rome, 1959) p. 105. [Monsignor Domenico Tardini was Deputy for Extraordinary Affairs, or foreign relations.]
- 80 Kimball, *op. cit.*, pp. 2–3.
- 81 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 176–177.
- 82 Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
- 83 Thomson, *op. cit.* p. 671.
- 84 Hay, Malcolm *The Prejudices of Pascal* [London: Neville Spearman, 1962] p. 80.
- 85 Porath, *op. cit.* pp. 198–199.
- 86 Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 542.
- 87 Nafi, Basheer M. *The Arabs and the Axis: 1933–1940* [Arab Studies Quarterly, Vol. 19, No. 2, Spring 1997] distributed by MSANEWS <http://msanews.mynet.net/> July 31, 1999., p. 4.

- 88 Porath, *op. cit.* pp. 212–214.
- 89 Taylor, Telford Munich: *The Price of Peace* [London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1979] p. 168.
- 90 Best, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–28.
- 91 Post, G., *op. cit.* pp. 261 ff.
- 92 Pratt, *op. cit.* p. 47.
- 93 Allen, Richard *Imperialism & Nationalism in the Fertile Crescent* [New York: Oxford, 1974] pp. 311–312.
- 94 Post, G., *op. cit.*, p. 264 ff.
- 95 *ibid.*, p. 263.
- 96 Taylor, Telford, *op. cit.* pp. 260–261.
- 97 Best, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–29, citing: CAB56/2 JIC13 ‘Far Eastern Appreciation’ JIC report 7 October 1936; DBFP Series 2 volume XVII appendix II C8998/8998/18 ‘The World Situation and British Rearmament’ Vansittart memorandum 16 December 1936 p. 776; Chatfield notes on Vansittart memorandum 5 January 1937, Chatfield Papers, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, CHT3/1.
- 98 Lamb, Richard *The Drift to War, 1922–1939* [London: W.H. Allen, 1989] pp. 203–204.
- 99 Best, *op. cit.*, p. 29, citing Chatfield notes on Vansittart memorandum 5 January 1937, Chatfield Papers, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, CHT3/1.
- 100 Lamb, R. *Drift to War op. cit.*, pp. 203–204.
- 101 Laqueur, Walter A *History of Zionism* [New York: Schocken, 1976] pp. 514–517.
- 102 Nafi, *op. cit.*, pp. 5–6, citing Melka, Nazi Germany and the Palestine Question, *Middle Eastern Studies*, 5, 3, 1969, 221–2; Grobba’s reports of 17 July and 9 November 1937, Documents on German Foreign Policy: 1918–1945, Washington, US Govt. Printing Office, Series D, Vol. V. pp. 756–757, 769–772.
- 103 Donaldson, Frances *Edward VIII* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1974] p. 179.
- 104 While he was still Prince of Wales, Edward had been accused of being Pro-Nazi. Records which have been published in recent years show the extent to which he was under government surveillance and confirm his links with Hitler’s regime. This became a public issue during the abdication crisis and his detractors made much of Hitler’s eagerness to use his influence to change British Government policy and to re-establish good relations between Britain and Germany. The methods he used to try to force a change in government policy, and Hitler’s undertaking to restore him to the throne if the British government fell, may have led to him being tried for treason in other circumstances. However there is evidence that he did not favour centralizing power in government on the Fascist model.
- 105 Ponting, Clive *Churchill* [London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1994] pp. 382–385.
- 106 Two days later he began an extended stay at Schloss Enzesfeld, a castle near Vienna, as the guest of Baron Louis’ brother Eugene von Rothschild, where the Nazis enjoyed relatively convenient and intimate access to him.
- 107 Morton, Frederick *The Rothschilds* [London: Secker & Warburg, 1962] p. 219.
- 108 Best, *op. cit.*, pp. 33–34, citing PRO FO371/21215 W6363/5/50 Eden to Chamberlain 24 March 1937.
- 109 Best, *op. cit.*, p. 36, citing S. Endicott, *Diplomacy and Enterprise: British China Policy 1933–1937*, Manchester University Press, 1975, pp. 166–170.
- 110 Best, *op. cit.*, p. 31, citing DBFP 2/XXI doc. 86 T9200/226/384 Imperial Conference 4th meeting 22 May 1937 pp. 126–131; PRO FO371/21025 F3281/597/61 Craigie minute 3 June 1937.
- 111 Best, *loc. cit.*, citing PRO T188/162 Ashton-Gwatkin (FO Economic Section) memorandum 20 February 1937.
- 112 Best, *op. cit.*, p. 32, citing PRO CAB16/182 DP(P)3 ‘New Standard of Naval Strength’ Hoare memorandum 29 April 1937, and CAB 16/181 DP(P) 2nd meeting 11 May 1937.
- 113 Lamb, R. *Drift to War, op. cit.* p. 204; Post, G., *op. cit.*, p. 272.
- 114 Kilzer, Louis C. *Churchill’s Deception* [New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994] p. 122.

- 115 *ibid.*, p. 112.
- 116 Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 67–68.
- 117 Taylor, Telford, *op. cit.* pp. 472–474.
- 118 *ibid.*, *op. cit.* pp. 474–476.
- 119 Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–73.
- 120 Pratt, L. R. *op. cit.*, p. 75., citing C.I.D. minutes, 11 February 1937. C.P. 65(37). Cab. 24/268.
- 121 Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 73.
- 122 Post, G., *op. cit.* p. 276.
- 123 Lewy, Guenter, *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1964] p. 70, citing Papen, *Memoirs*, 279, and noting a conversation between Pope Pius XI and von Papen and Göring, April 10, 1933.
- 124 Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 73, citing report of Papen to the Cabinet on July 14, 1933, *Documents on German Foreign Policy*, C, I, doc. 362, p. 652.
- 125 Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 86, quoting from the text of a speech by Vice Chancellor von Papen to the Association of Catholic Acedamecians on July 22, 1933, which was published under the title “Zum Reichskonkordat” in the quarterly of the association, *Der katholische Gedanke*, VI (1933), 331–336.
- 126 Hitler, Adolf. *Mein Kampf*. Translated by Ralph Manheim, [London: Hutchinson, 1974] pp. 60, 278, 279.
- 127 Word in parenthesis are the author’s interpretative insertion.
- 128 Pius XI, Pope, *Mit Brennender Sorge* [English translation: Melbourne: the Australian Catholic Truth Society, 1937] pp. 10, 11.
- 129 Lewy, Guenter. *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* [London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964] p. 158.
- 130 Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 160, citing Berning to Hitler, May 5, 1934, BA Koblenz, R 43 II/175.
- 131 Lewy, *loc. cit.*, citing *Hirtenbriefe der deutschen, österreichischen und deutsch-schweizerischen Bischöfe 1934* (Paderborn, 1934), p. 89.
- 132 That paragraph from *Mit Brennender Sorge*, *loc. cit.*, reads as follows.

The climax of revelation reached in the Gospel of Jesus Christ is definite, is obligatory for ever. This revelation knows no addition from the hand of man, above all, knows no substitution and no replacement by any arbitrary “revelations” that certain speakers of the present day wish to derive from the myth of blood and race. Since Christ, the Anointed, accomplished the work of redemption, broke the dominion of sin, and merited for us the grace of becoming children of God – since “there is no other name under heaven given to men whereby we must be saved” but the name of Jesus. No man, though all knowledge, all power, all outward might on earth should be embodied in him, can lay any other foundation but that which is laid; which is Christ Jesus. He who, sacrilegiously disregarding the yawning abyss of essential distinction between God and creature, between the God-Man and the children of men, dares to place any mortal, were he the greatest of all times, beside Christ, or worse, above Him and against Him, must be told that he is a false prophet, in whom the words of Scripture find terrible application: “He that dwelleth in heaven shall laugh at them.”
- 133 Hitler, *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 123, 125, 412–3.

- ¹³⁴ Hitler appears to have misinterpreted some aspects of Protestant history in Germany, but he would certainly have been aware of the way in which Luther's attitude to the Jewish community had changed during the progress of his reforming campaigns and he should have been aware of the influence which this had over a long period. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, [London: Pan, 1960] p. 294–5, cites Neumann, *Behemoth*, p. 109, who in turn refers to a research project on Antisemitism of the Institute of Social Research, published in *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*, 1940, to illustrate Luther's attitude. He says that Luther was "both a passionate anti-Semite and a ferocious believer in absolute obedience to political authority." He says that Luther "wanted Germany rid of the Jews and when they were sent away he advised that they were to be deprived of 'all their cash and jewels and silver and gold' and, furthermore, 'that their synagogues or schools be set on fire, that their houses be broken up and destroyed ... and they be put under a roof or stable, like the gypsies ... in misery and captivity as they incessantly lament and complain to God about us'.
- ¹³⁵ Pius XI, Pope, encyclical *Divini Redemptoris* English translation, [Melbourne: Australian Catholic Truth Society, 1937] Note 8, p. 4.
- ¹³⁶ *ibid.*, notes 50, 31, 45, 46, pp. 25, 15, 22, 23.
- ¹³⁷ *ibid.*, note 30, p. 18.
- ¹³⁸ Ehler, Sidney Z. & J. B. Morrall *Church and State through the Centuries* [London: Burns & Oates, 1954] p. 543.
- ¹³⁹ S. D. Stein, Web Genocide Documentation Centre, compiled for the Kosovo Crisis Centre, *A Final Solution* (The New Republic), sourced from <http://www.alb-net.com/kcc/052499e.htm#6> published as <http://www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/Kosovo/Kosovo-Background18.htm>, as at September 26, 1999.
- ¹⁴⁰ Cockett, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
- ¹⁴¹ Pratt, *loc. cit.*
- ¹⁴² FO minutes quoted by Gilbert in Winston S Churchill, Vol 5, 1922–1939, William Heinemann, 1976, p. 639.
- ¹⁴³ Kilzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 124.
- ¹⁴⁴ Aden was also severed from India and placed under a separate colonial administration in April 1937, partly to strengthen it in view of Italy's greater ability to control access to the Suez Canal from Eritrea (which it had controlled with British support since 1885) because of the greater forces which it had in the area as a consequence of its invasion and annexation of Ethiopia, and partly in a bid to isolate it from the Palestinian question and the Arab rebellion.
- ¹⁴⁵ Open rebellion broke out in Burma in 1938–39 while in Siam, which was officially an independent monarchy under dominant British influence, pressure increased for the expulsion of both the British authorities and the Chinese minority.
- ¹⁴⁶ James, Lawrence *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire* [London: Little Brown/Abacus, 1995] pp. 470–471.
- ¹⁴⁷ Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 772–773.
- ¹⁴⁸ James, *op. cit.*, pp. 471–472.

CHAPTER 21: NO. WE MUSTN'T RISK AN EMPIRE

- ¹ Margach, James. *Abuse of Power* [London: W.H. Allen, 1978].
- ² Pratt, L. R. *East of Malta, West of Suez* [London: Cambridge, 1975] p. 77.
- ³ *ibid.*, p. 76.
- ⁴ Best, Antony Britain, Japan and Pearl Harbour: Avoiding War in East Asia, 1936–41 [London: Routledge, LSE, 1995] p. 36, citing PRO CAB23/88 24(37) Cabinet conclusions 17 June 1937.
- ⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 34–35, citing PRO CAB27/626 FP(36)34 'The "Open Door" in the Colonies' Interdepartmental Committee on Trade Policy report 7 June 1937; PRO CAB 27/622 FP(36) 12th meeting 11 June 1937, and 13th meeting 16 June 1937.

- ⁶ Allen, Richard *Imperialism & Nationalism in the Fertile Crescent* [New York: Oxford, 1974] pp. 311–312.
- ⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 315–319.
- ⁸ Nafi, Basheer M. *The Arabs and the Axis: 1933–1940* [Arab Studies Quarterly, Vol. 19, No. 2, Spring 1997] distributed by MSANEWS <http://msanews.mynet.net/> July 31, 1999. p. 6.
- ⁹ Sachar, Howard M. *A History of Israel* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981] p. 210.
- ¹⁰ Passelecq, Georges and Bernard Suchecky, *The Hidden Encyclical of Pius XI* [New York: Harcourt Brace/Harvest, 1997] pp. 124–126, citing; an unsigned article “La rivoluzione mondiale e gli ebrei,” *La Civiltà cattolica* 4, quad. 1736 (12 October 1922), 111–21; unsigned, “La questione giudaica,” *La Civiltà cattolica* 4, quad. 2071 (25 September 1936), 37–46; Leon de Poncins, *la Mysterieuse Internationale juive* (Paris: Beauchecsnes, 1936), 207–11; Joseph Bonsirven, S.J., *Sur les ruines du temple* (Paris: Grasset, 1928), quoted by *La Civiltà cattolica*, *op. cit.*, 46.
- ¹¹ Passelecq & Suchecky, *op. cit.*, p. 126, citing; Hilaire Belloc, *The Jews* (London: Constable, 1922); Italian trans., *Gli Ebrei* (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1934).
- ¹² Passelecq & Suchecky, *op. cit.*, pp. 126–127, quoting from the first of the series of articles referred to in note 10, above.
- ¹³ Passelecq & Suchecky, *op. cit.*, pp. 127–128, quoting from the third of the series of articles referred to in note 10, above.
- ¹⁴ The World Alliance of Reformed Churches, although with a more restricted base, is often ranked alongside them and Marc Boegner adds the Central Office of Inter-Church Aid for the Protestant Churches of Europe [Boegner, Marc *The Long Road to Unity* London: Collins, 1970, p. 100.] but this might better be described as a joint activity of the member churches rather than as a “thrust” of the ecumenical movement.
- ¹⁵ Visser ‘T Hooft, Willem Adolf contributing *The Genesis of the World Council of Churches in A History of the Ecumenical Movement* [Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1993] p. 703, and pp. 702–707 generally.
- ¹⁶ Conway, J.S. *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches 1933–1945* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968] p. 166 provides a variation on the usual story that Pius XI closed the Vatican and went to his country residence during Hitler’s state visit. He says the Fuhrer refused to pay the usual courtesy call on the Vatican as part of his response to *Mit Brennender Sorge* (another part of which was the closing of Catholic printing houses) and as a gesture of contempt towards its author.
- ¹⁷ Best, *op. cit.*, p. 39, citing diary entries by Captain Malcolm Kennedy, August 27 and 28 1937, Kennedy Papers, Sheffield University Library, Diary 4/31.
- ¹⁸ Best, *op. cit.*, p. 40, citing PRO FO371/20956 F7318/9/10 Craigie to Eden 3 October 1937 tel.479.
- ¹⁹ Best, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
- ²⁰ There is irony in the fact that Peel should have even considered a ‘bought peace’ factor in his Commission’s proposal in view of the disastrous consequences of many such arrangements on previous occasions. These included the ravaging of Macedonia and Greece by the Goths when Arcadius defaulted on grants to them in the fourth century, and the desertion of the armies of the Arab vassal states when Heraclius and his host of icon waving priests had to confront Khalid in the Battle of the River Yarmuk. (See above, chapter 3, and chapter 7) In view of the fact that Theodore Herzl made proposals for financial collaboration with the Ottoman Empire in *Der Judenstaat*, and in view of Herzl’s discussions with the Sultan in 1901*, and even though his report was rejected by the World Zionist Organization it is reasonable to assume that the proposal for grants by the Jewish State to the Arab State arose from discussions between the Peel Commissioners and the Zionist Commission rather than from Lord Peel personally. (Chapter 20.)
- ²¹ Kimball, Warren F. *The Most Unsordid Act: Lend-Lease, 1939–1941* [Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1969] p. 3.
- ²² Cockett, Richard. *Twilight of Truth: Chamberlain, Appeasement and the Manipulation of the Press* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989]p. 25. [Quoting letter of Sept 12, from Chamberlain papers 18/1/1014 and 18/1/1020.]
- ²³ Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 318–321.

- 24 Yahil, Leni, *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry* [Oxford: Oxford, 1991] p. 105, citing Eichmann Trial, T/124; Eichmann's own story, police interrogations, Dept. o6, vol. 1, cols. 87–94; Heinz Höhne, *The Order of the Death's Head: The Story of Hitler's SS* (London, 1969), pp. 336f.
- 25 Best, op. cit., p. 43, citing PRO CAB27/634 FES (37)4 'Reinforcement of British Naval Forces in the Far East', Chatfield memorandum 23 September 1937.
- 26 Pratt, op. cit., pp. 124–125.
- 27 Best, op. cit., p. 40.
- 28 *ibid.*, pp. 42–43, citing PRO FO371/20969 F9511/311/10 Eden minute undated [November 1937]; DBFP 2/XXI doc. 291 Cabinet conclusions 6 October 1937 p. 317.
- 29 Bryan J. III & Charles Murphy *The Windsor Story* [London: Granada, 1981] pp. 451–453.
- 30 Pratt, op. cit., p. 130, citing Chiefs of Staff, 'Situation in the Mediterranean and the Middle East', 19 October 1937. C.P. 259(37) Cab. 24/272.
- 31 Bullock, Alan, *Hitler and Stalin: Parallel Lives* [London: Fontana/Harper Collins, 1993] p. 584, citing Cinano's Diplomatic Papers (Ed. Malcolm Muggeridge, London, 1948, p. 146.)
- 32 *ibid.*, p. 586.
- 33 Best, op. cit., pp. 44–45, citing PRO FO371/21015 F8143/6799/10 Interdepartmental meeting 13 October 1937; DBFP 2/XXI doc.334 'Economic Sanctions Against Japan', ATB Committee report 5 November 1937 pp. 432–446; DBFP 2/XXI doc.345 British Shipping in the Far East Cabinet Committee, 2nd meeting, 9 November 1937 pp. 460–464; PRO FO 371/21028 F10334/26/23 Thomas minute, 2 November 1937; PRO FO371/20959 F9536/9/10 Craigie to Eden 13 November 1937 tel.669. On the German mediation; J.P.Fox, *Germany and the Far Eastern Crisis 1931–1938: A Study in Diplomacy and Ideology*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1982, pp. 260–290.
- 34 Cockett, op. cit., p. 38.
- 35 Best, op. cit., p. 45, citing DBFP 2/XXI doc.369 Cabinet conclusions 17 November 1937 pp. 500–503.
- 36 Cockett, op. cit., pp. 31, 35.
- 37 Kilzer, Louis C. *Churchill's Deception* [New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994] p. 125.
- 38 Shirer, William L. *The Rise & Fall of the Third Reich* [London: Pan, 1964] p. 373.
- 39 Cockett, op. cit., p. 39.
- 40 *ibid.*, p. 46, 47. Chamberlain advised Lord Astor of this decision (and the nobbling of the FOND) at a luncheon attended by Dawson, Halifax and Lord Inskip at Cliveden on December 15, but it was not announced publicly until January 1, 1938, after the Commons had risen, in order to avoid debate.
- 41 Cockett, loc. cit.
- 42 Buss, Claude A. *Asia in the Modern World* [London: Collier/Macmillan, 1964] p. 403.
- 43 Eden, Anthony, *Memoirs*, Vol. II, *Facing the Dictators* [London: Cassell, 1962] pp. 518–519.
- 44 Eden, *Memoirs*, Vol. II loc. cit.
- 45 *ibid.*, p. 516.
- 46 Howard, Michael, *The Continental Commitment: The dilemma of British defence policy in the era of the two world wars*. [London: Temple Smith, 1972] p. 115–116, citing Sir Maurice Hankey, Memorandum CAB 21/53, 23 November 1937.
- 47 Pratt, op. cit., p. 131, citing Inskip, 'Defence Expenditure in Future Years', December 1937. C.P. 316 (37). Cab. 24/273; Cab. Conclusions, 22 December 1937. Cab. 23/90.
- 48 Best, op. cit., p. 46, citing FO837/527 Ryan (CID) to Morton (IIC) 28 December 1937.
- 49 *ibid.*, pp. 46–47, citing DBFP 2/XXI doc. 450 F11749/4880/10 Cadogan minute 28 December 1937 p. 616.
- 50 Cockett, op. cit., pp. 7, 8.
- 51 *ibid.*, pp. 12.

NOTES TO VOLUME I & II

- 52 Churchill, Winston *The Gathering Storm, The Second World War, Vol I*. [London: Reprint Society, 1953] p. 231.
- 53 Manhattan, Avro *Catholic Imperialism and World Freedom* [London: Watts & Co., 1952] p. 284.
- 54 Toland, John *Adolph Hitler* [New York: Ballantine, 1977] p. 582.
- 55 In Volume I of his W.W. II memoirs, *The Gathering Storm*, Sir Winston Churchill makes no reference to the proposals attributed to Eden for Hitler to be bribed with Belgian and Portuguese colonies in Africa. However he supports Eden and describes Chamberlain as “imbued with a sense of a special and personal mission to come to friendly terms with the Dictators of Italy and Germany” and adds that “to Hitler he was prepared to offer colonial concessions.” This tends to suggest that the bribe plan may have been initiated by Chamberlain and not Eden.
- 56 Churchill, *Memoirs, Vol. I*, p. 205.
- 57 Howard, op. cit., p. 119, citing ‘Comparison of the strength of Great Britain with that of certain other nations as at January 1938.’ CID Paper 1366–B.
- 58 Toland, op. cit., p. 582.
- 59 Gilbert, Martin *Churchill: A Life* [London: Mandarin/Minerva, 1991] p. 586.
- 60 Dilks, David. (Ed.) *The Diaries of Sir Alexander Cadogan O.M. 1938–1945* [London: Cassell, 1971] p. 42.
- 61 Eden, *Memoirs Vol. II*, pp. 599–600.
- 62 Eden, *Anthony Memoirs, Vol III The Reckoning* [London; Cassell, 1965] p. 16.
- 63 Aster, Sidney *Anthony Eden* [Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976] pp. 1–39.
- 64 Cockett, op. cit., pp. 111, 46.
- 65 Cabinet had approved the Hoare-Laval proposal, (drafted by the British and French Foreign Ministers jointly), for the partition of Abyssinia between the Emperor and Italy on December 8, 1935. It was placed before the League of Nations on December 13 but then abandoned by Cabinet on December 18. Sir Samuel Hoare resigned immediately.
- 66 Nafi, op. cit., pp. 6–7.
- 67 Eden, *Memoirs, Vol III* p. 5.
- 68 Pratt, op. cit., p. 57, citing Eden to Chamberlain, 9 January 1938. Premier 1/276. Same to same, 31 December 1937. Premier 1/314. Eden to Sir A. Cadogan, 9 January 1938, F407/84/10. (22106).
- 69 *ibid.*, pp. 57–58.
- 70 Toland, op. cit., p. 582.
- 71 Aster, op. cit., p. 47.
- 72 Eden, *Memoirs, Vol II*, pp. 513–516.
- 73 Pratt, op. Cit., p. 131, citing Hore-Belisha, ‘The Organization of the Army for its Role in War’, 10 February 1938. C.P. 26(38). Cab. 24.274.
- 74 Best, op. cit., p. 50, citing PRO FO371/22107 F1679/84/10 Craigie to Eden 9 February 1938 tel.179.
- 75 Best, op. cit., pp. 52–53, citing DBFP 2/XXI doc. 517 F1788/78/10 Interdepartmental meeting 11 February 1938 pp. 695–697; PRO FO371/22102 F1788/78/10 (same meeting); DBFP 2/XXI doc.570 F5039/15/10 Craigie to Halifax 10 May 1938 p. 766.
- 76 Churchill, *Memoirs, Vol. I*, pp. 220–221.
- 77 Best, op. cit., p. 52, citing PRO PREM1/308 Ministerial Conference 14 February 1938.
- 78 Evidence of this comes from Shirer, op. cit., p. 422 and Dilks, op. cit., p. 47.
- 79 Bond, Brian. *British Military Policy between the two World Wars* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1980] p. 270.
- 80 Pratt, loc. cit., citing C.I.D./310th meeting, 17 February 1938. Cab.2/7; Chiefs of Staff, ‘Defence of Egypt.’ C.O.S. 686, 14 February 1938, enclosure in C.P. 41(38). Cab 24/275.
- 81 Cockett, op. cit., pp. 49–50.
- 82 Churchill (*Volume I*), op. cit., p. 222.

- 83 Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 597.
- 84 Cockett, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 46.
- 85 Gilbert, *op. cit.*, p. 588.
- 86 Cockett, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
- 87 *ibid.*, p. 52.
- 88 Shirer, *op. cit.*, p. 422.
- 89 Dilks, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 58.
- 90 Eden's resignation was over the state of affairs in Europe and Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's direct intervention in two related issues. The first was his rejection of an offer by US President Roosevelt to arrange a Washington conference of the governments involved, thereby forcing him into a more isolationist stance. The second concerned recognition of Italy's sovereignty in Abyssinia and the withdrawal of its "volunteers" from the Spanish Civil War.(30)(43).
- 91 Churchill, *Memoirs Vol I*, pp. 203–217.
- 92 Eden, *Memoirs Vol II*, pp. 547–606.
- 93 Bullock, *op. cit.*, p. 606.
- 94 Shirer, *op. cit.*, p. 433.
- 95 Churchill, *Memoirs Vol I*, p. 228.
- 96 *The Times*, London, Thursday March 17, 1938, p. 7.
- 97 *The Times*, London, Friday, March 18 1938, p. 16.
- 98 Cowles, *op. cit.*, p. 210.
- 99 Taylor, Telford Munich: *The price of Peace* [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1979] p. 773.
- 100 *The Times*, London, May 8, 1938, p. 11.
- 101 Dilks, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–65.
- 102 *ibid.*, p. 63.
- 103 Passelecq, Georges & Bernard Suchecky, *The Hidden Encyclical of Pius XI* [New York: Harcourt Brace/Harvest, 1997] pp. 51–52, citing *La Documentation catholique*, Vol. 39, no. 870 (20 April 1938), p. 453. [A few days later *Osservatore Romano* tried to offset the impact of that declaration, but to little effect.]
- 104 Irving, David *Churchill's War (Vol. I) The Struggle for Power* [Bullsbrook, Australia: Veritas, 1987] pp. 99–100, 103–104.
- 105 Lapide, Pinchas E. *The Last Three Popes and the Jews* [London: Souvenir, 1967] p. 276.
- 106 Yahil, *op. cit.*, pp. 105–106.
- 107 Nafi, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
- 108 Dilks, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
- 109 It is not practical in this work to list all of the oppressive and degrading restrictions which were imposed on Jews in Germany and in countries under Hitler's influence from 1933 to 1939, especially during 1938–39, which have been well documented progressively since World War II. Nor is it practical to detail the rabble rousing attacks on Jews in the Catholic press during that period. For more detail, works which can be consulted include Leni Yahil, *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry*, [Oxford, 1990]; Grosser, Paul & Edwin Halperin, *Anti-Semitism: The Causes & Effects of a Prejudice* [Secaucus: Citadel, 1979], or *The Timetables of Jewish History*, Gribetz et al [New York; Touchstone, 1994].
- 110 Passelecq & Suchecky, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
- 111 *ibid.*, p. 113, citing; *Osservatore Romano*, 3 May 1938; *La Documentation catholique* 39 (no. 873, 5 June 1938): 690; and other publications including *La Croix*, May 11, 1938, which published the full text in the form of a letter addressed to His Eminence Cardinal Baudrillart, rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris.

- 112 *ibid.*, op. cit., pp. 113–114; quotations from the letter cited in note 108, above.
- 113 *ibid.*, op. cit., pp. 114–115, citing: *La Documentation catholique*, loc. cit.
- 114 Bullock, op. cit., p. 614.
- 115 Shirer, op. cit., p. 430.
- 116 Frederick Morton expresses the “offer” as ransom terms of 200,000 dollars, plus all the assets of the Austrian House of Rothschild including Vitkowitz. He says Eugene and Alphonse acted as negotiators in Zurich and Paris.
- 117 Eden, *Memoirs*, Vol. III., p. 15.
- 118 Bullock, op. cit., p. 616.
- 119 Toland, op. cit., p. 629, says five trains; Bullock, op. cit., p. 615, says four trains.
- 120 Passelecq & Suchecky, op. cit., p. 113, note 32, citing *La Documentation catholique* 39 (no. 873, 5 June 1938), 690, quoting a report in *Osservatore Romano* of May 2, 1938.
- 121 Shirer, op. cit., p. 440, citing *Documents on German Foreign Policy (DGFP) II*, p. 255.
- 122 Toland, op. cit., p. 633.
- 123 *ibid.*, p. 632.
- 124 Dilks, op. cit., pp. 74, 75.
- 125 Best, op. cit., p. 53, citing PRO FO371/22108 F4582/84/10 Halifax to Simon 9 May 1938.
- 126 *ibid.*, p. 54, citing DBFP 2/XXI doc. 584 CAB27/623 FP(36) Cabinet Foreign Policy Committee 30th meeting 1 June 1938 pp. 785–794. Craigie’s telegram was circulated at that meeting as an enclosure to a Foreign Office memorandum.
- 127 Best, loc. cit., citing DBFP 2/XXI doc.570 F5039/15/10 Craigie to Halifax 10 May 1938 p. 766; Churchill, *Memoirs*, Vol. I, pp. 220–221.
- 128 Visser ‘T Hooft, op. cit., pp. 704–705.
- 129 *ibid.*, pp. 706–707.
- 130 Cockett, op. cit., p. 69.
- 131 Dilks, op. cit., pp. 78, 79.
- 132 The Sudetan fringe was of far greater importance to Czechoslovakia, being its defensive shield, until Hitler gained control of Austria and the ability to bypass it if he wished.
- 133 Eden, Vol. II, pp. 516–517.
- 134 Taylor, op. cit., p. 774.
- 135 Eden, Vol II, pp. 530–546.
- 136 Bethell, Lord Nicholas *The Palestine Triangle* [London: Andre Deutsch, 1979] p. 44.
- 137 Toland, op. cit., pp. 635–636.
- 138 Shirer, op. cit., p. 432.
- 139 Cowles, op. cit., p. 211.
- 140 Eden, *Memoirs* Vol. III *The Reckoning* pp. 9, 15, 21, 24.
- 141 Passelecq & Suchecky, op. cit., p. 115, citing Pinchas E. Lapide, *Rome et les Juifs* (Paris: Seuil, 1967), 137.
- 142 Best, op. cit., p. 54, citing DBFP 2/XXI doc. 584 CAB27/623 FP(36) Cabinet Foreign Policy Committee 30th meeting 1 June 1938 pp. 785–794. Craigie’s telegram was circulated at that meeting as an enclosure to a Foreign Office memorandum.
- 143 *ibid.*, p. 54, citing PRO Prem1/303 Fisher to Simon and Chamberlain 18 June 1938.
- 144 Passelecq & Suchecky, op. cit., pp. 24–34, citing LaFarge, *The Manner is Ordinary*, pp. 233, 234.
- 145 Cornwell, *John Hitler’s Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII* [London: Penguin/Viking, 1999], p. 190.

- 146 Passelecq & Suchecky, op. cit., pp. 35, 36, citing a memorandum from LaFarge to Fr. Joseph A. Murphy, July 3, 1938.
- 147 Passelecq & Suchecky, loc. cit., citing LaFarge, *The Manner is Ordinary*, p. 235.
- 148 *ibid.*, p. 37, citing LaFarge to Fr. Joseph A. Murphy, *ibid.*
- 149 *ibid.*, op. cit., p. 38, citing LaFarge to Fr. Joseph A. Murphy, *ibid.*
- 150 *ibid.*, op. cit., p. 128. The unsigned review of Dr. Rudolph Laemmel's *Die Menschlichen Rassen: Eine popular-wissenschaftliche Einfuhrung in die Grundprobleme der Rassentheorie* (Zurich, 1936) appeared as "Rivista della stampa: La 'Teoria moderna delle razze' impugnata da un acattilica," *La Civilita cattolica* 3, quad. 2113 (24 June 1938), 62–71.
- 151 Cornwell, op. cit., p. 189, citing G. Passelecq and B. Suchecky, *L'encyclique cachée de Pie XI: Une occasion manquée de l'Eglise face à l'antisémitisme* (Paris, 1995); R. Hill, *The Lost Encyclical*, *The Tablet*, November 8, 1997; and S. Friedlander, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, Vol. I, 250ff.
- 152 Passelecq & Suchecky, op. cit., various references, incl. pp. 41–44.
- 153 Best, op. cit., p. 55, citing DBGP 2/XXI doc.597 Cabinet conclusions 6 July 1938 p. 815.
- 154 Allen, op. cit., pp. 323–324.
- 155 At the time of the conference about 57 percent of the world's total Jewish population of about 16.6 million, (or about 9.5 million) lived in Europe, 33 percent (5.5 million) in the Americas, 6 percent 1 million) in Asia, 4 percent in Africa 0.6 million), and a mere 0.1 percent (say, 25,000) in Oceania (Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific). However, about 12.5 percent, or one in eight, of the world's Jews (about 2 million) lived in only one city, New York, and made up more than one quarter of the city's population of about 7.4 million. Therefore while it is not surprising that the United States took the initiative to sponsor the Evian Conference, it is surprising that the self-proclaimed 'New Israel' was reluctant to agree to a substantial boost in Jewish migrant and refugee arrivals, and that the Jewish representatives at the conference did not press for it to do so. Their response was conditioned by the same fear that they would undermine their demands for a National Home in Palestine and play into Britain's hands if the Americans had offered unrestricted Jewish access. [These estimates are rounded from figures for 1939 in Gribetz et al, op. cit., p. 426].
- 156 Noakes, op. cit., p. 552. About 30,000 commercial travellers lost their jobs during the next few months under the tightened citizenship laws. Jewish doctors had been banned from treating Aryan patients a few weeks earlier.
- 157 Australia's position is discussed further in chapter 25.
- 158 *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Macmillan, Vol 14, 1971, p. 988.
- 159 Yahil, op. cit., p. 117.
- 160 See above, chapter 18.
- 161 Fishman, Priscilla Ed. *The Jews of the United States* [Jerusalem: Keter Publishing, 1974] p. 69.
- 162 Best, op. cit., pp. 54–55, citing PRO PREM 1/315 Wilson (T) minute 28 June 1938.
- 163 Passelecq & Suchecky, op. cit., pp. 115–118, quoting from *Dichiarazione della Razza* after *Il Messaggero*, July 15, 1938, and the complete translation published in *La Documentation catholique* 39 (n. 879, 5 September 1938).
- 164 Best, op. cit., p. 55, citing DBGP 2/XXI doc.599 Cabinet conclusions 13 July 1938 pp. 819–822.
- 165 Yahil, op. cit., p. 422.
- 166 Passelecq & Suchecky, op. cit., pp. 118–119, citing a report of the pope's address in *Osservatore Romano*, 17 July 1938, to which Ledochowski referred in a letter to LaFarge of the same date, and which was translated and published in *La Documentation catholique* 39, 5 September 1938, cols. 1054–1055.
- 167 Toland, op. cit., pp. 637–638.
- 168 Churchill, Vol. I., pp. 242–243.
- 169 Yahil, op. cit., p. 110, citing Kurt Ball-Kaduri, "Die Vorplanung der Kristallnacht," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden* (Tel Aviv), no. 4, (1996): 211–218.

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- 170 Passelecq & Suchecky, op. cit., pp. 119–120, quoting from *Osservatore Romano*, 23 July 1938: translation in *La Documentation catholique*, loc cit.
- 171 Cockett, op. cit., p. 70.
- 172 Eden, *Memoirs*, Vol. III, p. 24.
- 173 Cockett, op. cit., pp. 66, 67, quoting Memorandum by Baron von Welch ... on a conversation with Baron Hahn, Member of the D.N.B. office in London”, *DGFP*, vol 11, Series D, p. 624.
- 174 Passelecq & Suchecky, op. cit., pp. 120–121, citing a “very detailed overview” of the Pope’s declaration on the first page of *Osservatore Romano*, 30 July, 1938.
- 175 *ibid.*, p. 121.
- 176 *ibid.*, pp. 122–123, citing and quoting from the unsigned article “Cronaco contemporanea,” *La Civiltà cattolica* 3, quad. 2115 (29 July 1938), 277–78.
- 177 Shirer, op. cit., p. 460.
- 178 Bond, op. cit., p. 268, citing Pownall’s diary entry for August 29, 1938.
- 179 Pratt, op. cit., pp. 60, 125.
- 180 Passelecq & Suchecky, op. cit., p. 136.
- 181 Best, op. cit., p. 58, citing PRO FO371/22092 F7944/62/10 Craigie to Halifax 26 July 1938 tel.894, and F8151/62/10 Craigie to Halifax 26 July 1938 tel.902; DBFP Series 3 Volume VIII doc.5 F8378/16/10 Halifax to Clark Kerr 4 August 1938 p. 4–5; DBFP 3/VIII doc. 12 F8751/16/10 Craigie to Halifax 12 August 1938 pp. 13–14.
- 182 *ibid.*, p. 59, citing PRO WO208/847 Ronald minute 23 August 1938 on BJ.072044 Tokyo to Paris undated [August 1938].
- 183 Toland, op. cit., p. 640.
- 184 Churchill made no mention of Kleist-Schmenzin’s visit or his letter in “The Gathering Storm.” Unfortunately the discovery of his letter by the Nazi high command contributed to a death sentence carried out against Kleist-Schmenzin only two weeks before the end of World War II.
- 185 Shirer, op. cit., p. 465.
- 186 Churchill, *Memoirs* Vol. I, p. 252.
- 187 Passelecq & Suchecky, op. cit., p. 131, citing “Un tremendo atto di accusa,” *Il Regime fascista*, 30 August 1938, quoted by Enrico Rosa, “La questione giudaica e La Civiltà cattolica,” *La Civiltà cattolica* 4, quad. 2119 (22 September 1938), 5.
- 188 *ibid.*, pp. 63–64, citing Ledochowski to LaFarge, Frascati, 1 September 1938, from the microfilm by Professor Thomas Breslin of documents in the LaFarge archives at Loyola Seminary, New York.
- 189 *ibid.*, p. 64, LaFarge to Talbot, September 18, 1938.
- 190 *The Times*, London, Thursday, September 15, 1938, p. 10.
- 191 Passelecq & Suchecky, op. cit., pp. 138–139, citing th record of Monsignor Picard. References which the pope alluded to were from Hebrews 7:1–15; Galations 3:16; Genesis 14:18; and Psalms 109:4.
- 192 Passelecq & Suchecky, loc. cit.; the complete report of the pope’s address was published in *La Libre Belgique* for 14 September 1938, and reproduced in *La Documentation catholique* 39, no. 885 (5 December 1938), cols. 1459–1460.
- 193 Taylor, Telford, loc. cit.
- 194 James, Lawrence *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire* [London: Little Brown/Abacus, 1995] p. 472.
- 195 James, op. cit., pp. 478–479, citing Documents on Australian Foreign Policy, 2, 257.
- 196 Bethell, op. cit., p. 45.
- 197 Cockett, op. cit., p. 74.
- 198 Bethell, op. cit., p. 46.

- 199 If these dates are correct, and if MacDonald did advise the Zionist leaders informally on September 19, 1938, that the Partition of Palestine would not proceed, then the conspiracy of silence becomes even more complex. It suggests that the decision had been made six weeks before the Woodhead Commission Report with its modified partition plan was tabled in the House of Commons on November 9. MacDonald spoke in favour of that plan on November 24, and the White Paper withdrawing support for partition was tabled two days later, on November 26. It could therefore be concluded that the announcement of the decision was delayed to avoid complicating even further the final stages of the process of forcing the dismembering of Czechoslovakia and that the modified partition plan was tabled in that form (which the government must have realized would be unacceptable) as a 'softening up process' before moving into the Round Table discussions in February 1939.
- 200 "Della questione giudaica in Europa," published in three installments, *La Civiltà cattolica* 14, vol. 9, 5, 385, 641, and 1890; quoted by E. Rosa and subsequently by Passelecq & Suchecky, op. cit., pp. 132–136.
- 201 Passelecq & Suchecky, op. cit., pp. 131–136 and note #63, citing and quoting from Enrico Rosa, "La questione giudaica e La Civiltà cattolica," *La Civiltà cattolica* 4, quad. 2119 (22 September 1938), 5.
- 202 *ibid.*, pp. 65–66, citing LaFrage, *The Manner is Ordinary*, pp. 237–238.
- 203 Bullock, op. cit., p. 633.
- 204 Churchill, *Memoirs*, Vol I., pp. 264–265.
- 205 Even during the 1980's that story was being repeated in history books prescribed for secondary school students in Australia as an explanation of the Balfour Declaration.
- 206 Bethell, op. cit., pp. 50–51.
- 207 *Ibid.*, p. 16.
- 208 Taylor, A.J.P. *The Origins of the Second World War* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974] p. 251.
- 209 *ibid.*, pp. 234–235.
- 210 Dilks, David (Ed) *The Diaries of Sir Alexander Cadogan* [London: Cassell, 1971] p. 161.
- 211 Czechoslovakia had between 20 and 30 fully equipped divisions ready to fight.
- 212 Bethell, op. cit., p. 44.

NOTES TO VOLUME III

Chapter 22: Gog and Magog go to war

- ¹ Cowles, Virginia, *The Rothschilds: A Family of Fortune* [London: Futura, 1975] p. 211.
- ² Best, Antony *Britain, Japan and Pearl Harbour: Avoiding War in East Asia, 1936–41* [London: Routledge, LSE, 1995], p. 59, citing DBFP 3/VIII doc. 107 F10125/62/10 Craigie to Halifax 22 September 1938 pp. 96–97; R Craigie, *Behind the Japanese Mask*, London, Hutchinson, 1946, p. 62.
- ³ Cockett, Richard *Twilight of Truth: Chamberlain, Appeasement and the Manipulation of the Press* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989], pp. 83–84.
- ⁴ *ibid.*, p. 88.
- ⁵ *ibid.*, p. 94.
- ⁶ Bethell, Lord Nicholas *The Palestine Triangle* [London: Andre Deutsch, 1979], p. 55.
- ⁷ Yahil, Leni *Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991], p. 109.
- ⁸ *ibid.*
- ⁹ Toland, John *Adolf Hitler* [New York: Ballantine, 1977], pp. 637–638.
- ¹⁰ Churchill, Winston S. *The Second World War* [London: Reprint Society, 1948] Vol. I *The Gathering Storm*, pp. 242–243.
- ¹¹ Yahil, op. cit., p. 110, citing Kurt Ball-Kaduri, “Die Vorplanung der Kristallnacht,” *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden* (Tel Aviv), no. 4, (1996): 211–218.
- ¹² *ibid.*, pp. 105–107 and 108–109, citing Carl Ludwig, *Die Flüchtlingspolitik der Schweiz in den Jahren 1933–1955* (Bern, 1957), p. 56. Joseph Tenenbaum, “The Crucial Year, 1938,” *YVS Studies*, 2 (1958), pp. 52, 55.
- ¹³ Passelecq, Georges and Bernard Suchecky, *The Hidden Encyclical of Pius XI* [New York: Harcourt Brace/Harvest, 1997] pp. 171–175. The authors draw on many sources, discuss the complexity of the drafting process, and conclude that the final “abridged” French version was “inspired by Gundlach up to paragraph 76” (of a total of 179) and that the balance “probably resulted from discussions and compromises among the three writers,” (LaFarge, Gundlach and Desbuquois) although they could not establish what contribution Desbuquois made. (p. 175).
- ¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 171, citing microfilm #62 by Professor Thomas Breslin of documents in the LaFarge archives at Loyola Seminary, New York.
- ¹⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 131–136 and note #63, citing and quoting from Enrico Rosa, “La questione giudaica e *La Civiltà Cattolica*,” *La Civiltà Cattolica* 4, quad. 2119 (22 September 1938), 5.
- ¹⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 71–72, citing an obituary notice in *La Civiltà Cattolica*; Giuseppe De Luca in *Osservatore romano* for 27 December 1936, quoted by D. Mondrone, S.J., “Il Padre Enrico Rosa D.C.D.G. In Memoriam Patris,” *La Civiltà Cattolica*, vol. 4, quad. 2124, 9 December 1938, 481–496.
- ¹⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 68–70, citing letter from Gundlach to LaFarge, Rome, 16 October 1938, microfilm 43. Original in English.
- ¹⁸ James, Lawrence *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire* [London: Abacus/ Little Brown, 1995] p. 475.

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- ¹⁹ *ibid.*
- ²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 465.
- ²¹ Yahil, *op. cit.*, p. 108, citing Genschel, *Die Verdrängung der Juden*, p. 172.
- ²² Passelecq & Suchecky, *op. cit.*, pp. 68–71, citing letter from Killen to LaFarge, 27 October 1938, microfilm 41.
- ²³ Dilks, David [Ed] *The Diaries of Sir Alexander Cadogan* [London: Cassell, 1971], p. 122.
- ²⁴ Shirer, William *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* [London: Pan, 1964], p. 535.
- ²⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 555–556.
- ²⁶ Allen, Richard *Imperialism & Nationalism in the Fertile Crescent* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1974], p. 324.
- ²⁷ Cockett, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
- ²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 101.
- ²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 56. (Beaverbrook Papers, c/152.).
- ³⁰ Best, *op. cit.*, p. 62, citing DBFP Third Series Volume Viii doc. 233 F11989/84/10 Clark Kerr to Halifax 7 November 1938 pp. 216–218, and doc.234 F11991/84/10 Clark Kerr to Halifax 11 November 1938 pp. 218–219.
- ³¹ Yahil, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–110.
- ³² Data from both Yahil, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–111 and Gribetz, Judah, E. Greenstein & R. Stein, *The Timetables of Jewish History* [New York: Simon & Schuster-Touchstone, 1994] pp. 418, 420.
- ³³ Passelecq & Suchecky, *op. cit.*, p. 137 and note #65.
- ³⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 141–142.
- ³⁵ *ibid.*, p. 144. It is not clear whether this refers to Mussolini or to the prime minister.
- ³⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 144–147 and note #79, citing *Osservatore Romano*, November 14–15, and *La Civiltà Cattolica*, November 25, 1938.
- ³⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 139–140, citing a speech delivered in November, 1938, to priests on ecclesiastical retreat by Cardinal Joseph-Ernest Van Roey and reported in *La Documentation catholique*.
- ³⁸ Roth, Cecil *A History of the Jews* [New York: Shocken, 1970], pp. 392–393.
- ³⁹ Conway, J.S. *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches 1933–1945* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968], p. 223.
- ⁴⁰ Boegner, Marc *The Long Road to Unity* [London: Collins, 1970] pp. 126–127.
- ⁴¹ Yahil, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
- ⁴² Bethell, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
- ⁴³ Cockett, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 87.
- ⁴⁴ Shirer, *op. cit.*, p. 535.
- ⁴⁵ Best, *op. cit.*, p. 64, citing PRO FO371/22164 F13875/11783/10 Craigie to Halifax 30 November 1938 no. 958.
- ⁴⁶ Dilks, *op. cit.*, page 122.
- ⁴⁷ Yahil, *op. cit.*, pp. 117–118.
- ⁴⁸ Cockett, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
- ⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 85.
- ⁵⁰ Dilks, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
- ⁵¹ Cockett, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
- ⁵² Best, *op. cit.*, p. 65, citing PRO CAB24/280 CP266(38) ‘Assistance to China’ Halifax memorandum 25 November 1938, and CP268(38) ‘Assistance to China’ Simon memorandum 25 November 1938, and CAB23/96 57(38) Cabinet conclusions 30 November 1938.
- ⁵³ Best, *loc. cit.*, citing DBFP 3/VIII doc.323 F13739/11783/10 Craigie to Halifax 12 December 1938 pp. 304–306.
- ⁵⁴ Yahil, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
- ⁵⁵ Russell, Lord Bertrand, *Why I am not a Christian* Ed. Paul Edwards [London: Unwin, 1975] pp. 25–26.
- ⁵⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 166–167.
- ⁵⁷ Sources consulted for Albert Einstein’s biographical details include the following five end notes, 58 to 62.
- ⁵⁸ Clark, Ronald W. *Einstein: The Life and Times* [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1975].
- ⁵⁹ Hoffmann, Banesh & Dukas *Albert Einstein, Creator & Rebel* [London: Hart-Davis MacGibbon, 1973].
- ⁶⁰ Reid, R.W. *Tongues of Conscience: War & the Scientists’ Dilemma* [London: Constable, 1969].
- ⁶¹ Yass, Marion *Hiroshima* [London: Wayland, 1971].
- ⁶² Levitan, Tina *The Laureates* [New York: Twayne, 1960].
- ⁶³ Visser ‘T Hooft, Willem Adolf, contributing The Genesis of the World Council of Churches in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517–1948*, Eds. Ruth Rouse & Stephen Neill [London: World Council of Churches/SPCK, 1973] Vol I, p. 706.

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- ⁶⁴ *ibid.*
- ⁶⁵ LaTourette, Kenneth Scott, contributing Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement and the International Missionary Council in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517 — 1948* (Eds. Rouse & Neill) Vol. I, op. cit. pp. 399–400, citing *The Madras Series*, IV, *The Life of the Church*, pp. 376 ff.
- ⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p. 370.
- ⁶⁷ Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age*, Volume V, *The Twentieth Century Outside Europe*. [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1969] p. 285.
- ⁶⁸ Schoonhoven, E.J. contributing Tambaram 1938 in *International Review of Mission*, 1539/79 p. 314.
- ⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p. 306.
- ⁷⁰ An expression used by a Pacific Islands theologian at the 1979 Victorian Synod of the Uniting Church in Australia to illustrate the need to make the church's sacraments and liturgy relevant for people in Pacific Islands.
- ⁷¹ Neill, Stephen, *A History of Christian Missions* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1964] p. 519, citing Tambaram Series, Vol. IV (1939), p. 199.
- ⁷² Schoonhoven, op. cit., p. 311.
- ⁷³ Penguin Reference *Who's Who of Religions*, John Hinnells (Ed.) [London: Penguin, 1991] p. 223.
- ⁷⁴ LaTourette, contrib. Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement and the International Missionary Council, op. cit., p. 373.
- ⁷⁵ Schoonhoven, op. cit., pp. 304–305.
- ⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p. 315.
- ⁷⁷ Best, op. cit., p. 66, citing DBFP 3/VIII doc.382 F44/44/10 Craigie to Halifax 1 January 1939 pp. 359–360.
- ⁷⁸ Kimball, Warren F. *The Most Unsordid Act: Lend-Lease, 1939–1941* [Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1969] p. 6.
- ⁷⁹ Yahil, op. cit., pp. 117–118.
- ⁸⁰ Passelecq & Suchecky, op. cit., pp. 151–152, citing the testimony of Fr. Walter Abbott as reported in the *National Catholic Reporter*, 22 December 1972, 3, 4.
- ⁸¹ Kimball, op. cit., p. 3.
- ⁸² *ibid.*, pp. 6–7.
- ⁸³ Dawidowicz, Lucy S. *The War Against the Jews: 1933–1945* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1977] p. 142.
- ⁸⁴ Toland, op. cit., p. 699.
- ⁸⁵ Taylor, Telford *Munich: The Price of Peace* [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1979] p. 911.
- ⁸⁶ Best, op. cit., p. 67, citing PRO WO208/859 BJ.073458 Tokyo to Berlin 9 January 1939 decrypted 26 January 1939, and DBFP 3/VIII doc.467 C1500/421/62 Halifax to Mallet 4 February 1939 pp. 437–9 and other diplomatic exchanges.
- ⁸⁷ Yahil, op. cit., p. 115, citing Norman H. Baynes ed., *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler*, pp. 738–741; DOH, pp. 132–135.
- ⁸⁸ Boegner, op. cit., p. 128. (Boegner places the meeting at the beginning of February. Visser 'T Hooft, op. cit., p. 707, places it in late January. The discrepancy is of no consequence.)
- ⁸⁹ Visser 'T Hooft, loc. cit.
- ⁹⁰ Cockett, op. cit., p. 88.
- ⁹¹ Passelecq & Suchecky, op. cit., p. 73, letter from Gundlach to LaFarge, 18 November 1938, microfilm 44.
- ⁹² *ibid.*, pp. 151–152, citing Cardinal Tisserant, whose remarks were reported by the *National Catholic Reporter*, 15 December 1972, 13, with no indication of the source.
- ⁹³ *ibid.*, p. 5; citing Fr. Burkhardt Schneider, an official of the Vatican archives, in the German weekly edition of *Osservatore romano*, 5 April 1973, p. 7.
- ⁹⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 72–74.
- ⁹⁵ The description 'the hidden encyclical' is used by authors Georges Passelecq & Bernard Suchecky to describe *Humani Generis Unitas* and provides the title for their book in which they detail its history and preparation, op. cit.
- ⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 175.
- ⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 5.
- ⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 3.
- ⁹⁹ *Humani Generis Unitas*, clauses 2, 3 and 4. All references and quotations are from the full text in English translated from the Authentic and Complete (French) Text in Passelecq & Suchecky, op. cit., pp. 176–275.
- ¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*, clause 5.
- ¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, clauses 6 to 22.

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- ¹⁰² *ibid.*, clause 26.
- ¹⁰³ *ibid.*, clauses 31 to 33.
- ¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, clauses 34 to 38.
- ¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, clauses 39 to 49.
- ¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, clauses 50 to 66.
- ¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, clauses 67 to 76.
- ¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, clauses 77 to 79.
- ¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, clauses 89 to 92.
- ¹¹⁰ Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, a Jesuit, was a leading anti-Protestant apologist for the Roman Catholic position during the Counter Reformation crisis, being Archbishop of Capua, Italy, from 1602–1605, but he clashed with the reigning pope, Sixtus V, because of his contention that papal authority in temporal affairs was indirect and not direct. *Oxford Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church*, p. 57.
- ¹¹¹ Professor Francisco de Vitoria established a new school of theology based on Aquinas' *Summa Theologica* at Salamanca, Spain, in 1526, also during critical years of the Reformation. He sought to define conditions for a 'just war.' *Oxford Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church*, p. 542.
- ¹¹² Francisco de Suarez was also a theologian and formulator of natural and international law during the Counter Reformation period, teaching at Rome, Alcalá and Coimbra from 1597 to 1616. *Oxford Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church*, p. 491.
- ¹¹³ *Humani Generis Unitas*, op. cit., clauses 93 to 94.
- ¹¹⁴ *ibid.*, clause 94.
- ¹¹⁵ *ibid.*, clauses 95 to 98.
- ¹¹⁶ *ibid.*, clauses 99 to 100.
- ¹¹⁷ *ibid.*, clauses 101 to 107.
- ¹¹⁸ *ibid.*, clauses 108 to 119.
- ¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, clauses 120 to 122.
- ¹²⁰ *ibid.*, clauses 123 to 130.
- ¹²¹ *ibid.*, clauses 131 to 132.
- ¹²² *ibid.*, clause 133, first paragraph.
- ¹²³ *ibid.*, clauses 134 to 136.
- ¹²⁴ *ibid.*, clause 136, final paragraph.
- ¹²⁵ *ibid.*, clauses 137 to 146.
- ¹²⁶ *ibid.*, clause 148.
- ¹²⁷ *ibid.*
- ¹²⁸ *ibid.*, clauses 149 to 152.
- ¹²⁹ BBC News, March 14, 2000, reported that Lord Greville Janner, chairman of the Holocaust Educational Trust, had called on Pope John Paul II to open the Holocaust archives following the Pope's apology on March 12 for the wrongdoings of Roman Catholics. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/english/uk/newsid_675000/675201.stm].
- ¹³⁰ Passelecq & Suchecky, op. cit., pp. 9–10, citing letter Watelet to Passelecq, 18 September, 1976.
- ¹³¹ *ibid.*, p. 88, citing letter McCormick to LaFarge, 31 October 1939, microf. 56, original in English.
- ¹³² Tomkins, Oliver Stratford, contributing *The Roman Catholic Church and the Ecumenical Movement 1910–1948*, in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517–1948* (Eds. Rouse & Neill) op.cit. Vol I, p. 686.
- ¹³³ Reid, op. cit., p. 68.
- ¹³⁴ Cowles, op. cit., p. 212.
- ¹³⁵ Morton, Frederick *The Rothschilds* [London: Secker & Warburg, 1962], p. 224, gives a somewhat lower estimate of the prewar market value of Vitkowitz: about Stg.0.5 million pounds.
- ¹³⁶ Aarons, Mark & John Loftus, *The Secret War Against the Jews* [Melbourne: William Heinemann/Reed, 1994] p. 48, citing Monroe, *Philby of Arabia*, p. 219.
- ¹³⁷ Nafi, Basheer M. *The Arabs and the Axis: 1933–1940* [Arab Studies Quarterly, Vol. 19, No. 2, Spring 1997] distributed by MSANEWS <http://msanews.mynet.net/> July 31, 1999, p. 8.
- ¹³⁸ Kimball, op. cit., p. 20, citing *Summary of Strategic Situation*, March 3, 1939, *Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers, President's Secretary File, Gt. Britain*, Kennedy (Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.).
- ¹³⁹ O'Carroll, Michael. *Pius XII: Greatness Dishonoured* [Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1980] pp. 48–50 citing *Actes et Documents*, I, intro. pp. 3–94; II, pp. 20–22; appendices V, VIII; II, p. 413: minutes of the meeting between

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- Pius XII and the German and Austrian Cardinals. Text of letter p. 435; cf. W.M. Harrigan, *Pius XII's efforts to effect a detente in German-Vatican relations, 1939-1940*, Cath. Historical Rev., 49 (1963), p. 173-191.
- ¹⁴⁰ Cockett, op. cit., p. 104.
- ¹⁴¹ Bullock, Alan *Hitler and Stalin: Parallel Lives* [London: Harper Collins/Fontana, 1993], pp. 650-651.
- ¹⁴² Cornwell, John *Hitler's Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII* [London: Penguin/Viking, 1999], pp. 210-215.
- ¹⁴³ Sixty two cardinals met in a conclave on March 2 to elect a successor to Pope Pius XI. The conclave shattered convention in two ways: in the speed with which a result was reached, and in breaking with recognized constraints on the election of the pope. It had been an accepted convention since the first Vatican Council that the incumbent Secretary of State would not be elevated to the office of pope because a great deal of corruption had previously been associated with the practice. However there had been open talk for several years that Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli was heir apparent to Pius XI because of their virtually joint conduct of the Vatican's political affairs, and because Pacelli was responsible for the concordat negotiations with Hitler's regime. On January 13 1939 Pius XI received Prime Minister Chamberlain and Lord Halifax to discuss the world situation. In failing health he then worked with Pacelli on the draft of an address which he planned to deliver on February 12. He died on February 10. The election procedure required 42 votes for a result. Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli was elected in the third ballot. He received 35 votes in the first ballot, 40 in the second and 61 in the third.
- ¹⁴⁴ Dilks, op. cit., p. 157.
- ¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, op. cit., p. 160.
- ¹⁴⁶ Yahil, op. cit., p. 118.
- ¹⁴⁷ *The Times*, London, March 23, 1939, p. 7.
- ¹⁴⁸ Shirer, op. cit., pp. 562-563.
- ¹⁴⁹ Dilks, op. cit., p. 167.
- ¹⁵⁰ Gilbert, Martin *Churchill, A Life* [London:Minerva, 1992], p. 612.
- ¹⁵¹ Cornwell, op. cit., pp. 222-223.
- ¹⁵² Best, op. cit., pp. 68-70, citing DBFP 3/VIII appendix 1 enclosure in doc.(ii) F3147/471/61 Phillips (Admiralty) to Howe 29 March 1939 pp. 549-550; PRO FO371/23576 F3732/982/23 Cambon/Ronald conversation 17 April 1939, and F4827/982/23 Howe to Corbin 2 June 1939.
- ¹⁵³ Cornwell, op. cit., p. 209, 226.
- ¹⁵⁴ Shirer, op. cit., pp. 572-579.
- ¹⁵⁵ Nafi, op. cit., p. 8, citing Norman H. Baynes (ed.) *The Speeches of Adolf Hitler, April 1922-August 1939* (London: Oxford Uni. Press, 1942) 1648.
- ¹⁵⁶ Shirer, op. cit., pp. 555-557.
- ¹⁵⁷ Cockett, op. cit., pp. 109,110.
- ¹⁵⁸ Cornwell, op. cit., p. 224-225, citing a letter, Orsenigo to the Vatican, ADSS, I (Records and Documents of the Holy See Relating to the Second World War), Vatican, 1965-1981, (English ed.), 120ff.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol 14, [London: Macmillan, 1971] pp. 338-339.
- ¹⁶⁰ Cowles, op. cit., p. 212. The formal terms of purchase were agreed two months later, in July, but a contract was never signed and payment was never made. However the Rothschild family eventually received one million pounds Sterling as compensation from the Communist government of Czechoslovakia.
- ¹⁶¹ Laqueur, Walter & Barry Rubin (Eds) *The Israel-Arab Reader*, 3rd. edition [New York: Bantam, 1969] Document 18, *The Zionist Reaction to the White Paper: Statement by the Jewish Agency for Palestine* (1939) [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1984] pp. 76-77.
- ¹⁶² Bullock, op. cit., p. 661.
- ¹⁶³ Bullock, loc. cit.
- ¹⁶⁴ Shirer, op. cit., pp. 589-595.
- ¹⁶⁵ Cornwell, op. cit., pp. 229-230, citing O. Chadwick, *Britain and the Vatican during the Second World War* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 70, 72; FO (Foreign Office Papers in the Public Record Office, Kew), 371/23790/283.
- ¹⁶⁶ Kimball, op. cit., p. 9.
- ¹⁶⁷ Best, op. cit., p. 74.
- ¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 75-77, citing DBFP 3/IX doc. 227 F6017/1/10 Clark Kerr to Halifax 14 June 1939 p.168; PRO PREM1/316 Runciman to Chamberlain 19 June 1939, and other diplomatic correspondence.
- ¹⁶⁹ Visser 'T Hooft, op. cit., p. 707.
- ¹⁷⁰ Best, op. cit., pp. 79-80, citing DBFP 3/IX doc. 325 F7347/6457/10 Craigie to Halifax 15 July 1939 p. 279.

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- 171 *ibid.*, p. 80, citing DBFP 3/IX doc.327 Craigie to Halifax 15 July 1939 p. 290; DBFP 3/IX doc.337 Halifax to Craigie 17 July 1939 p. 290.
- 172 Kimball, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
- 173 Best, *loc. cit.*, citing DBFP 3/IX doc. 353 F7645/6457/10 Craigie to Halifax 21 July 1939 pp. 304–5.
- 174 Bullock, *op. cit.*, p. 662, citing Schnurre's report: *Documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918–1945*, Series D, vol. VI, No. 729.
- 175 Best, *op. cit.*, pp. 80–81, citing PRO CAB23/100 39(39) Cabinet conclusions 26 July 1939.
- 176 *ibid.*, p. 82.
- 177 Cockett, *op. cit.*, pp. 112, 118.
- 178 When Britain's ambassador to Warsaw, Sir Howard Kennard, was negotiating proposals for an Anglo-French mutual assistance pact with Poland he was ordered by telegram not to involve Russia. The message read, in part, that "...our attempts to consolidate the situation will be frustrated if the Soviet Union is openly associated with the initiation of the scheme. Recent telegrams from a number of His Majesty's Missions abroad have warned us that the inclusion of Russia would not only jeopardize the success of our constructive effort but also tend to consolidate the relations of the parties to the Anti-Comintern Pact, as well as excite anxiety among a number of friendly governments." [Shirer, *op. cit.*, p. 567 footnote].
- 179 Morton, *op. cit.*, p. 227. According to Morton the price actually agreed to was Stg. 2,900,000 pounds.
- 180 Shirer, *op. cit.*, pp. 595–659. The first overtures passed between Berlin and Moscow at the end of May, only a few days after Hitler briefed his military leaders on his plan to go to war, but there was, naturally, such a level of distrust that progress was slow until mid August. Hitler then ordered that a final settlement be reached with Russia promptly, with Foreign Minister Ribbentrop to go to Moscow for personal talks with Molotov and Stalin if necessary. Shirer also indicates, *op. cit.*, pp. 624–626, that the Russians felt a lot more secure with the idea of a treaty with Hitler, in view of *Mein Kampf*, than they did with the British. Britain's foreign policy was in such disarray that it couldn't make a meaningful military decision as a consequence, and its geographic isolation from eastern Europe made military intervention very difficult in any case. However Hitler's trump card was that he could offer Russia a deal to divide eastern Europe between them, Sykes-Picot style, while Britain had no such territorial option either on Russia's western or eastern flank. There was the Middle East of course, and India, but they were not negotiable.
- 181 Irving, David *Churchill's War, Vol I, The Struggle for Power* [Australia: Veritas, 1987] p. 69.
- 182 Two letters were actually written. The longer version was entrusted to Sachs. The shorter version was sent by Szilard, together with a letter of introduction from Einstein, to a Colonel Lindbergh who was asked to convey it to the president. It was never delivered to the president and Lindbergh later disclaimed any knowledge of it.
- 183 Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 522–523.
- 184 Visser 'T Hooft, *op. cit.*, p. 708.
- 185 Best, *loc. cit.*, citing DBFP 3/IX doc.444 F8245/6457/10 Craigie to Halifax 1 August 1939 p. 382; PRO CAB23/100 40(39) Cabinet conclusions 2 August 1939.
- 186 O'Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
- 187 Churchill, *The Second World War Vol. I, The Gathering Storm*, *op. cit.*, p. 318.
- 188 Kimball, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–20.
- 189 Best, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
- 190 *ibid.*, p. 87.
- 191 Bullock, *op. cit.*, p. 670. The author notes that although it was forbidden to take notes at Hitler's briefings several officers did so. He then refers to several sources without indicating from which source this particular quotation is drawn.
- 192 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, p. 230.
- 193 Churchill, *The Second World War Vol 1 The Gathering Storm* *op. cit.*, pp. 320–321.
- 194 Shirer, *op. cit.*, p. 660.
- 195 *ibid.*, pp. 663–664.
- 196 Best, *loc. cit.*, citing DBFP 3/IX doc.584 F9421/87/10 Craigie to Halifax 24 August 1939 p. 496.
- 197 Lewy, Guenter *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1964], p. 226.
- 198 Taylor, Telford *op. cit.*, p. 12.
- 199 O'Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 51.
- 200 Shirer, *op. cit.*, pp. 662–674, 688.

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- ²⁰¹ *ibid.*, p. 609.
- ²⁰² *ibid.*, pp. 691–692.
- ²⁰³ Cockett, *op.cit.*, p. 119.
- ²⁰⁴ Shirer, *op. cit.*, p. 693.
- ²⁰⁵ Dilks, *op. cit.*, pp. 202–203, confirms the thrust of these talks but records that Cadogan managed to ‘kill’ a proposal by Halifax and Henderson that Hitler be offered a Non-Aggression Pact, and that pressure was applied to Poland to agree to direct negotiations with Hitler on Danzig and the corridor, in other words, to surrender them.
- ²⁰⁶ Best, *op. cit.*, p. 86, citing PRO FO371/23532 F9583/6457/23 Edwardes/Butler conversation 26 August 1939, and DBFP 3/IX doc.598 F9601/176/23 Halifax to Craigie 26 August 1939 pp. 507–8.
- ²⁰⁷ Shirer, *op. cit.*, pp. 631–656.
- ²⁰⁸ The same protocol provided for the northern frontier of Lithuania to mark the spheres of interest of Germany and Russia in the event that the Baltic States of Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania should also undergo a “transformation.”
- ²⁰⁹ Shirer, *op. cit.*, p. 655.
- ²¹⁰ Hitler actually issued top secret orders on April 3rd 1939 for the preparation of plans for an invasion of Poland under the code name “Case White”. In those orders he said preparations were to be made in such a way that the operation could be carried out at any time from September 1 1939 onwards. [*ibid.*, p. 571.] However he later changed this to September 1st at the latest because of the enormous problems of military operations in a Polish winter and the possibility of early autumn rains. By the time of his May conference, September 1 had become the firm deadline. He later tried to bring the invasion date forward but the political situation prevented him from doing so and if it could not have been mounted by September 2 the invasion would have been called off indefinitely. [*ibid.*, p. 714].
- ²¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 695.
- ²¹² *ibid.*, p. 699.
- ²¹³ *The Times*, London, Wednesday, September 6, 1939, p. 8.
- ²¹⁴ Cornwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 230–231, citing ADSS, I, 242–43.
- ²¹⁵ Shirer, *op. cit.*, pp. 712–713.
- ²¹⁶ Cornwell, *op. cit.*, p. 231.
- ²¹⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 231–232, citing ADSS, I, 262–63.
- ²¹⁸ Shirer, *op. cit.*, pp. 684–686.
- ²¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 728–734.
- ²²⁰ Conway, *op. cit.*, p. 234, quoting Niemoller.
- ²²¹ Bethell, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
- ²²² Gribetz, *op. cit.*, p. 426; and *Penguin Atlas of World Population*, pp. 42–43. The population of the UK was approximately 40 million and included about 400,000 Jews.
- ²²³ Shirer, *op. cit.*, p. 737.
- ²²⁴ Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 786.
- ²²⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 786–787.
- ²²⁶ Churchill, *The Second World War Vol I The Gathering Storm*, *op. cit.*, pp. 327–331.
- ²²⁷ Eden, *Anthony Memoirs*, Vol. III *The Reckoning* [London: Cassell, 1965], pp. 61–63.
- ²²⁸ Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 788.
- ²²⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 788–790.
- ²³⁰ Cockett, *op. cit.*, pp. 123, 129.
- ²³¹ Buss, Claude A *Asia in the Modern World* [New York: Macmillan, 1964], pp. 485–486.
- ²³² *The Times*, London, Monday, September 4, 1939, p. 4.
- ²³³ *The Times*, loc. cit.
- ²³⁴ *The Times*, London, Monday, September 4, 1939, p. 10.
- ²³⁵ *The Times*, London, Tuesday, September 5, 1939, p. 7.
- ²³⁶ *The Times*, London, Monday, September 5, 1939, p. 7.
- ²³⁷ Conway, loc. cit., quoting Lewy.
- ²³⁸ Some writers, such as Reuben Ainsztein, saw this as part of Stalin’s battle with Trotsky and his effort to consolidate his position as absolute dictator while conceding that it also reflected the reassertion of ‘Russian’ cultural imperialism’. Ainsztein points out, for example, that Muslims in Southern Russia who had previously been

- forced to change from Arabic to Latin script under Tsarist Russia, and primitive Siberian tribes for whom a written language was a new development were both required to adopt the Cyrillic alphabet. That policy, although obviously questionable from some points of view, was consistent with the policies of almost all imperial powers whether Western or Eastern, modern or ancient, based on the assumption that political stability was more easily achievable with a common national language — just as with a common national religion.
- ²³⁹ Ainsztein, Reuben contributing chapter 13, *Soviet Jewry in the Second World War*, in *The Jews in Soviet Russia since 1917* [Oxford, 1978] pp. 281–282.
- ²⁴⁰ Some German authorities at the time and some historians attributed Stalin's reluctance to invade Poland concurrently with Germany to his wish to minimize casualties while his new found partner deflected the Polish defence but that assessment does not give sufficient weight to the influence of domestic factors in the Soviet Union. (131).
- ²⁴¹ Toland, op. cit., p. 796.
- ²⁴² Lash, Joseph P. *Roosevelt and Churchill 1939–1941* [London: Andre Deutsch, 1977]., p. 22.
- ²⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 23.
- ²⁴⁴ Laqueur, Walter A *History of Zionism* [New York: Schocken, 1976] p. 533.
- ²⁴⁵ Yahil, op. cit., p. 128.
- ²⁴⁶ Bullock, op. cit., p. 669.
- ²⁴⁷ Buss, op. cit., pp. 426–427.
- ²⁴⁸ Yahil, op. cit., pp. 128–129, citing TWC, 2, pp. 447ff; Helmut Krounsnik, "Denkschrift Himmlers uber die Behandlung der Fremdvolkischen im Osten (Mai 1940)," VJHZ, 5, no. 2 (1957), 194–198.
- ²⁴⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 146–147.
- ²⁵⁰ Cornwell, op. cit., p. 232.
- ²⁵¹ Churchill, *The Second World War* Vol I *The Gathering Storm* p. 336.
- ²⁵² Buss, op. cit., pp. 421–423.
- ²⁵³ Some indication of the strength of that support, the connections and the friendships which were associated with it is given by another incident related by biographer Virginia Cowles. When the government of Newfoundland needed private development capital on a mammoth scale in 1951 the premier, Mr. Smallwood, approached Winston Churchill for advice shortly after he had become British Prime Minister for the second time. After being briefed on the essentials of the proposal Churchill spontaneously referred the matter to Anthony Rothschild, then head of the British-based bank. A consortium of twenty nine major companies, Brinco, was formed and headed by N.M. Rothschild and Sons. Over the next twenty years more than Sterling 1,000 million pounds was earmarked for development. One of the biggest development schemes of all times had fallen into Anthony Rothschild's lap without his having so much as lifted a finger for it and Churchill later referred to the incident in a letter to a member of the family. Having mentioned the close relations between their respective families he wrote "I am very glad to feel that the connection is not broken in my old age."
- ²⁵⁴ Cowles, op. cit., pp. 231–232.
- ²⁵⁵ On November 12, 1938, three days after Crystal Night, Lord Rothschild wrote to *The Times* to draw British public attention to the effects of Hitler's policies in Europe. He said that although some people warned against criticism of the treatment of Jews from concern that it would only increase their torments he had no fear of doing this "because their torments cannot be increased except by such refinements of torture as would create general horror in Germany itself ..." However when he launched Lord Baldwin's Fund for German Refugees only a few weeks later he admitted that he had been wrong. Tortures had been invented and inflicted, he said, such that the use of the word medieval to describe them was an insult to the past. Hitler was outdoing the church's Inquisition and he wasn't even trying to save souls.
- ²⁵⁶ Cowles, op. cit., p. 207.
- ²⁵⁷ Gabler, Neal, *An Empire of Their Own* [New York: Crown, 1998] p. 343.
- ²⁵⁸ Buss, op. cit., p. 426.
- ²⁵⁹ Gilbert, Martin *Jewish History Atlas* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976] p. 90.
- ²⁶⁰ Best, op. cit., p. 88.
- ²⁶¹ *ibid.*, p. 89, citing PRO FO371/23556 F10710/176/23 Butler minute 22 September 1939.
- ²⁶² Best, loc. cit., citing PRO CAB66/2 WP(39)56 'Sino-Japanese Hostilities' COS report 28 September 1939.
- ²⁶³ *ibid.*, pp. 92–93, citing PRO FO837/519 vol. 1 COIS Singapore to DNI (Admiralty) 19 September 1939 tel.1901/1; PRO FO371/23567 F10500/1054/23 Edwardes (Japanese Embassy) to Harrison (FO) enclosing

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- memorandum from Y. Shudo 23 September 1939; PRO FO837/519 vol. 1 Wellesley (MEW) minute 28 September 1939, and other diplomatic exchanges.
- ²⁶⁴ Shirer, op. cit., p. 760.
- ²⁶⁵ Toland, op. cit., p. 798.
- ²⁶⁶ Lewy, op. cit., p. 227.
- ²⁶⁷ Kimball, op. cit., p. 17, citing *U.S. Congressional Record*, 76th Cong., 2nd sess., LXXXV, pt. 1, Oct. 2, 1939, p. 73.
- ²⁶⁸ Aarons & Loftus op. cit., p. 168.
- ²⁶⁹ Kimball, op. cit., pp. 18–19.
- ²⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 23, citing Frederic J. Fleron, Jr., *The Isolationists and the Foreign Policy of FDR: A Study in Executive Leadership*, [Master's Thesis, Brown University, 1961] pp. 224–229.
- ²⁷¹ Shirer, op. cit., p. 1124, citing *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (NCA) Part of the Nuremberg Documents, VII, pp. 420–21 (N.D.s EC-344–16 and -17).
- ²⁷² Aarons & Loftus, op. cit., p. 48, citing H. Stj. B. Philby, *Arabian Jubilee* (London: Robert Hale, 1952) pp. 212–213. The authors note that other authorities report the plan with variations. Philby's biographer suggested that the Jews were to get Western Palestine apart from a 'Vatican City' in the Old City of Jerusalem, in return for a subsidy of 20 million pounds paid to Ibn Saud and help in ensuring that Arab independence was secured under Ibn Saud. And according to Weizmann the plan involved "considerable transfers of Arab population." [Monroe, *Philby of Arabia*, pp. 221–222].
- ²⁷³ Lewy, op. cit., pp. 227–229.
- ²⁷⁴ Shirer, op. cit., pp. 770–772.
- ²⁷⁵ Best, loc. cit., citing F10691/69/10 Craigie to Halifax 11 October 1939 tel.1366.
- ²⁷⁶ Hacker, op. cit., pp. 317–319.
- ²⁷⁷ Harold Lasswell is quoted by George Gerbner thus: "It is generally recognized that the scientific study of communication has made giant strides in recent decades. An important date in the growth of the field was the early 1930's, when the Humanities Division of the Rockefeller Foundation and the Social Science Research Council interested themselves in the state of knowledge regarding propaganda and communication ... The most successful step (to initiate research) was taken by political scientists. They provided a unified map of the field that brought specialists of many kinds to sudden awareness of a common frame of reference. The step was taken because political scientists were increasingly aware of the strategic significance for arenas of power of the control of communication..."
- ²⁷⁸ Lasswell, Harold *The Future of political Science* [1964] pp. 161–162.
- ²⁷⁹ Gerbner, George contrib. Mass Media and Human Communication Theory in *Sociology of Mass Communications* Ed. Denis McQuail [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972] p. 44.
- ²⁸⁰ Hacker, op. cit., pp. 314–319.
- ²⁸¹ In 1939 US production was 1,333 million barrels or just under two thirds of total world production, (2,100 million barrels). Production from all other sources was 767 million barrels or 36.5 percent.
- ²⁸² The DuPont Corporation, which held controlling interest in General Motors, apparently warned against the release of information on the grounds that it might impair military security but the interests of Standard and General Motors, which each held about half of the German markets in their fields, won out. (144)
- ²⁸³ Engler, Robert *The Politics of Oil* [New York: Macmillan, 1961] p. 102
- ²⁸⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 96–112.
- ²⁸⁵ Gilbert, Martin, *Second World War* 2nd Edition [London: Fontana, 1990] p. 20.
- ²⁸⁶ Shirer, op. cit., p. 773.
- ²⁸⁷ *ibid.*
- ²⁸⁸ Best, op. cit., p. 93, citing PRO FO371/23568 F11195/1094/23 Craigie to Halifax 20 October 1939 tel.1404.
- ²⁸⁹ Best, loc. cit., citing PRO FO837/519 vol. 1 Wellesley minute 6 November 1939; an undated MEW memorandum; an undated FO draft memorandum in FO371/23568 F11899/1054/23; and Treasury and Board of Trade files.
- ²⁹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 94, citing PRO CAB67/2 WP(G)(39)90 'Seizure of Exports from Germany' Cross memorandum 15 November 1939.
- ²⁹¹ Yahil, op. cit., pp. 129, 14–149, 154–155.
- ²⁹² Gilbert, *Second World War*, p. 19.
- ²⁹³ Reid, op. cit., p. 103.
- ²⁹⁴ Toland, op. cit., pp. 786–787.

²⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 784.

²⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 783.

Chapter 23: A Pause to regroup ... or cause for reflection?

¹ Taylor A.J.P. *The Origins of the Second World War* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974] p. 251.

² *ibid.*, pp. 234–235.

³ Dilks, David (Ed) *The Diaries of Sir Alexander Cadogan* [London: Cassell, 1971] p. 161.

⁴ Cochrane, Arthur C. *The Church's Confession under Hitler* [Philadelphia: Westminster Press] Foreword p. 14.

⁵ *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, [McGraw Hill, Vol.] p. 416.

⁶ Cornwell, John *Hitler's Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII* [London: Penguin/Viking, 1999], p. 234, citing R. Graham, "Summi Pontificatus", *Civiltà cattolica* (October 1984), 139–140.

⁷ Except where specific references are made to other publications, all quotations from *Summi Pontificatus* are from the Catholic Truth Society, London, edition S 151, October 1956, translated by Right Rev. Mgr. Ronald A. Knox M.A. Emphasis has been added when shown.

⁸ Passelecq, Georges and Bernard Suchecky, *The Hidden Encyclical of Pius XI* [New York: Harcourt Brace/Harvest, 1997] p. 5.

⁹ Cornwell, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ Passelecq & Suchecky, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 5, 9, 15, 88, 166.

¹¹ Cornwell, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

¹² Fisher, Desmond *Pope Pius XII and the Jews* [Glen Rock: Paulist Press, 1963] p. 4.

¹³ Von Aretin, Karl Otmar *The Papacy and the Modern World* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970] p. 213.

¹⁴ Webster, Richard A. *Christian Democracy in Italy 1860 – 1960* [London: Hollis & Carter, 1961] preface, p. vi.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 146–147.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 156.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 160.

¹⁸ Eden, Anthony (Volume III) *The Reckoning* [London: Cassell, 1965] pp. 69–70.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 67–68.

²⁰ Ehler & Morrall *Church and State through the Centuries* [London: Burns & Oates, 1954] p. 146.

²¹ Von Aretin, *op. cit.*, p. 213–214.

²² Pope Pius XII, *Sertum Laetitiae*, promulgated November 1, 1939. Source:

<http://www.knight.org/advent/docs/pi12sl.htm> as at October 31, 1999.

²³ Memorandum Wells to Roosevelt, May 16, 1939, The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and Museum, Diplomatic Correspondence with the Vatican and Myron Taylor, Box #51 [source: <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/andyc/fdr/boxlisti.html> as at May 25, 2000].

²⁴ Letter Celler to Hull, July 24, 1939, The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and Museum, Diplomatic Correspondence with the Vatican and Myron Taylor, Box #51 [source: <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/andyc/fdr/psfi464/t464c02.htm> as at May 25, 2000].

²⁵ Memorandum Hull to Roosevelt, October 20, 1939, The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and Museum, *loc. cit.*

²⁶ O'Carroll, Michael, *Pius XII: Greatness Dishonoured* [Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1980] p. 42.

²⁷ Kimball, Warren F. *The Most Unsordid Act: Lend-Lease, 1939–1941* [Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1969] pp. 28–29, citing Hadley Cantril, ed., *Public Opinion, 1935–1946* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951] pp. 969, 1101.

²⁸ O'Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

²⁹ Cornwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 234–236, citing H. Deutsch, *The Conspiracy Against Hitler in the Twilight War* (Oxford, 1968), p. 115; British Foreign Office and Cabinet papers for January and February 1940; and referring to five additional published works.

³⁰ Yahil, Leni *Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991] p. 135.

³¹ Toland, John, *Adolf Hitler* [New York: Ballantine, 1977] p. 807.

³² *ibid.*, pp. 808–812.

³³ Yahil, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

³⁴ Aarons & Loftus, *The Secret War Against the Jews* [Melbourne: Heinemann, 1994] p. 89, citing Anthony Cave Brown, C. *The Secret Life of Sir Stewart Menzies* (New York: Macmillan, 1987) p. 215n; Higham, *American Swastika*, p. 186.

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- ³⁵ Best, op. cit., p. 91, citing PRO FO371/23559 F12088/347/23 Craigie to Halifax 22 November 1939 tel.1532; PRO FO371/23559 F12108/347/23 Seeds to Halifax 25 November 1939 tel. 471; F12189/347/23 Roche (French Embassy)/Denning (FE Dept) conversation 24 November 1939.
- ³⁶ Yahil, op. cit., p. 160.
- ³⁷ ibid., pp. 159–161, citing Phil Friedman, "The Lublin Reservation and the Madagascar Plan: Two Aspects of Nazi Jewish Policy during the Second World War," in *Roads to Extinction: Essays on the Holocaust*, ed. Ada J. Friedman (New York & Philadelphia, 1980) pp. 35–37.
- ³⁸ Gilbert, *Second World War*, 2nd Edition [London: Fontana, 1990] p. 35. Hans Frank's diary entry was dated December 19, 1939.
- ³⁹ Best, op. cit., p. 95, citing Medlicott W.N. *The Economic Blockade*, vol. 1, (London: HMSO, 1952) pp. 393–395; PRO CAB65/2 WM 96(39) War Cabinet conclusions 27 November 1939; PRO CAB65/3 WM 104(39) War Cabinet conclusions 4 December 1939; W.H. Heinrichs, *American Ambassador: Joseph C. Grew and the American Diplomatic Tradition*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1966, pp. 295–297.
- ⁴⁰ Sir Winston Churchill's description in his history of the Second World War.
- ⁴¹ Churchill, Sir Winston S. *The Second World War*, Volume I, *The Gathering Storm*, Book II. [London: The Reprint Society, 1953].
- ⁴² Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 18.
- ⁴³ Cornwell, op. cit., p. 236.
- ⁴⁴ Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 34.
- ⁴⁵ Best, op. cit., p. 97, citing PRO FO371/23551 F12625/4027/61 Lothian to Halifax 9 December 1939 tel.883.
- ⁴⁶ Best, loc. cit., citing PRO F371/22836 A8712/6041/45 Lothian to Halifax 12 December 1939 tel.894, et. al.
- ⁴⁷ ibid., p. 95, citing PRO FO371/23535 F12663/7457/10 Clark Kerr to Halifax 13 December 1939 tel. 1364.
- ⁴⁸ Shirer, William *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* [London: Pan, 1964] p. 791–792.
- ⁴⁹ Taylor, Telford *Munich: The Price of Peace* [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1979] p. 903.
- ⁵⁰ Churchill, *The Second World War* Vol. I *The Gathering Storm*, op. cit., p. 439.
- ⁵¹ Best, op. cit., p. 100, citing PRO FO371/23698 N7134/57/38 Sargent to Ismay (COS Secretariat) 22 December 1939.
- ⁵² Morgan, Ted. *FDR: A Biography* [New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985] pp. 325, 403.
- ⁵³ Cornwell, op. cit., pp. 236–237.
- ⁵⁴ Cornwell, loc. cit., citing FO, 800/318/6 and CAB, 65/II/159.
- ⁵⁵ Halecki, Oskar & Murray, J.F. *Pius XII- Eugene Pacelli, Pope of Peace* Revised edition, 1954, p. 161.
- ⁵⁶ ibid., p. 159.
- ⁵⁷ ibid., p. 160.
- ⁵⁸ Lash, Joseph P. *Roosevelt & Churchill 1939–1941* [London: Andre Deutsch, 1977] p. 23.
- ⁵⁹ Neuner & Dupius *The Christian Faith* [Bangalore: Theological Publications of India, 1978] p. 557.
- ⁶⁰ *Catholic Almanac* 1980, p. 475.
- ⁶¹ Halecki, op. cit., p. 161.
- ⁶² From April 1938 Taylor had been Roosevelt's nominee on the Intergovernmental Committee on Political Refugees and as the president's personal emissary he had been chairman of the 31-nation Evian Conference. In November 1938, only a few months after the virtual failure of that conference and as a reaction to the continuing officially sponsored pogroms against Jews, Roosevelt had withdrawn the United States' Ambassador from Berlin. Hitler naturally responded by withdrawing Germany's ambassador from Washington and trade between the two countries had slumped sharply as a consequence.
- ⁶³ Shirer, op. cit., p. 832.
- ⁶⁴ Cornwell, op. cit., p. 237, citing CAB, 65/II/159.
- ⁶⁵ Best, op. cit., pp. 96–98, citing PRO FO371/24731 F330/103/23 Craigie to Halifax 13 January 1940 tel.39.
- ⁶⁶ ibid., p. 99, citing PRO FO371/25108 W1281/31/49 Criagie to Halifax 23 January 1940 tel. 110.
- ⁶⁷ Kimball, op. cit., p. 32, citing Lord Stamp, Treasury estimates, Hancock and Gowing, *British War Economy* pp. 106n, 115 and Hall, *North American Supply* p. 114.
- ⁶⁸ Best, op. cit., p. 97, citing PRO CAB67/4 WP(G)(40)14 'Possibility of United States Cooperation in Preventing Certain Vital Commodities From Reaching Germany, Russia and Japan.' Halifax/Cross memorandum 19 January 1940.
- ⁶⁹ ibid., pp. 98, citing PRO CAB65/5 WM21(40) War Cabinet conclusions 23 January 1940.

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- ⁷⁰ Lash, op. cit., p. 22.
- ⁷¹ Cornwell, op. cit., p. 238, citing FO, 800/318/25.
- ⁷² ibid, citing FO, 800/318/36.
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- ⁷⁴ ibid.
- ⁷⁵ Stinnett, Robert B., *Day of Deceit: The Truth about FDR and Pearl Harbour* [New York: Simon & Schuster/The Free Press, 1999] pp. 15–16.
- ⁷⁶ Halecki, op. cit., pp. 131, 148.
- ⁷⁷ Best, op. cit., p. 100, citing PRO WO193/646 COS(40)252 'Military Implications of Hostilities with Russia in 1940' COS memorandum 8 March 1940; PRO FO371/23556 F13005/176/23 Shigemitsu/Butler conversation 21 December 1939, F)371/24724 F2072/23/23 Shigemitsu/Butler conversation 18 March 1940, and FO371/24724 F3017/22/23 Sgigemitsu/Halifax conversation 26 April 1940.
- ⁷⁸ ibid., pp. 100–101, citing PRO FO371/244708 F1429/193/61 Craigie to Halifax 26 February 1940 tel.354; PRO FO371/24843 N3363/30/38 Sargent minute 24 March 1940 and Seymour minute 25 March 1940; and ibid Cadogan minute 25 March 1940 and Halifax minute 27 March 1940, and FO371/24846 N3485/40/38 Butler minute 29 March 1940.
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- ⁸⁰ Yahil, op. cit., p. 161.
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- ⁸² ibid., p. 168.
- ⁸³ Cornwell, op. cit., p. 239.
- ⁸⁴ Visser 'T Hooft, loc. cit.
- ⁸⁵ Kimball, op. cit., pp. 35–37, citing Blum, *From the Morgenthau Diaries*, II, 117–20; Breckinridge Long, *The War Diary of Breckinridge Long, 1934–1944*, ed. Fred Israel (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), entry for April 28, 1940, p. 86; and Alsop and Kintner, *American White Paper*, p. 81.
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- ⁸⁷ Stinnett, op. cit., p. 17.
- ⁸⁸ Roth, Cecil *A History of the Jews* [New York: Shocken, 1970] p. 395.
- ⁸⁹ Cornwell, op. cit., p. 242, citing O. Chadwick, *Britain and the Vatican during the Second World War* (Cambridge, 1986), 110.
- ⁹⁰ Stinnett, op. cit., p. 18, citing Richardson, James O., *On the Treadmill to Pearl Harbour* [Washington, DC, Naval History Division, Department of the Navy, 1973] pp. 324, 326, 327.
- ⁹¹ Cornwell, op. cit., pp. 242–243, citing ADSS, I, 442–47.
- ⁹² Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. I *The Gathering Storm* op. cit., p. 532.
- ⁹³ Twice, in 1926 and again in 1928 Churchill's view that there was no foreseeable threat from either Germany or Japan had persuaded the government to apply its 'ten year rule' that policy making should be based on the assumption that no major war was likely within 10 years. However he changed his attitude towards Germany when Hitler began his climb to power. In October 1930 he told a German diplomat that although Hitler had declared that he had no intention of making a foreign war he (Churchill) was convinced that Hitler or his supporters would seize the first opportunity to resort to arms again. He went on to say that Germany, Britain and France should take concerted action under German leadership against Soviet dumping on the world markets and that he sorely regretted that his proposal for a joint offensive immediately after World War One had not been approved by the British cabinet.
- ⁹⁴ Irving, David *Churchill's War* (Volume I) *The Struggle for Power* [Australia: Veritas, 1987] p. 10, 16.
- ⁹⁵ Churchill, Sir Winston S. *The Second World War* Vol. II *Their Finest Hour* [London: Reprint Society, 1949] pp. 25–32.
- ⁹⁶ Gilbert, *Second World War* op. cit., p. 63.
- ⁹⁷ Eade, Charles *Churchill by his Contemporaries* [London: Hutchinson, 1953] pp. 17–23.
- ⁹⁸ Irving, *Churchill's War* op. cit., p. 8.

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- ⁹⁹ See earlier reference above, chapter 22. David Irving details the development of this relationship in Vol. I of *Churchill's War, 'The Struggle for Power'*, op. cit.
- ¹⁰⁰ Gilbert, *Martin Churchill: A Life* [London: Heinemann, 1991] p. 165.
- ¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, p. 181.
- ¹⁰² *ibid.*, pp. 429, 434–435.
- ¹⁰³ Irving, *Churchill's War*, op. cit., pp. 54–61.
- ¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p. 405.
- ¹⁰⁵ Eade, op. cit., p. 482, C.E.M. Joad contrib. *Churchill the Philosopher*.
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- ¹¹⁰ Churchill, *The Second World War* Vol. II *Their Finest Hour* op. cit., p. 36.
- ¹¹¹ Cornwell, op. cit., pp. 243–245, citing *The Tablet*, August 30, 1941; Chadwick, *Britain and the Vatican*, 114; and information provided by J.F. Pollard in his paper, "The Vatican and the Wall Street Crash: Bernardino Nogara and Papal Finances in the Early 1930s."
- ¹¹² Churchill, *The Second World War* Vol. II *Their Finest Hour* op. cit., pp. 35–36.
- ¹¹³ Kimball, op. cit., pp. 32–33, 42.
- ¹¹⁴ Stinnett, loc. cit.
- ¹¹⁵ Churchill, *The Second World War* Vol. II *Their Finest Hour* op. cit., p. 112.
- ¹¹⁶ Churchill, loc. cit.
- ¹¹⁷ Gilbert, *Churchill: A Life* op. cit. p. 647.
- ¹¹⁸ Gilbert, *Second World War* op. cit. p. 69.
- ¹¹⁹ Churchill, *The Second World War* Vol. II *Their Finest Hour* op. cit., pp. 60–61.
- ¹²⁰ Kimball, op. cit., p. 58.
- ¹²¹ Churchill, *The Second World War* Vol. II *Their Finest Hour* op. cit., pp. 62–63.
- ¹²² Irving, *Churchill's War* op. cit., p. 282.
- ¹²³ Gilbert, *Second World War* op. cit., p. 70.
- ¹²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 73.
- ¹²⁵ Churchill, *The Second World War* Vol. II *Their Finest Hour* op. cit., pp. 112–113.
- ¹²⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 87–89.
- ¹²⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 108–109.
- ¹²⁸ Kimball, op. cit., pp. 44–46.
- ¹²⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 49–51.
- ¹³⁰ Best, op. cit., p. 112, citing PRO FO371/24655 F3392/16/10 Craigie to Halifax 11 June 1940 tel.792.
- ¹³¹ Buss, Claude A. *Asia in the Modern World* [New York: Macmillan, 1964] p. 422.
- ¹³² Best, op. cit., pp. 107–108, citing PRO FO371/24725 F3284/23/23 Shigemitsu/Butler conversation 11 June 1940, and FO 837/524 vol. 4 Okamoto/Keswick (MEW) conversation 12 June 1940.
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- ¹³⁴ Kimball, op. cit., p. 49.
- ¹³⁵ Gilbert, *Second World War* op. cit. p. 94.
- ¹³⁶ Kimball, op. cit. p. 75, citing Duncan H. Hall, *North American Supply*, [London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office and Longmans Green & Co, 1955] pp. 168–169.
- ¹³⁷ Dilks, op. cit., p. 299.
- ¹³⁸ Churchill, *The Second World War* Vol. II *Their Finest Hour*, op. cit., p. 182.
- ¹³⁹ Irving, *Churchill's War*, op. cit., p. 332
- ¹⁴⁰ Kimball, op. cit., p. 57, citing Ickes, *The Lowering Clouds*, entry for June 15, 1940, p. 209.
- ¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, pp. 52–53.
- ¹⁴² James, Lawrence *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire* [London: Abacus/Little Brown, 1995] p. 485.
- ¹⁴³ Best, op. cit., p. 112, citing PRO FO371/24725 F3432/23/23 Craigie to Halifax 19 June 1940 tel.1032.
- ¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 113–114, citing PRO FO371/24725 F3432/23/23 Craigie to Halifax 22 June 1940 tel.1068.
- ¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p. 111.
- ¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 114–115.

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- ¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p. 108, citing PRO FO837/524 vol. 4 Okamoto/Leith-Ross conversation 28 June 1940.
- ¹⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 114, citing PRO FO371/24725 F3465/23/23 Halifax to Lothian 25 June 1940 tel.1262, and Lothian to Halifax 28 June 1940 tel.1163.
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- ¹⁵⁰ *The Papal Encyclical and Syllabus, and Dogmatic Decrees of the Vatican Council* [London: Bradbury, Agnew; 1875] chapter 4, para. 3, p. 45; chapter 2, para. 1, p. 41.
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- ¹⁵⁴ Koestler, Arthur *Promise and Fulfilment: Palestine 1917–1945* [London: Macmillan, 1983] p. 80.
- ¹⁵⁵ Various sources give different figures. Allen says 136,000 registered and 23,500 served. Gilbert says 26,000 served and provides additional figures thus: USA 555,000; Canada 16,550; South Africa 10,000; Australia and New Zealand 4,222; Britain (additional to those from Palestine) 60,000; France 80,000; the USSR 500,000; Greece 8,000; Yugoslavia 5,000; and Poland 150,000.
- ¹⁵⁶ Allen, Richard *Imperialism & Nationalism in the Fertile Crescent* [New York: Oxford, 1974] p. 334.
- ¹⁵⁷ Gilbert, Martin *Jewish History Atlas* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976].
- ¹⁵⁸ Fishman, Priscilla *The Jews of the United States* [Jerusalem: Keter, 1974] p. 234.
- ¹⁵⁹ Laqueur, Walter *A History of Zionism* [New York: Schocken, 1976], p. 551.
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- ¹⁶² *ibid.*, p. 17.
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- ¹⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p. 72.
- ¹⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p. 75.
- ¹⁶⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 148–150.
- ¹⁶⁷ News releases included the first mass execution of Jews in Poland in 1940, the ‘deportation’ of children from Poland in 1943, the trial of 600 Communists in Hungary in 1943, the attempted ‘deportation’ of Jews from Denmark August 1942, horrors uncovered in slaughter camps during the last few weeks of the war, and the murder of Heydrich in 1942.
- ¹⁶⁸ Balfour, *op. cit.*, pp. 299–301.
- ¹⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p. 300.
- ¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 148–150.

Chapter 24: Cause for reflection

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- ³ *ibid.*, p. 26.
- ⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 60, 95–96.
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- ⁶ Gribetz, Judah E., Greenstein, E., & Stein, R. *The Timetables of Jewish History* [New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994], p. 320.
- ⁷ Yahil, *op. cit.*, pp. 99–101.
- ⁸ Dilks, David (Ed) *The Diaries of Sir Alexander Cadogan* [London: Cassell, 1971] p. 219.
- ⁹ Zweig, Ronald W. *Britain and Palestine during the Second World War* [Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 1986] pp. 57–58, citing C.R.P. (39) 6th meeting, Minutes, CO 733/396/75113/47 (39).
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- ¹⁴ Pearl, Cyril *The Dunera Scandal* [Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1983] p. 4.
- ¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 12.
- ¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 5.
- ¹⁷ Yahil, op. cit., pp. 160–161.
- ¹⁸ Churchill, Winston S. *The Second World War* [London: Reprint Society, 1949] Vol. II *Their Finest Hour*, p. 60.
- ¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 27.
- ²⁰ Zweig, op. cit., pp. 64–67.
- ²¹ *ibid.*, pp. 58–59.
- ²² Lilienthal, Alfred M. *The Zionist Connection: what price peace?* [New York: Middle East Perspective Inc, 1979] p. 21, quoting Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, Vol. 326, col. 23330.
- ²³ *ibid.* quoting *The American Zionist*, February 5th, 1953.
- ²⁴ *ibid.* quoting Professor William E. Yale, Document 763.7211/1741, Diplomatic Branch (NNFD) National Archives and Record Service.
- ²⁵ *ibid.* quoting J.W.V. Temperley, *History of the Peace Conference*, IV, p. 170.
- ²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 22, quoting David Lloyd-George *The Truth about the Peace Treaties* [London: Victor Gollancz, 1938] p. 1137.
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- ²⁸ *ibid.*, quoting British Command Paper No. 1700, *A Survey of Palestine 1945–1946*, Vol. I pp. 87–90.
- ²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 23, quoting House of Lords, June 27, 1923, O.R., col. 676.
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- ³¹ *ibid.*, p. 108, gives 338,226 troops, the number from Admiralty records, as the total of all British and Allied troops landed in England after evacuation from Dunkirk between May 27 and June 4, 1940. A War Office figure was about 2,000 fewer. During the whole operation about 34,000 British soldiers were captured as prisoners of war, [Gilbert, Martin *Second World War* [London: Fontana/Collins, 1990], p. 83] and 243 of the 861 ships which ferried troops during the operation were sunk, [Churchill, Volume II, p. 97], some of them crowded with troops, but loss of life was relatively light. The POWs included a few thousand troops who remained as a rearguard to protect the evacuation and then surrendered, on Churchill's orders, to avoid a slaughter if an effort was made to evacuate them under fire at close range. [Gilbert, op. cit., p. 80.] If the evacuation had not been attempted and if Hitler had not ordered the pause in the assault, almost the entire force would have been forced to surrender.
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- ³³ *ibid.*, p. 881, citing Liddell Hart, *The German Generals Talk*, pp. 114–115 (soft cover edition).
- ³⁴ Gilbert, loc. cit., *Second World War*.
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- ³⁶ Shirer, op. cit., p. 889, citing *Ciano Diaries*, p. 266.
- ³⁷ Kilzer, op. cit., pp. 210–214. See also Churchill, Vol II, *Their Finest Hour*, pp. 76–78 for his perspective.
- ³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 221.
- ³⁹ Pearl, op. cit., p. 8.
- ⁴⁰ Kimball, Warren F. (Ed) *Churchill and Roosevelt: The Complete Correspondence* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964] Vol I, pp. 58, 79.
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- ⁴³ Shirer, op. cit., p. 897.
- ⁴⁴ Irving, David *Churchill's War*, Vol. I *The Struggle for Power* [Australia: Veritas, 1987] p. 334.
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- ⁴⁹ Best, Antony *Britain, Japan & Pearl Harbour: Avoiding War in East Asia 1936–1941* [London: Routledge, 1995], p. 108, citing PRO FO837/524 vol. 4 Okamoto/Leith-Ross conversation 28 June 1940.
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- ⁵¹ Churchill, op. cit., Vol II *Their Finest Hour*, p. 151.

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- 53 Best, op. cit., p. 116, citing PRO CAB79/5 COS(40) 207th meeting 4 July 1940; CAB65/8 WM194(40) War Cabinet conclusions 5 July 1940; PRO CAB79/5 COS(40) 209th meeting 5 July 1940 Annex 2 Ismay to Bruce 4 July 1940.
- 54 Best, loc. cit., citing PRO FO371/24666 F3544/43/10 Craigie to Halifax 3 July 1940 tel.1149, and 4 July tels. 1154, 1156, 1158.
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- 59 Kilzer, op. cit., pp. 229–234.
- 60 Kimball, op. cit., p. 75.
- 61 Stinnett, op. cit., p. 18, citing Richardson, James O., *On the Treadmill to Pearl Harbour* [Washington, DC, Naval History Division, Department of the Navy, 1973] pp. 319, 384.
- 62 Kimball, op. cit., p. 58, citing Harold D. Smith Papers (Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York) July 9, 1940.
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- 64 *ibid.*, p. 483.
- 65 *ibid.*, p. 492.
- 66 *ibid.*, p. 495.
- 67 *ibid.*, pp. 498–508.
- 68 *ibid.*, pp. 524–525.
- 69 *ibid.*, p. 526.
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- ⁹³ Boegner Marc *The Long Road to Unity* [London: Collins, 1970] p. 156.
- ⁹⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 176–177.
- ⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 157.
- ⁹⁶ Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 108.
- ⁹⁷ Ministers from each of the former Czechoslovak, Polish and Dutch governments set up provisional governments in exile in London following German occupation of their countries.
- ⁹⁸ Best, op. cit., pp. 123, 124, citing PRO FO371/24738 F3680/653/23 Craigie to Halifax 30 July 1940 tel.1373, and CAB65/8 WM217(40) War Cabinet conclusions 1 August 1940.
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- ¹¹⁶ Irving, *Churchill's War*, op.cit., p. 418.
- ¹¹⁷ Stinnett, op. cit., p. 40.
- ¹¹⁸ Irving, *Churchill's War*, loc. cit.
- ¹¹⁹ Kimball, op. cit., p. 75, citing Wayne S. Cole, *America First: The Battle Against Intervention, 1940–1941* (Maddison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1953) pp. 39–42.
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- ¹³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 53.
- ¹³⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 52–56.
- ¹³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 62.
- ¹³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 56.
- ¹³⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 56–59.
- ¹³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 60.
- ¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 73.
- ¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, pp. 68–69.
- ¹⁴² *ibid.*, p. 66.
- ¹⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 77.
- ¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p. 67, 76.
- ¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p. 78.
- ¹⁴⁶ Yahil, op. cit., pp. 253–254.
- ¹⁴⁷ Best, op. cit., pp. 126–127.
- ¹⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 127, citing PRO FO371/24729 F4634/60/23 Churchill to Halifax 4 October 1940 M.161.
- ¹⁴⁹ Stinnett, op. cit., p. 10, citing message Churchill to Roosevelt, October 4, 1940, quoted in Kimball, op.cit., p. 74.
- ¹⁵⁰ Churchill, op.cit.Vol. II *Their Finest Hour*, p. 416.
- ¹⁵¹ Stinnett, op. cit., p. 28, citing *The New York Times*, October 4, 1940, an article by Herbert L. Matthews.
- ¹⁵² *ibid.*, pp. 8–14.
- ¹⁵³ McCollum, Arthur, Memorandum to the Director, the Office of US Naval Intelligence, October 7, 1940, located in Box 6 of a special US Navy collection in RG 38 in the Military Reference Branch of Archives II, January 24, 1995, and reproduced in full in Stinnett, op. cit., Appendix A, pp. 262–268. The number of the clause from which each extract is taken is placed in [brackets] at the end of each extract.
- ¹⁵⁴ Stinnett, op. cit., p. 10, citing the *New York Times*, October 9, 1940, p. 1.
- ¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 10–11, citing Richardson, *Treadmill*, pp. 427, 435.
- ¹⁵⁶ Churchill, op. cit.,Vol. II *Their Finest Hour*, p. 422, quoting from *Hitler and Mussolini: Letters and Documents*, p. 61.
- ¹⁵⁷ Cornwell, op. cit., p. 262, cites M. Carroll (*sic*), [Michael O'Carroll] *Greatness Dishonoured* (Dublin, 1980), p. 14. Although the subject of Tisserant's comment may be disputed it is reasonable to accept that he was referring to the Vatican policy of gratuitously supplanting other Christian churches wherever the opportunity arose, as in Ethiopia previously and now in Eastern Europe.
- ¹⁵⁸ *ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. 248.
- ¹⁶⁰ Churchill, op.cit., Vol. II *Their Finest Hour*, p. 423.
- ¹⁶¹ Nafi, op. cit., p. 16, citing DGFP, Series D, vol. X, pp. 320–1.
- ¹⁶² Best, op. cit., pp. 132–137.
- ¹⁶³ Kimball, op. cit., p. 87.
- ¹⁶⁴ Allen, op. cit., p. 339.
- ¹⁶⁵ Churchill got his way on both issues and the dire consequences which Wavell anticipated did not eventuate.
- ¹⁶⁶ Zweig, op. cit., pp. 70–75.
- ¹⁶⁷ Grosser, Paul, & Edwin Halperin *Anti-Semitism: the causes and effects of a prejudice* [Secaucus, NJ: Lyle Stuart/Citadel Press, 1979] p. 262, citing Martin Broszat et.al. *Anatomy of the SS State* [Cambridge: Wm. Collins and Sons, 1968] pp. 55–57.
- ¹⁶⁸ Churchill, op. cit., Vol. II *Their Finest Hour*; p. 439, quotes the Republican psidential candidate, Wendell Wilkie, as saying on November 2, 1940: "All of us – Republicans, Democrats and Independents – believe in giving aid to the heroic British people. We must make available to them the products of our industry."
- ¹⁶⁹ Kimball, op. cit., pp. 84, 94.
- ¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 85, citing FR, 1940, III, 16–18.
- ¹⁷¹ Gribetz, et.al., op. cit., p. 435.

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- ¹⁷² After the war an effort was made to revive the BiraBidzhan scheme, with 6,326 Jewish migrants arriving in the three years 1946–48.* In fact some refugees from Poland and the three Baltic States may have been placed there against their wishes in 1939 because Yahil notes that some of the 300,000 Jewish refugees from the occupied territories “were evacuated immediately by the Russians to the interior of Russia and to distant regions.” She does not name the regions. She then notes that: “The great majority rejected the alternative held out to them, namely, to accept Soviet nationality, which would have obliged the younger men to enlist in the Red Army. They feared being banned in perpetuity from leaving the Soviet Union and returning to their homes in Poland.”# * Kochan, Lionel (Ed) *The Jews in Soviet Russia Since 1917* [London: Oxford University Press, 1978] pp. 74,75. # Yahil, op. cit., p. 260.
- ¹⁷³ Yahil, op. cit., pp. 160–169.
- ¹⁷⁴ McEvedy, Colin and Richard Jones, *Penguin Atlas of World Population History* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978] p. 288.
- ¹⁷⁵ Compiled from tables in Ellis, John *World War II: A Statistical Survey* [New York: Facts on File, 1993] pp. 227–228.
- ¹⁷⁶ Irving, *Churchills War*, op. cit., p. 449.
- ¹⁷⁷ Toland, op. cit., p. 886.
- ¹⁷⁸ Churchill, op.cit., Vol II *Their Finest Hour*, p. 423.
- ¹⁷⁹ Best, op.cit., p. 137, citing PRO FO371/24674 F4817/57/10 Clark Kerr to Halifax 19 October 1940 tel.141, and F4999/57/10 Clark Kerr to Halifax 4 November 1940 tel.165.
- ¹⁸⁰ Kimball, op. cit., pp. 92–93, citing Ickes, *The Lowering Clouds*, entry for Nov. 9, 1940, p. 367, and indicating related references.
- ¹⁸¹ *ibid.*, pp. 94–95, citing Matloff and Snell, *Strategic Planning*, p. 28; and Leighton and Oakley, *Global Logistics*, p. 43.
- ¹⁸² Toland, op. cit., pp. 883–884.
- ¹⁸³ Best, op. cit., p. 137, citing PRO FO371/24674 F5210/57/10 Clark Kerr to Halifax 19 November 1940 tel.202.
- ¹⁸⁴ Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 29–30.
- ¹⁸⁵ Cornwell, op. cit., pp. 246–248.
- ¹⁸⁶ Toland, op. cit., p. 884.
- ¹⁸⁷ Best, op. cit., p. 136, citing Churchill to Alexander and Pound 22 November 1940 M.333, Winston Churchill Papers, Churchill College, Cambridge, CHAR20/13.
- ¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 135–136, citing PRO FO371/24711 F5359/193/61 Halifax to Alexander 26 November 1940, and Alexander to Halifax 29 November 1940. [In the text Best dates Halifax’ note as November 23, while the date given for the document cited is three days later. As the discrepancy does not affect the sequence of events, it appears to be of no significance.].
- ¹⁸⁹ Kimball, op. cit., p. 96, citing Wheeler-Bennett, *King George VI*, p. 521.
- ¹⁹⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 97–103.
- ¹⁹¹ Best, op. cit., pp. 138–139.
- ¹⁹² *ibid.*, p. 138, citing P. Lowe, *Great Britain and the Origins of the Pacific War: A study of British Policy in East Asia, 1937–1941*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1977, pp. 208–216; and PRO FO371/24693 F5415/230/10 Halifax to Clark Kerr 9 December 1940 tel.294.
- ¹⁹³ Ike, Nobutaka (Ed) *Japan’s Decision for War, Records of the 1941 Policy Conference* [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967] p. xx.
- ¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p. xxi.
- ¹⁹⁵ Zweig, op. cit., p. 124.
- ¹⁹⁶ Best, op. cit., p. 154, citing PRO FO371/27901 F234/27/23 Halifax to Lloyd 17 December 1940.
- ¹⁹⁷ Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 90–93, with the Acting Consul-General’s message in de-coded form reproduced in full on p. 93. Source: *Pearl Harbour Report* Part 12, p. 255.
- ¹⁹⁸ Kimball, op. cit., p. 191.
- ¹⁹⁹ Best, op. cit., p. 140, citing PRO WO208/892 COIS Singapore to DNI 23 January 1941 tel.0826Z/23.
- ²⁰⁰ Gilbert, *Second World War*, p. 154.
- ²⁰¹ Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 30–32, citing: letter Bishop to Stinnett, September 19, 1988; telegram # 125 Grew to State Department, received 6.38 AM Monday, January 27, 1941 (EST) in PHPT 14 (Pearl Harbour Report part No.), p. 1042; the McCollum despatch, approved by Captain Jules James, interim ONI Director, dictated January 31, 1941, and transmitted to Admiral Kimmel on February 1, 1941; confidential file, serial 09716, OP16–F2 in RG 38, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II.

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- ²⁰² *ibid.*, p. 33, citing Richardson, *Treadmill*, pp. 402–403, 420.
- ²⁰³ *ibid.*, p. 23.
- ²⁰⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 28–29 and Appendix D, citing a “Foreign Office Secret” memorandum dated January 30, 1941, Station US Papers, RG 38, Modern Military Branch, Archives II, reproduced in full on page 299.
- ²⁰⁵ Nafi, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–17.
- ²⁰⁶ Best, *op. cit.*, p. 141, citing PRO CAB81/100 JIC(41)55 ‘Japanese Intentions’ JIC Report 5 January 1941.
- ²⁰⁷ Best, *loc. cit.*, citing PRO WO208/855 Summary of Intelligence 5 February to 25 February 1941, entries for 5 and 6 February, MI2c undated report; PRO CAB66/15 WP(41)28 ‘The Asaka Maru’ Eden memorandum 8 February 1941.
- ²⁰⁸ Dilks, *op. cit.*, p. 353, entry for February 6, 1941.
- ²⁰⁹ Best, *op. cit.*, p. 143, citing PRO WO208/855 Chapman and Mackenzie (MI2c) minutes 16 May 1941.
- ²¹⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 143–148.
- ²¹¹ Stinnett, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–10, citing PHPT 16–2150 and PHPT 33, p. 1203; B. Mitchell Simpson, III, *Admiral Harold R. Stark* (University of South Carolina Press, 1989), pp. 101, 102.
- ²¹² *ibid.*, p. 9., citing memorandum Stark to Kimmell, February 10, 1941, PHPT 33–1197; and Kimmell to Stark, February 18, 1941, PHPT 33–1199.
- ²¹³ *ibid.*, citing Simpson, *Admiral Harold R. Stark*, pp. 101–102.
- ²¹⁴ Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 891.
- ²¹⁵ Stinnett, *op. cit.*, p. 38, citing Kimmel to Stark and Stark to Kimmel, PHPT 4, p. 1792.
- ²¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 80, citing OPNAV Secret 281500, March 25, 1941, RG 38, Station US papers, MMRB Archives II.
- ²¹⁷ Kimball, *op. cit.*, pp. 224–225.
- ²¹⁸ Churchill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II *Their Finest Hour*, p. 452.
- ²¹⁹ Roosevelt’s earlier promise to Churchill, noted by Kimball, *op. cit.* p., 220.

²²⁰ **Lend Lease Bill voting patterns** (including absent members on the basis of their stated voting intentions)

House	Yes	Per cent	No	Per cent	Total
Democrats	236	90	25	10	261
Republicans	24	15	135	85	159
Others	0	0	5	100	5
Total	260	61	165	39	425
Senate					
Democrats	51	78	14	22	65
Republicans	10	36	18	64	28
Other	1	50	1	50	2
Total	61	66	32	34	95

[Source: Kimball, *op. cit.*, pp. 207, 217.]

- ²²¹ Kimball, *op. cit.*, pp. 233, 241.
- ²²² Toland, *op. cit.*, pp. 887–888.
- ²²³ Shirer, *op. cit.*, p. 993, citing Halder affidavit, November 22, 1945, at Nuremberg, NCA, VIII, pp. 645–646.
- ²²⁴ Tokayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 139–143.

²²⁵ **Refugee movements at Kobe**

Month	Arrivals	Departures	Increase in Kobe	Net in Kobe
Dec ‘40	198	91	107	107
Jan ‘41	356	236	120	227
Feb ‘41	969	147	822	104
Mar ‘41	805	182	623	1672
Apr ‘41	285]			
May ‘41	114] [three months: 464]			
Jun ‘41	65]			
Three-month departures: Somewhat more than total arrivals of				464
Three-month increase				about 836
Net balance in Kobe				1300

[Figures extracted from Tokayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 165, 183, 187, 188. Note: the figures do not tally due to the circumstances of the time. The earlier figures may be reasonably accurate but the later figures are vague and indicative only.]

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- ²²⁶ Cornwell, op. cit., p. 248.
- ²²⁷ Shirer, op. cit., pp. 1040–1046.
- ²²⁸ Toland, op. cit., pp. 893–896.
- ²²⁹ Best, op. cit., pp. 155–157.
- ²³⁰ Cornwell, op. cit., pp. 249–250, citing a quotation in C. Falconi, *The Silence of Pius XII*, Eng. Trans. (London, 1970), 266.
- ²³¹ *ibid.*, pp. 248–249.
- ²³² *ibid.*, pp. 250, 253, quoting from Falconi, *Silence*, 273.
- ²³³ *ibid.*, pp. 250–251.
- ²³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 250, citing J. Steinberg, *All or Nothing* (London, 1990), 179–80.
- ²³⁵ Bullock, Alan. *Hitler and Stalin: Parallel Lives* [London: HarperCollins/Fontana, 1993] p. 775, citing documents on German Foreign Policy, 1918–1945, (DGFP), D.XII, no. 333.
- ²³⁶ Buss, Claude A. *Asia in the Modern World* [New York: Macmillan, 1964], p. 428.
- ²³⁷ Shirer, op. cit., footnote to p. 1047, citing Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, p. 291.
- ²³⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 1050–1, citing Fuhrer Conferences on Naval Affairs (FCNA), 1941, p. 47 (April 20, 1941).
- ²³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 1047, citing FCNA 1941, pp. 47–48.
- ²⁴⁰ *ibid.*
- ²⁴¹ Ike, op. cit., p. xxii.
- ²⁴² Sachar, op. cit., p. 228.
- ²⁴³ Best, op. cit., p. 147.
- ²⁴⁴ Best, op. cit., p. 146, citing PRO CAB69/2 DO(41) 21st meeting 30 April 1941 and 22nd meeting, May 1941.
- ²⁴⁵ Stinnett, op. cit., p. 79.
- ²⁴⁶ Tokayer, op. cit., pp. 167–181.
- ²⁴⁷ Irving, op. cit., *Churchill's War*, pp. 554–556.
- ²⁴⁸ Basra was also the site proposed by the United States for a direct supply base for Lend Lease equipment, and no doubt with an eye to future interest in the region, even though it was still officially neutral.
- ²⁴⁹ Irving, op. cit., *Churchill's War*, p. 551.
- ²⁵⁰ Bullock, op. cit., p. 775, citing Schulenburg to Berlin, 7 and 12 May 1941, DGFP,D.XII, nos 468 and 505.
- ²⁵¹ Kilzer, op. cit., p. 257.
- ²⁵² Dिल्s, op. cit., pp. 376–388, entries for May 11 to June 17.
- ²⁵³ Controversy was subsequently triggered by conflicting evidence which suggests quite strongly that it was not Hess who faced the court but a person who had been substituted for him to help ensure that the facts would never become public. See Kilzer, op. cit., pp. 287–290.
- ²⁵⁴ Best, op. cit., pp. 147–148, citing CAB81/102 JIC(41)207 'Rumours of a Military Nature Intended to Mystify and Mislead the Enemy' Secretary's note 12 May 1941; PRO HSI/333 D/Q9 to A.D/Ai 3 June 1941; and HSI/340 SOE to Craigie 23 July 1941 tel.723.
- ²⁵⁵ Bullock, op. cit., p. 775.
- ²⁵⁶ Manhattan, Avro, *Catholic Imperialism and World Freedom* [London: Watts, 1952] p. 264.
- ²⁵⁷ Shirer, op. cit., p. 1009, citing *Nazi-Soviet Relations*, documents from the files of the German Foreign Office (NSR) p. 330.
- ²⁵⁸ Cornwell, op. cit., p. 252.
- ²⁵⁹ Best, op. cit., p. 158, citing PRO FO371/27833 F4345/1732/61 Craigie to Eden 22 May 1941 tel.842.
- ²⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 168, citing PRO FO371/27880 F4187/12/23 Halifax to Eden 17 May 1941 tel.2221, Eden to Halifax 21 May 1941 tel.2727, and FO371/27909 F4430/86/23 Halifax to Eden 24 May 1941 tel.2343.
- ²⁶¹ Sachar, op. cit., p. 233.
- ²⁶² Irving, *Churchill's War*, op. cit., p. 566.
- ²⁶³ Buss, op. cit., p. 434.
- ²⁶⁴ Churchill, Winston S. *The Second World War Vol III The Grand Alliance* [London: Reprint Society, 1950] pp. 204–215.
- ²⁶⁵ Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 178.
- ²⁶⁶ Irving, *Hitler's War*, op. cit., p. 259.
- ²⁶⁷ Best, op. cit., pp. 155–157, citing PRO FO371/28020 F4737/4564/23 Shigemitsu/Butler conversation 30 May 1941.

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- 268 Dilks, op. cit., pp. 381–382 Cadogan's entry for May 30, 1941.
- 269 *ibid.*, entry for May 31, 1941.
- 270 *ibid.*, p. 385, diary entry for June 2.
- 271 Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. III *The Grand Alliance*, op. cit., p. 266.
- 272 Engler, Robert *The Politics of Oil* [New York: Macmillan, 1961] pp. 199–201.
- 273 O'Connor, Richard *The Oil Barons* [Boston: Little Brown, 1972] p. 340.
- 274 Lewy, Guenter, *The Catholic Church & Nazi Germany* [New York: McGraw Hill, 1964], p. 297.
- 275 Dilks, op. cit., pp. 386–387.
- 276 Bullock, op. cit., p. 777.
- 277 *ibid.*, p. 778.
- 278 Stinnett, op. cit., p. 69, citing Oshima message number 691 to Tokyo, Saturday, June 14, 1941, in *The Magic Background of Pearl Harbour*, Vol. II, p. A-335, item 659 and item 660 of June 18, 1941. According to the White House Usher Book, FDRL, Beardall saw Roosevelt at 11.38 AM.
- 279 Best, op. cit., p. 158, citing: for Churchill, CAB69/2 DO(41) 30th meeting 15 May 1941; for Sugiyama Gen, Ike, *Japan's Decision for War*, op.cit., pp. 53–56.
- 280 O'Carroll, Michael *Pius XII Greatness Dishonoured* [Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1980] p. 16, (reference to statements by Freidrich Heer in 'The Commonweal', February 28th, 1964).
- 281 Toland, op. cit., p. 917.
- 282 Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. III *The Grand Alliance*, op. cit., pp. 298–299.
- 283 Best, op. cit., p. 163, citing PRO ADM199/1474 DNI to C/S Singapore 21 June 1941. Tel. 2313B/21.
- 284 Bullock, op. cit., p. 785, quoting a reference to General Voronov, Deputy Commissar of Defence.
- 285 Kilzer, op. cit., p. 223.
- 286 Lewy, op. cit., p. 253.
- 287 Lapidé, Pinchas *The Last Three Popes and the Jews* [London: Souvenir Press, 1967], p. 240.
- 288 Manhattan, op. cit., pp. 264–265.
- 289 Conway, J.S. *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches 1933–45* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968], p. 277.
- 290 Ultramontanism and the Vatican's political influence became an important factor again in East-West relations in 1997 with the framing of new Freedom of Religion laws in Russia and the failure of talks between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Vatican. But this time the reigning US President, Clinton, and his administration found it to their advantage to support the Vatican.
- 291 Cornwell, op. cit., pp. 264–265.
- 292 Bullock, op. cit. p. 782.
- 293 Shirer, op. cit., pp. 1047–1048, citing N.D. NG-3437, Document Book VIII-B, Weizsacker Case.
- 294 Best, op. cit., p. 162, citing PRO WO193/866 DMI to CIGS 25 June 1941, and CAB79/12 COS(41) 224th meeting 25 June 1941.
- 295 Bullock, op. cit., p. 786, citing Alex de Jonge, *Stalin*, p. 460.
- 296 *ibid.*, pp. 785–786, citing Mikoyan's Memoirs in *Politicheskoe obrazovanie* 1988, no, 9., p. 75, gives the date of Ribbentrop's appeal to Matsuoka as July 1, three days later than the date given by Shirer. It could be that there were approaches made on both dates because there was certainly a later approach as well.
- 297 Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol III *The Grand Alliance*, op. cit., p. 314.
- 298 Gilbert, op. cit., *Second World War*, pp. 205, 207.
- 299 *ibid.*, pp. 204–205.
- 300 Shirer, op. cit., pp. 1047–1048, citing N.D. NG-3437, Document Book VIII-B, Weizsacker Case.
- 301 Best, op. cit., p. 162, citing PRO ADM199/1474 DNI to C/S Singapore 4 July 1941 tel.2222B/4.
- 302 *ibid.*, p. 160.
- 303 Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol III *The Grand Alliance*, loc.cit.
- 304 *ibid.*, pp. 315–316.
- 305 Gilbert, op. cit., *Second World War*, p. 206.
- 306 Best, op. cit., p. 163, citing PRO FO371/27881 F6101/12/23 Eden to Halifax 13 July 1941 tel.4016.
- 307 Shirer, op. cit., p. 1048, citing Text of telegram, NCA, VI, pp. 564–65 (N.D. 2896–PS).
- 308 Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol III *The Grand Alliance*, op. cit., p. 308, from his memo to the First Lord of the Admiralty and the First Sea Lord, July 10, 1941.
- 309 *ibid.*, p. 309, from his draft declaration set out in a memo to Ambassador Cripps for Stalin, July 10, 1941.

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- ³¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 317–318.
- ³¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 299.
- ³¹² Bullock, *op. cit.*, pp. 528–529, citing Robert Conquest, *The Great Terror: A Re-assessment* [London, 1990] p. 450. The top ranking officers, administrators and policy makers purged were: Soviet marshals, 3 of 5; army commanders, 13 of 15; fleet admirals and admirals grade I, 8 of 9; corps commanders, 50 of 57; divisional commanders, 154 of 186; army political commissars, 16 of 16; corps commissars, 25 of 28; divisional commissars, 58 of 64; vice-commissars of defence, 11 of 11; members of the Supreme Military Soviet, 98 of 108.
- ³¹³ Bullock, *op. cit.*, pp. 529–530.
- ³¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 543, citing Robert Conquest, *Excess Deaths and Camp Numbers*, in *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 5, 1991.
- ³¹⁵ McEvedy & Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 82. The annexations lifted the population of the Soviet Union to 194 million, and by the time of the invasion it had risen by natural increase and refugee migration to 200 million.
- ³¹⁶ Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 253.
- ³¹⁷ Zernov, Nicolas *The Russians and Their Church* [London: SPCK, 1978] p. 163.
- ³¹⁸ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. III, *The Grand Alliance*, *op. cit.*, Chapter XX *The Soviet Nemesis*.
- ³¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 301.
- ³²⁰ Conway, *op. cit.*, p. 279.
- ³²¹ *ibid.*, p. 285, quoting *Table Talk*.
- ³²² Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. III *The Grand Alliance*, *op. cit.*, p. 340.
- ³²³ Cornwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 250–251, citing a quotation in J. Steinberg, *All or Nothing* (London, 1990), p. 276.
- ³²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 261, quoting from W. Jochmann, ed., *Adolf Hitler: Monologue in Führerhauptquartier, 1941–1944* (Hamburg, 1980), 41.
- ³²⁵ Gilbert, *op. cit.*, *Second World War*, p. 212.
- ³²⁶ Best, *op. cit.*, p. 163, citing PRO FO837/534 Vol. 4 Leith-Ross (MEW) minute 14 July 1941; PRO CAB79/12 COS(41) 246th meeting 15 July 1941; and FO371/27764 F6606/9/61 Churchill to Eden and Ismay 16 July 1941 M.745/1.
- ³²⁷ According to Churchill (Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol III *The Grand Alliance*, *op. cit.*, p. 341), while the Japanese landing was in progress on the 24th, Roosevelt asked the Japanese government to “neutralise” Indochina and withdraw its troops as a prelude to a general settlement. However in his comprehensive treatment of the crisis, Antony Best make no mention of such an approach and Churchill does not indicate the Japanese government's response.
- ³²⁸ Bullock, *op. cit.*, p. 788, citing Volkogonov, D.A., *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy*, trans. Harold Shukman [London, 1991] pp. 412–413; and referring to statements by Mikoyan, Khrushchev and Stramenov.
- ³²⁹ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol III *The Grand Alliance*, *op. cit.*, p. 316.
- ³³⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 316–317.
- ³³¹ Shirer, *op. cit.*, pp. 1121.22.
- ³³² Yahil, *op. cit.*, pp. 254–255, citing IMT, 26, PS-710, pp. 266f; DOH, p. 233.
- ³³³ *ibid.*, pp. 254–256.
- ³³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 130, citing Urteil gegen Karl Wolff, 30.9.1964, YVSA, TR-10/636, pp. 68ff.
- ³³⁵ Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 961.
- ³³⁶ Dawidowicz, Lucy S. *The War Against the Jews 1933–1945* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1987], p. 152.
- ³³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 164.
- ³³⁸ Yahil, *op. cit.*, p. 249, citing Hans A. Jacobsen, “Kommissarbefehl und Massenexekutionen sowjetischer Kriegsgefangener,” in Helmut Krausnick et al., *Anatomie des SS Staates* (Olten, Switz., 1965), vol.2, pp. 198–201. See also DOH, p. 375.
- ³³⁹ Dawidowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 142.
- ³⁴⁰ Hawes, & White (Eds.) *Resistance in Europe 1939–1945* [London: Allen Lane, 1975], p. 149, Contribution by Williams, Anthony: Resistance & Opposition Among Germans.
- ³⁴¹ Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 266.
- ³⁴² Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 959.
- ³⁴³ Stinnett, *op. cit.*, p. 10, citing US Naval Attaché Tokyo Confidential Serial 220230 of August 23, 1941, RG 38, Station US papers release of January 1995, Archives II. A copy of Japan's protest was forwarded to Roosevelt. Also, the Bungo Strait Report, Serial 220230, loc cit.
- ³⁴⁴ Cornwell, *op. cit.*, p. 263, citing Falconi, *Silence*, pp. 125–126.

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- 345 Best, op. cit., p. 167, citing PRO CAB69/2 54th meetings 5, 7, and 8 August respectively, CAB 120/25 Atlee to Churchill 9 August 1941 tel.23 (Abbey), and Menzies to Churchill 12 August 1941 tel.34 (Abbey).
- 346 Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol III *The Grand Alliance*, op. cit., p. 346.
- 347 Wilmot, Chester *The Struggle for Europe* [London: Collins, 1967].
- 348 Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol III *The Grand Alliance*, op. cit., pp. 252–253.
- 349 Wilmot, op. cit., p. 635.
- 350 Davis, Lynn Etheridge *The Cold War begins: Soviet-American Conflict in Eastern Europe* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974] pp. 11–12; Gaddis, John Lewis *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941–1947* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1972] pp. 12–14.
- 351 Quoted in Kolko, Gabriel *The Politics of War; the World and United States Foreign Policy, 1943–1945* (New York: Random House, 1968) p. 244.
- 352 In that respect, the desire to get the American public internationally engaged was reflected in the form the *Atlantic Charter* took, since Roosevelt also feared that anything beyond a declaration of broad principles would create controversy and opposition in the US. Thus British suggestions to include references to immediate issues such as criticism of Hitler's policies, as well as more direct reference to the creation of an international organization at the end of the war, had been deleted at US insistence. Davis, op. cit., pp. 16–17; Loth, Wilfried *The Division of the World, 1941–1955* (London: Routledge, 1988) pp. 19–20
- 353 Halecki, Oskar and Murray, J.F. *Pius XII – Eugene Pacelli, Pope of Peace*, revised edition, 1954, pp. 166–167.
- 354 Best, op. cit., p. 174, citing PRO CAB122/577 Turner/Danckwerts conversation 19 August 1941, and PREM4/27/9 Halifax to Churchill 11 October 1941.
- 355 Stinnett, op. cit., p. 130, citing CNO dispatch serial 142155 with information copies to COM 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, in FOAI, Naval Security Group Command release.
- 356 *ibid.*, pp. 130 ff.
- 357 Best op. cit., p. 168, citing PRO FO371/27909 F7883/86/23 Halifax to Eden 17 August 1941 tel.3823.
- 358 Best, loc. cit., citing W.H. Heinrichs, *Threshold of War: Franklin D. Roosevelt and the American Entry into World War II* [New York: Oxford, 1988] pp. 161–163.
- 359 Churchill, op. cit. Vol. III, p. 350, Churchill's telegrams to both Eden and Atlee, August 11, 1941.
- 360 Best, loc. cit., citing PRO FO371/27977 F8195/1299/23 'Freezing of Japanese Assets' Ashley Clarke (FE Dept.) minute 18 August 1941.
- 361 Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. III *The Grand Alliance*, op. cit., pp. 380–382.
- 362 Yahil, op. cit., pp. 308–309.
- 363 Hawes & White (Eds.) op. cit., p. 150. Williams contributing.
- 364 Cornwell, op. cit., pp. 256–257, citing ADSS, viii, 250ff.
- 365 Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 98–101, citing Hoover-Berle correspondence, August 7, 1941 in RG 59, State Department Decimal File 702,941 1A/35, Diplomatic Branch, Archives II, and wiretapped conversations of August 21–23, 1941, in FBI File 65–414, copies in Stinnett's files, with a note that Attorney General Janet Reno and her public affairs chief, Carl Stern, declined to declassify a particular message in the series for those dates, Serial 399, and labelled it a B-1 National Defense Secret under the provisions of the FOIA act.
- 366 *ibid.*, pp. 90–94, citing PHPT 10, p. 4914; RG 38, Station US papers, Folder 5830/30, MMRB, Archives II; and PHPT 36, p. 67.
- 367 *ibid.*, p. 125, citing: Admiral Koga's message, September 1, 1941, in Station H intercept file, RG 457, MMRB, Archives II, SRN 117554; RG 80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II; and the 39 volumes of the report of the *Joint Committee on the Investigation of the Pearl Harbour Attack, 1945–46*.
- 368 Ike, loc. cit.
- 369 *ibid.*, p. 135.
- 370 *ibid.*, p. 154.
- 371 *ibid.*, p. 152.
- 372 *ibid.*, p. 161.
- 373 *ibid.*, p. 153.
- 374 Best, op. cit., p. 170, citing Ike, op. cit, pp. 133–151.
- 375 Wilmot, op. cit., p. 633.
- 376 Best, op. cit., p. 169, citing PRO FO371/27616 F9109/60/10 Clark Kerr to Eden 8 September 1941 tel. 454, and Churchill to Eden 10 September 1941 M885/1, W. Churchill papers, Churchill College, Cambridge, CHAR20/36.

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- ³⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p. 170 citing PRO FO371/27883 F9164/12/23 Craigie to Eden 8 September 1941.
- ³⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 173, citing PRO FO371/27883 F9164/12/23 Craigie to Eden 8 September 1941 tel.1637.
- ³⁷⁹ Wilmot, *loc. cit.*
- ³⁸⁰ Ike, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
- ³⁸¹ Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 948.
- ³⁸² Fishman, Priscilla, Ed. *The Jews of the United States* [Jerusalem: Keter, 1974] pp. 70–71.
- ³⁸³ Best, *op. cit.*, p. 171, citing PRO HW1/64 BJ 095427 Tokyo to Berlin 10 September 1941 decrypted 13 September 1941.
- ³⁸⁴ *ibid.*, p. 172, citing PRO FO371/27981 F9615/1299/23 Eden to Churchill 12 September 1941.
- ³⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p. 173, citing K. Usui, 'A consideration of Anglo-Japanese Relations: Japanese Views of Britain, 1937–1941.' In I. Nish (ed.), *Anglo-Japanese Alienation 1919–1952*, Cambridge, Cambridge Uni Press, 1982, p. 95.
- ³⁸⁶ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol III *The Grand Alliance*, *op. cit.*, p. 384.
- ³⁸⁷ Best, *op. cit.*, p. 172, citing PRO FO371/27883 F9172/12/23 Eden to Craigie 18 September 1941 tel.1187.
- ³⁸⁸ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. III *The Grand Alliance*, *op. cit.*, p. 360, including his memorandum to Beaverbrook, August 30, 1941.
- ³⁸⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 364,365 relating the discussion between him and Eden and the Russian Ambassador M. Maisky on September 4, 1941, and Churchill's memorandum to Stalin of the same date.
- ³⁹⁰ Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 231.
- ³⁹¹ Cornwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 278–279.
- ³⁹² Gilbert, *op. cit.*, *Second World War*, p. 239.
- ³⁹³ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. III *The Grand Alliance*, *op. cit.*, pp. 370, 372, citing Beaverbrook's telegram to Churchill, October 4, 1941.
- ³⁹⁴ Gilbert, *op. cit.*, *Second World War*, p. 242.
- ³⁹⁵ The first convoy of British military supplies for Russia had left Iceland for Archangel two days earlier, September 28.
- ³⁹⁶ Bullock, *op. cit.*, p. 792, indicates that there is confusion over whether this was a second approach for an armistice or whether there was only one approach, reported by different sources to have been made on different dates. However the two reports involve different people. The October report is based on the personal account of General Zhukov who had been sent to take command of the south western front shortly after the invasion and was not recalled to Moscow until October. It therefore appears most likely that two separate approaches were made.
- ³⁹⁷ *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
- ³⁹⁸ Stinnett, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–107, citing messages from Tokyo to Morimura dated September 24, 1941 and Morimura to Tokyo dated September 29, 1941, published in PHPT, 12, pp. 261 and 262, and reproduced in Stinnett pp. 102 and 104. Also quoting from an exchange between Miles and Gesell in PHPT 2, pp. 787, 794, 795, 797.
- ³⁹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 105–107 and note 11, citing: the White House Usher Book for October 14, 1941, FDRL; cable Sarnoff to Roosevelt dated November 13, 1941; PHPT 20, p. 4468 ff.
- ⁴⁰⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 14–15. Rochefort was one of three officers in a Japanese language class conducted by McCollum in Tokyo for the US Navy in 1928. Subsequently they all trained and worked in intelligence.
- ⁴⁰¹ *ibid.*, p. 107, citing Rochefort's discussion of Sarnoff's visit to Honolulu, in PHPT 23, p. 686, given on January 2, 1942 during testimony before the Roberts Commission in Honolulu.
- ⁴⁰² *ibid.*, p. 111, that the Roosevelt-Sarnoff deal was hardly necessary because US intercept operators had already ignored federal interception laws and were obtaining 84 per cent of Japanese messages and their interception rate for Morimura's messages over five months was 94.4 per cent, or 34 of 36 messages. In any case Rochefort failed to decode and translate the remainder.
- ⁴⁰³ Best, *op. cit.*, p. 175, citing PRO FO371/27906 F10942/33/23 Eden to Churchill 16 October 1941 PM/41/142.
- ⁴⁰⁴ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol III *The Grand Alliance*, *op. cit.*, p. 374.
- ⁴⁰⁵ Gilbert, *op. cit.*, *Second World War*, p. 251.
- ⁴⁰⁶ Best, *op. cit.*, pp. 178–179, citing PRO FO371/27911 F11672/86/23 Craigie to Eden 1 November 1941 tel.2186.
- ⁴⁰⁷ Concerning the leak to Grew and his report: Stinnett, *op. cit.*, pp. 142–143, citing PHPT 14, p. 1057; PHPT 2, pp. 560, 561, 679; Joseph Grew, *Ten Years in Japan* (Simon & Schuster, 1944), pp. 470, 497; and *The Magic Background of Pearl Harbour* (US Department of Defense, USGPO), Vol. IV, pp. N 11–13, items 14–17.
- ⁴⁰⁸ Ike, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
- ⁴⁰⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 209, 210

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- ⁴¹⁰ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol III *The Grand Alliance*, op. cit., p. 464.
- ⁴¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 465.
- ⁴¹² Bullock, op. cit., pp. 792–793.
- ⁴¹³ Best, op. cit., p. 178, citing PRO CAB65/24 WM(41)112 Secretary's Standard File 12 November 1941.
- ⁴¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 180, citing PRO FO371/27911 F11672/86/23 Eden to Craigie 15 November 1941 tel. 1523.
- ⁴¹⁵ Ike, op. cit., p. 246.
- ⁴¹⁶ Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 157–158 and notes 1 and 2, cites and quotes from a memorandum written by *Time* journalist Robert Sherrod for his editor. After the war Marshall acknowledged that the gist of the report was “apparently correct.” Stinnett also refers to Larry Bland, ed., *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall* (John Hopkins University Press, 1986), Vol. 2, p. 676 ff.; and PHPT 7, p. 2960. In note 2 he discusses a search of intercepts which could have been the basis of Marshall’s assertion that he was using intercepted messages in his assessment of the likely timing of the outbreak of war.
- ⁴¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 144, citing Grew’s testimony to the Pearl Harbour enquiry, PHPT 14, p. 1059.
- ⁴¹⁸ Jenkins, David, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, November 5th, 1990, p. 13, reporting declassified State Department files on microfiche at Cornell University, New York.
- ⁴¹⁹ Best, op. cit., p. 181, citing PRO HW 1/240 BJ.097993 Tokyo to Hong Kong 14 November 1941 decrypted 21 November 1941.
- ⁴²⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 180–182, citing PRO FO371/27912 F12654/86/23 Campbell to Eden 18 November 1941 tel. 5233, and Eden to Halifax 21 November 1941 tel. 6355; F12655/86/23 Halifax to Eden 22 November 1941 tel.5353; F12654/86/23 Halifax to Eden 22 November 1941 tel. 5352.
- ⁴²¹ *ibid.*, p. 182, citing PRO FO371/27912 F122813/86/23 Churchill to Eden 23 November 1941, F12655/86/23 Eden to Halifax 24 November 1941 tel.6424, and F12766/86/23 Halifax to Eden 25 November 1941 tel.5380.
- ⁴²² Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 148–150.
- ⁴²³ *ibid.*, pp. 150–151, citing PHPT 5–2438 and quoting from Ingersol’s message.
- ⁴²⁴ *ibid.*, citing letter Stark to Kimmel, September 23, 1941, setting out Roosevelt’s policy on active engagement, and Kimmels’ comments on it; PHPT 33, p. 1168.
- ⁴²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 178–179, citing and quoting from the original Stimson diary notes in PHPT 11, pp. 5433–5434, and an elaboration of the diary provided to the Joint Congressional Investigating Committee in 1945–46, pp. 5421–5427.
- ⁴²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 46, quoting directly from Yamamoto’s radio message as published in Wallin, Homer N., *Pearl Harbour* (Naval History Division, US Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 86, and reproduced by Stinnett as Appendix D, p. 292.
- ⁴²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 137 and note 30; p. 188 and note 32, citing: an order bearing McCollum’s initials as initiator which were dropped from later reprints of the message, in Secret serial 242239, 10.39 pm, GMT or 5.30 pm US EST, both November 24, 1941, PHLO, RG 80, Archives II; and Presidential Monograph file, PHLO, RG 38, MMRB, Archives II.
- ⁴²⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 46–51, 124 and notes 16, 17, 18, 19 to chapter four. In his notes Stinnett discusses the tracking and the fate of those and other messages in detail with extensive references and citations. He says, specifically: “Yamamoto’s thirteen missing radio messages can easily be documented by retrieving his SMS message numbers from the intercept file of Station H in RG 45, MMRB, of Archives II.
- ⁴²⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 162–163, citing an undated written report of Commander W. J. Sebald, COMINT aide to Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King, Chief of Naval Operations, folder 5830/6, RG 38, Station US papers; declassified January 28, 1995, MMRB, Archives II.
- ⁴³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 46 and note 16. Yamamoto’s key messages of November 25 (November 24 US EST) stripped of all Japanese communication data and lacking the source of the intercept, can be found in two US naval histories: *Pearl Harbour*, by Vice Admiral Homer N. Wallin, and *The Campaigns of the Pacific War* prepared by the Naval Analysis Division of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey.
- ⁴³¹ *ibid.*, pp. 164–167, citing: Rochefort’s testimony of submarine tracking, daily Communications Summary, November 24,25,26, 1941 under sub-heading Fourth Fleet and Mandates, PHLO, RG 80, MMRB, Archives II; the priority dispatch in RG 80, PHLO, MMRB, Archives II.
- ⁴³² Best, op. cit., p. 185, citing PRO ADM223/231 OIC Special Intelligence Summary no. 429 25 November 1941.
- ⁴³³ *ibid.*, p. 184, citing PRO HW1/259 BJ.098151 Tokyo to European capitals 20 November 1941 decrypted 25 November 1941.

- ⁴³⁴ *ibid.*, p. PRO FO371/27912 F12818/86/23 Churchill to Roosevelt 26 November 1941 T.871.
- ⁴³⁵ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol III *The Grand Alliance*, op. cit., p. 469.
- ⁴³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 470.
- ⁴³⁷ Best, op. cit., p. 186, citing PRO FO371/27767 F12823/9/61 Meiklereid (Saigon) to Eden 26 November 1941 tel. 226.
- ⁴³⁸ *ibid.*, citing PRO ADM223/494 NIDvol. 40 Far East and Pacific 1, History, Pearl Harbour and the loss of Prince of Wales and Repulse (undated 1945?), FO371/27694 F13068/523/23 C/S Singapore to DNI 27 November 1941 tel.0532Z/27, ADM199/1477 Admiralty to Senior Officer Force G 28 November 1941 tel. 2355A/28, and WO193/869 DDMI Singapore to WO 29 November 1941 tel. 26338.
- ⁴³⁹ Churchill, loc. cit.
- ⁴⁴⁰ *ibid.*
- ⁴⁴¹ Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 170–175. Stark's revised message to Kimmel is set out in full on page 172 and the series of war alerts are reproduced in Appendix C, pp. 281–291.
- ⁴⁴² Irving, *Hitler's War*, op. cit., p. 346.
- ⁴⁴³ Best, op. cit. p. 187, citing PRO HW1/264 BJ.098178 Bangkok to Rome 24 November 1941 decrypted 26 November 1941, HW1/272 BJ.098255 Bangkok to Rome 24 November 1941 decrypted 28 November 1941, and BJ.098276 Bangkok to Tokyo 21 November 1941 decrypted 28 November 1941.
- ⁴⁴⁴ *ibid.*, citing PRO CAB81/105 JIC(41)449 'Possible Japanese Action' JIC Report 28 November 1941.
- ⁴⁴⁵ Stinnett, op. cit., p. 179.
- ⁴⁴⁶ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. III *The Grand Alliance*, op. cit., p. 471.
- ⁴⁴⁷ For comprehensive details see Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 180 ff.
- ⁴⁴⁸ Lash, Joseph P. *Roosevelt and Churchill 1939–1941* [London: Andre Deutsch, 1977] p. 412.
- ⁴⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 415.
- ⁴⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 411.
- ⁴⁵¹ Ike, op. cit. p. 257.
- ⁴⁵² Best, op. cit., p. 187, citing PRO ADM199/1477 Thomas (Straits Governor) to C in C China 29 November 1941 tel.1140/29, and CAB 107/3 Ad-hoc meeting 30 November 1941; PRO AIR20.291 WO to C in C FE 25 November 1941 tel.FE43.
- ⁴⁵³ *ibid.*, pp. 187–188, citing PRO FO371/27913 F13053/86/23 Churchill to Roosevelt 30 November 1941 T.902.
- ⁴⁵⁴ Sachar, op. cit., p. 229.
- ⁴⁵⁵ Gilbert, op. cit., *Second World War*, p. 265.
- ⁴⁵⁶ Ike, op. cit., pp. 264–272.
- ⁴⁵⁷ Best, *Britain, Japan and Pearl Harbour*, op. cit., extensively quoted and cited in these chapters.
- ⁴⁵⁸ All references and extracts from Togo's report to the Imperial Conference are from Ike, *Japan's Decision for War*, op.cit., pp. 264 ff.
- ⁴⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. 266.
- ⁴⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 268.
- ⁴⁶¹ *ibid.*, p. 270.
- ⁴⁶² *ibid.*, p. 272.
- ⁴⁶³ Stinnett, op. cit., p. 181.
- ⁴⁶⁴ Best, op. cit., pp. 187–188 citing PRO FO371/27913 F13144/86/23 Halifax to Eden 1 December 1941 tel.5519.
- ⁴⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p. 188, citing PRO FO371/27913 F13144 /86/23 Churchill to Eden 2 December 1941 M.1072/1.
- ⁴⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p. 191 citing PRO ADM223/494 NID vol. 40 Far East and Pacific 1, History, Pearl Harbour and the Loss of *Prince of Wales and Repulse* (undated 1945?).
- ⁴⁶⁷ *ibid.*, citing PRO FO371/27914 F13219/86/23 Halifax to Eden 3 December 1941 tel.5577, HW1/290 BJ.098509 Tokyo to London 1 December 1941 decrypted 3 December 1941, HW1/294 'C' to Churchill 4 December 1941 C/8238, and HW1/288 BJ.098452 Tokyo to Berlin 30 November 1941 decrypted 2 December 1941.
- ⁴⁶⁸ *ibid.*, citing PRO ADM223/494 NID vol. 40 *ibid.*
- ⁴⁶⁹ Gilbert, op. cit., *Second World War*, p. 270.
- ⁴⁷⁰ Stinnett, op. cit., pp. 212–213, citing: operator logs, Station H, pp. 100 (Garstka), 120 (LF), December 6, 1941 Tokyo time; RG 38, MMRB, Archives II, with a note that the English translation of Inoue's declaration of war message, with omissions, is in RG 457, SRN 115368, MMRB, Archives II; and Station H operator log, December 6, 1941, p. 120, as RI RO 00, NR 951; Station US papers, RG 38, MMRB, Archives II.

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- ⁴⁷¹ *ibid.*, pp. 213–214 and note 29, citing Station H operator log, December 6, 1941, 11.20 pm (Tokyo time); Station US papers, Station H operator log, pp. 101, 92, 124 in RG 38, Archives II; and RG 457, SRN series, SRN 115370 (Rescript), 115371, MMRB, Archives II.
- ⁴⁷² *ibid.*, pp. 214–216, citing letter Dyer to Stinnett, June 4, 1983, in Stinnett's files.
- ⁴⁷³ *ibid.*, p. 109.
- ⁴⁷⁴ On December 5 the Japanese Foreign Ministry transmitted two messages which disclosed that war between Japan and the United States would start on December 7. Three stations (US, CAST and FIVE) obtained intercepts in the Purple Code without difficulty but neither message was decoded until after the attack. See Stinnett, *op. cit.*, p. 226 with a message from Tokyo to Bangkok dated December 6, 1941 which was translated on December 8, reproduced from PHPT 12, p. 247.
- ⁴⁷⁵ Best, *op. cit.*, p. 189, citing PRO ADM199/1475 DNI to COIS Singapore 2 December 1941 tel.0024A3, HW1/303 BJ.098583 Bangkok to Tokyo 25 November 1941 decrypted 6 December 1941, BJ.098606 Bangkok to Tokyo 28 November 1941 decrypted 6 December 1941, and PREM3/158/6 COS to Churchill 6 December 1941.
- ⁴⁷⁶ Stinnett, *op. cit.*, pp. 179–180, citing Grew, Joseph, *Ten Years in Japan* (Simon and Schuster, 1944), p. 486; and Roosevelt's message to Hirohito in PHPT 11, p. 4870.
- ⁴⁷⁷ Best, *op. cit.*, pp. 189–190, citing PRO AIR20/291 C in C FE to WO 7 December 1941 tel.1605Z/7. PREM3/158/6 COIS Singapore to DNI 7 December 1941 tel.0611Z/7; PRO FO371/12789 F13503/1299/23 C in C FE to WO 7 December 1941 tel.2300/7, and WO106/2514 C in C FE to WO 8 December 1941 tel.1412Z/8.
- ⁴⁷⁸ Stinnett, *op. cit.*, p. 229.
- ⁴⁷⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 225–230, citing documents and testimonies in PHPT 12, pp. 239–245; PHPT 33, pp. 843 ff; Station SAIL December 1941 report, p. 2, RG 187, A-6 secret file, National Archives, Seattle; Lt. Lester Schulz' testimony to the Joint Congressional Investigating Committee in 1946, PHPT 10, p. 4663; and PHPT 9, p. 4043.
- ⁴⁸⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 232–233 and notes, citing Stark's testimony before the Joint Congressional Investigating Committee on December 31, 1945 and January 2,3,4 and 5, 1946, in PHPT 5, p. 2096; April 9 and 11, 1946, PHPT 11, p. 5153; and PHPT 11, pp. 5543, 5546, 5557. Stark denied any memory of a phone conversation with the president at midnight after his return from the theatre until his flag secretary contradicted him, and Stinnett describes him as repeatedly evasive and defensive during his testimony.
- ⁴⁸¹ *ibid.*, pp. 233–234 and notes, citing the testimony of Colonel Rufus Bratton to the Joint Congressional Investigating Committee, February 1946 PHPT 10, p. 4615 ff.
- ⁴⁸² *ibid.*, p. 237–238.
- ⁴⁸³ *ibid.*, pp. 231–232 and note 7. The English translation of the full text of Japan's composite reply, comprising what are referred to as 'part two' and 'part three' is published in PHPT 12, pp. 239 ff.
- ⁴⁸⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 231–232 and note 10. The English translation of the fourth part, recorded as message 381, is in PHPT 12, p. 245.
- ⁴⁸⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 231–233, citing testimony by Captain Beardall, PHPT 11, pp. 5287 ff., White House Usher books, FDRL. Neither Lt. Schulz' visit to deliver the earlier parts of the Japanese intercept nor Capt. Beardall's visit to deliver the final parts are recorded in the Usher book. However it shows that the Chinese ambassador arrived at 11 am and that lunch was served to Roosevelt and Hopkins at 1.15 pm.
- ⁴⁸⁶ Averell Harriman, from the US Office of Production Management, had been sent by Roosevelt to Britain and the Soviet Union in 1941 to expedite U.S. lend-lease aid.
- ⁴⁸⁷ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. III *The Grand Alliance*, *op. cit.*, pp. 475–476.
- ⁴⁸⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 479–480.
- ⁴⁸⁹ Stinnett, *op. cit.*, p. 3, citing diary notes by William J. vanden Heuvel of conversations between him and Donovan for whom he served as executive assistant when he was US Ambassador to Thailand in 1953, and subsequent phone conversations. The British official, T. North Whitehead was an influential member of the Foreign Office and an adviser to Churchill on matters affecting US aid to Britain.
- ⁴⁹⁰ *Encyclopedia Britannica CD 2000 Deluxe Edition*; also Stinnett, *op. cit.*, p. 244.
- ⁴⁹¹ Stinnett, *op. cit.*, p. 254, citing Senator Robert Taft, December 19, 1941: "Perhaps the fault at Hawaii was not entirely on the admirals and the generals."
- ⁴⁹² *ibid.*, pp. 255–257. On December 11, 1941 a policy of 54-year censorship was imposed on all pre-Pearl Harbour Japanese intercepts and related directives, then two weeks after Japan surrendered in August 1945 those intercepts were classified TOP SECRET and a strict censorship program was overseen by Admiral Ernest King. All

cryptographers and radio intercept operators who had worked on that material were gagged and reminded of their binding oath of secrecy.

⁴⁹³ *ibid.*, pp. 235–236.

⁴⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 220.

⁴⁹⁵ Yahil, *op. cit.*, p. 310, and Gilbert, *op. cit.*, *Second World War*, p. 267.

⁴⁹⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 320–321.

⁴⁹⁷ Stinnett, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 and 252, citing a report by United Press in the Honolulu Advertiser, December 16, 1941.

⁴⁹⁸ The Qur'an. Trans. Dawood, *op. cit.*, p. 233–234.

⁴⁹⁹ The way in which translators attempt to present a work in a second language (say, to maintain the literal meaning of the original, to interpret the author's presentation so that it is more understandable in another culture, or to simplify language to present the work in a contemporary idiom) may lead to significant differences in emphasis or interpretation and can influence the readers' understanding of the work or cause confusion even if the translators have approached the work with essentially the same understanding of it. In view of that, and in view of the importance of The Night Journey, extracts from the three translations which have been used in the present work are set out here to show how the translators have presented two key phrases. The translations are by Sale (see page 3 above, first published 1734), Dawood (Iraq State Scholar, London University 1945, first published 1956, fourth edition 1974) and Zayid (approved by the Supreme Sunni and Shii Councils of the Republic of Lebanon, first published 1980).

1. Allah's response in the event of a third transgression.

Sale: Peradventure your Lord *will* have mercy on you hereafter: but if ye *return to transgress* a third time, we also will *return to chastise* you; and we have appointed hell to be the prison of the unbelievers.

[Sale notes that Muslims interpret this passage to refer to the contemporary Jewish rejection of Muhammad as a prophet and the 'extermination' of the tribe of Koreidha, etc.]

Dawood: We said: Allah *may* yet be merciful to you. If you *again transgress*, you shall *again be scourged*. We have made Hell a prison house for the unbelievers.

Zayid: It *may be* that Allah will have mercy upon you. But if you *return (to mischief)* We will *return (with punishment)*. We have made Hell a prison-house for the unbelievers.

2. The matter of predestination or judgement.

Sale: The **fate** of every man have we bound about his neck; and we will produce unto him, on the day of resurrection, a book wherein **his action** shall be recorded: it shall be offered to him open, and the angels shall say unto him, Read thy book; *thine own soul will be a sufficient accountant* against thee, this day.

[Sale notes that a literal translation would be *the bird* in place of *fate*, and this, to the Arabs, would signify a person's *fortune or success*.]

Dawood: The **fate** of each man We have bound about his neck. On the Day of Resurrection We shall confront him with a book spread wide open, saying: 'Here is **your book**: read it. Enough for you this day that *your own soul should call you to account*.'

Zayid: The **works** of each man We have bound about his neck. On the Day of Resurrection, We shall confront him with a book spread wide open, (saying): 'Read **your book**. Enough for you this day that *your own soul should call you to account*.'

While these translations suggest varying emphases the thrust in each case is generally the same and provides the same relationship to the prophesies of Maimonides and twentieth century events which have been referred to in the introduction and which will be dealt with in later sections.

⁵⁰⁰ The Jerusalem Bible, (Gen. Ed., Alexander Jones), [London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1968] p. 1174.

⁵⁰¹ Sachar, *op. cit.* p. 237.

⁵⁰² Lewy, *op. cit.*, p. 250, and Cornwell, *op. cit.*, p. 287, citing a conversation between Pius XII and Mother Pasqualina, in Teste (Testimonies for the Beatification process of Pius XII, in the keeping of the Society of Jesus at the Borgo Santo Spirito, Rome), p. 85

Chapter 25: Gog and Magog regroup

¹ Glasgow, George *Diplomacy and God* [London: Longmans Green, 1941] Letter to the London Times, dated December 21, 1940, signed by the four church leaders, republished as an appendix, pp. 233–235.

² *ibid.*, pp. 2–3.

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3. *ibid.*, p. 12.
4. *ibid.*, p. 22.
5. Churchill, Sir Winston S. *The Second World War*, Vol. III, *The Grand Alliance*, [London: Reprint Society, 1950], pp. 497–498.
6. Piccigallo, Philip R. *The Japanese on Trial* [Austin: University of Texas, 1979] p. 3.
7. Meyer, Michael A. *Response to Modernity*. [Detroit: Wayne State University, 1988] p. 353.
8. Tanaka, Yuki. *Rape and War: the Japanese Experience* [Melbourne: Japanese Studies Centre, Monash University, 1995] pp. 2–17.
9. *ibid.*, pp. 25–34.
10. *ibid.*, pp. 18–24.
11. Kinsey, Alfred C., et al., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* [Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1948] p. 222.
12. Ernst, Morris L. and David Loth, *Sexual Behaviour and the Kinsey Report* [London: Falcon, 1949] pp. 125–142.
13. Walker, Allan S. *Clinical Problems of War*, Volume I of Series 5 (Medical) in the series *Australia in the War of 1939–1945* [Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1952] pp. 264–267. The quotation is attributed to Colonel H. G. Furnell, A.D.M.S., 9th Division A.I.F.
14. Data reported for the two world wars are not directly comparable, and the official policy of concealing the real rate of venereal disease required that some cases were recorded as “non-specific urethritis” rather than VD. In this work Walker’s practice of adding the two figures to get a realistic total infection rate has been adopted, and where figures for “non-specific urethritis” have not been available, estimates have been arrived at by allowing the same proportions as in those cases for which both figures are available.
15. Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. III *The Grand Alliance*, op. cit., p. 520.
16. *ibid.*, pp. 491–492.
17. *ibid.*
18. *ibid.*, p. 523, cable Churchill to Curtin, December 25, 1941.
19. Gaddis, John Lewis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941– 1947* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1972], p. 6–7.
20. Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. III *The Grand Alliance*, op. cit., p. 542.
21. *ibid.*, p. 520.
22. *ibid.*, p. 533.
23. In fact the United Nation’s handbook, *Everyone’s United Nations*, recognizes an earlier document, the Inter-Allied Declaration which was signed on June 12th, 1941, in London, as “the first of the specific steps that led to the establishment of the United Nations” That declaration noted that “the only true basis of enduring peace is the willing cooperation of free peoples in a world in which, relieved of the menace of aggression, all may enjoy economic and social security” and the signatories stated their intention “to work together, and with other free peoples, both in war and peace, to this end.” However as that very noble-sounding declaration was signed on behalf of five countries of the British Commonwealth, eight European governments in exile and the Free French just two weeks before Germany attacked Russia and while the United States and Japan were actually engrossed in discussions about their spheres of influence in the Pacific, it reads very much as part of the politicking to draw both Russia and the United States into the war against Germany. (*Everyone’s United Nations* [New York: UN Dept. of Public Information, 10th Edition, 1986] p. 5).
24. Churchill, Sir Winston S., *The Second World War*, Vol. IV *The Hinge of Fate* [London: Reprint Society, 1951], p. 137 and Vol III *The Grand Alliance*, op. cit., pp. 527–528.
25. Churchill, *The Second World War* Vol. III *The Grand Alliance*, op. cit., p. 547.
26. *ibid.*, p. 524.
27. Gaddis op. cit. pp. 15–16; Davis, Lynn Etheridge *The Cold War Begins: Soviet-American Conflict in Eastern Europe* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974] pp. 18–36.
28. Davis op. cit. 18–36; Gaddis op. cit., p. 15–16.
29. Gaddis op. cit. pp. 16–17.
30. See, for example, Davis, op. cit., pp. 32–37.
31. Gaddis op. cit. p. 71.
32. *ibid.*, pp. 65, 94; Loth, Wilfried *The Division of the World, 1945–1955* (London: Routledge, 1988) pp. 60–63.
33. Cornwell, John, *Hitler’s Pope: The Secret History of Pius XII* [London: Viking/Penguin, 1999] p. 279.
34. Yahil, Leni *Holocaust: The Fate of European Jewry* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990], pp. 313–314.

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- ³⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 316–319, citing Adolf Hitler, Rede zum 9. Jahrestag der Machtergreifung, 30.1.1941 (Berlin, 1941), pp. 33f.
- ³⁶ Gilbert, Martin *Second World War* (2nd. Edition) [London: Fontana, 1990], p. 296.
- ³⁷ Toland, John *Adolf Hitler* [New York: Balantine, 1977] p. 964.
- ³⁸ *Humani Generis Unitas*, clauses 131 to 132. All references and quotations are from the full text in English translated from the Authentic and Complete (French) Text in Passelecq, Georges & Bernard Suchecky *The Hidden Encyclical of Pius XI* [New York: Harcourt Brace/Harvest, 1997], pp. 176–275.
- ³⁹ *ibid.*, clause 133, first paragraph.
- ⁴⁰ Cornwell, *op. cit.*, p. 256, quoting from H. Butler, *The Sub-Prefect Should Have Held His Tongue*, (ed.) R. F. Foster (London, 1990), 275.
- ⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 281 citing: Osborne's diary quoted in O. Chadwick, *Britain and the Vatican during the Second World War* (Cambridge, 1986), 205; S. Friedlander, *Pius XII and the Third Reich: A Documentation*, Eng. Trans. (London, 1966), 104; and ADSS, viii, 457.
- ⁴² *ibid.*, pp. 258–259, quoting from the aide-memoire held in the Zionist Archives in Jerusalem and published by Saul Friedlander *Pius XII ... Documentation*. It was excluded from wartime documents later released by the Vatican.
- ⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 280, citing F. Kerr, "French Theology: Yves Congar and Henri de Lubac", in D. Ford, (ed.) *The Modern Theologians* (Oxford, 1997), 112.
- ⁴⁴ Dawidowicz Lucy S. *The War Against the Jews 1933–1945* [Harmondsworth: Pelican/Penguin, 1977] p. 178.
- ⁴⁵ Lewy, Guenter *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1964] p. 289.
- ⁴⁶ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. IV *The Hinge of Fate*, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
- ⁴⁷ Churchill later admitted that when he wrote to Curtin on March 20 to explain why he would not agree to naval deployment which Australia had requested he was already "convinced that the Japanese would not invade Australia, provided all possible preparations were made to deter, or, if need be, resist them." *ibid.*, p. 154.
- ⁴⁸ Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 977.
- ⁴⁹ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. IV *The Hinge of Fate*, *op. cit.*, pp. 181–182, letter Roosevelt to Churchill, March 11, 1942.
- ⁵⁰ Units involved in the occupation of Persia were the 8th Indian Infantry Division, the 9th Armoured Brigade, one Indian regiment of tanks, four British battalions and one regiment of British artillery.
- ⁵¹ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. III *The Grand Alliance*, *op. cit.*, p. 380.
- ⁵² Buss, Claude A. *Asia in the Modern World* [New York: Macmillan, 1964], p. 489.
- ⁵³ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. IV *The Hinge of Fate*, *op. cit.*, p. 184, cable Cripps to Churchill, April 11, 1942.
- ⁵⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 185–186, Roosevelt to Churchill via cable through Hopkins. Churchill dates the cable April 12, because he received it while Hopkins was with him at 3 am that morning. It was therefore despatched from Washington on the evening of the 11th.
- ⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 187, cable, Churchill to Roosevelt, April 12, 1942.
- ⁵⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 186–188.
- ⁵⁷ Buss, *op. cit.*, p. 442–443.
- ⁵⁸ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. IV *The Hinge of Fate*, *op. cit.*, p. 206, refers to General Doolittle's "bold and spectacular air attack against Tokyo itself on April 18" and says simply "This event *may indeed* have been a factor in determining the new Japanese policy." [Emphasis added.].
- ⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. 188.
- ⁶⁰ Gilbert, *Second World War*, *op. cit.*, p. 297.
- ⁶¹ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. III *The Grand Alliance*, *op. cit.*, p. 547.
- ⁶² *ibid.*, p. 524.
- ⁶³ Vaksberg, Arkady, *Stalin Against the Jews*, trans. Antonina W. Bouis, [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994] p. 108.
- ⁶⁴ Kochan, Lionel *The Jews in Soviet Russia Since 1917* [London: Oxford, 1970] p. 295.
- ⁶⁵ Sachar, Howard M. *A History of Israel: from the Rise of Zionism to Our Time* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981] p. 243.
- ⁶⁶ Eventov & Rotem (Contrib.) *Zionism* [Jerusalem: Keter, 1973] p. 215.
- ⁶⁷ Fishman, Priscilla (Ed) *The Jews of the United States* [Jerusalem: Keter, 1974] p. 233.
- ⁶⁸ Laqueur, Walter (Ed) *The Israel-Arab Reader* 3rd Edition [New York: Bantam, 1969] p. 78.
- ⁶⁹ Laqueur, Walter *A History of Zionism* [New York: Schocken, 1976] p. 545.
- ⁷⁰ Laqueur, *The Israel-Arab Reader*, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

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- ⁷¹ Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, op. cit., p. 547.
- ⁷² Menuhin, Moshe *The Decadence of Judaism in Our Time* [Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies, 1969] pp. 91, 310–315.
- ⁷³ *ibid.*, p. 318.
- ⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p. 91.
- ⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p. 317.
- ⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p. 94, citing Bentwich, Norman *For Zion's Sake* [Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1954] p. 252.
- ⁷⁷ Yahil, op. cit., pp. 323, 356.
- ⁷⁸ Sources: Cornwell, op. cit., p. 282, citing a letter, Osborne to Mrs. Bridget McEwan, dated June 11, 1942; and Encyclopædia Britannica CD 2000 Deluxe Edition.
- ⁷⁹ The understanding of the popes as “Successors of Christ” as opposed to “Successors of Peter” was coined by Giovanni Montini, then Undersecretary in the Vatican Secretariat of State and later Pope Paul VI, in reference to Pius XII. It was consistent with the concept of the divinity of the papacy which had been introduced by Pius XI in 1929. (See chapter 17) It was not disputed by Pius XII. Montini’s reference is quoted by Hebblethwaite, *Paul VI* (London, 1993), p. 181, and cited by Cornwell, op. cit., p. 270.
- ⁸⁰ Cornwell, op. cit., pp. 270–271, quoting Montinni from M. Carroll, *Greatness Dishonoured* (Dublin, 1980), 68; and citing L. Gedda, *18 Aprile 1948: Memorie inedite dell’Artifice della Sconfitta del Fronte Popolare* (Milan, 1998), 74. *Pastor Angelicus* is available in video by Filmoteca, Vatican City.
- ⁸¹ *Catholic Almanac* 1997, [Huntington: Our Sunday Visitor Inc, 1996] p. 323.
- ⁸² Robertson, Edwin H. *Bonhoeffer: True Patriotism* [London: Collins, 1973] p. 119.
- ⁸³ Irving, David *Hitler’s War* Vol I [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1977] p. 381.
- ⁸⁴ Shirer, William L. *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* [London: Pan, 1960] pp. 1207–1208.
- ⁸⁵ Cornwell, op. cit., pp. 283–287.
- ⁸⁶ Shirer, op. cit., pp. 1093–1094.
- ⁸⁷ Cornwell, op. cit., p. 302.
- ⁸⁸ Tokayer, Marvin & Mary Swartz *The Fugu Plan* [New York: Paddington Press, 1979], pp. 217–218.
- ⁸⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 219–220.
- ⁹⁰ Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 348.
- ⁹¹ Toland, op. cit., p. 989.
- ⁹² Yahil, op. cit., p. 607.
- ⁹³ Rubinstein, William D. *The Myth of Rescue* [London: Routledge, 1997] p. 86.
- ⁹⁴ Australian Archives, CRS, A433, item 43/2/46, Cabinet papers, 25/5/1938, J. McEwen, Minister for the Interior.
- ⁹⁵ Gribetz, Judah, E. Greenstein & R. Stein *The Timetables of Jewish History* [New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994], p. 418.
- ⁹⁶ Australian Archives, CRS, A433, item 43/2/46, Cabinet papers, Memorandum from J.A. Carrodus, Secretary, Dept. for the Interior, 25/5/1938, to the Minister for the Interior.
- ⁹⁷ Australian Archives, CRS, A433, item 43/2/46, Cabinet papers, 31/1/1939, J. McEwen, Minister for the Interior.
- ⁹⁸ Australian Archives, CRS, A433, item 44/2/50, Cabinet papers, letter from Prime Minister John Curtin to Dr. I. N. Steinberg, 28/10/43.
- ⁹⁹ Lilienthal, Alfred M. *The Zionist Connection. What Price Israel?* [New York: Middle East Perspective, 1979] p. 36, citing Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1942, Vol. IV, pp. 538–544.
- ¹⁰⁰ Sachar, op. cit., p. 238.
- ¹⁰¹ Cornwell, op. cit., pp. 288–289.
- ¹⁰² *ibid.*, p. 289, citing ADSS p. 689.
- ¹⁰³ *ibid.*, pp. 289–290, citing ADSS pp. 685, 721.
- ¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p. 290, quoting from ADSS p. 723.
- ¹⁰⁵ Boegner, Marc *The Long Road to Unity*. [London: Collins, 1970] pp. 178–179.
- ¹⁰⁶ Lewy, op. cit., p. 297.
- ¹⁰⁷ Dawidowicz, op. cit., p. 168.
- ¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p. 364.
- ¹⁰⁹ Irving, *Hitler’s War*, op. cit., pp. 392–393.
- ¹¹⁰ Dawidowicz, op. cit., pp. 372–375.

- ¹¹¹ [The system of ghettos had been reintroduced in Poland by the Germans officially on the basis of a policy of isolating Jews from mainstream national life, but the advantages of herding them into 'holding pens' for rapid deportation overseas if agreement could be reached or to the death camps would not have escaped the Nazis' attention. As already noted above (chapter 24) the first major ghetto was established at Lodz in May 1940. The Warsaw Ghetto was sealed in September. Others followed. Jewish Councils were set up to run them in compliance with German directions and virtually all things Jewish outside the ghettos, including synagogues and schools, were destroyed. When deportation to death camps began Himmler ordered all ghettos and the remaining open Jewish communities liquidated by the end of 1942 but his program could not be met. The actual sequence was Wartheland, December 1941; Lublin, March 1942; Warsaw stage one, July 1942; Cracow, March 1943; Warsaw stage two, May 1943; Lwow, June 1943; Lodz, August 1944. [ibid., pp. 473-474].
- ¹¹² ibid., pp. 473-474.
- ¹¹³ Abramsky et.al. (Eds.) *The Jews in Poland* [Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986] pp. 130-139, Inter-war Poland: good for the Jews or bad for the Jews? Contributed by Ezra Mendelsohn.
- ¹¹⁴ ibid., p. 152, Polish-Jewish relations in occupied Poland, 1939-45 Contrib. by Wladislaw Bartoszewski.
- ¹¹⁵ ibid., pp. 161-163, Relief Council for Jews, 1944-45, Contrib. by Teresa Prekerowa.
- ¹¹⁶ Laqueur, Walter *The Terrible Secret* p. 201.
- ¹¹⁷ O'Carroll *Greatness Dishonoured* [Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1980] p. 78.
- ¹¹⁸ Cornwell, op. cit., p. 272.
- ¹¹⁹ Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 363.
- ¹²⁰ Shirer, op. cit., p. 1096.
- ¹²¹ Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 373.
- ¹²² Graef, Hilda *Devotion to the Blessed Mary* [London: Burns & Oates, 1963] p. 90.
- ¹²³ Cornwell, op. cit., p. 272, citing and quoting from R. Graham, *The Vatican and Communism during World War II* (San Francisco, 1996), p. 94.
- ¹²⁴ Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, op. cit., p. 551.
- ¹²⁵ Tokayer, op. cit., pp. 222-235, 244-252.
- ¹²⁶ ibid., pp. 246. In fact the one square mile 'Jewish District' was not exclusively a ghetto. At the time that it was declared, it actually 'housed' about 100,000 very poor Chinese, a few thousand Japanese and about 9,000 of the stateless refugees. The additional 8,000 refugees had to be fitted in by negotiation or by exchange of housing outside the ghetto district for space inside.
- ¹²⁷ Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, op. cit., p. 547.
- ¹²⁸ ibid., pp. 297 f.
- ¹²⁹ Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 379.
- ¹³⁰ Cornwell, op. cit., p. 272.
- ¹³¹ Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 387.
- ¹³² Yahil, op. cit., pp. 357, 603.
- ¹³³ Balfour, Michael *Propaganda in War 1939-1945* [London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979], pp. 299-300.
- ¹³⁴ Laqueur, *The Terrible Secret*, op. cit., p. 203.
- ¹³⁵ Cornwell, op. cit., p. 268, citing AAS, Vol. 35, 1943, 23, and quoting the original in note 1.
- ¹³⁶ ibid., p. 292.
- ¹³⁷ ibid., citing the official text of the Christmas homily by Pius XII, December 24, 1942, in Italian, AAS, Vol. 35, 1943, 9ff.
- ¹³⁸ Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 396.
- ¹³⁹ Dawidowicz, op. cit., p. 403, citing Y-A (the archives of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research) coded message No. 15 sent from Warsaw, January 21, 1943, addressed to Stephen Wise of the American Jewish Congress, Nahum Goldmann of the World Jewish Congress, and George Backer, then of the AJDC.
- ¹⁴⁰ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. IV *The Hinge of Fate*, op. cit., p. 412.
- ¹⁴¹ Buss, op. cit., p. 487.
- ¹⁴² Rubinstein, op. cit., p. 158.
- ¹⁴³ ibid., pp. 160-165.
- ¹⁴⁴ Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 398.
- ¹⁴⁵ ibid.
- ¹⁴⁶ Shirer, op. cit., gives the figures as 285,000 trapped; 49,000 evacuated; 91,000 captured; and only 5,000 returned to Germany, but the magnitude of the tragedy is still the same.

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- ¹⁴⁷ Shirer, op. cit., p. 1112.
- ¹⁴⁸ Dawidowicz, op. cit., p. 404, citing Y-A coded message No. 59, sent from Warsaw on 7 February, 1943, by Leon Feiner (Berezowski) and Mauricy Orzech (Janczyn).
- ¹⁴⁹ Toland, op. cit., pp. 103–105.
- ¹⁵⁰ Yahil, op. cit., pp. 404–405, citing Domarus, Max (Ed.) *Hitler: Reden und Proklamationen, 1932–1945* [Munich, 1963] Vol 2, pp. 1988, 1990–1993.
- ¹⁵¹ Cornwell, op. cit., pp. 196–199, citing Nathan Stoltzfus, *Resistance of the Heart*, [London, 1996].
- ¹⁵² Yahil, op. cit., pp. 416–417.
- ¹⁵³ Dawidowicz, op. cit., p. 405.
- ¹⁵⁴ Yahil, op. cit., p. 447, reports the use of funds received from various sources by the Polish Underground through the Council for Aid to Jews between June and October 1943 when such funds were too late to help the people of the Warsaw Ghetto but they were put to use in other directions.
- ¹⁵⁵ Yahil, op. cit., p. 417.
- ¹⁵⁶ Dawidowicz, op. cit., pp. 401–402.
- ¹⁵⁷ Sachar, op. cit., p. 241.
- ¹⁵⁸ Dawidowicz, op. cit., pp. 405–409.
- ¹⁵⁹ Bruce, George *The Warsaw Uprising* [London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1972] pp. 40–41.
- ¹⁶⁰ Lewy, op. cit. p. 249.
- ¹⁶¹ *ibid.*, pp. 249–250.
- ¹⁶² Yergin, op. cit., p. 43.
- ¹⁶³ Kimball, Warren F. *The Juggler: Franklin Roosevelt as Wartime Statesman* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991) Chapters V and VI.
- ¹⁶⁴ For discussion, see Yergin, op. cit., pp. 42–46; Loth, Wilfried, *The Division of the World, 1941–1955* [London: Routledge, 1988], p. 20–22.
- ¹⁶⁵ Loth, op. cit., pp. 21–22; Yergin, op. cit., pp. 48–58; Gaddis, op. cit., p. 135 ff.
- ¹⁶⁶ Letter dated 13 November, 1942, quoted in Loth, op. cit., p. 31.
- ¹⁶⁷ Herken, Gregg *The Winning Weapon* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1980) p. 101 ff.
- ¹⁶⁸ Bruce, op. cit., pp. 22–23.
- ¹⁶⁹ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. III *The Grand Alliance*, op. cit., p. 314.
- ¹⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 316.
- ¹⁷¹ Gaddis, op. cit., p. 135.
- ¹⁷² Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 390.
- ¹⁷³ Wyman, David S., *The Abandonment of the Jews* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984) p. 104
- ¹⁷⁴ Sachar, op. cit., p. 238.
- ¹⁷⁵ *ibid.*, p. 238.
- ¹⁷⁶ *ibid.*
- ¹⁷⁷ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. III *The Grand Alliance*, op. cit., pp. 21–22, Churchill's appreciation of the war situation, addressed to General Ismay for the C.O.S. Committee, January 6, 1941.
- ¹⁷⁸ Laqueur, Walter & B. Rubin (Eds.) *The Israel-Arab Reader* [New York: Penguin, 1984] Record of conversation between the Fuhrer and the Grand Mufti, p. 83.
- ¹⁷⁹ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. III *The Grand Alliance*, op. cit., Chapter XIV, pp. 204–215. Churchill's instructions to General Wavell in May 1941 and Hitler's Directive No. 30, May 23, 1941, indicate the nature of the crisis.
- ¹⁸⁰ Laqueur & Rubin, loc cit.
- ¹⁸¹ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol IV *The Hinge of Fate*, op. cit., pp. 316–318 and p. 320, memo to General Auchinleck, refers to the weapons and the armoured division, but not the aircraft.
- ¹⁸² Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., pp. 336–337, refers to the diversion of the aircraft.
- ¹⁸³ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. IV *The Hinge of Fate*, op. cit., Chapter XXV, *Decision for Torch*, pp. 356–370.
- ¹⁸⁴ Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 337.
- ¹⁸⁵ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. IV *The Hinge of Fate*, op. cit., p. 329.
- ¹⁸⁶ Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 348.
- ¹⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p. 387.
- ¹⁸⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 392–397.

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- ¹⁸⁹ O'Connor, Richard *The Oil Barons* [Boston: Little Brown, 1972] p. 340.
- ¹⁹⁰ Arakie, Margaret *The Broken Sword of Justice* [London: Quartet, 1973] p. 36.
- ¹⁹¹ Letter Cicognani to Taylor, June 22, 1943, Library of Congress archives, located by the Simon Wiesenthal Centre, reported in *The Washington Post*, July 3, 1999, Reuters, [Source:<http://antipas.org/news/middle-east/pope-pius.html> as of October 30, 1999.]
- ¹⁹² Cornwell, op. cit., p. 247.
- ¹⁹³ Pope Pius XII Encyclical *The Mystical Body of Christ* [Melbourne: Australian Catholic Truth Society Record, 10 November 1958] p. 16.
- ¹⁹⁴ Matthew 5: 17–19, Jerusalem Bible Translation [London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1968] Reader's Edition.
- ¹⁹⁵ Pope Pius XII *Mystical Body*, op. cit., p. 18.
- ¹⁹⁶ Toland, op. cit., p. 807.
- ¹⁹⁷ Bettenson, Henry (Ed.) *Documents of the Christian Church* [Oxford: Oxford Uni. Press, 1963] pp. 115–116.
- ¹⁹⁸ Pope Pius XII *Mystical Body*, op. cit., p. 22.
- ¹⁹⁹ Neuner & Dupuis (Eds.) *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church* [Bangalore: Theological Publications of India, 1978] Pope Pius XII, *Mystical Body*, p. 448.
- ²⁰⁰ This section of *Mystici Corporis Christi* is quoted from the translation in Neuner and Dupuis, op. cit., while the earlier quotations are from the translation published by the Australian Catholic Truth Society, op. cit. The emphasis in the two translations varies significantly and that from Neuner and Dupuis appears to this author to better reflect the meaning intended by the Pope in the circumstances in which the original was written.
- ²⁰¹ Pope Pius XII *Mystical Body*, op. cit., p. 58.
- ²⁰² Cornwell, op. cit., pp. 276–277.
- ²⁰³ Arakie, op. cit., p. 37.
- ²⁰⁴ Lilienthal, *Zionist Connection*, op. cit., p. 44.
- ²⁰⁵ Litvinoff, Barnett *Weizmann: Last of the Patriarchs* [New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1976] p. 231.
- ²⁰⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 232–233.
- ²⁰⁷ Roosevelt and Churchill had discussed the concept of unconditional surrender and while the British PM was in general agreement he sought to exclude Italy. He consulted the British war cabinet which did not share his concerns but the matter was not discussed again prior to Roosevelt's announcement.
- ²⁰⁸ Wilmot, Chester *The Struggle for Europe* [London: Collins, 1967] pp. 121–123.
- ²⁰⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 127–129.
- ²¹⁰ Cornwell, op. cit., pp. 266–267, drawing on material from the "Supplement to Preliminary Study on US and Allied Efforts to Recover and Restore Gold and Other Assets Stolen or Hidden During World War II", prepared by William Slany, official historian at the US Department of State. The study was published privately in 1998 by the Department of Economic, Business and Agricultural Affairs, and is cited as "Ustasha Treasury." Also cited: CIA Operational Files, October 11, 1946, cited in "Ustasha Treasury", D; and US Department of Justice, Criminal Division, *Klaus Barbie and the US Government: A Report to the Attorney General of the United States*.
- ²¹¹ Churchill, Sir Winston S. *The Second World War*, Vol. V *Closing the Ring* [London: Reprint Society, 1952], pp. 145–154.
- ²¹² Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 452.
- ²¹³ Reid R. W. *Tongues of Conscience* [London: Constable, 1969] p. 173.
- ²¹⁴ Montgomery-Hyde, H. *The Atom Bomb Spies* [London: Hamish Hamilton, 1980] pp. 80–81.
- ²¹⁵ Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 241.
- ²¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 452.
- ²¹⁷ Montgomery-Hyde, op. cit. The first confirmed organized passing of classified information from physicists in Britain and the US to Russia took place about two years before Roosevelt and Churchill reached their momentous secret agreement at Hyde Park during the Quebec Conference. (p. 129) It coincided with the establishment by the British Government of a secret directorate, 'Tube Alloys' in October 1941 to coordinate all of the nuclear research which was being done independently at universities across Britain, and it was initiated not by Soviet intelligence but by Dr Klaus Fuchs, the son of a Lutheran Pastor who had joined the Quakers. Dr Fuchs became a dedicated Communist and was one of the German political refugees who fled from Germany during the Nazi purges of 1933. (p. 130) Although Soviet spying had been suspected by US intelligence it was not confirmed, nor were any people who had passed information identified until a Russian diplomat defected to Canada in September 1945, a month after the first bomb was dropped on Japan. (p. 131)
- ²¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 51.

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- 219 *ibid.*, p. 80.
- 220 *ibid.*, p. 5.
- 221 Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 116–117.
- 222 Wilmot, *op. cit.*, p. 662.
- 223 Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–186.
- 224 Montgomery-Hyde, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–99.
- 225 *ibid.*, p. 141.
- 226 Buss, *op. cit.*, p. 498.
- 227 Zernov, Nicolas *The Russians and their Church* [London: SPCK, 1978] p. 164.
- 228 Walsh, *op. cit.*, p. 526.
- 229 Irving, *Hitler's War*, *op. cit.*, p. 548.
- 230 Shirer, *op. cit.*, p. 1187.
- 231 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 301–302, citing R. Katz, *Black Sabbath* [London; 1969] pp. 65, 85, 87; and O. Hacki, *Pius XII* [New York; 1951] pp. 192, 197.
- 232 Quotations from the Encyclical *Divino Afflante Spiritu* of Pope Pius XII are from *The Papal Encyclicals 1939–1958*, Claudia Carlen IHM, [USA: McGrath/Consortium, 1981] pp. 65–80.
- 233 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, p. 306, quoting from E. Mollhausen, *La Carta Perente* (Rome, 1948), 117, cited and translated in Katz, *Black Sabbath*.
- 234 *ibid.*, p. 307, citing telegram from Weizsacker to Berlin, October 17, 1943, *Inland II Geheim*, quoted in Katz, *Black Sabbath*, 215.
- 235 *ibid.*, p. 306, notes that Bishop. Hudal, rector of the German Catholic Church in Rome, later achieved fame as a key figure in assisting Nazi criminals to escape justice via Roman religious houses. He cites S. Wiesenthal, *Justice Not Vengeance* (London, 1989), p. 55.
- 236 *ibid.*, pp. 302–312.
- 237 *ibid.*, pp. 214–215, citing Teste, 836–37.
- 238 Memorandum Osborne to London, November 1, 1943; *The Washington Post*, July 3, 1999, Reuters, reporting documents located by the World Jewish Congress. [Source: http://antipas.org/news/middle_east/pope_pius.html].
- 239 Webster, Richard A. *Christian Democracy in Italy 1860–1960* [London: Hollis & Carter, 1961] p. 118.
- 240 *ibid.*, pp. 162–163.
- 241 Lewy, *op. cit.*, pp. 300–302.
- 242 *ibid.*, p. 302.
- 243 Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 1042.
- 244 Cornwell, *op. cit.*, p. 311.
- 245 *ibid.*, p. 319, citing FO, 371/43869/21; quoted in O. Chadwick, *Britain and the Vatican during the Second World War* (Cambridge, 1986), 290.
- 246 Irving, *Hitler's War*, *op. cit.*, p. 568.
- 247 *ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 577.
- 248 Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 1055.
- 249 Toland, *op. cit.*, citing documents from the Mullern Schonhausen Collection.
- 250 Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. V *Closing the Ring*, *op. cit.*, pp. 154–155.
- 251 Sachar, *op. cit.*, p. 241.
- 252 *ibid.*, p. 241.
- 253 *ibid.*
- 254 Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. V *Closing the Ring*, *op. cit.*, p. 238.
- 255 Yahil, *op. cit.*, p. 608.
- 256 Australian Archives, CRS, A433, item 44/2/50, Cabinet papers, letter from Prime Minister John Curtin to Dr. I. N. Steinberg, 28/10/43.
- 257 Bowers, Tom *Blind Eye to Murder* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1981) pp. 81–2.
- 258 *ibid.*, pp. 82–4.
- 259 Gaddis, *op. cit.*, 88–89; Loth, *op. cit.*, pp. 66.
- 260 Gaddis, *op. cit.*, pp. 89–90; Loth, *op. cit.*, p. 67.
- 261 Gaddis, *op. cit.* pp. 88–90; Kolko, Gabriel *The Politics of War: The World and United States Foreign Policy 1943–1945* (New York: Random House, 1968), pp. 38–9.

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- 262 Gaddis op. cit. p. 90.
- 263 Sainsbury, Keith *The Turning Point* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985) pp. 21–31.
- 264 *ibid.*, pp. 12–21, 31–36.
- 265 *ibid.* pp. 53–109.
- 266 Gaddis, op. cit., p. 106–7; Kolko, op. cit., p. 40; Loth, op. cit., pp. 65–66.
- 267 Sainsbury, op. cit., pp. 53–109.
- 268 Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. V *Closing the Ring*, op. cit., pp. 230–239, discussed the change from from three power to four power talks and indicates some concern at the American proposal to make the change!
- 269 Sainsbury op. cit. p. 108.
- 270 *ibid.*, p. 117.
- 271 Loth, op. cit. p. 21.
- 272 Gaddis, op. cit., p. 90.
- 273 Buss, op. cit., p. 472.
- 274 *ibid.*, p. 472.
- 275 Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. V *Closing the Ring*, op. cit., p. 259.
- 276 Buss, op. cit., p. 465.
- 277 Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. V *Closing the Ring*, op. cit., p. 264.
- 278 *ibid.*, p. 259.
- 279 Buss, op. cit., p. 479.
- 280 Wilmot, op. cit., pp. 139–141.
- 281 Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. V *Closing the Ring*, op. cit., pp. 314–316.
- 282 *ibid.*, p. 286.
- 283 Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. IV *The Hinge of Fate*, op. cit., pp. 644–646.
- 284 Loth, op. cit., p. 30.
- 285 The words of Roosevelt's personal assistant, Harry Hopkins. Loth, op. cit., p. 30.
- 286 Wilmot, op. cit., p. 142.
- 287 Buss, op. cit., p. 492.
- 288 *ibid.*, p. 452.
- 289 Toland, op. cit., p. 1057.
- 290 *ibid.*, p. 1066.
- 291 Lapide, Pinchas E. *The Last Three Popes and the Jews* [London: Souvenir, 1967] p. 222.
- 292 Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 509.
- 293 Sachar, op. cit., p. 238.
- 294 Arakie, op. cit., p. 38.
- 295 Shwadrان, Benjamin *The Middle East, Oil and the Great Powers* [New York: Praeger, 1960] pp. 319–320.
- 296 *ibid.*, 322–323.
- 297 Lilienthal, *Zionist Connection*, op. cit., p. 37.
- 298 Arakie, op. cit., p. 39.
- 299 Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, op. cit., p. 554.
- 300 Lilienthal, *Zionist Connection*, op. cit., p. 38.
- 301 Arakie, op. cit., p. 93.
- 302 Sachar, op. cit., p. 266.
- 303 Koestler, Arthur *Promise and Fulfillment: Palestine 1917–1949* [London: Macmillan, 1983] p. 94.
- 304 Tokayer, op. cit., p. 254, 256.
- 305 *ibid.*, pp. 257–258.
- 306 *ibid.*, pp. 259–260.
- 307 *ibid.*, p. 10.
- 308 Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 166, 203.
- 309 Sachar, Howard M. *The Course of Modern Jewish History* pp. 239, 374.
- 310 Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 363.
- 311 *ibid.*, p. 509.
- 312 Cornwell, op. cit., p. 324.
- 313 *ibid.*, p. 325.

- ³¹⁴ Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 525, says deportation of Hungarian Jews began on May 15, but a change of date does not affect the significance of the situation.
- ³¹⁵ Reports of this incident differ. Lapide, op. cit., wrote that after consulting the Russians, Churchill refused. Gilbert, op. cit., wrote that Churchill supported the plan and instructed Eden to arrange it. The RAF was sceptical about losing British airmen's lives "for no purpose" and said the plan would require daylight bombing by the US. The Assistant Secretary of War, John J McCloy, then instructed that the plan be 'killed'. O'Carroll, op. cit., refers to the minutes of the Eichmann trial in Jerusalem which indicate that it was the US Secretary of State for Air who stopped the plan on the grounds of 'technical difficulties' – an exchange of notes between Churchill and the Russians.
- ³¹⁶ Lapide, op. cit., pp. 218–219.
- ³¹⁷ Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 546.
- ³¹⁸ O'Carroll, op. cit., pp. 102–103.
- ³¹⁹ Cornwell, loc. cit.
- ³²⁰ *ibid.*, citing R. Brabham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust and Hungary*, Vol. 2 (New York, 1981), 1068–1069, quoting from H. Fein, *Accounting for Genocide* (New York, 1979), 110; ADSS, x, 328; P. Lapidé, *The Last Three Popes and the Jews* (London, 1967), 153; and R. Brabham, *The Holocaust in Hungary: A Retrospective Analysis, in Genocide and Rescue: The Holocaust in Hungary, 1944*, ed. D. Cesarani (Oxford, 1997), 41.
- ³²¹ Accounts of the end of deportation also differ. According to Sachar, op. cit., deportation continued until the red Army entered Hungary. But Gilbert, op. cit., gives the number deported as 347,000 and reports that the program stopped on July 8 when Horthy, under pressure from the US, the Pope, the International Red Cross and the King of Sweden as a result of publicity about Auschwitz following the escapes, stood up to Hitler and said 'enough is enough'.
- ³²² Sachar, *The Course of Modern Jewish History*, op. cit., pp. 455–456.
- ³²³ Sachar, *A History of Israel*, op. cit., p. 239.
- ³²⁴ Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 550.
- ³²⁵ Lapidé, op. cit., pp. 221–222.
- ³²⁶ Catholic Almanac 1990, p. 248.
- ³²⁷ Neuner & Dupuis, op. cit., p. 301, extracts from an address by Pope Pius XII to directors of Pontifical Mission Works.
- ³²⁸ Proposals for a third institution, the World Trade Organization, never got off the ground. Its place was taken by the more modest General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade in 1948. The WTO was belatedly established in 1994.
- ³²⁹ Pollard, Robert A. *Economic Security and the Origins of the Cold War, 1945–1950* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), p. 12.
- ³³⁰ See, for example, Paterson, Thomas G. *Soviet-American Confrontation: Postwar Reconstruction and the Origins of the Cold War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973) pp. 4–5; Loth, op. cit., pp. 22–3; Pollard, op. cit., p. 8 ff.
- ³³¹ Pollard op. cit. p. 13.
- ³³² Kolko op. cit. p. 246.
- ³³³ Paterson, op. cit., pp. 1–2; Pollard, op. cit. pp. 8–9.
- ³³⁴ Kolko, op. cit., p. 252.
- ³³⁵ *ibid.*, p. 252; Loth, p. 23.
- ³³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 253.
- ³³⁷ Kolko, Gabriel and Kolko, Joyce *The Limits of Power: The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1945–1954* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972) p. 21.
- ³³⁸ Pollard, op. cit., pp. 198–201 notes that, along with America's traditional self-reliance in the supply of raw materials, underestimates of current reserves and overestimates of future consumption levels made the perception of post-war shortages worse than the reality. However, he also notes that the concerns were heightened for reasons of security, with the State Dept. preferring lower cost imported minerals rather than subsidized domestic production in its stockpiling programme in order to conserve domestic reserves.
- ³³⁹ Along with the issue of access to markets, the principle that raw materials supplies must be available to all nations without discrimination was a vital aspect of the United States desire to break up the Sterling bloc. One mode of expressing that desire was anti-colonialism, but of course, Its ability to take a radical position on that issue, except on an economic level, was limited by its own plans for post-war trusteeships, particularly in the Philippines. *ibid.*, p. 260.
- ³⁴⁰ Paterson op. cit. p. 7.
- ³⁴¹ Kolko, *Politics of War*, op. cit., p. 253.

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- ³⁴² The basis for US designs had been laid in the British Lend-Lease agreement of Feb 1942, Article VII of which committed the US and Britain to economic cooperation after the war through the freeing of trade and the pursuit of full employment. Two years of subsequent bilateral negotiations had seen US proposals pitted against alternative British plans. American plans had been drawn up by Assistant Secretary of the US Treasury, Harry D. White. The competing British plan had been drawn up by noted economist and Chancellor of the Exchequer, J. Maynard Keynes. Described as "thirty years ahead of its time", it was more ambitious than the White plan and foresaw many measures later adopted by the Bretton Woods powers in Rio de Janeiro in 1968. For the Americans, with an eye on Congress and the conservative US business community, it was too ambitious, introducing for the first time into international finance the idea of created money – in extremely large volumes to boot, which the Americans feared would contribute to inflationary pressures in the US. It was also too lax for the Americans on the subject of managing exchange rates. In the end, a modified version of the White Plan was submitted as the joint Anglo-American proposal. For a brief overview of the competing plans see Scammell, *WC The International Economy Since 1945* (London: Macmillan, 1980) pp. 2–18.
- ³⁴³ Paterson *op. cit.* pp. 150–151.
- ³⁴⁴ Scammell, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Paterson, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
- ³⁴⁵ Pollard, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–15; Loth, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–25.
- ³⁴⁶ Paterson, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
- ³⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p. 59; Loth *op. cit.* p. 63.
- ³⁴⁸ Loth *op. cit.* pp. 25–6.
- ³⁴⁹ Pollard, *op. cit.*, p. 18.
- ³⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 155.
- ³⁵¹ *ibid.*, p. 149, 154–155.
- ³⁵² *ibid.*, p. 15.
- ³⁵³ *ibid.*, pp. 34–5, 148.
- ³⁵⁴ Lichtheim, George *Europe in the Twentieth Century* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1972] pp. 273–274, attributes the figure of 3,700,000 deaths of POWs in German hands to German officials; cites an estimate of other Soviet military deaths of 4,000,000, and indicates that total casualties, including civilian, may have been of the order of 20,000,000.
- ³⁵⁵ Goralski, Robert *World War II Almanac 1931–1945* [London: Hamish Hamilton, 1981] p. 428, lists Soviet Union casualties as: military dead, 13,600,000; military wounded, 5,000,000; civilian dead, 7,720,000.
- ³⁵⁶ Ellis, John *World War II A Statistical Survey* [New York: Facts on File; 1993] p. 254, lists Soviet Union casualties as: killed and missing, 11,000,000; wounded, no figures available; Prisoners of War, c. 6,000,000; civilian casualties, 6,700,000.
- ³⁵⁷ Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
- ³⁵⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 37–39.
- ³⁵⁹ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol V *Closing the Ring*, *op. cit.*, p. 285.
- ³⁶⁰ Gilbert, *Second World War*, *op. cit.*, p. 566.
- ³⁶¹ Bruce, *op. cit.*, pp. 154–155.
- ³⁶² Gilbert, *Second World War*, *op. cit.*, p. 581.
- ³⁶³ Bruce, *op. cit.*, pp. 200–207.
- ³⁶⁴ Churchill, Sir Winston S., *The Second World War*, Vol. VI, *Triumph and Tragedy* [London: Reprint Society, 1954], pp. 549–550.
- ³⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p. 89.
- ³⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p. 104.
- ³⁶⁷ Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 165–6; Kolko, *op. cit.*, p. 263.
- ³⁶⁸ Westoby, Adam *Communism Since World War II* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1981) pp. 19–20, 28; Kolko, *op. cit.*, pp. 85–7, 96–8.
- ³⁶⁹ Stinnett, *op. cit.*, p. 77, citing Gordon Prange, *At Dawn We Slept* (McGraw Hill, 1981) p. 646.
- ³⁷⁰ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. VI *Triumph and Tragedy*, *op. cit.*, pp. 138–141.
- ³⁷¹ Loth, *op. cit.* p. 17.
- ³⁷² For extensive discussion, see Kuklick, Bruce pp. 39–73; Backer pp. 32–40.
- ³⁷³ Kuniholm, Bruce Robert *The Origins of the Cold War in the Near East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980) pp. 142–201.

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- ³⁷⁴ Macdonald, Robert W. *The League of Arab States* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965] p. 38, footnote quoting Hull.
- ³⁷⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 37–39.
- ³⁷⁶ *ibid.*, Appendix A, pp. 315–318 The Alexandria Protocol.
- ³⁷⁷ Allen, Richard A. *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Fertile Crescent* [New York: Oxford, 1974] p. 356.
- ³⁷⁸ Arakie, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
- ³⁷⁹ Lilienthal, *Zionist Connection*, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
- ³⁸⁰ Sachar, *The Course of Modern Jewish History*, *op. cit.*, p. 523.
- ³⁸¹ Laqueur, *A History of Zionism*, *op. cit.*, p. 554.
- ³⁸² Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. VI *Triumph and Tragedy*, *op. cit.*, p. 195.
- ³⁸³ *ibid.*, pp. 200–205.
- ³⁸⁴ Wilmot, *op. cit.*, p. 629.
- ³⁸⁵ Kimball, *op. cit.* p. 163–4.
- ³⁸⁶ Boegner, *op. cit.*, p. 198.
- ³⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p. 199.
- ³⁸⁸ O'Carroll, *op. cit.*, p. 99.
- ³⁸⁹ Sachar, *A History of Israel*, *op. cit.*, pp. 464–470.
- ³⁹⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 247–248.
- ³⁹¹ Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 360.
- ³⁹² *ibid.*, p. 365.
- ³⁹³ Reid, *op. cit.*, pp. 111–112.
- ³⁹⁴ Gilbert, *Second World War*, *op. cit.*, p. 613.
- ³⁹⁵ Reid, *op. cit.*, p. 180.
- ³⁹⁶ Kuniholm, *op. cit.*, pp. 142–201
- ³⁹⁷ Webster, *op. cit.*, pp. 171–173.
- ³⁹⁸ Wilmot, *op. cit.*, p. 637.
- ³⁹⁹ Cornwell, *op. cit.*, pp. 326–327, citing P. Preston, *Franco* (London, 1995), p. 622.
- ⁴⁰⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 326–328, citing AAS, Vol. 37, 1945, 10–23; and Leo XIII, encyclical *Libertas*, June 20, 1888.
- ⁴⁰¹ *ibid.*, p. 328.
- ⁴⁰² *ibid.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 328–329.
- ⁴⁰³ Pius XI, Pope, encyclical *Divini Redemptoris*, English translation, [Melbourne: Australian Catholic Truth Society, 1937] Note 8, p. 4.
- ⁴⁰⁴ *ibid.*, notes 50,31,45,46, pp. 25,15,22,23.
- ⁴⁰⁵ *ibid.*, note 30, p. 18.
- ⁴⁰⁶ Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
- ⁴⁰⁷ Lilienthal, *Zionist Connection*, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
- ⁴⁰⁸ Shwadran, *op. cit.*, p. 330.
- ⁴⁰⁹ Lilienthal, *Zionist Connection*, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
- ⁴¹⁰ Gilbert, *Second World War*, *op. cit.*, p. 632.
- ⁴¹¹ Shirer, *op. cit.*, p. 1034.
- ⁴¹² Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 1157.
- ⁴¹³ Shirer, *op. cit.*, p. 1304.
- ⁴¹⁴ Toland, *op. cit.*, p. 1160.
- ⁴¹⁵ Vago, Bela 'Romania', in McCauley, Mark [Ed.] *Communist Power In Europe, 1944–1949* (London: Macmillan, 1977) pp. 112–5.
- ⁴¹⁶ Westoby *op. cit.* pp. 38–9.
- ⁴¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 38–9, 57. In Sept 1945 a US journalist from the "Christian Science Monitor" estimated that 200,000 Bulgarians had been killed in the preceding year, chiefly as acts of vengeance against the old authorities. The British estimated 40–50,000 between January and July. Included were nearly all the ministers and officials of the wartime government executed Feb 1945. Many thousands were also in prison. According to historian Hugh Thomas, the occupying Red Army played little or no direct part in this, but their presence gave the local Communists great advantage. Thomas, Hugh *Armed Conflict: The Beginnings of the Cold War, 1945–46* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1986) p. 294.

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- ⁴¹⁸ Davies pp. 42–44.
- ⁴¹⁹ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. VI *Triumph and Tragedy*, op. cit., p. 302.
- ⁴²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 303.
- ⁴²¹ *ibid.*, p. 302.
- ⁴²² *ibid.*, p. 304.
- ⁴²³ *ibid.*, p. 291.
- ⁴²⁴ Clemens, Diane Shaver *Yalta* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970) pp. 140–150; Laloy, Jean *Yalta: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow* (Harper and Row: New York, 1988) pp. 71–72.
- ⁴²⁵ Loth op. cit. p. 7.
- ⁴²⁶ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. VI *Triumph and Tragedy* pp. 292–293.
- ⁴²⁷ Clemens op. cit. pp. 216–240 Egypt declared war against Germany in February, presumably as a consequence of Roosevelt's talks with Farouk, Turkey on February 2, Finland on March 3 and Argentina on March 27, but the eligibility requirements were modified so that certain other countries could also become founding members.
- ⁴²⁸ La Feber, Walter *America, Russia and the Cold War, 1945–1984* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1985) p. 14.
- ⁴²⁹ Davis op. cit. pp. 174–5.
- ⁴³⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 174–5, 360–1; Clemens op. cit. pp. 262–264.
- ⁴³¹ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. VI *Triumph and Tragedy*, op. cit., p. 254.
- ⁴³² Buss, op. cit., p. 480, quoting the secret agreement in full.
- ⁴³³ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol VI *Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 319.
- ⁴³⁴ Churchill had expressed the same view on October 3 while addressing the Commons on the need to extend the life of that parliament to the end of the war with Germany, and alternative timings for a British general election.
- ⁴³⁵ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. VI *Triumph and Tragedy*, op. cit., p. 468.
- ⁴³⁶ Wilmot, op. cit., p. 653.
- ⁴³⁷ Quoted in Kuniholm, op. cit. p. 230.
- ⁴³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 231.
- ⁴³⁹ Lilienthal, *Zionist Connection*, op. cit., p. 40.
- ⁴⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 41.
- ⁴⁴¹ Loc. cit.
- ⁴⁴² Toland, op. cit., pp. 1165–1172.
- ⁴⁴³ Lilienthal, *Zionist Connection*, op. cit., p. 42.
- ⁴⁴⁴ Macdonald, op. cit., pp. 41–42.
- ⁴⁴⁵ Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 642.
- ⁴⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p. 649.
- ⁴⁴⁷ de Senarclens, Pierre *Yalta* (New Brunswick: Transaction, 1988) p. 79.
- ⁴⁴⁸ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol VI *Triumph and Tragedy*, op. cit., pp. 343 ff.
- ⁴⁴⁹ Davis op. cit. pp. 266.
- ⁴⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 256–61; Vago, op. cit., p. 112–18.
- ⁴⁵¹ Davis, op. cit., pp. 261–65; Vago, op. cit., p. 118–22.
- ⁴⁵² Kimball op. cit., pp. 173 ff; Davis, op. cit. pp. 65–66; see also Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, op. cit., p. 344–5 In his memoirs Churchill claimed that the original percentages agreement "could not, and so far as I was concerned was never intended to, govern or affect the future of these wide regions once Germany was defeated." If that statement was not a disingenuous retrospective justification of the agreement in the light of subsequent events then at the very least the agreement itself was disingenuous i.e. it was an expedient way of getting Stalin to acquiesce in Britain's anti-Communist push in Greece in the hope that the Soviets could be prevented from doing the reverse in Eastern Europe, and that once it was proven that they could not be so stopped that it was acceptable to break the spirit of the agreement – even before Germany was defeated. His argument that the operation in Greece was intended to support the reestablishment of democracy is flawed by the basic fact that many of those who gained from the British operations were fascist collaborators and sympathizers, and no more democratically minded than the Greek communists. see Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 274.
- ⁴⁵³ Gaddis, op. cit., p. 162.
- ⁴⁵⁴ Kimball, op. cit., pp. 172 ff.
- ⁴⁵⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 174–175.
- ⁴⁵⁶ Kuniholm, op. cit., p. 255.

- ⁴⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 256.
- ⁴⁵⁸ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol VI *Triumph and Tragedy*, op. cit., pp. 371–73.
- ⁴⁵⁹ Calvocoressi, P., Wint, G. and Pritchard, G. *Total War, The Causes and Courses of the Second World War* [London: Penguin, 1989].
- ⁴⁶⁰ Davis, op. cit., pp. 203–4; Loth, op. cit., p. 84.
- ⁴⁶¹ Loth, op. cit., p. 83/
- ⁴⁶² La Feber, Walter *The Origins of the Cold War, 1941–1947* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc, 1971) p. 96.
- ⁴⁶³ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol VI *Triumph and Tragedy*, op. cit., pp. 359.
- ⁴⁶⁴ See *Operation Sunrise*.
- ⁴⁶⁵ The Yalta agreement was actually a decision to implement a prior accord between Yugoslav communist partisan leader Marshall Tito, whose forces constituted de-facto government, and the Prime Minister of the Yugoslav government in exile Dr Ivan Subasic, following which Britain recognized the new government and the US extended provisional recognition pending scheduled elections. Davis, op. cit. pp. 335–47; Alperovitz, Gar *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965) pp. 20–21.
- ⁴⁶⁶ Davis, op. cit., p. 216–8. See also Loth, op. cit., pp. 86–7
- ⁴⁶⁷ Buss, op. cit., P. 456.
- ⁴⁶⁸ Lapide, op. cit., p. 177.
- ⁴⁶⁹ Lilienthal, *Zionist Connection*, op. cit., p. 45.
- ⁴⁷⁰ Cornwell, op. cit., p. 317, quoted from K. Scholder, *Requiem for Hitler: And Other New Perspectives on the German Church Struggle*, Eng. Trans. (London, 1989), 166.
- ⁴⁷¹ Neuner & Dupuis. (Eds.) *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church* [Bangalore: Theological Publications of India, 1978] Pope Pius XII, *Mystical Body*, p. 448.
- ⁴⁷² This section of *Mystici Corporis Christi* is quoted from the translation in *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church*, edited by Neuner and Dupuis, op. cit., while the earlier quotations are from the translation published by the Australian Catholic Truth Society. The emphasis in the two translations varies significantly and that from Neuner and Dupuis appears to this author to better reflect the meaning intended by the Pope in the circumstances in which the original was written

Chapter 26: *The Grand Design ... or ... it's my turn to play policeman*

- ¹ Luard, Evan, *A History of the United Nations* (London: Macmillan, 1982) two Vols., Vol. 1, pp. 39, 43–44.
- ² Robertson, Charles L., *International Politics Since World War II* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966) p. 37.
- ³ Luard op. cit. p. 58.
- ⁴ *ibid.*, p. 60.
- ⁵ *ibid.*, p. 59.
- ⁶ The figure of 6 million released immediately after the war was subsequently revised.
- ⁷ Ovendale, Richie *Britain, The United States and the End of the Palestine Mandate* (London: Beydell Press, 1989) pp. 67–9.
- ⁸ Kolko, G. *The Politics of War: The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1943–5*, (New York: Random House, 1968) p. 490; Paterson, T. *Soviet-American Confrontation: Post-war reconstruction and the Origins of the Cold War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973) p. 161.
- ⁹ Churchill, Sir Winston S., *The Second World War*, Vol VI *Triumph and Tragedy* [London: Reprint Society, 1954], p. 370.
- ¹⁰ Between 1941 and 1945 at least 20,000,000 Soviet citizens had lost their lives, either in the war itself or as a result of effects such as overwork or under-nourishment – more than 10% of the pre-war population and almost half of the war's total. 25 million people had lost their homes; 1,710 towns and 70,000 villages had been destroyed. The economy was near collapse: 65,000 km's of railway had been damaged, agriculture was in disarray as a result of battles on Soviet soil and German occupation, and industrial production was down considerably, despite prodigious output of tanks, guns, aircraft and other war materials. Some 31,000 factories, including major industrial centres in Kharkov, Krivoi Rog, Zaporozhie, Rostov, Odessa, Leningrad and Stalingrad, had been destroyed. Loth, Wilfried *The Division of the World, 1941–1955* [London: Routledge, 1988], op. cit. p. 34; Grey, Ian *Stalin, Man of History* (London: Abacus, 1982) p. 426.
- ¹¹ Djilas, Milovan 'Conversations with Stalin', extract in LaFeber, Walter *The Origins of the Cold War, 1941–1947* [New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1971], p. 49.

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- ¹² Loth, op. cit., p. 39
- ¹³ See LaFeber, Walter *America, Russia and the Cold War, 1945–1984* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), p. 18; Loth, op. cit., p. 39 ff; Westoby, Adam *Communism Since World War II* (Brighton: The Harvester Press, 1981) p. 35–6; Djilas, Milovan 'Conversations with Stalin', extract in LaFeber, op. cit., p. 49.
- ¹⁴ Loth, op. cit., p. 34; LaFeber, (1985), op. cit., p. 20–21.
- ¹⁵ LaFeber, (1985), loc. cit.
- ¹⁶ Loth, op. cit., pp. 61–2.
- ¹⁷ Loth, op. cit., pp. 35–6; LaFeber, (1985), op. cit., p. 20.
- ¹⁸ Loth, op. cit., p. 554.
- ¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 38–9.
- ²⁰ *ibid.*
- ²¹ LaFeber, (1985), op. cit., p. 30.
- ²² Westoby, op. cit., pp. 19–20, 28; Kolko (1968), op. cit., pp. 85–7, 96–8.
- ²³ Loth, op. cit., p. 46; a further reason was that, in contrast to their attitude to much of the rest of eastern Europe, the USA had consistently displayed a keen interest in retaining a democratic order in Finland throughout the war.
- ²⁴ Unfortunately, in his enthusiasm for accommodation with the Soviets, Benes showed a less enlightened attitude in his treatment of the ethnic questions which had provided the initial rationale for the conflict in the region, asking the Soviets for their support transferring Czechoslovakia's Hungarian minority and the German's of the Sudetenland. He also 'invited' them to punish Slovakian fascists who had been responsible for war against the USSR, and in addition offered them the eastern territory of Ruthenia. See Loth, op. cit., p. 44; Kolko (1968), op. cit., p. 121–7; Kusin, Vladimir essay on 'Czechoslovakia' in McCauley, Mark, [Ed.] *Communist Power in Europe, 1944–1949* (London: Macmillan, 1977) p. 75.
- ²⁵ Loth, op. cit., p. 44.
- ²⁶ Davis, Lynn Etheridge, *The Cold War Begins: Soviet-American Conflict in Eastern Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), p. 192; Kolko (1968), op. cit., pp. 127–8. The British had initially opposed it on the grounds that it would interfere with Polish plans for an Eastern European confederation which they supported, and they wanted to use friendly relations with the Czechs as a reward for Soviet cooperation on Poland. Eventually, they withdrew their objections when it became clear that the confederation plan would never succeed. See above (Ch 29 p. ?).
- ²⁷ Kolko (1968), op. cit., p. 121 ff.
- ²⁸ Westoby, op. cit., pp. 39–40; Loth, op. cit., p. 46.
- ²⁹ Luard op. cit. p. 39–40.
- ³⁰ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol VI *Triumph and Tragedy*, op. cit., pp. 391–93.
- ³¹ Yergin op. cit. p. 84.
- ³² See, for example, Sherwin, Martin *A World Destroyed: Hiroshima and the Origins of the Arms Race* (New York: Vintage Books, 1987) pp. 146–53
- ³³ Davis, op. cit., pp. 219–20; Sherwin, op. cit., p. 155–56.
- ³⁴ Loth, op. cit., p. 87.
- ³⁵ Sherwin, op. cit., pp. 154–56.
- ³⁶ Those present included Harriman, Stettinius, Secretary of the Navy Forrestal, and Admiral Leahy.
- ³⁷ Yergin, op. cit., pp. 81–2; Sherwin, op. cit., 156–7; LaFeber, (1971), op. cit., pp. 99–100.
- ³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 82.
- ³⁹ The official report was in fact made the next day, and adopted by the JCoS on May 10. Alperovitz, Gar, *Atomic Diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1965) pp. 30–32.
- ⁴⁰ Sherwin, op. cit., pp. 158–9.
- ⁴¹ LaFeber, (1971), op. cit., p. 101–2.
- ⁴² Sherwin, op. cit., pp. 121–140.
- ⁴³ Herken, Gregg *The Winning Weapon* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980], pp. 13–14.
- ⁴⁴ Sherwin, op. cit., pp. 162–3; 108–112; 135–137; 167 and *passim*.
- ⁴⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 163–4.
- ⁴⁶ *ibid.*
- ⁴⁷ Luard, op. cit. p. 40.

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48. Argentina had not met the conditions for membership. – declaring war on the Axis prior to the March 1 deadline set up by the United States to enable Latin American participation.(ibid., pp. 39–43).
49. Sherwin, op. cit., p. 170.
50. Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol VI *Triumph and Tragedy*, op. cit., pp. 400, 411–12.
51. ibid., pp. 397–402; Alperovitz (1965), op. cit., pp. 43–5.
52. ibid., p. 413 Churchill had argued to Roosevelt that there was a need to fortify the West's bargaining position over the as yet incomplete agreement on the zonal division of Austria, which Russia would very likely almost entirely occupy. To Truman, however, he initially put forward a different case: the need to set up the Allied Control Commission in Berlin as quickly as possible and to ensure that Germans in the British industrial zone got fed from the Russian food-producing zone.
53. Alperovitz (1965), op. cit., pp. 44–5.
54. ibid., p. 45; Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, op. cit. pp. 414–15.
55. Alperovitz (1965), op. cit., pp. 46–7; Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, op. cit., pp. 416–7.
56. Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, op. cit., p. 416.
57. ibid., pp. 413–4.
58. ibid., pp. 407–8; Davis, op. cit., pp. 358–61.
59. Feis, Herbert, *Between War and Peace, The Potsdam Conference* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960] p. 39.
60. ibid., op. cit., p. 40–1; Churchill, *Triumph and Tragedy*, op. cit. pp. 442–3.
61. Feis, op. cit. 41–3.
62. Yergin, op. cit. p. 89.
63. Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol VI *Triumph and Tragedy*, op. cit., pp. 404–5.
64. ibid., op. cit., pp. 432–33.
65. Alperovitz, Gar *The Dropping of the Atomic Bomb and the Architecture of an American Myth*, p. 138.
66. Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. VI *Triumph and Tragedy*, op. cit. pp. 456–58.
67. ibid., pp. 458–9; Kolko (1968), pp. 382–88, 411–14.
68. Gaddis, John Lewis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1941–1947* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1972], pp. 218–9; Yergin, op. cit. p. 94–5; for a version of these events more critical of Truman's role see Paterson, op. cit., pp. 53–44.
69. Yergin, op. cit., p. 93.
70. Gaddis, op. cit., pp. 221–2; Yergin, op. cit., pp. 95–6.
71. Kuklick, op. cit., p. 118–9; Yergin, op. cit., p. 96.
72. And as a result, the new approach at the same time also effectively spelled the end of the draconian Morgenthau Plan, which as yet had not been officially repudiated. Ironically, the new proposals had been agreed upon by Morgenthau's supporters, who wanted to remove any pretext which might have been used to leave significant parts of Germany's industry intact. Crucially, however, their rationale would become invalidated if and when the dismantlement process had to be abandoned, and since disagreement with the Soviets in the long term was now a virtual certainty, the likelihood of that had now also skyrocketed. Kuklick, op. cit. pp. 135–8, 123–5; Backer, op. cit. 41–2 Already more explicit moves were underway to finally ditch the Morgenthau approach. On the same day as the order to cut off Lend Lease, another decision had also been taken concerning the US Joint Chiefs of Staff directive which laid out policy for the administration of military government in Germany in the interim between VE-Day and the time when the Allies completed long range occupation plans. Known as JCS 1067, the directive had been initially formulated the previous September under the strong influence of the Morgenthau Plan, and had subsequently been the subject of fierce debate between those in Morgenthau's Treasury Department who favoured a repressive approach to Germany and others who favoured rehabilitation. By May, however, Treasury had substantially won out, but important concessions had been made which signalled the beginning of the end for Morgenthau's approach. Fearful that economic chaos could lead to political instability and communist penetration, Secretary of War Stimson, an opponent of Morgenthau's overall vision, had inserted an 'escape clause' which directed the military government to ensure the production and maintenance of goods and services required to prevent starvation or such disease and unrest as would endanger the occupying forces. Sharing Stimson's concerns, Truman when signing JCS 1067 on May 11 further made it clear that he was not opposed to modifications. See Kuklick, op. cit. pp. 86–92, 115–9; Backer, op. cit. pp. 32–40, 103–7; Gaddis, op. cit. pp. 114–31, 237.
73. Yergin, op. cit., p. 95.
74. Gaddis, op. cit., p. 211; Alperovitz (1995), op. cit., pp. 101, 106; Sherwin, op. cit., p. 189.
75. La Feber (1985), op. cit. p. 30.

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- ⁷⁶ See Alperovitz (1995), op. cit., pp. 23–26 for an account of many of these. Significantly, Alperovitz also notes that no positive documentary evidence has yet been found that demonstrates that the question of possible domestic opposition was ever a factor in calculations regarding the modification of surrender terms.
- ⁷⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 39–40.
- ⁷⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 40–1, 56–8.
- ⁷⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 37–8 It is also the case, as previously noted, that the Allies eventually allowed the Emperor to retain the throne.
- ⁸⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 42–3.
- ⁸¹ *ibid.*, pp. 113–4. The assessment was essentially correct. In a series of meeting between May 11 and 14, the Japanese Supreme Council for the Direction of the War had decided that, “while Japan is fighting with the UK and the US, once the Soviets entered the war, Japan will face inevitable defeat; therefore, whatever happens in the war with the US and UK, Japan has to try as much as possible to prevent the Soviet Union from entering the war.” *ibid.* pp. 116–9.
- ⁸² Sherwin, op. cit., p. 190; Gaddis, op. cit., pp. 213.
- ⁸³ Alperovitz (1995), op. cit., pp. 145–8.
- ⁸⁴ Sherwin, op. cit., pp. 184–5; Alperovitz (1995), op. cit., p. 139–40.
- ⁸⁵ Alperovitz (1995), op. cit., p. 148; Sherwin, op. cit., p. 145.
- ⁸⁶ Alperovitz (1995), op. cit., p. 140.
- ⁸⁷ See for example Loth, Yergin, Gaddis, op. cit. For the origins of the Hopkins mission, see Sherwin, p. 184.
- ⁸⁸ See Sherwin, op. cit., pp. 178–84; Yergin, op. cit., pp. 100–102.
- ⁸⁹ Alperovitz (1995), op. cit., p. 153.
- ⁹⁰ Luard, op. cit., pp. 45–6.
- ⁹¹ Gaddis, op. cit., pp. 167–170; 227–28.
- ⁹² *ibid.*, p. 52; LaFeber (1985), op. cit. pp. 22–3.
- ⁹³ Luard, op. cit., p. 52.
- ⁹⁴ LaFeber (1985), op. cit., p. 23.
- ⁹⁵ Luard, op. cit., p. 58–60.
- ⁹⁶ Yergin, op. cit., pp. 88–89.
- ⁹⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 60–61.
- ⁹⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 61–2.
- ⁹⁹ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. VI *Triumph and Tragedy*, op. cit., pp. 450–2.
- ¹⁰⁰ Yergin, op. cit., pp. 102–3; Feis (1960), op. cit., p. 97–116.
- ¹⁰¹ Yergin, op. cit., 103; Feis (1960), op. cit., pp. 97–116.
- ¹⁰² Alperovitz (1995), op. cit., p. 141.
- ¹⁰³ Feis (1960), op. cit. pp. 110–112.
- ¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 205–15.
- ¹⁰⁵ Quoted in Alperovitz (1995), op. cit., p. 147.
- ¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 45–6.
- ¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 54–5.
- ¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 51–2.
- ¹⁰⁹ Feis, Herbert *The Atomic Bomb and the End of World War II* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970) p. 48.
- ¹¹⁰ For discussion of Byrnes’ role in helping form the Committee’s conclusions, see Feis (1970), op. cit., pp. 42–43; Sherwin, op. cit., pp. 205 ff; Alperovitz (1995), op. cit., Ch 12. For more discussion of Byrnes’ attitudes and general role in atomic decision making, see Alperovitz (1995), op. cit., Chapters 15 to 17.
- ¹¹¹ A panel of industrialists associated with the bomb project gave their estimates the next day. These ranged from five to ten years, or shorter if the Soviets benefited from knowledge gained through espionage or from assistance by German scientists. On the 31st the Committee first heard from a panel of specially selected Manhattan Project scientists, including Robert Oppenheimer, who outlined the development of the atomic weapons program. Three types of bomb were described. The first, already mastered and virtually ready for use, was a Uranium-235 bomb with an estimated explosive force of between 2,000 and 20,000 tons of TNT. The second, to be tested some time in mid-July, involved enriched materials including plutonium and was expected to yield an explosive force of between 50,000 and 100,000 tons of TNT. The third, still at least three years away in Oppenheimer’s estimation, would use the second type of bomb to detonate heavy water and was believed to be capable of yielding 10 to 100 million tons of TNT. Feis (1970), op. cit., pp. 42–44.

¹¹² Sherwin, op. cit., pp. 207–10.

¹¹³ *ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Feis (1970), op. cit., pp. 52–56.

¹¹⁵ Gaddis, op. cit., p. 209.

¹¹⁶ Thomas, p. 326–29.

¹¹⁷ Kolko (1968), op. cit.; for Soviet actions in Germany in the same period, see McCauley, essay on Germany, in McCauley [Ed], op. cit. p. 61–2 and Loth, op. cit., p. 54.

¹¹⁸ For British attitudes to reparations, see Cairncross (ref. to be added) pp. 72–77. Central to their position, in addition to preventing a drain on their resources, was as with the Americans the desire to balance the destruction of German war potential with the need to revitalise it in aid of European and British economic recovery as well as prevent Soviet penetration. Also of concern was the need to maintain Germany's economic unity so that the deficiency in food supplies in the British zone could be met from the Soviet zone, which the 'first charge' principle also buttressed by requiring Germany to be treated as an economic unit in calculating reparations levels.

¹¹⁹ Much of the Soviets' work was destructive and haphazard, with only a quarter of dismantled equipment ever reaching Russia, much of it left outdoors and at railway sidings to rust. In addition, they had also implemented a detailed 'war booty' plan encompassing the collection of foodstuffs, animals, farm machinery and other miscellaneous goods, with special 'trophy brigades' seeing to its faithful fulfilment ever since they had entered Germany. Chotiner, p. 52–3; Backer, op. cit., 93–4.

¹²⁰ Gaddis, op. cit., p. 243; Backer, op. cit., 93–5.

¹²¹ For the origins of the story, and the manoeuvring between Britain and America for control of the operations, see in particular Tom Bowers *The Paperclip Conspiracy*.

¹²² Lasby, pp. 18–19. Composed of personnel trained in languages and document procedures, as well as medical and signals detachments and combat troops, the T-Forces – identified by the large red 'T' on their helmets – operated independently of ordinary combat troops and were authorized to enter targeted areas under combat conditions within a few hours after resistance ceased. By February with the Russians only forty miles from Berlin, efforts were made to streamline the awkward and time-consuming Anglo-American approach. The T-Forces were reorganized to include CIOS specialists to make on the spot assessments, and the new Combined Advance Field Teams (CAFT's) were authorised to keep pace with combat troops and advance with military spearheads. Gimbel, pp. 8–9.

¹²³ Lasby, op. cit. 22–3; Gimbel, op. cit. 6–8.

¹²⁴ For the early British lead and American efforts to counter it, see in particular Bowers, *The Paperclip Conspiracy*, op. cit., pp. 66–73.

¹²⁵ Churchill had barely concealed the fact that, in his view, Russia's involvement in the war was no more than a convenience to help maintain Britain's privileged position and this has been discussed at length in relation to Operation Barbarossa and the steps which Churchill took to to keep the Soviet Union in the war at a time that Stalin had twice proposed armistice negotiations (chapter 29). And in Vol VI of his memoirs, *Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 131, he wrote: "Another matter lay heavy on mind. I was very anxious to forestall the Russians in certain areas in Central Europe. The Hungarians, for instance, had expressed their intention of resisting the Soviet advance, but would surrender to a British force if it could arrive in time." But in spite of that he still consistently complained about Soviet lack of cooperation. The self-understanding of Britain as the fast-fading star of the amorphous Christian gel was oozing out all over!

¹²⁶ Lasby, op. cit. 21–2.

¹²⁷ Bowers, *The Paperclip Conspiracy* op. cit., pp. 140–2.

¹²⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 142 ff.

¹²⁹ Lasby, op. cit. p. 28–9; Bowers, *United Nations Charter* op. cit., pp. 89–95.

¹³⁰ Simpson, Christopher *Blowback* p. 28.

¹³¹ Bowers, *The Paperclip Conspiracy*, op. cit., p. 105.

¹³² The whole thing was witnessed by the British, who had arrived with the CIOS squads only days after the Americans, but they were powerless to stop it. Indeed, as if to rub salt into their wounds, the Americans right from under their noses also removed 14 tons of documents valued by the German scientists at between 400 and 500 million dollars that they had buried in Goslar in the British zone only hours before the British were due to take control of the area. Bowers, *The Paperclip Conspiracy* op. cit. pp. 102–113; Lasby, op. cit., pp. 37–42.

¹³³ Lasby, op. cit. pp., 44–9.

¹³⁴ Bowers, *The Paperclip Conspiracy*, op. cit., p. 137.

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- ¹³⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 88–9, 96, 118.; Lasby *op. cit.* pp. 63–6, 68–70.
- ¹³⁶ Bowers, Tom *Blind Eye to Murder* [London: Andre Deutsch, 1981], p. 118.
- ¹³⁷ Seven of them were American, out a paltry nineteen authorized in February by Eisenhower, each consisting of four officers and five NCO's. None of them had been with combat troops when they liberated the concentration camps. The British effort was even worse: in late April Montgomery's HQ had belatedly announced the formation of a grand total of three teams, each of four men. By VE-Day, only three men had been recruited to cover a larger population than the Americans. *ibid.*, pp. 113–4, 125.
- ¹³⁸ Bowers, *Blind Eye* *op. cit.* p. 108. Even then such investigations were limited to those whose names appeared on the United Nations War Crimes Commission's paltry lists. A full directive did not arrive until July 8, upon which the head of the US investigative agency was forced due to lack of resources to order his teams to ignore all cases which did not involve US or concentration camp victims. *ibid.*, p. 121.
- ¹³⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 100–101.
- ¹⁴⁰ Ironically, at the very same time as the War Department's approach received official approval in the US, Eden had ruled out virtually identical proposals in Britain. *ibid.*, p. 101–2.
- ¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, pp. 102–107.
- ¹⁴² *ibid.*, pp. 100, 107–8.
- ¹⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 114.
- ¹⁴⁴ By May, neither the head of the British nor the American investigative Agency had yet set foot in Germany, while truckloads of documentary evidence which piled up outside the American HQ was left unsorted due to lack of manpower. *ibid.*, pp. 120–1, 125.
- ¹⁴⁵ Theoretically, a means of identifying them existed in CROWCASS (Central Registry of War Criminals and Security Suspects) – an ambitious system using Hollerith IBM card index machines to tabulate and produce information on every member of the internment camps – but the lists it produced were virtually worthless to the war crimes investigators since they rarely had any evidence of anyone listed having committed crimes. Moreover, Allied officers running POW camps soon inferred that anyone not on the lists could be released, and with the British authorities insisting on processing their evidence in London, thus requiring a two month round trip. from Germany and back again, the long delays resulted in witnesses being officially allowed to disappear from the scene of the crime before trial got underway. *ibid.*, pp. 117–8, 127–9. CROWCASS nevertheless proved useful in other ways – it initially assisted in the recruitment of Nazis as 'police informants', and later in their recruitment as intelligence operatives. Simpson, *Blowback*, *op. cit.* 66–7.
- ¹⁴⁶ Ovendale, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
- ¹⁴⁷ *ibid.*, p. 74.
- ¹⁴⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 69–71.
- ¹⁴⁹ Feis (1960), *op. cit.* pp. 292–95; Kuniholm, *op. cit.* pp. 257–60.
- ¹⁵⁰ Kuniholm, *op. cit.* pp. 214–16, 270–1; Feis, (1960) *op. cit.* pp. 302–3.
- ¹⁵¹ Kuniholm, *op. cit.* pp. 249–53; Feis, (1960) *op. cit.* pp. 287–8; Kolko, (1972) *op. cit.* pp. 219–21.
- ¹⁵² Alperovitz, (1995) *op. cit.* pp. 58–9.
- ¹⁵³ Feis, (1970) *op. cit.* pp. 19–22.
- ¹⁵⁴ Alperovitz (1995), *op. cit.* p. 62.
- ¹⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 122–23; Alperovitz (1995) *op. cit.* p. 227.
- ¹⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 57.
- ¹⁵⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 75–79; Feis (1970) *op. cit.* pp. 22–25
- ¹⁵⁸ Feis (1970), *op. cit.* p. 25.
- ¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. 56–58; Alperovitz (1995), *op. cit.* p. 174.
- ¹⁶⁰ Ovendale, *op. cit.*, p. 64; Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers, 1945–1948* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982], pp. 15–16.
- ¹⁶¹ Bauer, Yehuda, *Flight and Rescue: Brichah* p. 76 According to Cohen, *Palestine to Israel: from Mandate to Independence* (London: F. Cass, 1988), p. 56. Harrison's original mission had its origins in an initiative by Zionists in the State Department. He also suggests that it was backed by the Jewish Agency Executive.
- ¹⁶² Ovendale, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
- ¹⁶³ Bauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 64ff.
- ¹⁶⁴ By mid-1946 the institute had begun to buy ships, planes, jeeps and surplus arms which were stored in warehouses in the US and Europe, until they could be moved to Palestine legally at the end of the mandate. Cohen, (1982), *op. cit.*, pp. 68.
- ¹⁶⁵ Alperovitz (1995), *op. cit.*, pp. 232–33.

- ¹⁶⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 232–34 ff; Feis (1970), *op. cit.*, pp. 68–9.
- ¹⁶⁷ Aperovitz (1995), *op. cit.*, pp. 266–69.
- ¹⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p. 258.
- ¹⁶⁹ Gaddis, *op. cit.*, pp. 236–38.
- ¹⁷⁰ Feis (1960), *op. cit.*, pp. 181–183.
- ¹⁷¹ Feis (1970), *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 80–81.
- ¹⁷² *ibid.*, pp. 340–2.
- ¹⁷³ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. VI *Triumph and Tragedy*, *op. cit.*, pp. 520–24; Feis (1960) *op. cit.* 229–33.
- ¹⁷⁴ Cairncross, *op. cit.*, pp. 86–93; Feis (1960), *op. cit.*, 253–56.
- ¹⁷⁵ Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 188–90.
- ¹⁷⁶ Alperovitz (1995), *op. cit.*, pp. 252, 260.
- ¹⁷⁷ Alperovitz (1995), *op. cit.*, 267–8, 305; Feis (1970), *op. cit.*, pp. 88–89.
- ¹⁷⁸ Alperovitz (1995), *op. cit.*, pp. 281 ff.
- ¹⁷⁹ Feis (1960), *op. cit.*, pp. 229–33.
- ¹⁸⁰ Sudiplatsky, Victor, *Special Tasks*.
- ¹⁸¹ Feis (1970), *op. cit.*, pp. 101–3; Alperovitz (1995), *op. cit.*, pp. 384–38.

Chapter 27: *We've made it ... thanks to Hitler's gentle persuasion*

- ¹ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, citing Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* [1789]
- ² Russia was not at war with Japan, neither were a number of the Latin American countries which had agreed to declare war against Germany in return for a place at the United Nations conference.
- ³ The first of the series of joint declarations was the Inter-Allied Declaration which was signed by Britain, four Commonwealth Dominions and nine European governments in exile on June 12, 1941, prior to the German invasion of Russia. The second was the Atlantic Charter which Britain and the United States issued on August 14 that year. The third was the 26-nation 'Declaration by United Nations' – the first such declaration to include the Soviet Union – which was adopted on January 1, 1942 by Australia, Belgium, Canada, China, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, South Africa, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, the United States and Yugoslavia. Later adherents to the Declaration prior to the date of adoption of the Charter were, in order of the dates of adherence, Mexico, the Philippines, Ethiopia, Iraq, Brazil, Bolivia, Iran, Colombia, Liberia, France, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Paraguay, Venezuela, Uruguay, Turkey, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Lebanon. Source: United Nations Handbook, *Everyone's United Nations*, tenth edition, 1986, pp. 5–7.
- ⁴ Ross, Alf, *The United Nations: Peace and Progress* [New Jersey: Bedminster, 1966] p. 376.
- ⁵ United Nations Handbook, 1986, *op. cit.*, p. 327.
- ⁶ Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 375.
- ⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 384–385.
- ⁸ United Nations Handbook, 1986, *op. cit.*, pp. 341–344. Trusteeship Agreements were approved as follows: British Togoland, French Togoland, British Cameroon, French Cameroon, Tanganyika (Britain), West Samoa (New Zealand), Ruanda-Urundi (Belgium), and New Guinea (Australia) on December 13, 1946; the Micronesian Pacific Islands (USA) on April 2, 1947; Nauru (Australia, New Zealand and Britain jointly) on November 1, 1947; and Somaliland (Italy) on December 2, 1950.
- ⁹ The record shows 51 founding members, but Poland, for which a place was reserved, was not able to sign until October 15, 1945, after the composition of its government had been determined.
- ¹⁰ The Philippines is a special case which calls for comment. It was nominally a self-governing Commonwealth of the United States of America and it was admitted as an original member of the United Nations in October 1945, in very peculiar circumstances. Having been mal-administered during 333 years of Spanish colonial rule when the Roman Catholic Church was the main colonial presence, the archipelago of the Philippines, (made up of eleven main islands, 350 very small ones and literally between six and seven thousand islets), was ceded to the United States as part of its spoils from the Spanish-American war in 1898. The US found that it had inherited a legacy of neglect. Elementary public education, run by the church, had only been introduced on a limited scale in 1863. A self-help reform society had been established in 1892, but when this was promptly crushed a more militant independence movement sprang

up in 1896. Faced by widespread anger and embarrassment in the US at its blatant breach of the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine, the US administration made a genuine effort to move the colony towards self-government with an indigenous and locally trained civil service. Even so, it was not moving quickly enough for the Filipinos, and pressure mounted for independence. In 1933 it was agreed that a Commonwealth of the Philippines would be established in 1935 and this would be converted to full independence after a ten-year transition period in 1945.

In fact little progress had been made by 1941 when the US decision to establish a major naval base there as part of its war plan (chapter 24) ensured that it would be caught up in the Asian-Pacific war zone. What remained of the US forces surrendered in May 1942 (five months after the Japanese landing in December 1941) and the country was under direct Japanese military government for the next 16 months. Then in September 1943 the Japanese declared the country to be a republic and the previously elected parliament enjoyed some shared power with the Japanese military command and their nominee as president, even though some US supported guerilla warfare occurred across the islands. The American return landing took place a year later, in October 1944, and although the Commonwealth of the Philippines was officially reinstated, the country was run, absolutely, by the US military command. It was in that situation when it was admitted as an original member of the United Nations in October 1945. Three months later MacArthur's nominee, Manuel Roxas, was installed as president, and six months later the Commonwealth of the Philippines was proclaimed a republic with a US-style constitution and two imposed obligations. One was the lease of military and naval bases to the United States for 99 years with virtual territorial rights. The other was equal rights for US citizens with Filipinos in the exploitation of natural resources.

¹¹ In addition, Ceylon (Sri Lanka) gained independence on February 4, 1948, but it was not admitted to the United Nations until December 14, 1955.

¹² *Encyclopedia Britannica* CD Deluxe 2000, (Evolution of contemporary cultures: Colonial policies)

¹³ Piccigallo, Philip R. *The Japanese on Trial* [Austin: University of Texas, 1979] p. 6.

¹⁴ *Terms of Reference of Far Eastern Commission*. (Part IIA of Moscow Communiqué of the 27th December, 1945) Section II, functions, clauses A, B, C. Published in *Japanese Peace Settlement* [Canberra: Department of External Affairs, August 1947] p. 1.

¹⁵ *Terms of Reference of Far Eastern Commission*, op. cit., Section III, clause 1, p. 2.

¹⁶ *Far Eastern Commission Policy Decisions*, published in full in *Japanese Peace Settlement* [Canberra: Department of External Affairs, August 1947] listed on pp. 4–7.

¹⁷ Roling B.V.A. *The Tokyo Trial and Beyond*, Ed. Antonio Cassese [Cambridge: Polity/Blackwell, 1993] p. 41.

¹⁸ Woodard, William P. *The Allied Occupation of Japan 1945–52 and Japanese Religions* [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972], p. 14.

¹⁹ The final version of the Basic Post-Surrender Policy for Japan, dated June 19th, 1947, contained the simple words “To insure that Japan will not again become a menace to the peace and security of the world.” *Basic Post-Surrender Policy for Japan*. Part I, clause 1.a. Published in *Japanese Peace Settlement* [Canberra: Department of External Affairs, August 1947] p. 9.

²⁰ Latourette, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 425.

²¹ Woodard, loc. cit.

²² Ginn, John L. *Sugamo Prison, Tokyo* [Jefferson: McFarland, 1992] p. 15.

²³ Roling B.V.A. *The Tokyo Trial and Beyond*, Ed. Antonio Cassese [Cambridge: Polity/Blackwell, 1993] pp. 2–4.

²⁴ Piccigallo, op. cit., pp. 49–62.

²⁵ Definite figures are difficult to obtain. Piccigallo gives the figure 5,700 for persons accused while Ginn gives 4,200.

²⁶ Ginn, op. cit., p. 38.

²⁷ Piccigallo, op. cit., p. 27.

²⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 214–215.

²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁰ Roling, op. cit., p. 46.

³¹ Ginn, op. cit., p. 47.

³² Piccigallo, op. cit., pp. 16, 17, citing correspondence, MacArthur to COS Eisenhower, in US Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946*, (Washington DC, 1971) pp. 395–397; and US Department of State, *United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan*, August 29, 1945, part 2, provision 2; Edwin O. Reischauer, *Japan: The Story of a Nation* (New York, 1970), p. 265.

³³ Roling, op. cit., pp. 63, 81.

³⁴ Piccigallo, op. cit., p. 23.

³⁵ Roling, op. cit., p. 50.

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- 36 Piccigallo, op. cit., p. 57.
 - 37 Roling, op. cit., p. 53.
 - 38 Piccigallo, op. cit., p. 22.
 - 39 Roling, op. cit., p. 56.
 - 40 ibid., p. 59.
 - 41 Ginn, op. cit., pp. 242–245.
 - 42 Roling, op. cit., p. 48.
 - 43 Ginn, op. cit., pp. 57, 87–92, 153.
 - 44 ibid., p. 244, citing Seiichi Morimura & Masaki Shimozato. *The Devil's Gluttony*. Published in Japan.
 - 45 Blum, William, *Killing Hope* [Monroe: Common Courage, 1995] p. 26, citing *People's China*, English-language magazine, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 17 September 1952, p. 28.
 - 46 Blum, op. cit., p. 27, citing *New York Times*, 9 August 1970, IV, p. 3.
 - 47 Hughes, Gary & Gerard Ryle *The Hidden War Experiments* [Melbourne: The Age, April 19, 1999] pp. 1,2,12–13.
 - 48 Woodard, op. cit., p. 250, citing Hirobumi Ito, *Commentaries on the Constitution of Japan* [Tokyo: Government Printing Office, 1899] translated by Miyoji Ito.
 - 49 ibid., p. 252, citing former Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida, CR 22 Oct 48 WKB.
 - 50 ibid., p. 253.
 - 51 ibid., in foreword by W.K. Bunce, p. xv.
 - 52 ibid., pp. 250,251.
 - 53 ibid., p. 11.
 - 54 Meyer, Michael A. *Response to Modernity*. [Detroit: Wayne State University, 1988] p. 352.
 - 55 Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age*, Volume V, *The Twentieth Century Outside Europe*. [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1969], pp. 12,13.
- Church membership and average weekly attendance in the United States of America, per cent of the population:**
- | Year | 1910 | 1926 | 1940 | 1949 | 1950 | 1955 | 1959 |
|------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Membership | 40 | 45 | n.a. | 53 | 57 | 61 | 63.4 |
| Attendance | n.a. | n.a. | 37 | n.a. | 39 | 49 | n.a. |
- 56 ibid., Vol. V, p. 13.
 - 57 ibid., Vol. V, p. 11.
 - 58 Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age*, Volume IV, *The Twentieth Century In Europe*. [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1969] pp. 403–410.
 - 59 ibid., Vol. IV, p. 410.
 - 60 ibid., Vol. IV, p. 414.
 - 61 ibid., Vol. IV, p. 415.
 - 62 ibid., Vol. IV, p. 382.
 - 63 ibid.
 - 64 ibid., Vol. IV, p. 385, citing: Boas, J. H. *Resistance of the Churches in the Netherlands*, [New York: Netherlands Information Bureau, 1944] p. 12.
 - 65 ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 386–393.
 - 66 ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 129–137, citing Henri Godin and Yvan Daniel, *La France: Pays de Mission*.
 - 67 ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 139–145.
 - 68 ibid., Vol. IV, p. 223.
 - 69 ibid., Vol. IV, p. 443.
 - 70 ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 183–184.
 - 71 ibid., Vol. IV, p. 267.
 - 72 Bonhoeffer, Dietrich, Edited & translated by Edwin H. Robertson, *Christology*, [London: Collins/Fount, 1978] the translator's preface, p. 20.
 - 73 ibid., p. 7.
 - 74 ibid., p. 36.
 - 75 Bonhoeffer, Dietrich, Edited & translated by Edwin H. Robertson, *True Patriotism* [London: Collins, 1973] p. 236.
 - 76 Bonhoeffer, *Christology*, op. cit., p. 28.
 - 77 ibid., p. 28.
 - 78 ibid., p. 89.

NOTES TO VOLUME III

- ⁷⁹ *ibid.*, p. 103.
- ⁸⁰ *ibid.*, p. 109.
- ⁸¹ Latourette, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 184–188.
- ⁸² *ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 270–271, citing *Kirchliches Jahrbuch*, 1945–1948, pp. 8,15,19–29, and Hans Lilje in *World Dominion*, Vol. XXXV, p. 17.
- ⁸³ Hanson, E. O. *The Catholic Church in World Politics* [Princeton: Princeton University Press., 1990] p. 45.
- ⁸⁴ Pope Pius XII, *Deiparae Virginis Mariae* May 1, 1946. All references are to the English translation by the Daughters of St. Paul (St. Paul Editions, 1961), in *Papal Teachings: Our Lady*, selected and arranged by the Benedictine Monks of Solèsles: re-published in *The Papal Encyclicals 1939–1958*, compiled by Claudia Carlen IHM [Raleigh: McGrath, 1981] pp. 109–110.
- ⁸⁵ Hanson. *loc. cit.*
- ⁸⁶ Pope Pius XII, Christmas Allocution, December 24, 1944, *Democracy – True and False*. All references are to the English language translation published by *The Australian Catholic Truth Society Record*, June 11, 1945, [Melbourne: Advocate Press, 1945]
- ⁸⁷ Hanson, *op. cit.*, p. 45.
- ⁸⁸ Mosley, Leonard, *Dulles: A Biography of Eleanor, Allen, and John Foster Dulles and their family network*. [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1978] p. 242.
- ⁸⁹ Blum, William, *Killing Hope: US Military and CIA Interventions since World War II* [Monroe: Common Courage, 1995] pp. 27–32; citing: Miles Copeland, *Without Cloak and Dagger* (New York, 1974) pp. 235–6; CIA memorandum to the Forty Committee (National Security Council) during closed hearings in 1975, leaked to the press in 1976 and published in *CIA – The Pike Report* (Nottingham, England, 1977) pp. 204–5; Stephen Goode, *The CIA* (Franklin Watts, Inc. New York, 1982) p. 45; and William R. Corson, *The Armies of Ignorance: The rise of the American Intelligence Empire* (The Dial Press, New York, 1977) pp. 298–9.
- ⁹⁰ Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
- ⁹¹ Pope Pius XII *Evangelii Praecones* June 2, 1951. All references are to the English translation by N.C.W.C., 1951, re-published in *The Papal Encyclicals 1939–1958*, compiled by Claudia Carlen IHM [Raleigh: McGrath, 1981] pp. 189–201.
- ⁹² Personal observation by a Swiss theologian to the author in conference at Cartigny, 1975.
- ⁹³ Latourette, *op. cit.*, Vol IV, p. 223.
- ⁹⁴ *ibid.*, Vol IV, pp. 223–224. Figures are given for the number of Roman Catholic priests serving as missionaries for the years 1933, 1953, and 1957, without reference to other religious who include brothers, sisters, seminarians and lay persons. For 1957 the total number of priests serving world wide is given as 10,812 of whom only 206 were reported as being from the US. But the Catholic Almanac, 1975, p. 583, lists 5,126 US missionaries, of whom 2,914 were priests, except for an unstated number of brothers and seminarians.
- ⁹⁵ Neill, Stephen. *A History of Christian Missions*. [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964] p. 458. In 1958 27,733 Protestant missionaries out of a total of 43,000 world wide were from the US.
- ⁹⁶ Visser 't Hooft, contrib. chapter 16, The Genesis of the World Council of Churches, in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517–1948*, Ruth Rouse and Stephen Neill (Eds.) [Geneva: World Council of Churches], pp. 715–716.
- ⁹⁷ Neill, *op. cit.*, pp. 458–459.
- ⁹⁸ The Potsdam Proclamation, from Ginn, *op. cit.*, p. 260.
- ⁹⁹ Woodard, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
- ¹⁰⁰ Ginn, *op. cit.*, introduction, pp. xiii,xiv.
- ¹⁰¹ Roling, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
- ¹⁰² Woodard, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
- ¹⁰³ *ibid.*, p. 241.
- ¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p. 28.
- ¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 241,242.
- ¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p. 355, citing a letter from MacArthur to Dr. Louis D. Newton, President of the Southern Baptist Convention, reported in *Stars and Stripes*, December 13th, 1946.
- ¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 49–53.
- ¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 54–57.
- ¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 22–24.
- ¹¹⁰ Responsibility for Korea was subsequently placed elsewhere and responsibility for Christian missionaries was extended beyond the matter of their return. *ibid.*, p. 25.

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- ¹¹¹ *ibid.*, pp. 62,63
- ¹¹² *ibid.*, p. 62.
- ¹¹³ *ibid.*, p. 69.
- ¹¹⁴ Piccigallo, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
- ¹¹⁵ For the full text of the 'Shinto Directive', the full title of which is *SCAPIN 448 (CIE) 15 Dec 45 (AG 000.3) Abolition of Governmental Sponsorship, support, perpetuation, control and dissemination of State Shinto (Kokka Shinto, Jinja Shinto)*, see Woodard, *op. cit.*, Appendix B:5 pp. 295–298.
- ¹¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 322. From clause II.1.a., Memo to Chief of Staff, Shinto Directive Staff Study, 3 December 45, set out in full, pp. 322–341.
- ¹¹⁷ Lockyer, Herbert. *The Man Who Changed the World* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1966] p. 298.
- ¹¹⁸ Woodard, *op. cit.*, pp. 69–74.
- ¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 243, citing an interview with Paul Rusch of uncertain date.
- ¹²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 245, citing *Mainichi Shimbun*, 30 April 1949.
- ¹²¹ *ibid.*, pp. 303–304, Memo for Chief, CIE Section, 23 April 46, *CIE Contributions to Development of Policy for Return of Missionaries to Japan*.
- ¹²² *ibid.*, pp. 245, 359 citing a letter written on official SCAP stationery, dated April 4th, 1949, reproduced as Plate IV, facing p. 242.
- ¹²³ *ibid.*, p. 307, Cabinet Ordinance No. 325, 1950, *Punishment for acts prejudicial to the Occupation Objectives*.
- ¹²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 316, *The Imperial Rescript of January 1, 1946*. Woodard comments on conflicting translations of the term "Akitsumi Kami" (divine) and maintains that Creemers' translation is correct: "Kami in human appearance, as usually applied to the Emperor." In his introduction, p. 10., Woodard explains 'kami' as "... a term which designates spiritual entities, forces or qualities that are believed to exist everywhere, in man and in nature. Usually without gender and often without anything akin to personality, the kami are believed to infuse the universe, and life for the devout Shintoist is lived in harmony with and in gratitude to them. In its traditional usage in Shinto the word kami (singular or plural) may be translated deity(ies), spirit(s), god(s), or divine (e.g., *kamikaze* divine wind), but it should never be translated God." He then says that in the interest of clarity it is better to leave the word 'kami' untranslated.
- ¹²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 303, *The Religious Division and Christianity*, Excerpts from CIE Weekly Report, 2 February 1946.
- ¹²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 27.
- ¹²⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 243, 355, citing SCAP radio message to JCS, ZX 26123.
- ¹²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 188.
- ¹²⁹ Japan's national sovereignty was actually restored at a Peace Conference in San Francisco in 1951. Prime Minister Yoshida as chief negotiator faced America's John Foster Dulles and representatives of 47 nations. The peace treaty was formally signed on Sept. 8, 1951, and the occupation of Japan officially ended on April 28, 1952.
- ¹³⁰ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000.
- ¹³¹ Sohyo also became increasingly anti-government and anti-American in the late 1950's and with a Marxist-socialist leaning it became influential in the Japan Socialist Party, (JSP).
- ¹³² Walker, Allan S. *Clinical Problems of War*, Volume I of Series 5 (Medical) in the series *Australia in the War of 1939–1945* [Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1952] pp. 264–267. The quotation is attributed to Colonel H. G. Furnell, A.D.M.S., 9th Division A.I.F.
- ¹³³ Data reported for the two world wars are not directly comparable, and the official policy of concealing the real rate of venereal disease required that some cases were recorded as "non-specific urethritis" rather than VD. In this work Walker's practice of adding the two figures to get a realistic total infection rate has been adopted, and where figures for "non-specific urethritis" have not been available, estimates have been arrived at by allowing the same proportions as in those cases for which both figures are available.
- ¹³⁴ Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 266–269.
- ¹³⁵ Tanaka, Yuki. *Rape and War: The Japanese Experience* [Melbourne: Japanese Studies Centre, Monash University, 1995] pp. 34–38.
- ¹³⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 41–43.
- ¹³⁷ Roling, *op. cit.*, pp. 2–4.
- ¹³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 3.
- ¹³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 6., report that an individual dissenting judgement, that of Justice Pal, of India, had been published in 1953, apparently on the personal initiative of the judge.
- ¹⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 80

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- ¹⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 6, citing the text of the "proclamation" of General MacArthur on the review of the tribunal's judgement, in R.H. Minear, *Victor's Justice – The Tokyo War Crimes Trial*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1973, p. 166.
- ¹⁴² Tanaka, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
- ¹⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 41, citing Meiko Yamada, *Senryo Gun Ianfu (Comfort Women for the Occupation Forces)* [Kojinsha, 1992] p. 29.
- ¹⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p. 44.
- ¹⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p. 40, citing Susan Brownmiller, *Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape* [Secker & Warburg, 1975] p. 77.
- ¹⁴⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 44–51.
- ¹⁴⁷ Woodard, *op. cit.*, pp. 23,24, citing an undated memo: Subj: Religion, with a handwritten notation that it is a 'report from the beginning of the Occupation to 30 October', and general orders establishing the CIE and Religious Division.
- ¹⁴⁸ Neill, *op. cit.*, p. 464.
- ¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁰ Estimate based on figures in *Catholic Almanacs for 1975 and 1990* [Huntington: Our Sunday Visitor, 1974 and 1989] pp. 581–583 and 521–522 respectively. In 1974 there were 1,845 Roman Catholic missionaries in the Far East, of whom 365 (19.8%) were in Japan. In 1989 there were 1,299 in the Far East, of whom 265 (20.4%), were in Japan. Those in Japan comprised 4.9% of the 7,418 world wide in 1974, and 4.4% of 6,001 in 1989.
- ¹⁵¹ Figures for the Protestant missions are not readily available, but according to the Catholic Almanacs for 1975 and 1990, the number of Roman Catholic missionaries serving overseas rose from 5,126 in 1956, to a peak of 9,655 in 1968, and fell steadily to 6,001 in 1989. The number serving in the Far East rose from 1,555 in 1956, to a peak of 2,470 in 1968, and fell to 1,299 in 1989. The percentage of Roman Catholic missionaries from the US serving in the Far East was fairly static at about 29% to 30% through the period 1956–1964. but from 33.3% in 1956 it then fell steadily after 1964 to 22% in 1989.
- ¹⁵² Neill, *loc. cit.*
- ¹⁵³ Woodard, *op. cit.*, p. 351, Appendix G1, memo concerning a conference with General MacArthur, by W. K. Bunce, Chief, RCR Division of SCAP to the Chief, Civil Information and Education Section.
- ¹⁵⁴ Latourette, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 425–426.
- ¹⁵⁵ Ling, Trevor. *A History of Religion East and West*. [London: Macmillan, 1968] p. 413. The number of registered denominations fell almost as quickly by natural attrition and mergers during the next ten years, to about 170 in 1961.
- ¹⁵⁶ Woodard, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
- ¹⁵⁷ Latourette, *op. cit.*, Vol V., p. 393.
- ¹⁵⁸ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000.
- ¹⁵⁹ Blum, *op. cit.*, pp. 21–22.
- ¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 21, citing Harry S.Truman, *Memoirs, Vol. Two:Years of Trial and Hope, 1946–1953* (Great Britain, 1956) p. 66.
- ¹⁶¹ *ibid.*
- ¹⁶² Latourette, *op. cit.*, Vol. V., pp. 393–396.
- ¹⁶³ Neill, *op. cit.*, p. 467.
- ¹⁶⁴ See, for example, *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, United Nations, History and Development.
- ¹⁶⁵ **United Nations Original Members: Pattern of Representation**
- | Dominant Ethnicity | Prop. of World Pop. Rep. | Votes | Per cent | Proportion of Total World Population |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------|----------|---|
| European & Latin American | one quarter | 39 | 76 | 35 per cent |
| Asian, African & Caribbean | one half | 12 | 24 | 65 per cent |
| Dominant Political Philosophy | | | | |
| Democratic Capitalism | | 44 | 86 | |
| Communist/Socialist | | 7 | 14 | |
| Dominant Religion | Est. per cent of World Pop. | | | |
| Christianity | 29 per cent | 39 | 76 | Incl. Lebanon with about half Christians, and half Muslims.* |
| Islam | 14 per cent | 6 | 12 | |
| Hindu | 13 per cent | 1 | 2 | India: included Muslim Pakistan at that date. |
| Buddhist, Confucian, Shinto, Tao | 18 per cent | 1 | 2 | China only |
| Animists, Tribal religions, others | 24 per cent | 1 | 2 | Liberia: strong Christian and Muslim minorities. |
| Atheistic Communism | 2 per cent | 3 | 6 | Soviet Union. Incl. Christian, Muslim, Buddhist & Jewish pops.* |
| Judaism | < 1 per cent | | | Not directly represented at that date. |
- [* The figures are distorted somewhat by the fact that the Soviet Union included both Belarus and Ukraine which together comprised 22 per cent of the Union's population but which, although under Communist government, were predominantly adherents of Christianity.]

NOTES TO VOLUME III

- Table compiled from United Nations World Population statistics and the *Map of World's Religions*, 4th edition [Bern: Kummerley and Frey. Based on religious statistics available from 1961–1964.]
- ¹⁶⁶ James, Lawrence, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire* [London: Abacus/Little Brown, 1995] p. 431, citing Hansard, 5th series, 342, 1243, 1247.
- ¹⁶⁷ Sources of summary information include: *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from: United Kingdom, history of imperialism; India, History of British wartime strategy, Origins of the Nationalist Movement;
- ¹⁶⁸ The cabinet records of February 1940, well into the war and only weeks before he became Prime Minister, show that Churchill opposed any attempt at religious reconciliation in India. He told cabinet that he “regarded the Hindu-Muslim feud as the bulwark of British rule in India.” By refusing to consider constitutional change in India on the basis that it must be “to the detriment of matters touching the final life and safety of the State” if such an immense issue as India were put to cabinet at that time, he killed any prospect for reconciliation and guaranteed that the eventual settlement would be shaped by great violence.
- ¹⁶⁹ Sources of summary information include: *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from: Myanmar, History of the religious dilemma; Emergence of Nationalism; the impact of colonialism; the colonial economy; World War Two and after.
- ¹⁷⁰ Sources of summary information include: *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from: France, History of colonial independence movements, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia
- ¹⁷¹ Sources of summary information include: *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from: Indonesia, History of the rise of nationalism; the Revolution; the Japanese occupation.
- ¹⁷² Neill, op. cit., p. 66.
- ¹⁷³ Oosthuizen, G. C. *Post-Christianity in Africa* [Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1968] pp. 18–19, 52.
- ¹⁷⁴ Clarke, Peter, contrib. Islamic Reform in Contemporary Nigeria: Methods and Aims in *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 10., No. 2, April 1998 [London: Third World Foundation for Social and Economic Studies] p. 535.
- ¹⁷⁵ Oosthuizen, op. cit., p. 18, citing *Karte der Religionen und Missionen der Erde*, Ed. M. Schlunk & H. Quring.
- ¹⁷⁶ Brett, Michael, Ed. and contrib., *Northern Africa: Islam and Modernization* [London: Frank Cass, 1973] pp. 10, 157.
- ¹⁷⁷ Aburish, Said K. *The House of Saud* [London: Bloomsbury, 1994] p. 155.
- ¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 161.
- ¹⁷⁹ Shadid, Mohammed K. Contrib. The Muslim Brotherhood Movement in the West Bank and Gaza in *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 2, April 1988.
- ¹⁸⁰ Sources include: Ellis, John, *World War II: A Statistical Survey* [New York: Facts on File, 1993]; Goralski, Robert, *World War II Almanac 1931–1945* [London: Hamish Hamilton, 1981].
- ¹⁸¹ Demography was not studied in a formal sense until about 1950 although several writers had previously contributed to the study and knowledge of population trends, notably Thomas Malthus, a clergyman cum political economist, with his *Essay on the Principle of Population* at the turn of the 18th/19th centuries. He predicted that as population grew according to a geometric pattern it would outstrip food production which grew according to a slower arithmetic pattern. On that basis he said that a crisis resulting in wars and famines could basically only be avoided by ‘moral restraint.’ Considering the circumstances of his time, his assessment of trends was very astute but many aspects of his conclusions and proposals for population management were negated by subsequent events and developments.
- ¹⁸² Corsa, Leslie, contrib. Chapter 14, United States: New efforts, but still not enough, in *Population: Challenging World Crisis*, Voice of America Forum Lectures, [Washington: US Information Service, 1969] p. 164.
- ¹⁸³ Chow, L. P. contrib. *Taiwan: Island Laboratory* in *Population: Challenging World Crisis*, Voice of America Forum Lectures, [Washington: US Information Service, 1969] p. 37.
- ¹⁸⁴ Muramatsu, Minoru, contrib. *Japan: Miracle in East Asia* in *Population: Challenging World Crisis*, Voice of America Forum Lectures, [Washington: US Information Service, 1969] pp. 15–19.
- ¹⁸⁵ Sources: Vaksberg, Arkadym *Stalin Against the Jews* trans. Antonina W. Bouis [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994] pp. 112–128; Kochan, Lionel (Ed.) *The Jews in Soviet Russia Since 1917* [London: Oxford, 1978] pp. 295–297; and Khrushchev, Nikita, *Khrushchev Remembers* (trans. Strobe Talbot) [London: Sphere, 1971] pp. 227–229.
- ¹⁸⁶ Allen, Richard. *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Fertile Crescent* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1974] pp. 358–360.
- ¹⁸⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 364–365.
- ¹⁸⁸ Spiegel, Steven L. *The Other Arab-Israeli Conflict* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985] pp. 16–20.
- ¹⁸⁹ Lilienthal, Alfred M. *The Zionist Connection. What price peace?* [New York: Middle East Perspective, 1979] p. 48, citing *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic papers*, 1945, Vol III, pp. 716–717.

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- ¹⁹⁰ Churchill, Winston S., *The Second World War*, Vol VI *Triumph and Tragedy* [London: Reprint Society, 1954], pp. 520–531.
- ¹⁹¹ Lilienthal, op. cit., pp. 49–50, citing FR 1945 Vol III, pp. 727–733.
- ¹⁹² Allen, op. cit., p. 372.
- ¹⁹³ *ibid.*, pp. 370–371.
- ¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 368.
- ¹⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 374.
- ¹⁹⁶ Spiegel, op. cit., pp. 21–25.
- ¹⁹⁷ Cohen, *Palestine and the Great Powers, 1945–1948* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982], pp. 141–144 and Jones, p. 152.
- ¹⁹⁸ Cohen, op. cit., p. 147
- ¹⁹⁹ Jones, op. cit., p. 141
- ²⁰⁰ Cohen, op. cit., pp. 199–201; Jones, op. cit., pp. 165–168.
- ²⁰¹ Kolko, Gabriel *The Politics of War: The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1943–1945* [New York: Random House, 1968] pp. 227–228.
- ²⁰² Kuniholm pp. 359–367.
- ²⁰³ *ibid.*, p. 367.
- ²⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p. 367–371.
- ²⁰⁵ Cohen, op. cit., pp. 158–159; Jones, op. cit., p. 159; Ovendale, op. cit., pp. 158–160.
- ²⁰⁶ Allen, op. cit., p. 377.
- ²⁰⁷ Cohen, op. cit., p. 163.
- ²⁰⁸ Jones, op. cit., p. 178.
- ²⁰⁹ Kuniholm, op. cit., pp. 374–378.
- ²¹⁰ Cohen, op. cit., p. 175.
- ²¹¹ Jones, op. cit., pp. 186–197; Ovendale, op. cit., pp. 167–170.
- ²¹² Cohen, op. cit., pp. 180–181; Sykes, pp. 364–365; Ganin, Zvi *Truman, American Jewry and Israel* pp. 115–117; *Zionism* [Jerusalem: Keter Books, 1973] pp. 253–254.
- ²¹³ Yergin p. 295.
- ²¹⁴ Cohen, op. cit., pp. 229–237
- ²¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 214–217, 220–223.
- ²¹⁶ Allen, op. cit., pp. 378–379.
- ²¹⁷ Cohen, op. cit., pp. 207–221; Jones, op. cit., pp. 207–229; Ovendale, op. cit., pp. 184–196.
- ²¹⁸ Cohen, op. cit., pp. 220–223.
- ²¹⁹ Jones, op. cit., p. 246.
- ²²⁰ Yergin, op. cit., p. 280; Kuniholm, op. cit., pp. 406–407.
- ²²¹ Kuniholm, op. cit., pp. 407–410; Yergin, op. cit., pp. 280–282.
- ²²² Cohen, op. cit., p. 223–227.
- ²²³ UN General Assembly document A/286, 3 April 1947, UNISPAL archives.
- ²²⁴ Gribetz, Judah, E Greenstein & R Stein. *The Timetables of Jewish History* [New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994] p. 487.
- ²²⁵ For more detail see Lilienthal, op. cit., pp. 59–60.
- ²²⁶ Sachar, Howard M. *A History of Israel from the Rise of Zionism to Our Time* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981] p. 289.
- ²²⁷ Evensen, Bruce J. *Truman, Palestine and the Press: Shaping the Conventional Wisdom at the Beginning of the Cold War* [New York: Greenwood Press, 1992] pp. 54–58.
- ²²⁸ *Yearbook of the United Nations 1946–47*, Record of the First Special Session of the General Assembly, UNISPAL e-mail archives, pp. 42–45.
- ²²⁹ Hogan, Michael J. *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain, and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947–1952* [New York: Cambridge, 1987] pp. 26–34.
- ²³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 26.
- ²³¹ Dulles, Allen, testifying as a staff member of the House Select Committee on Foreign Aid, quoted by the editor, Michael Wala in the introduction to *The Marshall Plan* by Allen Dulles [Providence: Berg, 1993] p. xv.
- ²³² Hogan, op., cit., p. 30.
- ²³³ *UN Handbook*, 1986, pp. 426–427; Ross, op. cit., p. 333; The World Trade Organization, from the *Briefing Book on International Organizations*, US Information Service, source, <http://www3.itu.ch/MISSIONS/US/bb/wto.html> as at

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- January 16, 2000. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade remained in effect for 47 years, still 'provisional.' The organization and list of subordinate agreements required to administer it became bigger and bigger so that by 1968 there were 20 subordinate committees; 90 countries had signed it, and an additional 31 countries agreed to be bound by parts of it. GATT was eventually succeeded by the World Trade Organization in 1995, but controversy still rages.
- ²³⁴ Dulles, Allen W. *The Marshall Plan* Ed by Michael Wala [Providence, RI, USA: Berg, 1993] p. 116.
- ²³⁵ Hogan, op. cit., pp. 19, 26–27.
- ²³⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 36–37.
- ²³⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 37–38.
- ²³⁸ Dulles, op. cit., Michael Wala, editor in introduction, p. xvii–xxi.
- ²³⁹ Hogan, op. cit., p. 50.
- ²⁴⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 46–49.
- ²⁴¹ Dulles, op. cit., p. 54, citing letter from Herbert Hoover to Senator Bridges reprinted in *The New York Times*, June 16, 1947.
- ²⁴² Gilbert, Martin, *Second World War* [London: Fontana/Collins, 1990] pp. 251–252.
- ²⁴³ James, op. cit., p. 486.
- ²⁴⁴ Dulles, op. cit., p. 97.
- ²⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p. 96.
- ²⁴⁶ *ibid.*, Wala, (Ed) in footnote 7, p. 23.
- ²⁴⁷ Hogan, op. cit., pp. 51–52.
- ²⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 52.
- ²⁴⁹ *ibid.*
- ²⁵⁰ Dulles, op. cit., p. 31. The editor cites *The New York Times*, 6 October 1947, p. 3.
- ²⁵¹ Dulles, op. cit. Wala (Ed.) in introduction, p.xvi.
- ²⁵² *ibid.*, Wala, (Ed.) in introduction, p. xv.
- ²⁵³ Hogan, op. cit., p. 445.
- ²⁵⁴ Mosley, op. cit., pp. 241–242.
- ²⁵⁵ Dulles, op. cit., See Editor's acknowledgments and preface by R.F.Marryott, President and CEO, the George C. Marshall Foundation.
- ²⁵⁶ *ibid.*, p. 9.
- ²⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 10.
- ²⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 13.
- ²⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. 16.
- ²⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 18–19.
- ²⁶¹ *ibid.*, p. 19.
- ²⁶² *ibid.*, p. 43, Editor's footnotes # 6,7. The term 'Herter Committee' refers to the US Congressional Select Committee on Foreign Aid which was set up under a resolution introduced by Representative Christian A. Herter to undertake an in-depth study of foreign aid. The committee was to determine the present and future requirements for relief and rehabilitation for foreign countries. It made a fact-finding mission to Europe and during the period to May 1948 when it ceased to operate it prepared 24 preliminary and supplementary reports which were revised and incorporated into its Final Report on Foreign Aid, (Washington, DC, 1948).
- ²⁶³ *ibid.*, pp. 85–87.
- ²⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p. 56.
- ²⁶⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 124–125.
- ²⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p. 118.
- ²⁶⁷ Mosley, op. cit., p. 239.
- ²⁶⁸ Dulles, op. cit., p. 124.
- ²⁶⁹ Hogan, op. cit., p. 45.
- ²⁷⁰ Dulles, op. cit., p. 23.
- ²⁷¹ *ibid.*, p. 3.
- ²⁷² Smith, Joseph (Ed.) *The Origins of NATO* [Exeter: Uni. of Exeter Press, 1990] pp. 10–15, citing Alan Bullock, *Ernest Bevin, Foreign Secretary 1945–51* (London, 1983) p. 526.
- ²⁷³ *ibid.*, pp. 16–17, citing memorandum 6 April 1948, PREM 8/788, PM/48/38, PRO.
- ²⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p. 19.

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- 275 Collins, L. & Dominique Lapierre *O Jerusalem!* [London: Pan, 1973] p. 467.
- 276 Jones, op. cit., p. 292.
- 277 Cohen, op. cit., p. 272.
- 278 Jones, op. cit., pp. 289–290.
- 279 Cohen, op. cit., pp. 242–256, Evensen, op. cit., pp. 55–76, Sykes, op. cit., pp. 283–384, Louis, p. 440, Jones, op. cit., p. 272.
- 280 Spiegel, op. cit., p. 27.
- 281 Evensen, op. cit., p. 80.
- 282 Laqueur, Walter & Barry Rubin, *The Israel-Arab Reader* [New York: Penguin, 4th edition, 1984] pp. 109–110.
- 283 Allen, op. cit., pp. 381–383.
- 284 Laqueur & Rubin, op. cit., pp. 111–112.
- 285 Tessler, Mark. *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994] pp. 258–260, map 4.3.
- 286 Principal source for this brief overview of Yugoslavia: *SBS World Guide*, [Melbourne: Hardie Grant Books, 1998, 6th ed.] pp. 832–833.
- 287 Tessler, op. cit., p. 259.
- 288 Ovendale, op. cit., pp. 222–224.
- 289 Cohen, op. cit., pp. 278–300; Evensen, op. cit., pp. 104–105.
- 290 Ovendale, op. cit., pp. 222–224.
- 291 Ganin, op. cit., p. 128; Jones, op. cit., p. 299; Ovendale, op. cit., p. 224.
- 292 Cohen, op. cit., pp. 280–281; Ovendale, op. cit., p. 224; Evensen, op. cit., p. 105.
- 293 Cohen, op. cit., p. 281)
- 294 *ibid.*, p. 277.
- 295 UN General Assembly, Report of the ad hoc Committee on the Palestine Question, UNISPAL e-mail archives, A/516 p. 1.
- 296 Spiegel, op. cit., p. 26.
- 297 *ibid.*
- 298 Sachar, op. cit., pp. 290–291.
- 299 Ovendale, op. cit., pp. 230–231.
- 300 Jones, op. cit., p. 302; Cohen, op. cit., p. 283.
- 301 Spiegel, op. cit., p. 27.
- 302 Jones, op. cit., p. 303.
- 303 Spiegel, op. cit., p. 28.
- 304 *ibid.*, p. 30.
- 305 Tessler, op. cit., p. 262.
- 306 Lilienthal, op. cit., pp. 65–66.
- 307 *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Deluxe CD 2000.
- 308 Aarons, Mark & John Loftus, *The Secret War Against the Jews*, [Melbourne: William Heinemann, 1994] pp. 164–168.
- 309 *ibid.*, pp. 168–170, citing: Higman, *Trading with the Enemy*, pp. 32–62; confidential interviews with former members of the Office of Political Coordination (OPC) who served abroad under cover of State Department Safehaven Researchers; confidential interviews with former officers of the Army Security Agency, MIS, NSA and CIA; confidential interviews with a former Zionist intelligence officer and a former Israeli diplomat. The authors note that some of the Israeli sources confirmed information which had been obtained from Western sources “only reluctantly” and that “several Israeli sources asked us not to reveal the UN episode, but we believe that it is an important part of history.”
- 310 *ibid.*, p. 170, citing some of the same sources and noting that “corroboration came from former Zionist intelligence officers (pre-Mossad); former diplomat, Government of Israel.”
- 311 Gribetz et al., op. cit., p. 491.
- 312 Collins and Lapierre, op. cit., pp. 77–79.
- 313 Gribetz et al., op. cit., p. 493.
- 314 Sachar, op. cit., pp. 301–302.
- 315 Gribetz et al., op. cit., pp. 489–490.

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- ³¹⁶ The extent of confusion between the White House and the State Department over the issue is illustrated by contradictory statements by recognized authors. According to Sachar, Truman had known in advance of Austin's statement and Marshall had authorised the trusteeship proposal in a formal memorandum to the delegation. But Richard Allen, *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Fertile Crescent* [New York: Oxford, 1974] p. 387, contends that "Astonishingly, the White House had simply not been told by the State Department of the orders sent to its UN delegation."
- ³¹⁷ Sachar, op. cit., pp. 303–304.
- ³¹⁸ Lilienthal, op. cit., pp. 78,79.
- ³¹⁹ Gribetz et al., op. cit., p. 494.
- ³²⁰ Sachar, op. cit., pp. 304–305
- ³²¹ Gribetz et al., op. cit., p. 495.
- ³²² Bilby, Kenneth, *New Star in the New East* [New York: Doubleday, 1950] pp. 30–31, referred to by Tessler, op. cit., p. 304.
- ³²³ Collins and Lapierre, op. cit., pp. 131–133.
- ³²⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 97–98.
- ³²⁵ Sachar, op. cit., p. 322.
- ³²⁶ Allen, op. cit., p. 388.
- ³²⁷ Collins and Lapierre, op. cit., pp. 133–134.
- ³²⁸ Allen, op. cit., p. 389.
- ³²⁹ Tessler, op. cit., p. 291.
- ³³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 295.
- ³³¹ *ibid.*, p. 298, citing research by Benny Morris for *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947–1949* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987] pp. 149–150.
- ³³² *ibid.*, p. 300.
- ³³³ Allen, op. cit., p. 385–386.
- ³³⁴ Tessler, op. cit. p. 297, quotes the figure "roughly 400,000" from Israeli sources, while Allen, op. cit., p. 392, quotes a range of 150,000 to 300,000 from alternative Middle East and British sources.
- ³³⁵ Allen, op. cit., p. 390.
- ³³⁶ Sachar, loc. cit.
- ³³⁷ Lilienthal, op. cit., p. 80.
- ³³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 81, citing Clifford Papers, Truman Library, Independence, Mo., and noting that Lowenthal actually sent a series of memos; two on the 7th, one on each of the 8th, 9th & 11th, and two on the 12th.
- ³³⁹ Lapide, Pinchas, in *The Last Three Popes and the Jews* [London: Souvenir Press, 1967] p. 282, quoting Pope Pius XII, encyclical *Auspicia quaedam*.
- ³⁴⁰ On October 25, 1999, Archbishop Jean Louis Tauran delivered a discourse to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Pontifical Mission for Palestine at a symposium conducted at UN headquarters, New York. He quoted from both *Auspicia Quaedam* and *Redemptoris Nostri* of April 15, 1949 sections as follows. [Source: MSANEWS, <http://msanews.mynet.net/> as at October 28, 1999.]
 1. In "*Auspicia Quaedam*" of 1 May 1948, the Pope asked for prayers so that in the world, tormented by the events of World War II, "at long last there may shine forth, as a gift from heaven, mutual, fraternal and complete peace among all nations and the longed for harmony among all social classes." (6) The Holy Father continued: "Let there be an end to dissensions that redound to no one's advantage. Let justice dictate resolutions of disputes that often sow the seeds of further misfortunes. Let international relations, public and private, increase and be strengthened. Let religion, the advocate of all virtues, enjoy the freedom which is its due. And let the peaceful work of men – under the auspices of justice and the divine impulse of charity -produce abundant fruits for the good of all." (7)

Then, referring in a particular way to the Holy Places, the Pope called for prayers so that "the situation in Palestine may at last be settled justly, and concord and peace may happily triumph." (8)
 2. Afterwards, in the Encyclical "*Redemptoris Nostri*" of 15 April 1949, Pope Pius XII invited everyone, and in the first place the Catholics of the world, to engage in the work of "persuading the rulers of nations, and those whose duty it is to settle this important question, to grant to the Holy City and its surroundings an appropriate juridical status, the stability of which can be ensured only by common agreement among the nations that love peace and respect the rights of others." (9)

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- ³⁴¹ Allen, op. cit., p. 393.
- ³⁴² Sachar, op. cit., p. 323.
- ³⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 311.
- ³⁴⁴ Lilienthal, op. cit., p. 82, citing Patrick Anderson, *The President's Men* [New York: Doubleday, 1968] pp. 118, 119.
- ³⁴⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 81, 82, citing George M. Elsey, FR: 1948, Vol. V, part 2, p. 976.
- ³⁴⁶ *ibid.*, citing memorandum of conversation by Secretary of State George Marshall, FR: 1948, Vol. V, part 2, pp. 972–976, at p. 975.
- ³⁴⁷ *ibid.*
- ³⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 83, citing Clifford, address to the American Historical association, December 28th, 1976.
- ³⁴⁹ *ibid.*, citing Chaim Weizmann, *Trial and Error* [New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949] p. 477.
- ³⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 84.
- ³⁵¹ Lapide, Pinchas, loc. cit., quoting *Osservatore Romano*, May 14th, 1948.
- ³⁵² See *The Vatican Files*, The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and Museum, sourced through <http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/andyc/fdr/vatican.html> as at May 25, 2000.
- ³⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 291.
- ³⁵⁴ Lilienthal, loc. cit., citing George M. Elsey Papers, Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, Mo.
- ³⁵⁵ *ibid.*, citing Dan Kurzman, *Genesis 1948* [New York: World Publishing Co., 1970] p. 252.
- ³⁵⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 85, 86, citing documents in the Truman Library, the Memoirs of Vera Weizmann, and FR: 1948, Vol 4, part 2, p. 1007.
- ³⁵⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 86, 87.
- ³⁵⁸ *ibid.*, citing FR: 1948, Vol 4, part 2, editorial note p. 993.
- ³⁵⁹ Collins & Lapierre, op. cit., p. 357.
- ³⁶⁰ Sachar, op. cit., p. 317

Chapter 28: *Here comes the Messianic Age!*

- ¹ Tessler, Mark *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994] p. 182. Citing *Like All the Nations?* (Jerusalem, 1930); quoted in Hattis, Susan Lee *The Bi-national Idea in Palestine during Mandatory Times* [Haifa: Shikmona, 1970] pp. 39–40.
- ² Collins, Larry & Dominique Lapierre *O Jerusalem!* [London: Pan, 1973] pp. 364, 395. Actually, due to an administrative error aboard the naval vessel on which he departed, Cunningham formally recognized the end of the mandate an hour early, at 11 pm instead of midnight, after false information had been spread in a bid to conceal the time of his departure.
- ³ *ibid.*, prologue, p. xvi.
- ⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 151, 152.
- ⁵ *ibid.*, p. 359, saying that the vote was lost by only one, which suggests a 4–5 result with the chairman not exercising a vote, but Sachar, (Sachar, Howard M. *A History of Israel* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981] p. 311), says that the vote was lost six to four.
- ⁶ *ibid.*, mentioning the first two, while the last two are mentioned by Tessler, op. cit., p. 270.
- ⁷ Collins and Lapierre, op. cit., p. 360.
- ⁸ *ibid.*, p. 387.
- ⁹ Minerbi, Sergio I. *The Vatican and Zionism*, trans. Arnold Schwarz [New York: Oxford, 1990], p. 282., citing “L’Oriente ed il miraggio di Sion” *Osservatore Romano*, April 10, 1919.
- ¹⁰ Rouse, Ruth & Stephen Neill (Eds) *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517–1948* [Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1973], Volume 1, pp. 718–719.
- ¹¹ Jacobs, Louis *The Jewish Religion: a Companion* [New York: Oxford, 1995] p. 274.
- ¹² Laqueur, Walter & Barry Rubin (Eds.) *The Israel-Arab Reader* [New York: Penguin, 1984, fourth edition] pp. 125–128.
- ¹³ Jacobs, op. cit., p. 414.
- ¹⁴ Isaacs, Ronald H. & Kerry M. Olitzky *Critical Documents of Jewish History* [Northvale, New Jersey: Jason Aronson, 1995] pp. 212–214.
- ¹⁵ Jacobs, op. cit., pp. 273–275.
- ¹⁶ Laqueur & Rubin, op. cit., pp. 113–122.

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- ¹⁷ Wordsworth *Dictionary of Beliefs and Religions* [Hertfordshire: Wordsworth, 1995] p. 163.
¹⁸ Taylor, Alan R. *The Zionist Mind* [Beirut: Institute for Palestinian Studies, 1974], pp. 96–100.
¹⁹ Tessler, op. cit. p. 163.
²⁰ Lilienthal, Alfred M. *What Price Israel?* [Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1953] p. 83.
²¹ *ibid.*, p. 37.
²² Isaacs & Olitzky, op. cit., pp. 212–213.
²³ Laqueur & Rubin, op. cit., p. 34.
²⁴ Tessler, op. cit., p. 259.
²⁵ Lilienthal, Alfred M. *What Price Israel?* [Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1953] p. 28, citing the official survey of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry on Palestine, April 1946.
²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 29, citing *The Times*, London, November 15, 1945.
²⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 34–37.
²⁸ Latourette, Kenneth S. contributing Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement and the International Missionary Council in Rouse & Neill, *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517–1948*, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 369.
²⁹ **United Nations membership based on the UN's geographic classification, at the time of the Palestine Partition vote:**

United Nations General Assembly: Vote to Partition Palestine, November 29, 1947.

Table 1: Actual votes cast.

Region	% of World Pop	Members	Yes	No	Abst'n	Excl'd
Europe ¹	8	16	13	1	2	—
Asia ²	45	13	1	10	1	1
North America ³	8	12	8	1	3	—
Latin America	6	10	7	0	3	—
Africa	<3	4	2	1	1	—
Oceania ⁴	<1	2	2	0	0	—
Total represented	71	57	33	13	10	1
Not represented	29	0				
Total population	100	57	—	—	—	—

¹ USSR incl. European & Asian republics ² Incl. Middle East ³ Incl. Caribbean ⁴ Incl. Australia & New Zealand

Table 2: Percentage of the world population represented by the votes cast

	Yes	No	Abst'n	Excl'd	Totals
Voting results expressed as a <u>percentage</u> of the 57 votes cast:	58	23	17	2	100
Population:					
1. approx. per cent of <u>the UN community</u> rep'd by the results:	28	33	38	1	100
2. approx. per cent of the <u>world population</u> rep'd in the votes:	20	24	27	1	72
3. approx. per cent of <u>world population</u> NOT rep'd in the votes:			—	28	28

Table 3: Approx. ethnic representation in the United Nations at the date of the Palestine Partition vote:

Ethnic grouping	Per cent	Votes
European & Latin American	22	41
Asia, Africa, Caribbean	50	16
Populations not represented	28	0

- ³⁰ **Comparison of voting patterns at three times, to provide an assessment of the impact of Cold War politicking and United States' intervention on the vote to partition Palestine, November 29, 1947.**

Region	<i>Before Cold War & USSR change</i>				<i>Before US intervention</i>				<i>Actual votes cast, Nov. 47</i>			
	Yes	No	Abst'n	Excl.	Yes	No	Abst'n	Excl.	Yes	No	Abst'n	Excl.
Europe ¹	10	4	2	0	13	1	2	0	13	1	2	0
Asia ²	0	11	1	1	0	11	1	1	1	10	1	1
North America ³	6	2	4	0	6	2	4	0	8	1	3	0
Latin America	4	3	3	0	4	3	3	0	7	0	3	0
Africa	1	2	1	0	1	2	1	0	2	1	1	0
Oceania ⁴	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Total represented	23	22	11	1	26	19	11	1	33	13	10	1

¹ USSR incl. European & Asian republics ² Asia incl. Middle East ³ Incl. Caribbean ⁴ Incl. Australia & New Zealand

³¹ UN membership analysed on the basis of the dominant faith of member countries at the date of the Palestine Partition vote:

Religion	Per cent of world pop. repre'd	Votes	%	Yes	No	Abst'n	Excl.
Christian ¹	20	39	68	27	3	8	—
Muslim	7	9	15	—	9	—	—
Hindu	16	1	2	—	1	—	—
Buddhist, Shinto, Confucian, Tao ²	22	2	3	—	—	1	1
Animist, Tribal ³	>0	1	2	1	—	—	—
Atheistic Communism ⁴	5	6	10	5	—	1	—
Jewish	>0	0	0	—	—	—	—
Total	71	5	100	33	13	10	1
Not represented	29	0					

¹ Incl. Lebanon (half Muslim) & East Europe excl. the Soviet bloc ² China, Thailand ³ Liberia ⁴ Allows USSR, 2 Soviet republics, Poland, Yugoslavia & Czechoslovakia.

[The figures are distorted somewhat by the fact that the Soviet bloc included both Belarus and Ukraine which together comprised 22 per cent of the Soviet Union's population but which, although under Communist government, were predominantly adherents of Christianity, plus Poland, Yugoslavia & Czechoslovakia]

Table compiled from United Nations World Population statistics and the *Map of World's Religions*, 4th edition [Berne: Kummerley and Frey. Based on religious statistics available from 1961–1964.]

³² Truman, Harry S., personal diary entry for February 8, 1948, in Ferrell, Robert H. (Ed.) *Off the Record: The Private Papers of Harry S. Truman* [New York: Harper & Row, 1980] p. 123. The minister referred to at First Baptist Church was Rev. Russell H. Pruden. Truman was a member of the Baptist Church at Grandview.

³³ Sachar, Howard M. *A History of Israel from the Rise of Zionism to Our Time* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981], pp. 320–321.

³⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 324–327.

³⁵ *ibid.*, p. 327.

³⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 328–330.

³⁷ MacDonald, Robert W. *The League of Arab States* [Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965] pp. 118–119.

³⁸ Hacker, Louis M. *The Course of American Economic Growth and Development* [New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1970] p. 324.

³⁹ Sachar, *op. cit.*, pp. 327–328.

⁴⁰ Lapide, Pinchas *The Last Three Popes and the Jews* [London: Souvenir Press, 1967], p. 284.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 283.

⁴² *ibid.*

⁴³ Allen, Richard *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Fertile Crescent* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1974], pp. 404–405, citing Keessing's *Contemporary Archives*, p. 9408.

⁴⁴ VanderKam, James C. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* [Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans/SPCK, 1994] pp. 3–5.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 6–7.

⁴⁶ Allegro, John *The Dead Sea Scrolls* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977] preface to the second edition, p. 13, citing W.F. Albright and D.N. Freedman, The Continuing Revolution in Biblical Research in *Journal of Bible and Religion*, XXXI, April, 1963.

⁴⁷ Ernst, Morris L. & David Loth. *Sexual Behaviour and the Kinsey Report* [London: Falcon, 1949] p. 15.

⁴⁸ Campbell, Patricia J. *Sex Education Books for Young Adults 1892–1979*. [New York: Bowker, 1979] p. 98.

⁴⁹ Kinsey, Alfred C., W. B. Pomeroy & C. E. Martin. *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* [Philadelphia: Saunders, 1948] pp. 473.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 476.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, p. 472.

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- ⁵² **Frequency of Sexual Activity in three age brackets for males who are still single after education to university level**

	<u>Adolescence to age 15</u>	<u>Ages 16–20</u>	<u>Ages 21–25 *</u>
Least frequent	Devout Jewish	Devout Jewish	Devout Catholic
	Devout Catholic	Devout Catholic	Devout Protestant
	Devout Protestant	Devout Protestant	–
	Inactive Jewish	Inactive Catholic	Inactive Protestant
	Inactive Catholic	Inactive Protestant	Inactive Catholic
Most frequent	Inactive Protestant	Inactive Jewish	Inactive Jewish

* Insufficient numbers in survey to reliably rank 'Devout Jewish' in this age group

Source: *ibid.*, pp. 469–472. [Composite table compiled from three published tables].

- ⁵³ Ernst & Loth, *op. cit.*, p. 53, referring to a study of 2,000 boys in Washington by Dr. Urban H. Fleege.
- ⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 40.
- ⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 61.
- ⁵⁶ Kinsey et. al., *op. cit.*, pp. 483,485.
- ⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 486.
- ⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 222.
- ⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. 224,225,392.
- ⁶⁰ Ernst & Loth, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–142, take up Kinsey's statement and list 55 sex-related offences "culled at random from the catalogue of our (US) jurisprudence." They then set out a detailed schedule of the legislation and penalties relating to four offences, adultery, fornication, seduction and sodomy in the District of Columbia and the 48 states of the US at that time, (1948), and comment: "The variety of ways in which our State laws look at these various crimes is only equalled by the caprice of their enforcement. In four of the States, adultery is not a crime at all. In three, the adulterer may be sent to prison for five years. It would be interesting to learn whether the husbands of Tennessee or Nevada, where adultery is no crime, are any less faithful to their wives than their brothers in Vermont or Connecticut, where the penalty may be five years."
- ⁶¹ Kinsey et. al., *op. cit.*, pp. 388–389.
- ⁶² *ibid.*, pp. 397–405.
- ⁶³ *ibid.*, p. 416.
- ⁶⁴ *The Argus*, Melbourne, May 2, 1949, p. 6.
- ⁶⁵ Gossett, Thomas F. *Race: The History of an Idea in America*. [New York: Schocken, 1965] p. 274.
- ⁶⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 255–266.
- ⁶⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 269–270.
- ⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p. 267, quoting a 1913 issue of *The Springfield [Massachusetts] Republican*.
- ⁶⁹ Muller, C.J.F. [Ed.] *Five Hundred Years: A History of South Africa* [Cape Town: Academica, 1969] p. 429.
- ⁷⁰ Sources: *ibid.*, p. 430; Neame, Lawrence F. *The History of Apartheid: the story of the colour bar in South Africa* [London: Pall Mall Press, 1962] p. 54; also Troup, Freda *South Africa: an Historical Introduction* [London: Methuen, 1969]; and Lapping, Brian *Apartheid: a history* [London: Grafton, 1986].
- ⁷¹ Scott, Ernest, *A Short History of Australia* [Melbourne: Oxford, 1947] pp. 305–307, 331–334.
- ⁷² Palmer, Alan, *Dictionary of Twentieth Century History*, [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990] p. 267.
- ⁷³ Zernov, Nicolas *The Russians and Their Church* [London: SPCK, 1978] p. 164–165.
- ⁷⁴ Akiner, Shirin *Islamic Peoples of the Soviet Union* [London: Kegan Paul International, 1983] pp. 31–37.
- ⁷⁵ The Handbook of the World Council of Churches, 1982, p. 172, indicates that the Russian Orthodox Church had 50 million members. There is no indication of whether that figure is based on church statistics or a national census.
Akiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 45, quotes USSR census figures for 1970 and 1979 thus:
1970 population 241,720,134; Muslims 36,848,455; 15.2%. 1979 population 262,084,654; Muslims 45,544,114; 17.4%. Changes in nine years: population increase, 8.4%; Muslim increase, 23.6%.
- ⁷⁶ Gribetz, Judah, E. Greenstein & R. Stein, *The Timetables of Jewish History* [New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994], p. 491.
- ⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p. 500.
- ⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 499.
- ⁷⁹ Bullock, Alan, *Hitler and Stalin: parallel lives* [London: HarperCollins (Fontana), 1993] p. 1037.
- ⁸⁰ Pospelovsky, Dimitry V. *Soviet Antireligious Campaigns and Persecutions, volume 2*. [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988] pp. 93–97.

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- ⁸¹ Kochan, Lionel, *The Jews in Soviet Russia since 1917* [London: Oxford, (for the Institute of Jewish Affairs) 1978] p. 296.
- ⁸² Aarons, Mark and John Loftus, *The Secret War Against the Jews* [Melbourne: William Heinemann Australia, 1994] pp. 150–154.
- ⁸³ Halberstam, David, *The Fifties* [New York: Ballantine (Fawcett Columbine), 1993] pp. 6–9.
- ⁸⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 8–10.
- ⁸⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 11–19.
- ⁸⁶ Aarons, Mark & John Loftus, *Rattlines* [London: Mandarin, 1991] pp. 48–62.
- ⁸⁷ From data published by the WCC it is very difficult to determine a definitive pattern of membership or the involvement of particular groups of churches over the years. The presentation of data has changed from time to time; the distinction between full and associate members is not always clear; there have been mergers of member churches; a few churches have withdrawn; the definition of regions has changed; and the report of the Credentials Committee on ‘Churches Represented at the Assembly’ in 1948 was qualified because of the difficulty of determining the status of some organizations which were invited and present, and some which were invited and accepted but were not, in fact, represented. Its report lists a total of 162 organizations, of which 17 had accepted invitations but were not present, leaving in doubt their membership status, and 12 which were not member churches but had been invited on the basis of the Utrecht Constitution concerning minority churches. That leaves 133 organizations which had accepted invitations and were represented but it does not make clear whether their membership had been confirmed or was provisional. See *The First assembly of the World Council of Churches: The Official Report* [London: SCM, 1949] pp. 230–235.
In *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517–1948*, Rouse & Neill, op. cit., W. A. Visser ‘T Hooft, first General Secretary of the WCC, contributing chapter 16 (The Genesis of the World Council of Churches) refers to 147 churches in 44 countries being “represented by 351 official delegates” (p. 719.) However the WCC’s website history (<http://www.wcc-coe.org/wcc/who/histor-e.html>) as at November 6th, 1998, noted that these churches “represented in some way all confessional families within the Christian world, except the Roman Catholic Church” and does not clarify the question of membership, and the list of current member churches includes 135 whose membership dates from 1948.
- ⁸⁸ For purposes of identifying churches as ‘white-dominated’ the writer has grouped the churches listed as in Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand, plus the three Dutch Reformed churches in South Africa which withdrew their membership in the early 1960s over the issue of Apartheid. The ‘non-white-European’ churches include all others in Africa plus those in Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, the Pacific and two in North America which are specifically Afro-American.
- ⁸⁹ Visser ‘T Hooft, contrib. The Genesis of the World Council of Churches in Rouse & Neill, op. cit., p. 722.
- ⁹⁰ *The First Assembly of the World Council of Churches: The Official Report* [London: SCM, 1949] p. 30, extracts from an address by Dr. Visser ‘T Hooft.
- ⁹¹ *ibid.*, p. 37.
- ⁹² *ibid.*
- ⁹³ Ranelagh, John, *CLA: A History* [London: BBC Books, 1992] p. 41.
- ⁹⁴ *An Empire of Their Own*.
- ⁹⁵ *WCC First Assembly: The Official Report*, op. cit., p. 38.
- ⁹⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 37–38.
- ⁹⁷ Visser ‘T Hooft contrib. chapter 1, The General Ecumenical Development since 1948, in volume II, *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1949–1968*, Harold E. Fey (Ed.), [Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1993], pp. 22–23.
- ⁹⁸ *WCC First Assembly: The Official Report*, op. cit., pp. 34–35.
- ⁹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 64–66.
- ¹⁰⁰ Bernadotte, Count Folke, Progress Report of the United Nations Mediator on Palestine, General Assembly Official Records: Third Session Supplement No. 11 (A/648), 16 September, 1948, Part I (Introduction) clause 3.
- ¹⁰¹ Mosley, Leonard Dulles: *A Biography of Eleanor, Allen, and John Foster Dulles and their family network* [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1978] pp. 98–98.
- ¹⁰² *WCC First Assembly: The Official Report*, op. cit., Lists of delegates and consultants with section and committee memberships identified, pp. 236–259.
- ¹⁰³ *ibid.*, pp. 160–161.
- ¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 161–164.

- ¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 153–156.
- ¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 146–148.
- ¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 97–99.
- ¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 95–96.
- ¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 96.
- ¹¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 115.
- ¹¹¹ Bernadotte, Count Folke, Progress Report of UN Mediator on Palestine, *op. cit.* Annex III, Flight log.
- ¹¹² *ibid.*, Part I (Introduction) clauses 4,5,8,; Part II (Basic Factors) clauses 1,8,9.
- ¹¹³ *ibid.*, Part III (Resume of the negotiations) clause 9 (8).
- ¹¹⁴ Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 406–407.
- ¹¹⁵ Tessler, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

Chapter 29: *What has happened to the Messianic Age?*

- ¹ Vaksberg, Arkady, *Stalin Against the Jews* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994] pp. 166–169.
- ² *ibid.*, pp. 184–186.
- ³ Kochan, Lionel [Ed.] *The Jews in Soviet Russia since 1917* [London: Oxford University Press, 1978] p. 124.
- ⁴ Vaksberg, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
- ⁵ Lapidé, Pinchas *The Last Three Popes and the Jews* [London: Souvenir Press, 1967] p. 284.
- ⁶ Mosley, Leonard, *Dulles: A Biography of Eleanor, Allen, and John Foster Dulles and Their Family Network* [London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1978] p. 215.
- ⁷ Gribetz, Greenstein and Stein *The Timetables of Jewish History* [New York: Touchstone, 1994] p. 500.
- ⁸ Ferrell, Robert E. *Off the Record: The Private Papers of Harry S. Truman* [New York: Harper & Row, 1980] p. 150.
- ⁹ Meyer Michael A. *Response to Modernity* [Detroit: Wayne State University, 1995/Oxford University Press, 1988] p. 346.
- ¹⁰ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from “Australia, History of, (Strains of modern radicalism; the Aborigines; and pre-history)”.
- ¹¹ Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, *Bringing Them Home*, Report to the Commonwealth of Australia Attorney General [Sydney: Sterling Press, 1997] cited as *Bringing Them Home*, p. 39, citing Bickford, Anne, 1988: ‘Contact History: Aborigines in New South Wales after 1788’, No. 1, *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, p. 57.
- ¹² *ibid.*
- ¹³ *ibid.*, p. 40, citing *Learning from the Past*, 1944: prepared by Gungil Jindibah Centre for the NSW Department of Community Services (Southern Cross University, Armidale) p. 14.
- ¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 42, citing Goodall, Heather, *Invasion to Embassy* (Allen & Unwin, St. Leonards, 1996) p. 124.
- ¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 30, citing Buti, Tony ‘They Took the Children Away’ Vol. 20, No. 1, *Alternative Law Journal*/Vol. 3, No. 72 *Aboriginal Law Bulletin*, 1995, p. 35.
- ¹⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 32–33, citing Bell, James H. 1964: ‘Assimilation in NSW’, in Marie Reay (ed) *Aborigines Now: New Perspectives in the Study of Aboriginal Communities* (Angus & Robertson, London) p. 68.
- ¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 32.
- ¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 34, citing work by John Bolby for the World Health Organization and quoted in Keen, Susan, 1995: ‘The Burnside Homes for Children: An Overview of their Social History 1911–1980’, Vol. 48 No. 1 *Australian Social Work* pp. 30–36.
- ¹⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 34–35, citing Hasluck, Paul, 1953, *Native Welfare in Australia* (Patterson Brokenshaw, Perth) pp. 9 and 15.
- ²⁰ Burrow, J. W. Introduction to *The Origin of Species* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1977] pp. 20–21.
- ²¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from “Creation by a Supreme Being”.
- ²² Peters, Ted, contrib. ‘Theology and Natural Science’ in David F. Ford (Ed.) *The Modern Theologians* [Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1997] p. 649.
- ²³ Allen, Richard *Imperialism and Nationalism in the Fertile Crescent* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1974] pp. 410–411.
- ²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 412, citing Keesings, pp. 9743, 9745.
- ²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 414, citing Keesings, p. 9829.
- ²⁶ *ibid.*
- ²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 416.

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- ²⁸ Sachar, Howard M. *A History of Israel* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981] pp. 116, 135–136.
- ²⁹ Lapidé, op. cit., p. 286.
- ³⁰ *ibid.*
- ³¹ Minerbi, Serio I., trans. Arnold Schwarz *The Vatican and Zionism* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1990] p. 93.
- ³² *ibid.*, p. 161–162, citing E. Buonaiuti, *Pellegrino di Roma, la generazione dell'esodo* [Rome: 1945].
- ³³ *ibid.*, pp. 22–24, citing a report by Belgium's representative at the Vatican, Van Den Heuvel, to Foreign Minister Hymans, February 4th, 1918, no. 46/16, ABRE, St. Siege 1918.
- ³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 131.
- ³⁵ *ibid.*, citing Van Den Heuvel, to Foreign Minister Hymans, March 6th, 1919, no. 57/26, ABRE, St. Siege 1919–20.
- ³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 169, citing Weizmann, *Trial and Error*, vol. 2, pp. 285–286. The meeting apparently took place on April 20th, 1922.
- ³⁷ *ibid.*, p. 133, citing Monti to Foreign Minister Sonnino, March 29th, 1919, ASME file 1571.
- ³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 63, 67–80.
- ³⁹ Tessler, Mark, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994] p. 202, citing Zalman Abramov, *Perpetual Dilemma: Jewish Religion in the Jewish State* [Rutherford, New Jersey: Fairleigh, Dickinson University Press, 1976, p. 164].
- ⁴⁰ Jacobs, Louis *The Jewish Religion: a Companion* [New York, Oxford University Press, 1995] p. 442.
- ⁴¹ Lapidé, op. cit., p. 287.
- ⁴² *Catholic Almanac* 1975, p. 183.
- ⁴³ Minerbi, op. cit., p. 62.
- ⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p. 101, citing Herzl, Diaries, p. 1606, entry for January 27th, 1904, refers to Pope Pius X querying whether the Zionists had given any thought to rebuilding the Temple and renewing the sacrificial services in the ancient way.
- ⁴⁵ Gribetz et. al., op.cit., p. 495.
- ⁴⁶ Meyer, op. cit., pp. 346–347.
- ⁴⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 356–358.
- ⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 360, citing: CCARY (Central Conference of American Rabbis Yearbook), 56 (1946): 231; Will Herberg, *Judaism and Modern Man* (New York, 1951); and noting a number of essays by other writers which were in the same vein as Herberg's views.
- ⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 362.
- ⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p. 363, citing: *Liberal Judaism*, July 1946, p. 42, noting that an early use of the term "Holocaust" occurs in *ibid.*, June-July 1948, p. 53; and quoting Polish from CCARY, 63 (1953): 429.
- ⁵¹ Yahil, Leni *The Holocaust* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990] pp. 362–363.
- ⁵² Meyer, op. cit., p. 364.
- ⁵³ *ibid.*, pp. 364–365.
- ⁵⁴ Ochs, Peter contributing 'Judaism and Christian Theology' in David F. Ford (Ed.) *The Modern Theologians* [Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1997] p. 608.
- ⁵⁵ *ibid.*, citing Rosemary Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Antisemitism* [New York, 1974].
- ⁵⁶ *ibid.*
- ⁵⁷ *ibid.*, quoting Frei, Hans "The 'literal reading' of the biblical narrative in the Christian tradition: Does it stretch or will it break?" In Frank McConnell (ed.), *The Bible and the Narrative Tradition* (New York and Oxford, 1986); pp. 73–4.
- ⁵⁸ *ibid.*, quoting Lindbeck, George, *The Nature of Doctrine: Religion and Theology in a Postliberal Age* (Philadelphia, 1984), p. 164.
- ⁵⁹ *Herderlijk Schrijven van de Generale Synode der Nederelandse Hervormde Kerk, Betreffende de Rooms – Katholieke Kerk*, Boekencentrum N.V. 'S-Gravenhage, 23 Maart 1950. Notes by courtesy: Reformed Theological College, Geelong.
- ⁶⁰ Latourette, Kenneth Scott *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age* Volume IV *The Twentieth Century in Europe* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1969] pp. 388.
- ⁶¹ Pius XII, Pope. Encyclical *Humani Generis*, English translation, N.C.W.C., 1950, in *The Papal Encyclicals 1939–1958*, compiled by Claudia Carlen IHM [Raleigh: McGrath, 1981] pp. 175–183.
- ⁶² Latourette, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 114.
- ⁶³ Lilienthal, Alfred M. *The Zionist Connection. What Price Peace?* [New York: Middle East Perspective, 1979] p. 91, citing US Foreign Policy, Compilation of Studies prepared under the direction of Committee on Foreign

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Relations, United States Senate, Pursuant to S Res 335, 85th Congress and S Res 31 and S Res 250, 86th Congress, (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1960) Study No. 13 of June 9, 1960, pp. 1308–9.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p. 92, citing FR: 1949, *The Near East, South Asia, and Africa*, Vol. VI (Washington, DC: 1971), p. 1074.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, citing FR: p. 1107.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, citing FR: p. 1110.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, p. 93.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, citing William Eddy, *FDR Meets Ibn Saud* (New York: American Friends of the Middle East, 1954) p. 37.

⁶⁹ Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 362 & 364.

⁷⁰ Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 417–418, citing Keesings, pp. 9749, 9829, 10100, 10101, and a UN report of April 1949.

⁷¹ Sachar, *op. cit.*, p. 359. Weizmann, architect of the Balfour Declaration, was promptly confirmed as President by the Knesset following the first general elections. He is said to have been disappointed at the honorific nature of his office and to have referred to himself as “a prisoner in Rehovot.”

⁷² Tessler, *op. cit.*, p. 268, citing the *American Jewish Yearbook, 1947–48* as his source, provides figures for the estimated Jewish population of Europe, including the Soviet Union, in 1939 and 1947, by country. The totals were: 1939, 9,739,200; 1947, 3,920,100. The Jewish population in 1939 of countries in Europe which were not occupied is therefore, by deduction, 810,200.

⁷³ Barnavi, Eli (Gen. Ed.) *A Historical Atlas of the Jewish People* [London: Kuperard, 1994] pp. 232–233, 240–241.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p. 240.

⁷⁵ Laqueur, Walter and Barry Rubin *The Israel–Arab Reader* [New York: Penguin, 4th Edition, 1984] p. 144, quoting Abba Eban, Israeli Ambassador to the United Nations, 1957.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 140–164.

⁷⁷ Barnavi, *op. cit.* p. 241.

⁷⁸ **Percentage of world Jewish population by region:**

Year >> Region	1939	1945	1948	1950	1970	1989	1989 B	1991 [G]	2000
1 Palestine	2.8		5.7						
Israel		9.7		29.0	[28.0]	31.2	28.6		
2 United States		45.5		43.5	47.3		[45.1]		32.1
Canada				1.7			[2.3]		
United States + Canada	28.9		45.5			45.5		46.9	
Americas [All, N & S]				45.2			[50.7]		
3 Western Europe	7.8		9.0					8.1	
European Union						8.0			
Eastern Europe	32.6								
Soviet Union	18.7					10.7	[10.3]		15.7
East Europe + Soviet Union			23.2					9.1	
Total Europe	59.2		32.2	30.9		18.7	[19.3]	17.2	
4 North Africa	3.2		5.0					0.1	
Africa [All]				6.1			[1.1]		
Asia	2.2		5.7	2.3			[0.3]	0.3	
5 Other populations not incl. in regions for each ‘year’	3.7	54.5	5.9	5.8	52.7	6.8	[0.6]	4.3	23.6

Sources:

The table is prepared from the nearest comparable figures for world and US Jewish populations and is based on, or computed from, data in Barnavi, *op. cit.* and Fishman (Ed., *The Jews of the United States*). A common basis is not used in these references for the presentation of data in all cases. Data is given for the USA separately in some instances and for the USA and Canada together in other instances. Similarly, data for the Soviet Union is shown separately in some instances and with Eastern Europe in others, and figures for Western Europe have been superseded by figures for the European Union in more recent instances.

⁷⁹ Years 1939, 1948 and 1991: Barnavi, *op. cit.*, pp. 194–195.

Year 1950: Gribetz et.al., *op. cit.*, p. 509.

⁸⁰ Year 1989B: Barnavi, *op. cit.* p. 278.

⁸¹ Year 1989G: Gribetz et.al., *op. cit.* p. 709.

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Year 2000: *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "Diaspora".

The population of persons classed as Jews in Russia in 1939 was 3,020,000. By the 1959 census the number had fallen to 2,267,800 of whom 2,047,000 were within the 1939 boundaries. [Kochan, Lionel (Ed.) *The Jews in Soviet Russia since 1917*, Southampton: Camelot, 1978, p. 147.] * On the basis of that census the percentage of the world's Jews in the Soviet Union in 1959 is estimated at 18% but the figures cannot be regarded as reliable because of changed boundaries, changed definition of the term 'Jew' for purposes of nationality within the Soviet Union, and the pressures of the war and post war crisis years on those who had declared themselves to be Jews. After emigration restrictions were eased from the 1970s the Jewish population fell dramatically both as a percentage of the Russian population and as a percentage of the world Jewish population, in line with population decreases from 2,267,800 in 1959, to 1,449,150 in 1989 and 1,254,400 in 1990. [Barnavi, op. cit., p. 273.] *An estimate of 2,000,000 is given for the number of Jews in the Soviet Union in 1947 by Tessler, op. cit., p. 268, citing the *American Jewish Year Book*, 1947-48.

⁷⁹ Allen, loc. cit. These numbers total 965,000 which is greater than the estimate for refugees in care in June. This appears to be accounted for by persons living privately and therefore not included as "in care".

⁸⁰ Laqueur & Rubin, op. cit., pp. 125-127.

⁸¹ Gribetz et al., op. cit., p. 483., and Barnavi, op. cit., two references, pp. 240, 268-269. It appears that about 400,000 Jews from Eastern Europe chose refuge, or exile, in distant Russian labour camps following the occupation of Poland and that about 200,000 of them were Polish by nationality. After the war the Polish Government encouraged them to return and in 1946 about 154,000 opted for repatriation. However unidentified elements sought to disrupt the resettlement program and a series of pogroms peaked with an incident at Kielce in July in which 42 persons were killed. There are several alternative views of the possible motive behind the pogroms. One is that they were initiated by supporters of the new government who wished to besmear pre-Communist Poland in the eyes of the world. Another is that anti-Communists reacted against large numbers of Jews who returned with the Red Army and supported the new Communist regime. But yet another is that Zionists who were eager to encourage their Jewish colleagues to migrate to Palestine rather than to resettle in Poland and who therefore wanted to see the failure of the Polish resettlement plan, stimulated a touch of anti-Semitism which quickly got out of hand. Gribetz notes that the Poles "were aroused by rumours of the Jewish abduction of Christian children for ritual purposes." In any case, the incidents triggered a further flood of Jewish refugees into DP camps and into the escape routes to Palestine via southern Europe and it is estimated that about 100,000 of the Jews who returned from Russia left in that flood. The Kielce incident occurred within weeks of the arrest of about 2,500 Jews in connection with a major British army search for arms caches in Palestine which was followed by the bombing by the Irgun Group of the King David Hotel which housed the British Military Headquarters and in which 92 persons were killed.

⁸² Sachar, op. cit., p. 395.

⁸³ Barnavi, op. cit., p. 241.

⁸⁴ Sachar, loc. cit.

⁸⁵ *ibid.*, p. 396.

⁸⁶ The US had pressed for the repatriation of 200,000 to 300,000 Palestinians. Tessler, op. cit., pp. 313-314.

⁸⁷ Allen, op. cit., p. 423.

⁸⁸ Sachar, loc. cit.

⁸⁹ Figures for 1939 from Sachar, op. cit., pp. 396-397. Other data from Barnavi, op. cit., pp. 194-195.

⁹⁰ A large proportion of the Jewish population in Syria and Lebanon had already migrated to Europe, the Americas or Egypt from where many subsequently also made the journey to Israel when circumstances in Egypt turned against them. In addition to Operation Magic Carpet (the Yemen) and Operation Ali Baba (Iraq) which are described separately, major migrations arranged or facilitated in some way by the Jewish Agency included nearly 30,000 persons from Lybia between 1949 and 1951; 33,000 from Turkey between 1948 and 1950; 39,000 from Iran between 1948 and 1956; and two waves from Egypt, the first in 1949 and the second in 1956 as a consequence of the Suez Canal crisis. Source: Sachar, op. cit., chapters xiv and xviii.

⁹¹ *ibid.*, pp. 397-398.

⁹² Allen, op. cit., p. 424, suggests that the Jewish community in the Yemen may have been the oldest in the Diaspora.

⁹³ Laqueur & Rubin, op. cit., p. 128, document 27, use the translation "acts against the Jewish nation"; while Ronald H Isaacs. & Kerry M. Olitzky use the translation "is engaged in an activity directed against the Jewish

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- people.” (see p. 215, document 48 in *Critical Documents of Jewish History* [Northvale, New Jersey: Jason Aronson, 1995]. The condition that an applicant may be barred by virtue of a criminal past or being a person who is likely to endanger public welfare was added by amendment in 1954.
- ⁹⁴ This anomaly was not challenged successfully in court until 1998 when Judge Moshe Ravid of the Jerusalem District Court ruled that an Israeli citizen who had been charged with murder in the United States could be extradited to that country to stand trial because his citizenship was a consequence of his father having gained Israeli citizenship under the *Law of Return* but he, personally, had no other substantial connection with Israel and travelled to Israel on a US passport. Sources: Ze’ev Segal, *A new definition of citizenship*, and Moshe Reinfeld, *Court rules that teen murder suspect can be extradited to the U.S.*, Ha’aretz English Edition Internet News, September 7, 1998.
- ⁹⁵ Laqueur & Rubin, loc. cit., clause 3 (a).
- ⁹⁶ *ibid.*, clause 4.
- ⁹⁷ Jacobs, op. cit., p. 285.
- ⁹⁸ Tessler, op. cit., p. 310.
- ⁹⁹ Sachar, op. cit., p. 398.
- ¹⁰⁰ Said, Edward *The Question of Palestine* [New York: Vintage, 1980] p. 13, citing Theodor Herzl *Complete Diaries* [New York: Herzl Press, 1960] Vol. I, p. 88.
- ¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, pp. 99–100, citing Joseph Weitz, *My Diary and Letters to the Children* [Tel Aviv: Massada, 1965] Vol II, pp. 181–182.
- ¹⁰² Sachar, op. cit., pp. 427–439.
- ¹⁰³ *ibid.*, pp. 354–356.
- ¹⁰⁴ *ibid.*, p. 357.
- ¹⁰⁵ *ibid.*, p. 367.
- ¹⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p. 67.
- ¹⁰⁷ Tessler, op. cit., p. 201.
- ¹⁰⁸ Sachar, op. cit., p. 362.
- ¹⁰⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 361–362.
- ¹¹⁰ Allen, op. cit., p. 435.
- ¹¹¹ Sachar, op. cit., pp. 371–372.
- ¹¹² Allen, op. cit., p. 416.
- ¹¹³ Tessler, op. cit., p. 329, citing Oesterreicher, ‘An open letter’, in Oesterreicher and Sinai, p. 251.
- ¹¹⁴ Sachar, op. cit., p. 301.
- ¹¹⁵ Allen, op. cit., p. 428.
- ¹¹⁶ El-Khawas, Mohamed & Samir Abed-Rabbo *American Aid to Israel* [Brattleboro, Vermont: Amana, 1984] p. 27, citing Samir A Rabbo, *American Aid to Israel: a ‘Patron-Client’ Relationship*, *The Search*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Winter 1980, p. 25.
- ¹¹⁷ Tables published in El-Khawas, op. cit., and attributed to the US Agency for International Development, Bureau for Program Policy and Coordination, list loans and grants only for the years 1949 forward. The only item listed for the years 1949–1952 inclusive is economic assistance grants, \$86.5 million. However Sachar, op. cit., p. 409, states: “It was ironic, too, that Israel’s very military success in the War of Independence eased the pressure on Jewish sympathizers abroad to match their unprecedented donations of 1948. A \$100 million loan from the United States Export-Import Bank provided some hope of relief, but it was hardly adequate to raise the nation’s standard of living.”
- ¹¹⁸ Collins, Larry & Dominique Lapierre *O Jerusalem* [London: Pan, 1973] pp. 148–153.
- ¹¹⁹ Sachar, op. cit., p. 426.
- ¹²⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 372–373.
- ¹²¹ Gribetz et al., op. cit., p. 519.
- ¹²² Sachar, op. cit., p. 246. [According to Sachar the payments were to be over a period of twelve years].
- ¹²³ Ranelagh, John, *CIA: A History* [London: BBC Books, 1992] pp. 15–26.
- ¹²⁴ Stinnett, Robert B., *Day of Deceit* [New York: Free Press/Simon & Schuster, 2000] pp. 2–3.
- ¹²⁵ Ranelagh, op. cit., p. 27.
- ¹²⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 30–31.
- ¹²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 34.
- ¹²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 35.
- ¹²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 36.
- ¹³⁰ Mosley, op. cit., pp. 237–238.
- ¹³¹ Ranelagh, op. cit., p. 41.

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- ¹³² Baylis, John, contrib. "Britain and the Formation of NATO" in Smith, Joseph, (Ed.) *The Origins of NATO* [Exeter: University of Exeter, 1990] p. 21.
- ¹³³ Mosley, op. cit., p. 236.
- ¹³⁴ Baylis, op. cit., citing various Foreign Office records including Telegram no. 1932, 17 February 1949, FO 371/79226, Z 1584/1074/72G, PRO. The italics are by Baylis.
- ¹³⁵ The founding members of NATO were the United States, Britain, Belgium, France, The Netherlands, Luxembourg, Italy, Portugal, Denmark, Iceland, Norway and Canada.
- ¹³⁶ Ranelagh, op. cit., p. 41.
- ¹³⁷ *Catholic Almanac* 1975, p. 183.
- ¹³⁸ Hanson, Eric O. *The Catholic Church in World Politics* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990] p. 9.
- ¹³⁹ Pius IX, allocution *Singulari Quadam*, in Neuner, J. & J. Dupuis, (Ed.s) *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Statements of the Catholic Church* [Bangalore: Theological Publications in India, 1978] p. 217.
- ¹⁴⁰ Pius IX, encyclical *Quanto conficiamur moerore*, 1863, Neuner & Dupuis, loc. cit.
- ¹⁴¹ Leo XIII, Encyclical on Socialism, *Quod Apostolici Muneris*, December 28, 1878. Source: Documents of the Catholic Church; <http://www.newadvent.org/docs/le13qm.htm>.
- ¹⁴² Pius XI, encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, May 1931, Neuner & Dupuis, op. cit., p. 279.
- ¹⁴³ Pospelovsky, Dimitry V. *Soviet Anti-Religious Campaigns and Persecutions* Volume 2 [New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988] pp. 93–97. Reference has already been made in chapter 28 to the closure of some Orthodox Churches in the Crimea at this time, but that was for other reasons.
- ¹⁴⁴ Catholic World News Briefs for August 4, 2000. E-mail subscription service.
- ¹⁴⁵ Ranelagh, op. cit., p. 42.
- ¹⁴⁶ Blum, William, *Killing Hope* [Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1995] p. 23, citing: hearings held in executive session before the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee during 1949–50; Economic Assistance to China and Korea 1949–50, testimony of Dean Acheson, p. 23; made public January 1974 as part of the Historical Series; and Barbara W. Tuchman, *Stilwell and the American Experience in China 1911–45* (New York, 1972) p. 676.
- ¹⁴⁷ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, entry for "The Chinese Civil War", notes that: "Corrupt officers also sold vast numbers of US weapons to the enemy and siphoned off much of the \$2,000,000,000 in US aid in personal fortunes." It does not attempt to quantify the "vast numbers" or the amount of cash siphoned off, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that the allowance for goods "siphoned off" by "corrupt officers" includes the materials taken with them by the divisions which defected *en masse* to the Communist forces. It would not, in that case, be in the same category as corruptly acquired personal wealth.
- ¹⁴⁸ Blum, op. cit., p. 23. Note 15: In 1992 the Taiwan government admitted that its army had killed an estimated 18,000 to 28,000 native-born Taiwanese in the 1947 massacre. (*Los Angeles Times*, 24 February 1992).
- ¹⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p. 23, quoting from Felix Greene, *A Curtain of Ignorance* (New York, 1964).
- ¹⁵⁰ *ibid.*, citing William Manchester, *American Caesar: Douglas MacArthur 1880–1964* (London, 1979) p. 535.
- ¹⁵¹ Neill, Stephen, *A History of Christian Missions* [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964] p. 467.
- ¹⁵² *Catholic Almanac* 1997, p. 338.
- ¹⁵³ Blum, op. cit., p. 23, citing *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1949, Vol. III, The Far East: China*. (US Government Printing Office, Washington 1978), passim between pp. 357 and 399; 768; 779–780. Blum notes that publication of this volume in the State Department's series was held up precisely because it contained the reports about Chou En-lai's request. (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 27 September 1978, p. F-1).
- ¹⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 24.
- ¹⁵⁵ Dulles, op. cit., p. 19.
- ¹⁵⁶ Executive Order 12333 -United States intelligence activities, Part 1., clause 1.8 The Central Intelligence Agency. (e). Source: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/information/eo12333.html> as at August 4, 2000.
- ¹⁵⁷ *About CIA: Frequently Asked Questions*. Source: http://www.cia.gov/cia/public_affairs/faq.html as at August 4, 2000.
- ¹⁵⁸ *New York Times*, 25 April 1966, p. 20, cited by Blum., op. cit.
- ¹⁵⁹ Burma: David Wise and Thomas Ross, *The Invisible Government* (New York, 1965, paperback edition), pp. 138–44; Joseph Burkholder Smith, *Portraits of a Cold Warrior* (New York, 1976), pp. 77–8; *New York Times*, 28 July 1951; 28 December 1951; 22 February 1952; 8 April 1952; 30 December 1952; Opium: Christopher Robbins, *Air America* (US, 1979) pp. 84–7; cited by Blum, op. cit.
- ¹⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 24.

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- ¹⁶¹ *ibid.*, p. 123; citing Hans Askenasy, *Are we all Nazis?* (Lyle Stuart, Secaucus, N.J., 1978) p. 64.
- ¹⁶² *ibid.*
- ¹⁶³ On December 3, 1854, the British colonial authorities ordered police and soldiers to surround a hastily built stockade and to 'quell' a relatively small rebellion by 150 miners within it in the Ballarat gold fields in Victoria. It was to become the most celebrated rebellion in Australian history. It had been brewing for some time and was the outcome of long-standing grievances held by the miners over exorbitant prospecting-license fees, brutal police procedures for collecting fees, lack of electoral representation in the Legislative Council, and the prohibition of prospecting on crown lands.
- ¹⁶⁴ Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 48, citing Shirley Hazzard, *Countenance of Truth: The United Nations and the Waldheim Case* (New York, 1990) pp. 13–22; and Trygve Lie, *In the Cause of Peace* (New York, 1954) p. 389, in which Lie states that it was he who initiated this practice.
- ¹⁶⁵ Jessop, Philip C., radio address of April 13, 1950, reprinted in *The Department of State Bulletin*, 24 April 1950, p. 627, quoted in Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
- ¹⁶⁶ The treaty, agreed in advance, was signed in San Francisco by Japan and 48 other nations in 1951.
- ¹⁶⁷ Mosley, *op. cit.*, pp. 248–251.
- ¹⁶⁸ There is no reference in the official report of the assembly to Syngman Rhee being present in any capacity at the first Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1948. Neither is there any reference to him in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517–1968* [in two volumes, Eds. Ruth Rouse, Stephen Neill and Harold E. Fey, (Geneva: WCC, 1993)]. There is no provision for 'membership' of the World Council of Churches in the sense which Mosley's reference might suggest and, although the author has not sought to clarify this point with the WCC, it is therefore assumed that his role had been that of a delegate or a consultant to committees or consultations of the council while it was in process of formation.
- ¹⁶⁹ Mosley, *op. cit.*, p. 256. Mosley notes as follows. The account of Foster Dulles' s activities in the State Department under Dean Acheson comes from several sources: conversations with Luke Battle, George Kennan's Oral History in the Princeton Papers, John Allison's Oral History, George V. Allen's Oral History, Allen Dulles' Oral History (all in the Princeton Papers), and talks with Eleanor Dulles.
- ¹⁷⁰ Published figures vary so widely that it is not clear exactly what the balance of forces was at the outbreak of war, but one report suggests that North Korea had 147,000 troops (about 11 divisions), reasonably well equipped, including a proportion trained in either China or the Soviet Union, with 150 Soviet advisers to each division, say 1,650 total. This was significantly higher strength than the forces cited for South Korea: about 98,000 troops (seven divisions), less well equipped, with a total of 500 US advisers. [*Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "Korea: History of the Korean War"].
- ¹⁷¹ Blum, *op. cit.*, pp. 46–47, citing John Gunther, *The Riddle of MacArthur* (London, 1951), pp. 151–2; and referring to a number of other sources.
- ¹⁷² *ibid.*, pp. 48–49, citing *New York Times*, June 25, 1950; Joseph C. Goulden, *Korea: The Untold Story of the War* (New York, 1982) pp. 87088; I.F. Stone, *The Hidden History of the Korean War* (New York, 1952) pp. 75, 77–78; the full text of the Security Council resolution of July 7, 1950 as published in the *New York Times*, July 8, 1950, p. 4.
- ¹⁷³ *ibid.*, p. 49, quoting from Dwight Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Mandate for Change, 1953–1956* (New York, 1963) p. 340.
- ¹⁷⁴ Mosley, *op. cit.*, p. 258.
- ¹⁷⁵ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "International Relations: the Korean War".
- ¹⁷⁶ *ibid.*
- ¹⁷⁷ Mosley, *op. cit.*, pp. 290–306, indicates that there was much competition and political lobbying ("infighting") for the post at the CIA and that Allen's appointment was not finally decided until some time after Eisenhower's election. But John Foster appears to have had an understanding some time before the election that the State Department would be his, and he had some influence in Eisenhower's decision in favor of his brother for the CIA.
- ¹⁷⁸ *ibid.*
- ¹⁷⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 305–306. Mosley says that paragraph was drafted by Dulles in a blatant gesture to win the approval of the influential Senator William Knowland, "a perfervid supporter of Chiang Kai-shek." Averell Harriman, (an elder statesman of the Democratic Party, former ambassador to Britain, the USSR, Secretary for Commerce, and later Governor of New York), said it seemed to him "a tragically unwise thing to do" and that "Chiang could make difficult our relations with mainland China as time went on, and I thought this was the first and perhaps the worst mistake Foster Dulles made".

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¹⁸⁰ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "China: History of reconstruction and consolidation 1949-52".

¹⁸¹ *ibid.*, from "Syngman Rhee".

¹⁸² Reliable figures for casualties during the Korean War are also hard to locate. For example, the *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000 gives two sets of figures, plus other references, which do not correspond. This table has figures from: line A, 'Korea, History of Armistice and Aid;' line B, 'Korean War;' line C, 'United States, History of the Korean War.' [LIA = Lost in Action]

A: Casualties: Korean War

Grand Total	SK Civilian	SK Non-civ	Com.Civilian	Com.Non-civ	US: LIA	SK: LIA	UN: LIA	China: LIA	NK: LIA
4,000,000	1,000,000	313,000	1,000,000	1,500,000	33,629	47,000	3,194	900,000	520,000

B: Deaths: Korean War

Grand Total	US: Total	SK: Total	UN: Others	China: Total	NK: Total
2,854,000	54,000	1,300,000	smaller No	1,000,000	500,000

C: US Casualties, Korean War

Only US given	US: Total
	142,000

¹⁸³ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "China: History of Reconstruction and Consolidation 1949-52". Regulations for the Suppression of Counter-revolutionaries (February 20, 1951) authorized police action against dissident individuals and suspected groups. A campaign against anti-Communist holdouts, bandits, and political opponents was also pressed. Greatest publicity attended Peking's dispatch of troops to Tibet at about the same time that it intervened in Korea. The distinctiveness and world reputation of the Tibetan culture was to make this a severe test of Communist efforts to complete the consolidation of their power. In 1959, after a period of sporadic clashes with the Chinese, the Tibetans rose in rebellion, to which Peking responded with force.

Under the Agrarian Reform Law (June 1950) the property of rural landlords was confiscated and redistributed, which fulfilled a promise to the peasants and smashed a class identified as feudal or semi-feudal. The property of traitors, "bureaucrat capitalists" (especially the "four big families" of the Nationalist Party [KMT], the K'ungs, Soongs, Chiangs, and Ch'ens), and selected foreign nationals was also confiscated, helping end the power of many industrialists and providing an economic basis for industrialization. Programs were begun to increase production and to lay the basis for long-term socialization.

These programs coincided with a massive effort to win over the population to the leadership. Such acts as a marriage law (May 1950) and a trade-union law (June 1950) symbolized the break with the old society, while mass organizations and the regime's "campaign style" dramatized the new.

Beginning in 1951, the revolutionary agenda of the Communists began to be felt in the cities. A Suppression of Counter-revolutionaries campaign dealt violently with many former leaders of secret societies, religious associations, and the KMT in early 1951. In late 1951 and early 1952, three major political campaigns brought the revolutionary essence of the CCP home to key urban groups. The Three Antis campaign targeted Communist cadres who had become too close to China's capitalists. The Five Antis campaign aimed at the capitalists themselves and brought them into line on charges of bribery, tax evasion, theft of state property and economic information, and cheating on government contracts. And the Thought Reform campaign humbled university professors and marked a turning point in the move from Western to Soviet influence in structuring China's university curriculum.

In spite of the Soviet Union's unwillingness to provide all the military support which China wanted, and in spite of efforts by the United States to drive a wedge between them, The Soviet Union made available a smaller developmental loan in 1954. Equipment and technical aid was supplied for a large number of industrial projects and the Soviet Union also played a major role in Chinese foreign policy, and at that stage China accepted Moscow's leadership in the international Communist movement. Coordinating its efforts with Stalin, Peking supported revolutionary activity throughout Asia and opposed compromise with neutralist regimes.

¹⁸⁴ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "International Relations, the Korean War".

¹⁸⁵ The list of principal scientists whose work enabled the development of the bomb, or who actually worked on its development in the belief that its purpose was to end Hitler's Nazi regime, and the Second World War, with a single strike, or who, having realized what had been unleashed at Hiroshima and Nagasaki became committed anti-nuclear warriors is enormous, but three key persons stand out: Albert Einstein, Robert Oppenheimer and Marcus Oliphant.

¹⁸⁶ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "John Foster Dulles, Assessment".

¹⁸⁷ Visser 'T Hooft, W.A.[Ed.] *The First Assembly of the World Council of Churches* [London: SCM Press, 1949] p. 38.

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- ¹⁸⁸ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State".
- ¹⁸⁹ The Information Department of the CPC, *Statutes of the Christian Peace Conference* [Prague: CPC, 1978] p. 2.
- ¹⁹⁰ Visser 'T Hooft, loc. cit.
- ¹⁹¹ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "Joseph Stalin, an assessment".
- ¹⁹² Gilbert, Martin, *Second World War*, [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989] p. 241.
- ¹⁹³ Gilbert, Martin, *Churchill: A Life* [London: Minerva, 1982] pp. 381–382.
- ¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 389–390.
- ¹⁹⁵ *ibid.*
- ¹⁹⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 392–393.
- ¹⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 395.
- ¹⁹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 403.
- ¹⁹⁹ Buss, Claude A *Asia in the Modern World* [London: Collier/Macmillan, 1964] p. 342
- ²⁰⁰ Gilbert, *Churchill: A Life*, op. cit., p. 405.
- ²⁰¹ Kochan, op. cit., pp. 119–120.
- ²⁰² Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., pp. 217–219.
- ²⁰³ Bullock, Alan. *Hitler and Stalin: Parallel Lives* [London: HarperCollins/Fontana, 1993], p. 788, citing Volkogonov, D.A., *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy*, trans. Harold Shukman [London, 1991] pp. 412–413; and referring to statements by Mikoyan, Khrushchev and Stramenov.
- ²⁰⁴ Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., pp. 241–244.
- ²⁰⁵ Bullock, op. cit., p. 792, indicates that there is confusion over whether this was a second approach for an armistice or whether there was only one approach, reported by different sources to have been made on different dates. However the two reports involve different people. The October report is based on the personal account of General Zhukov who had been sent to take command of the south western front shortly after the invasion and was not recalled to Moscow until October. It therefore appears most likely that two separate approaches were made.
- ²⁰⁶ Gilbert, *Second World War*, op. cit., p. 241.
- ²⁰⁷ Sachar, op. cit., p. 229.
- ²⁰⁸ Churchill, Winston S. *The Second World War*, Volume III, *The Grand Alliance* [London: Reprint Society, 1950], p. 492.
- ²⁰⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 492–493, quoting from Eden's dispatch of January 5, 1942.
- ²¹⁰ This was the first time that Churchill used the expression "an iron curtain" but it appealed to him. He next used it, with devastating effect, in March 1946. See a later diary entry for that date.
- ²¹¹ Churchill, Winston S *The Second World War*, Vol. VI, *Triumph and Tragedy* [London: Reprint Society, 1954] pp. 457–458.
- ²¹² *ibid.*, p. 460.
- ²¹³ *ibid.*, p. 462.
- ²¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 320, reproducing his telegram to the dominion prime ministers from Yalta, July 5, 1944.
- ²¹⁵ In the Cairo Declaration, Dec. 1, 1943, the United States, Britain and China, pledged independence for Korea "in due course." The vagueness concerned Korean provisional government leaders in Chungking and they requested an interpretation from the US. They received no answer. Later, at Yalta in February 1945, Roosevelt proposed to Stalin that Korea should be governed under a four-power joint trusteeship involving the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and China. Stalin agreed in principle, but no formal agreement was reached. Then at Potsdam in July 1945, when U.S. military leaders insisted on encouraging Soviet entry into the war against Japan, Soviet military leaders asked their U.S. counterparts about invading Korea, with which the Soviet Union shares a 30 mile common border, and the Americans replied that such an expedition would not be practicable for them until after a successful landing had taken place on the Japanese mainland. The ensuing Potsdam Declaration included the statement that "the terms of the Cairo Declaration ... shall be carried out." On August 8 the Soviet Union agreed to enter the war against Japan and pledged its support for the independence of Korea where its forces went into action the following day, landing at the northern tip of Korea adjacent to their own border, at the same time that they moved into Manchuria from Soviet territory. The General Order No. 1, drafted on August 11 by the US for Japanese surrender terms in Korea, provided for Japanese forces north of latitude 38 N (the 38th parallel) to surrender to the Soviets and for those south of that line to

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- surrender to the Americans. Stalin raised no objection and Soviet forces did not attempt to move further south although they had ample opportunity to do so. It was not until a month later that American troops landed in southern Korea, on September 8, and received the Japanese surrender in Seoul next day. There were then two zones – northern and southern – as the Soviets had taken steps to secure the 38th parallel. *Encyclopedia Britannica Deluxe* CD 2000, from History of the Division of Korea.
- ²¹⁶ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. VI, *Triumph and Tragedy*, op. cit., pp. 506 & 509.
- ²¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 509.
- ²¹⁸ Daniels, Robert V. *A Documentary History of Communism*, Volume 2, *Communism and the World*, [Hanover: University Press of New England, 1984] pp. 135–137, 295–297.
- ²¹⁹ Loth, Wilfred, *The Division of the World, 1945–1955* [London: Routledge, 1988] p. 106.
- ²²⁰ Kuniholm, Bruce Robellet, *The Origins of the Cold War in the Near East: Great Power Conflict and Diplomacy in Iran, Turkey and Greece*, [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980] pp. 311–312.
- ²²¹ Paterson, Thomas G. *Soviet-American Confrontation: Postwar Reconstruction and the Origins of the Cold War* [Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973] pp. 50–52.
- ²²² *ibid.*
- ²²³ It is impossible to arrive at an accurate figure because of the very approximate nature of some statistics, and the timing of boundary and political changes, but the author's best calculation from UN population statistics is 34 per cent.
- ²²⁴ Goralski, Robert, *World War II Almanac 1931–1945* [London: Hamish Hamilton, 1981] pp. 425, 428, citing R. Ernest Dupuy, *World War II: A Compact History*.
- ²²⁵ Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. III, *The Grand Alliance*, op. cit., p. 25
- ²²⁶ *ibid.*, p. 27.
- ²²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 36.
- ²²⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 492–493, quoting his own memo to the Lord Privy Seal dated December 20, 1941.
- ²²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 286, citing an *Oxford English Dictionary* definition.
- ²³⁰ Federation of American Scientists, *About FAS*, source: <http://www.fas.org/about.htm> as at August 21, 2000.
- ²³¹ Stone, Jeremy J., President, Federation of American Scientists, 1970–2000, currently President, Catalytic Diplomacy, personal correspondence, August, 2000.
- ²³² United States Atomic Energy Commission, *In the Matter of J. Robert Oppenheimer: Transcript of Hearing before Personal Security Board* [Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1971] p. 6. Extract from letter to Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer from K.D. Nichols, General Manager, US Atomic Energy Commission, dated December 23, 1953.
- ²³³ Stone, op. cit., The FBI's surveillance of FAS became known to the Federation when it applied to the FBI under the Freedom of Information Act many years later
- ²³⁴ Ranelagh, op. cit., p. 44.
- ²³⁵ *Encyclopedia Britannica Deluxe* CD 2000, from "History of Poland; World War II".
- ²³⁶ *ibid.* The Polish search for some 15,000 missing men had previously met with a Soviet profession of complete ignorance as to their fate. Stalin accused the Sikorski government – which had asked the International Red Cross to investigate – of complicity in Nazi propaganda and severed diplomatic relations with the government in exile. Only in 1992 did post-Communist Moscow publicly acknowledge its guilt and furnish to Warsaw documents, which also indicated the locations of other mass executions.
- ²³⁷ Eden, Anthony, *Full Circle* [London: Cassell, 1960] p. 225.
- ²³⁸ Tessler, op. cit., p. 337.
- ²³⁹ Eden, op. cit., pp. 230, 232.
- ²⁴⁰ Tessler, loc. cit.
- ²⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 338. Quotation attributed to Colonel Nasser in Robert St. John, *The Boss: The Story of Gamal Abdel Nasser* [New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960], p. 36.
- ²⁴² *ibid.*, citing Mahmoud Riad, *The Struggle for Peace in the Middle East* [London: Quartet Books, 1981] p. 7.
- ²⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 339.
- ²⁴⁴ Blum, op. cit., p. 65.
- ²⁴⁵ Eden, op. cit., pp. 247–249.
- ²⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p. 256.
- ²⁴⁷ Blum, op. cit., pp. 65–66.
- ²⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p. 66.

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- ²⁴⁹ Tessler, op. cit., p. 334, citing Fred J. Khouri, *The Arab-Israeli Dilemma* [Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985] p. 207.
- ²⁵⁰ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000; from "Intelligence in the former Soviet Union" and "KGB".
- ²⁵¹ Boyle, Francis, "Obituary for Igor P. Blinschchenko, LLD" [Ohio: *MSANNEWS*, 2000] source: e-mail news service, msanews@msanews.mynet.net on August 17, 2000. Boyle related an exchange during a lecture in the Soviet Union in August 1989].
- ²⁵² Tessler, op. cit., p. 343.
- ²⁵³ *ibid.*, pp. 341–342.
- ²⁵⁴ Lloyd, Selwyn *Suez, 1956* [London: Coronet/ Hodder & Stoughton, 1978] p. 24.
- ²⁵⁵ Pratt, loc. cit., citing C.I.D./310th meeting, 17 February 1938. Cab.2/7; Chiefs of Staff, 'Defence of Egypt.' C.O.S. 686, 14 February 1938, enclosure in C.P. 41(38). Cab 24/275.
- ²⁵⁶ Lloyd, op. cit., p. 25, quoting Churchill's remarks from Hansard for July 28, 1954.
- ²⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 35.
- ²⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 42.
- ²⁵⁹ Tessler, op. cit., p. 335.
- ²⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 345.
- ²⁶¹ *ibid.*, p. 347, citing an article in Ha'aretz on April 17, 1964; quoted in Yair Evron, *The Middle East: Nations, Superpowers and Wars* [New York: Praeger, 1973] p. 45; and noting also Terence Robertson, *Crisis: The Inside Story of the Suez Conspiracy* [New York: Athenaeum, 1965] and Calvocoressi, pp. 61–62.
- ²⁶² *ibid.*, p. 340, 342.
- ²⁶³ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "The Bandung Conference".
- ²⁶⁴ Lloyd, op. cit., pp. 35 & 26.
- ²⁶⁵ Lloyd, op. cit., p. 27.
- ²⁶⁶ *ibid.*
- ²⁶⁷ Tessler, op. cit., p. 348.
- ²⁶⁸ The expression was gaining currency at that time as a result of French commentators using the term 'tiers monde' to refer to the economically 'developing countries' of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in order to distinguish them from the Capitalist and Communist blocs. Some commentators also used it to distinguish between the 'Old World' of Europe, the 'New World' of the United States and other white settler dominated advanced economies, and 'the rest.'
- ²⁶⁹ Blum, op. cit., p. 85, citing US Mutual Security Act of 1955, Sections 142 (a) (4) and 413.
- ²⁷⁰ During the late 1950s, after the US Mutual Security Act 1955 was in place, economic aid averaged about \$1.6 billion per year, compared with about \$2.1 billion in military aid to "friendly regimes." Source: *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "Decolonization and Development".
- ²⁷¹ Blum, op. cit., p. 85, citing: Declassified Documents Reference System: 1992 volume: document no. 2326, 10 May 1955; no. 2663, 21 September 1955; no. 2973, 9 January 1956; no. 2974, 16 January 1956. With the exception of no. 2663, all the documents bear the heading of the Operations Coordinating Board, a subcommittee of the NSC which coordinated covert activities.
- ²⁷² Blum, op. cit., p. 86, citing *ibid.*, 1993 volume: document no. 2953, 14 December 1955, p. 4.
- ²⁷³ Karnow, Stanley, *Vietnam: A History*. [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984] p. 204.
- ²⁷⁴ Eden, op. cit., p. 307.
- ²⁷⁵ The countries admitted in the previous 10 years were: Afghanistan, Iceland, Sweden, Thailand, Pakistan, Yemen, Myanmar, Israel and Indonesia. Those admitted in 1955 were: Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Finland, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libya, Nepal, Portugal, Romania, Spain and Sri Lanka.
- ²⁷⁶ Eden, op. cit., pp. 419–420.
- ²⁷⁷ Lloyd, op. cit., p. 28.
- ²⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 29.
- ²⁷⁹ Tessler, op. cit., p. 347.
- ²⁸⁰ Sachar, op. cit., p. 484.
- ²⁸¹ Eden, op. cit., pp. 342–343.
- ²⁸² O'Connor, Richard *The Oil Barons* [Boston: Little Brown, 1972] p. 340.
- ²⁸³ Aburish, Said K. *The House of Saud* [London: Bloomsbury, 1994] p. 155.

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- ²⁸⁴ *ibid.*, op. cit., p. 161.
- ²⁸⁵ Shadid, Mohammed K. Contrib. *The Muslim Brotherhood Movement in the West Bank and Gaza in Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 2, April 1988.
- ²⁸⁶ Eden, op. cit., pp. 342–343.
- ²⁸⁷ *ibid.*
- ²⁸⁸ Lebanon has a diverse population of Christians, Muslims and people of other religions. The constitution which took effect in 1943 was quite deliberately set up, under French influence, with a National Covenant which ensured that, at that time, the president was a Christian and the prime minister a Muslim. That relationship was based on the fact that the 1932 census had shown Lebanon's population to be 55 per cent Christian – the highest percentage of Christians in any Middle Eastern country – but the present population is estimated to be 75 per cent Muslim and 25 per cent Christian. The country is a member of the Islamic Conference.
- ²⁸⁹ Eden, op. cit., p. 343.
- ²⁹⁰ Lloyd, loc. cit.
- ²⁹¹ *ibid.*, p. 9.
- ²⁹² *ibid.*, p. 10.
- ²⁹³ *ibid.*, p. 12.
- ²⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 24.
- ²⁹⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 31,35, Lloyd wrote: "Although it was we who had advised Azhari to declare for independence, not surprisingly we got no credit for this from Radio Cairo. Publicly Nasser tried to pretend that it had happened as a result of an Egyptian initiative. Privately he described it as a British plot." (p. 31) Then: "In the Sudan, the plan of letting Sudanese nationalism and Egyptian imperialism meet head-on had been successful. I had thought the result would be an independent and friendly Sudan. This, in fact, happened." (p. 35) Those statements certainly suggest a plot; a variation on the old 'divide-and-rule' theme; and no consideration of the consequences of that attitude for the two countries involved a few years ahead.
- ²⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 19.
- ²⁹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 19.
- ²⁹⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 34–35. The order was discovered after the Sinai-Suez War by Israeli forces in an Egyptian command post which had been overrun.
- ²⁹⁹ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "Khrushchev".
- ³⁰⁰ Eden, op. cit., p. 347.
- ³⁰¹ *ibid.*, p. 350.
- ³⁰² *ibid.*, pp. 350–353.
- ³⁰³ Lloyd, op. cit., 59–61.
- ³⁰⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 68, 69.
- ³⁰⁵ Eden, op. cit., pp. 356–357.
- ³⁰⁶ *ibid.*, p. 358.
- ³⁰⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 358–359.
- ³⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p. 363.
- ³⁰⁹ Sachar, op. cit., p. 485.
- ³¹⁰ Lloyd, op. cit., p. 67.
- ³¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 67–69.
- ³¹² Sachar, op. cit., p. 489.
- ³¹³ Blum, op. cit., p. 86, citing Wilbur Crane Eveland, *Ropes of Sand: America's Failure in the Middle East* [New York: W.W. Norton, 1980] pp. 122, 182.
- ³¹⁴ *ibid.*, citing Eveland, *Ropes of Sand*, op. cit., pp. 122, 182.
- ³¹⁵ Blum, loc. cit., citing Patrick Searle, *The Struggle for Syria: A Study of Post-War Arab Politics, 1945–1958* [London, 1965] pp. 283–306; Eveland, op. cit., pp. 135, 169–173.
- ³¹⁶ See also Lloyd, op. cit., p. 56. Lloyd outlines a discussion with Prime Minister Nuri es-Said and the Crown Prince in Baghdad on March 10, during which Nuri told him to make sure that Turkey did not invade Syria and that "the Israelis should not attempt to improve their position" while Iraq organized "a movement against it by elements in Syria more friendly to Iraq and the West."
- ³¹⁷ *ibid.*, p. 54.
- ³¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 71.

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- ³¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 70, quoting Robert Murphy, US Deputy Undersecretary of State, and citing Muhammad Heikal, *Nasser: The Cairo Documents* (known as the 'Heikal Papers') [New English Library, 1972].
- ³²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 73.
- ³²¹ Sachar, *op. cit.*, p. 488.
- ³²² Lloyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 141–142. Lloyd quoted Wedgwood Benn's argument, but sought to show that it was ill-founded.
- ³²³ Eden, *op. cit.*, pp. 427–428. Telegram, Eden to Eisenhower, July 27, 1956.
- ³²⁴ *ibid.*
- ³²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 436.
- ³²⁶ Sachar, *op. cit.*, p. 489.
- ³²⁷ Eden, *op. cit.*, p. 444.
- ³²⁸ Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 112, quoting from Menzies' broadcast of August 13, 1956.
- ³²⁹ *ibid.*, quoting from his own broadcast on August 14, 1956.
- ³³⁰ On July 30, 1941, when Eden advised the Commons of "the signature of the *Soviet-Polish Agreement* of today" he chose his words very carefully and read a note addressed to the Polish government which referred to the Anglo-Polish mutual assistance agreement of August 25, 1939, and said the British government had entered into an undertaking towards the Soviet Union "which affects the relations between that country and Poland." The note also said, without any reference to Germany, that *the British government "do not recognize any territorial changes which have been effected in Poland since August 1939."* He then referred specifically to the first paragraph of the *Soviet-Polish Agreement* concerning territorial changes under the Soviet-German treaties as "having lost their validity." The implication was that while *Britain expected the postwar reinstatement of Poland with its prewar boundaries, Russia was agreeing only that the treaty boundaries were not valid. Russia was not agreeing that the prewar boundaries were valid.* Neither was Britain agreeing to guarantee those boundaries. Eden was at pains to make that clear. *His concluding remark was: "The exchange of Notes which I have just read to the House does not involve any guarantee of frontiers by His Majesty's Government."* [Emphasis added].
- ³³¹ The committee consisted of representatives of Australia*, Ethiopia, Iran, Sweden and the United States*. The other countries which agreed to the proposal were Denmark*, France*, Federal German Republic, Iran, Italy*, Japan, the Netherlands*, New Zealand*, Norway, Pakistan, Portugal*, Spain* and Turkey. Of the four Asian countries, one, Iran, was an oil producing member of the Baghdad Pact; one, Pakistan, was a non-oil-producing member of the Baghdad Pact whose oil did not come through the canal; a third, Japan, was a major trading nation and it was tied by the peace treaty to US foreign policy but its oil did not come through the canal; and the fourth, Turkey, drew its oil from the eastern Mediterranean and not through the canal, but it was also another member of the Baghdad Pact. Ethiopia was the token aid-dependent East African country, but its oil did not come through the canal. Australia and New Zealand were compliant members of both the Commonwealth and SEATO, but their oil did not come through the canal and their shipping distance increase was only 15 per cent for Australia and 12 per cent for New Zealand, with no canal fees to pay. This left the 10 European powers and the United States as the ones significantly affected by a closure of the canal. The additional five countries which attended the conference but declined to support the move against Egypt were: Spain, India, Indonesia, Sri Lanka and the Soviet Union*. [An asterisk (*) indicates that the country was, at the time of the Suez Crisis, a colonial power either by governing annexed territories or by virtue of a UN Trusteeship].
- ³³² Blum, *op. cit.*, pp. 86–87, citing, for the 1956 plot and background: Eveland, *op. cit.*, chapters 11–20; *New York Times*, 10 April 1956; 17 October 1956.
- ³³³ Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 124, quoting from message Eisenhower to Eden, September 2, 1956, received by Eden on September 3. Eden, in *Full Circle*, *op. cit.*, made reference to it and set out his reply but did reproduce Eisenhower's message in full. Eisenhower did so as Appendix C in his memoirs.
- ³³⁴ Wilmot, Chester *The Struggle for Europe* [London: Collins, 1967], p. 635.
- ³³⁵ Sachar, *op. cit.*, p. 487.
- ³³⁶ Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 129, citing Robert Menzies, *Afternoon Light: Some Memories of Men and Events* [Australia: Cassell, 1967].
- ³³⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 129–130.
- ³³⁸ Eden, *op. cit.*, pp. 465–467.
- ³³⁹ *ibid.*, p. 465.
- ³⁴⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 474–476.

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- ³⁴¹ *ibid.*, pp. 469–471, with quotations from a letter, Menzies to Eden, written after Menzies returned to Australia, which is reproduced on pp. 470–473, and in which Menzies purports to quote verbatim from a conversation which he had with Nasser.
- ³⁴² *ibid.*, p. 445.
- ³⁴³ *ibid.*, pp. 498–499.
- ³⁴⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 498–499.
- ³⁴⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 500–501.
- ³⁴⁶ Sachar, *op. cit.*, p. 490.
- ³⁴⁷ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from “History of Egypt, the King and Ideology.”
- ³⁴⁸ The date for the first confirmed Christian presence is given as the second quarter of the second century (c.125–150 CE) by *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from “History of Egypt, Society, Religion and Culture” but the Oxford *Concise Dictionary of the Christian Church* notes, p. 14, that the foundation of the church in Alexandria is traditionally ascribed to the Apostle Mark. On that basis the earlier date was used in chapter I, (*Growing pains*). However Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, [Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964] p. 25, also makes reference to that tradition, qualifying it by noting: “but for this there is no historical evidence.”
- ³⁴⁹ In due course the church at Rome included Wisdom in its canon of Biblical books and it continued to freely refer to Philo’s works, and that was the situation at the time of the Reformation. Subsequently the Roman Catholic Church has retained the Book of Wisdom in its Biblical Canon, but the Reformed Churches have deleted it, although it is included in some Reformed editions of the Apocrypha, such as the *Oxford Annotated Apocrypha* [New York: Oxford, 1973] published for the Division of Christian Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America.
- ³⁵⁰ These paragraphs include material from *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from “Egypt, History of the Advance of Christianity.”
- ³⁵¹ Eden, *op. cit.*, pp. 510–511.
- ³⁵² *ibid.*, pp. 512–513.
- ³⁵³ Sachar, *op. cit.*, p. 491.
- ³⁵⁴ Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
- ³⁵⁵ *ibid.*
- ³⁵⁶ Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
- ³⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 188.
- ³⁵⁸ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from “Hungary, History of the Revolution of 1956”.
- ³⁵⁹ Lloyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 188–190.
- ³⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 188. The group briefed was: Sir Anthony Eden, Prime Minister; Mr. R.A. Butler, Lord Privy Seal and Leader of the House of Commons; Mr. Harold Macmillan, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Antony Head, Minister for Defence; and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Foreign Secretary.
- ³⁶¹ *ibid.*, pp. 188–190.
- ³⁶² Sachar, *op. cit.*, p. 494.
- ³⁶³ Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
- ³⁶⁴ Sachar, *op. cit.*, p. 497.
- ³⁶⁵ Eden, *op. cit.*, pp. 526–527.
- ³⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p. 525.
- ³⁶⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 525–526.
- ³⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p. 526.
- ³⁶⁹ Lloyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 201–202, quoting Richard Nixon and citing Finer, *Dulles over Suez*, p. 397. Eden quoted the same speech in *Full Circle*, *op. cit.*, p. 541.
- ³⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 206.
- ³⁷¹ Eden, *op. cit.*, pp. 552–561, for discussion on some exchanges between Eden and Eisenhower.
- ³⁷² Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 209, says that Eisenhower’s call to Eden was at 1.43 pm, after the decision for a cease fire had been taken, but he refers to a claim by Pineau that earlier calls had been made.
- ³⁷³ *ibid.*, pp. 210–211.
- ³⁷⁴ Eden, *op. cit.*, p. 557. Eden gives the figures as \$57 million in September, \$84 million in October and \$279 million in part November, total \$420 million for the period. The \$279 million represented 15 percent of the total,

so that assuming stability in other movements, those figures, together, represent about 23 percent of Britain's total reserves. In essence it was a repeat of the reserves crisis at the beginning of the Second World War. Lloyd, op. cit., p. 222 quotes Macmillan as telling the Commons on November 12 that the losses from reserves had been \$ 328 million for the three months to the end of October, before the run on Sterling was anywhere near its peak.

³⁷⁵ Eden, op. cit., p. 561.

³⁷⁶ ibid., pp. 561, 563, 567.

³⁷⁷ ibid., p. 557.

³⁷⁸ ibid., pp. 577, 578.

³⁷⁹ Lloyd, op. cit., p. 42.

³⁸⁰ *Basic Facts About the United Nations* [New York: UN Dept. of Public Information, 1995] p. 236.

³⁸¹ Eden, op. cit., p. 584.

Chapter 30: *Embargo! Not for want of warnings. New order or disorder?*

1 Eden, Anthony, *Full Circle*, [London: Cassell, 1960] p. 575.

2 Kruger, H. contributing "The Life and Activities of the World Council of Churches" chapter 2, in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1968*, Vol II, *The Ecumenical Advance, 1948-1968*, Ed. Harold E. Fey. [London: SPCK for the WCC, 1993] pp. 33-34.

3 Visser 't Hooft, W.A. (Ed.), *The Evanston Report: The Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches 1954* [London: SCM Press, 1955] pp. 74-79.

4 Statement on the Hope of Israel, submitted by 24 delegates to the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches following the decision to delete all reference to Israel from the Assembly's formal statement: "In view of the decision of the Assembly on Friday to omit any reference to the Hope of Israel in its Statement on the Main Theme, we feel it our duty of offer an explanation of our convictions in the hope that it will help towards closer understanding with those from whom we differed.

Our concern in this issue is wholly biblical and is not to be confused with any political attitude towards the State of Israel.

We believe that Jesus Christ is the Saviour of all mankind. In Him there is neither Jew nor Greek, but we also believe that God elected Israel for the carrying out of His saving purpose. Jesus Christ as Man was a Jew. The Church of Jesus Christ is built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, all of whom were Jews, so that to be a member of the hope in Jesus Christ. Jesus, the Messiah of Israel, was accepted by Gentiles but rejected by His own people. Nevertheless God is so gracious and mighty that He even makes the crucifixion of His Son to be the salvation of the Gentiles (Rom. 11:11). Whether we are scandalized or not, that means that we are grafted into the old tree of Israel (Rom. 11:24), so that the people of the New Covenant cannot be separated from the people of the Old Covenant.

The New Testament, however, speaks also of the "fullness" of Israel, when God will manifest His glory by bringing back His "eldest son" into the one fold of His grace (Rom. 11:12-36; Matt. 23:29) This belief is an indispensable element of our one united hope for Jew and Gentile in Jesus Christ. Our hope in Christ's coming victory includes our hope for Israel in Christ, in His victory over the blindness of His own people. To expect Jesus Christ means to hope for the conversion of the Jewish people, and to love Him means to love the people of God's promise.

In view of the grievous guilt of Christian people towards the Jews throughout the history of the Church, we are certain that: *the Church cannot rest until the title of Christ to the Kingdom is recognized by His own people according to the flesh.*" [Findings of the Pre-Evanston Conference of the American Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, at Lake Geneva, 8-11 August 1954.]

"We cannot be one in Christ nor can we truly believe and witness to the promise of God if we do not recognize that it is still valid for the people of the promise made to Abraham. Therefore we invite all men to join with us in praising and magnifying that God who "concluded them all in unbelief that He might have mercy upon all" (Rom. 11:32)."

⁵ Quoted in the statement of the 24 from the findings of the Pre-Evanston Conference of the American Committee on the Christian Approach to the Jews, at Lake Geneva, 8-11 August 1954.

⁶ Hanson, Eric O. *The Catholic Church in World Politics* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990] p. 45.

⁷ *Catholic Almanac* 1975, p. 183.

NOTES TO VOLUME III

- ⁸ Stourton, Edward, *Absolute Truth: The Catholic Church in the World Today* [London: Penguin/Viking, 1998] See chapter 3, "Quietly and with power," for discussion on the politicking over the Declaration on Religious Liberty.
- ⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 12–13.
- ¹⁰ Seymour, Ian, *OPEC: Instrument of Change* [London: Macmillan, 1980] pp. 19–21.
- ¹¹ *ibid.*, pp. 23–34.
- ¹² *ibid.*, p. 34, citing *Petroleum Week*, May 6, 1960.
- ¹³ China's "Great Leap Forward" plan was introduced with a great fanfare, but it was badly mismanaged and led to large scale industrial and infrastructure failures and, over three years, worsening famine.
- ¹⁴ Sources for these notes on the further progress of the Cold War include *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "Cold War History" and other references.
- ¹⁵ Eden, *op. cit.*, p. 423. Eden refers to "exceptional barbarity" in the widespread and degrading massacre of King Faisal, his family, ministers and friends, saying: "The naked bodies of the former Regent and of Nuri es-Said were dragged through the streets of Baghdad amid scenes of unmentionable beastliness. A British officer was shot within the Embassy. Three Americans were torn to pieces by the mob, with faint protest by their government."
- ¹⁶ Blum, William *Killing Hope* [Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1995] p. 87, cites *Declassified Documents Reference System*, 1985 volume, document no. 283, March 1957, for the quotation: "The British are believed to favor active stimulation of a change in the present regime in Syria, in an effort to assure a pro-Western orientation on the part of future Syrian governments. ... The United States shares the concern of the British Government over the situation in Syria." And in *Full Circle*, *op. cit.*, Eden does not conceal his feelings that a change of government would be an advantage to Britain.
- ¹⁷ Blum, *op. cit.*, pp. 86–87.
- ¹⁸ Seymour, *op. cit.*, p. 35–36, citing *Petroleum Week*, December 9, 1960.
- ¹⁹ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "Bay of Pigs Invasion."
- ²⁰ Up to that date Britain exercised protectorate suzerainty over each of Kuwait (from 1899), Bahrain (1835), Qatar (1869 treaty/1916 protectorate), and the group of emirates and sheikhdoms which later constituted the United Arab Emirates (1820). The others did not gain their independence for another ten years, in 1971.
- ²¹ The foundation of the autonomous sheikhdom of Kuwait dated from 1756, when the settlers decided to appoint a sheikh from the Sabah family. During the 19th century Kuwait developed as a thriving, independent trading community which made it liable to attempts at annexation. Toward the end of the century one ruler, 'Abd Allah II (reigned 1866–92), began moving Kuwait closer to the Ottoman Empire for protection, although he did not formally place his ill-defined territory under Ottoman rule. However a subsequent ruler, Mubarak, not favouring subjugation to either the Ottoman Empire or a neighbouring Arab state, cultivated a close relationship with Britain which led to a treaty in 1899 under which it was granted that Britain controlled Kuwait's foreign affairs and defence. On the outbreak of World War I, its status was changed to that of a British protectorate. Subsequently, at the Conference of Al-Uqayr in 1922, Britain negotiated the Kuwait-Saudi border, with substantial territorial loss to Kuwait. A separate memorandum the next year was drawn up to define the border with Iraq based on an unratified 1913 convention. A so-called 'Neutral Territory' was designated at the junction of the Saudi Arabian, Iraqi and Kuwaiti borders in which control, rights and potential resource sharing arrangements were ill-defined. Subsequently Iraq placed its first formal claim to the territory of Kuwait in 1938 – the year that oil was discovered in the sheikhdom. It was generally considered that Iraq's claim, based on overall responsibility for the area by the Ottoman Empire, was very vague and historically of doubtful validity. However after the rejection of its major claim, Iraq continued to lay claim to the strategic islands of Bubiyan and Al-Warbah which dominated access to its waterways and oil facilities. In 1963 the regime then ruling Iraq formally recognized both Kuwait's independence and, subsequently, its borders, but it continued to press for access to the critical islands. [*Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "History of Kuwait"].
- ²² Visser 't Hooft, W.A. (Ed) *The New Delhi Report: The Third Assembly of the World Council of Churches 1961* [London: SCM, 1962] pp. 262–291.
- ²³ Visser 't Hooft, W.A. Contrib. "The Genesis of the World Council of Churches" in *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517–1968*, Vol. I, 1517–1948 [London: SPCK for the WCC, 1993] pp. 715–716; Newbigin, Leslie Contrib. "Mission to Six Continents" in *ibid.*, Vol. II, 1948–1968; Edwards, David L. Contrib. "Signs of Radicalism in the Ecumenical Movement" in *ibid.*, Vol. II, 1948–1968, p. 385.
- ²⁴ Visser 't Hooft, W.A. (Ed) *The New Delhi Report*, *op. cit.*, pp. 152–159, Appendix II, p. 426.

NOTES TO VOLUME III

- ²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 148.
- ²⁶ Khrushchev, Nikita, *Khrushchev Remembers* (trans. Strobe Talbot, commentary Edward Crankshaw) [Aylesbury, Bucks: Sphere, 1971] pp. 455–462. Khrushchev discussed Cuba in some detail. He wrote: “The Americans had surrounded our country with military bases and threatened us with nuclear weapons, and now they would learn just what it feels like to have enemy missiles pointing at you; we’d been doing nothing more than giving them a little of their own medicine. And it was high time America learned what it feels like to have her own land and her own people threatened. We Russians have suffered three wars over the last half century: World War I, the Civil War, and World War II. America has never had to fight a war on her own soil, at least not in the last fifty years. She’s sent troops abroad to fight in two World Wars – and made a fortune as a result.” He also noted that the Soviet Union had been installing missiles on Cuba for some time before the United States became aware of it; that they had installed enough missiles “to destroy New York, Chicago, and the other huge industrial cities, not to mention a little village like Washington;” and that he regarded the Cuban adventure as “a great victory ... [because] ...we had been able to extract from Kennedy a promise that neither America nor any of her allies would invade Cuba. ... If Cuba had not undergone this ordeal, it’s very likely the Americans would have organized an invasion to liquidate Cuba’s Socialist way of life.”
- ²⁷ Hanson, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–11, citing Flamini, *Pope, Premier, President*, pp. 66–67.
- ²⁸ All extracts from the opening address of Pope John XXIII at Vatican II are from the *New Advent* Internet service, <http://www.rc.net/rcchurch/vatican2/j23open.txt>.
- ²⁹ Stourton, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
- ³⁰ *ibid.*
- ³¹ *ibid.*, p. 38.
- ³² *ibid.*, p. 39.
- ³³ *ibid.*, pp. 39–40.
- ³⁴ Jack, Homer A. WCRP: *A History of the World Conference on Religion and Peace* [New York: WCRP, 1993] pp. 31–35.
- ³⁵ Robinson, John A.T. *Honest to God* [London: SCM, 1963] p. 7.
- ³⁶ Gossett, Thomas F. *Race: The History of an Idea in America* [New York: Schocken, 1965] pp. 458–459.
- ³⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 454–455.
- ³⁸ Stourton, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
- ³⁹ *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (The Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy) Source: *New Advent* Internet Service, <http://www.rc.net/rcchurch/vatican2/liturgy.asc>.
- ⁴⁰ Tessler, Mark *A History of the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994], p. 373.
- ⁴¹ *Lumen Gentium* (Dogmatic Constitution on the Church) Source: *New Advent* Internet Service, <http://www.rc.net/rcchurch/vatican2/lumen.gen>. Internal references have been deleted.
- ⁴² All extracts from *Nostra Aetate* are from: *New Advent* Internet Service, <http://www.rc.net/rcchurch/poppes/paul6/p6closin.txt> Internal references have been deleted.
- ⁴³ Pope Paul VI, Closing address and Liturgy, Fourth Session of the Second Vatican Council, December 8, 1965. Source: *New Advent* Internet Service, <http://www.rc.net/rcchurch/vatican2/lumen.gen>. Internal references have been deleted.
- ⁴⁴ Tessler, *op. cit.*, p. 387.
- ⁴⁵ *ibid.*, p. 392, citing Richard B. Parker, *The Politics of Miscalculation in the Middle East* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993] p. 74.
- ⁴⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 378–396.
- ⁴⁷ Gribetz, Judah, E. Greenstein & R. Stein *The Timetables of Jewish History* [New York: Simon & Schuster/Touchstone, 1994] p. 586.
- ⁴⁸ Tessler, *op. cit.*, p. 393.
- ⁴⁹ Laqueur, Walter & Barry Rubin [Eds.] *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict* [New York: Viking Penguin/Pelican, 1984]. Nasser’s speech to the Egyptian National Assembly is reproduced in full on pages 185–189.
- ⁵⁰ Tessler, *op. cit.*, p. 393.
- ⁵¹ *ibid.*, pp. 395–396, citing Yoman Peri, *Between Battles and Ballots: Israeli Military in Politics* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983] pp. 244 ff., and referring also to Nadaf Safran, *From War to War: The Arab-Israeli Confrontation, 1948–1967* [New York: Pegasus, 1969] p. 315.
- ⁵² Gribetz, et. al., *loc. cit.*

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- ⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 587.
- ⁵⁴ Tessler, *op. cit.*, p. 397, citing Peri, *op. cit.*, p. 250.
- ⁵⁵ *ibid.*, p. 331, and personal discussions in Israel in 1975.
- ⁵⁶ Gribetz, *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 594.
- ⁵⁷ El-Khawas, Mohamed & Samir Aded-Rabbo, *American Aid to Israel: Nature and Impact* [Brattleboro, Vermont: Amana Books, 1984] pp. 34–35.
- ⁵⁸ Brockway, Allan & Paul van Buren, Rolf Rendtorff, Simon Schoon (Commentaries) *The Theology of the Churches and the Jewish People: Statements by the World Council of Churches and its member churches* [Geneva: WCC, 1988] The Commission Report is set out in full on pp. 13–28.
- ⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. 19.
- ⁶⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 27–28.
- ⁶¹ Meyer, Michael A. *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism* [Detroit: Wayne State University, 1995], pp. 348, 364.
- ⁶² *ibid.*, p. 368.
- ⁶³ *ibid.*, pp. 366–367.
- ⁶⁴ Goodall, Norman (Ed.) *The Uppsala Report 1968: Official Report of the Fourth Assembly of the World Council of Churches* [Geneva: WCC, 1968] pp. 187–188.
- ⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p. 189.
- ⁶⁶ The Avalon Project, 1996. William C. Fray and Lisa A. Spar, Co-Directors. *The Palestine National Charter*. Source: the web site of The Avalon Project at the Yale Law School.
- ⁶⁷ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from “Suppression of Reform in Czechoslovakia.”
- ⁶⁸ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from “Liberation Theology” and “Helder Pessoa Camara.”
- ⁶⁹ *Catholic Almanac* 1997, p. 317. “On Certain Aspects of the Theology of Liberation” was issued on September 3, 1984. “On Christian Freedom and Liberation” was issued on April 5, 1986.
- ⁷⁰ Gribetz, *et. al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 593.
- ⁷¹ Tessler, *op. cit.*, pp. 446–447, citing Abba Eban, *An Autobiography* [New York: Random House, 1977] p. 463.
- ⁷² *ibid.*, p. 453.
- ⁷³ *ibid.*, p. 461., citing Henry Kissinger, *The White House Years*, [Boston: Little, Brown, 1979] pp. 595–596.
- ⁷⁴ *ibid.*, p. 448, citing David A. Korn, *Stalemate: The War of Attrition and Great Power Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1967–1970* [Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1992] p. 161; and William B. Quandt, *Decade of Decisions: American Policy toward the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977] p. 91.
- ⁷⁵ *ibid.*, citing Yitzhak Rabin, *The Rabin Memoirs* [Boston: Little, Brown, 1979] p. 162.
- ⁷⁶ *ibid.*
- ⁷⁷ *ibid.*, p. 446.
- ⁷⁸ *ibid.*, p. 449.
- ⁷⁹ United States Cabinet Task Force on Oil Import Control, *The Oil Import Question: A Report on the Relationship of Oil Imports to the National Security* [US Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., February 1970].
- ⁸⁰ *ibid.*, clause 209.
- ⁸¹ *ibid.*, clause 210.
- ⁸² *ibid.*, clause 211.
- ⁸³ *ibid.*, clause 212.
- ⁸⁴ *ibid.*, clause 213, a, b, c.
- ⁸⁵ *ibid.*, clause 214.
- ⁸⁶ *ibid.*, clause 215.
- ⁸⁷ *ibid.*, clause 215 a.
- ⁸⁸ *ibid.*, clause 215 b.
- ⁸⁹ *ibid.*, clause 219.
- ⁹⁰ *ibid.*, clause 220, 221, 222.
- ⁹¹ *ibid.*, clause 224 c.
- ⁹² *ibid.*, clause 226.
- ⁹³ *The Separate Report*, printed together with the main report, *The Oil Import Question* was signed by Walter J. Hickel, Secretary of the Interior; Maurice H. Stans, Secretary of Commerce, and John N. Nassikas, Chairman, Federal Power Commission

⁹⁴ **The Relationship between United States Petroleum Production and Consumption, ME Petroleum Production and US Military Aid to Israel**

Years:	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
1. USA Crude Production	3.363	3.517	3.453	3.455	3.360	3.210						
2. USA Crude Production					3.995	3.818	3.647	3.588	3.575	3.763		
3. USA Total Cons	5.159	5.371	5.534	5.990	6.317	6.069	5.957	6.384				
4. ME Crude Production	4.290	4.740	5.602	6.233	7.334	7.528						
5. ME Crude Production					7.538	7.729	6.165	7.862	7.970	7.487		
6. US Military Aid: Israel	0.085	0.03	0.545	0.3	0.308	2.483	0.3	1.7	1	1	4	1

Notes: (Rows 1 to 5: Trillion barrels)

Row 1, Data for years 1969–1974: *Petroleum Economist*, April 1975, p. 160. Figures were constantly being revised.

Row 2, Revised data for years 1973–1974 and, *Petroleum Economist*, March 1979, p. 131.

Row 3, Total US Consumption; Data for years 1969–1974, *Petroleum Economist*, June 1975, p. 240. Data for years 1975–1976, *Petroleum Economist*, October 1977, p. 419.

Data for the Middle East are the totals for Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iran, Oman, Iraq, Qatar & Abu Dhabi.

Row 4, Data for years 1969–1974; *Petroleum Economist*, April 1975, p. 160.

Row 5, Revised data for years 1973–1974, *Petroleum Economist*, March 1979, p. 131

Row 6, Source: El-Khawass, & Samir, loc. cit., Table 2. Total of grants and loans, in billions of dollars at 1983 dollar equivalent.

⁹⁵ Blum, op. cit., pp. 206–215.

⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 215, citing Interim Report: Alleged Assassination Plots Involving Foreign Leaders, The Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (US Senate) 20 November 1975, p. 227.

⁹⁷ Tessler, op. cit., pp. 460–462.

⁹⁸ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from “End of the Vietnam War.” The quantity of bombs per person and by unit area are computed on the basis of bombing being directed at one half of the land area and population of Vietnam as at the end of the war. Totals were: land area, 129,000 square kilometres; population, 50 million.

⁹⁹ *SBS World Guide 1998* [South Yarra, Victoria: HGB, 1998] p. 150.

¹⁰⁰ Tessler, op. cit., pp. 472–474.

¹⁰¹ *ibid.*, p. 476.

¹⁰² The basis on which petroleum production and consumption data is collected and published is such that there are significant variations in data published from one source to another. Some data is published as ‘provisional’ and then ‘revised’ data is published later. In addition the reporting methods are such that it is very difficult to reconcile one section of the data with another. Thus, the data for domestic crude, imported crude, imported refined product, exports, and stock on hand do not tally. In particular, calculations for US domestic crude oil production as a percentage of total ‘new supplies’ do not produce the same answer as calculations for domestic crude oil as a percentage of total domestic demand. However, to appreciate the place of domestic crude production in the overall supply pattern, it is necessary to refer to both figures. To produce these tables and graphs the author has relied on data published by the *Petroleum Economist* which is a reliable and authoritative source.

¹⁰³ **USA Petroleum: Changes in Production and Demand pattern, 1966–1970** (Thousand barrels)

	Domestic Demand	Annual Increase %	Domestic Crude	Annual Increase %	Percentage Dom. Crude
1966	4410796		3027763		68.64
1967	4584526	3.94	3215742	6.21	70.14
1968	4901789	6.92	3329042	3.52	67.91
1969	5159776	5.26	3363832	1.05	65.19
1970	5371333	4.10	3517450	4.57	65.49
Increase over 5 years		21.78		16.17	
Change in 2-yr. ave. Dom. Crude %					-4.05

Source: *Petroleum Economist*, March 1976, p. 120.

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¹⁰⁴ USA Petroleum (Thousand Barrels)

	1970	1970	1970	1973	1973	1973	1974	1974	1974
Percentage of:	New stock		New stock		New stock				
<i>Domestic Crude Production</i>	3517450	74.12	63.55	3360903	60.50	53.20	3199328	59.86	52.71
Crude Imports	483293	10.18		1183996	21.31		1269155	23.75	
Product Imports	745008	15.70	25.88	1009992	18.18	39.50	876432	16.40	40.15
<i>Total Imports</i>	1228301	25.88		2193988	39.50		2145587	40.14	
Total New Supplies (Dom.+Imp.)	4745751	100.00	89.43	5554891	100.00	92.70	5344915	100.00	92.86
Crude Exports	4991			697			1074		
Product Exports	89252			83515			79417		
Total Exports	94243			84212			80491		
Total Supplies Moving	4839994			5639103			5425406		
Domestic Motor Gasoline	2111349			2436156			2386177		
Domestic Kerosene	357326			386322			345781		
Domestic Lubricants	49733			59171			56670		
Domestic Dist. Fuel Oil	983400			1128714			1072812		
Domestic Resid. Fuel Oil	814773			1030177			957811		
Total, Specified Products	4316581			5040540			4819251		
Domestic Unspecified	1218142			1276763			1250220		
Total Domestic Demand	5534723			6317303			6069471		
Stocks Crude	276367			242478			265020		
Stocks Unfinished	98989			99154			106031		
Stocks Finished	635459			658840			695045		
Total Stocks	1010815		18.26	1000472		15.84	1066096		17.56
Total Supplies Moving + Stocks	5850809			6639575			6491502		

Source: *Petroleum Economist*, March 1976, p. 120.

¹⁰⁵ Domestic crude oil production, USA, in thousand barrels: 1966, 3,027,763; 1970, 3,517,450 (peak months, October-November); 1975, 3,052,721. *Petroleum Economist*, March 1976, p. 120.

¹⁰⁶ An expression used in discussion with the author by a senior Saudi Arabian civil servant in Jeddah, December 1975.

¹⁰⁷ Britain's petroleum supplies were drawn as follows: all Arab countries 71 per cent (including Kuwait 23 per cent, Saudi Arabia 20 per cent, Libya 14 per cent, The United Arab Emirates 5 per cent, Qatar 4 per cent, Iraq 3 per cent, others including Algeria, Egypt, Oman and Tunisia 2 per cent between them); Iran 13 per cent, Nigeria 10 per cent, Venezuela 5 per cent; and other countries 1 per cent.

¹⁰⁸ Personal conversation with an executive of BP, November 1975.

¹⁰⁹ *Latin America*, (weekly political and economic report), February 8, 1974, p. 46.

¹¹⁰ *Latin America*, February 8, 1974, p. 46.

¹¹¹ *Latin America*, December 12, 1975, pp. 389/91.

¹¹² *Latin America*, May 3, 1974.

¹¹³ *Latin America*, May 10, 1974, pp. 137/138.

¹¹⁴ *Latin America*, May 331, 1974, p. 161.

¹¹⁵ Jost, John, quoting the former Minister for Minerals and Energy, Rex Connor, in an interview reported in *The National Times*, August 29–September 3, 1977, p. 4.

¹¹⁶ *The National Times*, March 21 to 27, 1982, p. 12.

¹¹⁷ *ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Paton, David M., [Ed.] *Breaking Barriers: Nairobi 1975*, the official report of the Fifth Assembly of the WCC [London: SPCK & Eerdmans, Grand Rapids, 1976] p. 99.

¹¹⁹ The joint communique issued by Presidents Ford and Marcos in Manila on December 7 1975 said, in part, "... they agreed that the military bases used by the US in the Philippines remain important in maintaining an effective United States presence in the Western Pacific in support of these mutual objectives." It went on to note that President Marcos had indicated that no foreign ground troops would be accommodated in the Philippines.

¹²⁰ "... if ... the US was planning to use the Omega system for military purposes with the Soviet Union as its principal target ... it would be a simple matter to build transmitters on Guam and Samoa, thus giving excellent coverage of the Indian and North Pacific Oceans from where its missiles would be launched. No negotiations with

- foreign nations would be necessary, and yet all suggested US military aims could be achieved." (Omega Navigational Institute, Report from the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, p. 84).
- ¹²¹ Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence in May, 1973, pp. 106–107.
- ¹²² *ibid.*, p. 107.
- ¹²³ Advice to the author from a senior Saudi Arabian official in Jeddah, December 1975.
- ¹²⁴ Blum, *Killing Hope*, pp. 340–348.
- ¹²⁵ Hanson, Eric O. *The Catholic Church in World Politics* [Princeton: Princeton Uni. Press, 1990] pp. 234–235, citing AP from Jerusalem, September 14, 1982, in *New York Times* (NYT), September 13, 1982; NYT, September 14, 1982; NYT September 16, 1982.
- ¹²⁶ Hanson, *op. cit.*, p. 338.
- ¹²⁷ Hanson, *op. cit.*, pp. 338–339.
- ¹²⁸ Hanson, *op. cit.*, pp. 346–347.
- ¹²⁹ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "Iran-Contra Affair."
- ¹³⁰ *SBS World Guide 1998*, p. 623.
- ¹³¹ *ibid.*, p. 625.

Chapter 31: *To God be the Glory!*

- ¹ Matthew 1:17.
- ² Matthew 2:1, and Luke 1:5.
- ³ Burrow J.W. Introduction to *The Origin of Species* [Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1977] pp. 20–21.
- ⁴ *The New Spectator*, Vol. 4, No. 20, October 23, 1974, carries a report of a debate on this matter in the annual assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Victoria. At the time the author was circulating papers on the oil embargo and the new relationships within the churches of Victoria.
- ⁵ An expression used in discussion with the author by a senior Saudi Arabian civil servant in Jeddah, December 1975.
- ⁶ Camilleri, Joseph A., Kamal Malhotra and Majid Tehranian, [Project Directors] *Reimagining the Future: towards democratic governance* [Bundoora, Victoria: La Trobe University Department of Politics, 2000] p. 2.
- ⁷ Camilleri, et.al., p. 81.
- ⁸ **An indication of the religio-ethnic mix in Yugoslavia in recent years.**

It is impossible to keep up with the ebb and flow of religio-ethnic populations in Yugoslavia, but this compilation seems to be a reasonable estimate for the population status prior to the breakup.

Unit	Orthodox	Catholic	Muslim	Other	Total Pop.
Yugoslavia (Total)	65%	4%	19%	12%	10.6 m
Montenegro (State)	mostly	?	?	?	0.6 m
Serbia (State Total)	66%	?	?	?	9.9 m
Prov. of Kosovo	?	?	90%	?	2.0 m
Prov. of Vojvodina	mostly	?	?	?	2.0 m
Bosnia and Herzegovina	31%	17%	44%	8%	4.4 m
Croatia	12%	79%	1%	8%	4.8 m
Macedonia	mostly	few	some	?	1.9 m

- ⁹ Ethnic self-understanding and religio-national ambitions have remained unchanged. Each community can point to periods of oppression by the others and can justify their territorial ambitions on the same basis. Their political leaders have been no different to those elsewhere. Whether they have been believers or not, they have been expert at manipulating confessional interests. The deposed President, Milosevic, provides an excellent illustration. A dedicated Communist and therefore, by common acceptance, an atheist, he has exploited the support of the Serbian Orthodox Church and its special status in such a manner that Serbian Nationalism and Serbian Orthodoxy have become virtually inseparable – almost synonymous. The church has taken full advantage of that situation and the state apparatus was therefore able to represent the state as above reproach in any of its repressive programs, and even minority Christian communities, including the Methodist Church of Yugoslavia, put the blame for the war on "part of the Albanian population (which) wanted to achieve a number of privileges and constitute an ethnically pure province of Kosovo." [Dedic, Abdullah, "The Muslim Predicament in Yugoslavia: An Impression," *Journal: Institute of Muslim Minority Affairs*, Vol. 8 No. 1 January 1987.]

¹⁰ **An overview of the period from the Serbian Academy's 'Memorandum 1986' to 1996.**

The Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences' "Memorandum 1986" claimed that:

"In less than fifty years, over two successive generations, the Serbian nation has been exposed to such severe trials – twice exposed to physical extermination, to forced assimilation, to religious conversion, to cultural genocide, to ideological indoctrination, and to the denigration and renunciation of their own traditions beneath an imposed guilt complex, and thereby disarmed intellectually and politically, that they could not but leave deep spiritual wounds that cannot be ignored as this century of the great technological takeoff draws to a close. ...

"But the greatest calamity is the fact that the Serbian nation does not possess a state like all of the other nations. True, the first article of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia contains a provision to the effect that Serbia is a state, but the question immediately arises: What kind of a state is one that lacks authority within its own territory and lacks the means to protect the personal property of its citizens, to prevent genocide in Kosovo, and to prevent the emigration of Serbs from their ancient homeland? ...

"The autonomous provinces must become true integral parts of the Republic of Serbia by (the constitution) granting them a degree of autonomy that would not destroy the integrity of the Republic and would make it possible to act in the common interests of the wider community."

With that Memorandum the Academy was simply restating in somewhat less provocative language and without some of the details for its implementation, a strategy spelled out by one of its former directors, Vosa Cubrilovic, on March 7, 1937. A professor of history at Belgrade University at the time, Cubrilovic presented his plan for "The Expulsion of the Albanians" to the Serbian Cultural Club. In terms comparable to those used later by Hitler about the Jews, but going even further than any of Hitler's public pronouncements up to that time, he proposed the total expulsion of all Kosovar Albanians, preferably to either Albania or Turkey, saying that if there were any objections the Albanian government should be told that "we shall stop at nothing to achieve our final solution to this question." Steps to "create a suitable psychosis" were to include bribing and threatening the Albanian clergy; propaganda; coercion by the state apparatus with ruthless police powers, fines and imprisonment; refusal to recognize old land deeds; withdrawal of permits to practice a profession; dismissal from state, private or public office; 'destruction' of clergy and cemeteries; distribution of weapons to "our colonists" for use in such programs as "a tide of Montenegrins ... launched from mountain pastures," and much more.

But given the turmoil in interfaith relations in Eastern Europe and the adjacent Middle East over an extended period it is no surprise that by the mid 1980's the Serbs had other examples to follow. In 1984 neighbouring Bulgaria began an official campaign to 'integrate' its Muslim minority, most of whom were of Turkish origin, in the majority Bulgarian society by forcing them to adopt Bulgarian names and, unless they preferred to emigrate, to adopt Orthodox Christianity. A very unusual tactic for a Communist state to adopt. The program was accelerated in June 1989 and within three months 300,000 Muslims had been expelled, mainly to Turkey, and there had been some deaths. But there had also been a coup by the Foreign Minister against the head of state and a purge of the Bulgarian Communist party to rid the government of those who had been responsible.

It was about that time that Slobodan Milosevic embarked on his plan for ethnic warfare, reportedly saying that "we will send all the Muslims back to Mecca." Yugoslavia's troubles compounded rapidly. Civil war erupted in Croatia in 1991 and for eight years the complex of republics, states and provinces has known little other than tears and turmoil. The United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, NATO, an assortment of member countries and their armies (including those from eleven Arab and nine European Union countries), Non Government Organizations and church councils have sought to intervene, to negotiate and to impose an assortment of settlements, but the "ethnic cleansing" with population displacement and slaughter continued.

In March 1992 a referendum on the question of independence in Bosnia was boycotted by the Serbian minority who then declared their own republic in April; the United Nations admitted Bosnia-Herzegovina in May and applied sanctions against Serbia shortly after; the program of ethnic cleansing in which both Croats and Bosnians were replaced by Serb settlers began in that region in July; the Vance-Owen proposal for ten provinces (three each for the Muslims, Croats and Serbs and one mixed) was published in October as one of a number of peace plans in quick succession; an international conference held in Istanbul in April 1994 called for condemnation of Serbian aggression against its Muslim population; a new constitution for Bosnia-Herzegovina was introduced in 1995 and 15,000 fighters from Saudi Arabia and Iran who went to the support of the embattled Bosnians were forced out by United States pressure. On October 14, Velika Srbija, the Greater

Serbia Journal, Belgrade, published a lengthy statement by the Serb Deputy Prime Minister, Voislav Seselj setting out a blueprint for Cleansing Kosovo. It was very ominous indeed. Then the Dayton Peace Accord, to be enforced by 60,000 IFOR troops, was signed in December.

In spite of the Holbrooke-Milosevic talks in February 1996 the program of oppression against the Muslims – always referred to as “Ethnic Albanians” – backed up by propaganda in which some Orthodox clergy were involved, continued. In March a consortium of eleven Arab and nine European Union countries agreed to arm the Bosnian Federal Army to offset the power of the well-armed Serbian army – the fourth biggest in Europe, and a few weeks later mass graves of 8,000 Bosnian Muslims were discovered.

¹¹ **Some steps taken by, or influencing, the World Council of Churches position since 1977 and during the Kosovo Crisis.**

In September 1977: Acknowledging the enormous task of reconciliation across the entire Christian Church, the tensions within the Ecumenical Movement and the enormity of tasks before it in the inter-faith field, the Central Executive of the World Council of Churches adopted a far reaching policy statement entitled ‘Towards a Common Understanding and Vision of the World Council of Churches’.

The strains were such that a high-level Orthodox meeting at Thessaloniki from April 29–May 2, 1998: recommended that at the Assembly (in December) the Orthodox Churches’ delegates should not participate in common prayers and Assembly worship and should vote only on matters of special interest to the Orthodox. It also considered a proposal for the establishment of a Special Theological Commission with members drawn from both ‘wings’ of the Council in an effort to resolve some of the matters in dispute between the Orthodox and the Reformed Churches.

Shortly after, at a pre-assembly meeting from May 7–13: Acknowledging the proposal to establish a Special Commission, the Eastern Orthodox Churches debated whether to remain members of the World Council of Churches and active in the Ecumenical Movement because of the gulf between them and the Reformed member churches, the lack of support which they believed they were receiving, the difficulty they had in influencing decisions or programs of the Council, and disagreement over a number of theological issues.

Also in May: a Catholic-Islamic Commission was established at the Vatican, jointly chaired by Cardinal Arinze and a Sheik from Al-Azhar University, Cairo. [A Catholic-Muslim Council had been established in Poland in 1997.]

October 14: The WCC welcomed Serbia’s partial agreement to the UN terms for the withdrawal of its troops from Kosovo.

November 27: The Bulgarian Orthodox Church advised of its withdrawal from the WCC.

December 3: The WCC’s Eighth Assembly opened in Harare.

December 4: General Secretary Konrad Raiser proposed the establishment of an international Forum of the Churches which would widen the Ecumenical Movement to churches and organizations beyond the membership of the WCC.

December 12: The WCC formally resolved to establish a Commission on Participation of Orthodox Churches.

December 28–29: The Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church agreed to maintain its membership of the WCC, pending the outcome of the work of the Special Commission in which it would participate fully, but at a reduced level.

March 16–18, 1999: A Summit meeting of Kosovo’s religious leaders, the first ever, was convened by the US-based Interfaith Appeal of Conscience Foundation in an effort to find a solution to the crisis without the need for NATO intervention. Leaders of the Serbian Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Muslim communities and a representative of the WCC participated.

March 24: Acting on the basis that Yugoslavia had refused to sign the Rambouillet Agreement and that negotiations had therefore reached the end of the track, even though many observers believed that for Yugoslavia to sign it was tantamount to surrendering national sovereignty and that there was still room for negotiation, NATO began its bombing campaign. The Russian Orthodox Church immediately expressed its support for Serbia and its sister Orthodox Church.

Next day March 25: The WCC addressed a pastoral letter to member churches in Yugoslavia expressing solidarity with them and regret at the failure to reach a negotiated settlement. Over the next week (notably March 29 and 31) a series of appeals were made by the major peak Christian organizations, [the WCC, the Council of European Churches (CEC), the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (WARC)], for the bombing to be ended to enable a renewal of the political peace process. But then, with a distinct change of emphasis, on April 13: the Vatican issued a statement that Catholic Albanians in Kosovo

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(as opposed to “ethnic” Albanians) were being treated “quite normally” by the Serbian authorities. That apparently meant that everything was OK!

April 15: that group plus the World Methodist Council (WMC), the Baptist World Alliance (BWA) and the Anglican Communion representative issued a joint statement noting the humanitarian crisis caused by the Serbian acts of ethnic cleansing against “ethnic Albanians” in Kosovo. Even so, there was no mention of the terms Islam or Muslim. Only “ethnic Albanians”.

The WCC was in a bind and it was having difficulty camouflaging the fact that many Western European Churches were angered by the Serbian Orthodox Church’s apparent continuing support for the Serbian nationalist cause. If it moved strongly to support the Muslims in Kosovo and elsewhere against the Serbian campaign it would clearly antagonize the Eastern Orthodox Churches and place its conciliatory moves within the Council, and the future of the Special Theological Commission, in jeopardy. On the other hand, if it did not recognize the actuality of slaughter and expulsion of the Muslim communities, make every effort to intervene to stop it, and act to support the Muslims, then it would be seen as an ineffective dialogue partner and the years of painstaking work to improve Christian-Muslim relations and to strengthen the inter-faith movement generally would be undermined. Thus the three-way relationship within the wider Christian Church between the Orthodox Churches, the Vatican, outside the Council, and the WCC was under great stress.

Over the next two days April 16–17: a high-level Ecumenical delegation made pastoral visits to the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church in Belgrade and the three Reformed Churches in Novi Sad. It was noted that the visits were being made at a time of great crisis which will have serious implications for intra-European Ecumenical relations, especially between East and West. The report of the visits noted especially that the Serbian Orthodox Church had welcomed the actions and support of the Roman Catholic Church. It also noted that the Serbian Church supported cantonization in Kosovo with guarantees for minorities, but within Yugoslavia.

In quick succession: in Germany the Churches were criticised for failing to oppose the NATO bombing and thereby showing their solidarity with the Serbian Christians, and the Russian Patriarch visited Belgrade to do just that and to call for a “just peace” in Kosovo. And while the Methodist Church in Yugoslavia blamed the Muslims for the war because they wanted their autonomy back, American Muslims and Jews joined with Christians in a joint delegation to seek the release of three captured US servicemen.

Then on May 5: the Catholic Bishops shifted ground from the rest of the church – there must have been talks going on in the Catholic-Islamic Commission in the Vatican – and expressed support for the refugees and sympathy with the NATO bombing. The President of the Council of Catholic Bishops’ Conferences said the church felt unity with all men and women and particularly the Muslims who were the victims of the suffering (while the rest of the churches were sticking to “ethnic Albanians”) ... and received threats for his trouble.

May 26–26: With the war dragging on and masses of Muslims in Kosovo being converted into refugees, an Ecumenical Consultation was held in Budapest, Hungary, at which the Catholic Bishops’ Conferences of Europe was also represented. In its report the WCC was again at pains to stress that it was not a religious war and, in line with virtually all Western media reporting, it used the expression “ethnic cleansing” to describe the slaughter and forced refugee marches, and its references to Christians reaching out to assist Muslim refugees seemed rather laboured.

A few days later, May 31: the head of the Greek Orthodox Church condemned the NATO bombing and said the West thinks that civilization ends where the Orthodox Church begins. Then, on June 3: came the first signs of an admission from the Serbian Orthodox Church that it had actually supported the Serbian forces in the Bosnian war, but there was no reference to the war in Kosovo and, on the same day, Russian church officials repulsed moves by the Pope to arrange a visit to Russia.

Immediately after the NATO bombing stopped, the Serbian Church expressed concern that its holy sites in Kosovo were to be left ‘unprotected’ after the withdrawal. That meant, in effect, that they were in areas to be controlled by the Kosovo forces and may be subject to retaliation. In fact they were not, in spite of the fact that mosques of major significance had been razed by Serbian forces.

¹² World Council of Churches Press Update, e-mail service, October 2, 2000, “New input from Eastern Europe to WCC staff.”

¹³ **An indication of the impact of the Kosovo crisis on the Muslim communities in the United States and Canada.** There was strong criticism of both the timing of President Clinton’s decision to commit the US/NATO forces to war (because it helped to camouflage some of his domestic troubles) and his choice of a block-buster air campaign which had no hope of preventing the destruction of Kosovo but which left Russia unable to negotiate

direct access to the Adriatic ports through a fragmented Yugoslavia now under NATO domination. But to offset that there was relief and gratitude within the Muslim community that at last the US was going to the rescue of a battered Muslim minority instead of wielding the big stick to suppress it. Support for Clinton climbed at a time when he desperately needed it.

The Kosovo refugee crisis encouraged the establishment of a range of new Muslim fund raising, welfare, lobbying and support groups. It led to support for the McConnell-Lieberman Senate Bill to provide \$US25 million in arms for the KLA and also led to the mobilization of public support for NATO's air strikes against the Serbs. It stirred up latent Muslim resentment at a long history of Christian-European hatred of Muslims and manipulation of the Balkans to suit the plans of the Great Powers, and it encouraged the establishment of a number of additional Internet web sites for educational and lobbying purposes. It also encouraged attendance at mosques; pride in acknowledging or proclaiming Muslim belief; and, at a very practical level, it stimulated moves towards the adoption of an international charter for Muslim Activists. It accelerated a drive for the elimination of discrimination against Muslims in the US legal system, in education, in public service employment, in commerce and in exploitative advertising, and anti-discrimination groups gained a series of quite spectacular victories in quick succession. These involved, notably, media companies, a fast food chain and other food companies, and employment in security classified government positions.

But in the interfaith arena a new clout is also apparent. The Canadian Council of Churches was sharply rebuked for its rather simplistic call for an end to the bombing in Serbia. It was told that its appeal should have been directed at Serbia to stop the genocide, and meetings were promptly held between Canadian Muslim leaders and Council officials to set the matter right.

¹⁴ Jacobs, Louis *The Jewish Religion: A Companion* [Oxford: Oxford, 1995] p. 571.

¹⁵ Mark 16:16 Jerusalem translation.

¹⁶ **Critical factors to note in the development of the trouble in the triangle:**

A: in linking the church to the conduct and fortunes of the White West:

1. Constantine's manipulation of the young church to gain power.
2. The adoption of the Athanasian Creed, the resulting denigration of the rest of the world and the church's ultimate isolation because of it.
3. The Papal Bull *Rominus Pontifex* which helped shape the headlong European colonial rush, and the concepts of 'the White Man's Burden' and 'Protector of the Faith'.
4. The deliberate use of incidents involving the church to justify military occupation or intimidation and exploitation of numerous countries including Scandinavia, the principality of Russia, numerous territories of Latin America and Africa, Indo China (Napoleon III), China (Britain) and Japan (Britain and the US). The list goes on.
5. The dubious collaboration between the Protestant churches of America and its houses of commerce in the evolution and promotion of the Protestant Work Ethic in the face of the challenge of Marxism.
6. A whole rash of papal encyclicals but notably those of 1926, *Rerum Ecclesiae*, promoting commercial support for Catholic missions in China; 1933, *Casti Connubi*, which laid down acceptable social and moral conduct in such strait-jacket terms that the world revolted before a generation was past; and 1938, *Divini Redemptoris*, which linked an irrational condemnation of Communism with a theological justification for Capitalism and tied the church more tightly than ever before to the conduct of the Western world, whether it was responsible and uplifting or totally corrupting and exploitative.
7. The coincidental campaign for temporal power and political concordats which plumbed new depths with the signing of the Lateran Treaty and both the Italian and German concordats which blessed with respectability degrading conduct and programs which, like those of the Holy Roman Empire, were in total contradiction of the teachings of He whom the church claimed to represent.
8. US policy, spearheaded by MacArthur, under which Japan was to be Christianized to provide a political bulwark against Communism.

B: in linking Judaism into that White Western relationship to form the 'North' in spite of the church's history of rampant anti-Semitism:

1. The destruction of the Khazar Khanate.
2. The Balfour Declaration in which the Jewish community was used as a pawn in Britain's bid for political and economic advantage.
3. America's assumption of the role of an umbrella for Zionism for its own political and economic advantage when Britain reneged on the Balfour Declaration.

NOTES TO VOLUME III

C: in the evolution of Islam and its linking with the 'South' in opposition to the 'North':

1. The development of a system of creeds and doctrines not consistent with the messages of Yahwism and the Gospel and the abuse of the church's role which were a trigger for:
 2. The prophetic ministry of Muhammad and the mission, no less incumbent upon him than upon the people of Judaism and Christianity, to convey the message of Yahweh, including the Gospel, throughout the world.
 3. The church's rejection of that mission and, subsequently, its concurrent oppression of Judaism and bid to eliminate Islam through the crusades.
 4. The prophetic ministry of the Jewish scholar, Maimonides.
 5. The Balfour Declaration coupled with the McMahon Letter.
 6. The confirmation of prophecies of both Muhammad and Maimonides through the parody of Hitler's Mein Kampf, and the consequent assumption of dominant-nation status by the United States.
 7. The establishment of the State of Israel and policies adopted by the United States as a consequence of pursuing both its Zionist-umbrella role and its want to maintain its dominant-nation status.
- ¹⁷ Tessler, Mark, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994] pp. 508–510, citing extracts from Sadat's speech in Laqueur & Rubin, pp. 592–601.
- ¹⁸ Tessler, op. cit., pp. 510–511.
- ¹⁹ Tessler, op. cit., p. 523.
- ²⁰ UN Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, "Information Note." Source: United Nations web site, file: \UN Committee on Palestinian Rights CPR_DPR.ht as at October 7, 2000.
- ²¹ *Middle East Policy Statement* adopted by the Governing Board, National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA, November 6, 1980, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115, pp. 4–5, 11.
- ²² Tessler, op. cit., pp. 600–602, citing: Ronald Reagan's address to the American people, September 1, 1982, in the *New York Times*, September 2, 1982; and noting that it is reprinted in Laqueur & Rubin, pp. 656–663.
- ²³ Laqueur, Walter, & Barry Rubin (Eds.) *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict*, [New York: Viking-Penguin, 1984] pp. 656–663, Speech by President Ronald Reagan: "The Reagan Plan," (September 1, 1982)
- ²⁴ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "Ronald W. Reagan."
- ²⁵ Tessler, op. cit., p. 604, quoting from the Israeli Government communique, September 2, 1982, which was reprinted in the *New York Times*, September 3, 1982.
- ²⁶ Tessler, op. cit., pp. 604–605.
- ²⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 607–608.
- ²⁸ Laqueur, Walter, & Barry Rubin (Eds.) *The Israel-Arab Reader: A Documentary History of the Middle East Conflict*, [New York: Viking-Penguin, 1984] pp. 663–664, "The Final Statement of the Twelfth Arab Summit Conference, September 9, 1982". (The summit had convened in Fez, Morocco, on November 25, 1981, and resumed after adjournment on September 6, 1982.)
- ²⁹ Tessler, op. cit., pp. 590–592.
- ³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 618.
- ³¹ *ibid.*, pp. 633–636.
- ³² *ibid.*, pp. 660–662.
- ³³ *ibid.*, p. 720, citing the "Husayni Document," reprinted in Peretz, Don, *Intifada: the Palestinian Uprising* [Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990] pp. 204–207.
- ³⁴ That denial was in contravention of Article 105 of the United Nations Charter which says: "Representatives of the Members of the United Nations and officials of the Organization shall similarly enjoy such privileges and immunities as are necessary for the independent exercise of their functions in connexion with the Organization." Arafat's attendance was in connection with his responsibilities in Jordan, a founding member of the United Nations. In addition, the United States had quite specifically agreed at the time that the world body accepted its invitation to site UN headquarters in New York that it would not deny transit right to anyone having legitimate reason to visit the UN's extraterritorial site.
- ³⁵ B'Tselem, The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories; source: http://www.btselem.org/Files/site/e_about.asp "About B'Tselem" as at October 7, 2000.
- ³⁶ Gribetz, Judah, Edward L. Greenstein & Regina Stein, *The Timetables of Jewish History* [New York: Simon & Schuster/Touchstone, 1994] p. 714.
- ³⁷ Tessler, op. cit., pp. 730–734.

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- ³⁸ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "History of Iraq: Restructuring the Ba'th regime."
- ³⁹ Tessler, op. cit., p. 737, and Gribetz et. al., p. 719, list 12, as endorsing the request. *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "The Arab League," lists eleven, omitting Oman.
- ⁴⁰ Advice received in personal conversations with Saudi Arabian personnel.
- ⁴¹ Gribetz, et. al., op. cit., pp. 721–722.
- ⁴² *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "Persian Gulf War."
- ⁴³ Garamone, Jim, *American Forces Press Service*. Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, April 10, 2000, source: www.defenselink.mil:80/news/Apr2000/n04102000_20004101.html as at October 9, 2000.
- ⁴⁴ Perry, William J., "The Risks if we would be free." *Defense Viewpoint: American Forces Information Service*, Volume 11, No. 77, source: www.defenselink.mil:80/speeches/1996/s19960806-perry.html as at October 10, 2000
- ⁴⁵ Perry, William J., "Combating Terrorism in Saudi Arabia." *Defense Viewpoint: American Forces Information Service*, Volume 11, No. 59, source: www.defenselink.mil:80/speeches/1996/s19960709-perry.html as at October 10, 2000
- ⁴⁶ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "History of Post-Soviet Russia."
- ⁴⁷ *Encyclopedia Britannica* Deluxe CD 2000, from "Year in Review 1994: Biography, Dzhokhar Dudayev."
- ⁴⁸ Third Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77. The Manila Declaration and Programme of Action. [UNCTAD, Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session, Nairobi, 5–31 May 1976, Vol. 1, Report and Annexes (New York: United Nations, 1977), pp. 109–132, originally issued as 77/MM (III)/49 of 7 February, 1976.]
- ⁴⁹ Dollar, David & Aart Kraay, Economic Growth Research, *Growth Is Good for the Poor*, (abstract) The World Bank Group, source: <http://www.worldbank.org/research/growth/absddolakraay.htm> as at September 14, 2000.
- ⁵⁰ WCC Press Update: Geneva 2000: Joint statement: NGO's ask UN to Withdraw Endorsement of "A Better World For All, 28 June, 2000 NGOs
- ⁵¹ For a concise discussion of the Tobin Tax see Camilleri, et.al., p. 43.
- ⁵² Aruri, Naseer, The Rationale for US Military Intervention After the Cold War, Naseer Aruri.htm as at October 7, 2000.
- ⁵³ Institute for Public Accuracy, Washington DC, "Revolution in Yugoslavia," <http://www.accuracy.org> source, MSANEWS, October 5, 2000.
- ⁵⁴ **WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES: MEMBERSHIP PATTERN by number of churches.**
- | <i>Number of churches by region</i> | <i>1948</i> | <i>1954</i> | <i>1961</i> | <i>1968</i> | <i>1975</i> | <i>1981</i> | <i>1991#</i> | <i>1998</i> |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| Europe, Nth. Am.*, ANZ, | | | | | | | | |
| DR in Sth.Af.Region 1 | 102 | 104 | 108 | 123 | 129 | 128 | 137 | 146 |
| Africa (excl. DR in Sth. Af.) Region 2 | 4 | 7 | 18 | 32 | 50 | 56 | 66 | 75 |
| Asia (excl. ANZ) Region 3 | 16 | 18 | 22 | 29 | 42 | 49 | 54 | 58 |
| Other: ME, Lat. Am., | | | | | | | | |
| Caribbean, Pacific + Region 4 | 13 | 15 | 23 | 33 | 47 | 52 | 59 | 66 |
| Regions 2, 3, 4 combined 3 | 3 | 40 | 63 | 94 | 139 | 157 | 178 | 199 |
| Total Member Churches Total | 135 | 144 | 171 | 217 | 268 | 285 | 315 | 345 |
- *Excl. Afro. Am. +Afro. Am.
- # Est. by ave. 1981 & 1998

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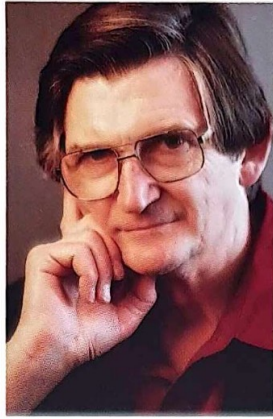
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In 1975, while Australia was going through the trauma of a constitutional crisis, Ian Fry was travelling the Middle

East, researching some of the issues involved in the trouble in the triangle.

He was on his way home after a Consultation on the Crisis in the Middle East at the World Council of Churches, in Geneva, and the WCC's Fifth Assembly, in Nairobi, and he was eager to canvas the possibility of religious leaders and scholars from each of the Abrahamic religions working together to reassess the Messianic beliefs which divided them.

A former lay preacher and elder, he has been active in the life of the Uniting Church in Australia and a range of its assemblies, synods and commissions, but his views are not at all conventional and he was soon drawn into inter-faith consultation.

He has taken part in assemblies of the World Conference on Religion and Peace, and Islam and the West as well as the World Council of Churches.

An agriculturist by training, he left the chemical industry to join the Presbyterian Board of Local Mission. He later turned to journalism, edited suburban newspapers in Melbourne, served as an Australian Volunteer in Papua New Guinea, and established a provincial community newspaper in Milne Bay Province. On the strength of that he was appointed general manager of a national newspaper group. He returned to Melbourne in 1966 to complete *Trouble in the Triangle*.